GOVT 351 Bureaucracy

Spring 2018

Professor Manna Department of Government 318A Tyler Hall http://pmanna.people.wm.edu/ pmanna@wm.edu 221-3024

Course Meetings: Students must attend the section for which they have registered.

- Section 01 (CRN 24373): Tuesday and Thursday, 12:30-1:50, Tyler 134
- Section 02 (CRN 24374): Tuesday and Thursday, 2:00-3:20, Tyler 134

Office Hours: Wednesday, 2:00-4:00pm and by appointment

1. Course description

Welcome to GOVT 351. This class addresses an important, but often forgotten, realty of the American political system: laws and judicial decisions are not self-executing. Collectively, they rely on public bureaucracies and thousands of public administrators and others to implement them. John Adams recognized this back in 1785 when he wrote: "the laws are a dead letter until an administration begins to carry them into execution."¹ This course explores how that "execution" occurs by examining different theoretical perspectives and examples to help you understand the bureaucrats who manage and implement policy, the tools they use, and the organizational and political environments where they work.

Taking this course will help you answer questions such as these: Are government bureaucracies hungry for power and money? If so, why do they sometimes argue against those things even when legislators in Congress want to provide them? How do race and gender influence the decisions that bureaucrats make in schools, police departments, and other government agencies? Why do government intelligence agencies sometimes struggle to work together and "connect the dots" in tracking the nation's enemies? Who is in charge of the federal bureaucracy: the president, Congress, or the courts? Do elected officials or career civil servants in the bureaucracy do a better job representing the interests of people?

2. Required Readings

- James Q. Wilson. 1989 [or 1991]. *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It.* New York: Basic Books. ISBN 978046500785.
- Kenneth J. Meier and Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr. 2006. *Bureaucracy in a Democratic State: A Governance Perspective*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. ISBN 9780801883576.

Other required readings are on Blackboard. Optional readings will be distributed occasionally.

3. Class expectations

3.1 Grading

The course will help you develop and practice several important skills—using theoretical concepts to explain particular events, discussing ideas, writing, and making judgments under time constraints—that all students trained in the liberal arts should possess. Mastering these skills will help you enjoy success and make positive contributions in your future classes (at W&M and in graduate school), the workforce, and the communities where you eventually reside.

¹ You can see the full context of the quote here: <u>http://www.constitution.org/jadams/ja1_55.htm</u>.

Weight	Item
25%	Class participation and attendance
5%	Blog post #1
20%	You choose option A or B
	Option A: Blog post #2 (10%) and blog post #3 (10%)
	or
	Option B: Policy memo (20%)
25%	Midterm exam
25%	Final exam
Extra credit: 1%	Optional participation in the GOVT Omnibus Study

I will base final course grades on the following scale, with partial-percents typically rounded to the nearest full percent: A 100-93, A- 92-90, B+ 89-88, B 87-83, B- 82-80, C+ 79-78, C 77-73, C- 72-70, D+ 69-68, D 67-63, D- 62-60, F <60.

Finally, please keep a copy of all work you submit until I have processed final grades.

3.2 Brief description of assignments

More details on these assignments, including specific expectations for grading, will be posted on Blackboard and discussed in class.

Class participation and attendance: Attendance every day <u>and</u> active class participation are essential components of this class. In sum, everyone should arrive prepared to have thoughtful and energetic discussions about the class material. Please do these four things to prepare to participate each day.

- Read the discussion questions I will post on Blackboard for each class topic.
- Do the readings while thinking about the discussion questions.
- Prepare some notes on the discussion questions, and bring them to class.
- Bringing the readings with you to class is not required but will be very useful.

<u>One important related note: If generally you are shy in classes you should see me immediately</u> so I can help you overcome that fear of speaking out. I have had fantastic previous experiences working with students who thought they would struggle with class participation, but with their hard work and my guidance they succeeded.

Blog posts: The blog post assignments are designed to give you an opportunity to use core class concepts to analyze contemporary issues facing government bureaucracies. All students must write the blog post #1. Students may also choose to write post #2 and #3 instead of doing the policy memo.

Policy memo: If you do not write blog post #2 and #3, you will write a policy memo about a reform that has been proposed to improve the work of a specific government bureaucracy of your choosing. You will use core course concepts and ideas to analyze whether you think the proposed reform is likely to succeed.

Exams: Class exams will contain objective questions and also short answer questions that call for a brief paragraph response. In fairness to everyone, <u>students who arrive late</u> for an exam may not work overtime. <u>The only valid reasons for missing and rescheduling</u> an exam are due to a documented illness, religious observance, a grave family emergency or other similar circumstance, a W&M-sponsored travel commitment that you have discussed with me before the exam, or, during final exams only (as W&M allows), you have several exams in a row. <u>If you miss an exam for another reason</u> you can take a makeup exam for which the maximum grade you can earn is a C (75%).

Optional extra credit for participating in the GOVT Omnibus Study: The Department of Government runs a collaborative subject pool for survey and experimental research conducted by students

and faculty. To help introduce you to the field of political science and earn extra credit for this course, you will have the opportunity to participate as a subject in a research project this semester. Doing so will contribute to research projects of your fellow W&M students and faculty members in Government. Completing the requirements to earn extra credit will involve taking a survey and possibly participating in a session with students or faculty. Typically, the commitment is about an hour. An alternative assignment will available for students who do not want to participate in the Omnibus Project or who are not old enough to participate (you must be 18 years of age), but who still would like to seek extra credit. The maximum amount of extra credit available is 1 percentage point toward your final semester grade.

3.3 Use of technology in class

Appropriate use of technology: Please do not let your electronic devices distract you, your fellow classmates, or me during our in-class work. Please do <u>not</u> use technology in class to check or send text messages or emails; read or participate on social media sites; surf the Internet; or attend to other non-class business. Doing these things will distract your fellow students and harm your class attendance and participation mark. *The one exception is this:* If you are expecting an urgent call or message during class (e.g., call-back for a job interview, a communication from your doctor, etc.) please tell me that <u>before</u> class starts. Please set your phone to vibrate, briefly step out when the call comes in, take the call or message outside our classroom, and then return to class.

A word about laptops: I allow laptops in class, but I would encourage you to avoid using them for notetaking. They are best used as a way to access the class readings and any notes you have taken on them before class. A mounting body of research shows that students learn less when they rely on laptops and other electronic devices to take notes. There is a good chance you will earn a higher grade if you take hand-written notes.

If necessary: Finally, if there appear to be students who have trouble following these directions, I reserve the right to ban the use of laptops or other devices for individual students or the class as a whole.

3.4 Accommodations for students with disabilities

William & Mary accommodates students with disabilities in accordance with federal laws and university policy. Any student wanting an accommodation based on the impact of a learning, psychiatric, physical, or chronic health diagnosis should contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) staff at 221-2509 or at sas@wm.edu. I need an official letter from SAS before you can receive an accommodation.

3.5 Academic misconduct

I begin by assuming academic misconduct will not become an issue in this class. Still, for any questions about policies regarding cheating, plagiarism, or other types of academic dishonesty please see the William & Mary Honor Council's web site and the discussion of the Honor Code in the Student Handbook. If I discover a student cheating I will initiate an Honor Council proceeding and, at a bare minimum, recommend that the student receive an F for the course.

3.6 What you can expect from me

So far I have described what I expect from you. But what can you expect from me? Several things. First, I will not ask you to do things that waste your time. I am convinced that students respond best when professors encourage them to think hard about interesting ideas and questions, and that is how I will approach each class day. Second, I will give you lots of honest, timely feedback in class discussions, office hours, email exchanges, and on your written work. My goal in sharing my reactions is to help you improve your skills and deepen your knowledge. Finally, I promise to treat you with respect. Certainly, we will sometimes disagree about government and politics this semester. In fact, I hope we do because that will make the course more interesting. I will not penalize you if you do not embrace my political beliefs, nor will I reward you simply because we happen to agree on political matters.

4. Schedule

- We will adjust this schedule as needed.
- BB = Required reading appears on Blackboard.
- Occasionally, I will post other readings, or simply email them to the class list. Those additional readings will be optional.
- Although it is not required, I would encourage you to read daily news that includes coverage of government agencies in action. Major media outlets provide such coverage, as do many specialized outlets and blogs.

4.1. How to situate the bureaucracy in the American political system?

Th	Course introduction
1/18	
Т	The demands of democracy and the imperatives of bureaucracy
1/23	• Meier & O'Toole. Ch. 1 Governance and the bureaucracy problem.
	• Wilson. Ch. 18. Rules.
	• BB. Kayla Rodgers et al. 2017. Canadians say they were turned away at US border on
	way to Women's March. January 21. http://www.cnn.com/2017/01/21/us/canadians-
	rejected-border-womens-march/.
Th	Public bureaucracy and private bureaucracy
1/25	• Wilson. Ch. 17 Problems; Ch. 19 Markets.
	• BB. Barbara Starr. 2017. Pentagon looks at authorizing some raids without White
	House approval. March 2. http://www.cnn.com/2017/03/01/politics/pentagon-approval-
	raids-white-house/index.html.

Friday, January 26 – Add/drop deadline

Т	Bureaucracy and governance	
1/30	• BB. Laurence J. O'Toole and Kenneth J. Meier. 2011. Ch. 1 [excerpt]. Public	
	management and performance: An evidence-based perspective. Public Management:	
	Organizations, Governance, and Performance. pp. 23-28.	
	• Meier & O'Toole. Appendix. A specific model of governance. pp. 155-157.	
	• BB. Pamela Varley. 2012. Ch. 2 Sea change: Rewriting the rules for port security. In	
	John D. Donahue and Mark H. Moore (eds.), Ports in a Storm: Public Management in a	
	Turbulent World. pp. 14-24.	
Th	Reform impulses	
2/1	• BB. Paul C. Light. 1997. Ch. 1 The tides of reform. <i>The Tides of Reform: Making</i>	
	Government Work, 1945-1995. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.	
	• Joshua Cowen. 2017. Oversight or overregulation? Debating school choice	
	accountability. Brookings Brown Center Chalkboard Blog. January 12.	
	https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2017/01/12/oversight-or-	
	overregulation-debating-school-choice-accountability/	
Т	Case: Police reform in Chicago	
2/6	• BB. Executive Summary (pp. 1-21) of City of Chicago, Police Accountability Task	
	Force. 2016. Recommendations for Reform. https://chicagopatf.org/wp-	
	content/uploads/2016/04/PATF Final Report 4 13 16-1.pdf. Read into the details of	
	the report, as needed, to help clarify the policy proposals described on pp. 17-19.	

4.2. What is the bureaucracy, exactly?

Th	People
2/8	• Wilson. Ch. 1 Armies, prisons, schools; Ch. 2 Organization matters.
	• BB. Serial. 2015. Season Two: Episode 02. The Golden Chicken. Listen to the
	discussion from 34:50-44:00. https://serialpodcast.org/season-two/2/the-golden-
	chicken. This podcast describes the US military's efforts to search for U.S. Army
	soldier Bowe Bergdahl, who disappeared from his unit in Afghanistan and was captured
	by the Taliban.
	• BB. ABC News. 2016. Rikers Island officer describes what a day is like for him at the
	jail. May 18. http://abcnews.go.com/US/rikers-island-officer-describes-day-
	<u>jail/story?id=39173829</u> .
	• BB. Carnegie Corporation of New York. 2013. School Works. The Motivating
	Principal. May 3. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=00LJX3TRCIo
Т	People (cont.)
2/13	• Herman B. Leonard and Mark H. Moore. 2012. Ch. 5 [excerpt]. Pursuing public value:
	Frameworks for strategic analysis and action. In John D. Donahue and Mark H. Moore
	(eds.), Ports in a Storm: Public Management in a Turbulent World. pp. 84-105.
	• BB. Matt Appuzo et al. 2017. Comey tried to shield the FBI from politics. Then he
	shaped an election. New York Times, April 22.
	https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/22/us/politics/james-comey-election.html
Th	Government organizations
2/15	• Wilson. Ch. 9 Compliance.
	• BB. Reconsider the Blackboard sources from class on Th, 2/8. Think about how you
	could use Wilson's concepts in Ch. 9 to describe the managerial work in those
	multimedia features.

Friday, 2/16 – BLOG POST #1 DUE BY 5PM

Т	Government organizations in networks
2/20	• Meier & O'Toole. Ch. 2 Democracy and political control of the bureaucracy; Ch. 3 Structural barriers to political control.
	• BB. Paul C. Light. 2017. The True Size of Government: Tackling Washington's
	Blended Workforce, 1984-2015. New York: The Volcker Alliance. Read pp. 1-4 and
	26-31. https://www.volckeralliance.org/sites/default/files/attachments/
	Issue%20Paper_True%20Size%20of%20Government.pdf
Th	Challenges to network management
2/22	• Wilson. Ch. 10 Turf; Ch. 12 Innovation.
	• BB. Martha Derthick. 2007. Where federalism didn't fail. <i>Public Administration</i>
	Review. Vol. 67. Special Issue on Administrative Failure in the Wake of Hurricane
	Katrina: 36-47.
Т	Criteria for allocating responsibility in public-private networks
2/27	• BB. Christopher K. Leman. 2002. Ch. 2 [excerpt]. Direct government. In Lester M.
	Salamon (ed.), The Tools of Government. pp. 48-49 and 61-64.
	• BB. Tim Shorrock. 2017. Why does WikiLeaks keep publishing U.S. state secrets:
	Private contractors. Washington Post. March 16
	https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2017/03/16/the-reason-wikileaks-
	receives-so-many-u-s-state-secrets-private-contractors/.
Th	MIDTERM EXAM IN CLASS
3/1	

Tuesday, March 6 and Thursday, March 8 – No class due to spring break.

4.3. What influences how bureaucrats think?

Т	Bounded rationality
3/13	 BB. Herbert A. Simon. 1997. Commentary on Chapter V [excerpt]: The psychology of administrative decisions. <i>Administrative Behavior (4th ed.)</i>. pp. 118-129. Hear Simon in his own words at this link: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ErnWbP_Wztk</u>. Wilson. Ch. 6 Culture.
	 BB. Ryan Welch and Jack Mewirther. 2017. Does military equipment make police more violent? <i>Washington Post</i>. June 30. <u>https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/30/does-military-equipment-lead-police-officers-to-be-more-violent-we-did-the-research/</u>.
Th	Circumstances and Beliefs
3/15	 Wilson. Ch. 2 Organizations (re-read pp. 25-27); Ch. 6 Culture (re-read pp. 109-110); Ch. 3 Circumstances; Ch. 4 Beliefs. BB. Charles S. Clark. n.d. Deconstructing the deep state. <i>Government Executive</i>.
	http://www.govexec.com/feature/gov-exec-deconstructing-deep-state/

Friday, March 16 – Withdraw deadline

Т	Race, gender, and representative bureaucracy
3/20	• Meier & O'Toole. Ch. 4 Political control versus bureaucratic values.
	• BB. Vicky M. Wilkins and Lael R. Keiser. 2006. Linking passive and active
	representation by gender: The case of child support agencies. Journal of Public
	Administration Research and Theory. 16(1): 87-102.
Th	Performance demands
3/22	• Meier & O'Toole. Ch. 5 Inside the bureaucracy: Principals, agents, and bureaucratic strategy.
	BB. Rebecca Williams [audio] and Mark Brush [written]. 2015. Expert says Michigan officials changed a Flint lead report to avoid federal action. Michigan Radio. November 5. <u>http://michiganradio.org/post/expert-says-michigan-officials-changed-flint-lead-report-avoid-federal-action</u> .

Friday, 3/23 – BLOG POST #2 DUE BY 5PM

Т	Ca	se: Federalism and marijuana laws in the US
3/27	٠	BB. James M. Cole, Deputy Attorney General. August 29, 2013. Memorandum for All
		United States Attorneys. Subject: Guidance Regarding Marijuana Enforcement.
		http://www.justice.gov/iso/opa/resources/3052013829132756857467.pdf.
	٠	BB. Jefferson B. Sessions, III, Attorney General. January 4, 2018. Memorandum for
		All United States Attorneys. Subject: Marijuana Enforcement.
		https://www.justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/1022196/download
	•	BB. Department of Justice. US Attorney's Office. District of Colorado. 2018. US
		Attorney Bob Troyer Issues Statement Regarding Marijuana Prosecutions in Colorado.
		January 4. https://www.justice.gov/usao-co/pr/us-attorney-bob-troyer-issues-statement-
		regarding-marijuana-prosecutions-colorado

4.4. How do other government institutions try to influence the bureaucracy?

Th	Executive branch
3/29	• Wilson. Ch. 14 Presidents.
	• BB. President Harry Truman. 1948. Executive Order 9981. July 26.
	https://www.trumanlibrary.org/9981a.htm
	• BB. Staff. n.d. [updated regularly] Tracking how many key positions Trump has filled
	so far. Washington Post. https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/trump-
	administration-appointee-tracker/database/?utm_term=.5abc1cbd23ea
Т	Legislative branch
4/3	• Wilson. Ch. 13 Congress.
	• BB. Sari Horwitz. 2017. No action by Congress or ATF on the device used in Las
	Vegas shooting. Washington Post. November 15.
	https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/no-action-by-congress-or-atf-
	on-the-device-used-in-las-vegas-shooting/2017/11/15/ed6e464e-c8b7-11e7-8321-
	481fd63f174d_story.html?utm_term=.e222ed26cb93
	• BB. ATF association letter on bump stocks: <u>www.vpc.org/wp-</u>
	content/uploads/2017/10/ATF-letter-on-bumpfire-2017.pdf
Th	Case: Presidential and congressional tug-of-war: Immigration policy debate
4/5	• BB. Max Ehrenfreund. 2014. Your complete guide to Obama's immigration executive
	action. Washingtonpost.com. November 20.
	https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2014/11/19/your-complete-guide-to-
	obamas-immigration-order/.
	• BB. Lyle Denniston. 2016. The immigration case, made simple. February 5.
	http://www.scotusblog.com/2016/02/the-immigration-case-made-simple/
	• BB. Brief for the Petitioners [this is the U.S. Government's argument in the case
	supporting Obama's actions]. Filed March 1, 2016. <u>http://www.scotusblog.com/wp-</u>
	content/uploads/2016/03/15-674tsUnitedStates.pdf. Focus on pp. 2-12 and 73-76.
	• BB. Brief for the Respondents [this is the brief from Texas and the other states that have
	challenged Obama's actions]. Filed March 28, 2016. <u>http://www.scotusblog.com/wp-</u> <u>content/uploads/2016/03/15-674_ts_Texas.pdf</u> . Focus on pp. 2-14 and 71-76
Т	Judicial branch
4/10	Wilson, Ch. 15 Courts.
-+/1U	
	• BB. Brown v. Plata. <i>The Oyez Project</i> . <u>https://www.oyez.org/cases/2010/09-1233</u> . Read the brief summary of the case on this page and then, in the left-hand column on the page,
	listen to the audio of the opinion announcement, Part 1 (Justice Kennedy reporting the
	ruling) and Part 2 (Justice Scalia's dissent from the ruling).
	runng) and r art 2 (Justice Scana's dissent noni die runng).

4.5 How does the public interact with the bureaucracy?

Th	Organized interests
4/12	• Wilson. Ch. 5 Interests; Ch. 11 [excerpt] Strategies (read pp. 202-205)
	• BB. Emily Atkin. 2017. For sale: Endangered tigers. <i>The New Republic</i> . July 3.
	https://newrepublic.com/article/143425/sale-endangered-tigers-will-perform-food
Т	Rulemaking and attentive publics
4/17	• BB. Jason Webb Yackee and Susan Webb Yackee. 2006. A bias towards business?
	Assessing interest group influence on the U.S. bureaucracy. Journal of Politics 68(1):
	128-139.

Th	Participatory bureaucracy
4/19	• BB. Susan M. Moffitt. 2014. Preface (pp. xi-xiv); Ch. 8 [excerpt] The impact of public
	advice (pp. 204-215). Making Policy Public: Participatory Bureaucracy in American
	Democracy.

Friday, 4/20 – BLOG POST #3 OR POLICY MEMO DUE BY 5PM

Т	Administrative burden
4/24	• BB. Donald Moynihan, Palema Herd, and Hope Harvey. 2015. Administrative burden:
	Learning, psychological, and compliance costs in citizen-state interactions. Journal of
	Public Administration, Research, and Theory 25(1): 43-69. [NOTE: Read pp. 43-53
	(stop before the section on Medicaid in Wisconsin)]
	• BB. Luke O'Brien and Christopher Mathias. 2017. The rise and stall of the Fourth
	Reich. How do you stop Nazis? Long lines. Huffington Post. November 13.
	https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/long-lines-nazi-
	<u>rally_us_5a061252e4b01d21c83e7da4?ncid=inblnkushpmg00000009</u>
Th	Some generalizations
4/26	• Wilson, Ch. 20 Bureaucracy and the public interest.
	• Meier & O'Toole, Ch. 6. Democracy, bureaucracy, and modern governance. Required:
	pp. 121-125 and 131-138. Optional: pp. 145-152. This optional section will be of
	interest to those of you who are considering pursuing further research in areas related to
	our work this semester.

4.6 Final exam schedule

You must take the exam with your regular section unless you clear a change with me first.

- GOVT 351-01 (12:30pm section): Wednesday, May 2, 9:00am-12:00noon
- GOVT 351-02 (2:00pm section): Thursday, May 3, 2:00-5:00pm