A note on known unknowns:

This syllabus has been prepared at a time when we are planning to have normal processes for class instruction, based on encouraging trends about transmission of SARS-Coronavirus 2 in our part of the country. I therefore am expecting to teach in a classroom, and will be very happy if all students can attend that way. I may need, however, to enable Zoom participation by some students, and if so that will make discussion more difficult because students on Zoom cannot easily hear what the students in the room say. If we have students participating by Zoom, we will have to work together to make that work as well as possible for everyone. In the department of things one shouldn’t tempt fate by saying, I will be very surprised if we have to close down campus again. Yet I would not be surprised if conditions worsen enough that students are told not to return after Thanksgiving break, or that at least is made optional. We shall see…

Course Description:

The field of political science focuses mostly on fights about what governments will do, or conflicts between governments. This course focuses on how governments, particularly governments in the United States, do their work. That is often called "public administration," or "implementation," or "bureaucratic politics." It involves the behavior of what James Q. Wilson calls government "operators" such as teachers, police, public health doctors, agricultural extension agents, grant administrators and project managers. That in turn depends on their own values; on conflict among political authorities who seek to direct the operators; on the processes of coordination through communication and authority within a government organization, and on what is needed to perform specific tasks. The effects of government action then depend further on responses from outside the government agency: such as whether corporations accept or try to evade environmental regulations, citizens wear masks to limit transmission of a deadly virus, or Medicare regulations about how many hours hospital residents can work during a week lead to better or worse training of those physicians (and treatment of hospital patients).

This course can only introduce how government organizations, usually called “agencies,” work. That is a huge topic and the course will cover only a modest portion of what I consider important. From one perspective, in order to understand government agencies we need to understand all of the pressures – the demands and constraints – they face. That is virtually the same as understanding all of American politics. We will have readings on many of those influences, but lots will be left out.

How government agencies work also depends greatly on what the particular agency does. Launching manned and unmanned missions into space (NASA) is very different from teaching fifth grade math in the Cleveland Metropolitan School District, which in turn is very different from the Food and Drug Administration deciding whether to approve prescribing a pharmaceutical drug and if so for what indications, which in turn is very different from the various tasks of Immigration and Customs
Enforcement. From this perspective, generalizations about how “government agencies” work are bound to be misleading. Even the core constraints that apply to almost all agencies will vary across governments or with different statutes in the same government or due to differences between agencies’ clients or rivals. We cannot understand “doing government work” without realizing that there are both similarities and differences among agencies, for important reasons.

In my view, and so the course’s perspective, learning about how government works has two dimensions. One is learning analytic perspectives or tools – generalizations. For example, we will look at ideas about the nature of authority, or whether there is a difference between policy-making and administration, or how whether managers can observe what the “operators” do affects the ability to manage. The other dimension is applying the generalizations to cases. Those applications help us understand what the generalizations really mean – and the circumstances in which they apply better or do not work so well. In my ideal course, therefore, we would both learn the literature about major aspects of government organizations and study lots of specific organizations.

We will get some variety from examples in the reading. But we can’t look at a lot of organizations in any depth because that would require a much, much longer course. I could assign students to each look at different agencies, but then there would be little sharing of information – individual students would each learn only about one.

For this class, therefore, I am taking a different approach to choosing examples to emphasize: we will focus on one type of government agency that has received a great deal of attention recently. We can learn together about that case and how it illustrates various themes in the reading, while trying to figure out how it is particularly difficult.

There are two obviously timely possibilities: government response to COVID-19, and the use of force by police, particularly deadly force. I have chosen to focus on police for a few reasons. First, if I want to teach about COVID, I can do that in POSC383/483, and would prefer that students be able to take both this course and that one without having quite so much overlap. Second, the difficulties of policing are one of the classic topics in the study of administration. Use of force in particular is an issue that rises to prominence at irregular intervals. The fact that it doesn’t get “solved” (though it gets worse or better) makes it a good example of fundamental challenges in doing government work.

Third, the various explanations of what in retrospect seems excessive force illustrate many of the important aspects of how government work is done. For example, we will see claims about underlying values of the government operators (e.g. police officer racism); the effects of how operators are trained (e.g. to fear for their lives); the nature of their tasks (e.g. there is real danger); how technology changes behavior and results (such as police shifting from carrying traditional revolvers with six separate chambers to carrying pistols with clips of 15 bullets); how specific procedures create potential for conflict (e.g. the effects of doing lots of traffic stops); how incentives from management shape behavior (e.g. counting activity such as stops and arrests); the structure of public pressure or demands (such as that aggressive policing in heavily black cities was demanded, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, by black public officials desperate to reduce crime); the nature and effects of interactions with the people an agency is supposed to serve (e.g. refusals to cooperate with investigations, or hostility to officers, whether deserved or not); and environmental conditions that need to be considered to understand differences between policing, and its results, in the United States and other countries (such as that a heck of a lot more Americans than Italians or French people or English people own guns).
To summarize, the reading for this course will focus on the general difficulties of organization; the peculiar conditions faced by government agencies in the United States; and one particularly prominent example. There are a number of topics that I consider very important but unfortunately cannot be covered. But I doubt many students will want more material.

In addition to the substantive content, this course is also designed to fulfill the university’s requirements for a SAGES departmental seminar. The department of political science views departmental seminars as an opportunity for students to carefully investigate core issues of the field. The SAGES program’s emphasis on writing is supposed to be extended, in department seminars, to norms of writing within particular disciplines. Departmental seminars also should provide an introduction to oral presentation of a student’s work. The assignments for this course are intended to satisfy those objectives.

**The Topic**

“Bureaucracy” is nowhere popular. Criticisms of bureaucracy as inefficient or uncaring, and “bureaucrats” as slothful or self-serving, are staples of American political rhetoric. When we hear about government agencies, and actually notice their names, it is often because they seem to have screwed up to some major extent.

In political science courses, we seek to explain the political world. That begins with correcting views that normally are quite common in the wider society. The common view of "government bureaucracy" is misguided both in its view of complex organizations in general and its view of government organizations in particular. Therefore two goals of this course are:

* Learning Objective 1: To increase understanding of organizational behavior and performance in general, beyond simplistic notions about "bureaucracy."

* Learning Objective 2: To help students understand how the political context of government in the United States shapes the behavior of government agencies in particular.

The challenges of organizing to do government work are a subset of the more general topic of how people organize to do anything. Early in this course we therefore will read some classic work within the general field of “organization theory” – “classic” here being defined as “old stuff that Professor White thinks is really good or important, and lots of other scholars agree.” One of the core questions for the academic field of public administration, however, is whether something about government work means that the challenges of organizing are fundamentally different.

Some scholars and merchants of management theory insist that the same tools, such as principal-agent theory or various books on leadership, are useful for both public and private organizations. In many cases their position is that if government organizations are different, that is an unnecessary weakness due to “politics,” and the solution is to do as much as possible through contracting with private organizations motivated by profit – or for government to just do less. On the other side are scholars who argue, in one famous (in the field) phrase, that “public and private management are fundamentally alike in all unimportant respects.” They would emphasize, for example, that the fact that government organizations are created through processes of representative government with unique powers of coercion and to serve a wide range of values means that they must be different from private organizations both in how they relate to people outside the organization and how they are managed internally. “Politics” is a feature, not a bug.
My own position is that many of the challenges for government organizations are similar to those for private ones, but that government in general is much more difficult – public and private management differ in fundamentally important respects. One goal of this course, therefore, is to help students understand organization in general, and the major difficulties of government organization in particular. Sometimes government agencies succeed or fail for reasons that could also apply to private organizations. Sometimes they succeed or fail because of the peculiar conditions of government. I say both succeed and fail because there are many tasks that, it seems only government will perform well – which is why we rely on government to perform them.

The behavior and performance of any organization depends on its internal characteristics, aspects of its environment (such as how easy it is to gain resources), and the tasks it is trying to perform. The tasks are especially important not only because some things are harder than others, but because they determine what the organization needs from the environment and the kind of internal skills and division of labor that are necessary. Thus we have:

* Learning Objective 3: To understand how the success or failure of "bureaucracies" is shaped by their tasks.

Within the study of U.S. politics, however, we should study the behavior of government agencies for a much more basic reason. Everything government does works through some sort of administrative organization. Government in action means local bureaucracies such as schools, the police, the crews that maintain streets and the inspectors who check whether restaurants are sanitary; state bureaucracies that decide who will get a welfare check, that administer unemployment insurance and are supposed to ensure the safety of nursing homes; and national bureaucracies that mail checks to our elderly relatives, design and require nutrition labels on food products, or fight our wars. Therefore how public bureaucracies make decisions, and how they perform their tasks, is how government works for us, or on us. Therefore another goal of the course is:

* Learning Objective 4: To begin to form an understanding of U.S. politics, including governing institutions such as Congress and the Presidency and intermediary institutions like interest groups and parties, that is based on how institutions influence the performance of the government's "operators" – the people who do the work.

The material in this course addresses the politics of bureaucracies – how government bureaus act and how and why they differ. But there is also a politics about bureaucracy – a continual effort to reform and improve “how government works.” The politics of reform is particularly irritating because much the same ideas keep coming back, though often with somewhat different labels. There are two reasons for what can seem like an endless cycle of reform.

First, most of what passes for "common sense" about both organizations and government is wrong, so many reform proposals are wrong-headed. There is a systematic gap between how many people think about organizations and how organizations do or can work. As a result, reform ideas are policy zombies – they can't die because they fit "common sense" (such as "government should run like a business") but can't live because the "common sense" is wrong (in some fundamental ways, most government activities cannot and should not be run like a business). Second, people in the political system want the bureaucracy to satisfy goals that contradict each other, such as "neutral competence" and "executive leadership." So another reason for endless reform is that different goals are prioritized at different times. No form of organization maximizes all values. Hence we have:
Learning Objective 5: To begin to understand the sources and results of attempts to reform the public service in the United States.

Assignments:

The written work for this course will include three book reviews, two quizzes, and one class presentation about supplementary reading for a specific day. Students are also expected to come to class prepared to discuss the course materials. I may ask individual students to lead off class discussion by posing questions or making observations.

Book Review Assignments

Many political science courses require a research paper. Even though that is a common form of disciplinary writing, this course will not. Instead, this course will emphasize another form of writing: review of someone else’s book or books.

Book reviews can have multiple purposes, but all reviews do some of the same things. They explain to the reader what is in the book. In order to do so without just repeating the book, the reviewer decides what aspects of the book are particularly important for readers to understand. In making this selection, the reviewer makes a judgment about what is already known or at least believed about the topic – such as political Islam, or democratization, or health care reform – and so how the book she is reviewing contributes to knowledge. The reviewer may conclude the book makes important contributions and explain why interested readers of the review should read the book; the reviewer may conclude that the book is dead wrong because it is invalidated by better work in the field, so tell readers of the review not to waste their time reading the book; or something in between.

A book review therefore is a service to the community of scholars. There are too many books to read, so good reviews help us winnow the field – or notice work we would have ignored because we just can’t keep track of everything. Many journals have a book review section, and some are dedicated mainly to reviews, because this is so helpful.

But a book review is also a version of what we all do – what you all should do – when you read a book (or article, or chapter). The question about any information is what it adds to your understanding. Your understanding is like a house that is built brick-by-brick. Sometimes a book or other work helps you add a virtual room to the building. Sometimes it forces you to tear down part of the structure you had already constructed. Sometimes you conclude, “this material is flawed, I won’t use it.”

The book review assignments therefore have three broad goals. The first is to give you practice in thinking hard about how material adds (hopefully) to your knowledge. The second is to practice one form of analysis that is often part of larger research papers – namely, a literature review. The third is to have you write for an audience. The audience, in this case, is a rather specialized one: your classmates and me. You can assume that, at a minimum, we have a baseline of shared knowledge: the class readings as of the time you are writing the assignment. Hence the class material is the “what is already known or at least believed about the topic” to which your review should refer. Before you do any reviews, we will read some examples and I will try to provide further explanation of the task.
Books to be reviewed.

For the first assignment, all students will review the same book, *Tangled Up in Blue: Policing the American City* by Rosa Brooks (New York: Penguin Press, 2021). Brooks, a Professor of Law at Georgetown, discovered that the D.C. Metropolitan Police Department has a Reserve Officer program – sort of like the National Guard but for police, requiring a version of basic training and then work for three 8-hour shifts each month. This is very unusual, and she decided to seize the opportunity to, “in my forties, with two children, a spouse, a dog, a mortgage, and a full-time job as a tenured law professor… become a cop” (p4). It is rare enough for someone with those aspects of her background to make such a choice, and you will see that she had a very hard time explaining it to colleagues and some members of her family. But she had spent a lot of time doing participant/observer research in some other dangerous situations, and I think the book provides a useful introduction to the world of policing. Your reviews of this book will be due on **October 4**.

For the second assignment, all students will review a second book, also about policing. This is Jerome H. Skolnick and James J. Fyfe, *Above the Law: Police and the Excessive Use of Force* (New York: The Free Press, 1993). This book provides an overview of the issue through a mix of history, sociology, and political analysis that to my mind fits very nicely with the perspectives on bureaucracy offered by this course. We’ll see what you think! These papers will be due on **November 29**, at the beginning of class, and discussed in class on that day and possibly a bit on December 1 as well.

For the third assignment, students will review one of seven books, of which only one is about policing. Your choices are:


These books involve somewhat different aspects of agency performance. You will make your own judgments about how they link to the class material, but as a first cut, it seems fair to say that:
* Balla and Gormley provide a “what should we think about all this?” cap to the course, asking questions that, I hope, you will be better able to analyze after taking this course than before.

* Derthick addresses how agency organization and culture that fit one task can fit very poorly when the agency gets a quite different task.

* Forman provides a powerful account of the reasons for aggressive policing, which is particularly relevant to the extent of “political control of the bureaucracy” – or to put this another way, to representativeness and accountability.

* Lambright provides an account of executive leadership within an agency, and both how much a good leader can accomplish and how even highly skilled leaders can have problems.

* Mahler with Casamayou addresses the idea that organizations “learn” – and in this case, forget. Arguably some of the causes of the Columbia accident are a lot like the causes of the Challenger disaster. Why? What does it mean for organizations to “know” something, and how does that happen?

* Payne and Ravitch provide somewhat different perspectives on the challenges facing public schools, a type of government agency that faces challenges almost as severe and important as the challenge of policing. Ravitch in particular addresses a major reform theme, managing by measuring; while Payne may especially highlight how the difficulties of a task shape performance.

These reviews will be due on **December 14 at 7:00 p.m.** Students will also make oral presentations about their reviews during a class gathering in the time slot reserved for final examinations: **Noon-3:00 p.m. on December 15.** Since that is the last day of the exam period, I am sure many students would prefer to leave campus before then. Therefore, *the presentations on December 15 will be via a Zoom meeting.* Each student will have about eight minutes to present her analysis of the book she has read. I hope this will leave a bit of time for discussion of each book after the students who read it have made their presentations.

I will also ask each student to provide comments on presentations, which will remain anonymous. I will collate comments about each presentation, add my own comments, and send those to each student. The oral presentation will not be graded except if it is extremely good or you totally blow it off, in which case it could count as a plus or minus to the final grade. But the presentation and comments are mandatory.

**Quizzes:**

There will be two quizzes, the first about the reading to that point and the second about the reading since the first quiz. For each quiz I will distribute study questions either during the previous class or the one before that. Each quiz will be for about 45 minutes, so the balance of that class period can be used for other purposes (probably lectures by me about the topics we will address next). Each quiz will provide some choice of questions. The questions will be short answers designed to assess understanding of concepts in the reading. The quizzes will be administered on **September 22 and November 3.**
Supplemental Reading Presentations

One of the goals of any seminar is for students to engage in the readings and learn from each other. Related to this, it’s important to keep the professor from talking all the time. In addition, there is far more material that I consider interesting and relevant than I can reasonably ask you to read.

For all these reasons, on many days we will have supplementary readings. Students may read them because they are useful, but they will not be covered in the course quizzes. In each case, however, I think all students could learn from the material in that reading. Therefore, I will ask one or two students for each reading to make an oral presentation to their classmates about what the reading argues or covers, and how that fits into the rest of the course material and especially the other readings for that day. These presentations should be eight minutes long. Each student should also submit to me a 500-word essay about that reading by 10 p.m. the day before their presentation. This will give me a chance to comment on what they are planning to say in case that might be useful to them for making some changes.

Extra Work for Graduate Students

According to university regulations, in any class that includes both undergraduate and graduate students, graduate students must have more extensive assignments. Therefore students registered for POSC 485 will be required to write longer book reviews, as indicated by the minimum word expectations below.

General Expectations

This course is a cooperative endeavor. For my part, I will strive to provide guidance, direction, and thoughtful evaluation. For your part, you should strive to be an active, contributing participant in the joint venture. YOU MUST COMPLETE ALL ASSIGNMENTS TO RECEIVE A GRADE FOR THIS COURSE.

Plagiarism or other evident examples of academic fraud, such as cheating by looking at another student’s quiz paper, will be punished by receiving a grade of zero on that assignment and, if I believe it appropriate, referral to university disciplinary proceedings. If you are confused about what plagiarism involves, please see https://researchguides.case.edu/avoid-plagiarism

All students are expected to attend and participate in class discussion. Discussion will focus on the reading: what it means, how it might be applied, and why you may or may not believe a particular argument or distinction.

Summary of Assignments and Grading Plan
(word length for graduate students in parentheses)

- September 22: First quiz, 14%
- October 4: First book review, Brooks book, 14%. Should be no less than 1500 (2000) words
- November 3: Second quiz, 14%
- Assorted Dates: Supplemental Reading Presentation, 8%
- December 14/15: Final book review, 20%. Should be no less than 2000 (2.500) words.
- Class Participation: 10%
My grading calculations are on a +/- basis. Your individual assignments may be graded with pluses or minuses or even as a borderline (e.g. “A-/B+”). The final grade, as required by college rules, will be reported as an “A” or “B” or whatever. But my calculations will include much more variation.

Grading Participation: In my grading rules, active participation can only help your grade. I know that some students worry about saying something “dumb” or “wrong” in class, so tend to be quiet. There is no such thing as a dumb question. If you’re confused by something, somebody else is, too. I don’t imagine that everything I say is crystal clear, both because I’m not perfect and because the material can be hard. After all, much of what you will learn in this course differs from what most people believe. Participation is valuable simply to keep discussion going and move the class along, and professors tend to appreciate it for that reason – at least I do. What I look for in discussion is that students are engaging the material and wrestling with it.

So long as you attend class, the discussion portion of your grade will not reduce your overall grade. That is, if you have a "B" in other work, and meet the attendance standards, your discussion grade will be either a "B" or higher. Particularly good participation will receive an "A", and so can only help you earn the best overall grade.

You are expected, however, to attend class. Any student who misses more than six class sessions, without a documented and approved excuse, will have their participation grade reduced by one whole grade (e.g., B- instead of A-). A student who misses more than ten class sessions without appropriate documented and approved reasons would have their participation score penalized by two whole grades (e.g. C instead of A). A student who misses more than fifteen class sessions without appropriate documented and approved reasons will receive an "F" for the participation portion of the course grade.

Obtaining the Readings

Three assigned books for this course may be purchased at the university bookstore, or elsewhere:


I also recommend that, if possible, you buy a copy of James Q. Wilson, Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It (New York: Basic Books, 1989). I will copy a bunch of chapters assigned below and put them on the course Canvas cite; but it remains the best book on government (especially federal government) agencies in the U.S., and I consider it the most useful book for understanding the federal government as a whole. So it’s worth the money ($25.99 on Amazon).

The Annals volume for the second book review is something I would not expect you to purchase (such things are pricey). So I have printed out all the articles and will have them in a module on the course Canvas site. But you will need to obtain the books for the third book review assignment.
In addition to Wilson, there are three other books and two journal issues from which I am assigning multiple chapters as required or supplemental readings. In the listing below I will refer to them in shorthand, rather than continually repeating bibliographic information. So those are:


Readings will be posted on the course Canvas site in two orders. First, these five sources, with Wilson first and then in alphabetical order from Annals to SST). Then, in order of the dates for which they are assigned.

Because this is a seminar course, I strongly urge you to bring copies of each day’s assigned reading to that class.

**SCHEDULE of CLASS MEETINGS and ASSIGNMENTS**

**August 23**: Organizational meeting. Discussion of syllabus and short lecture on the topic.

**August 25**: Organization Matters
   SST, Foreword to reissue of *Public Administration*, pages 11-20 of “Front Matter”
   Wilson, Chapters 1-2, pages 3-28.

**August 30**: Classic Perspectives on Public Administration

**September 1**: Book Reviews in the Study of Politics
   Selected examples on course Canvas site.
**September 6:** Labor Day, No Class

**September 8:** Misunderstanding Government
  Michael Lewis, *The Fifth Risk*
  Students must choose their dates to report on supplemental readings by today.

**September 13:** Internal Organization Structure
  SST Chapter 7, “Dividing the Work: Specialization Among Organization Units,” pp 150-179
  Henry Mintzberg, “The Power Game and the Players” (excerpt from Hyde and Shafritz, pp473-480)
  Students must have made their book review choices by today.

**September 15:** Authority
  SST Chapter 8, “Securing Teamwork: Authority” and Chapter 9, “Securing Teamwork: The Structure of Authority and Status,” pp 180-217
  **Supplemental Reading:** Excerpt from Chester Barnard on executive work, pp 174-186 from Mosher, *Basic Literature of American Public Administration, 1787-1950.*

**September 20:** Communication and “Coordination”
  **Supplemental Reading:** Chase and Reveal, Prologue section by Allison and Moore plus Chapter 1, pp 8-18.

**September 22:** First Quiz
  After quiz, Professor White will talk about the coursework to follow.

**September 27:** Introduction to Policing: From Outside and Inside
  Brooks, Parts 1 and 2, so through age 138.

**September 29:** Policing in Practice (one perspective)
  Brooks, Part 3 through page 218

**October 4:** First Book Review
  Complete Brooks book and submit review by 9:00 a.m. We will discuss the reviews, and book, in class.

**October 6:** Agencies and Their Tasks
  **Supplemental Reading:** Wilson Chapter 4, “Beliefs,” pp 50-71

**October 11:** Restrictions on Agency and Agency Manager Autonomy

October 13: “Street-Level Bureaucrats”

October 18: Regulatory Power and Regulatory Weakness

October 20: “Culture”

October 25: A Dominant Theme of Reform: Managing for “Performance”

October 27: Who Is (or Should Be) In Charge?

November 1: Federalism
Supplemental Reading: Laurie O. Robinson, “Five Years after Ferguson: Reflection on Police Reform and What’s Ahead.” Annals, pp. 228-239.

November 3: Second Quiz
Professor White then will lecture to describe some of the factors that might influence policing that we will not be able to cover or will barely cover in the rest of the course. This is a complex topic…
November 5: An Overview of Policing

November 8: This is Hard and Complicated

**PAR 2017**, pages 158-167 (symposium introduction articles) and:

**Supplemental Reading:** Harold A. Pollack and Keith Humphreys, “Reducing Violent Incidents between Police Officers and People with Psychiatric or Substance Use Disorders.” *Annals*, pp. 166-184.

November 10: Bias or Procedures?


November 15: The Police in the Community and as a Community
Two articles from *Vox* (in one file on Canvas): Dylan Matthews, “How police unions became so powerful – and how they can be tamed” (June 24, 2020); German Lopez, “Why police unions protect the worst cops” (December 18, 2014).
Matthew Yglesias, “The End of Policing left me convinced we still need policing.” *Vox* (June 18, 2020)

**Supplemental Reading:** Steven Greenhouse, “How Police Unions Enable and Conceal Abuses of Power,” *The New Yorker* (June 18, 2020).
November 17: Perception, Performance and Support
  Chase Chapter 6, “The Manager and the Media,” pp. 145-175.
  Supplemental Reading: Chase Chapter 5, “Managers, Communities, Special Interests,” pp. 117-144.

November 22: Legitimacy

November 24: No Class because it’s the day before Thanksgiving.
  If students wish, I can set up a Zoom meeting for the class period and use it for questions about the course or assignments.

November 29: Reviews of Skolnick and Frye, Above the Law
  Reviews should be submitted by e-mail to Professor White by 9:00 a.m. today. We will discuss the reviews, and book, in class.

December 1: Concluding Discussion

December 14: Third Book Reviews Should Be Submitted by E-mail by 7:00 p.m.

December 15: Class Zoom Meeting to Present Book Reviews, Noon – 3:00 p.m.