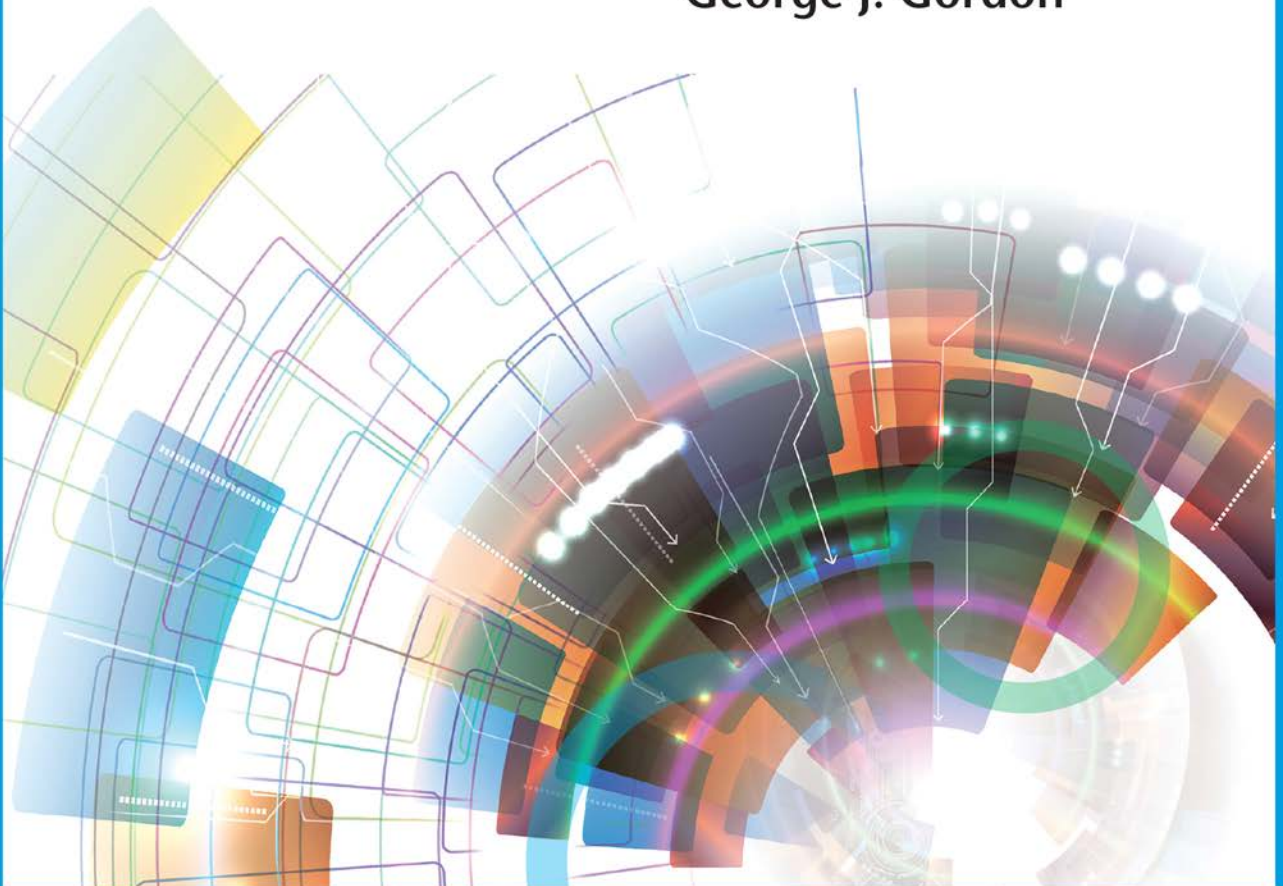**Twelfth Edition**

Public Administration in America

Michael E. Milakovich
George J. Gordon

Twelfth Edition

Public Administration in America

Michael E. Milakovich
University of Miami, Florida

George J. Gordon
Illinois State University

❖ CENGAGE

Australia • Brazil • Canada • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

This is an electronic version of the print textbook. Due to electronic rights restrictions, some third party content may be suppressed. Editorial review has deemed that any suppressed content does not materially affect the overall learning experience. The publisher reserves the right to remove content from this title at any time if subsequent rights restrictions require it. For valuable information on pricing, previous editions, changes to current editions, and alternate formats, please visit www.cengage.com/highered to search by ISBN#, author, title, or keyword for materials in your areas of interest.

Important Notice: Media content referenced within the product description or the product text may not be available in the eBook version.

Public Administration in America,
Twelfth Edition
Michael E. Milakovich and George J. Gordon

SVP, Higher Education Product Management: Erin Joyner

VP, Product Management, Learning Experiences: Thais Alencar

Product Director: Laura Ross

Product Manager: Lauren Gerrish

Product Assistant: Martina Umunna

Content Manager: Manoj Kumar, Lumina Datamatics Limited

Digital Delivery Quality Partner: Liz Newitt

Product Marketing Manager: Valerie Hartman

IP Analyst: Deanna Ettinger

IP Project Manager: Nick Barrows

Production Service: Lumina Datamatics Limited

Designer: Sarah Cole

Cover and Interior Image Source: Ornithopter/Shutterstock.com

For product information and technology assistance, contact us at
**Cengage Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706
or support.cengage.com.**

For permission to use material from this text or product, submit all requests online at **www.cengage.com.**

Cengage is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with employees residing in nearly 40 different countries and sales in more than 125 countries around the world. Find your local representative at **www.cengage.com.**

To learn more about Cengage platforms and services, register or access your online learning solution, or purchase materials for your course, visit **www.cengage.com.**

To Cindy, Nicole, Tiffany,
and to the memory of Beth and Eli M. Milakovich

—M.E.M.

To the memory of my parents,
Theodore H. Gordon and Beryl B. Gordon;
Roscoe C. Martin; and Hibbert R. Roberts;
and to Myra, Dan, and Rachel

—G.J.G.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Preface

When the first edition of this book was published more than a generation ago, the role of government and public administration in America was rapidly changing in response to complex and often uncertain national and global political challenges. Then as now, the United States faced difficult domestic and international challenges and relied on its appointed and elected officials, especially chief executives, for leadership. Since then, we have been led and are being led by eight different presidents, four Democrats and four Republicans, each with vastly different experiences, ideologies and visions for the nation's current and future needs, each with sharply divergent policy priorities.

President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981), a Democrat, became enmeshed in Middle East conflicts and tried unsuccessfully to use military force to free American citizens who were being held hostage in Iran. In 1980, Carter lost the White House to Ronald Reagan (1981-1989), a Republican and a highly influential voice of modern conservatism, was credited with negotiating freedom for the hostages and later received credit for ending the Cold War with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union collapsed soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the United States entered a new phase of nuclear disarmament and (seeming) peaceful coexistence with Russia. Focus on foreign policy issues began to shift to concerns about domestic human rights.

The national government became more actively involved in enforcing civil and voting rights laws in southern states in the U.S., where there was (and continues to be) considerable resistance to changes mandated by the national government that go against prevailing cultural and social values. Bolstered by Supreme Court rulings, Congress increased appropriations to accomplish these policy goals, as well as many others. Concurrently, presidential powers expanded with the need to respond to human-made and natural disasters, cope with economic downturns, and respond to military crises. Congressional cooperation with chief executives varied, and presidential policy initiatives were promoted or resisted by the mass media, organized lobbies, or various public interest groups; the image and prestige of individual chief executives were damaged and enhanced by how well policies were implemented or crises averted. Ronald Reagan was succeeded by his Vice-President, George H.W. Bush (1989-1993), who served just one term before being defeated by Democrat Bill Clinton (1993-2001). Then as now, presidential decision-making procedures and the advisory roles played by high-level appointed officials were vital to success or failure of public policies.

The period 2001–2009 saw dramatic changes in the collective life of the United States that in many respects were unprecedented—and largely unanticipated. When George W. Bush assumed office in January of 2001, the twin towers of the World Trade Center stood tall on the skyline of New York City—who even thought twice about that? For that matter, how many of us, early in 2001, paid much attention to a foreign organization known as al-Qaeda? There was no Department of Homeland

Security, no Office of the Director of National Intelligence, no Transportation Security Administration, and no long lines of passengers waiting to check in at airports. The price of gasoline was one-third of the levels reached in 2021. The national debt—always a matter of some concern— stood at $5 trillion in 2001, rose to $12 trillion by fiscal year (FY) 2010, and has reached nearly $30 trillion now. The powers of the national government's executive branch, while larger than in the past, had not yet expanded to their present scope. And the responsibilities of national, state, and local administrators had not yet grown at what has become the most rapid pace since the New Deal era of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s and 1940s. All these events set the stage for new challenges—and perhaps new opportunities—for our governments generally, and for the Biden-Harris administration in particular.

The close of the George W. Bush administration and the term of office of Barack Obama as our 44th president and Joe Biden as our 47th vice president marked a significant transition in recent U.S. history. President Obama (2009-2017) made a concerted effort to improve the global standing of the United States, with some notable successes. However, he also faced foreign policy challenges such as pro-democracy popular revolts in the Middle East, prevention of terrorist acts against American citizens, and disengagement from the war in Afghanistan. Although these efforts did not forestall another ten years of engagement in Afghanistan/the Middle East, the most widely-acclaimed foreign policy success of the Obama administration, of course, was the killing of Osama Bin Laden in 2011.

Politically, the Obama administration was hampered by the "Great Recession" of 2007-2009 which cut deeply into his political support, and in large measure contributed to a Republican takeover of the U.S. House of Representatives in 2010. As this sequence of events demonstrated, the ability of presidents to implement their ongoing policy agendas is hampered by congressional opposition on all matters relating to the national government budget, not to mention the continuing efforts being made to repeal—or at least sharply curtail the impacts of—government regulation and healthcare reforms (among other policy disputes). Because public administration operates within both a formal institutional setting of government *and* a context of political support, the developments of the past decade are important to understand as we begin our study of the subject.

The presidential election of 2016 brought to the Oval Office a Republican businessman with a conservative agenda and no experience in either politics or government. Although Republican Donald J. Trump received almost three million fewer votes than his Democratic opponent, New York Senator and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, he secured enough votes in the Electoral College to win the presidency. The primary factor leading to the rejection of Trump by voters four years later was weak leadership from his administration at the beginning of, and throughout, the coronavirus pandemic. Trump's lack of understanding of the seriousness of the pandemic early on led to a failure to deploy proactive preventive tactics, and arguably contributed to hundreds of thousands of deaths. Even after the pandemic was acknowledged, Americans continued to receive conflicting messaging from Trump and his team and, at times, blatant misinformation regarding the origins and nature of COVID-19.

Not surprisingly, the Biden-Harris ticket centered their campaign on COVID-19, notably criticizing the Trump administration's seeming indifference to the

pandemic and heavily emphasizing how they would use government to handle the crisis in America. Biden won the election and pledged to "Build Back Better" using all the administrative resources available to the president. Ironically, one of his administration's major ongoing challenges was the resurgence of the Delta variant of the COVID-19 virus spread by unvaccinated individuals (primarily in states that supported Trump), followed by the emergence of the Omicron variant in late 2021.

The theme that ties all these actions, events, and policies together is the need to anticipate and effectively respond to change, with clear lines of command-and-control authority and with necessary resources. Our capacity to respond to unanticipated change is even more important today than it was in 1980, when the national government spent less than one-fifth of the more than $6 trillion now appropriated annually. The Soviet Union presented a unified and identifiable threat to our national security, as opposed to the diverse and fragmented dangers presented today by rogue states and terrorist groups. Yet, despite the heightened risk of international terrorism, the total percentage of revenue collected by all governments in America has not changed substantially—it is still about one-third of all the goods and services produced by our economy, leaving two-thirds in the hands of the private sector (refer to Chapter 8). Nonetheless, policies, programs and regulatory actions funded by national government fees, taxes, and similar actions – and supported by the ebb and flow of revenue collected by states and local governments – can have major consequences for individuals, institutions, and local communities.

If anything, the challenges facing administrators today have become even more daunting, requiring more effective expenditures of scarcer public resources and increased commitment from all public servants. Public administration provides most of the critical human resources—and the management capability—to try to prevent, respond to, and recover from the worst effects of both human-caused and natural disasters. The COVID-19 pandemic presents the greatest challenge to governments' fundamental responsibility to "serve and protect" citizens since the Second World War. The belated response to the pandemic, and the need to socially distance required to prevent its spread, forced a massive shift in both personal and interpersonal activity, and resulted in the need to connect remotely. Unfortunately, the massive social changes from traditional in-person to digital life interactions have not been seamless. Not everyone in America has been able to transition to this new, remote digital age; many sub-groups and individuals are unable to "connect" and have been left behind in the fast-moving internet revolution. Among those most negatively affected are the disabled, the elderly, and less affluent citizens lacking access to faster broadband speeds.

This book is written for undergraduate and graduate students, interested citizens, government officials, and all others seeking to better understand how domestic and global challenges impact the applied practice and the academic field of public administration. The subject reflects multiple perspectives and has complex roots in many different academic disciplines as well as "real world" fields of endeavor. That by itself should alert the reader to one of the essential features of public administration: There are many sides to it, with a wide variety of complex issues, questions, practices, and themes that have commanded attention (both in and out of the field) for well over a century. Public administration is both a subject

for academic study and an increasingly challenging aspect of the overall processes of governing.

In the following pages, we discuss many themes and controversies of contemporary public administration and public policy. One recurring focus is on the distinction between the political and managerial aspects of the field, and the need to understand the importance of each. We also describe the continuing efforts of national, state, and local governments to realign, reorganize, and strengthen public-sector resources to maintain current services remotely, respond to economic crises and natural disasters, secure our borders, anticipate emerging needs and future challenges, and protect homeland security. We emphasize the need for more creative and innovative thinking; eliminating "unnecessary" internal regulations to enable public employees to do their best work; achieving results more effectively with fewer resources; linking citizens and government service providers with new broadband internet technologies; and serving government's "customers" efficiently and well. The need to sustain services and, at the same time, devote greater resources to protecting Americans from serious economic downturns, natural disasters and terrorist acts has resulted in substantial changes in the ways governments operate, and the results of those changes are visible throughout all aspects of American society.

Another related theme is the increased concern with ethics and integrity in both the selection of appointed and elected public officials and in decisions made by governmental institutions and agencies. This concern has intensified recently in both the private and public sectors, focusing on various types of ethical considerations that enter into corporate, political, and administrative decisions, as well as examining ways to promote more responsiveness and accountability on the part of public administrators. Numerous challenges face leaders and managers in public, private, and nonprofit service organizations. These include dealing with complex and sensitive environmental, human resources, and social justice issues; coping with budgetary and legal constraints; managing massive humanitarian relief efforts; applying the latest communication systems and information technologies; recruiting and maintaining a competent and respected workforce; delivering quality education and health care services; and ensuring high-level, measurable performance in government programs.

A final and interconnected theme is the exponential growth of information and communication technologies, remote work, and the improvement of performance management systems such as electronic and digital governance, to enhance public knowledge, improve access, increase government transparency, and facilitate new forms of interaction among citizens, elected officials, and public administrators. Today, previously unavailable network technologies are transforming the delivery of public services in ways not dreamt of just a few years ago. The expanded capacities of the internet, Global Positioning Systems (GPS), social media networking, and teleconferencing offer the potential for all citizens to participate in a much wider range of election-related and public-policy decision making. Relationships between citizens and governments are rapidly changing, making it more difficult (although far from impossible) for repressive regimes to control access to information and manipulate public opinion. New technologies also are being applied worldwide to achieve greater access to decision makers, debate public

issues, influence elections and voting, improve efficiency in government, and affect the outcomes of many important decisions. They also present challenges for public managers to make data networks secure, and to prevent unauthorized access to information now stored in larger, more vulnerable databases and shared files.

We also devote considerable attention to more specific management-related topics in the field. These include, among others, continuity and change in complex relationships among national, state, and local governments (Chapter 3); management challenges, organizational design changes, and leadership responsibilities in public organizations (Chapters 4, 5, 6); both old and new human relations management (that is, government personnel-related) concerns (Chapter 7); ongoing tensions in the budgetary process, including continuing attention to government spending and budget deficits (Chapter 8); implementation of various types of national, state, and local government policies (Chapter 9); government regulation and deregulation (Chapter 10); and the emergence of strong emphases on technology-enhanced government productivity, performance management, and customer service standards in the public sector (Chapter 11). In the concluding chapter (Chapter 12), we look back at the field, and attempt to integrate the various themes and subject matters covered in this text, as well as look ahead to emerging issues and concerns.

Twenty-First-Century Public Administration

There have been significant changes in the academic field of public administration, as well as in the practical world of government service, since the first edition of this book was published in 1978. What characterizes public administration in the twenty-first century is the scope and rapidity of change affecting virtually all aspects of governmental activity. The rapid integration and increasing use of technology is but one element of this transformation. Other considerations include the need to devote greater resources to combat terrorism, secure our borders, and protect citizens from the devastation caused by natural disasters; reexamine basic social values and government's role in promoting policies that reflect them (as inconsistent and often contradictory as those values might be); reconsider existing social-insurance and entitlement programs; rebuild decaying infrastructure; reassess government's responsibility to change social and economic environments; reemphasize serving citizens as "customers," measuring results, and encouraging job retraining to compete in global markets; counter the effects of outsourcing; and provide productive employment opportunities for all Americans. Also, very much with us are the need to develop new approaches to old budgetary dilemmas; engage in politically charged debates about how to curb massive budget deficits; promote freer trade; ensure that national government agencies can effectively respond to emergencies, maintain border security, and reform traditional intelligence procedures; to prevent further degradation of the environment from the effects of climate change; combat crime; ensure equal justice; and reform health care delivery systems (among many other things). State and local government officials must find new sources of revenue, assist national government agencies in the war on terrorism, develop their own emergency management procedures, and experiment with new approaches for delivering customer-focused services.

All public administrators must cope with widespread frustration among many citizens about government's capacities to both manage and successfully reform a diverse range of public programs.

Thus public administration, which is always somewhat difficult to understand in the best of circumstances, is even more challenging for today's student because of the turbulence that characterizes so many administrative operations, political controversies, and social challenges. In this context, it is vital for all those seeking greater information about the field to better understand the way the public perceives the profession, forces for change such as the reorganized Department of Homeland Security, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, and a host of newly created cybersecurity agencies at all levels of government.

There are now larger forces resisting change—or, alternatively, urging even more radical change (overturning free elections, promoting bureaucratic inertia, and ideological opposition to government involvement in our economic and social lives)—that weaken trust and threaten democratic legitimacy. Many Americans were unhappy, for a variety of reasons, with the Trump presidency, which led to the election of Joe Biden as our 45th president. He was elected on the basis of promises that his administration would better address the many problems and consequences of COVID-19 by providing economic stimulus packages, pay check protection, and science-driven decisions. However, political polarization is still present and may limit the ability of his administration to take the proposed actions they campaigned on. Following Trump's lead, many Republican politicians, at all levels of government, refused to support Biden's stimulus plans and actively campaigned against additional social funding, tax reform, and pandemic prevention efforts.

Finally, four interrelated themes are very much at the heart of contemporary public administration and of our discussion in this book. First is increasing the internal accountability and efficiency of public agencies. Second is improving the performance and results of public programs—especially through the application of information technology, digital governance, and reliable measures of performance management. Third is strengthening ethical guidelines and practices shaping the decisions of public officials. Fourth is more effectively anticipating, planning for, and securing the resources necessary to respond to unexpected challenges in the complex real world of public management. To some extent, these concerns have been with us since the "administrative state" began to emerge in the late nineteenth century. But they have taken on greater urgency as we move forward to meet the increasing challenges facing governments in the twenty-first century. Blending old and new concepts is an integral part of public administration. Old concerns never entirely disappear and new concerns usually have some roots in continuing issues. Nevertheless, what is new now—and what may emerge in the immediate future—may result in greater change, in a shorter time span, than in many previous periods of conflict, rapid change, and uncertainty.

What's New in the Twelfth Edition?

The changes made to *Public Administration in America* for the twelfth edition create a book that students may well wish to keep as a future reference in the context of their work lives.

This edition has been thoroughly revised to consolidate previous material, add important updates, and focus on current events and policies facing our nation and its citizens. Updated material includes analysis of Presidents Obama, Trump, and Biden's time in office up until this book's publication; discussion of current policy issues such as maintaining social and economic support systems, homeland security, intelligence reform, infrastructure, the war on terrorism, globalization, affirmative action, accountability, civil liberties, regulatory reform, performance management, and decision making in government; and the ongoing discussions of changing political and administrative values, federalism, information and communication technology (including electronic and digital government, organizational development, human resources, budgeting, contracting, regulation, administrative law, and the international dimensions of the field).

Government agencies have adopted advanced communication technologies to enhance internet connectivity, conduct virtual meetings, and utilize voice recognition to better serve constituents amid social distancing requirements. Health and human services caseworkers, parole officers, building inspectors, and civil service workers, among many others, are using more leveraged video platforms to connect with their clients. For many, these new virtual services have resulted in better access and more convenience for those receiving services; for some, however, these same technologies have had a detrimental effect. Governments have an opportunity to capitalize on the innovative remote-service-delivery model by making it permanent, but they need technologies and training to efficiently do so. Advanced technologies such as artificial intelligence, blockchain, cloud computing, and data analytics are now being embedded in the operations of government agencies within all functions and at all levels. Current and future public administrators must become familiar with applying digital tools to change citizen–agency relationships and ensure the equitable distribution of resources.

Included within several chapters are "Point/Counterpoint" mini-debates and other boxed features describing controversial public policy and political issues. They have been revised and streamlined from the previous edition of this book, and are aimed at encouraging analysis, discussion, debate, and thought. "Point/Counterpoint" provides students with condensed discussions of timely issues—for example, whether or not government should assist individuals and companies in time of economic distress, defining the role of the national government in the federal system, and the importance of maintaining the political neutrality of career public administrators. Other focal points include the use of government health care benefits for persons with preventable diseases resulting from misuse of harmful substances, the legality of regulating social media networks, and determining under what circumstances chief executives should overrule the advice they receive from career administrators—presenting two opposing sides to each issue. The goal of this feature is to encourage students to engage in debate, as they are asked to rely upon the knowledge they have gained throughout each chapter and from independent study as they support one side or the other. Popular culture and modern media outlets are also used as examples to stimulate thought about current events and policy actions. Award-winning films and documentaries are featured as examples found within selected chapters, with a brief synopsis and

summary included, before students are asked to consider how the given examples relate to real-life situations. The questions included within this particular feature are designed to encourage critical thinking and application, while serving as a connection between topics shown in different media outlets and everyday policy choices.

As in previous editions, the twelfth edition provides glossary terms in the margins for easier reference by students. Key terms are **boldfaced** and colored in blue in the text and then defined in the margins of each chapter. These key terms also appear in end-of-chapter material, and are cross-referenced in the glossary so that students can find a term easily and understand it in a variety of contexts.

New learning objectives have been added at the beginning of each chapter, and discussion questions at the end of each chapter, to encourage critical thinking. Useful internet sites from a variety of government, private, and non-profit organizations are provided throughout the chapters, to facilitate access to information on relevant issues as well as to serve as a starting point for research. Students are encouraged to use available search engines, such as Google, Microsoft Explorer, and Mozilla Firefox, to conduct in-depth searches to find the most current information on specific topics. The twelfth edition uses updated chapter-opening epigraphs featuring quotes from presidents such as Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, William Jefferson (Bill) Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama to present students with a high-interest theme for each chapter.

Acknowledgments

We are indebted to the many individuals who contributed in myriad ways to the preparation of this and earlier editions. Valuable research and feedback was provided by Pam Anderson, Carlos Atienza, Joan Bortolon, Ellyn Broden, Jan Domlesky, Dawn Dress, Carrie Edmondson, Meghan Ewing, George A. Gonzalez, Sara Grossman, Jason Harr, Ailyn Hernandez, Bevin Horn, Alina Tejeda Houdak, Bettina Larsen, Mary Manzano, Larry Milov, Melanie Nathanson, Beto Negriel, Richard Newmark, Robert Ortiz, Shayna Owen, Terry Pearl, Leah Del Percio, Gamal Sabet, Kathy Sawyer, Ann Shaw, Miriam Singer, Bill Soloman, Leslie Swanson, Eileen Damaso Taube, and Dan Wall. Current and former faculty colleagues at our two universities and elsewhere who were especially helpful include George Beam, Bob Brantley, the late Ann Cohen, Thomas E. Eimermann, George Guess, Albert C. Hyde, Donald Klingner, Frederick Lane, Nancy S. Lind, Alan Rosenbaum, the late Frederick J. Roberts, Arthur Simon, Stuart Streichler, Richard J. Stillman II, James H. Svara, and Jonathan P. West.

Still others who were generous with time, energy, and information on our behalf include Cary R. Covington, University of Iowa; Rick Green, University of Utah; David Grinberg of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget; Paul Hershey and Jackie McCormick of the U.S. Office of Personnel Management; David McLaughlin, Northwest Missouri State; Steven M. Neuse, University of Arkansas; Laurence Putchinski, University of Central Florida; Nadia Rubaii-Barrett, Binghamton University; Alan V. Stevens of the U.S. Bureau of the Census (ret.); and John P. Stewart, Pennsylvania State University.

The reviewers commissioned by Cengage Learning were uniformly helpful in their critiques; we would like to thank Jeffrey Greene, University of Montana, Richard Huff, Virginia Commonwealth University, Charles Kocher, Cumberland County College, and James Newman, Southeast Missouri State University, for their inputs. Also deserving of special recognition and sincere thanks are Cindy, Nicole, and Tiffany Milakovich and Myra, Dan, and Rachel Gordon, Manoj Kumar, Lauren Gerrish, Sheila Moran, Carmine Scavo and Dana Richards, who were endlessly patient and supportive on this project, and we are grateful. All of these individuals richly deserve much of the credit for whatever strengths are present in the book; ours alone is the responsibility for its weaknesses.

Michael E. Milakovich
Coral Gables, Florida
George J. Gordon
Normal, Illinois

To the Student

This text will help you expand your knowledge and understanding of what public administration is all about. A special feature of this edition is **boldfaced** key terms colored in blue, and concepts noted in the text and defined in the margins of each chapter. This glossary of terms will help you review key concepts, techniques, laws, and institutions pertaining to public administration.

A list of suggested readings at the end of each chapter notes important sources for further research and information. In addition, each chapter in this edition includes many uniform resource locators (URLs), hyperlinked internet websites, and online resources to assist you in expanding your knowledge about the field, finding jobs, obtaining additional information, and preparing research papers for courses in political science, public policy, and public administration.

All students, and especially those approaching this field for the first time, should be careful in their selection of source material from the internet. Not all websites are equally accurate or authoritative. The user should be wary of the source of the information provided in the website, and always provide the web address (www.), title, author (if available), and date accessed, to permit verification.

Instructor Resources

Additional instructor resources for this product are available online. Instructor assets include an Instructor's Manual, PowerPoint® slides, and a test bank powered by Cognero®. Sign up or sign in at www.cengage.com to search for and access this product and its online resources.

About the Authors

Michael E. Milakovich is professor emeritus of political science at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida. A life member of the American Society for Public Administration, he serves as an expert witness in state and national government courts, and advises public and nonprofit organizations on policy analysis and quality improvement strategies. He has authored and co-authored twenty books and monographs and more than fifty refereed journal articles, and he has presented papers or chaired panels at more than 100 professional conferences. He has served as a member of editorial boards of the *Journal of Global Business and Organizational Excellence* and the National Center for Public Productivity. His articles and reviews have appeared in refereed journals such as the *American Political Science Review*, *American Review of Public Administration*, *Crime and Delinquency*, *eJournal of E-Democracy and Open Government*, *Health Care Management Review*, *International Public Management Review*, *Journal of Organizational Excellence*, *Journal of Politics*, *Public Administration*, *Public Productivity and Management Review*, *National Civic Review*, and the *Journal of Health and Human Resource Administration*. Among other works, he is the author of *Digital Governance: New Technologies for Improving Performance* (2022), *Digital Learning: The Challenges of Borderless Education* (2019) (with Jean-Marc Wise), *Improving Service Quality in the Global Economy* (2006), *Florida State and Local Government* (1995), and *U.S. vs. Crime in the Streets*, with Tom and Tania Cronin (1981). He has consulted with numerous corporations, governments, and health care agencies both in the United States and abroad.

George J. Gordon is professor emeritus of political science at Illinois State University in Normal, Illinois. He is a member of the American Society for Public Administration and the American Political Science Association. His articles on federalism and intergovernmental relations have appeared in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *Public Administration Quarterly*, and the *Journal of the American Planning Association*. He served as section head of the Public Administration Section at the 1997 Convention of the Midwest Political Science Association. He also served as a Democratic presidential elector from the state of Illinois in 1992 and served on the McLean County, Illinois Board (county legislature) from 1996 to 2020.

Part 1

The Context, Nature, and Structure of Public Administration in America

Outline

This opening section explores essential facts and concepts in public administration in order to set the stage for further detailed discussion of the subject. The central themes are: (1) defining and reimagining the roles and functions of public bureaucracies for the twenty-first century within the larger economic, governmental and social systems; (2) the impacts of divisive politics and polarization within that larger system, as well as the effects of political and policy-making decisions on administrative actions and decisions; (3) the political implications of organizational, technological, and structural arrangements; (4) the critical, and increasing, importance of data analysis, information communication technologies, and social media; and (5) the changing types of formal and informal intergovernmental exchanges among elected officials and administrators at all levels of government.

Chapter 1 describes the most common structures of executive-branch agencies, focusing on the growth of government generally and public administration in particular. We discuss the broader governmental system in which public administration and policy making operate, consider traditional conceptions of how public agencies ought to function, and then compare them with the current realities of American politics and bureaucracy. We describe how new internet-driven information communication systems and computer technologies are applied to standardize administrative processes, and how they increase transparency and overcome fragmented and overlapping decision-making procedures within bureaucracies. We explore similarities and differences between

public and private administration, taking note of some ways they overlap in practice. We then examine public administration as a field of study, especially its evolution from a relatively uncomplicated field in the late nineteenth century to the challenging, necessary, and rapidly changing discipline that impacts all aspects of contemporary society. In addition, we analyze the impacts of domestic and international crises, the COVID-19 pandemic, the role of mass media (including social media), and the expansion of advanced internet technologies on our values and practices.

In **Chapter 2**, we examine in more detail the underlying and sometimes conflicting values in American administrative practice. Of central importance are the tensions between *political values*—such as individual freedom to make a very wide range of choices in our personal lives, government accountability, fair representation, and popular control—and *administrative values*—such as efficiency, economy, responsiveness, and the ideal of "political" (usually meaning partisan) neutrality. We explore the need for political accountability, the extent of citizen participation, new ways of accessing information about public issues, and how definitions of representativeness have changed. We then focus on the nature and exercise of bureaucratic power and discuss various issues involved in the rise and evolution of the modern "bureaucratic state." The discussion centers on the dispersal of power throughout government and what that means for public administrators, citizens, the foundations of bureaucratic power, bureaucrats as political actors as well as public managers, and dilemmas of political and administrative accountability. Bureaucrats are described as active participants in a broad range of individual and political interactions that allow for considerable variety and complexity in the manner of their involvement—interactions and activities that have only expanded as a result of domestic and global economic and public health challenges.

Chapter 3 deals with the dynamic nature of federalism and intergovernmental (national–state–local) relations. Descriptions of the formal national government structure are followed by an examination of intergovernmental relations within the broader concept of federalism. Particular attention is given to fiscal and administrative relations among the different levels and units of government, national government efforts to stimulate economic growth, the divisive issues of intergovernmental regulation and unfunded mandates (national and state directives *without* funds to support them), and the effects of the radical devolution (transfer) of national government program authority to states and to local governments initiated by the Trump administration (2017–2021). (Devolution of functions had been debated, and some efforts made, in the course of several decades prior to the Trump presidency.) The evolution of American federalism has profoundly, but not always positively, affected the management of government programs at all levels, and it is essential that we understand how the two are interrelated. Federalism is an important structural element in public administration that, in turn, creates a challenging organizational dynamic among local, state, and national officials and other stakeholders.

1 Approaching the Study of Public Administration

Learning Objectives

1-1 Identify and describe the various factors that seem to account for the public's holding government bureaucracy in low esteem. Then describe the factors that seem to explain the public's higher regard for government bureaucracy, when levels of confidence in government have been higher.

1-2 Recognize the key concerns of public managers and the major objectives that managers, in general terms, must seek to achieve in their organizations.

1-3 Identify the five major types of agencies, four formal bases (or foundations) of organization, and four broad categories of administrative employees that are found in U.S. public administration.

1-4 Explain how independent regulatory agencies differ from cabinet-level departments.

1-5 Describe, with some examples, why organizational structure, in general, is politically significant. Then identify the assumptions underlying efforts aimed specifically at municipal reform in the early twentieth century.

1-6 Identify and describe the major characteristics of the policy-making process in the U.S. national government.

1-7 Identify the traditional conceptions of bureaucracy and explain why they are important.

1-8 Identify the five factors that help to explain the growth of government bureaucracy.

1-9 Describe the major aspects of social and technological change that have made the work of public administrators much more challenging and complex in recent decades.

1-10 Explain how standardization of administrative systems using new technologies has become strategy for overcoming fragmented and compartmentalized decision-making procedures within bureaucracies.

1-11 Identify the key *similarities*, and key *differences*, between public and private administration.

1-12 Describe how the academic field of American public administration has evolved into its current form over the last 150 years.

The president of the United States publicly disagrees with Congress over priorities for national government finances, taking issue especially over the question of whether a wall should be built on the U.S. southern border. A police officer is injured and requires emergency medical treatment following a traffic accident while pursuing a dangerous driver who has stolen a car. The chair of a powerful state legislative appropriations committee in a large southern state bluntly announces that "We don't want any more government." A teachers' union rejects an attempt by the school board to charge teachers higher fees for health insurance coverage. To meet severe budget deficits, several states increase university fees and tuition fees for college students, cut health care programs for the low-income people and elderly, close state parks and recreation areas, and release prisoners before the end of their sentences. The state of California challenges less-stringent standards for carbon emissions set by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Local government bargaining teams negotiate around the clock with a transportation workers' union in an effort to avert a threatened strike only days away. Cell phones, surveillance systems, and body cameras increasingly capture incidents of those being victimized by criminals as well as video evidence of excessive use of force by law enforcement officers. During the presidential campaign, a candidate promises to cut the size of the national government bureaucracy in half. The president and Congress fail to agree on national government budget priorities and, as a result, essential services are shut down, airline passenger safety is compromised, critical economic reports are delayed, national parks are deteriorating or closed due to lack of maintenance, and Social Security recipients fail to receive benefits.

What do these examples, all drawn from real-life situations, have in common? They represent critical aspects of *public administration*, one of the most important dimensions of the American governmental process and one with increasing influence both inside and outside of government.

Public administration in America today is a large and highly complex enterprise made up of thousands of smaller units that encompass the everyday activities of literally millions of citizens and government employees. The actions and decisions of public administrators touch the daily lives of virtually every American. The cycles of growth and reduction in government activity and public bureaucracy are among the most significant and, at times, controversial social phenomena of recent decades. The composition, mission, and size of bureaucracy have become the subject of heated debate among citizens, legislators, scholars, and practitioners. At the same time, politicians of every stripe have criticized bureaucracy at all levels of government.

> Never before has man had such capacity to control his own environment, to end thirst and hunger, to conquer poverty and disease, to banish illiteracy and massive human misery. We have the power to make this the best generation of mankind in the history of the world—or to make it the last.
>
> John F. Kennedy,
> United Nations address, New York City,
> September 20, 1963

Many politicians have run successfully "against" the bureaucracy: in 1976, Jimmy Carter promised to "clean up the bureaucratic mess in Washington"; in 1980, Ronald Reagan promised to "get the federal government off your backs"; in 1996, Bill Clinton declared (prematurely) that "the era of Big Government is over"; during the controversial 2000 presidential campaign, Republican candidate George W. Bush accused his opponent, then-Vice-President Al Gore, of representing "the government" while he (Bush) represented "the people." As president, however, George W. Bush led one of the largest expansions of the national government bureaucracy in history to maintain domestic security after September 11, 2001, respond to natural disasters, and implement U.S. foreign and military policy in Afghanistan and Iraq. As a result, President Bush was labeled by his political opponents as a "big government conservative." The extent of Barack Obama's success as president depended almost entirely upon economic recovery and job growth, sectors of the economy that are only indirectly affected by presidential policies. President Donald Trump entered office in 2017 with relatively vague policy-related promises, but also with the express purpose of reducing the authority of certain national government bureaucracies. Many observers regard his term in office as arguably one of the most divisive presidencies in American history. In stark contrast to Donald Trump, President Joe Biden came into office with the clear belief that the national government needed to be reenergized—that even with its apparent weaknesses, government is a positive for good in society and should be provided with the necessary resources accordingly. His ambitious proposals in the early months of his presidency clearly demonstrated his commitment to a far more active governmental role.

Typically, politically conservative chief executives such as Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush, the late George H. W. Bush, and Donald Trump gain public support and win elections by criticizing bureaucracy and by pledging to reduce government; once elected, however, they must inspire, lead, and rely on the same government officials to achieve their own policy goals and to respond to crises. The task for George W. Bush (2001–2009) was even more challenging because he centralized government functions and expanded both presidential power and the role of the national government bureaucracy as no recent president has, primarily because of the September 11, 2001, attacks on New York and Washington, and his administration's decisions to conduct protracted wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In sharp contrast, Trump's active disdain for national government employees and his actions to restrain their power left his administration underprepared to cope with the COVID-19 pandemic. Chief executives at all levels of government are elected by making similar promises and then asking their government bureaucracies to help achieve them; ultimately, they are judged by the voters on their ability to fulfill those promises and maintain the trust of a majority of voters.

Our awareness of bureaucracy varies according to domestic and international conditions and the situations in which we find ourselves. This awareness is usually higher before, during, and after a presidential election cycle; when we cast votes for other elected officials or fill out our income tax returns; when we depend, especially, on government support to avoid financial ruin and must learn how to connect with public officials using unfamiliar remote-operated technology; when we apply for government loans to support a small business or finance a college education; when we seek national government assistance to rebuild a business after a pandemic or natural disaster; and when we deal with the most visible street-level bureaucrats—"first responders" such as police officers, emergency service workers, and firefighters. We are less conscious of the role of **bureaucracy** under other more routine circumstances. Much of bureaucratic decision making is obscure or just not directly meaningful to most of us. Consider, for example, decisions by the U.S. State Department to change eligibility formulas for determining international student visas. Proposals such as these may be important to subsets of citizens (and noncitizens as well) and may even lend legitimacy to the final actions taken by public agencies, but they typically generate little media publicity or public attention by themselves. One exception: when the U.S. Supreme Court upheld President Trump's decision to ban immigrants from seven predominantly Muslim countries in June 2018 by a 5–4 decision.[1] Although this particular case received a substantial amount of publicity, some of the most important work of government agencies takes place away from public view. Yet everyone has a general opinion—often negative—about bureaucracy and politics. (Throughout the book, key terms and concepts are highlighted in bold print, defined in the margins, and listed at the end of each chapter.)

All Americans are far more aware of the role of bureaucracy in our national life as a result of tragic events such as September 11, 2001, the inept governmental response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005, the persistent antigovernment rhetoric of the Trump administration from 2017 until 2021, and the Biden administration's efforts to address the COVID-19 pandemic. In what many have called an act of insurrection, Trump supporters invaded the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021, in a violent attack against the U.S. Congress during the official **Electoral College** vote-counting process. Consequently, all forms of security at the U.S. Capitol and elsewhere became much tighter, more intrusive, and more time-consuming as a result of increased threats of violence—as well as the global spread of the coronavirus. Providing greater security, in many forms, requires increased bureaucratic involvement, and people generally are more aware of it. Scarce public resources are being diverted from much-needed domestic economic development and social programs to bolster security for Americans who are now more alert to, and aware of, the protective and service responsibilities of public agencies. Many

bureaucracy
(1) a formal organizational arrangement characterized by division of labor, job specialization with no functional overlap, exercise of authority through a vertical hierarchy (chain of command), and a system of internal rules, regulations, and record keeping; (2) in common usage, the administrative branch of government (national, state, or local) in the United States; also, individual administrative agencies of those governments.

Electoral College
a mechanism established under the Constitution to choose the president and the vice-president of the United States. Each state has as many electoral votes as it has members in Congress, and its members, called electors, can be selected by any method. Candidates who win the popular vote in each state receive all of that state's electoral votes (except in Maine and Nebraska). Under this system, a presidential candidate can lead in the nationwide popular vote and still fail to win the required majority in the Electoral College— for example, Bush versus Gore in 2000 and Trump versus Hillary Clinton in 2016.