

PPAS 1110 3.00
Introduction to Public Administration: Bureaucracy and Western Liberal
Capitalist Democracy
Fall Term 2021

Professor Daniel Cohn, Ph.D.
The School of Public Policy and Administration

Attention All Potential Students: This Class is Partially Conducted Remotely.

Instructor	Telephone	Email	WWW	One-on-One Help
Daniel Cohn	(416)736-2100 x77276 This is my campus office Voice Mail, I check it once a day Monday to Friday	dcohn@yorku.ca	dcohn.info.yorku.ca	By Appointment via zoom and/or telephone during my office hours: Thurs 10:30 – 12:30
To make an appointment for the Thursday Zoom/Telephone Office Hours (One-on-One Help): Email a request (see above for email address) including your name, your student number, a brief explanation (e.g. “problem accessing readings for week 2”, “I want to discuss my grade on my book review”, “I need help with my essay”, etc.). If it is not possible to do this over Zoom, we will use the phone as a backup, so please also provide a phone number. Barring unforeseen emergencies, I am always able to schedule an appointment with you and help you during these office hours. If you need an appointment at a different time, I will do my best to accommodate you, but cannot promise to do so.				

Teaching Assistants	Email
Adam Schachhuber (Tutorial Groups 1 and 3)	aschachh@yorku.ca
Stephanie MacKenzie-Smith (Tutorial Groups 2 and 4)	sms75@yorku.ca

SPECIAL NOTICE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

- This class deals with the foundational institutions of the states known as Western Liberal Capitalist Democracies, as well as Bureaucracy, the organizing and management paradigm for the Western Liberal Capitalist Democratic state.
- State authorities in some Non-Western Liberal Capitalist Democracies, see some of the topics and ideas we will cover as inappropriate, and even sometimes as subversive and illegal.
- York University encourages students to make use of the University’s VPN (Virtual Private Network) software. However, this is not foolproof. For example, in some countries it is illegal to use VPNs that the state cannot monitor. It is also not unheard of for countries to encourage their international students to report on the behavior of other students from their country.
- If this is of concern to you, please do not take this course.

Several platforms are used in this course (e.g., E-Class, Zoom, etc.), through which students will interact with the course materials, the professor and teaching assistants, as well as with one another. Please review this syllabus to determine how the class meets (in whole or in part), and how office hours and presentations will be conducted.

Students should note the following:

- Zoom is hosted on servers in the U.S. This includes recordings done through Zoom.
- If you have privacy concerns about your data, provide only your first name or a nickname when you join a session.
- The system is configured in a way that all participants are automatically notified when a session is being recorded. In other words, a session cannot be recorded without you knowing about it.

If you enroll in this class, you are agreeing:

- To watch each week's pre-recorded lecture available through the E-Class course site before your tutorial group takes place,
- To participate in each week's required tutorial group led by your teaching assistant (whether online or in-person, depending on which you signed up for). These sessions are an integral part of the course and worth 20% of your mark. The instructor will only entertain a request to be exempted from participating in the tutorials for the following reasons:
 - The need to accommodate a disability, documented by a letter of accommodation from the appropriate York University office.
 - The need to protect a potential student's privacy, documented by a supporting letter from an appropriate authority (lawyer, social worker, police, etc., etc.).
- That there will be no in person contact with the professor. You will have access to him to ask question or get help by participating in the optional live online question and answer sessions, as well as through one-on-one by appointment meetings through Zoom (using the phone as a backup).

As a result, participation in this class requires students to have access to a computer, tablet or large and powerful smart-phone with broadband internet connection, equipped with a microphone and a web-camera, both on a regular basis and specifically at the scheduled weekly time of your tutorial group. Further, beyond the various York University policies and regulations that already govern your conduct in this class and while you complete your assignments, you will also be required to agree to Zoom's own user agreement <https://zoom.us/terms> .

The Faculty of Liberal Arts and Professional Studies has prepared the following document: ["Student Rights and Responsibilities"](#) to help you better understand these topics.

The University has prepared the following document: ["Important Course Information"](#) which you should also be familiar with.

Accessibility:

If you require accommodation due to a disability, please advise the instructor as soon as possible or arrange to have the appropriate office on campus send him an “accommodation letter” or “notice of needed accommodation form”, etc. The instructor is happy to make adjustments needed so that you can achieve your full potential as a student in the course.

Class Component		Time
Lectures (Pre-Recorded): Link to Weekly Lecture Posted on E-Class Site one week prior to each Tutorial Group		Please watch the lecture sometime before each Wednesday’s Tutorial Groups and Optional Drop-In Help Sessions
Optional Drop-In Help Sessions with the Instructor Conducted via Zoom		Wednesday 10:30 – 11:15 and 11:30 – 12:15
Tutorial Group 1	Online via Zoom	Wednesday 09:30 – 10:30
Tutorial Group 2	In Person room DB1004	Wednesday 0:930 – 10:30
Tutorial Group 3	In Person room ATK 026	Wednesday 13:30 – 14:30
Tutorial Group 4	Online via Zoom	Wednesday 13:30 - 14:30

Summary Description:

PPAS 1110 provides a comparative introduction to public administration which explores the ways in which the key institutions of western civilization impact on the work of public servants and the ways in which these institutions are, in turn, reshaped by their interaction with the primary institution of the public service, bureaucracy.

The Aims of this Course Are:

- 1.) Make students aware of the key characteristics of four major social institutions: Western Culture, Liberal Ideology, Capitalism, and Democracy; how these institutions combine to constitute the dominant regime-type among today’s nation states; as well as how they interact with a fifth major social institution, Bureaucracy.
- 2.) Give students the opportunity to learn variations among nation-states within the dominant regime-type, based on variation in the way that these social institutions are expressed
- 3.) Give students the opportunity to learn basic comparative social science theory.
- 4.) Give students the opportunity to learn basic social science research and communications skills.
- 5.) Give students the opportunity to learn how major social institutions shape the work and choices available to individual public servants and public service organizations (bureaucracies).

- 6.) Give students the opportunity to learn how public service organizations (bureaucracies) have in turn shaped the development of the other major social institutions.

Assignments, Grading Scheme, Dates:

Assignment	Date	Grades
Book Review	Due October 6	20
Mid-Term “Take-Home” Exam	Posted October 20 / Due October 27	15
Essay	Due December 1	30
TA Group Participation	Throughout the Term	20
End-of-Term “Take-Home” Exam	Posted December 9 / Due December 16	15
Total		100

Grading Policies:

All students in the course are strongly encouraged to familiarize themselves with the seven modules of [The Academic Integrity Tutorial](#). Please note: It is your responsibility to be aware of [The University’s Academic Honesty Policy](#), as well as its other policies governing student conduct and to ensure that your work is done in conformity with the best standards of academic behaviour. The regulations of the University require instructors to report ALL suspected violations of the Academic Honesty Policy. Your professor will be happy to answer any questions you might have about academic integrity and to assist you, but it is up to you to make sure you do not cheat. Sounds silly? Yes it does. However, many violations of these policies are simply accidental and not deliberate. By taking the time to review the modules of the tutorial, you will be taking a big step towards ensuring you do not inadvertently get yourself into trouble.

All assignment and take home exams are to be submitted electronically. Further details will be provided as to how this will be done at the start of the term. A note about “take-home exams”. The take-home exams are a hybrid of a traditional essay assignment with the short time limits of an exam. You will be given a list of questions and be expected to answer one of those questions with a well-written and well-reasoned essay. You will have one week to complete and submit your essay. You will get further instructions and advice on how to successfully complete all of the written assignments, including how to write an award-winning take-home exam, during the course.

Late assignments will be assessed a penalty of 1/10th the marks available per day (weekends count as one day). This penalty will be waived if you have a compelling reason for being late, such as a serious illness or the need to care for a sick dependent. Requests for extensions or for the waiving of late penalties must be appropriately documented with medical notes, etc. Please let the instructor know as soon as possible if you cannot make a deadline and are going to be late. **Note*** only the instructor can waive late penalties. Your teaching assistants are not permitted to do so. Therefore, all communications regarding requests for extensions, waiving of late penalties etc. should be directed to him, not to the teaching assistants .

The class consists of a weekly, pre-recorded lecture and an hour reserved for Tutorial Groups led by your T/As. Tutorial Groups are not free time and are not optional. 20 percent of your mark is reserved for your T/A to assign based on your participation in the weekly group meetings and the quality of your participation. If you know you will not be able to take part in a weekly tutorial group, you should notify your T/A and explain why, or contact them as soon as possible after an unexpected absence. You will be penalized if you are absent without sufficient reason. The weekly online drop-in sessions with the professor are optional. You may participate every week if you like, only when you have a problem or question you wish to discuss in a group setting, or not at all, if that is your preference. Please refer to the first section of this outline as to legitimate grounds for being exempted in total from participating in tutorial groups. **Note*** only the professor can grant this total exemption, your T/A is not permitted to do so.

You must complete all assignments and exams to receive a grade for this course. Where warranted, the professor will give extensions, deferred standing, etc., if you have a legitimate reason for having work outstanding at the end of the term. However, the requirement to complete all work assigned will only be waived in the most extreme situations.

Required Textbooks:

- Halligan, John. 2020. *Reforming Public Management and Governance: Impact and Lessons from Anglophone Countries*. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing. **NOTE:** This book is very expensive in print. However, it is available at a reasonable price electronically. I have instructed the book store to order the electronic version or you can go directly to:
 - Ebooks: <https://www.ebooks.com/en-ca/book/detail/210038697/>
 - Google: https://play.google.com/store/books/details/John_Halligan_Reforming_Public_Management_and_Gove?id=GSjnDwAAQBAJ&hl=en_GB
- Carney, Mark. 2021 *Value(s): Building a Better World for All*. Toronto: Viking Penguin. This book has also been ordered through the bookstore. Although reasonably priced in print you can save even more by going the e-book route. It is also available in both print and electronic forms from most major booksellers. We will be reading this book for the book review assignment.

Other required readings are available electronically via the York University Library or can be found with free public access on the World Wide Web.

Linkages to electronic resources listed in this syllabus have been recently tested and found to be in working order. All links are to so-called “stable urls” and therefore should not change. From time to time, however, computer networks do crash and become unavailable for planned maintenance. It is wise to download electronic readings as soon as possible and to print them out right away. This will help ensure you are not in a last minute panic to find them. In order to use the electronic resources available from the Library you must first log-in to a computer in the

Library or have signed in as an authorized user on the Library web site using the “Passport York System”. If you are not logged-in, you will probably be asked to do so before accessing the readings linked below. However, sometimes you might instead be bounced to either a dead-end page, or a public access website where you are asked to pay for access to the material. If so, go to the library and look up the reading using the citation information listed for the reading. Most can be found by just searching the Library’s OMNI catalogue using the author name and the reading title. However, sometimes you need to first find the academic journal it is in, then login to the database it is stored in and go to the journal’s master index page, select the correct volume and number and then find the article on the table of contents page.

It is best to do each week’s readings in the order listed. There are often things from the first reading listed for the week that are important to keep in mind when you do the next reading and so on.

The lectures for each week will be available on the course E-Class site one week in advance. It is your responsibility to do your readings, then to watch the lecture, so that you are well prepared to take part in the tutorial group with your classmates and your teaching assistant each Wednesday.

Weekly Class Schedule:

September 8 Welcome to Class; A brief introduction to Zoom; The concepts of Regimes: Global Insertion, Ideology, Productive Organization, and The State; Why does what we are doing in this class matter? **This is the first lecture, there is no tutorial group this week. The instructor will be online for drop-in help Sessions from 10:30-11:15 and 11:30-12:15 and will be taking appointments via email (dcohn@yorku.ca) for office hours for Thursday September 9th.**

- No Reading

September 15 Western Culture **Your Tutorial Groups Begin.**

- Snow, David A, Peter B. Owens,. and Anna E Tan. 2014. Libraries, Social Movements and Cultural Change: Towards an Alternative Conceptualization of Culture. *Social Currents* 1(1): 35-43. Available from the Library at: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.1177/2329496513514034>
- Ratzinger, Joseph. 2004. Europe: It’s Spiritual Foundation Yesterday, Today, and in the Future. Originally published in *Inside the Vatican* (June/July 2004). Available online at: <https://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?recnum=6317>
 - When you read this piece by Ratzinger, think about who Joseph Ratzinger is and what his “day job” was before he retired? How might this have shaped his “interests” in conceiving of Europe and the West in a certain way?

- Ratzinger is writing about what he sees are the origins of the concept of “Europe” and “European culture”. Many scholars also see these as the origins of the West and Western culture. Can you discuss the elements he itemizes and its history in the language of a “library” that is used by Snow et al. to conceptualize “culture.”

September 22 Liberal Ideology

- Fawcett, Edmond. 2018. Introduction: *The Practice of Liberalism*. In *Liberalism: The Life of an Idea, Second Edition.*, NJ: Princeton University Press. Available from the Library at: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.23943/9781400889679>
- Choquette, Éléna. 2021. Appropriating Indigenous Lands: The Liberal Founding of Manitoba. *Settler Colonial Studies* 11(1): 86-102. Available from the Library at: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.1080/2201473X.2020.1853947>
 - Today, when liberalism is our dominant (or hegemonic) ideology, it is easy to forget that when thinkers first began to articulate the ideology as a coherent system of beliefs, it was revolutionary. In most of Europe, these ideas were either shunned or suppressed. This began to change gradually, first in Great Britain, Switzerland, some parts of Germany and the Netherlands, then elsewhere. Why did Liberalism take root in this pattern? Think about last week’s readings, as well as the chapter from Fawcett’s book you have read.
 - What was it about the dominant ideology prior to liberalism that liberals objected to?
 - Today, liberalism is the dominant (or hegemonic) ideology of our era across the planet. All other ideologies situate themselves relative to liberalism. Most people in the West (whatever their ideology) adhere to many of the same beliefs as liberals. What is it then that Fawcett sees as setting liberalism apart from other western ideologies such as modern conservatism, social democracy (i.e. modern socialism) and environmentalism?
 - Thinking about that last question, how did the ideas unique to liberalism, allow the European founders of modern Canada to justify their appropriation of indigenous lands? Do we still use liberalism in this way in our era?

September 29 Capitalism

- Kocka, Jürgen. 2016. Chapter 1: What does Capitalism Mean? In *Capitalism a Short History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Available from the Library at: <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/stable/j.ctvc77kv8.4>
- Sherman, Howard, and Meeropol, Michael A. 2015. Chapter 4: The Keynesian Revolution. In *Principles of Macroeconomics Activist vs. Austerity Policies*. New York, NY: Routledge. Available from the Library at: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/york/detail.action?docID=1986808>
- Kuokkanen, Rauna. 2011. From Indigenous Economies to Market-Based Self-Governance: A Feminist Political-Economy Analysis. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44(2): 275-297. Available from the Library at: <https://www-library-yorku-ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/find/MyResearch/EZProxy?curl=https://www.jstor.org/stable/41300542>
 - How do the ideas and beliefs that separate liberalism from other modern ideologies fit with, or serve to justify, or seem to make commonsensical, some or all of the key features of capitalism as described by Marx, Weber and Schumpeter?

- How did Keynes' insights and the revolution he inspired in economics change thinking about the role of the state in a capitalist society and a capitalist economic system?
- Is the emergence of "indigenous capitalism" an example of the "creative destruction" Schumpeter argued was a key hallmark of capitalism? How does liberalism justify indigenous capitalism?
- At its core, the positive view of indigenous capitalism sees it as providing the necessary financial resources to produce economic prosperity and political autonomy for indigenous people, while also enabling them to preserve important elements of their cultures and values. Is this too optimistic a view? Can you operate in a capitalist economy and not live in a capitalist society characterized by Western culture and liberal ideology (with all of the good and bad things that result)?

October 6 Democracy -- **BOOK REVIEWS ARE DUE**

- Diamond, Larry 2008. Democratization in the Twenty-First Century: The Prospects for the Global Diffusion of Democracy. In Nardulli, Peter F. (ed.) International Perspectives on Contemporary Democracy, Bloomington, IL: University of Illinois Press. Available from the Library at: <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/stable/10.5406/j.ctt1xcnm8.5>
- Diamond, Larry. 2020. Breaking out of the Democratic Slump. Journal of Democracy 31(1): 36-50. Available from the Library at: <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/article/745952>
- Huber, Evelyn, Dieterich Rueschemeyer and John D. Stephens (1997) The paradoxes of contemporary democracy: Formal, participatory and social dimensions. Comparative Politics 29(3) April, 323-342. <https://www-library-yorku-ca.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/find/MyResearch/EZProxy?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/422124>
 - Diamond argues that there are degrees to which different societies are democratic and this can change for the better or the worse. He argues there are at least two categories of democracies, those that at least hold competitive elections, electoral democracies and a higher category, liberal democracy. As well as holding competitive elections, countries that are liberal democracies also are strong adherents to the rule-of-law and generally respect civil and human rights, while exhibiting legal safeguards to protect the rights and freedoms of minorities. Is his argument convincing or should we consider "electoral democracies" to be "undemocratic".
 - Diamond is a democratic universalist. He believes any society can become a successful liberal democracy. Do you agree or does success as a liberal democracy presuppose the existence in a political society of one or more of the other three big institutions we have studied so far this term?
 - The authors you have read this week, Diamond and Huber et al. have different views as to what a fully developed democracy looks like. Can this be explained by differing views on liberalism as an ideology?

October 13 READING BREAK: NO LECTURE POSTED, NO TUTORIAL GROUPS, NO DROP-IN GROUPS,

October 20 **MID-TERM TAKE-HOME EXAM DISTRIBUTED**, NO LECTURE, NO TUTORIAL GROUPS, NO DROP-IN GROUPS.

October 27 Bureaucracy and The Westminster System (A Brief Introduction) – **MID-TERM TAKE-HOME EXAMS ARE DUE**

- Weber, Max. 1922 / 2019. Chapter 3: Types of Rule (only pp.338-354). In Tribe, Keith (trans. and ed.) *Economy and Society: A New Translation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Available from the Library at: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.4159/9780674240827>
- Grube, Denis C., and Cosmo Howard. 2016. Is the Westminster System Broken Beyond Repair? *Governance* 29(4): 467-481. Available from the Library at: <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/10.1111/gove.12230>
 - The first reading this week is Weber's classic statement of bureaucracy as an ideal type organization. An ideal type is something that doesn't really exist but enough real world examples are close enough to it, that it serves as a good model for how real world examples look and ought to behave if our theories are correct. What is the relationship between Weber's Bureaucracy and Western Culture, Liberalism and Democracy? What is its relationship with a further concept: "Modern" or "Modernization".
 - "The Westminster System," is often used as a concept that describes the nature of the state in the United Kingdom and the countries it most closely influenced (Canada, Australia and New Zealand). One with political leaders (the Prime Minister and his or her Cabinet Ministers) who are held democratically accountable by the need to maintain a legislative majority to stay in power, as well as a politically neutral, career bureaucracy whom the political leaders in turn direct by setting overall policy and whom they hold accountable by establishing and monitoring control systems. At the head of each department is a political leader (the Cabinet Minister) who speaks for --and answer for-- their department. The job of professional public servants is to give their minister the best possible professional advice and once the government's policy has been approved by the legislature and become law, implement it in the most efficient and effective manner, while paying due respect to any other laws, people's rights, etc. Senior Public servants are politically neutral, generalist (they specialize in management not a particular field) and serve on a career-long basis rising up through the public sector. At least that is how it is supposed to work. As your readings note, many commentators feel it doesn't. What are some of the things that have gone wrong and how do we use the four big institutions we studied earlier this term to explain what has been going wrong and why?

November 3 Reforming Anglophone Public Management and Governance

- Halligan, Chapters 1 and 2
 - Halligan starts his book with three big questions what are they and can we see any influence of our big four institutions from earlier in the year on the questions he has chosen to ask?
 - In many ways this week's readings represent Halligan's "take" on the same topic that your reading from Grube and Howard covered last week, and just as their article sets up an entire special edition of a journal that looks at the Westminster system today, Halligan's set up the rest of his book. So it is worthwhile to pause and ask, how Halligan's view of things differs and is similar to Grube and Howard's?
 - Terms to keep an eye out for "Managerialism" and "New Public Management" or NPM as these are sometimes used to summarize or conceptualize the key changes to public sector bureaucracies over the last 40 years.

November 10 Politicization, Ministers and Senior Bureaucrats

- Halligan, Chapter 3 and 4
 - What does Halligan mean by "politicization"? What is the link to the reassertion of classical or neo-liberalism and the rise of the so-called "New Right"?
 - What is the so called "New Political Governance"?

November 17 Managing the Dilemmas and Contradictions

- Halligan, Chapters 5, and 6
 - Every organizational and managerial approach comes with strengths and weaknesses. What were the challenges or dilemmas that confronted senior public servants trying to implement managerial reforms in the bureaucracies of the Westminster countries?
 - In thinking about the previous question, ask yourself to what degree the problems encountered had to do with trying to have "your cake and eat it to" in terms of keeping what was seen as desirable of the old bureaucratic ideal-type and the Westminster system? What were these desirable features and outcomes that political leaders wanted to preserve even while giving managers greater freedom to manage (for example, use new technologies to innovate and enhance service), and making managers manage (for example make tough choices such as setting priorities to stay on budget).
 - To what extent is simultaneously freeing managers to manage and making managers manage itself a contradiction?

November 24 Coordination, Cooperation and Change in a Political Millieu

- Halligan, Chapters 7 and 8
 - How does the concept of "risk" help explain why politicization made it difficult for the Westminster-system countries to reduce red tape (procedural rules) over the longhaul so more emphasis would be placed on outcomes?
 - When thinking about coordination ask yourself to what degree "risk" and politicization again play a role but also ask yourself to what degree the new

challenges public sector bureaucracies are being asked to meet also play a role? For example, can any one government department be responsible for all the public policy demands presented by the emergence of the internet and mobile telecommunications and computing? How about state responses to terrorist violence? Reconciling with indigenous peoples? #METOO? #BlackLivesMatter? These gigantic issues with society wide consequences require whole of government responses and that means coordination across government and vertically too. What are some of the ways Halligan notes Westminster-systems have tried to provide this coordination?

December 1 Last Class: A Final look at 40 Plus Years of Reform and the Future of Bureaucracy in the Westminster Capitalist Liberal Democracies -- **ESSAYS ARE DUE**

- Halligan, Chapters 9 and 10
 - Is the era of reform over? Or are we in an era of permanent government reform?
 - If we are in an era of permanent government reform, why would liberals be pleased?
 - Looking back on the last 40 years of reforms, how much of the old ideal-type bureaucratic model still exists. Is it better to describe the public services of the Westminster-style countries as “post-bureaucratic” or as “twenty-first century bureaucracies”?
 - What impact has all of this attempted reform of bureaucratic public sector organizations had on the democratic political systems in the Westminster-style countries?

THURSDAY DECEMBER 9, **FINAL TAKE-HOME EXAMS DISTRIBUTED – DUE DECEMBER 16.***

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*You might be wondering: why is the class on Wednesday and why are all the other assignments in this class due on Wednesdays, but the final exam runs Thursday to Thursday? Wednesday December 8 is the “Fall Term Study Day” (the day before the official start of the exam period). The University regulations state that this day ought to be free from any graded activities. Therefore, the earliest the final take-home exam can begin is Thursday December 9th.