

Government 1521
Bureaucratic Politics:
Government, Military,
Social and Economic Organizations

D. Carpenter

Lecture 14: Reputation and Bureaucratic
Policymaking in the USDA

Questions

- I. How are bureaucratic preferences (attitudes, wishes, goals) determined?
- II. How do agencies come to occupy policymaking roles (both military and domestic agencies are possible).

Hierarchy and Behavior

James Q. Wilson [formerly Harvard], *Bureaucracy*:
Look at layer of operation, hierarchy.
Incentives differ by layer/level.

- (1) Operators – career concerns, except for specialists
- (2) Managers – autonomy and discretion
- (3) Executives – turf

The Puzzle of Bureaucratic Behavior

Kaufman's question: not just why variation, but why so little variation? Counterfactual: why not explosion?

Sanford Gordon (1999): procedural consistency is akin to "justice" as fairness.

Here, a question of org control. Why do Forest Rangers not do their own thing, or get captured by local interests, or shirk and be lazy?

Kaufman's Puzzle

"A tacit assumption in much administrative literature is that what the top officers of an organization want, the organization does, and that this is too routine to warrant study.

Perhaps this is frequently the case. But often it is not, as any military commander whose troops have broken and run from fire, or any labor union leader who has been embarrassed by a wildcat strike, or any department head whose program has been sabotaged by a recalcitrant bureau chief, or any law enforcement officer whose subordinates have been found guilty of corruption, or any of dozens of other kinds of "leaders" chagrined to discover their "followers" are no longer following, can sadly testify. It does not "just happen" that the daily decisions and actions of the lower echelons make concrete realities of policy statements and declared objectives of the leadership; this takes planning and work.

Challenges to Unity

1. Complexity of Job – fire control, timber management, local politics, recreation and land uses, range management
2. Time in the Field, Distance
3. Purposive Organizational Decentralization
4. Inconsistent Directives
5. Local Capture
6. Personal Preferences of Field Officers

“Pre-Forming” Decisions

Ex Ante influences:

1. Rules and budgets as Weberian controls on behavior.
2. Authorization, Direction and Prohibition.
 - *Forest Service Manual* (FS “bible”)
3. Budget-making as behavioral constraint (compels planning and tradeoffs before the fact).
4. Operations manuals; adm “bibles” (*Forest Service Manual*). (March-Simon: standard operating procedures formalized and universally distributed).

Ex Post Constraints

Can also sanction behavior after the fact, affecting expected values of behavior before the fact.

1. Mandate encourage use of “diaries” (neo-Weberian records keeping)
2. Rotation of personnel, to avoid local-level capture, increase loyalty to central adm.
3. Application or distribution of penalties and sanctions (random or known/certain)

Recruitment and Retention

Biggest influence is not rules, penalties, but psych dispositions of Rangers.

Selection/Recruitment: “Forest officers are selected in a fashion that winnows out many of the men who probably lack the inherent predisposition to conform to the preformed decisions of the Forest Service, and that guarantees at least a minimum of technical competence.” [198]

Socialization and retention: Within-bureau apprenticeship. “...vacancies are filled by promotion and transfer and never (for all practical purposes) by lateral entry.” [180]

Profession-Specific Recruitment

“One of the principal means to this end [the homogenization of professional personnel by the Forest Service] is the use of professional foresters in all types of specialized jobs. Not only are line officers, timber management staff men, and fire control specialists all foresters, as one would expect, so are the specialists in range management (who could be trained in animal husbandry as logically as in forestry), wildlife management (who could be biologists), personnel management, administrative management (whose academic training could well be in public administration or industrial engineering), and in other functions. Probably 90 per cent of the professional men engaged in the administration of the national forests are foresters.” [214]

Selection and Socialization

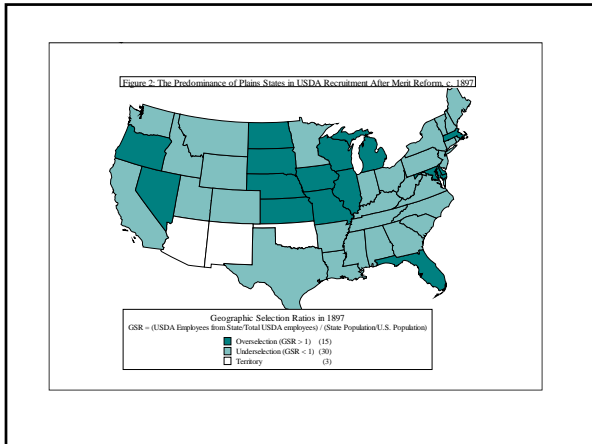
Kaufman on selection and socialization:

...the operations of the external influences may depend on successful manipulation of the personal preferences and perspectives “inside” the Rangers. *Systematic selection and training of personnel, and procedures for building identification with the Forest Service, increase Ranger receptivity to the communications of the central office.* They broaden what Simon has called the zone of acceptance, inculcating in field officers the predisposition to respond primarily to cues and signals from the leaders of the agency, and to resist conflicting influences from other sources.” [229; emph added]

Selection and Socialization:

Analogues from Other Organizations

1. U.S. Army – selection from military academies, ROTC; socialization via training and other schools
2. USDA – selection from farm backgrounds and land grant colleges
3. University faculty – select from Ph.D. programs; all go through “publish or perish” tenure stage



**USDA Selection:
The Example of Lyman Briggs**

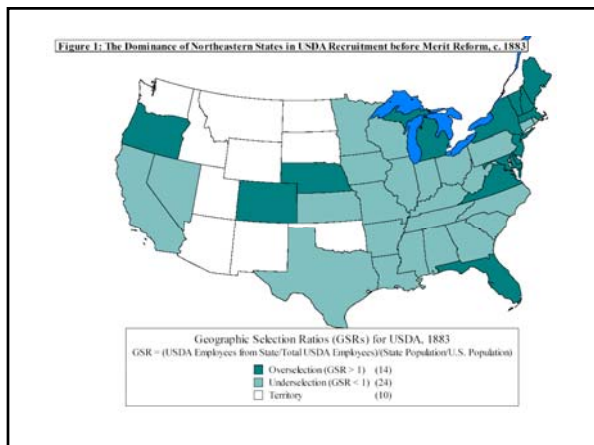
“I have examined the two sets of papers very thoroughly and have no hesitation in saying that the papers prepared by Mr. Loomis are far abler than those of Mr. Briggs. In fact the papers of Mr. Loomis are exceptionally fine and show a thoroughly well trained mind as well as vast intimate knowledge of all the subjects of the examination.”

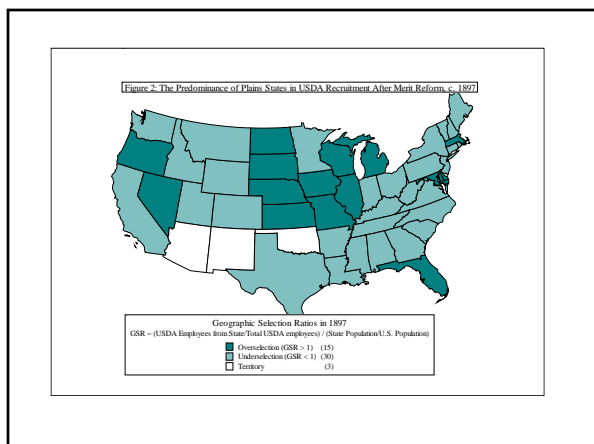
**USDA Selection:
The Example of Lyman Briggs**

There is another element, however, which must be considered in making a selection of this kind; that is the personal equations [sic]...Mr. Briggs is still young, twenty-two years old. He was brought up on a farm in Michigan, and his father is still a farmer there. He was educated in the Michigan Agricultural College, and was engaged while there in agricultural investigations...His early training gives him a very thorough appreciation of the value of scientific work to practical problems, which his University education has not yet neutralized. He is not settled into any groove, but is in a formative period in his life....

USDA Selection: The Example of Lyman Briggs

Mr. Loomis, on the other hand, is a very much older man, thirty-three years of age....*It seemed to me that his early classical education [at Trinity College] was not well adapted to the work of this Division and would not give him the knowledge or interest in practical agriculture that is essential to the carrying on of the investigations in the right spirit.* From his age and long experience in teaching I judge that he must be somewhat set in his ways and already be in a groove which it would be hard for him to leave. If this is so, then he would not be likely to be satisfied at the Department or to remain long with us.





Puzzle: Why is the Forest Service in the USDA?



National Forest Reserves transfer of 1905.

National Forest Reserves transferred from General Land Office [GLO] to USFS [bureau in USDA].

Puzzle: Why is the Forest Service in the USDA?

Theories:

- (1) Weberian?
- (2) Transactional?
- (3) or reputational?



Delegation as Experimentation:
The Birth of County Extension

1898: USDA hires Seaman Knapp to work with ag explorer David Fairchild to find new seed varieties.

1902: Bureau of Plant Industry (BPI) Chief Beverly Galloway has Knapp begin “demonstration” work – showing rational farm mgmt to Southern farmers

Galloway gets \$ for demonstration from reallocation across programs and lump-sum funds (e.g., funded plant testing and seed development by reappropriating monies from the Congressional Free Seed Distribution office).

Legacy of These Developments

Offers an explanation for what happens in the New Deal:

- (1) National Recovery Administration fails politically
- (2) Agricultural Adjustment Administration succeeds politically

Result: New Deal is much more enduring in farm policy than in industrial policy

Harvey Wiley and the Pure Food Law

- Varying interpretations: capture (business groups), “Progressivism,” farmers, changes in Congress.
- In 19th c., congressional opposition; Wiley combats by holding pure food summits in Washington (govt and academic chemists, women’s groups, Prez McKinley, Grange, business groups invited).

Harvey Wiley and the Pure Food Law

- Pure food is on the agenda by 1901; but...
 - it’s assigned to non-agricultural committees in congress (House Commerce, Senate Manufactures).
 - Cong leader – James Mann (IL) favors non-USDA enforcement.
- Wiley builds diverse coalition from 1903-1905:
 - General Federation of Women’s Clubs
 - American Medical Association
 - National Consumers’ League

Pure Food Law (cont.)

- Shift in debate in 1903-4: more and more legs favor USDA enforcement of bill
- 1905-6: Wiley drafts bill, enraging opponents:
 - [T]he Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture...has had more influence in bringing about this legislation probably than any one man, he in fact aiding in drafting the House bill we are now considering.
 - Rep. Charles L. Bartlett (D – Georgia)

Pure Food Law (cont.)

- Mann introduces Wiley's bill on House floor
- OK, so what about *muckraking*? Upton Sinclair important, but also Samuel Hopkins Adams (*Collier's*), who collaborates with...Wiley to write his stories.
- Act passes with near unanimity in 1906. Multiple networks or brokerage perspective allows a unified explanation for its passage.

Table 8.1
The Multiple Network Affiliations of USDA Officials

USDA Official	Political Affiliations	Scientific and/or Professional Affiliations	Economic Affiliations	Agrarian or Conservationist Affiliations
Harvey W. Wiley, Chief Chemist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alice Lakey, GFWC • Martha Allen, WCTU • Samuel Hopkins Adams, <i>Collier's</i> Weekly writer 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Association of Official Agricultural Chemists • R. M. Allen, Association of State Food and Dairy Departments • AAAS, Cosmos Club 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Charles A. L. Reed, AMA president • "National Canners" Association • Louisiana Sugar Growers' Association 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alexander Wedderburn, Virginia Grange
Gifford Pinchot, Chief of Forestry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theodore Roosevelt • Lydia Phillips Williams, GFWC • Urban journalists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bernhard Fernow, German forester • Charles F. Sargent, Harvard Arboretum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • F. E. Weyerhaeuser Timber Company • E. H. Harriman 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John Mair, Sierra Club • Audubon Society • Sir Horace Plunkett
C. Hart Merriam, Chief of Biological Survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theodore Roosevelt • "Major" John Lacey (Iowa), chairman of House Public Lands Committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • T. S. Palmer, Harvard University biologist • AAAS, Washington Academy of Sciences 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John Mair, Sierra Club • State game wardens • Gilbert Grosvenor, National Geographic
Seaman Knapp, Director of Southern Extension	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iowa Republicans (C. C. Carpenter) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iowa Agricultural College (formerly president) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frederick T. Gates, General Education Board 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Southern rice and cotton planters • Wallace family
James S. Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • House Agriculture Committee • Iowa politicians, (e.g., House Speaker David Henderson) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iowa Agricultural College • Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign seed companies (Vilmorin-Andrieux, through David Fairchild) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farmers' Protective Association (anti-monopoly) • Wallace family • Sir Horace Plunkett
Beverly T. Galloway, Chief of Bureau of Plant Industry		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missouri Agricultural College 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign Seed Companies (Vilmorin-Andrieux) 	
