

MICHIGAN POLITICS AND POLICY
PUBPOL 475 - FALL TERM 2016

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Class Meetings: Mondays and Wednesdays 11:30-1pm

Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays 10:30-11:30am, and by appointment

Course Description and Objectives

In this course we have two main objectives: 1) develop an understanding of the Michigan system of state and local governments and 2) get an introduction to the use and analysis of original survey data.

This course is designed to familiarize you with the Michigan political system and investigate current policy issues at play both statewide and in local communities. We'll have an overview of Michigan government and political institutions, an examination of the responsibilities of and relationships between state and local units of government in Michigan, and discussion about specific issues and challenges currently facing Michigan policymakers.

On top of that, this course includes an introduction to and hands-on use of survey research data provided by one of the Ford School's core research centers—the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy (CLOSUP). Twice each year, CLOSUP's Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS) program asks Michigan local government leaders about a wide variety of public policy issues. We'll use this data to supplement our discussions of the topics we cover each week, and you'll also be analyzing it in your final papers. There is no prior knowledge of survey research, its methodology, or statistical software required.

Written assignments

During the semester you'll have four types of assignments:

- 1) **In class free-writing**: at the beginning of each class period, everyone will spend ~5 minutes getting your analytical juices flowing by writing on a question relevant to that week's readings or other issues in Michigan current events. These are not quizzes, but a chance to practice your writing skills and to gather your thoughts prior to class discussion. They're turned in during class with no make-ups accepted, but I will drop/waive four of these, so if you must miss class a few times, it should not affect your overall grade on this assignment.
- 2) **Local media op-ed**: this assignment will have you choose a region of Michigan and write a brief 800-word media opinion piece about a local issue, using MPPS data as evidence (optionally, I'll be encouraging you to submit these to local news outlets across the state, so they're the real deal)
- 3) **Questionnaire battery construction**: you'll develop a set of 7-10 new survey questions relevant to your policy area that could be asked on a future survey of Michigan elected officials.
- 4) **MPPS policy paper**: this is a 12-15 page paper (excluding figures or tables) that makes use of MPPS survey data in exploring a particular policy area in Michigan politics. You'll be required to define the policy issue and briefly provide a history and description of stakeholders in the outcome of the issue. You'll then use MPPS data to explore Michigan local government officials' views on the topic, as well as bring in outside data (from citizen surveys, national-level surveys of officials, etc.) to confirm or contrast with the MPPS findings. For this assignment, you will provide a one-page topic proposal, an initial draft for workshopping in class, and a final draft.

Course Grading

	% of course grade	due dates
In-class free writing*	10%	Each class session
Midterm exam	25%	10/26
MPPS policy analysis		
topic overview (1 page)	5%	10/24
questionnaire battery assignment	10%	11/7
local media op-ed (1-2 pages)	10%	
draft paper commentary and workshop	5%	11/30 & 12/5
final paper submission (12-15 pages)	25%	12/12
Class participation**	10%	Each class session

* Free writing assignments will be graded on a 0-5 scale, with zeros when they are not turned in and fives for demonstrating some kind of critical thinking, analysis, making reference to relevant texts or prior course discussions, or just generally being engaged in the topic. We'll discuss the metrics for all assignments at length during class.

** Participation grades are based on your active contributions during lecture and in Q&A when guest speakers join us. In addition, prior to guest speaker sessions, you'll be asked to submit 1-2 tentative questions via Canvas, which also factor into your participation grade.

Readings and Resources

We will read most or all of:

Hanley, J.P., and Rozycki, P.A. (2007). *Politics and Government in Michigan*. (5th edition: ISBN: 0073387835 / 6th edition: ISBN: 0078040450)

Sarbaugh-Thompson, M., Thompson, L., Elder, C.D., Strate, J., and Elling, R. (2006). *Political and Institutional Effects of Term Limits*. Palgrave Macmillan (ISBN-10: 140397585X)

Both of these books are on Course Reserves at the Shapiro Library. Additional readings noted in the syllabus will be posted on Canvas.

Class Expectations

Engaging in collaborative learning: To be successful in this class, students should attend regularly and come prepared to discuss the class content, not simply listen to lecture. Similarly, I commit to coming prepared and ready to exchange ideas. Also, if you come across material (readings or lectures) that you find unclear, please email or come see me. I am happy to sit down with you on an individual basis and help you with any problems you may be encountering with the class.

Requiring academic integrity: As University of Michigan students, you are expected to adhere to high standards of academic conduct. This includes submitting only your own ideas, writing, or research, and otherwise attributing credit where it is due. Any breach of academic integrity—including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, falsification of data, or any other form of cheating—will result in a zero for the assignment or test.

Valuing respect and diversity: Political topics can inspire strong feelings, but we can disagree without disrespect. We will all learn much more if each class member feels free to express his or her perspective, regardless of how different it might be from others in the room. I encourage you to be open to the views of others and be excited about the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this classroom community.

Accommodating disability: If you believe you need an accommodation for a disability, please let me know. Some aspects of this course may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make me aware of your needs, we can work with the Office of Services for Students with Disabilities to help us determine appropriate accommodations. I will treat any information you provide as private and confidential.

Supporting mental health: The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, or in need of support, contact Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) at (734) 764-8312 and <https://caps.umich.edu/> during and after hours, on weekends and holidays, or through its counselors physically located in schools on both North and Central Campus. You may also consult University Health Service (UHS) at (734) 764-8320 and <https://www.uhs.umich.edu/mentalhealthsvcs>, or for alcohol or drug concerns, see www.uhs.umich.edu/aodresources.

Here's a link to the Ford School's Academic expectations, which mirrors and expands on these policies: <http://fordschool.umich.edu/academics/expectations>

An initial schedule of weekly reading assignments for the course is listed below. However, it's your responsibility to keep track of any revisions to it that may be made. The pace of the class may vary from the anticipated schedule or I may discover new articles or websites we'll want to discuss. Any changes will be announced in class and on Canvas, so keep an eye out.

SECTION ONE: MICHIGAN POLITICAL CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS

September 7 (W): Course Introduction

The first day we'll discuss the class as a whole and what it will cover, as well as classroom expectations, assignments, grading, etc. We'll also take an initial look at the data we'll be using throughout the semester on our way to your final projects: the Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS).

September 12 (M): Michigan vs. Everybody

How does Michigan compare to other states in the nation in terms of its population? economy? taxation? educational system? environment? partisanship? How are these issues reflected in some of the topics that have been covered on MPPS survey questionnaires?

- *Michigan in Brief* Chapter 1: <http://www.michiganinbrief.org/edition07/Chapter1/Chapter1.htm>
- Ballard, C.L. (2009). The economic and fiscal background of metropolitan policies in Michigan, In Richard W. Jelier & Gary Sands (Eds.), *Sustaining Michigan: Metropolitan Policies and Strategies* (pp. 17-44)

- › **survey module:** a review of topic areas on previous MPPS surveys, browse <http://closup.umich.edu/michigan-public-policy-survey/mpps-questionnaires.php>

September 14 (W): The State Constitution and the Structure of Michigan State Government

How is the state's political system structured? What does the state constitution actually do? We'll take a look at constitutional politics through the lens of Michigan Proposal 4-2 of 2004 that made it unconstitutional for the state to recognize or perform same-sex marriages or civil unions.

- Overview of Michigan's four Constitutions:
[http://www.legislature.mi.gov/\(S\(2viyti3zd0lvexfm5tq044kd\)\)/documents/2011-2012/michiganmanual/2011-MM-P0025-p0026.pdf](http://www.legislature.mi.gov/(S(2viyti3zd0lvexfm5tq044kd))/documents/2011-2012/michiganmanual/2011-MM-P0025-p0026.pdf)
[http://www.legislature.mi.gov/\(S\(2viyti3zd0lvexfm5tq044kd\)\)/documents/2011-2012/michiganmanual/2011-MM-P0094-p0100.pdf](http://www.legislature.mi.gov/(S(2viyti3zd0lvexfm5tq044kd))/documents/2011-2012/michiganmanual/2011-MM-P0094-p0100.pdf)
- CRC Special Report on Michigan Constitutional Issues (February 2010), pp. 1-18.
- CRC Reminder to Clean Up the Michigan Constitution:
http://crcmich.org/reminder_clean_michigan_constitution-2015/
- On Proposal 4-2:
"The Faithful Divide Over Wedding Vows: A Profile of Michigan's 2004 Battle Over Marriage Equality"
https://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2009/06/pdf/michigan_glb.pdf

September 19 (M): The Michigan Legislature - Composition

We'll start with a look at the formal structure of the state legislature, then examine several specific institutional issues such as the effects of having a full-time legislature and legislators' term-limits.

- P&GM pp. 95-110
- Michigan Constitution, Article IV: Legislative Branch, § 1-12 (5 pages)
- Sarbaugh-Thompson et al. The Politics of Term Limits (Chapters 4-5)

- › **survey module:** an overview of survey research design, Ch. 2, pp. 5-18, "Background on the Survey Process" in Shonlau et al *Conducting Research Surveys via E-mail and the Web*:
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1480/MR1480.ch2.pdf

September 21 (W): The Michigan Legislature – Powers and Process

Sausage making at the state level: what kinds of informal relationships and processes go into lawmaking in Lansing?

- Michigan Constitution, Article IV: Legislative Branch, § 13-54 (7 pages)
- Sarbaugh-Thompson et al. The Politics of Term Limits (Chapters 7-9)
- › **survey module:** survey research design, continued, Ch. 5, pp. 41-53, “ Guidelines for Designing and Implementing Internet Surveys” in Shonlau et al *Conducting Research Surveys via E-mail and the Web*: http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1480/MR1480.ch5.pdf

September 26 (M): Political Parties in Michigan

Republicans and Democrats, Green and Tea Party, elections and campaign finance, citizen activism and professional lobbying. What impact do these actors and institutions have on Michigan politics?

- P&GM pp. 27-56
- “Political Geography of Michigan”, <http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/02/27/political-geography-michigan/>

September 28 (W): Michigan Interest Groups

Guest Speaker, Susan Demas, Inside Michigan Politics

- P&GM pp. 37-56
- [Additional interest group reading TBD]

October 3 (M): Here Comes the Governor

What kind of political power does the executive wield in Michigan politics? What are his or her formal and informal powers? What kind of governor has Rick Snyder been in comparison with his predecessors? What impact will/should the Flint Water Crisis have on his legacy?

- P&GM pp. 75-90
- Meet the Governor: <http://michigan.gov/snyder/0,4668,7-277--264124--,00.html>
- Development of the State Budget (4 pages)
http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/publications/MichiganManual%5C2009-2010MichiganManual/09-10_MM_IV_pp_09-12_Budget.pdf
- Flint water overview
- Watch Governor Snyder’s testimony before Congress on Flint Water Crisis (link to video)
- › **survey module:** in-class tutorial on how to download MPPS data from the web

October 5 (W): Also, State Agencies and Other Executive Officials

The executive branch is more than just Governor Snyder. What do state agencies do to influence and implement policy across the state? What's the story with the Emergency Manager law anyway?

- Michigan Constitution, Article V: Executive Branch, § 2-8 & 27-30, Article VIII: Education § 1-7, (3 pages)
 - Sarbaugh-Thompson et al. The Politics of Term Limits (Chapter 10)
 - CLOSUP 2012 report on local government officials' opinions on the EM law, pp. 1-5:
<http://closup.umich.edu/files/MPPS-Spring-2012-EmergencyManager.pdf>
- › **survey module:** the anatomy of an MPPS dataset in Stata and SPSS

October 10 (M): Michigan Local Governments

What are the various types of local governments in Michigan—counties, cities, villages, townships, and special purpose districts—and how do they function? What services do they provide and what barriers to they face in sustaining their service provision?

- P&GM pp. 129-172, 187- 196
 - P&GM p. 20 on Michigan Tribal Governments
 - In Class: Ann Arbor city council meeting live stream:
(<http://www.a2gov.org/departments/communications/ctn/whats-on/Pages/watch-videos.aspx>)
 - CLOSUP 2010 report on intergovernmental cooperation among local governments, pp. 1-9:
<http://closup.umich.edu/files/mpps-intergovernmental-collaboration.pdf>
 - article on Flint water system, TBD
- › **survey module:** evaluating a questionnaire, read Ch 4 pp. 65-106 “The Basics of Crafting Good Questions” in Dillman et al, *Internet, Mail and Mixed-Mode Surveys*

October 12 (W): The Courts and Judicial Politics in Michigan

Guest Speaker, Judge Hala Jarbou, Oakland County Circuit Court

How is the state legal system structured, organized, and funded? What are the implications for judicial independence to have judges run for office in elections? Are Supreme Court elections in Michigan truly nonpartisan or not?

- P&GM pp. 113-126
- Michigan Constitution, Article VI: Judicial Branch (5 pages)
- Browne, W.P., and VerBurg, K. (1995), “The Courts and Their Struggle to Centralize Control” in *Michigan Politics and Government: Facing Change in a Complex State*. pp. 167-192.
- Michigan Judicial Campaigns Ethics Pocket Guide
<http://courts.mi.gov/education/mji/Publications/Documents/Judicial-Campaigns.pdf>
- Detroit Free Press (October 2015), “Michigan judicial races most expensive in nation
<http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/2015/10/29/michigan-judicial-races-most-expensive-nation/74797942/>

October 17 (M): Fall Break

October 19 (W): Michigan Local Governments, continued

Where do local governments in Michigan get their revenue and how has that changed over time? What is the fiscal relationship between the state and local governments? What is the Headlee Amendment and how did that affect local property taxation in Michigan? How did the Great Recession of 2009-2011 impact local governments in Michigan?

- Ballard, Charles (2010), "The Tax System in Michigan" (Chapter 6 in *Michigan's Economic Future: A New Look*, pp. 173-214)
- CLOSUP annual fiscal health report, pp.1-15: <http://closup.umich.edu/files/mpps-fiscal-health-2016.pdf>
- Sapotichne, Josh, et al. (2015). "Beyond State Takeovers: Reconsidering the Role of State Government in Local Financial Distress, with Important Lessons for Michigan and its Embattled Cities." [MSU Extension White Paper] pp. 1-24: http://msue.anr.msu.edu/resources/beyond_state_takeovers

October 24 (M): Submit paper topic, exam review

One-page topic proposal for the policy papers are due today. In class, you'll give an informal, two-minute overview of what you are proposing to look at for your policy paper. Then we'll have a brief review session for the Midterm on Wednesday.

October 26 (W): Midterm exam

SECTION TWO: MICHIGAN POLITICAL ISSUES AND POLICY ALTERNATIVES

October 31 (M): Detroit

Guest speaker, Carol O'Cleireacain, Deputy Mayor for Economic Policy, Planning & Strategy, City of Detroit

Detroit is a lodestone of Michigan politics. How did the city get to where it is today and what are some potential hopes and fears for its future?

- Eisinger, Ch 10. "Detroit Prospects: Why Recovery is Elusive" in Smith and Kirkpatrick, *Reinventing Detroit* (2015)
- Detroit News (November 10, 2014), "From bankruptcy, Detroit emerges buoyant": <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/opinion/editorials/2014/11/08/detroit-emerges-buoyant-bankruptcy/18667715/>
- Bridge Magazine (December 8, 2015), "A year post-bankruptcy, Detroit still has a long to-do list": <http://bridgemi.com/2015/12/one-year-post-bankruptcy-detroit-still-has-a-long-to-do-list/>

November 2 (W): The Future of Michigan Economic Development

The state's economy has long been tied closely to manufacturing, particularly the auto industry. What forces are propelling change and where does Michigan's economy go from here?

- Feinstein et al (2003), Ch 7, "High Technology and Michigan's Economy" in Ballard et al, *Michigan at the Millennium*, pp. 117-132.
 - Michigan Business Leaders "Michigan Turn Around Plan" <http://www.michiganturnaroundplan.com/mtp-plan>
 - "Michigan and the death of entrepreneurship." (August, 2016). *Bridge Magazine*. <http://bridgemi.com/2016/08/michigan-and-the-death-of-entrepreneurship/>
- › **survey module:** Sources of survey data and how to evaluate them

November 7 (M): Poverty, Welfare, and Health Care

What are some of the policies that the state and local governments in Michigan use to address poverty? How did Michigan react to the passage of the Affordable Care Act (aka "Obamacare") and the requirements for states and employers mandated by it?

- *Michigan in Brief* Housing Affordability: <http://www.michiganinbrief.org/edition07/Chapter5/Housing.htm>
- CRC Report on Michigan's Fiscal Future (May 2008), Sections on Medicaid, Mental Health, and Human Services, pp. 64-90.
- Detroit News (March 31, 2015), "Snyder: Medicaid expansion reaches 600,000 residents" <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/news/politics/2015/03/31/snyder-medicaid-expansion-reaches-residents/70731872/>
- Mackinac Center (April 24, 2015), Michigan's Obamacare Medicaid Expansion Exceeds Projections by 22 Percent, <https://www.mackinac.org/21234>
- MLIVE (February 11, 2015), "By the numbers: A quick look at the Ann Arbor area's homeless population" http://www.mlive.com/news/ann-arbor/index.ssf/2015/02/ann_arbor_homeless_count_2015.html

Your questionnaire battery assignment is due today, submitted before class via Canvas.

November 9 (W): K-12 Education Policy

Guest speaker Amber Arellano, The Education Trust Midwest

Is there a governing vision for K-12 policy in the state of Michigan? How are schools financed and are those monies distributed fairly or sufficiently? What role do players such as teachers' unions, charter school advocates, parent groups, and local school boards play in shaping Michigan schools? How will the financial stress and even bankruptcy of a number of school districts, most notably Detroit's, affect education policy and funding going forward?

- P&GM pp. 175-184
- [reading on Michigan Charter Schools TBD]
- [reading on the relationship between the State and the Detroit Public Schools and the creation of a new DPS District TBD]

November 14 (M): Criminal Justice and Corrections

Today, the Michigan Department of Corrections (MDOC) is the largest program that state government operates directly, accounting for nearly 20% (\$2 billion) of the current General Purpose budget and employing nearly one-third of the classified workforce. How does this compare to other nearby states? Should Michigan be heeding various national-level calls to transform the way we incarcerate people in the U.S.?

- Citizens Research Council of Michigan (CRC), 2008, pp. 1-37, "Growth in Michigan's Corrections System: Historical and Comparative Perspectives"
- › **survey module:** presenting survey data analysis graphically, [reading TBD]

November 16 (W): Environmental policies (guest speaker, Sarah Mills, CLOSUP)

Water management and protection is obviously an important policy issue in the 'The Great Lakes State.' But there are also significant ongoing policy debates in Michigan surrounding energy issues such as fracking, wind turbines, and sustainability. How are different regions and communities affected differently by these issues and what motivates Michigan policymakers to advance or resist change in environmental policies?

- CLOSUP report on Wind Power, pp.1-17: <http://closup.umich.edu/files/mpps-fall-2013-wind-power.pdf>
- CLOSUP report on Fracking, pp.1-12: <http://closup.umich.edu/files/mpps-fall-2013-fracking.pdf>

November 21 (M): Transportation Policy

Road funding has been a political football in Michigan in recent years, but roads are not the only transit issues at play. Who wants to expand transit alternatives and what monies are available?

- CLOSUP report on Roads, pp.1-8: <http://closup.umich.edu/michigan-public-policy-survey/29/views-on-right-to-work-legislation-among-michigans-local-government-leaders/>
- CLOSUP report on Transit, pp.1-8: <http://closup.umich.edu/michigan-public-policy-survey/29/views-on-right-to-work-legislation-among-michigans-local-government-leaders/>

November 23 (W): Discussion Day

November 28 (M): Employee Unions and “Right To Work”

Michigan is the historic home of the American labor movement and unions have played a significant role in shaping Michigan’s economy and workforce. However, in 2012, Michigan passed a ‘Right To Work’ law that allows public and private employees to opt out of formerly mandatory union fees, effectively dealing a blow to unions’ resources and their ability to bargain. What is the future of Michigan unions in the wake of Right To Work?

- Bridge Magazine (November 21, 2015), “Michigan held down by low income, education”: <http://bridgemi.com/2015/11/report-michigan-held-down-by-low-income-education/>
- CLOSUP report on Right To Work, pp.1-8: <http://closup.umich.edu/michigan-public-policy-survey/29/views-on-right-to-work-legislation-among-michigans-local-government-leaders/>
- **survey module:** how to report your survey data, read Ch 8 pp. 154-177 “Elementary Qualitative Data Analysis” in Chambliss and Schutt, *Making Sense of the Social World* [http://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/46056_Pages_from_Chamblyss_\(4e\)_Chapter_8.pdf](http://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/46056_Pages_from_Chamblyss_(4e)_Chapter_8.pdf)

November 30 (W): Placemaking” as an Economic Development approach

Guest speaker, Dan Gilmartin, Michigan Municipal League

“Placemaking” is a community and economic development strategy that attempts to create appealing and unique places where people want to live and work. Proponents of place-based economic development argue that by creating vibrant downtowns, neighborhoods, or public spaces, talented workers will be drawn to move in, and they will subsequently attract new businesses as well as start their own. We’ll look at placemaking and contrast it with other Economic Development strategies being used in Michigan.

- CLOSUP report on Placemaking, pp.1-12: <http://closup.umich.edu/files/mpps-spring-2013-placemaking.pdf>
- Browse MML’s placemaking informational website: <http://placemaking.mml.org>

Your initial draft of your final paper is due today. You’ll submit it to me via Canvas and email it to three classmates.

December 5 (M): Workshopping paper drafts

Today we'll break into groups to workshop your paper drafts.

Feedback on assigned workshopped papers due today. You'll submit five bullet-point comments for each paper it to me via Canvas and bring that (plus any additional feedback) to class to share with classmates.

December 7 (W) : The Michigan Public

What role do average citizens play in shaping policy in the state?

- Michigan Constitution, Article II: Elections (3 pages)
- Michigan Radio (November 2014), "You have to go back 24 years to find a lower voter turnout number in Michigan"
<http://michiganradio.org/post/you-have-go-back-24-years-find-lower-voter-turnout-number-michigan>
- Michigan Open Meetings Act and Freedom of Information Act
<http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/publications/openmtgsfreedom.pdf>
- CLOSUP report on Citizen Engagement, pp.1-13: <http://closup.umich.edu/files/mpps-fall-2012-citizen-engagement.pdf>

December 12 (M): The Future of Michigan Politics

What lies ahead for Michigan? What policies do you predict will most influence the future of the state?

- CRC Report on Michigan's Fiscal Future (May 2008), Sections on Economic, Population, and Revenue Projections, pp. 5-19.

Your final paper is due today, submitted before class via Canvas.