

Public Policy 510.002

The Politics of Public Policy

Tuesdays and Thursdays 8:30-9:50 AM, 1120 Weill Hall

Instructor: Devin Judge-Lord, judgelor@umich.edu, 715-204-4287

Office hours: Tuesday and Thursday 10-11 AM, 3215 Weill Hall

GSI: Caroline Leland, chleland@umich.edu

Office hours: Tuesday and Thursday 11:30am-12:30pm, 3204 Weill Hall.

Updated August 30, 2023

Objectives

The primary objective of this core course in the MPP curriculum is to equip students with the knowledge and skills needed for effective political analysis of public policy issues and decisions. The course covers conceptual and analytic frameworks for understanding political processes, institutions, stakeholders, contexts, and policy decision-making. In addition, the course builds written and verbal communication skills, emphasizing the ability to convey clear and concise political analyses in a variety of formats, including policy memos.

This section of 510 focuses on the politics of policymaking in the U.S. federal system, with special emphasis on environmental policy. Students will learn how policy agendas are shaped and enacted within and across institutions of local, state, and U.S. federal government, as well as Native nations. We will study the roles of different actors, types of authority, and advocacy strategies and develop skills required to inform and influence policy. We will apply this conceptual understanding to policy challenges related to water quality in the Great Lakes region, which we will use as working examples throughout the semester.

Public policy is defined in many ways. I think of public policy as the government's statement of what it intends to do. The government part makes it public, and the stated course of action makes it policy. Policy is more than a single decision, it is a statement about how future decisions will be made. Public policy is made at the international, national, state, regional, county, city, and even more local levels and across different types of institutions (legislative, executive, judicial, etc.) at each level.

Learning about public policy—what it is, the legal frameworks within which it is made, the tools available to policymakers, the policymaking process, and how to evaluate public policies—will strengthen your writing, analytical, research, and advocacy skills.

Public policy is inexorably linked to questions of power. Policy emerges from and shapes politics, but it also involves evidence. Political debates define problems, goals, and agendas, but to achieve any goal through policy, evidence about the effects of different policy tools is indispensable. Evidence must come from sources that your audience will trust. Good evidence ought to be convincing to reasonable opponents of one's policy goals. Good arguments clarify your logic, even to those who may oppose your goals.

#Goals

1. Engage with public policy scholars and practitioners
2. Understand the history and language of policy studies
3. Understand how scholarly and public debates inform policy
4. Conduct policy-relevant research
5. Write for a policy audience
6. Engage in public policymaking
7. Engaging others in the policy process

“Practical wisdom includes a knowledge of particular facts, and this is derived from experience” - Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*

Learning Outcomes

My objective in teaching this course is to encourage your understanding of the policymaking process.

- You will understand the provisions of the United States Constitution most related to the development and execution of public policy in the United States: Delegation of powers, separation of powers, federalism, and the allocation of powers within the states.
 - You will understand the difference between federalism and the allocation of authorities between state, county, and municipal governments.
 - You will learn to define and frame problems as an essential first step in the development of public policy.
 - You will learn to develop, analyze, and advocate policy alternatives.
 - You will learn how to write a policy memo.
 - You will learn about executive, administrative, legislative, judicial, and other governmental authorities and their respective roles in making public policy.
 - You will understand the role of politics in policy development.
 - You will learn various approaches to policy analysis.
 - You will learn about different tools and functions available to public policymakers.
 - You will learn various approaches to evaluate the success of public policy initiatives.
 - You will learn about the role of norms and values in public policy formulation.
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Advice from my previous students

- Understand federalism and the structure of local government. (Hint: the readings help!)
 - Start early on policy memos and come to office hours.
 - Policy memos are short but not easy!
 - Memos take a lot of research.
 - It is key to understand basic public policy and political science concepts. Please stop me for clarification anytime.
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Requirements

Required Texts

Two texts are required. **Any edition of Stone is fine**, but more recent editions have more contemporary examples.

Dan Egan, *The Death and Life of the Great Lakes*

Deborah Stone, *Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making*. Any Edition (New York: W.W. Norton and Co.).

We will read several chapters from

- Weimer and Vining's *Policy Analysis* (5th or 6th ed.), a classic text that you will likely read in other courses as well.
- Deva Woodly's *The Politics of Common Sense*, which I highly recommend.

We will post these selected chapters and other readings on Canvas or the class website.

Recommended For background on the U.S. policymaking system and policy analysis, I recommend two additional textbooks:

- Michael E. Kraft and Scott R. Furlong, *Public Policy: Politics, Analysis, and Alternatives*. Any Edition.
 - Thomas A. Birkland, *An Introduction to the Policy Process: Theories, Concepts, and Models of Public Policy Making*. Any Edition.
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Technology in Class

No screens in class (unless I give permission). Research shows that they inhibit learning and distract your colleagues. Out of respect to the instructor and your fellow students, put your cell phone away for the duration of class.

Attendance

Class attendance is required.

We will take attendance at the beginning of each class.

If you are going to miss class, please **notify BOTH CAROLINE AND ME by email in advance**.

Learning environment

Learning from each other is only possible if we show the respect due to our fellow citizens of this class.

To realize this goal, I expect us to respect our colleagues and cultivate inclusive discussions. This means that we must be careful not to mislead, degrade, interrupt someone who does not speak as much, or enforce hierarchies based on race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, gender expression, sexual orientation, or ability.

Ford School and University of Michigan Policies

Ford School Inclusivity Statement: Members of the Ford School community represent a rich variety of backgrounds and perspectives. We are committed to providing an atmosphere for learning that respects diversity. While working together to build this community we ask all members to:

- share their unique experiences, values, and beliefs
- be open to the views of others
- honor the uniqueness of their colleagues
- appreciate the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this community
- value one another's opinions and communicate in a respectful manner
- keep confidential discussions that the community has of a personal (or professional) nature
- use this opportunity together to discuss ways in which we can create an inclusive environment in Ford - classes and across the UM community

Ford School Public Health Protection Policy. In order to participate in any in-person aspects of this course—including meeting with other students to study or work on a team project—you must follow all the public health safety measures and policies put in place by the State of Michigan, Washtenaw County, the University of Michigan, and the Ford School. Up-to-date information on U-M policies can be found [here](#). It is expected that you will protect and enhance the health of everyone in the Ford School community by staying home and following self-isolation guidelines if you are experiencing any symptoms of COVID-19.

Student Mental Health and Wellbeing. The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. We acknowledge that a variety of issues, both those relating to the pandemic and other issues such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, and depression, can directly impact students' academic performance and overall wellbeing. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available.

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You may access the Ford School's embedded counselor Paige Ziegler (contact information TBD) and/or counselors and urgent services at [Counseling and Psychological Services \(CAPS\)](#) and/or [University Health Service \(UHS\)](#). Students may also use the Crisis Text Line (text '4UMICH' to 741741) to be connected to a trained crisis volunteer. You can find additional resources both on and off campus through the [University Health Service](#) and through [CAPS](#).

Student/Faculty Interaction Best Practices. We strive to ensure a safe learning environment free from gender-based and sexual harassment, sexual violence, retaliation, and a hostile environment based on discrimination and intimidation. We make the following commitments:

- To conduct office hours with the door open unless the student requests a closed-door meeting;
- To document meeting times with students so that this record can be reviewed;
- To meet students individually only at university venues;
- To conduct off-campus meetings only at places where alcohol is not served;
- To communicate electronically with students only on university platforms and not on social media, text, or non-university apps.
- For more information on resources for reporting sexual misconduct, please see [here](#) and [here](#).

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: If you believe you need accommodation for a disability, please reach out to the UM Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) office to help determine appropriate academic accommodations and how to communicate about your accommodations with your professors. Any information you provide will be treated as private and confidential.

If you require accommodations from SSD, please start that process quickly because it takes time.

Academic Integrity: The Ford School academic community, like all communities, functions best when its members treat one another with honesty, fairness, respect, and trust. We hold all members of our community to high standards of scholarship and integrity. To accomplish its mission of providing an optimal educational environment and developing leaders of society, the Ford School promotes the assumption of personal responsibility and integrity and prohibits all forms of academic dishonesty, plagiarism, and misconduct. Academic dishonesty may be understood as any action or attempted action that may result in creating an unfair academic advantage for oneself or an unfair academic advantage or disadvantage for any other member or members of the academic community. Plagiarism involves representing the words, ideas, or work of others as one's own in writing or presentations, and failing to give full and proper credit to the original source. Conduct, without regard to motive, that violates academic integrity and ethical standards will result in serious consequences and disciplinary action. The Ford School's policy of academic integrity can be found in the [MPP](#), [BA](#), and [PhD Program](#) handbooks. Additional information regarding academic dishonesty, plagiarism, and misconduct and their consequences is available [here](#).

Use of Technology: Students should follow instructions from their instructor as to acceptable use of technology in the classroom, including laptops, in each course. All course materials (including slides, assignments, handouts, pre-recorded lectures, or recordings of class) are to be considered confidential material and are not to be shared in full or part with anyone outside of the course participants. Likewise, your own personal recording (audio or video) of your classes or office hour sessions is allowed only with the express written permission of your instructor. If you wish to post course materials or photographs/videos of classmates or your instructor to third-party sites (e.g. social media), you must first have informed consent. Without explicit permission from the instructor and in some cases your classmates, the public distribution or posting of any photos, audio/video recordings, or pre-recordings from class, discussion section, or office hours, even if you have permission to record, is not allowed and could be considered academic misconduct.

Please review additional information and policies regarding [academic expectations and resources](#) at the Ford School of Public Policy.

Please see the end of the syllabus for information about our commitment to best practices of instructor/student interactions.

Assignments

Credit hours will be earned by attending two classes of 1.33 hours each, reading and preparing written work outside of class for 6 to 9 hours per week, round table presentations, one issues memo, three policy memos, one talking points memo, and five roudtable critiques.

All assignments are to be submitted on Canvas.

Participation (15 X 1% = 15%)

Participation posts to Canvas are due by 7 p.m. every Tuesday In addition to attending class, we will continue the conversation by discussing readings and assignment tasks on Canvas.

- Weeks 2 and 3: **Ask a question:** Post a response and question **from the readings** (100-200 words).
- Week 4: **Gather evidence:** Find a policy-relevant peer-reviewed research paper and post 100-200 words about it on Canvas
- Week 5: **Ask a question about federalism or how local government works in practice**
- Week 6: **Engage in policymaking:** Write to a public official or agency (not one to whom you are writing a memo). Post 100-200 words about it and a link to the opportunity on Canvas. For example, you might [Comment on a proposed federal agency policy](#), [Comment on a proposed state agency policy](#) (sort by Filing Date to see Pending rules), Recommend a course of action to one of [your elected representatives](#))
- Week 7: **Engage others in policymaking:** Write 100-200 words about why it is important to engage in a particular policy process (not one on which you are writing a memo) and link to the opportunity on Canvas OR Write no more than 240 characters (plus a link to the opportunity) on why people should engage that is shared by at least 5 other people on a public forum—post a link or screenshots to Canvas

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- Weeks 8-15: Choose one of the above options. Early posts set the agenda!

Every week: Attend lectures or let me know *ahead of time* if you must miss.

Agenda setting issues memo (5%)

The first assignment is your opportunity to set the agenda for this course. It is also a chance to learn about how political authority is distributed in the U.S. federal system.

Please submit a **1-page** single-spaced [issues memo](#) on the following question:

What are the most pressing water quality issues in the Great Lakes region? Please identify **three issues** and **three local, state, inter-state, tribal, inter-tribal, or U.S. federal officials** who are in a position to advance policies addressing each issue.

Policy memoranda (3 X 20% = 60%)

You will write three **4-page** double-spaced policy memos to public officials following [the policy memo template](#) exactly.

Roundtable (15% + 5% for peer reviews = 20%)

The penultimate three class periods are reserved for you to present your policy recommendations on an expert panel. A **1-page** single-spaced [talking points memo](#) is due 24 hours before your presentation.

You will closely observe and comment on your peers' presentations, writing a one-page (single-spaced) peer critique for each of the other five panels.

Grades

Each assignment builds on the prior assignment. We will comment on your policy memos (click on the "rubric" button in Canvas to see our comments). I expect you to take our comments into account in your next memo and write more effectively each time. If our comments are unclear, please come to office hours.

Late work Assignments must be submitted on time. **Grades will be reduced by a full grade after the deadline and an additional grade per 24-hour period for which the assignment is late.**

If there are extenuating circumstances, I may reduce or waive penalties for late work, but we may not be able to give written comments on late work. Because the extent to which you address our feedback is critical to how well you will do on the next assignment, I will only reduce penalties for late work if you come to discuss your memo with me during office hours **before the next memo is due.**

Policy on Academic Dishonesty/Plagiarism

Academic dishonesty is broadly defined as submitting work that is not your own without attribution. This is not acceptable in any academic course. I use software tools to detect plagiarism. If you submit written work containing plagiarized material, you will receive a failing grade for the course and be reported to the University.

Generative Text Tools Using [SALAMI](#)

You learn by doing work, and I assess your learning by the work you do. You may use tools to help craft your writing, but you must learn the craft of policy writing to succeed in class. To add value to any employer

or cause, you must craft policy recommendations that are significantly better than they would get by asking an LLM. I expect the same.

Good policy rests on good evidence. Many LLMs fabricate evidence. Work submitted with fake sources or made-up facts will get a 0 for similar reasons that other forms of academic dishonesty make your work worse than worthless. The key recommendation of experts studying how students can effectively use LLMs is to craft a solid bibliography first and constrain generative tools to those sources. You will still have to do significant work to make sure that sources are used and cited appropriately, but this is much easier than finding real evidence to replace fake evidence and *then* making sure it is used and cited correctly.

I am not yet sure if LLMs are a helpful tool for the craft of writing policy memos or learning this craft. I worry that they may constrain creativity by focusing our attention on problems and solutions that already exist and have already been frequently linked in the source material on which the LLMs are trained. Additionally, in many fields, including political science, rich White men are disproportionately the authors of the source texts. Uncritically using LLMs trained on biased source material risks reinforcing biases.

As mentioned in the memo template, **references must be hyperlinked** whenever possible, we will be checking to make sure sources of evidence are used appropriately.

I reserve the right to discuss your papers in length with you if I have concerns.

Reading

After the first week, you are expected to do all assigned readings for each week before Tuesday's class. I will call on students during class.

Each week, we will read some original research and portions of a book for a broader context.

Week one: Federalism

Tuesday: Course goals and expectations

[Syllabus](#) and [memo assignment guide](#)

Thursday: Crash course in the distribution of authority in the U.S. federal system

Context: [The United States Constitution \(as amended, 1992\)](#)

Listen: [More Perfect, "One Nation, Under Money"](#) (Note: this episode includes a brief mention of sexual assault in the context of the Violence Against Women Act at minute 48. It is not graphic.)

Week two: The Policy Process

Research: [Carpenter, Daniel. 2023. "Agenda Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 26:193-212](#) by Daniel Carpenter,

Research: Egan, Part 1

Recommended Research: Wasow, Omar. 2020. "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting." *American Political Science Review* 114:638-659

Recommended Context: Birkland, Chapter 1-3

Week three: Institutions

Research: [Blackhawk, Maggie. 2019. "Federal Indian Law as Paradigm within Public Law" *Harvard Law Review* pages 1789-1844 \(i.e. Part III is optional reading, as are footnotes\)](#)

Research: [Egan, Part 2](#)

Listen: [The Federalist Society: "A Preview of County of Maui, Hawaii v. Hawaii Wildlife Fund"](#)

Listen: [Harvard Environmental & Energy Law Program: Sackett v. EPA Decision: What the Justices Said and What this Means for Water](#)

Week four: Policy Actors and Evidence

Agenda setting issues memo due Monday at 7 PM

Research: [Egan, Part 3](#)

Research: [Leech, Beth. 2010. Lobbying and Influence. In *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*, ed. Sandy L. Maisel, Jeffrey M. Berry, and George C. Edwards. *Oxford University Press* pp. 696–719.](#)

Research: [Dwidar, Miraam. 2022. "Coalitional Lobbying and Intersectional Representation in American Rulemaking." *American Political Science Review*, 116\(1\), 301-321](#)

Listen: [SSN: Moonshots - Thomas Kalil](#)

Listen: [SSN: Informing Policy - Jenni W. Owen](#)

Recommended Context: [Birkland, Part II, Chapters 4-7](#)

Week five: Policy Writing

Memo assignments and round table groups announced Tuesday

Review policy memo research and writing assistance resources from Writing Center staff

[Policy Writing Overview](#)

[The Art and Science of Framing and Issue](#)

Week six: Policy Tools

Research: [Judge-Lord, McDermott, and Cashore. 2020. *Do Private Regulations Ratchet Up?: How to Distinguish Types of Regulatory Stringency and Patterns of Change.*" *Organization & Environment**, 33\(1\), 96–125.](#)

Listen: [SSN: Paying for Pollution - Leigh Raymond](#)

Context: [Bardach, Appendix B \(PDF online\)](#)

Context: [Weimer and Vining, Chapter 1 *FROM THE 5th EDITION*, not the 6th \(current\) edition.](#)

Recommended Context: [Birkland Part III, Chapters 8-11](#)

Week seven: Politics and Rationality

Memo 1 due Tuesday 7 PM

Research: [Drutman, Lee](#). There are too many lawyers in politics. Here's what to do about it.

Listen: [SSN: Lawyers, Lawyers, and More Lawyers](#) - Adam Bonica

Listen: [NPR: Obama Office Alters More Federal Rules Than Bush](#) - Ari Shapiro

Context: Weimer and Vining, Chapters 2 and 3 (5th or 6th ed.)

Context: Stone, Introduction and Chapter 1

Recommended Context: Birkland, Part IV, Chapters 12-13

Week eight: Goals and Tradeoffs

Tuesday: **FALL BREAK**

Thursday:

Listen: [SSN: Death by a Thousand Cuts](#) - Ashley E. Nickels

Context: Stone, Part II

Week nine: Framing Problems

Memo 2 due Tuesday 7 PM

Research: [Judge-Lord](#). "Making Policy About Distributive Justice: The Environmental Justice Movement's Impact on Agency Rulemaking"

Context: Stone, Part III

Week ten: Solutions

Research: [Woodly, Deva](#). 2015. *The Politics of Common Sense: How Social Movements Use Public Discourse to Change Politics and Win Acceptance*. Oxford University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1

Context: Stone, Part IV

Week eleven: Policy Feedback

Memo 3 due Tuesday 7 PM

Research: [Mettler, Suzanne](#). 2002. "Bringing the state back in to civic engagement: Policy feedback effects of the GI Bill for World War II veterans." *American Political Science Review* 96(2): 351-365.

Research: [Weaver, Vesla M](#). "How Mass Imprisonment Burdens the United States with a Distrustful Underclass"

Listen: [SSN: 147: In Government We Distrust](#) - Suzanne Mettler

Week twelve: Laws that Govern Lawmaking

Research: Seifter. 2016. "Second-Order Participation in Administrative Law." *UCLA Law Review* 63

Listen: Citizens' Initiative SSN 117: The Citizen Expert-John Gastil

Context: Mansbridge, "Clarifying the Concept of Representation." *American Political Science Review*, Volume 105, Issue 3, August 2011, pp. 621 -630

Weeks thirteen and fourteen: Roundtables

Talking Points Memo due 24 hours before your roundtable presentation

Week fifteen: Reflection

Tuesday: Course wrap-up, reflection, and responses to roundtable presentations

Thursday: No class, Winter Break

Ammendments

Because many topics we cover are subjects of ongoing discussion, I may make occasional changes to the course readings over the semester. I will notify you of any substantive changes. The full revision history is [here](#).

More Information on Student Instructor Best Practices.

We will conduct office hours with my door open.

Students who wish to have confidential conversations with me may schedule a private meeting via Zoom or may ask to have a closed-door meeting. But this closed-door meeting must be made on your request in writing, even on the spot. I will never suggest a closed-door meeting myself because of the power dynamic.

We will document all pre-scheduled meetings between the instructor and the student via Google Calendar (or other software) and/or university email.

Students who email to request an office hour appointment should expect to receive an email confirmation or a Google Calendar (or other software) invitation from me, or, upon my email confirmation and request, may send me a Google Calendar (or other software) invitation for this meeting. The purpose is to provide a permanent record of the meeting and to ensure that all class activities are documented and transparent. Students who choose to drop by for informal meetings are welcome to do so, but there will be no documentation provided. (See above for open-door policy.)

We will choose meeting locations and conduct meetings with student and instructor safety in mind.

We will ensure that all individual meetings between instructor/student will take place at university venues.

We will ensure that all off-campus meetings, trips, or events must engage with course material.

Off-campus meetings will not involve alcohol or take place at locations that serve alcohol. If the class goes out for a meal, it will be at a cafe or restaurant that does not serve alcohol. The location/day/time of any off-campus meetings between the instructor and students will be documented in Google Calendar (or other software).

We the instructors, will conduct all individual communications using the University platforms of email, Canvas, Slack, or Piazza, with the caveat that we may use non-University platforms set up by students (such as GroupMe) only if they include all students in the class.

There will be no instructor-student private communications on any non-University platforms, such as social media, GroupMe, personal phone numbers, What's App, etc.

For more information on resources for reporting sexual misconduct, please see [here](#) and [here](#).