

Public Policy 201: Systematic Thinking About Problems of the Day
Fall 2021
(Syllabus V.2)

MW 11:30-12:50 in 1120 Weill Hall

Professor Richard L. Hall
rlhall@umich.edu
4130 Weill Hall / 763-4390
Office Hours: Tues. 3:00-4:00; Wed. 3:00-5:00
& by appointment

*GSI*s:

Nicholas Birdsong: nbrdsong@umich.edu

Office Hours: Tu 1pm-2pm, F 10:30a-11:30a

Ariella Stafanson: ahstafan@umich.edu

Office Hours: W 1pm-2pm, Th 2:30-3:30pm

Public policy is an important but imperfect means to improve the world in which we live. The premise of policy analysis and research is that we cannot improve what we don't understand. How does the part of the world we care about work? What aspects of it can we and should we change? And what is the best way to do that? Answering these questions is not easy. It requires systematic thinking about the values public policy should serve and the application of social science theory, evidence, and methods. This course will introduce students to the study of public policy through five modules on different policy topics, each taught by a different instructor: economic development, election security, social welfare, health, and campaign finance. In addition, this course emphasizes the value of open and constructive dialogue and disagreement as a tool to improve the quality of public policy discourse and design. Attendance and active engagement/participation are thus important to your success in the course. We would note too that, although the course is not a prerequisite for admission, the Ford School admissions committee often considers a student's performance in this course when evaluating applications.

In addition to three hours of lecture each week, there will be a one-hour section taught by a GSI. Students must register both for the main lecture and for one discussion section. Each student must attend their own section, *not* another section taught by the same GSI.

Course Objectives:

1. To learn concepts and theories useful in thinking about complex social problems from a policy perspective.
2. To develop skills in evaluating social science research and other evidence to make policy arguments.
3. To develop skills in analyzing equity and fairness issues in public policy.
4. To develop written communication skills in formats that are common in the professional policy world.
5. To develop skills in crafting, articulating and debating policy ideas with others, including those whose perspectives and opinions differ from your own.

COVID Contingencies

At this writing, we are planning to hold both lectures and discussions in person. However, COVID cases in Washtenaw County are on the rise, so I expect that some students and professors will need to participate via Zoom for all or part of the semester. Until we announce otherwise, however, we will expect students to participate in person unless they cannot be on campus because of foreign travel restrictions or health reasons. If you have personal concerns or challenges regarding in-person class please reach out to me directly.

Course Materials (Important!)

Materials and information pertinent to each module will be posted on the Canvas site well in advance of their required use, but not all such material will be available at the beginning of the course. **Note:** Class slides will sometimes be posted before and sometimes after the class in which they are used. *Students should check the Canvas site frequently.*

iClickers: Some professors will be using iClickers, so please make sure you have one and bring it to class and discussion if your GSI so requests. *Note: Your iClicker must be registered on the Canvas course site.*

Requirements

Readings: The readings for each class should be read *before* class. We realize that professors often say this, but this course moves from topic to topic fairly quickly, so students who do not keep up are apt to get lost. If you are finding yourself falling behind please reach out to your GSI earlier rather than later so they can help you stay on track.

Exams (60%): Two exams will be given. (See schedule below.) The GSIs will participate with the professors in determining the coverage of the quizzes and final exam, which will contain material from the sections as well as readings and lectures.

Policy Memo & Op-Ed (25%): These two writing assignments will be described in a separate document.

Attendance & Participation (15%): This portion of the grade will depend primarily but not exclusively on your participation in section. If you are not attending lecture (and responding to iClicker prompts), that would be a problem. If you have a classmate take your iClicker to class and you are not there, that would be a problem as well.

Other Important Matters:

Classroom Expectations/Etiquette: Please arrive to class (whether remote or in-person) on time unless you have previously discussed potential barriers with Professor Hall or your GSI. Also, we will be engaging in discussions and debates about very important societal and political issues in this course. It is perfectly fine and in fact expected that people in this course will disagree with each other and have contrary opinions and perspectives. However, it is not appropriate to personalize differences of opinions, or to engage in rude, insulting, or hostile behavior during our debates or outside of class. Ad hominem arguments – those aimed at a person rather than the position or perspective they hold – are not acceptable in the professional world and are also not acceptable in this course. The goal is to discover where we disagree and, in turn, to have lively,

respectful, and productive exchanges. If you feel uncomfortable with an aspect of a class discussion, please reach out to Professor Hall or your GSI.

Ethical Conduct: The Ford School of Public Policy believes that the conduct of students registered or taking courses in the School should be consistent with that of a professionally-employed person. Courtesy, honesty, and respect should be shown by students toward faculty members, guest lecturers, administrative support staff, and fellow students. Similarly, students should expect faculty to treat them fairly, showing respect for their ideas and opinions and striving to help them achieve maximum benefits from their experience in the School.

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, have been exposed to someone with COVID-19, or are awaiting a test result because of symptoms. If you do not have a verified COVID-19 vaccine report in the U-M vaccination report system, you are required to participate in weekly testing if you intend to come to campus for any reason.

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.

You may access 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.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: If you believe you need an accommodation for a disability, please reach out to U-M 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.

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 the 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/MPA, BA, and PhD Program handbooks. Additional information regarding academic dishonesty, plagiarism and misconduct and their consequences is available at: <http://www.rackham.umich.edu/current-students/policies/academic-policies/section11#112>.

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 at this link:
<http://fordschool.umich.edu/academics/expectations>

Overview of Course Schedule

Aug. 30:	Introduction
Sept. 1-8:	Evidence-Driven Policy (Hall)
Sept. 13-27:	Module 1: Global Poverty (Yang)
Sept. 29-Oct. 13:	Module 2: Elections in the U.S? (Mebane)
Oct. 18:	Fall break
Oct. 20:	First Exam
Oct. 25-Nov. 8:	Module 3: U.S. Poverty and Social Policy (Pilkaukas)
Nov. 10-22:	Module 4: Medicaid in the States (K. Hall)
Nov 29-Dec. 8:	Module 5: Campaign Finance Reform (R. Hall)
Dec. 20:	Second Exam: 1:30 pm - 3:00 p.m. (1120 Weill Hall)

*Instructor Bios attached

Class Schedule and Readings

Note:

Readings not online will be available on the Canvas course site.

Aug. 30: Introduction (Hall)

Sept. 1-8: Evidence-Driven Policy (Professor Hall)

Not all policy research is based on good evidence. How do we figure out what the problems are? How can we tell if a policy works? It isn't easy.

Readings:

Rossi, Peter H., Mark W. Lipsey, Gary T. Henry, *Evaluation: A Systematic Approach*, 8th Edition, pages 1-6 (top of page).

Kellstedt, Paul M. and Guy D. Whitten, *The Fundamentals of Political Science Research*, pages 106-115

Pollock III, Phillip H. and Barry C Edwards, *The Essentials of Political Science Research*, pages 106-114.

Rogers, Todd, Lucas Coffman and Peter Bergman, *Parental Involvement Overrated? Don't Buy It*, CNN, May 5, 2014

<https://www.cnn.com/2014/05/05/opinion/rogers-coffman-bergman-education-kids/index.html>

Module 1: Global Poverty (Professor Yang)

Sept. 13-22

We will consider the challenge posed by massive and persistent world poverty. We will begin with one class providing a global overview of the inequalities in wealth and well-being across countries on the planet today and discuss how these inequalities emerged since the Industrial Revolution. We will then spend each of the next three classes considering three prominent approaches to improving the well-being of poor households in developing countries: technology, microfinance, and international migration.

Readings: Starred items are required. Unstarred items are optional, to be read depending on your time and interests. Unless otherwise stated, you are expected to read the entire source.

Sept. 13: Introduction (readings continued on next page)

*Radelet, Steven, *The Great Surge: The Ascent of the Developing World*, Simon and Schuster, 2015. Chapters 1 and 2. (Other chapters optional.)

(Chapter 2 available at:

<https://books.google.com/books?id=d5zdCgAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>) (Note: Do not worry that some pages and graphs missing.)

Banerjee, Abhijit and Esther Duflo, *Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty*, Public Affairs, 2011.

Sept. 15: Technology

*Gollin, Douglas, Casper Worm Hansen, and Asger Mose Wingender, *When Agriculture Drives Development: Lessons from the Green Revolution*, VoxEU, March 20, 2021. <https://voxeu.org/article/when-agriculture-drives-development>

*Carter, Michael, Rachid Laajaj, and Dean Yang, *Temporary Agricultural Input Subsidies Have Lasting Impacts: The Mozambique Experiment*, VoxDev, October 21, 2019. <https://voxdev.org/topic/agriculture/temporary-agricultural-input-subsidies-have-lasting-impacts-mozambique-experiment>

Carter, Michael, Rachid Laajaj, and Dean Yang, *Subsidies and the African Green Revolution: Direct Effects and Social Network Spillovers of Randomized Input Subsidies in Mozambique*, American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, Vol. 12, No. 2, April 2021, pages 206-229.

Gollin, Douglas, Casper Worm Hansen, and Asger Mose Wingender, *Two Blades of Grass: The Impact of the Green Revolution*, Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 129, No. 8, August 2021.

Sept. 20: Microfinance

*Wykstra, Stephanie, *Microcredit was a Hugely Hyped Solution to Global Poverty. What Happened?*, Vox, January 15, 2019. <https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/2019/1/15/18182167/microcredit-microfinance-poverty-grameen-bank-yunus>

*Jameel, Abdul Latif, *Where Credit is Due*, J-PAL Policy Bulletin Poverty Action Lab, February 2015. <https://www.povertyactionlab.org/publication/where-credit-due>

Banerjee, Abhijit, Dean Karlan, and Jonathan Zinman, *Six Randomized Evaluations of Microcredit: Introduction and Further Steps*. American Economic Journal: Applied Economics 2015 7 (1): pages 1–21.

Sept. 22: International Migration (readings continued on next page)

*Yang, Dean, *International Migration and Remittances*, in James D. Wright, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd edition, Vol. 12, Oxford: Elsevier, 2015, pages 519–524.

*Khanna, Gaurav, Dean Yang, and Caroline Theoharides, *Beyond Remittances: How Migrant Wages Help Communities Back Home*, Center for Global Development Blog, November 24, 2020. <https://www.cgdev.org/blog/beyond-remittances-how-migrant-wages-help-communities-back-home>

Yang, Dean, *Migrant Remittances*, Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 25, No. 3, Summer 2011, pages 129-152.

Yang, Dean, *International Migration, Remittances, and Household Investment: Evidence from Philippine Migrants' Exchange Rate Shocks*, *Economic Journal*, Vol. 118, April 2008, pages 591-630.

Sept. 27: Guest Speaker: Professor Steven Radelet

.....

Module 2. Elections in the United States?

Professor Mebane

Sept. 29, Oct. 4-8

We'll start off reviewing the current active challenges to elections in the United States, focusing particularly on the 2016 election and its aftermath. Next we'll consider methods used to try to answer these challenges, some being actions by citizens and some being actions by election officials and other governmental actors.

Readings: Starred items are required. Unstarred items are optional, to be read depending on your time and interests. Unless otherwise stated, you are expected to read the entire source.

Sept. 29: Introduction to Elections in the U.S.

*Burden, Barry C., David T. Canon, Kenneth R. Mayer, Donald P. Moynihan and Jacob R. Neihsel. *What Happens at the Polling Place: Using Administrative Data to Look Inside Elections*, *Public Administration Review* 2017 77(3): pages 354–364. (in file [burden.etal.PAR2017.pdf](#))

*Lehoucq, Fabrice, *Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences*, *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (June) 2003: pages 233–256. (in file [lehoucq.annurev.polisci.6.121901.pdf](#))

*Bernhard, Matthew, Josh Benaloh, J. Alex Halderman, Ronald L. Rivest, Peter Y. A. Ryan, Philip B. Stark, Vanessa Teague, Poorvi L. Vora and Dan S. Wallach., *Public Evidence from Secret Ballots*, 2017 arXiv:1707.08619v2 [cs.CR] (in file [1707.08619.pdf](#)) and at <https://arxiv.org/abs/1707.08619>

*Michigan Bureau of Elections, *Election Security in Michigan*, 2020. (in file [Security best practices 693420 7.pdf](#)) and at https://www.michigan.gov/documents/sos/Security_best_practices_693420_7.pdf

Challu', Cristian, Enrique Seira and Alberto Simpser, *The Quality of Vote Tallies: Causes and Consequences*, *American Political Science Review* 2020 doi:10.1017/S0003055420000398, pages 1–15. (in file [quality of vote tallies causes and consequences.pdf](#))

Norris, Pippa, *Why Electoral Integrity Matters*, Cambridge. Election monitoring organizations 2014 (examples). <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/ps485/monitoring.html>

Oct. 4. The US in 2016 and 2020 extraordinary (readings continued on next page)

*Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate. *Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 5: Counterintelligence Threats and Vulnerabilities*, 2020. pages v–xiv, 1–7, 24–26, 27–30, 138, 153, 158–159, 170–173, 182–186,

199, 259–261, 322–323, 347–360, 364–373, 560, 663–668, 671–678.

https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/report_volume5.pdf

*Office of the Director of National Intelligence. *Intelligence Community Assessment: Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections*, ICA 2017-01D, 6 January 2017.

https://www.dni.gov/files/documents/ICA_2017_01.pdf (in file ICA 2017 01.pdf)

*Fisher, Marc, Meagan Flynn, Jessica Contrera and Carol D. Leonnig, *The four-hour insurrection: How a Trump mob halted American democracy*, Washington Post January 7, 2021. Pages 1–42. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2021/politics/trump-insurrection-capitol/>

*The United States Attorney’s Office District of Colombia. *Capitol Breach Investigation Resource Page*, 2021. Browse at least ten cases. <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/capitol-breach-cases>

Special Counsel Robert S. Mueller, *Report on the Investigation into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election. Volume I of II*, 2019. pages 1–15, 22–66, 108–110, 114–123, 129–141, 174–199. https://www.justice.gov/storage/report_volume1.pdf (in file report volume1.pdf)

Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate, *Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 3: U.S. Government Response to Russian Activities*, 2019. pages 1–42.

https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume3.pdf (in file Report Volume3.pdf)

Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate, *Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 1: Russian Efforts Against Election Infrastructure with Additional Views*, 2019.

https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume1.pdf (in file Report Volume1.pdf)

Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate, *Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 2: Russia’s Use of Social Media with Additional Views*, 2019.

https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume2.pdf (in file Report Volume2.pdf)

Select Committee on Intelligence United States Senate, *Russian Active Measures Campaigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election: Volume 4: Review of the Intelligence Community Assessment with Additional Views*, 2019.

https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/Report_Volume4.pdf (in file Report Volume4.pdf)

Oct. 6. The US in 2012, 2016 and 2020 ordinary (readings continued on next page)

*Georgia Secretary of State, *Historic First Statewide Audit of Paper Ballots Upholds Result of Presidential Race*, 2021. https://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/historic_first_statewide_audit_of_paper_ballots_upholds_result_of_presidential_race (in file Historic First Statewide Audit Of Paper Ballots Upholds Result Of Presidential Race Elections.pdf)

- *Morrell, Jennifer, *Knowing It's Right, Part One: A Practical Guide to Risk-Limiting Audits*, 2019. (in file 2019 RLA Part1 vFINAL.pdf)
- *Stein, Robert M. et al. *Waiting to Vote in the 2016 Presidential Election: Evidence from a Multi-county Study*, Political Research Quarterly 2019. pages 1–19. (in file Stein et al. 2019 waiting to vote.pdf)
- *Pettigrew, Stephen, *The Racial Gap in Wait Times: Why Minority Precincts Are Underserved by Local Election Officials*, Political Science Quarterly 2017 132(3):527547 (in file polq.12657.pdf)
- *Chen, M. Keith, Kareem Haggag, Devin G. Pope, and Ryne Rohla, *Racial Disparities in Voting Wait Times: Evidence from Smartphone Data*, 2019.
https://www.kareemhaggag.com/f/Racial_Disparities_in_Voting_Wait_Times.pdf (in file Racial Disparities in Voting Wait Times.pdf)
- *Herron, Michael C., Daniel A. Smith, *Precinct Resources and Voter Wait Times*, Electoral Studies 2016 42: pages 249–263. (in file herron.smith2016.pdf)
- Stark, Philip B., David A. Wagner, 2012. “Evidence-Based Elections.” IEEE Security and Privacy 2012 10, pages 33–41. (in file evidenceVote12.pdf and at <https://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/evidenceVote12.pdf>)
- Lindeman, Mark, Philip B. Stark, *A Gentle Introduction to Risk-Limiting Audits*, IEEE Security and Privacy 2012 10, pages 42–49. (in file gentle12.pdf and at <http://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~stark/Preprints/gentle12.pdf>)
- Mebane, Walter R. Jr., Matthew Bernhard, *Effects of Voting Technologies and Recount Methods on Votes in Wisconsin and Michigan*, 2017. Working paper.
<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/recount2016.pdf>
- Klain, Hannah, Kevin Morris, Max Feldman, and Rebecca Ayala, *Waiting to Vote: Racial Disparities in Election Day Experiences*, 2020. (in file 6_02_WaitingtoVote_FINAL.pdf and at https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/6_02_WaitingtoVote_FINAL.pdf).
- Edelstein, William A., Arthur D. Edelstein, *Queuing and Elections: Long Lines, DREs and Paper Ballots*, 2010 Electronic Voting Technology Workshop/Workshop on Trustworthy Elections, Washington, August 9–10. http://www.usenix.org/event/evtvote10/tech/full_papers/Edelstein.pdf (in file Edelstein.pdf)
- Feldman, Diane, Cornell Belcher, *DNC Voting Experience Survey*, Section III of Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio. Democratic National Committee, Voting Rights Institute, June 22, 2005. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Ohio2004/OhioReportCover2Cover.pdf>
- Feldman, Diane, Cornell Belcher, *DNC Provisional Ballot Survey*, Section IV of Democracy at Risk: The 2004 Election in Ohio. Democratic National Committee, Voting Rights Institute, June 22, 2005. <http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/Ohio2004/OhioReportCover2Cover.pdf>

Oct. 8. Ballots and voting technology

*Mebane, *The Wrong Man is President! Overvotes in the 2000 Presidential Election in Florida*, Perspectives on Politics 2 (September 2004.): pages 525–535.

<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/mebane.pop2004.pdf>

*Ash, Arlene, John Lamperti, *Florida 2006: Can Statistics Tell Us Who Won Congressional District-13?*, (with discussion by Hall and Mebane), 2008. Chance 21 (2): pages 18–27. (in file ash.lamperti.chance2008.pdf).

*Frisina, Laurin, Michael C. Herron, James Honaker, Jeffrey B. Lewis, *Ballot Formats, Touchscreens, and Undervotes: A Study of the 2006 Midterm Elections in Florida*, Election Law Journal 2008. 7(1): pages 25–47. (in file frisina.etal.elj2008.pdf).

*Feldman, Ariel J., J. Alex Halderman, Edward W. Felten, *Security Analysis of the Diebold AccuVote-TS Voting Machine*, 2007 USENIX/ACCURATE Electronic Voting Technology Workshop, Boston, August 6 2007. (in file feldman.pdf and at

http://www.usenix.org/event/evt07/tech/full_papers/feldman/feldman.pdf).

See also the ts-voting video at

<https://www.dropbox.com/s/g8x3ygoobsxfhrc/ts-voting.wmv?dl=0>

*Blaze, Matt, Harri Hursti, Margaret Macalpine, Mary Hanley, Jeff Moss, Rachel Wehr, Kendall Spencer, Christopher Ferris, *DEF CON 27 Voting Machine Hacking Village*, August 2019.”

<https://media.defcon.org/DEF%20CON%2027/voting-village-report-defcon27.pdf> (in file voting-village-report-defcon27.pdf)

Wand, Jonathan N., Kenneth Shotts, Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Michael Herron and Henry E. Brady, *The Butterfly Did It: The Aberrant Vote for Buchanan in Palm Beach County, Florida*, American Political Science Review 95 (December 2001): pages 793–810.

<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/butterfly.pdf>

Brady, Henry E., Michael Herron, Walter R. Mebane, Jr., Jasjeet S. Sekhon, Kenneth Shotts, Jonathan Wand, *Law and Data: The Butterfly Ballot Episode*, PS: Political Science and Politics 2001 34: pages 59–69. (in file brady.etal.ps2001.pdf)

Niemi, Richard G., Paul S. Herrnson, *Beyond the Butterfly: The Complexity of U.S. Ballots*, Perspectives on Politics, 1 (2 June 2003): pages 317–326. (in file niemi.herrnson.POP2003.pdf)

Mebane, *Machine Errors and Undervotes in Florida 2006 Revisited*, William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal, 17 (December 2008): pages 375–396.

<http://www.umich.edu/~wmebane/howpaper2.pdf>

Norden, Lawrence, David Kimball, Whitney Quesenbery, Margaret Chen, *Better Ballots*, Brennan Center for Justice 2008. <https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/better-ballots>

Oct. 13: Guest Speaker

Oct. 18: Fall Break

**Oct. 20: Midterm Exam
(Covers Evidence Based Policy and 1st 2 modules)**

.....

Module 3: U.S. Poverty and Social Policy

Professor Pilkauskas

Oct. 25-Nov. 8

Readings: Starred items are required. Unstarred items are optional, to be read depending on your time and interests. Unless otherwise stated, you are expected to read the entire source.

Oct. 25: History of poverty policy in the U.S.: Who are the deserving poor?

*Iceland, John. Poverty in America, a Handbook. Chapter 1, *Early views of poverty in America*, (pages 1-11).

*Edin, Kathy & Shaefer, Luke (2015). *\$2 a day – living on almost nothing in America*. Chapter 1 (pages 1-33)

Oct. 27: Measuring poverty

*Haveman, Robert (2009), *What does it mean to be poor in a rich society?* (6pgs)
<http://www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc262n.pdf>

*Kochhar, Rakesh (2015), *What it means to be poor by global standards*, Pew Research.
<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/07/22/what-it-means-to-be-poor-by-global-standards/>
(1.5 pages)

Nov. 1: Poverty policy overview – SNAP and TANF

If you don't know what SNAP/Food Stamps are you may want to read this first:

<http://www.cbpp.org/research/policy-basics-introduction-to-the-supplemental-nutrition-assistance-program-snap>

**SNAP helps struggling families*, <https://www.cbpp.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/3-13-12fa-chartbook.pdf> (36 pages - many figures so much shorter)

**Policy Basics: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families*,
<https://www.cbpp.org/research/family-income-support/temporary-assistance-for-needy-families>
(7 pages)

Nov. 3: More on poverty policies – EITC and CTC (readings continued on next page)

**American Rescue Plan Act Includes Critical Expansions of Child Tax Credit and EITC*
<https://www.cbpp.org/research/federal-tax/american-rescue-plan-act-includes-critical-expansions-of-child-tax-credit-and> (about 9 pages)

**Policy Basics: The Earned Income Tax Credit*, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/federal-tax/policy-basics-the-earned-income-tax-credit> (3 pages)

Discussion Reading

*Ellwood, David (1988). *Chapter 2: Values and the helping conundrum. In Poor Support: Poverty in the American Family*, pages 14 – 26 (stop at history of social policy). (12 pages).

Optional:

<https://www.niskanencenter.org/report-the-conservative-case-for-a-child-allowance/>

<https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/The-conservative-case-against-child-allowances.pdf?x91208>

Nov. 8: Guest Speaker



Module 4: Medicaid in the States

Kelly Hall

Nov. 10-22:

Medicaid provides health benefits to over 82 million people – over 1 in 5 Americans -- making it the largest health care program in the United States. Looking closely at this program dedicated to caring for some of our nation’s most vulnerable individuals, including low-income families, individuals with disabilities, seniors, and those requiring nursing home care gives us a lens through which to evaluate our broader health care policy landscape. We’ll begin by situating Medicaid in the US healthcare system and then examine how policy-making for Medicaid takes place at both federal and state levels. We’ll be joined by a civil rights litigator striving to make California’s Medicaid program more equitable and close by discussing the role of Medicaid in the Affordable Care Act and the ongoing fight to expand the program.

Readings: Starred items are required. Unstarred items are optional, to be read depending on your time and interests. Unless otherwise stated, you are expected to read (or watch) the entire source.

November 10: Health Insurance in America & Where Medicaid Fits In

[video] Kaiser Family Foundation “Health Insurance Explained”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-58VD3z7ZiQ>

*The Commonwealth Fund, *International Healthcare System Profiles: The United States* (read Introduction & Section 1: Universal Coverage):

<https://www.commonwealthfund.org/international-health-policy-center/countries/united-states>

*Kaiser Family Foundation, *State Health Facts: Health Insurance Coverage of the Total Population, 2019* (review data table, noticing differences across states):

<https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/total-population/?currentTimeframe=0&sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D>

*Kaiser Family Foundation, 10 Things to Know about Medicaid, <https://www.kff.org/medicaid/issue-brief/10-things-to-know-about-medicaid-setting-the-facts-straight/>

November 15: Policymaking in Medicaid – Federal & State Choices

*MACPAC, “Federal Requirements and State Options: How states exercise flexibility under a Medicaid state plan.” <https://www.macpac.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Federal-Medicaid-Requirements-and-State-Options-How-States-Exercise-Flexibility-Under-a-State-Plan.pdf>

Commonwealth Fund, “Medicaid Work Requirements in Nine States Could Cause 600,000 to 800,000 Adults to Lose Health Coverage” <https://www.commonwealthfund.org/blog/2019/medicaid-work-requirements-nine-states-could-cause-600000-800000-adults-lose-coverage>

November 17: Guest Speaker Catha Worthman: Medicaid & Racial Equity

Note: This week’s readings and discussion focus on California. California’s Medicaid program is referred to as Medi-Cal, or sometimes MediCal. That’s just branding; we’re still talking about the same fundamental program.

*Sacramento Bee, Opinion by Bill Lann Lee, “So few docs take Medi-Cal it violates civil rights” <https://www.sacbee.com/opinion/california-forum/article166286552.html>

*Medi-Cal Civil Rights Case Summary, June 2021 (PDF, 2 pages, Canvas)

*Jimenez Perea v. California, Third Amended Complaint, read introduction (PDF, Canvas)

Lift Up California, Medi-Cal magazine: <https://www.seiu-uhw.org/medi-cal-magazine/>

November 22: The Ongoing Fight to Expand Medicaid

*Kaiser Family Foundation, The Coverage Gap, <https://www.kff.org/medicaid/issue-brief/the-coverage-gap-uninsured-poor-adults-in-states-that-do-not-expand-medicaid/>

*The New York Times, “How Progressives Flipped the Script on Medicaid Expansion,” <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/04/upshot/missouri-election-medicaid-expansion.html>

South Dakotans Decide Healthcare, watch video on the homepage, <https://southdakotansdecide.org>

*Los Angeles Times “Two million poor people were left behind by the ACA. Democrats may finally fix it.” <https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2021-10-15/two-million-poor-people-were-left-behind-by-the-aca-democrats-might-finally-fix-it>



Nov. 24: No Class (Thanksgiving)

Module 5: Campaign Finance Reform
Professor Hall
Nov 29-Dec. 8:

In developing campaign finance policy, two fundamental values conflict: Free speech and political equality. How much is at stake in the tradeoff? (Where do you stand?) Does money in politics actually matter very much, either in buying elections or corrupting politics? (What is the evidence?) If it does damage democracy, what policies will ameliorate the harm? (What is the evidence that they work?)

Readings: Starred items are required. Unstarred items are optional, to be read depending on your time and interests. Unless otherwise stated, you are expected to read the entire source.

Nov. 29: Campaign Finance: Free Speech and Political Inequality (readings continued on next page)

*Kahn Academy, *Campaign Finance*

<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-government-and-civics/us-gov-political-participation/us-gov-campaign-finance/v/campaign-finance>

**Citizens United v. the FEC*. Excerpts from Majority Opinion. Read pages 1-4, 20-25, 40-45.

*Justice John Paul Stevens, *Citizens United v. FEC* (2010), excerpts from dissenting opinion., pages. 1-10.

* Levy, Robert *Campaign Finance Reform: A Libertarian Primer*, Cato Institute, January 28, 2010 <https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/campaign-finance-reform-libertarian-primer>

*McElwee, Sean, Brian Schaffner, and Jesse Rhodes, *Whose Choice, Whose Voices: The Distorting Influence of the Political Donor Class in Our Big-Money Elections*, Demos, 2016, pages 1-7, 10-18.
https://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/Whose%20Voice%20Whose%20Choice_2.pdf

Dec. 1. Does Money Buy Elections or Corrupt Politicians?

* Koerth-Baker, Maggie, *How Money Affects Elections*, FiveThirtyEight, September 2018.<https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/money-and-elections-a-complicated-love-story/>

*Klump, Tilman, Hugo M. Mialon, and Michael A. Williams, *The Business of American Democracy: Citizens United, Independent Spending, and Elections*, Journal of Law and Economics, February 2017, page 1 through 1st full paragraph of page 4 .

*Koerth-Baker, Maggie, *Everyone Knows Money Influences Politics... Except Scientists*, Five Thirty Eight, June 4, 2019.

<https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/everyone-knows-money-influences-politics-except-scientists/>

* Kalla, Joshua and David E. Broockman, *Campaign Contributions Facilitate Access to Congressional Officials: A Randomized Field Experiment*, American Journal of Political Science, 60:3, July 2016, pp. 545–558. (Read entire article.)

Dec. 6: Public Financing: Leveling Up Rather than Leveling Down

*Hasen, Richard, *Plutocracy United*, pages TBA.

*Fowler, Gareth and Daniel I. Weiner, *Small Donor Matching in 'For the People Act'*, Brennan Center for Justice, Feb. 11, 2021

<https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/Small%20Donor%20Matching%20For%20the%20People%20Act.pdf>

*Kliff Sarah, Sarah, *Seattle's radical plan to fight big money in politics: Swamp it with little money*, Vox, Nov 5, 2018.

<https://www.vox.com/2018/11/5/17058970/seattle-democracy-vouchers>

Dec. 8: Dark Money & Disclosure Reform (readings continued on next page)

**What is Dark Money: 5 Questions Answered*, The Conversation. December 25, 2019.

<https://theconversation.com/what-is-dark-money-5-questions-answered-118310>

*Massoglia, Anna and Karl Evers-Hillstrom, *'Dark money' topped \$1 billion in 2020, largely boosting Democrats*. OpenSecrets.org, March 17, 2021.

<https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2021/03/one-billion-dark-money-2020-electioncycle/>

*Wang, Eric, *Staring at the Sun: An Inquiry into Compulsory Campaign Finance Donor Disclosure Law*, Cato Institute, December 14, 2017. **NOTE: Read only:** opening paragraphs, "Introduction," and " Non Jurisprudential Justifications For Donor Disclosure."

<https://www.cato.org/publications/policy-analysis/staring-sun-inquiry-compulsory-campaign-finance-donor-disclosure-laws>

Optional: Brennan Center, "Components of an Effective Coordination Law," 2018.

https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/stock/2018_10_MiPToolkit_CoordinationLaw.pdf

.....

Dec. 20: Second Exam: 1:30 pm - 3:00 p.m. (1120 Weill Hall)

(Covers only the three modules since the midterm.)

Public Policy 201: Systematic Thinking: Problems of the Day
Fall 2021

Instructor Bios

Faculty:

Richard L. Hall is a professor of political science and public policy. His research and teaching interests focus on American national politics, including Congress, interest groups, issue advocacy, campaign finance, and health politics. His book, *Insidious Influence: Lobbyists and Their Allies on Capitol Hill*, will be published by University of Chicago Press next year. At the Ford School, Rick teaches courses on the politics of policy analysis, political advocacy, and campaign finance reform. He received his undergraduate degree from the University of Iowa and his PhD from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In his spare time, Rick likes antiquing, golfing, fly fishing, and eating at his son's restaurant.

Walter Mebane is Professor of Political Science and Statistics. His research and teaching interests include American national institutions and elections, political economy, political behavior, research methodology, and mathematical modeling. He is a leading scholar in the field of election forensics, the statistical methodologies used in detecting election fraud and other irregularities. Mebane received his BA from Harvard and his MA and Phd from Yale.

Natasha Pilkauskas is an associate professor of public policy at the University of Michigan's Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy. Her research considers how demographic, social safety net, and economic shifts in the U.S. affect families and children with low-incomes. A large area of her research focuses on the living arrangements of children – especially those who live in shared and multigenerational households. Much of her research also considers economic insecurity and how social policies, like the Earned Income Tax Credit, might improve the developmental and life trajectories of children living in poverty. Pilkauskas' research has been published in broad array of top peer-reviewed journals across academic fields including demography, sociology, social work, public health, developmental psychology, and economics. Her research has also been supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, the Institute for Research on Poverty, and the National Academy of Education/Spencer Foundation, among others. Some of Pilkauskas' current research projects include an evaluation of a cash transfer program, several studies of the Earned Income Tax Credit, and a few projects examining employment quality/low-wage work. Pilkauskas received her BA in sociology and economics from Northwestern University, her Master of Public Policy from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, and her MA and PhD in social welfare policy from Columbia University's School of Social Work.

Dean Yang is a professor of public policy and economics. His research is on the economic problems of developing countries. His specific areas of interest include international migration, microfinance, health, corruption, political economy, and the economics of disasters. Dean teaches a Ford School course on the economics of developing countries, as well as a PhD course in development economics. He received his undergraduate and PhD degrees in economics from Harvard University.

Guest Lecturer:

Kelly Hall is Executive Director for The Fairness Project, a public interest group that works to expand health insurance to low-income families, increase wages and paid leave, end predatory

lending, and promote racial justice. Kelly was the architect of The Fairness Project's success in expanding Medicaid in six states, which provided healthcare to over 830,000 people. Kelly worked on Capitol Hill during the drafting and passage of the Affordable Care Act, and then served in President Obama's administration helping to implement the law. She's worked directly with labor unions, health care systems, and progressive think tanks to improve access to high quality, affordable healthcare for all Americans. Kelly now lives in Oakland, CA with her puppy Lewis, who is named after Congressman John Lewis but exhibits very little of his dignity or grace.

Graduate Student Instructors:

Nicholas Birdsong is a second year MPP student serving as Editor in Chief for the Michigan Journal of Public Affairs. Nicholas assisted CLOSUP last year with the local government fiscal health project. He spent the summer working for both CARE Sierra Leone and the city of Detroit's Equity Council through P3E. Before returning to graduate school, he worked at the National Conference of State Legislatures researching issues related to internal legislative operations, procedure, and ethics laws. He also previously worked as an academic legal reference librarian at the University of Kansas, where he received a law degree in 2015. Most of his personal time is spent with his spouse and two dogs. His current hobbies include reading, bread-making, and woodworking.

Ariella Stafanson is a dual degree JD/MPP student. She has completed two years of law school and is looking to build her data-informed advocacy toolbox through the MPP program. Ariella is committed to a career in public interest law and is a Michigan Law Dean's Public Interest Fellow and has been a summer law clerk at Oakland City Attorney's Civil Rights Affirmative Litigation Unit and New York Legal Aid Society. Prior to law school Ariella worked at a social-sector consulting firm where through qualitative and quantitative research amplified the voices of underrepresented communities to inform program design and implementation for numerous non-profit, philanthropic and state agencies. Ariella enjoys NPR Tiny Desk Concerts, riding her bike, exploring local state parks, and making breakfast tacos.

Public Policy 201: Systematic Thinking: Problems of the Day
Fall 2021

Instructor Bios

Faculty:

Richard L. Hall is a professor of political science and public policy. His research and teaching interests focus on American national politics, including Congress, interest groups, issue advocacy, campaign finance, and health politics. His book, *Insidious Influence: Lobbyists and Their Allies on Capitol Hill*, will be published by University of Chicago Press next year. At the Ford School, Rick teaches courses on the politics of policy analysis, political advocacy, and campaign finance reform. He received his undergraduate degree from the University of Iowa and his PhD from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In his spare time, Rick likes antiquing, golfing, fly fishing, and eating at his son's restaurant.

Walter Mebane is Professor of Political Science and Statistics. His research and teaching interests include American national institutions and elections, political economy, political behavior, research methodology, and mathematical modeling. He is a leading scholar in the field of election forensics, the statistical methodologies used in detecting election fraud and other irregularities. Mebane received his BA from Harvard and his MA and Phd from Yale.

Natasha Pilkauskas is an associate professor of public policy at the University of Michigan's Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy. Her research considers how demographic, social safety net, and economic shifts in the U.S. affect families and children with low-incomes. A large area of her research focuses on the living arrangements of children – especially those who live in shared and multigenerational households. Much of her research also considers economic insecurity and how social policies, like the Earned Income Tax Credit, might improve the developmental and life trajectories of children living in poverty. Pilkauskas' research has been published in broad array of top peer-reviewed journals across academic fields including demography, sociology, social work, public health, developmental psychology, and economics. Her research has also been supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, the Institute for Research on Poverty, and the National Academy of Education/Spencer Foundation, among others. Some of Pilkauskas' current research projects include an evaluation of a cash transfer program, several studies of the Earned Income Tax Credit, and a few projects examining employment quality/low-wage work. Pilkauskas received her BA in sociology and economics from Northwestern University, her Master of Public Policy from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, and her MA and PhD in social welfare policy from Columbia University's School of Social Work.

Dean Yang is a professor of public policy and economics. His research is on the economic problems of developing countries. His specific areas of interest include international migration, microfinance, health, corruption, political economy, and the economics of disasters. Dean teaches a Ford School course on the economics of developing countries, as well as a PhD course in development economics. He received his undergraduate and PhD degrees in economics from Harvard University.

Guest Lecturer:

Kelly Hall is Executive Director for The Fairness Project, a public interest group that works to expand health insurance to low-income families, increase wages and paid leave, end predatory lending, and promote racial justice. Kelly was the architect of The Fairness Project's success in

expanding Medicaid in six states, which provided healthcare to over 830,000 people. Kelly worked on Capitol Hill during the drafting and passage of the Affordable Care Act, and then served in President Obama's administration helping to implement the law. She's worked directly with labor unions, health care systems, and progressive think tanks to improve access to high quality, affordable healthcare for all Americans. Kelly now lives in Oakland, CA with her puppy Lewis, who is named after Congressman John Lewis but exhibits very little of his dignity or grace.

Graduate Student Instructors:

Nicholas Birdsong is a second year MPP student serving as Editor in Chief for the Michigan Journal of Public Affairs. Nicholas assisted CLOSUP last year with the local government fiscal health project. He spent the summer working for both CARE Sierra Leone and the city of Detroit's Equity Council through P3E. Before returning to graduate school, he worked at the National Conference of State Legislatures researching issues related to internal legislative operations, procedure, and ethics laws. He also previously worked as an academic legal reference librarian at the University of Kansas, where he received a law degree in 2015. Most of his personal time is spent with his spouse and two dogs. His current hobbies include reading, bread-making, and woodworking.

Ariella Stafanson is a dual degree JD/MPP student. She has completed two years of law school and is looking to build her data-informed advocacy toolbox through the MPP program. Ariella is committed to a career in public interest law and is a Michigan Law Dean's Public Interest Fellow and has been a summer law clerk at Oakland City Attorney's Civil Rights Affirmative Litigation Unit and New York Legal Aid Society. Prior to law school Ariella worked at a social-sector consulting firm where through qualitative and quantitative research amplified the voices of underrepresented communities to inform program design and implementation for numerous non-profit, philanthropic and state agencies. Ariella enjoys NPR Tiny Desk Concerts, riding her bike, exploring local state parks, and making breakfast tacos.