

**THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS at DALLAS
ARCHER CENTER GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP**

**PA 8330 INSIDE WASHINGTON: FEDERAL POLICY MAKING FROM THE GROUND UP
OVERVIEW OF THE FEDERAL ECOSYSTEM
(Summer 2020)**

Meeting Time:

Week 1 sessions: Tuesday, May 26, 1pE/12pC/11aM
 Wednesday, May 27, 1pE/12pC/11aM
 Thursday, May 28, 1pE/12pC/11aM
 Friday, May 29, 1pE/12pC/11aM

Remaining sessions: Tuesdays and Thursdays (June 2 – July 2), 6pE/5pC/4pM

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Grading Policy: Letter grade only. Credit/No Credit option not available.

- **Course Objectives**

The course will focus on the three key elements of federal policymaking utilizing assigned readings, classroom discussion, multimedia, case studies, external speakers, written assignments, and a semester-long analysis of a current federal topic involving a final oral presentation.

Analysis of the three key elements will reinforce previously acquired theoretical underpinnings by examining contemporary and historical practical implementations. After an initial review of the nature of separation of powers and original constitutional intent, the course will delve into a practical examination of how current operations of federal processes are influenced by governmental and external factors.

With a thorough understanding of separation of powers and the influence of external pressures as a backdrop, the next section of the course will explore the elements of advocacy, how the various factions of influencers invoke and apply advocacy techniques, how to deconstruct advocacy messages, and how to prepare an advocacy strategy.

Following the conclusion of these studies, students will acquire an appreciation for the difficulties of navigating the complexities of Washington by exploring the influence of money, the tools and techniques used by various groups, and the practical limitations imposed by overarching budget considerations.

During the final sessions of the course, students will learn about how ethical considerations influence advocacy and policy implementations by focusing on legislative and executive rules, re-election pressures, and operating within the bubble of a 24/7 news cycle. These considerations will provide an editorial filter in preparation for the final assessment of the semester-long exercise.

Readings will pre-populate classroom discussions and provide a foundation for writing assignments, supplemented by the classroom experience. Each section of the course will include an examination of a case study designed to illustrate practical applications of the elements covered during the section.

Occasionally, external speakers who are practitioners or veterans of the key elements will provide practical application to the theoretical underpinnings and current topics. This will provide the students with a visceral backdrop not otherwise available to non-Archer Center students.

- **Course Organization**

Section 1: Institutions and Actors (classes 1-3)

First, the course examines institutions and actors that inhabit the DC policy world, ranging from the U.S. Federal system, to the multilateral institutions, think tanks, non-profits, and private sector actors, and agencies (e.g. consulting and lobbying firms) that comprise the various sources of authority, influence and information that shape U.S. domestic and foreign policy.

Section 2: Transformative Processes (classes 4-10)

Second, the course addresses processes that transform ideas into public policies and programs, ranging from political campaigns and lobbying strategy, to design of legislative formats and implementation strategies.

Section 3: Agenda Challenges (classes 11-13)

Third, students will be introduced to the potential challenges of working in the political environment of Washington DC, including the development of an understanding of power and influence of factions within the policy community and how best to assess the role of these factions in policymaking.

Section 4: Limitations on Power (classes 14-15)

Students will be exposed to the ethical dimensions of public administration and policy that arise regularly in Washington DC, often without public awareness.

Final Analysis and Presentation of Advocacy Campaign Exercise (class 15)

- **Assignments**

Reading assignments will be comprised of texts, excerpts of public domain documents, online resources, and excerpts of published material copied in accordance with published fair use policies as delineated by the University of Texas Libraries *Copyright Crash Course* (<http://copyright.lib.utexas.edu/copypol2.html>). Students are expected to read the assigned material in advance of class in order to facilitate informed discussion.

Writing assignments will consist of critical analyses, a talking-points memo, and material prepared for a final presentation. Papers are to be single-spaced, 12-point font on single-sided paper with one-inch margins. The final presentation materials are to be coordinated in advance with the professor. **Writing assignments are to be posted or emailed to the professor by midnight on the due date.**

Advocacy Campaign Exercise:

At the beginning of the term students will be teamed and assigned a policy initiative. Throughout the term, students will apply their acquired knowledge of the key elements of advocacy to create an advocacy campaign to support their chosen position in regards to the policy initiative. In addition to creating their own advocacy strategy and materials, students will identify and analyze political strategies utilized by the proponents and opponents of the topic if actual examples exist. Students will also use the exercise topic as the foundation for other assignments during the semester, including the Advocacy Campaign Oral Presentation at the conclusion of the course.

Students will be expected to meet with the professor periodically to review their progress in the course to date.

- **Class Participation**

Students must prepare for class, arrive on time, and actively participate during class. In particular, students will be expected to report on assigned readings and ask questions of all external speakers. Missing class can have implications for an individual's success in this course. Therefore, overall class participation will be a significant part of our class environment. After each class, I will assess each student's participation. Because of the weight given to class participation, advance notice must be given if a student will miss a class and supplemental work will be assigned.

- **Make-up Policy**

Writing assignments must be submitted by midnight of the posted deadline. Late submissions will be subject to grade reduction. A one-time exception may be permitted at the professor's discretion, if coordinated in advance of the deadline and submitted shortly thereafter.

Grade Allocations

Classroom Participation	10%
Issue Advocacy Initial Analysis (due Thursday, June 11)	10%
Talking Points Memo (due Thursday, June 18)	10%
Advocacy Campaign Strategic Proposal (due Thursday, June 25)	30%

Ethical Limitations Analysis (due TBD)	10%
Advocacy Campaign Oral Presentation (due TBD)	30%

- **Reading Material**

The majority of reading material will be available electronically. Selections highlighted in **bold** are required readings. Other listings are encouraged for further expansion of the topics.

In addition, students will be required to purchase and read throughout the semester ***Helping the Good Do Better: How a White Hat Lobbyist Advocates for Social Change*** by Thomas Sheridan (**TwelveBooks, 2019**).

- **Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity and professional ethics is basic in developing the character, and instilling the values, of policy professionals. I expect students to abide by the academic rules and regulations established by the University of Texas at Dallas, which is the academic home for the Archer Center (see <https://www.utdallas.edu/conduct/integrity/> for a guide to ensuring academic integrity).

Comet Creed

This creed was voted on by the UT Dallas student body in 2014. It is a standard that Comets choose to live by and encourage others to do the same:

“As a Comet, I pledge honesty, integrity, and service in all that I do.”

UT Dallas Syllabus Policies and Procedures

The information contained in the following link constitutes the University’s policies and procedures segment of the course syllabus.

Please go to <http://go.utdallas.edu/syllabus-policies> for these policies.

The descriptions and timelines contained in this syllabus are subject to change at the discretion of the Professor.

SECTION 1: INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS

First, the course examines institutions and actors that inhabit the DC policy world, ranging from the U.S. Federal system, to the multilateral institutions, think tanks, non-profits, private sector actors, and agencies (e.g. consulting and lobbying firms) that comprise the various sources of authority, influence and information that shape U.S. domestic and foreign policy.

Class 1

Tuesday, May 26

Course overview and expectations

Policy Advocacy Simulation

Policy Ideas

Implementation Goal

Implementation Strategy

Review of the Federal Ecosystem

Constitutional entities

Congress (Article I)

The Executive (Article II)

Federal Agencies (Article II, sec. 2)

Judiciary (Article III)

Reading:

- **US Constitution, Articles I-III**

Class 2

Wednesday, May 27

How Congress “works”

Organizational structure

Leadership

Committee process

How a bill becomes a law

Non-Government Influencers

Special interest organizations

Trade associations

Professional societies

Non-profit organizations

Corporate federal relations

Lobby/law firms
Federal contractors
Foreign agents
Think tanks
NGOs

Reading:

- **How Congress Works**, <http://www.aacom.org/advocacy/advocacy-resources/how-congress-works>.
- **Introduction to the Legislative Process in the U.S. Congress**. Congressional Research Service. November 15, 2018.

Class 3

Thursday, May 28

Separation of Powers (from conceptual origins to modern practice)
Historical underpinnings
Textbook v. practical application
Influence of American Exceptionalism on Separation of Powers and vice versa

Case study:

Judicial Procedures Reform Bill of 1937

Modern challenges to Separation of Powers

Reading:

- Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan 1*. 1651. 1909 edition. Chapters 13 - 15. Online Library of Liberty. 2004.
- Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government*. (Hollis ed.) 1689. Book II, sections 4-15, 87-94, 143-158. Online Library of Liberty.
- **James Madison. *Federalist Paper No. 51, (Feb 6, 1788)***
- **Kessler, Charles R. *What Separation of Powers Means for Constitutional Government*. Heritage Foundation First Principles Series. 2007.**
- Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Random House, 1988. Chapters 6 and 7.
- **Caldeira, Gregory A. *Public Opinion and The U.S. Supreme Court: FDR's Court-Packing Plan*. *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 81, No. 4 (Dec., 1987), pp. 1139-1153.**
- Rehnquist, William H. "Judicial Independence Dedicated to Chief Justice Harry L. Carrico: Symposium Remarks". *University of Richmond Law Review*. 2004. 38: 579-596.
- Barnes, Roberts. *Roberts Recalls Another Chief Justice and Reveals a Little About Himself*. *The Washington Post*. November 23, 2015.

SECTION 2: THE TRANSFORMATIVE PROCESS OF ADVOCACY

Second, the course addresses processes that transform ideas into public policies and programs, ranging from political campaigns and lobbying strategy, to design of legislative formats and implementation strategies.

Class 4

Friday, May 29

The importance of advocacy

Outside influences

Grassroots: definition and origins

The impact of the ever-shifting electorate on policy advocacy

The campaign process

Evolution of campaigning and the role of policy

Campaign advertising

Class Exercise:

The hinderance of labels

Reading:

- ***How the Presidential Candidates Use the Web and Social Media.* Pew Research Center. August 15, 2012.**
- ***Elections 101 - The Role of Social Media in U.S. Elections.* A moderated conversation with Professor Patrick Egan, NYU. February 28, 2020.**
- **West, Darrell M. *Air Wars: Television Advertising and Social Media in Election Campaigns.* CQ Press. 2014. Ch. 1.**

Class 5

Tuesday, June 2

The role of staff and directors

Guest Speaker: Andrew Hughes, Chief of Staff to HUD Sec. Ben Carson. Formerly White House liaison to HUD; campaign assistant, Carson for President; Program Coordinator, The Office of Federal Relations with the UT System.

Advocacy Campaign Exercise topic assignments

Group Exercise:

Team breakouts to discuss topic, identify issues, create advocacy goal, assign roles

Reading:

- **Petersen, R. Eric. *Congressional Staff: Duties and Functions of Selected Positions*. Congressional Research Service. June 25, 2008.**
- **Angell, John. *Four Staff Experiences*. 2016.**
- Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Random House, 1988. Chapters 1 and 10.

Class 6

Thursday, June 4

Post-election advocacy

Presidential transitions

Bully pulpit

Role of executive orders

Advocacy within the Executive Branch

Guest Speaker: Dr. Ben Carson, 17th Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Former Presidential candidate; former Director of Pediatric Neurosurgery at Johns Hopkins Hospital; author.

Case Study:

Executive Branch/Congressional Response to National Emergencies

Reading:

- **Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Random House, 1988. Chapter 11.**
- **Response to 9/11 Attacks.pdf**

Assignment: Issue Advocacy Initial Analysis (due Thursday, June 11):

Problem: Briefly explain the policy issue of your assigned Advocacy Campaign team.

Solution: Identify one or more possible policy goals/outcomes (e.g., legislation, regulation, Executive Order, etc.)

Players: Summarize the roles of your other team members, explain in more detail your unique role, and identify federal government decision makers that will have a say in your goals/outcomes.

Project how proponents and opponents of your Advocacy Campaign might exploit the checks and balances of the federal government within the confines of the separation of powers doctrine.

Class 7

Tuesday, June 9

The role of scientific and policy reports

Media and the evolution of political reporting

The role of social media

The art of leaking

Fake news and alternative facts

Guest Speaker: Mark Bayer, President – Bayer Strategic Consulting and host of “When Science Speaks” podcast. Former Chief of Staff to Senator (and Congressman) Ed Markey; former PWC management consultant; author of *When Facts Are Not Enough: Re-thinking Advocacy Strategies in the Era of Fake News*.

Facebook database

Snopes investigation

Reading:

- NOW with Bill Moyers. *Milestones in the History of Media and Politics*. PBS.
- Schieffer, Bob. *This Just In: What I Couldn't Tell You on TV*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 2003. Chapter 10.
- Nguyen, Tina. *Obama's Social-Media Team: 20 Aides, Countless Memes*. Vanity Fair. November 9, 2015.
- **David Schultz. "What Is a Fact? The Scientific versus Political Definition." The Hill. March 11, 2017.**

Class 8

Thursday, June 11

The strategy of advocacy

Deconstructing the message

Deconstructionist analysis of advocacy materials

Advocacy advertising

Reading:

- **Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. *The Lobbyists: How Influence Peddlers Get Their Way in Washington*. New York Times, 1992. Chapter 1.**

- **Choate, Pat. *Agents of Influence*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1990. Chapter 9.**
- *Advocacy Advertising*. AdAge Encyclopedia of Advertising. September 15, 2003.
- *Issue Ads: 1992 Christian Action Network "Clinton's Vision for a Better America"*. insidepolitics.org.
- Marcus, Ruth. *Issue Advocacy Ads Less of an Issue*. The Washington Post. October 23, 1998.

Case Study:

Keystone XL Pipeline

Reading:

- **Parfomak, Paul W., et. al. *Keystone XL Pipeline Project: Key Issues*. Congressional Research Service. December 2, 2013.**

Class 9

Tuesday, June 16

Labor union advocacy

Group Exercise:

Break-out group discussions and preparations for Advocacy Campaign strategy

Assignment: Talking Points Memo (due Thursday, June 18)

In the position you have been assigned within your Advocacy Campaign team, your immediate supervisor has requested a bulleted talking-points memo detailing the substance of the issue, potential solutions to the problem, and key players, both inside and outside the federal government.

If your role is one of the political leaders, pretend you are one of that individual's staffers and prepare the memo from him/her/them to the politician.

Class 10

Thursday, June 18

The Pentagon and the defense complex

Congressional oversight of DoD (NDAA)

Guest Speaker: Josh Martin, Vice President of Government Affairs, American Defense International and former Chief of Staff to Congressman Mac Thornberry, Chairman of House Armed Services Committee. Prior to that, Josh spent several years as legislative staff for House Members and a Senator.

The role of the intelligence community

Foreign diplomacy inside and outside the Beltway

Reading:

- **Smith, Hedrick. *The Power Game: How Washington Works*. New York: Random House, 1988. Chapters 8, 15, and 16.**
- **George, Roger Z., and Harvey Rishikof. *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth*. Georgetown University Press. 2011. Chapter 1.**
- Luce, Edward. *Gérard Araud, the French ambassador ruffling feathers in Washington DC*. The Financial Times. October 15, 2015.

Assignment: Advocacy Campaign Strategic Proposal (due Thursday, June 25):

Prepare a memo detailing the actions to be taken by the role you will be playing on your Advocacy Campaign team. The memo should identify who you are portraying, your advocacy role in relation to the team, your unique vested interest in the policy proposal, and specific actions you propose to take.

SECTION 3: AGENDA CHALLENGES

Third, students will be introduced to the potential challenges of working in the political environment of Washington DC, including the development of an understanding of power and influence of factions within the policy community and how best to assess the role of these factions in policymaking.

Class 11

Tuesday, June 23

Congressional authorization and the power of the purse

Guest Speaker: Mike Waring, Executive Director of Federal Relations for the University of Michigan. Previously, Vice President of Government Relations for the National Association of Broadcasters, Press Secretary for U.S. Representative Harold Rogers (R-KY), and TV/radio news reporter and producer.

Earmarks/Budget Control Act of 2011/Sequestration

1986 Tax Reform Act v. Tea Party mentality

Group Exercise:

Budget creation

Wilson Center budget tool exercise

Reading:

- Levit, Mindy R. *The Budget Control Act of 2011: Legislative Changes to the Law and Their Budgetary Effects*. Congressional Research Service. March 25, 2015.
- Lynch, Megan S. *Sequestration as a Budget Enforcement Process: Frequently Asked Questions*. Congressional Research Service. February 27, 2013.
- Rosenthal, Lawrence. *Approach-Avoid: Understanding the Tea Party and the Presidential Election of 2012*. The Huffington Post. September 26, 2012.

Class 12

Thursday, June 25

Healthcare policy advocacy

[Guest speaker:]

Case Study:

The passage of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act and subsequent attempts to scuttle it.

Group Exercise:

Break-out group discussions and preparations for Advocacy Campaign strategy

Reading:

- **Timeline: Affordable Care Act.** <http://affordablehealthca.com/timeline-obamacare/>. 2016.
- O'Keefe, Ed. *The House has voted 54 times in four years on Obamacare. Here's the full list.* The Washington Post. March 21, 2014.

Class 13

Tuesday, June 30

Social Cause Advocacy

Coalition Advocacy

Case Study:

Sheridan book chapters

Reading:

- **Sheridan, Thomas F. *Helping the Good Do Better: How a White Hat Lobbyist Advocates for Social Change*. TwelveBooks, 2019.**

Assignment: Advocacy Campaign Final Presentation (due TBA):

Each of the Advocacy Campaign teams will finalize their Advocacy Campaign strategies designed to persuade an assigned decision maker and his/her staff. Each team will make an oral presentation in the form of a simulated advocacy meeting, with the professor and one other person acting as the decision maker and staff.

SECTION 4: LIMITATIONS ON POWER

Students will be exposed to the ethical dimensions of public administration and policy that arise regularly in Washington DC, often without public awareness.

Class 14

Thursday, July 2

The desire to be reelected v. ethical limitations

Congressional ethics rules

Administration ethics rules

Revised executive ethics rules

Administrative law proscriptions

Reading:

- **Jackson, Brooks. *Honest Graft: Big Money and the American Political Process*. New York: Knopf, 1988. Chapter 4.**
- Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. *The Lobbyists: How Influence Peddlers Get Their Way in Washington*. New York: Times, 1992. Chapter 3.
- Choate, Pat. *Agents of Influence*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1990. Chapter 7.
- **Birnbaum, Jeffrey H. *The Lobbyists: How Influence Peddlers Get Their Way in Washington*. New York: Times, 1992. Chapter 4.**

Case Study:

The Jack Abramoff scandal

Reading:

- Schmidt, Susan. *A Jackpot From Indian Gaming Tribes*. The Washington Post. February 22, 2004
- Schmidt, Susan and Grimaldi, James V. *The Fast Rise and Steep Fall of Jack Abramoff*. The Washington Post. December 29, 2005.
- Grimaldi, James V., and Susan Schmidt. "Report Says Nonprofits Sold Influence to Abramoff." Washington Post. The Washington Post, 13 Oct. 2006. Web. 26 July 2016.

- **Minority Staff Report: *Investigation Of Jack Abramoff's Use Of Tax-Exempt Organizations*. U.S. Senate Committee on Finance, S. PRT. 109–68, 109th Congress. October, 2006. Pages 59-109**
- Angell, John. *Abramoff Oversight Report*. (Unpublished)

Advocacy in the era of disclosure

The Honest Leadership and Open Government Act

The Lobby Disclosure Act

Reading:

- **Birnbaum, Jeffrey. *The End of Legal Bribery: How the Abramoff case could change Washington*. Washington Monthly. June 2006.**
- Straus, Jacob R. *Lobbying Registration and Disclosure: Before and After the Enactment of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007*. Congressional Research Service. 2011.

Assignment (due TBA):

Discuss the ethical considerations and limitations imposed upon the proponents/opponents of the Advocacy Campaign topic and discuss the ethical considerations of topic's decision makers. Research and analyze any publicly available disclosures by such proponents and opponents.

Class 15

TBA

Advocacy Campaign presentations