This seminar introduces students to the political analysis of policy making in the American setting. The focus is on developing tools for the analysis of politics in any setting – national, state, or local. The first week examines policy making with a minimum of theory. The next five weeks examine the environment within which policy makers operate, with special attention to public opinion and elections. The next six weeks focus on political institutions and the making of policy decisions. The entire course explores how citizens and politicians influence each other, and together how they shape public policy. The readings also explore several policy areas, including civil rights, health care, transportation, agriculture, taxes, economic policy, climate change, and the environment. In the final exercise, students apply the tools from the course to the policy area of their choice.

**Please Note: Seminar participants are required to read one short book and an article before the first seminar on September 16.**

### A. Weekly Schedule

1. Politics and Policy Making  
   September 16  
2. Public Opinion I: Micro Foundations  
   September 23  
3. Public Opinion II: Macro Opinion  
   September 30  
4. Public Opinion III: Complications  
   October 7  
5. Inequality and American Politics  
   October 14  
6. Campaigns and Elections  
   October 21  
7. Agenda Setting  
   November 4  
8. Explaining the Shape of Public Policy  
   November 11  
9. Explaining the Durability of Public Policy  
   November 18  
10. Dynamics of Policy Change  
    November 25  
11. Activists, Groups and Money  
    December 2  
12. The Courts and Policy Change  
    December 9
B. Course Requirements

1. **Reading.** The course operates as a seminar. The amount of reading averages 169 pages per week (the range is 89 to 215). Each student is expected to do the assigned reading **before** each seminar and come to class prepared for discussion.

2. **Discussion.** The main event each week is a structured discussion of the week’s reading. I provide the structure; you provide the discussion. Our aim is to come to terms with the scholarship on a subject **and** to see what lessons it offers for those involved in making and administering public policy. Each student is expected to participate actively in each week’s discussion.

3. **Three Short Papers.** Each student writes three short papers during the course of the semester. These are opportunities for you to discuss the week’s readings, unprompted by the instructor or your fellow students. The purpose of these papers is to develop your skills at political analysis and to gain feedback from the instructor prior to writing the final paper. Papers should focus on weekly readings listed under “Main Event,” not “Short Subjects.”

   The key to a good paper is to pose an interesting question and answer it. You might focus on the value of an author’s theory, examining its logical rigor, the plausibility of the arguments, or its relation to other theories. You might focus on the adequacy of the empirical evidence, asking whether the author used appropriate methods, whether the evidence really supports the hypotheses, or whether other evidence contradicts it. Alternatively, you might address the question of how well a piece of scholarship illuminates other happenings in the real world. Does a book help to explain why government makes the decisions it does? Under what conditions does it appear useful? These papers are **not** an opportunity to summarize the week’s readings. You should assume that anyone who reads your paper has also done the week’s reading.

   These papers should be well organized and well written. A paper that fails to develop an argument until the last paragraph is called a first draft. A paper that fails to anticipate potential counter arguments, is written in the passive voice, or is filled with grammatical, spelling, or typing errors, is called a second draft. A paper that you would be proud to read to the class is called a final draft. I like final drafts.

   The class will be divided in thirds, with one group writing in weeks 2, 5, and 8, a second writing in weeks 3, 6, and 9, and the third writing in weeks 4, 7, and 10.

   Your papers should be typed, double-spaced, and a maximum of five pages. References to books or articles used in the course should be cited in the text (Zaller 1992, 79). Any other sources should be cited similarly in the text and then listed in a bibliography (which does not count toward the page limit). **Please attach an extra page to the back of your paper (with your name and date in the upper right corner) for my comments.**
Papers are due at the start of the seminar in which their subjects are scheduled for discussion. I will return each of the short papers with comments a week after they are due.

4. **Final Paper.** The final paper requires that you apply the lessons of the seminar to explaining why some governmental institution enacted, or failed to enact, a significant policy change. The aim is to explain how and why political forces combined to produce or thwart change. You may choose any level of government – national, state, or local – and you may choose any significant policy change, whether adopted or rejected.

Although these papers require some outside research, the emphasis should be on original political analysis, not exhaustive research in primary source materials or interviews with participants. Some description will undoubtedly be necessary, but your paper should primarily be a piece of analysis. You should attempt to explain why an institution adopted or rejected a proposed policy change. Just before fall break, I will post an exemplary paper on Blackboard to help you appreciate the difference between good description and powerful analysis.

You are free to choose a policy area in which you already have some expertise. You are free to choose a subject that journalists or other observers have already covered extensively. You are free to select a topic for which the gathering of research materials is relatively easy. I am more interested in observing your analytic skills than your research skills. The only restriction is that you may not choose a subject that we have explored carefully in the course (e.g., Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988, the Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001, or the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” in 2010). If you are having trouble choosing (or narrowing down) a topic, please come and see me.

You should select a topic and submit a one-page description of the policy decision that you intend to analyze no later than Tuesday, November 25. Please send the proposal as an ordinary e-mail (no attachment) to arnold@princeton.edu. I will respond by e-mail within a few days.

The final paper should be typed, double-spaced, single-sided, and a maximum of 25 pages. The paper is due on Monday, January 12 at 3:00. Please provide a cover page, number all subsequent pages, cite sources in the text, and attach a bibliography. The cover page and the bibliography do not count against the page limit. Please note that 25 pages is a maximum length, not a target length. Shorter papers are welcome.

The real world of politics and public affairs does not grant extensions, and neither do I. Unlike the real world, I do accept late research papers, but only after assessing a penalty of one third of a letter grade for each day of lateness. The penalty is in fairness to other students who manage to submit their papers on time.
Papers should be given to my assistant, Helene Wood, in 301 Robertson Hall. Late papers will be logged in, with date and time.

5. **Due Dates.**
   - Short papers: Due at the *start* of each week’s seminar.
   - Research plan: Due Tuesday, November 25.
   - Research paper: Due Monday, January 12, 3:00.

6. **Grading.**
   - Seminar participation  20%
   - Short papers    30%
   - Final paper      50%

C. **Availability of Readings**

1. **Books Available for Purchase.** Labyrinth Books (122 Nassau Street) has both new and used copies of the nine books that we use most intensively (marked LB in the readings). Or try Amazon for great deals on new and used books. Kingdon’s book is the only expensive one, but since we only read chapters 1 through 9 from the original edition, you can buy previous editions (although the pagination changes between the first and second editions).

2. **Reserve Readings.** There are also multiple copies of these nine books on reserve in the Donald E. Stokes Library in Wallace Hall (marked DES in the readings).

3. **Electronic Course Reserves.** Most chapters and articles are available as part of the library’s electronic course reserves (marked ECR in the readings). You will find these materials in the E-Reserves section of Blackboard. Any last minute additions to the syllabus will be posted on the Course Materials section of Blackboard.

D. **Times and Places**

1. **Seminar Meetings**
   - Tuesday, 1:00-4:00
   - Robertson Hall 015

2. **Office Hours**
   - By appointment
   - Robertson Hall, Room 310

I am readily available by appointment. About a week in advance, I post blocks of available times in the Web Appointment Scheduling System. You can make an appointment on-line at: [https://wass.princeton.edu/pages/login.page.php](https://wass.princeton.edu/pages/login.page.php). After you log in, you will find my calendar by entering my NETID (arnold). You can sign up for either a 15 minute or a 30 minute appointment.

If you have conflicts with all my available times, please send an e-mail (arnold@princeton.edu) that includes all the times that are *impossible* for you over the coming week. I will respond with an appointment that works for both of us.
E. Weekly Readings

1. Politics and Policy Making (September 16)

*Main Event* (106 pages)

Richard Himelfarb, *Catastrophic Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988* (1995), pp. vii-ix, 1-103 [LB, DES]. Congress and the president first enact, by overwhelming margins, a major increase in health coverage for senior citizens; then, a year later, they repeal it.

*Short Subjects* (19 pages)

Hans Noel (2010), “Ten Things Political Scientists Know that You Don’t,” *The Forum: Political Science and Practical Politics* (volume 8, issue 3, article 12): 1-19 [ECR]. Although journalists write entertainingly about a wide range of political happenings, they often get the fundamentals wrong. They see change, where political scientists see constancy. This essay summarizes ten things that political scientists believe to be true that are contrary to what many journalists write.

*Discussion*

Our discussion will center on the Himelfarb book, which introduces many of the themes of the course, including the influence of public opinion on public policy. Although the case study is more than two decades old, it is still timely, given that Republicans are still seeking to overturn the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, passed in 2010. The only difference is that a bipartisan collation successfully repealed the year-old Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act in 1989, whereas recent action has been the height of partisanship.

The article by Noel introduces several other themes for the course.

2. Public Opinion I: Micro Foundations (September 23)

*Main Event* (215 pages)

Zaller develops a simple theory to explain the fundamental nature of public opinion – why public opinion develops as it does, why it changes, and how it reacts to the events of the day, the actions of political elites, and media coverage. Read for the logic of his argument. Most of his evidence is presented graphically. Anyone – and especially those writing papers – should feel free to read additional chapters. The whole book is worth reading.

Paper writers should wrestle with some aspect of Zaller’s theory or its application to current public opinion.

3. **Public Opinion II: Macro Opinion (September 30)**

**Main Events (179 pages)**


**Papers and Discussion**

Stimson focuses on macro opinion – the summation of individual opinions – both about policy issues and incumbent politicians. He argues that macro opinion shifts in sensible ways even if shifts in individual opinions seem less than rational. He also argues that aggregate shifts have important consequences for how politicians behave.

One paper explores further differences between micro and macro opinion. The other applies Stimson’s theoretical ideas to macro changes in opinions about policy (climate change).

Paper writers can focus on any of the three publications – or some combination of them.
4. Public Opinion III: Complications (October 7)

Main Events (107 pages)


Papers and Discussion

This week concludes our discussion of American public opinion by focusing on how citizens choose where to get news, on the causes and consequences of misinformation, and on what factors affect political participation.

We read lots of articles – six in all – but not lots of pages. Paper writers can focus on a single article, on any combination of articles, or on the relation between one or more articles and Zaller’s or Stimson’s books (from previous weeks).
5. Inequality and American Politics (October 14)

Main Event (212 pages)


Papers and Discussion

Bartels finds that politics – and particularly partisan politics – helps explain why economic inequality in America has been growing for three decades. How convincing his is case? Do you think it applies to state and local politics, too?

6. Campaigns and Elections (October 21)

Main Event (89 pages)

Kathleen Bawn, Martin Cohen, David Karol, Seth Masket, Hans Noel, and John Zaller, “A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands, and Nominations in American Politics,” *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (September 2012): 571-597 [ECR]. Are political parties largely controlled by election-minded politicians or by coalitions of groups with issue demands? What are the consequences of these alternative conceptions of party nominations?


Papers and Discussion

It is midterm week, so we have a lighter than usual reading assignment. Paper writers should consider writing their papers before the week begins. Everyone should still do all the reading and come to class prepared for a lively discussion.

It is 14 days to the next congressional elections. How does Jacobson’s analysis of the 2010 election help inform our interpretation of the 2014 election? We also examine how activists are recruited and what role women play in politics – both as candidates and in office. Finally, how do we conceive of parties and nominations in American politics?

7. Agenda Setting (November 4)

Main Event (208 pages)


Please note: New copies of Kingdon’s book are very expensive. Since we only read chapters 1 through 9 from the original 1984 edition, it does not make any difference whether you read the 1984, 1995, or 2010 editions. Unfortunately, the pagination varies from edition to edition. Just be sure and read chapters 1 to 9 and you will be fine.

Papers and Discussion

Kingdon explores how particular policy problems and proposals first get on the governmental agenda. Why was health care reform the hot issue four years ago, while taxes and deficit reduction were the hot issues two years later?

Paper writers might consider how well a theory conjured up during the Carter administration explains agenda setting today. Alternatively, they might consider whether a theory created to explain agenda setting in the areas of health and transportation explains agenda setting in other policy areas.

8. Explaining the Shape of Public Policy (November 11)

Main Events (209 pages)

How much does the quest for reelection leave an imprint on congressional policy making?

R. Douglas Arnold, “The Electoral Connection, Age 40” (2014): 1-31 [ECR]. This paper is an appraisal of David Mayhew’s classic book, Congress: The Electoral Connection (1974). But it also shows how Arnold’s views have (or have not) evolved since 1990.


Short Subjects (8 pages)

Ezra Klein, “Unpopular Mandate: Why Do Politicians Reverse Their Positions?” New Yorker (25 June 2012) [ECR]. Republicans backed the notion of an individual mandate until President Obama backed it; then they didn’t.

Papers and Discussion

Paper writers might consider how well Arnold’s theory, conjured up during the Reagan administration, explains congressional action today? Do stronger parties make the electoral connection less relevant today? The papers by Arnold and Jacobson provide perspective on these issues.

9. Explaining the Durability of Public Policy (November 18)

Main Events (184 pages)


Papers and Discussion

Whereas Arnold attempts to explain why Congress adopts policy reforms, Patashnik seeks to explain why Congress adopts lasting policy reforms. The two books together provide an overall analysis of what nudges Congress out
of a particularistic mood into a more general interest mood. Valelly examines the durability and then repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.”

Paper writers might focus on Patashnik’s arguments, on the relationship between Patashnik’s and Arnold’s theories. Alternatively, one might explore how durable the repeal of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” is likely to be.

10. Dynamics of Policy Change (November 25)

Main Events (204 pages)


Sarah Binder, “Polarized We Govern?” (May 2014): 1-22 [ECR]. What happens if we consider the agenda of alternatives and not just the enactments themselves? What happens if we extend the time series to 2012? Has polarization made it more difficult to make policy?

Papers and Discussion

Mayhew’s book has three virtues for this course. First, it develops a comprehensive list of the most important legislative enactments over nearly six decades – a bit of policy history that is invaluable for students of domestic policy. Second, it tests an important hypothesis about the impact of party control on legislative productivity. Third, after finding that the party hypothesis explains little, Mayhew develops six additional explanations for legislative productivity, including one that builds on Stimson’s notion of macro opinion. In short, Mayhew helps us think about the impact of macro opinion on macro policy. Binder is one of many scholars who have critiqued Mayhew and extended his work.

Questions: So, what does drive macro policy change? Why are some congresses so productive while others produce little? How much does opinion change drive policy change? Has the world changed since Mayhew updated his book to 2002?
11. Activists, Groups, and Money (December 2)

Main Events (139 pages)


Joshua L. Kalla and David E. Broockman, “Congressional Officials Grant Access to Individuals Because They Have Contributed to Campaigns: A Randomized Field Experiment” (2014): 1-34 [ECR]. Money buys access.

R. Sam Garrett, Congressional Research Service, “The State of Campaign Finance Policy: Recent Developments and Issues for Congress” (June 2014): 1-28 [ECR]. The world of campaign finance has changed in recent years. This is a clear description of the current rules.

R. Sam Garrett, Congressional Research Service, “Super PACs in Federal Elections: Overview and Issues for Congress” (April 2013): 1-27 [ECR]. There is not yet an academic literature on Super PACs. This is a clear description of what they are and what they do.

Discussion

Journalists regularly decry the role of money and interest groups in American politics. The first three political scientists offer a more nuanced view. The last two papers are descriptive accounts of the current rules and regulations.

No short papers this week.
12. The Courts and Policy Change (December 9)

Main Event (181 pages)


Short Subjects (2 pages)

Christopher Bean, “The Only Politics Article You’ll Ever Have to Read: What If Political Scientists Covered the News?” *Slate* (June 4, 2010) [ECR]. Journalists report about the adventure of politics, full of unexpected turns, while political scientists see simple repeating patterns.

Discussion

How can we apportion responsibility for policy change when it is clear that all institutions – president, Congress, and the courts – played important roles?

Rosenberg’s book is full of arguments and evidence – some convincing, some pretty weak. So, read the book with a critical eye. This week is a good chance to reflect on what kinds of evidence are convincing in case studies – not a bad thing to do as you contemplate writing your own case study (due in 34 days).

The Bean article provides an amusing retrospective on what you have learned in the course.

No short papers this week.
F. Doing Research on Congress

Although students are free to choose research topics at any level of government, many students choose to write about congressional decision making. One advantage of this choice is that there is an abundance of information about congressional policy making. Unfortunately, you won’t find most of this information with a Google search.

If you are searching for a paper topic, you should begin with the *CQ Almanac* (described below). This annual volume is organized by policy area, so that you can read about one or two policy areas that you care about and search for interesting or puzzling policy decisions. If you are searching for a paper topic in the current year, you should begin with *CQ Weekly* (described below). Take care to find an issue that Congress has resolved, whether by passing or rejecting a bill.

The electronic version of this syllabus has hyperlinks that go directly to the reference sources listed below. Some of these links require that you be logged in inside the princeton.edu firewall.

1. Congressional Quarterly Publications

   If you want to know what Congress has done (or is doing) in any policy area, you need to consult one of three titles published by Congressional Quarterly. This is a news organization with more than one hundred reporters, editors, and researchers who cover what is happening on Capitol Hill.

   *CQ Weekly* is published each Friday as a magazine and on-line. It was known as *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* from 1945 to 1998. Each issue contains articles about what is happening in Congress in specific policy areas. This is the very best source for following the details of policy making. These weekly articles are the foundation for the *CQ Almanac*, which is published annually. There are also lists of how every representative and senator voted on each roll call during the previous week. You will find paper copies of *CQ Weekly* in Stokes Library and the Trustee Reading Room at Firestone Library. Electronic access is available, beginning in 1983, at [http://library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/](http://library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/).

   *CQ Almanac* (formerly *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*) has been published annually since 1945. Each volume is organized by broad policy area, and within each chapter, by specific bills. This is the best source for determining the legislative and political history for any bill. References are included to previous volumes for issues that spanned more than one year. Appendices include how every representative and senator voted on each roll call during the year. You will find complete collections in Stokes Library and Firestone Library (JK1.C66). Electronic access, beginning in 1945, is available at [http://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/](http://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac).

   *Congress and the Nation* has been published at four-year intervals since 1965, corresponding to each presidential term (the first volume covered 1945-64). Each volume is organized by broad policy area, and within each chapter, by specific bills. The coverage is
not as detailed as in the *CQ Almanac*, but references are included to appropriate volumes of the *Almanac*. This is a good source for identifying what happened in a specific policy area during a four-year period. You will find complete collections in Stokes Library and Firestone Library (KF49.C653). Electronic access, beginning in 1945, is available at [http://library.cqpress.com/catn/](http://library.cqpress.com/catn/).

Congressional Quarterly has also published *Politics in America* at two-year intervals beginning in 1982. This is a comprehensive guide to the 435 members and their districts and the 100 senators and their states, including biographical material, committee assignments, interest group ratings, and district demographics. Although it is similar to *The Almanac of American Politics* (see below), it places greater emphasis on legislators in Washington, whereas the *Almanac* places greater emphasis on legislators at home. You will find paper copies in Stokes Library and Firestone Library (JK1010.P64).

Congressional Quarterly also publishes a wide range of other titles about politics and policy making. For electronic access to the complete CQ Press Political Reference Suite, including *Congress A to Z; Elections A to Z; The Presidency A to Z; The Supreme Court A to Z; The U.S. Constitution A to Z; and Vital Statistics on American Politics*, see: [http://library.cqpress.com/prs/](http://library.cqpress.com/prs/).

2. **Congressional Publications**

Congress publishes a wide variety of materials including, bills (proposed laws), hearing transcripts (testimony before committees), committee prints (research reports for committees), committee reports (reasons for and against bills reported out of committee), and the *Congressional Record* (a daily record of House and Senate floor debates). Firestone Library has comprehensive paper collections of all these materials. Electronic access is available for many items for more recent years.


Electronic access for some documents is available through several sites, including:

- Pro-Quest Congressional: [http://web.lexis-nexis.com/congcomp](http://web.lexis-nexis.com/congcomp)

3. **National Journal Publications**
National Journal is a weekly magazine that has covered policy making in Washington since 1969. It covers both Congress and the executive branch. You will find paper copies in Stokes Library and Firestone Library. Electronic access is available at http://nationaljournal.com/

The Almanac of American Politics, published biennially since 1972, is a comprehensive guide to the 435 representatives and their districts and the 100 senators and their states. Includes biographical material, committee assignments, interest group ratings, election results, campaign expenditures, and district demographics. You will find paper copies in Stokes Library and Firestone Library. Electronic access is available at http://nationaljournal.com/almanac/

4. Newspapers

Three Washington newspapers provide superb coverage of Congress. The Washington Post provides the most comprehensive coverage. Roll Call, which is published Monday through Thursday, strives to cover the people and politics of Congress. The Hill is a weekly paper with intensive coverage of Congress. http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/

The New York Times and the Wall Street Journal are also important resources. The Times is available through Lexis-Nexis. The Journal is available through ProQuest.

For a complete guide to United States newspapers at Princeton, see http://libguides.princeton.edu/content.php?pid=143079&sid=1228456

5. Public Opinion Polls

For a searchable archive of public opinion polls from most of the leading pollsters (Gallup, National Opinion Research Center, Pew Research Center, ABC, CBS, CNN, NBC, Los Angeles Times, New York Times, USA Today, Wall Street Journal, and Washington Post), use the public opinion archives at the Roper Center. Go to the following site and click on iPoll. You may need to provide your Princeton University e-mail address in order to search the archives. http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/

For a comprehensive guide to polling data, see http://libguides.princeton.edu/content.php?pid=315549&sid=2582127

6. Statistical Data

For a guide to all sorts of data provided by the federal government, see http://libguides.princeton.edu/content.php?pid=49179&sid=364026

For statistical data on presidential, congressional, and gubernatorial elections, try the CQ Voting and Elections Collection at: http://library.cqpress.com/elections/ or consult the guide at http://libguides.princeton.edu/content.php?pid=315549&sid=2582128
7. Reference Librarians

You should also consult any of the reference librarians at Stokes Library (Wallace Hall) or Firestone Library. Three librarians who specialize in politics, law, and public policy are listed below.

**Public Policy**
Nancy Pressman Levy  
pressman@princeton.edu  
609-258-4782  
Stokes Library

**Politics**
Jeremy Darrington  
jdarring@princeton.edu  
609-258-3209  
Firestone A-10-JB

**Law**
David Hollander  
dholland@princeton.edu  
609-258-5316  
Firestone A-15-J-2