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 Social Security, immigration, climate change, health care, transportation, agriculture, taxes, education, criminal justice, campaign finance, and the environment. In the final exercise, students apply the tools from the course to a 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 20.

A. Weekly Schedule

1. Politics and Policy Making  
   September 20
2. Presidential Campaigns  
   September 27
3. Public Opinion I: Micro Foundations  
   October 4
4. Public Opinion II: Macro Opinion  
   October 11
5. Race and American Politics  
   October 18
6. Elections  
   October 25
7. Agenda Setting  
   November 8
8. Explaining the Shape of Public Policy  
   November 15
9. Explaining the Durability of Public Policy  
   November 22
10. Dynamics of Policy Change  
    November 29
11. Money and American Politics  
    December 6
12. Tough Cases: Social Security, Immigration, and Climate Change  
    December 13
B. Course Requirements

1. **Reading.** The course operates as a seminar. The amount of reading averages 171 pages per week (the range is 80 to 247). 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. **Lecture.** After the discussion, a lecture covers material that is not part of the reading. Often these lectures are forward looking – covering material that is relevant to subsequent weeks.

4. **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.

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, 12-point font, double-spaced, single-sided, 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.

5. **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). 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 29. 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, 12-point font, double-spaced, single-sided, and a *maximum of 25 pages.* The paper is due on Monday, January 16 at 2:00. 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.

6. **Due Dates.**
   - Short papers: Due at the *start* of each week’s seminar.
   - Research plan: Due Tuesday, November 29.
   - Research paper: Due Monday, January 16, 2:00.

7. **Grading.**

   - Seminar participation 20%
   - Short papers 30%
   - Final paper 50%

C. **Plagiarism**

   The University expects that students will do their own work and cite any arguments or evidence that other scholars, students, or journalists first developed. *Plagiarism* is defined as “the use of any outside source without proper acknowledgment.” *Outside source* means “any work, published or unpublished, by any person other than the student.” Students who are unfamiliar with the University’s rules on plagiarism should consult the relevant sections of *Rights, Rules, and Responsibilities*. The penalties for plagiarism range from disciplinary probation to suspension and expulsion.

D. **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.

   *Note:* The 2010 edition of Kingdon’s book is insanely expensive. Do not reward commercial publishers for abusive behavior. Since we read only chapters 1 through 9 from the original edition, you may read copies of the 1984, 1995, or 2010 editions (although the pagination changes between the 1984 and 1995 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.
E. Times and Places

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

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

I am readily available by appointment. A week in advance, I post appointment blocks in the Web Appointment Scheduling System for Wednesday or Thursday. You can make an appointment 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.

F. Weekly Readings

1. **Politics and Policy Making (September 20)**

   *Main Event* (125 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.

   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 nearly three 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. **Presidential Campaigns (September 27)**

*Main Event (247 pages)*

John Sides and Lynn Vavreck, *The Gamble: Choice and Chance in the 2012 Presidential Election* (2014), pp. xiii-xvii, 1-242 [LB, DES]. This book brings the best of political science to analyze the 2012 presidential campaign. The basic theme is that journalists cover an exciting story full of consequential moves by candidates, but the reality of campaigns is that the fundamentals matter more.

*Papers and Discussion*

Most of you know what journalists had to say about the 2012 presidential campaign for that is how you experienced it – through the eyes of journalists. This book introduces you to how political scientists analyze campaigns. The events should look familiar, so focus on the tools that political scientists employ.

Paper writers can write about the 2012 campaign or they can use the tools from this book to think critically about the 2016 presidential campaign, whether at the nomination stage or the general election.

3. **Public Opinion I: Micro Foundations (October 4)**

*Main Event (215 pages)*


*Papers and Discussion*

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.
4. Public Opinion II: Macro Opinion (October 11)

Main Event (165 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.

5. Race and American Politics (October 18)

Main Event (216 pages)

Papers and Discussion

Abrajano and Hajnal find that immigration – and particularly Latino immigration – drives white voters to identify as Republicans, vote for Republican candidates, and support anti-immigrant policies. They also find that the level of Latino immigration affects how much states choose to spend on education and corrections, but that the effects are curvilinear: Growth in the Latino population first leads to a decline in funds for education and a rise in funds for corrections, but as Latinos become a larger share of state population, both trends reverse. How convincing is their case? How does this book speak to the current presidential election?

6. Elections (October 25)

Main Event (80 pages)


Sarah F. Anzia and Christopher R. Berry, “The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?” American Journal of Political Science (2011): 478-493 [ECR]. Women may be less likely to run for Congress, but once there, they outperform their male colleagues.
Papers and Discussion

It is midterm week, so we have a lighter than usual reading assignment – just 80 pages. Paper writers should consider writing their papers before the week begins. Everyone should do all the reading and come to class prepared for a lively discussion.

The readings focus on three different subjects: (a) how to explain turnout; (b) what drives congressional elections; and (c) the role of women in elections and in office. Papers should focus on just one of those subjects.

7. Agenda Setting (November 8)

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 six 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 15)

Main Event (183 pages)

Sarah A. Binder and Frances E. Lee, “Making Deals in Congress,” in Jane Mansbridge and Cathie Jo Martin eds, Negotiating Agreement in Politics (2013), pp. 54-72 [ECR]. How do coalition leaders assemble legislative coalitions when everyone is worried about their electoral coalitions? How has partisan polarization made deal making even tougher?

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?

9. Explaining the Durability of Public Policy (November 22)

Main Event (168 pages)


Papers and Discussion

Whereas Arnold attempts to explain why Congress adopts policy reforms, Patashnik seeks to explain why Congress adopts lasting reforms. The two books together provide an overall analysis of what budges Congress out of a particularistic mood into a more general interest mood. Oberlander and Weaver examine the durability of the Affordable Care Act.

Paper writers might focus on Patashnik’s arguments, on the relationship between Patashnik’s and Arnold’s theories. Alternatively, one might explore why the Affordable Care Act seems so politically fragile.
10. Dynamics of Policy Change (November 29)

Main Event (206 pages)


Sarah Binder, “Polarized We Govern?,” Center for Effective Public Management at Brookings (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 seven 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 presidents and 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. Money and American Politics (December 6)

Main Event (148 pages)


Discussion

Journalists regularly decry the role of money and interest groups in American politics. These political scientists offer a more nuanced view.

No short papers this week.
12. Tough Cases: Social Security, Immigration, and Climate Change (December 13)

Main Event (91 pages)


Discussion

Our discussion will focus on three policy areas where coalition building seems so difficult. What will it take to solve Social Security’s problems before 2033? Is there any hope for incremental rather than comprehensive immigration reform? Why are states moving forward on climate change while the federal government does nothing?

No short papers this week.
G. 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 Magazine* 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://sk.sagepub.com/Search/SavedSearch/250

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). Electronic access, beginning in 2006, at http://library.cqpress.com/pia/

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/index.php.

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.

Firestone library has an excellent guide to congressional materials at http://libguides.princeton.edu/c.php?g=84107&p=543004.

For a guide to all government documents, see http://libguides.princeton.edu/c.php?g=84107&p=542872.

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

- Pro-Quest Congressional: http://congressional.proquest.com/profiles/gis/search/basic/basicsearch

*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/](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/](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/](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/newspapers](http://libguides.princeton.edu/newspapers)

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://ropercenter.cornell.edu/](http://ropercenter.cornell.edu/)

For a comprehensive guide to polling data, see [http://libguides.princeton.edu/politics/opinion](http://libguides.princeton.edu/politics/opinion)
6. **Statistical Data**

For a guide to all sorts of data provided by the federal government, see http://libguides.princeton.edu/c.php?g=84107&p=543623

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/elections

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.

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