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.

** Please Note: Seminar participants are required to read one article and one short book before the first seminar on February 1. **

A. Weekly Schedule

1. Politics and Policy Making February 1
2. Origins of Public Opinion February 8
3. Dynamics of Public Opinion February 15
4. Macro Opinion February 22
5. Inequality and American Politics March 1
6. Elections March 8

    **SPRING BREAK**

7. Agenda Setting March 22
8. Explaining the Shape of Public Policy March 29
9. Explaining the Durability of Public Policy April 5
10. The Effects of Money and Interest Groups April 12
11. Dynamics of Policy Change April 19
12. The Courts and Policy Change April 26

B. Course Requirements

1. **Reading.** The course operates as a seminar. The amount of reading averages 168 pages per week. 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.

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 group writing in weeks 3, 6, and 9, and the third group 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). 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 extensive 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.

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 or the Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001). 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, April 5. 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 Tuesday, May 10 at 4:00. Please provide a cover page and number all subsequent pages. 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.

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 must 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, April 5.
- **Research paper:** Due Tuesday, May 10, 4:00.
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 copies of the nine books that we use most intensively (marked LB in the readings). Or try Amazon for great deals on new or used books.

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. Several other papers are in the Course Materials section of Blackboard (marked CM in the readings).

D. **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. 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 (February 1)

*Required* (125 pages)

Hans Noel, “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.

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.

Note: 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, since the Republicans in Congress today are trying to repeal the recent health reform bill, just as a bipartisan collation successfully repealed the year-old Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act in 1989. The article by Hans Noel introduces several other themes for the course.

2. Origins of Public Opinion (February 8)

*Required* (215 pages)


Note: 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.
3. **Dynamics of Public Opinion (February 15)**

*Required (145 pages)*


Note: This week continues our discussion of the dynamics of American public opinion. We read lots of articles – seven in all – but not lots of pages. Those writing papers can focus on a single article, on any combination of articles, or on the relation between one or more articles and Zaller’s book (from last week).
4. Macro Opinion (February 22)

Required (140 pages)


Note: Stimson focuses on macro opinion – the summation of individual opinions. 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.

5. Inequality and American Politics (March 1)

Required (219 pages)


Note: Bartels finds that politics – and particularly partisan politics – helps explain why economic inequality in America has been growing for three decades. Page and Stimson offer alternative perspectives for some of his points.

6. Elections (March 8)

Required (97 pages)

Christopher Bean, “The Only Politics Article You’ll Ever Have to Read: What If Political Scientists Covered the News?” *Slate* (June 4, 2010), two pages [ECR and http://www.slate.com/id/2256068/]. Journalists report about the adventure of politics, full of unexpected turns, while political scientists see simple repeating patterns.


Note: It is midterm week, so we have a lighter than usual reading assignment. Nevertheless, we cover the basics of what drives presidential and legislative elections.

7. **Agenda Setting (March 22)**

   *Required (208 pages)*


   Note: Kingdon explores how particular policy problems and proposals first get on the governmental agenda – why was health care reform the hot issue last year, while deficit reduction is the hot issue this year.

8. **Explaining the Shape of Public Policy (March 29)**

   *Required (186 pages)*


Note: Our seminar discussion will focus on the book, which explores the ways in which legislators’ actions are shaped by their interest in reelection. We will use Skidmore’s paper as a springboard for a discussion of your research paper (due May 10). Reminder that your research plan is due next week (April 5). Further details will be provided in class.

9. Explaining the Durability of Public Policy (April 5)

Required (142 pages)

Eric M. Patashnik, Reforms at Risk: What Happens After Major Policy Changes Are Enacted (2008), pp. 1-71, 110-180 [LB, DES]. What determines whether reforms that pass are reforms that persist?

Note: 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.

10. The Effects of Money and Interest Groups (April 12)

Required (85 pages)


Dara Z. Strolovitch and M. David Forrest, “Social and Economic Justice Movements and Organizations,” in L. Sandy Maisel and Jeffrey M. Berry (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups (2010), pp. 468-484 [ECR]. It is easy to account for the formation of groups representing business, but how can we account for groups representing less privileged groups?


Note: Journalists regularly decry the role of money and interest groups in American politics. These political scientists offer a more nuanced view, including one article that focuses on social and economic movements and organizations.

11. Dynamics of Policy Change (April 19)

*Required* (192 pages)


Note: 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.

12. The Courts and Policy Change (April 26)

*Required* (262 pages)


Note: How can we apportion responsibility for policy change when it is clear that all institutions – president, Congress, and the courts – played important roles?
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 Congressional Quarterly 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 Congressional Quarterly 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 Social Science Reference Center at Firestone. Electronic access is available, beginning in 1983, at http://library.cqpress.com/cqweekly/.

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 the Social Science Reference Center at Firestone (JK1 .C66). Electronic access, beginning in 1945, is available at 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 *Congressional Quarterly 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 the Social Science Reference Center at Firestone (KF49 .C653). Electronic access, beginning in 1945, is available at 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 the Social Science Reference Center at Firestone (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/.

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.

   The best comprehensive guide to congressional publications is published by the Documents Center at the University of Michigan. This site describes in great detail what you can find in specific documents. See: http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/fedlegis.html#ldraft

   Firestone library also has an excellent guide to congressional materials, called “The United States Congress: A Research Guide at Princeton.” This guide is especially helpful for determining where to find paper copies at Princeton and when electronic access begins for specific items. See: http://www.princeton.edu/%7Edocs/USPriRut.html

   You should first read the Michigan and Princeton documents to learn the ins and outs of congressional documents. Electronic access for some documents is available through several sites, including:

   Lexis-Nexis Congressional: http://web.lexis-nexis.com/congcomp

THOMAS (Library of Congress): http://thomas.loc.gov/

CQ Electronic Library: http://library.cqpress.com/index.php


*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 the Social Science Reference Center at Firestone. 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 the Social Science Reference Center at Firestone. 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.

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, try another superb resource from the Documents Center at the University of Michigan. See: http://www.lib.umich.edu/government-documents-center/explore/browse/statistics+political-science+public-opinion/1764/search/
6. **Statistical Data**

For a guide to statistical data on politics, including campaign finance, elections, and public opinion, try another superb resource from the Documents Center at the University of Michigan, see: http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/stpolisc.html

For a comprehensive guide to statistical data on just about every policy area, from economics, education, energy, and the environment, to government finances, health, housing, and transportation, see: http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/stats.html

For statistical data on presidential, congressional, and gubernatorial elections, try the CQ Voting and Elections Collection at: http://library.cqpress.com/elections/

7. **Reference Librarians**

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

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