PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Woodrow Wilson School

WWS 521 — Fall 2001
Domestic Politics — R. Douglas Arnold

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 two weeks examine policy making as a whole and the concept of power in political science. The next four weeks examine the environment within which policy makers operate, with special attention to public opinion, mass media, and elections. The second half of the courses focuses on political institutions and the making of policy decisions, with attention given to agenda setting, legislatures, the courts, and bureaucracy.

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* * * * * * * **required to read one short book before** * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * **the first seminar on September 17.** * * * * * * *

A. Weekly Schedule

1.	The Politics of Policy Making	September 17
2.	The Analysis of Power in Politics	September 24
3.	Public Opinion I	October 1
4.	Public Opinion II	October 8
5.	Mass Media	October 15
6.	Elections	October 22
7.	Agenda Setting	November 5
8.	Legislatures and Public Policy	November 12
9.	Analyzing Policy Choices	November 19
10.	Courts and Public Policy	November 26
11.	The Politics of Housing	December 3
12.	Bureaucracy	December 10

B. Course Requirements

1. **Reading.** The course operates as a seminar. The amount of reading averages 212 pages per week, all of it nontechnical. 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 a serious piece of scholarship *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 you paper with your name and the date on the first line and the rest of the page blank 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. 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 by Monday, November 26.

   The final paper should be typed, double-spaced, and a *maximum* of 25 pages, and is due on Tuesday, January 15, at 4:00. 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 all students who manage to submit their papers on time.

   Papers should either be placed in my Robertson Hall mailbox or given to my secretary, Helene Wood, in 326 Robertson Hall.

5. **Due Dates.**

Short papers:	Due at the *start* of each week's seminar.
Research plan:	Due Monday, November 26.
Research paper:	Due Tuesday, January 15.

6. **Grading.**

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

C. Availability of Readings

1. **Course Packet Available for Purchase.** Pequod Printing, located on the ground floor of the Princeton University Store, sells a course packet that contains excerpts from seven books and journals. The estimated cost is $24.

2. **Books Available for Purchase.** The Princeton University Store has copies of the 10 paperback books that we use most intensively.

3. **Reserve Readings.** There are also multiple copies of these ten books on reserve in the Donald E. Stokes Library in Wallace Hall.

4. **Additional Required Readings.** The week prior to several seminar meetings, one or more short, topical articles will be distributed in order to help connect the weekly readings with what is happening in the news.

5. **Suggested Readings.** The suggested readings are places you can turn if you want to learn more about a given subject. Although all of these works are available somewhere in the Princeton University library system, I have not placed them on reserve for this course.

D. Times and Places

1.	**Seminar Meetings.**	Monday, 1:00-4:10	Engineering Quad, E329
2.	**Office Hours.**	Tuesday, 1:30-3:30	Robertson Hall, Room 310
		Phone: 258-4855	arnold@princeton.edu

I am also available by appointment. Please send me an e-mail 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.

Weekly Readings

1. The Politics of Policy Making (September 17)

Please read the following case study before the first seminar and come to class prepared for discussion.

a. *Required* (106 pages)

Richard Himelfarb, *Catastrophic Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988* (1995), pp. vii-ix, 1-103.

2. The Analysis of Power in Politics (September 24)

Power is one of the fundamental concepts in political science. Gaventa reviews several alternative conceptions of power and then seeks to measure power in an isolated Appalachian community. How well does Gaventa capture power relations in this community? How generalizable are his findings to other communities? How useful are the various notions of power?

a. *Required* (266 pages)

John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (1980), pp. v-xi, 3-261. Read chapters one and two with great care, chapters three and four rapidly, and chapters five through ten more carefully.

b. *Suggested*

E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America* (1960).

Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (1961).

Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, *Power and Poverty* (1970).

Stephen Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (1974).

Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (1974).

Jack H. Nagel, *The Descriptive Analysis of Power* (1975).

R. Douglas Arnold, *Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence* (1979).

Nelson Polsby, *Community Power and Political Theory*, 2nd ed. (1980).

Paul Peterson, *City Limits* (1981).

Ian Shapiro and Grant Reeher (eds), *Power, Inequality, and Democratic Politics: Essays in Honor of Robert A. Dahl* (1988).

Robert A. Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis,* 5th ed. (1991).

3. Public Opinion I (October 1)

How do citizens acquire opinions about policies and politicians? Zaller offers a sophisticated theory to explain public opinion. How well does the theory explain your own opinions? Your friends and family? The mass public? What seems to account for the shape of mass opinion in society?

a. *Required* (184 pages)

John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (1992), pp. 1-184.

b. *Suggested*

M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence* (1974).

Jennifer Hochschild, *What's Fair? American Beliefs About Distributive Justice* (1981).

M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *Generations and Politics* (1982).

Daniel Kahneman, Paul Slovic, and Amos Tversky, *Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases* (1982).

Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill, *Dimensions of Tolerance: What Americans Believe About Civil Liberties* (1983).

Herbert McClosky and John Zaller, *The American Ethos: Public Attitudes Toward Capitalism and Democracy* (1984).

David O. Sears and Carolyn L. Funk, "Self-Interest in Americans' Political Opinions," in Jane J. Mansbridge (ed), *Beyond Self-Interest* (1990), pp. 147-170.

Daniel Yankelovich, *Coming to Public Judgment: Making Democracy Work in a Complex World* (1991).

Samuel L. Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns* (1991).

William A. Gamson, *Talking Politics* (1992).

Robert S. Erikson and Kent L. Tedin, *American Public Opinion: Its Origins, Content, and Impact*, 5th ed. (1995).

Michael H. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters* (1996).

4. Public Opinion II (October 8)

How can one explain the dynamics of public opinion? What accounts for stability and change in public opinion over time? What role do interest groups and the mass media play in shaping attitudes?

a. *Required* (200 pages)

John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (1992), pp. 185-309.

Arthur Lupia, "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections," *American Political Science Review* (March 1994), pp. 63-76. In course packet.

Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Programs* (1999), pp. 102-153. In course packet.

b. *Suggested*

John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents, and Public Opinion* (1973).

Morris P. Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981).

D. Roderick Kiewiet, *Macroeconomics and Micropolitics: The Electoral Effects of Economic Issues* (1983).

James Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System* (1983).

Benjamin I. Page, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Glenn R. Dempsey, "What Moves Public Opinion?" *American Political Science Review* (March 1987), pp. 23-43.

Larry M. Bartels, *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice* (1988).

Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson, *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics* (1989).

Richard Brody, *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support* (1991).

Larry M. Bartels, "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup," *American Political Science Review* (June 1991), pp. 457-474.

Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in American's Policy Preferences* (1992).

Bryan D. Jones, *Reconceiving Decision-Making in Democratic Politics: Attention, Choice, and Public Policy* (1994).

James Stimson, *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings*, 2nd. ed. (1999).

5. The Mass Media (October 15)

What role does the mass media play in American politics?

a. *Required* (169 pages)

Benjamin I. Page, *Who Deliberates: Mass Media in Modern Democracy* (1996), pp. 1-134.

Timothy E. Cook, *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution* (1998), pp. 85-119. In course packet.

b. *Suggested*

Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News* (1979).

Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (1980).

Martin Linsky, *Impact: How the Press Affects Federal Policymaking* (1986).

Shanto Iyengar and Donald R. Kinder, *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion* (1987).

Timothy Cook, *Making Laws and Making News: Media Strategies in the U.S. House of Representatives* (1989).

Stephen Hess, *Live from Capitol Hill* (1991).

Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (1991).

W. Russell Neuman, Marion R. Just, and Ann N. Crigler, *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning* (1992).

Larry M. Bartels, "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure," *American Political Science Review* (June 1993), pp. 267-285.

Thomas E. Patterson, *Out of Order* (1993).

Doris A. Graber (ed.), *Media Power in Politics*, 3rd ed. (1994).

Marion R. Just, Ann N. Crigler, Dean E. Alger, Timothy E. Cook, Montague Kern, and Darrell M. West, *Crosstalk: Citizens, Candidates, and the Media in a Presidential Campaign* (1996).

6. Elections (October 22)

How can we explain election outcomes? How much are congressional elections national contests between two parties? How much are they local contests between pairs of candidates? How important are campaigns? Information? Money?

a. *Required* (235 pages)

Gary C. Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 5th ed. (2001), pp. 1-235.

b. *Suggested*

Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes, *The American Voter* (1960).

Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes, *Elections and the Political Order* (1966).

Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John Petrocik, *The Changing American Voter* (1976).

Raymond Wolfinger and Steven Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (1980).

Stanley Kelley, *Interpreting Elections* (1983).

D. Roderick Kiewiet, *Macroeconomics and Micropolitics: The Electoral Effects of Economic Issues* (1983).

Larry M. Bartels, *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice* (1988).

Linda L. Fowler and Robert D. McClure, *Political Ambition: Who Decides to Run for Congress?* (1989).

Richard Niemi and Herbert Weisberg (eds.), *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 3rd ed. (1993).

Richard Niemi and Herbert Weisberg (eds.), *Classics in Voting Behavior* (1993).

Jonathan S. Krasno, *Challengers, Competition, and Reelection: Comparing Senate and House Elections* (1994).

Marion Just, Ann Crigler, Dean Alger, Timothy Cook, Montague Kern, and Darrell West, *Crosstalk: Citizens, Candidates, and the Media in a Presidential Campaign* (1996).

Paul Herrnson, *Congressional Elections: Campaigning at Home and in Washington*, 3rd. ed. (2000).

7. Agenda Setting (November 5)

How does government decide which problems to attack? Which solutions to consider? What are the roles of bureaucrats, executives, legislators, the mass media, interest groups, and public opinion in shaping the governmental agenda?

a. *Required* (230 pages)

John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2nd ed. (1995), pp. 1-230.

b. *Suggested*

Roger W. Cobb and Charles D. Elder, *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda-Building* (1972).

Martha Derthick, *Policy Making for Social Security* (1979).

T. R. Reid, *Congressional Odyssey: The Saga of a Senate Bill* (1980).

John Mendeloff, *Regulating Safety: An Economic and Political Analysis of Occupational Safety and Health Policy* (1980).

Nelson W. Polsby, *Political Innovation in America: The Politics of Policy Initiation* (1984).

Martha Derthick and Paul Quirk, *The Politics of Deregulation* (1985).

R. Kent Weaver and Bert A. Rockman, *Do Institutions Matter? Government Capabilities in the United States and Abroad* (1993).

Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics* (1993).

Bryan D. Jones, *Reconceiving Decision-Making in Democratic Politics: Attention, Choice, and Public Policy* (1994).

David A. Rochefort and Roger W. Cobb (ed), *The Politics of Problem Definition: Shaping the Policy Agenda* (1994).

Richard Himelfarb, *Catastrophic Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act of 1988* (1995).

Margaret Weir (ed.), *The Social Divide: Political Parties and the Future of Activist Government* (1998).

R. Kent Weaver, *Ending Welfare as We Know It* (2000).

8. Legislatures and Public Policy (November 12)

How do legislators respond to public opinion? What accounts for legislatures sometimes serving narrow and particularistic interests and sometimes serving more general interests? What strategies are available for encouraging legislators to adopt specific policies?

a. *Required* (243 pages)

R. Douglas Arnold, *The Logic of Congressional Action* (1990), pp. 3-192, 224-276.

b. *Suggested*

David R. Mayhew, *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (1974).

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts* (1978).

William Muir, *Legislature: California's School for Politics* (1982).

Bruce Cain, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina, *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence* (1987).

John W. Kingdon, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 3rd ed. (1989).

Keith Krehbiel, *Information and Legislative Organization* (1991).

David R. Mayhew, *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990* (1991), pp. 1-7, 34-200.

Carol Swain, *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress* (1993).

Gary W. Cox and Mathew D. McCubbins, *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House* (1993).

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., *Senators on the Campaign: Trail The Politics of Representation* (1996).

Richard L. Hall, *Participation in Congress* (1996).

Keith T. Poole and Howard Rosenthal, *Congress: A Political-Economic History of Roll Call Voting* (1997).

Keith Krehbiel, *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking* (1998).

9. Analyzing Policy Choices (November 19)

How can we explain why government adopts or fails to adopt specific policies?

a. *Required* (135 pages)

Paul J. Quirk, "Deregulation and the Politics of Ideas in Congress," in Jane J. Mansbridge, ed., *Beyond Self-Interest* (1990), pp. 183-199. In course packet.

Jacob S. Hacker, "Learning from Defeat? Political Analysis and the Failure of Health Care Reform in the United States," *British Journal of Political Science* (2001), pp. 61-94. In course packet.

Kent Weaver, "Ending Welfare as We Know It," in Margaret Weir, ed., *The Social Divide: Political Parties and the Future of Activist Government* (1998), pp. 361-416. In course packet.

R. Douglas Arnold, "The Politics of Reforming Social Security, *Political Science Quarterly* (Summer 1998), pp. 213-240. In course packet.

b. *Suggested*

James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (1968).

David W. Brady, *Critical Elections and Congressional Policy Making* (1988).

Edward G. Carmines and James A. Stimson, *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics* (1989).

David R. Mayhew, *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990* (1991).

David R. Mayhew, "Presidential Elections and Policy Change: How Much of a Connection Is There?" in Harvey L. Schantz (ed.), *American Presidential Elections: Process, Policy, and Political Change* (1996).

Morris Fiorina, *Divided Government, 2nd ed.* (1996).

R. Douglas Arnold, Michael Graetz, and Alicia H. Munnell (eds.), *Framing the Social Security Debate: Values, Politics, and Economics* (1998).

Charles M. Cameron, *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power* (2000).

10. Courts and Public Policy (November 26)

How much influence do courts have in the making of public policy? Can courts be used to bypass elected legislatures and executives? Under what conditions do courts matter?

a. *Required* (273 pages)

Gerald N. Rosenberg, *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* (1991), pp. 1-265, 336-343.

b. *Suggested*

Walter F. Murphy, *Elements of Judicial Strategy* (1964).

Robert G. Dixon, Jr., *Democratic Representation: Reapportionment in Law and Politics* (1968).

Donald L. Horowitz, *The Courts and Social Policy* (1977).

Martin Shapiro, *Courts: A Comparative and Political Analysis* (1981).

Jennifer Hochschild, *The New American Dilemma: Liberal Democracy and School Desegregation* (1984).

David M. O'Brien, *Storm Center: The Supreme Court in American Politics*, 2nd ed. (1990).

H. W. Perry, Jr., *Deciding to Decide: Agenda Setting in the United States Supreme Court* (1991).

G. Alan Tarr, *Judicial Process and Judicial Policy Making* (1994).

Neal Devins, *Shaping Constitutional Values: Elected Government, The Supreme Court, and the Abortion Debate* (1996).

Robert A. Katzmann, *Courts and Congress* (1997).

David A. Schultz (ed.), *Leveraging the Law: Using the Courts to Achieve Social Change* (1998).

11. The Politics of Housing (December 3)

Does New Jersey's Mount Laurel case support or refute Rosenberg's generalizations about the impact of courts on social policy? Did courts make a difference? Why or why not?

a. *Required* (210 pages)

Charles M. Haar, *Suburbs Under Siege: Race, Space, and Audacious Judges* (1996), pp. xi-xiv, 3-208.

b. *Suggested*

Clement E. Vose, *Caucasians Only: The Supreme Court, the NAACP, and the Restrictive Covenant Cases* (1959).

Anthony Downs, *Opening Up the Suburbs* (1973).

Michael Danielson, *The Politics of Exclusion* (1976).

Paul E. Peterson, *City Limits* (1981).

Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985).

Gerald M. Pomper (ed.), *The Political State of New Jersey* (1986).

Barbara G. Salmore and Stephen A. Salmore, *New Jersey Politics and Government: Suburban Politics Comes of Age* (1993).

David L. Kirp, John P. Dwyer, and Larry Rosenthal, *Our Town: Race, Housing, and the Soul of Suburbia* (1995).

Donald R. Kinder and Lynn M. Sanders, *Divided By Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals* (1996).

Charles M. Haar, *Suburbs Under Siege: Race, Space, and Audacious Judges* (1996).

Barbara G. Salmore and Stephen A. Salmore, *New Jersey Politics and Government: Suburban Politics Comes of Age*, 2nd ed. (1998).

12. Bureaucracy and Public Policy (December 10)

How do political forces affect and constrain the actions of bureaucratic actors?

a. *Required* (292 pages)

James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (1989), ix-xii, 3-276, 365-378.

b. *Suggested*

Herbert Simon, *Administrative Behavior* (1947, 1976).

Philip Selznick, *Leadership in Administration* (1957).

Herbert Kaufman, *The Forest Ranger* (1960).

R. Douglas Arnold, *Congress and the Bureaucracy: A Theory of Influence* (1979).

Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, *Implementation*, 3rd ed. (1984).

John DiIulio, *Governing Prisons* (1987).

Terry M. Moe, "The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure," in John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson (eds.), *Can the Government Govern?* (1989), 267-329.

John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* (1990).

Gary Miller, *Managerial Dilemmas: The Political Economy of Hierarchy* (1992).

Gerald Garvey, *Facing the Bureaucracy: Living and Dying in a Public Agency* (1993).

Paul C. Light, *The Tides of Reform: Making Government Work, 1945-1995* (1997).

John Brehm and Scott Gates, *Working, Shirking, and Sabotage: Bureaucratic Response to a Democratic Public* (1997).

Daniel P. Carpenter, *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928* (2001).