

Syllabus

Duke POLSCI 340 and UNC POLI 342: American Macro Politics

John Aldrich and James Stimson

Spring, 2002

Course Texts

Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2001. *The Macro Polity*, Cambridge University Press.

Bond, Jon, and Richard Fleischer, *Polarized Politics*, Washington: CQ Press.

Course Description: This seminar will focus on all aspects of American politics that can be studied at the macro level, interspersed with dialogue about micro and macro analyses. Although not a logical necessity, time will nearly always be the unit of analysis. We will thus end up focusing on sets of processes, and the causal connections between them, structured over time. The limitation of this form of analysis is that its models do not exploit individual level information -- and that is also its strength. By foregoing individual concerns it becomes possible to think about connections between the actors, actions, and institutions of politics in a manner that is usually ruled out by the research designs of micro studies.

The course will be a research seminar. As such, its reading load will be both relatively light and focused on materials directly relevant to research. Students will be expected to undertake a major research project to be written in a form suitable for journal submission. These projects may be individually authored or collaborative. At least for the seminar paper, this research should steer away from major data collection activities, which are inconsistent with timely completion. Many excellent data series are available from *The Macro Polity* project, from economic indicators, from archival sources such as the Roper Center, and so forth (Stanley and Niemi, *Vital Statistics on American Politics 1999-2000*, is an excellent source book for series on behavior, elections, institutions, and policy.)

Seminar meetings will be in a discussion format in which the responsibility for guiding class discussions will be shared between the instructors and designated students. The student role and responsibility is to provoke a thoughtful discussion on points of central theoretical interest. Student presentations will be judged in large part by what ensues.

The Plan of the course is to begin with reading in weeks 2-4, during which time students are preparing research proposals. In weeks 5-7 we continue reading, but spend part of the seminar on presentation, discussion, and critique of student research proposals. We return to reading while student research is underway and then for the remainder of the course we have presentation and discussion of student research. This plan requires that students present on schedule, hence finish on schedule. Not having completed in not sufficient excuse for not doing

a presentation when scheduled. We are operating, that is on "Real World" rules. Evaluation of student performance will be based on the quality of research and research presentations, secondarily on contributions to seminar discussions.

A Note on Technology: This is a substantive seminar. It has no technical prerequisite and we do not expect technical questions to have a prominent role. Our attitude toward conducting macro time series research is that good questions lead to good research, with or without technical training. If what you propose to do is worth doing, i.e., worth pursuing for publication, we will see to it that it is technically correct. Lack of time series knowledge is not and should not be an impediment for doing the course.

Class Sessions and Topics

1. Jan 8: First class meeting, no assignment

2. Jan 15: Macro Analysis, Theory, Strategy, and Design (Stimson)

Required Reading: *The Macro Polity*, Ch. 1

Additional Readings:

Kramer, Gerald R. 1983. The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate versus Individual Level Findings on Economics and Elections and Sociotropic Voting. *American Political Science Review* 77: 92-111.

Gregory B. Markus. 1988. The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 32, No. 1. (Feb., 1988), pp. 137-154. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092853%28198802%2932%3C137%3ATIOPAN%3E2.0.CO%3B2-M>

Gregory B. Markus. 1992. The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on Presidential Voting, 1956-1988 (in Update) *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 36, No. 3. (Aug., 1992), pp. 829-834. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=009253%28199208%2936%3C829%3ATIOPAN%3E2.0.CO%3B2-B>

3. Jan 22: Approving the President, Economics, Psychology, Rationality (Aldrich)

Required Reading: *The Macro Polity*, Ch. 2,

Additional Readings:

Brody, Richard A. 1991. *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Mueller, John. 1973. *War, Presidents and Public Opinion*. New York: Wiley. (or)
Mueller, John. 1970. Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson. *American Political Science Review* 64:18-34.

Brehm, John and Paul Gronke. 2000. History, Heterogeneity, and Presidential Approval(pdf). Working paper 197 in the Duke University Program in Political Economy, Durham, NC. forthcoming, *Electoral Studies*.<http://www.duke.edu/~gronke/papers.html>

Canes-Wrone, Brandice; Herron, Michael C.; Shotts, Kenneth W. 2001. Leadership and Pandering: A Theory of Executive Policymaking.; *American Journal of Political Science*, Jul2001, Vol. 45 Issue 3, 532.http://ehostvgw2.epnet.com/ehost.asp?key=204.179.122.141_8000_-1979632205&return=n&site=ehost&profile=nclive-ase

Supplemental Readings:

Gronke, Paul and Brian Newman. 2000. "FDR To Clinton, Mueller to ?? A 'State of the Discipline' Review of Presidential Approval." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.<http://www.duke.edu/~gronke/papers.html>

Brandice Canes-Wrone. 2001. The President's Legislative Influence from Public Appeals. By: Canes-Wrone, Brandice; *American Journal of Political Science*, Apr2001, Vol. 45 Issue 2, p313.http://ehostvgw2.epnet.com/ehost.asp?key=204.179.122.141_8000_-1979632205&return=n&site=ehost&profile=nclive-ase

4. Jan 29: Rational Expectations (Stimson)

Required Reading: *The Macro Polity*, Ch. 3, Alesina and Rosenthal, Chs. TBA

Additional Readings:

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1992. Peasants or Bankers: The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy. *American Political Science Review*. 86:597-611.

Norpoth, Helmut. Politics and the Prospective Voter. 1996. *Journal of Politics*. 58: - 792, together with: MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1996. Comment on 'Presidents and the Prospective Voter.' *Journal of Politics* 58:793-801.

Chappell, Henry W., Jr., and William R. Keech. 1985. A New View of Political Accountability for Economic Performance. *American Political Science Review* 79: 10-27.

Alberto Alesina, John Londregan, Howard Rosenthal. 1993. "A Model of the Political Economy of the United States," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 1. (Mar., 1993), pp. 12-33. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28199303%2987%3C12%3AAMOTPE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-S>

Supplemental Readings:

Alberto Alesina, Howard Rosenthal. 1989. "Partisan Cycles in Congressional Elections and the Macroeconomy," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 83, No. 2. (Jun., 1989), pp. 373-398. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28198906%2983%3C373%3APCICEA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>

5. Feb 5: Partisanship: The Longitudinal Perspective (Aldrich)

Required Reading: *The Macro Polity*, Chs. 4-5

Morris P. Fiorina. 1977. "An Outline for a Model of Party Choice," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 21, No. 3. (Aug., 1977), pp. 601-625.

Donald Philip Green, Bradley Palmquist. 1990. "Of Artifacts and Partisan Instability," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34, No. 3. (Aug., 1990), pp. 872-902. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199008%2934%3C872%3AOAAPI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>

Warren E. Miller, "Party Identification, Realignment, and Party Voting: Back to the Basics," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 85, No. 2. (Jun., 1991), pp. 557-568. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28199106%2985%3C557%3APIRAPV%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>

Larry M. Bartels. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *American Journal of Political Science*, Jan. 2000, Vol. 44 Issue 1, p35, <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28197708%2921%3C601%3AAOFAMO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-P>

Additional Readings:

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 1998. *Macropartisanship: A Replication and Critique*, *American Political Science Review* 92:883-900 and Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 1998. What Moves Macropartisanship? A Response to Green, Palmquist, and Shickler. *American Political Science Review* 92:901-912.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1989. Macropartisanship. *American Political Science Review*, 83:1125-42.

Activity: Student research proposal presentations begin.

6. Feb 12: Macro Public Opinion (Stimson)

Required Reading: *The Macro Polity*, Ch. 6, Zaller theory chapter

Additional Readings:

Durr, Robert H. 1993. What Moves Policy Sentiment? *American Political Science Review* 87:158-170.

Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Stimson, James A. 1999. *Public Opinion in America: Moods, Cycles, and Swings*, 2nd Edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Activity: Student research proposal presentations.

7. Feb 17: Topics in Micro Public Opinion

Articles in the two Finifter, *State of the Discipline (II)* volumes, by Kinder and by Sniderman, respectively.

Alan Gerber, Donald P. Green, 1998 "Rational Learning and Partisan Attitudes," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 42, No. 3. (Jul., 1998), pp. 794-818. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199807%2942%3C794%3ARLAPA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-T>

R. Michael Alvarez, John Brehm, 1997. "Are Americans Ambivalent Towards Racial Policies?" *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 2. (Apr., 1997), pp. 345-374. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199704%2941%3C345%3AAAATRP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z>

R. Michael Alvarez, John Brehm. 1995. "American Ambivalence Towards Abortion Policy: Development of a Heteroskedastic Probit Model of Competing Values," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 39, No. 4. (Nov., 1995), pp. 1055-1082. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199511%2939%3C1055%3AAATAPD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N>

Paul M. Sniderman, Thomas Piazza, Philip E. Tetlock, Ann Kendrick, 1991. "The New Racism," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 35, No. 2. (May, 1991), pp. 423-447. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199105%2935%3C423%3ATNR%3E2.0.CO%3B2-8>

Donald R. Kinder, 2001. "Exploring the Racial Divide: Blacks, Whites, and Opinion on National Policy." *American Journal of Political Science*, April, 2001, Vol. 45 Issue 2, p439,

http://ehostygw2.epnet.com/ehost.asp?key=204.179.122.141_8000_-1979632205&return=n&site=ehost&profile=nclive-ase

7. Feb 19: Election Outcomes: Candidates, Economics, and Policy Distance (Aldrich)

Required Reading: *The Macro Polity*, ch. 7

Additional Readings:

Stanley Kelley, Jr. and Thad W. Mirer. 1974. The Simple Act of Voting. *The American Political Science Review* 68: 572-591.

Gelman, Andrew and Gary King. 1993. Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls So Variable When Votes are So Predictable? *British Journal of Political Science* 23:409-451.

Larry M. Bartels, "Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 40, No. 1. (Feb., 1996), pp. 194-230.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199602%2940%3C194%3AUVIEIP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-X>

Larry M. Bartels. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 2. (Jun., 1993), pp. 267-285.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28199306%2987%3C267%3AMRTPIO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-I>

Activity: Student research proposal presentations.

8. Feb 26: Topics in Congress (Aldrich)

Bond, Jon and Richard Fleischer, *Polarized Politics*, Washington: CQ Press.

Supplemental Reading

Dodd and Oppenheimer, *Congress Reconsidered*, most recent edition

Mar 5: no class meeting

Mar 12: Spring break, no class

9. Mar 19: Government Response to Opinion, Opinion Response to Government (Stimson)

Required Reading: *The Macro Polity*, Ch. 8-9, Page and Shapiro, Ch. 10

Additional Readings:

- Stimson, James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. Dynamic Representation. *American Political Science Review*, 89:543-65.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending. *American Journal of Political Science* 39:981-1000.
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. Effects of Public Opinion on Policy. *American Political Science Review* 77:175-190.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1991. Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup. *American Political Science Review* 85:457-474.
- Stimson, James A. 1995. Opinion and Representation. *American Political Science Review*. 89: 179-83.

10. Mar 26: Topics in Bureaucratic Politics (Aldrich)

- Daniel P. Carpenter. 1996. "Adaptive Signal Processing, Hierarchy, and Budgetary Control in Federal Regulation," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 90, No. 2. (Jun., 1996), pp. 283-302. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28199606%2990%3C283%3AASPHAB%3E2.0.CO%3B2-L>
- Daniel Carpenter, 2001. "The Political Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy," *Studies in American Political Development*, 15 (1) (Spring 2001), 113-122.
- John Brehm and Scott Gates, selections from: *Working, Shirking, and Sabotage: Bureaucratic Response to a Democratic Public*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Supplemental Reading

- John Brehm and Scott Gates. "When Supervision Fails to Induce Compliance," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 6, 1994.
- John Brehm and Scott Gates. 1993. "Donut Shops and Speed Traps: Evaluating Models of Supervision on Police Behavior," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 37, No. 2. (May, 1993), pp. 555-581. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0092-5853%28199305%2937%3C555%3ADSASTE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-D>

11. Apr 2: Politics as a Dynamic System (Stimson)

Required Reading: *The Macro Polity*, Ch. 10

- 12. Apr 9: Student Research Presentations**
 - 13. Apr 16: Student Research Presentations**
 - 14. Apr 23: Student Research Presentations**
 - 15. Apr 20: Student Research Presentations**
 - 16. Apr 27: Student Research Presentations (if necessary)**
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Bibliography

- Kramer, Gerald R. 1983. The Ecological Fallacy Revisited: Aggregate versus Individual Level Findings on Economics and Elections and Sociotropic Voting. *American Political Science Review* 77: 92-111.
- Stimson, James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. Dynamic Representation. *American Political Science Review*, 89:543-65.
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- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending. *American Journal of Political Science* 39:981-1000.
- Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. Effects of Public Opinion on Policy. *American Political Science Review* 77:175-190.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1991. Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Buildup. *American Political Science Review* 85:457-474.
- Norpoth, Helmut. Politics and the Prospective Voter. 1996. *Journal of Politics*. 58: -792, together with: MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1996. Comment on 'Presidents and the Prospective Voter.' *Journal of Politics* 58:793-801.
- Durr, Robert H. 1993. What Moves Policy Sentiment? *American Political Science Review* 87:158-170.
- Alesina, Alberto, and Howard Rosenthal. 1995. *Partisan Politics, Divided Government, and the Economy*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brody, Richard A. 1991. *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Chappell, Henry W., Jr., and William R. Keech. 1985. A New View of Political Accountability for Economic Performance. *American Political Science Review* 79: 10-27.
- Mueller, John. 1973. *War, Presidents and Public Opinion*. New York: Wiley. (or) Mueller, John. 1970. Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson. *American Political Science Review* 64:18-34.
- Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1992. *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York, Cambridge University Press.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1989. Macropartisanship. *American Political Science Review*, 83:1125-42.

Time Series Bibliography

Beck, N. 1991. "Comparing Dynamic Specifications: The Case of Presidential Approval." *Political Analysis* 3: 51-87.

Freeman, J. 1983. "Granger Causality and the Time Series Analysis of Political Relationships." *American Journal of Political Science* 27, 2: 327-358.

Freeman, J., T. Lin, and J. Williams. 1989. "Vector Autoregression and the Study of Politics." *American Journal of Political Science* 33: 842-877.

Geweke. 1984. "Inference and Causality in Economic Time Series Models." In Griliches and Intriligator eds. *Handbook of Econometrics Vol. 2*. Elsevier, p. 1101-1144

Granato, J. 1991. "An Agenda for Econometric Model Building." *Political Analysis* 3: 123-154.

Granger, C.W.J. 1991. "General Introduction." In C.W.J. Granger (ed.). *Modeling Economic Series*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hibbs, D. 1974. "Problems of Statistical Estimation and Causal Inference in Time-Series Regression Models." *Sociological Methodology*, 252-307.

Hibbs, D. 1977a. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy." *American Political Science Review* 71: 1467-1487.

Hibbs, D. 1977b. "On Analyzing the Effects of Policy Interventions: Box-Jenkins and Box Tiao vs. Structural Equation Models." *Sociological Methodology*, 137-179.

Leamer, E. 1983. "Let's Take the Con Out of Econometrics." *American Economic Review* 73, 1: 31-43.

Li, R. 1976. "A Dynamic Comparative Analysis of Presidential and House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 20, 4: 671-691.

MacKuen, M., R. Erikson, and J. Stimson. 1989. "Macropartisanship." *American Political Science Review* 83: 1125-1142.

MacKuen, M., R. Erikson, and J. Stimson. 1992. "Moving Attractors and the Character of Partisan Change." Paper Presented at the Ninth Annual Political Methodology Conference, July 16-19, 1992, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

- Naylor, T., S. Seaks, and D. Wichern. 1972. "Box-Jenkins Methods: An Alternative to Econometric Models." *International Statistical Review* 40, 2: 123-137.
- Ostrom, Charles., and Renée Smith. 1992. "Error Correction, Attitude Persistence, and Executive Rewards and Punishments: A Behavioral Theory of Presidential Approval." *Political Analysis* 4: 127-183.
- Pagan, Adrian. 1987. "Three Econometric Methodologies: A Critical Appraisal." *Journal of Economic Surveys* 1:3-24.
- Sims, Christopher. 1980. "Macroeconomics and Reality." *Econometrica* 48:1-48
- Thurman, W., and M. Fisher. 1988. "Chickens, Eggs, and Causality, or Which Came First?" *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 237-238.
- Williams, John. 1992. "Dynamic Change, Specification Uncertainty, and Bayesian Vector Autoregression Analysis." *Political Analysis* 4: 97-125.
- Williams, John. "What Goes Around Comes Around: Unit Root Tests and Cointegration." *Political Analysis* 4:229-236.

Data Sources (Suggestive and partial, far from comprehensive.)

Stanley, Harold W., and Richard G. Niemi. 2000. *Vital Statistics on American Politics 1999-2000*. Washington: CQ Press. See also various statistical abstracts and massive numbers of potential series in (on-line) government documents, a mother lode for policy research.

POLL: The Roper Center on-line public opinion marginals archive from all survey organizations. UNC has an unrestricted Roper membership. See me for login information and for instruction on search and download procedures.

Related: There are numerous Web sites that have collections of public opinion marginals. These tend toward items of journalistic interest, e.g., horse-race polls, and the quality of the collections does not match Roper.

The software executing the algorithm of Stimson (1991 1999) is available for the purpose of extracting common dimensions from dated time series marginals, yield a regular time series as output. Click: <http://www.unc.edu/~jstimson/zipsetup.exe>.

Historical Economic Series: The Conference Board collection of historical time series is available.

The Macro Polity, any series in the book (or at least any owned by the authors) is available for analysis.

Micro public opinion data: Both NES and GSS have cumulative files which facilitate macro and longitudinal research.

Other: Scaling analyses from the Keith Poole website. Dozens (hundreds?) of websites yet to be discovered.

The Iowa Political tock Market: A wonderful source of daily candidate closing prices, unsurpassed resource for studying campaign dynamics, either nomination or general election.
