

The Presidency
POS 6933 (graduate level)
Department of Political Science
University of Florida
Thursdays, Periods 5-7 (11:45 a.m. -2:45 p.m.)

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This graduate seminar is designed as an overview of major research topics pertaining to the United States Presidency. Because much of the scholarly literature on the presidency has been viewed as atheoretical, unsystematic, and/or largely descriptive, emphasis will be placed on advances in theory-building and methodological approaches. The seminar will cover substantive areas of the presidency at each meeting, including articles from the collection of essays in books edited by Shapiro et al. and Edwards et al. to discuss the application of “power,” behavioral, quantitative, and formal theoretical approaches to the presidency.

In addition to active participation in seminar discussions, students are to prepare a research paper of approximately 20-25 pages (journal length). The paper should represent an endeavor which, fully developed through additional research and analysis, could be worthy of a conference presentation or journal submission. Students are expected to theorize about a particular aspect of the presidency and set forth a substantive question or problem, a hypothesis or hypotheses, and a methodological approach to the question of inquiry. Students are encouraged to collect relevant data and undertake data analysis, as appropriate to the focus of their research.

Students may approach the research question of interest to them from a longitudinal or case study perspective. Potential topics include campaigns, public opinion, executive-legislative relations, press relations, White House organization/management, and decision-making. Students should use the various frameworks in the course readings as a springboard for developing new, creative, and innovative approaches.

The research paper will constitute 50% of the course grade (due date will be announced in class); a preliminary outline of the research paper is due on **February 28** (5-7 pp) and constitutes 10% of the course grade. Weekly presentations of seminar readings comprise another 20% of the course grade. Attendance and participation will constitute the final 20% of the course grade.

Books are available at area book stores and are listed in Appendix 1. Journal articles will be available on line through course reserves on the Library West web site.

January 10 – Introduction to the Course

January 17 – The Nature of Presidential Power: Neustadt, Skowronek *et les autres*...

- Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*.
- George Edwards, “Neustadt’s Power Approach to the Presidency,” in Shapiro et al.
- Jeffrey Tulis, “The Two Constitutional Presidencies,” in Nelson.
- Lyn Ragsdale, “Studying the Presidency: Why Presidents Need Political Scientists,” in Nelson.
- Mark Landy and Sidney Milkis, “The Presidency in the Eye of the Storm,” in Nelson.
- Lyn Ragsdale, “Personal Power and Presidents,” in Shapiro et al.
- Peri E. Arnold, “Determinism and Contingency in Skowronek’s Political Time.” *Polity* 27, No. 3 (Spring 1995): 497-508.
- David A. Crockett, “The President as Opposition Leader.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 30, No. 2 (2000): 245-274.

Recommended:

Stephen Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

January 24 – The Methodology and Future Direction of Presidency Research

- Matthew J. Dickinson, “We All Want a Revolution: Neustadt, New Institutionalism, and the Future of Presidency Research.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 4 (2009): 736-70.
- Gary King, “The Methodology of Presidential Research,” in Edwards et al.
- Terry M. Moe, “The Revolution in Presidential Studies.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 4 (2009): 701-24.
- Kenneth R. Mayer, “Thoughts on ‘The Revolution in Presidential Studies’.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 4 (2009): 781-85.
- Jeffrey E. Cohen, “Alternative Futures: Comment on Terry Moe’s ‘The Revolution in Presidential Studies’.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 4 (2009): 725-35.
- B. Dan Wood, “Pontificating About Moe’s Pontifications.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 4 (2009): 805-18.
- Robert Durant, “Back to the Future? Toward Revitalizing the Study of the Administrative Presidency.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 1 (2009): 89-100.
- Andrew Rudalevige, “The Administrative Presidency and Bureaucratic Control: Implementing a Research Agenda.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 1 (2009): 10-24.
- Curt Nichols, “The Presidential Ranking Game: Critical Review and Some New Discoveries.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42, No. 2 (2012): 275-99.

January 31 – Presidential Elections

- Stephen J. Wayne, *The Road to the White House 2012*.
- Richard Pious, “The Presidency and the Nominating Process,” in Nelson.
- George Edwards, “The Faulty Premises of the Electoral College,” in Nelson.
- Michelle C. Bligha and Jeffrey C. Kohlesb, “The Enduring Allure of Charisma: How Barack Obama Won the Historic 2008 Presidential Election.” *The Leadership Quarterly* 20, No. 3 (2009): 483-92.
- Sunil Watta et al., “Web 2.0 and Politics: The 2008 U.S Presidential Election and an E-Politics Research Agenda.” *Management Information Systems (MIS) Quarterly* 34, No. 4 (2010): 669-88.
- M. Stephen Weatherford, “The Wages of Competence: Obama, the Economy, and the 2010 Midterm Elections.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42, No. 1 (2012): 8-39.

February 7 – The Public Presidency I

- Samuel Kernell, *Going Public*.
- Renée Smith, “The Timing of Presidential Speeches,” in Shapiro et al.
- Martha Joynt Kumar, “The President as Message and Messenger,” in Shapiro et al.
- Diane Heith, “Presidential Polling and the Potential for Leadership,” in Shapiro et al.
- Gregory Hager and Terry Sullivan, “President-Centered and Presidency-Centered Explanations of Presidential Public Activity.” *American Journal of Political Science* 38, No. 4 (1994): 1079-1103.
- Jeffrey K. Tulis, “The Rhetorical Presidency in Retrospect.” *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society* 19, No. 2-3 (2007): 481-500.
- Mel Laracey, “The Rhetorical Presidency Today: How Does It Stand Up?” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 4 (2009): 908-31.
- Charles Cameron and Jee-Kwang Park, “Going Public When Opinion Is Contested: Evidence from Presidents’ Campaigns for Supreme Court Nominees, 1930-2009.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41, No. 3 (2011): 442-70.
- Lawrence R. Jacobs and Melanie Burns, “The Second Face of the Public Presidency: Presidential Polling and the Shift from Policy to Personality Polling.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34, No. 3 (2004): 536-56.
- Tim Groeling, “Who’s the Fairest of Them All? An Empirical Test for Partisan Bias on ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox News.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38, No. 4 (2008): 631-57.

February 14 – The Public Presidency II

- George C. Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*.
- Bruce Miroff, “The Presidential Spectacle,” in Nelson.
- Lawrence Jacobs, “The Presidency and the Press: The Paradox of the White House Communications War,” in Nelson.
- Martha Joynt Kumar, “Presidential Press Conferences: The Importance and Evolution of an Enduring Forum.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35, No. 1 (2005): 166-92.
- Brandice Canes-Wrone, “The President’s Legislative Influence from Public Appeals.” *American Journal of Political Science* 45, No. 2 (2001): 313-329.
- Andrew W. Barrett, “Going Public as a Legislative Weapon: Measuring Presidential Appeals Regarding Specific Legislation.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35, No. 1 (2005): 1-10.
- José D. Villalobos et al., “Politics or Policy? How Rhetoric Matters to Presidential Leadership of Congress.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42, No. 3 (2012): 549-576.
- Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha and Jeffrey S. Peake, “The Presidency and Local Media: Local Newspaper Coverage of President George W. Bush.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38, No. 4 (2008): 609-30.

February 21 – The Institutional Presidency

- John Burke and Michael Nelson, *The Institutional Presidency*.
- Bert Rockman, “Staffing and Organizing the Presidency,” in Shapiro et al.
- Kenneth R. Mayer and Thomas Weko, “The Institutionalization of Power,” in Shapiro et al.
- Matthew Dickinson, “Staffing the White House, 1937-1996,” in Shapiro et al.
- Paul Quirk, “Presidential Competence,” in Nelson.
- David E. Lewis and Terry M. Moe, “The Presidency and the Bureaucracy,” in Nelson.
- Karen Hult, “Advising the President,” in Edwards et al.

February 28 – Power & Policymaking: Executive Orders

- Kenneth Mayer, *With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*.
- David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran, "The Institutional Face of Presidential Power," in Shapiro et al.
- Paul C. Light, "Presidential Policy Making," in Edwards et al.
- George A. Krause and Jeffrey E. Cohen, "Opportunity, Constraints, and the Development of the Institutional Presidency: The Issuance of Executive Orders, 1939-96," *Journal of Politics* 62, No. 1 (2000): 88-114.
- Christopher J. Deering and Forrest Maltzman, "The Politics of Executive Orders: Legislative Constraints on Presidential Power." *Political Research Quarterly* 52, No. 4 (1999): 767-783.
- Jeffrey A. Fine and Adam L. Warber, "Circumventing Adversity: Executive Orders and Divided Government." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42, No. 2 (2012): 256-74.

March 7 – NO CLASS (Spring Break)

March 14 – Power and Policymaking: Unilateral Actions & Signing Statements Controversies

- William Howell, *Power without Persuasion*.
- Andrew Rudalevige, "The Presidency and Unilateral Power: A Taxonomy," in Nelson.
- Laurie L. Rice, "Statements of Power: Presidential Use of Statements of Administration Policy and Signing Statements in the Legislative Process." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 40, No. 4 (2010): 686-707.
- Kevin A. Evans, "The Historical Presidency: Looking before Watergate: Foundations in the Development of the Constitutional Challenges within Signing Statements, FDR-Nixon." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42, No. 2 (2012): 390-405.
- Richard S. Conley, "The Harbinger of the Unitary Executive? An Analysis of Presidential Signing Statements from Truman to Carter." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41, No. 3 (2011): 546-69.
- Philip J. Cooper, "George W. Bush: Edgar Allan Poe, and the Use and Abuse of Presidential Signing Statements." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35, No. 3 (2005): 515-32.
- Michael J. Berry, "Controversially Executing the Law: George W. Bush and the Constitutional Signing Statement." *Congress & the Presidency* 36, No. 3 (2009): 244-71.
- Christopher S. Kelley and Bryan W. Marshall, "Assessing Presidential Power: Signing Statements and Veto Threats as Coordinated Strategies." *American Politics Research* 37, No. 3 (2009): 508-33.

March 21 - Archival Research & Approaches to Primary Sources

- Andrew Rudalevige, *Managing the President's Program*.
- Bruce P. Montgomery, "Source Material: Nixon's Ghost Haunts the Presidential Records Act: The Reagan and George W. Bush Administrations." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32, No. 4 (2002): 789-809.
- Terry Sullivan et al., "Source Material: Presidential Recordings as Presidential Data: Assessing LBJ's Presidential Persuasive Attempts." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29, No. 4 (1999): 932-43.
- Brendan J. Doherty, "POTUS on the Road: International and Domestic Presidential Travel, 1977-2005." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, No. 2 (2009): 322-46.
- Brandon Rottinghaus, "Opening the President's Mailbag: The Nixon Administration's Rhetorical Use of Public Opinion Mail." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38, No. 1 (2008): 61-77.
- Rebecca R. Friedman, "Crisis Management at the Dead Center: The 1960-1961 Presidential Transition and the Bay of Pigs Fiasco." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41, No. 2 (2011): 307-33.
- Cary R. Covington, "Staying Private: Gaining Congressional Support for Unpublicized Presidential Preferences on Roll Call Votes." *Journal of Politics* 49, No. 8 (1987): 737-55.
- Richard S. Conley, "Congressional Position Votes in the Truman Administration, 1947-52: A View from the White House." *Congress and the Presidency*, Volume 37, No. 2 (June 2010): 200-216.
- Richard S. Conley and Richard M. Yon, "Legislative Liaison, White House Roll-Call Predictions and Divided Government: The Eisenhower Experience, 83rd-84th Congresses." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 37, No. 2 (June 2007): 291-311.

March 28 – Legislative Leadership: Quantitative Approaches & the “Two Presidencies”

- Jon Bond and Richard Fleisher, *The President in the Legislative Arena*.
- Jon Bond and Richard Fleisher, “The President in a More Partisan Legislative Arena,” *Political Research Quarterly* 49, No. 4 (1996): 729-48.
- Matthew Dickinson, “The President and Congress,” in Nelson.
- Barbara Sinclair, “Studying Presidential Leadership,” in Edwards et al.
- Brad Lockerbie et al., “An Integrative Approach to Modeling Presidential Success in Congress.” *Political Research Quarterly* 51, No. 1 (1998): 155-172.
- Duane Oldfield and Aaron Wildavsky, “Reconsidering the Two Presidencies,” *Society* 26 (1989): 54-9.
- Richard Fleisher et al., “The Demise of the Two Presidencies,” *American Politics Quarterly* 28, No.1 (2000): 3-25.
- Brandice Canes-Wrone, William G. Howell, and David E. Lewis, “Toward a Broader Understanding of Presidential Power: A Reevaluation of the Two Presidencies Thesis.” *Journal of Politics* 70, No. 1 (2008): 1-16.
- David Lewis, “The Two Rhetorical Presidencies: An Analysis of Televised Presidential Speeches, 1947-1991.” *American Politics Research* 25, No. 3 (1997): 380-95.
- Bryan W. Marshall and Richard L. Pacelle, Jr., “Revisiting the Two Presidencies: The Strategic Use of Executive Orders.” *American Politics Research* 33, No. 1 (2005): 81-105.

4 April - Divided Government, The Veto Power, and the Legislative Presidency

- Charles Cameron, *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power*.
- John B. Gilmour, “Political Theater or Bargaining Failure: Why Presidents Veto.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41, No. 3 (2011): 471-87.
- Charles Cameron, “Bargaining and Presidential Power,” in Shapiro et al.
- Terry Moe, “Presidents, Institutions, and Theory,” in Edwards et al.
- George C. Edwards et al., “The Legislative Impact of Divided Government.” *American Journal of Political Science* 41, No. 2 (1997): 545-563.
- Gregory Thorson, “Divided Government and the Passage of Partisan Legislation, 1947-1990.” *Political Research Quarterly* 51, No. 3 (1998): 751-64.
- Sarah A. Binder, “The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96.” *American Political Science Review* 93, No. 3 (1999): 519-33.
- William Howell et al., “Divided Government and the Legislative Productivity of Congress, 1945-94.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25, No. 2 (2000): 285-312.
- Richard Conley, “George Bush and the 102nd Congress: The Impact of Public and Private Veto Threats on Policy Outcomes.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33, No. 4 (December 2003): 730-50.
- Rebecca E. Deen and Laura W. Arnold, “Veto Threats as a Policy Tool: When to Threaten?” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32, No. 1 (2002): 30-45.

Recommended: Richard S. Conley, *The Presidency, Congress and Divided Government: A Postwar Assessment*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002.

April 11 - The Psychological Presidency

- James David Barber, *Presidential Character*.
- Michael Nelson, “The Psychological Presidency,” in Nelson.
- Erwin Hargrove, “Presidential Personality and Leadership Style,” in Edwards et al.
- Susan Fiske, “Cognitive Theory and the Presidency,” in Edwards et al.
- Steven Greene, “The Role of Character Assessments in Presidential Approval.” *American Politics Research* 29, No. 2 (2001): 196-210.
- Dean Keith Simonton, “Presidential IQ, Openness, Intellectual Brilliance, and Leadership: Estimates and Correlations for 42 U.S. Chief Executives.” *Political Psychology* 27, No. 4 (2006): 511-26.

April 18 – Presentation of Individual Projects

Appendix

Book List

Barber, James David. 1992. *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Bond, Jon and Richard Fleisher. 1990. *The Presidency in the Legislative Arena*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burke, John and Michael Nelson. 2000. *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House from FDR to Clinton*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cameron, Charles. 2000. *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power*. Boston: Cambridge University Press.

Edwards, George C. 2003. *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Edwards III, George C., John H. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman, eds. 1993. *Researching the Presidency: Vital Questions, New Approaches*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Howell, William. 2003. *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kernell, Samuel. 2006. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, third edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Mayer, Kenneth. 2002. *With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nelson, Michael, ed. 2009. *The Presidency and the Political System*, 9th edition. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Neustadt, Richard. 1991. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*. New York: Free Press.

Rudalevige, Andrew. 2002. *Managing the President's Program*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Shapiro, Robert Y., Martha Joynt Kumar, and Lawrence R. Jacobs. 2000. *Presidential Power: Forging the Presidency for the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wayne, Stephen J. 2011. *The Road to the White House 2012*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Yes, Constitution grants formal powers to the presidents in the Constitution, but is this why we have presidents like Roosevelt, Cleveland, Wilson, and so forth? The answer is that we must assess how these great presidents utilized informal powers differently from the weaker presidents. Argued that power in the U.S. was dispersed among Congressional leaders (2 answers). Worried that committee chairs in Congress had too much power. He was able to unite Congress behind him. - Neustadt on his Presidential Power thinks about why sometimes we have weak presidents and sometimes we have strong presidents. (2 answers). His answer is "skill." Skowronek "Political Time" Skowronek's theory of presidential power differs dramatically from Neustadt's and Kernell's. Rather than looking to presidential activity for indicators of presidential power or success, Skowronek looks to the political environment a president faces. Skowronek envisions American history as cycles of political time. Each cycle is marked by the rise and fall of political regimes. A regime, in this sense, is a party or faction that rises to power in what Skowronek calls "reconstructive elections". In these elections, a faction or party soundly defeats the opposing party. At the time Neustadt was writing there was this linear image of the President making a decision on some matter of policy and then marshaling the resources to carry it out. The basic argument of the book is that this image of the President is flawed as few examples of this type of presidential leadership exist. The President to act as ultimate decider on policy actions is constrained by things like Congress, his own prestige and ability to persuade, and the competing interests within his own administration. A thought provoking thesis on the nature of American presidential leadership that should be read by political science students of all disciplines. Read more. 6 people found this helpful.