

GOVT 605: Seminar on the Presidency

Fall 2015 - Innovation Hall 330; Th 7:20-10:00 PM

Robert J. McGrath, PhD

Email: rmcgrat2@gmu.edu

Web: mcgrath.gmu.edu

Office: Robinson A 234

Office Hours: Tuesdays from 2:00-4:00 PM, and by appointment

Office Phone: (703) 993-4567

Course Description:

This is a research seminar and is intended to serve as a broad survey of the political science literature on presidential and executive branch politics. Among American political institutions, the office of the presidency is perhaps the most visible and widely commented upon. In contrast to what we see from the media's treatment of the president, this seminar will explore contemporary theoretical and empirical research on the American presidency (as the institution that aids and constrains the president). The central focus of the course will be on the U.S. presidency, but much of what we discuss will have relevance for the study of executive politics more generally, especially in separation of powers systems, like the U.S. states. The reading assignments in this class serve a dual purpose. One purpose is to establish the foundation of contemporary study of the American presidency. Second, they will help train advanced graduate students in the major research questions which are now generating publications and discussion among presidential scholars and institutional theorists more broadly within the political science community. By the end of this course, you should have a better understanding of the nature of research on the presidency.

Each week's "recommended" readings are meant to provide further resources for those of you interested in exploring a topic in more depth, and should be especially helpful for those writing a research paper. Of course, no single course can cover all topics related to the presidency and there are a number of important topics that we will not cover (e.g., institutional decision-making, the relationship between the presidency and the courts, gubernatorial politics). If you wish to explore these topics, please come to office hours and I can help direct you to some great presidency resources.

Prerequisite: GOVT 510: *American Government and Politics*.

Note: *There are different requirements for MA and PhD students. Please read carefully.*

Course Goals:

By the end of this course, each student should be able to:

- Understand and evaluate classic and theoretical works on American executive politics
- Understand and appreciate the separation-of-powers in American government and form opinions on the role of the president and executive branch in this system

PhD students should be additionally prepared to:

- Conduct original empirical research on a topic related to the president or the federal executive branch

Course Requirements:

This course is a seminar and individual class sessions will be discussion-based. Although the instructor will spend some time during each meeting introducing the material and perhaps clarifying technical aspects of the readings, the primary purpose of our meetings is for student-led critique and discussion of the required readings. Given the nature of the course, the readings are at times numerous and detailed.¹ If you find that you are having trouble keeping up with the readings, feel free to contact the instructor for advice. In addition, you may wish to coordinate with other students for help with collective notes, which are encouraged especially for students planning to take the PhD qualifying examination in American Politics.

A necessary requirement for this type of course is that students *attend every class*. Absence from more than one class – unless a student has a *documented emergency* – is considered unacceptable. With each absence past the first, a student may be penalized a letter grade, and will be encouraged to drop the class. Work commitments, vacation, and travel are *not* documented emergencies, and if these conflict with class, you should strongly consider dropping and taking the course when it better fits your schedule. In addition, any absence must be reported to the instructor prior to the beginning of class.

The following are components of the requirements for and evaluation of ALL students in this course:

- *Class Participation* is required to make the seminar run smoothly. Students should read all of the required readings and think about them before arriving to a class meeting. Please see the companion notes on successful participation posted on the course Backboard site. Participation includes both raising and responding to questions regarding the readings and being attentive to the thoughts and criticisms of fellow participants. Advanced graduate students need not be coerced into engaging the literature and fellow seminar participants. Discussions, while focused on criticism, will remain constructive and productive throughout. **25%**

¹You'll notice that there are many "required" books. These are all essential bookshelf material for PhD students, but I understand that it might be financially burdensome to purchase all of these books, especially all at once. I have thus placed all books on 4-hour reserve at the Fairfax library. You may also coordinate sharing copies of books amongst yourselves. But, please plan ahead. All required readings must be completed by the day of assignment. "I didn't have the book" is never a valid excuse for not reading required material.

- To facilitate the desired levels of participation, each student is responsible for individual or cooperative *Seminar Leadership*. **Twice** during the semester (once in the first half, and once in the second half), a student will be required to type up a 4-5 page *synthesis* of the week's readings and at least 10 key questions for discussion and submit these materials to the class by 5 PM the Wednesday before class. These materials are to be emailed to the instructor, who will then distribute to the class via the readings website. This student (or students – some weeks will have more than one seminar leader) will also prepare a 10-15 minute introduction to the topic's readings at the beginning of class, which the instructor will augment as needed. Your synthesis and the discussion questions you develop should explore the themes and controversies in the literature about the topic, and raise questions for discussion about how that week's theoretical approaches fit the broader scope of the course. Please see the "Participation Guidelines" handout posted on the readings website. **20%**
- Each student is required to complete an *Assessment of Course Readings* (due 12/14). This informal assessment should specify a) those readings that have been especially useful and reasons why, b) those readings that should be dropped from future versions of the course and why, and c) what you have read outside of this course that should be added to this syllabus. Completion of this assessment will earn you **5%** of the final course grade.

In addition to those components mandatory for all students, students must choose (by Friday, September 25) whether they wish to write a **research paper** OR take **midterm and final examinations**. Political Science PhD students **are required** to take the "paper track," but MA and MPA students can choose between that option and an "exam track." Once an MA or MPA student chooses either to take exams or write a research paper, they cannot, under any circumstances, change to the other track. The following are components of the two separate "tracks":

- **Paper Track (required for PhD students)**

Choose a research question in presidential/executive branch politics, broadly speaking, and complete an original research project addressing your chosen question. The final product should take the form of a conference paper/journal article. The paper should be about 25-30 pages in length, contain a review of the relevant literature, and be written in the professional style of the American Political Science Association. You may use whatever methodology you feel is most appropriate for your question and which you feel qualified to implement. The paper will be due in several stages:

- *Friday, September 25* (by 5:00 pm in my mailbox, or via email): Research design. 5-7 pages identifying your research question, a brief description of the literature relevant to your question, the method of analysis you intend to employ, and any data or historical sources you will use to evaluate your hypotheses.
- *Friday, November 6* (by 5:00 pm in my mailbox, or via email): First draft. At least 12 pages with initial drafts of all of the elements in the paper: research question, literature review, and theory should be well-developed.
- *Friday, December 4* (by 5:00 pm in my mailbox, or via email): Second draft. All required elements of paper should be complete in draft form. The paper will be distributed to all other students in class – students (including "exam track" students –

this assignment will be reflected in your participation grade) will read each other's papers and come prepared with at least 3 written questions *per paper* for class on December 10.

- *Thursday, December 17* (by 5:00 pm in my mailbox or via email): Final paper due. You should address questions and comments raised during in-class discussions when preparing your final paper.

The paper is due in multiple stages, but will be graded holistically upon final submission, taking into consideration the quality of the the research design, first draft, second draft, and in-class presentation. **50%**

- Exam Track

For this option, you will be required to complete take-home midterm and final examinations. For each assessment, you will be required to answer two (out of a pool of more than that) questions in 5-7 pages per question. You will be expected to refer primarily to the literature covered in the course, but you can use outside sources if you wish. The exams are open books and open notes, so your answers should be well thought out and written intelligently. You will not be allowed to work collaboratively on these exams. The following are the dates for the exams:

- *Midterm Exam* will be distributed in class on October 8 and will be due a week later, by 7:20 pm on October 15. **25%**
- *Final Exam* will be distributed in class on December 10 and will be due a week later, by 7:20 pm on December 17. **25%**

Grade Distribution:

<i>Class Participation</i>	25%
<i>Seminar Leadership</i>	20%
<i>Assessment of Course Readings</i>	5%
<i>Research Design/Exams</i>	50%

Required Books:

Beckmann, Matthew N. 2010. *Pushing the Agenda: Presidential Leadership in U.S. Lawmaking*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Blumenthal, David, and James A. Morone. 2009. *The Heart of Power: Health and Politics in the Oval Office*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

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

Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. 2008. *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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

Lewis, David E. 2008. *The Politics of Presidential Appointments: Political Control and Bureaucratic Performance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Neustadt, Richard E. 1990. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Rudalevige, Andrew. 2002. *Managing the President's Program: Presidential Leadership and Policy Formulation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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

Wood, B. Dan. 2009a. *The Myth of Presidential Representation*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Zeisberg, Mariah. 2013. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Topics and Schedule of Readings

The following is a *tentative* schedule for the course. This schedule is meant to give you a sense of the topic(s) to be covered on a given day. It is also meant to guide you if you wish to complete readings ahead of time. You are required to have read the assigned reading by the week listed below.

Week 1 (9/3)

STUDYING THE PRESIDENCY

NO MEETING — AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

Read:

○ King, Gary. 1993. "The Methodology of Presidential Research." In *Researching the Presidency: Vital Questions, New Approaches*, ed. George C. Edwards, III, John M. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

○ Moe, Terry M. 2009. "The Revolution in Presidential Studies." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39 (4): 701-724.

○ Browse the APSA conference program (<http://goo.gl/SDVCIf>) for a paper on the presidency. You can most easily search by division — "Presidents and Executive Politics" is Division 23. Choose a paper that you find most interesting and read it (either download from the conference site, or email an author to see if they can send you a copy if it's not posted).

○ Write a short summary of the article, focusing on the following questions:

1. What is the main question the author is asking?

2. What motivates the question/why is the author asking the question?
 3. What is the primary expectation, hypothesis, or claim the author seeks to assess?
 4. What methods of investigation has the author used to evaluate the claim?
 5. What are the primary findings? Were the expectations met?
 6. What are your criticisms of the research?
-

Week 2 (9/10)

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Required

- Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. 2008. *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wlezien, Christopher, and Robert S. Erikson. 2002. "The Timeline of Presidential Election Campaigns." *Journal of Politics* 64: 969-993.

Recommended

- Bartels, Larry M. 1988. *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
 - Burden, Barry C., and D. Sunshine Hillygus. 2009. "Opinion Formation, Polarization, and Presidential Reelection." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39: 619-635.
 - Ceasar, James W., Andrew E. Busch, and John J. Pitney, Jr. 2009. *Epic Journey: The 2008 Elections and American Politics*. New York, NY: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
 - Erikson, Robert S., and Christopher Wlezien. 2012. *The Timeline of Presidential Elections: How Campaigns do (and do not) Matter*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
 - Fiorina, Morris P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
 - Mutz, Diana C. 1995. "Effects of Horse-Race Coverage on Campaign Coffers: Strategic Contributing in Presidential Primaries." *Journal of Politics* 57: 1015-1042.
 - Ryan, Josh M. 2011. "Is the Democratic Party's Superdelegate System Unfair to Voters?" *Electoral Studies* 30: 756-770.
-

Week 3 (9/17)

PRESIDENTIAL POWER AND LEADERSHIP

Required

- Neustadt, Richard E. 1990. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Kernell, Samuel. 2007. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*. 4th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Chapters 1-3, 5.

Recommended

- Barber, James David. 1972. *The Presidential Character*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice. 2001. "The President's Legislative Influence from Public Appeals." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 313-329.
- Cohen, Jeffrey E. 1995. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda." *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 87-101.
- Covington, Cary R. 1987. "'Staying Private': Gaining Congressional Support for Unpublicized Presidential Preferences on Roll Call Votes." *Journal of Politics* 49: 737-756.
- Edwards III, George C. 2003. *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Pfiffner, James P. 2004. *The Character Factor: How We Judge America's Presidents*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.
- Rudalevige, Andrew. 2005. *The New Imperial Presidency: Renewing Presidential Power After Watergate*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Tulis, Jeffrey K. 1988. *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Week 4 (9/24)

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL AND PUBLIC OPINION

Required

- Gronke, Paul, and Brian Newman. 2003. "FDR to Clinton, Mueller to?: A Field Essay on Presidential Approval." *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (4): 501-512.
- Kernell, Samuel. 1978. "Explaining Presidential Popularity." *American Political Science Review* 72: 506-522.
- Ostrom, Charles W., Jr., and Dennis M. Simon. 1985. "Promise and Performance: A Dynamic Model of Presidential Popularity." *American Political Science Review* 79: 334-358.
- 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.
- Druckman, James N., and Justin W. Holmes. 2004. "Does Presidential Rhetoric Matter? Priming and Presidential Approval." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (4): 755-778.
- Reeves, Andrew, and Jon C. Rogowski. Forthcoming. "Public Opinion Toward Presidential Powers." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*.
- Gadarian, Shana Kushner. 2010. "Foreign Policy at the Ballot Box: How Citizens Use Foreign Policy to Judge and Choose Candidates." *Journal of Politics* 72 (4): 1046-1062.

Recommended

- Brace, Paul, and Barbara H. Hinckley. 1991. "The Structure of Presidential Approval: Constraints within and across Presidencies." *Journal of Politics* 53: 993-1017.
 - Brody, Richard A. 1991. *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
 - Clarke, Harold D., and Marianne C. Stewart. 1994. "Prospections, Retrospections and Rationality: The 'Bankers' Model of Presidential Approval Reconsidered." *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 1104-1123.
 - Clarke, Harold D., and Marianne C. Stewart. 1995. "Economic Evaluations, Prime Ministerial Approval and Governing Party Support: Rival Models Reconsidered." *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 145-170.
 - Edwards III, George C. 1983. *The Public Presidency: The Pursuit of Popular Support*. New York: St. Martins.
 - Mueller, John. 1973. *War, Presidents and Public Opinion*. New York: Wiley.
-

Week 5 (10/1)

PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIVENESS

Required

- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, and Kenneth W. Shotts. 2004. "The Conditional Nature of Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (4): 690-706.
- Rottinghaus, Brandon. 2006. "Rethinking Presidential Responsiveness: The Public Presidency and Rhetorical Congruency, 1953–2001." *Journal of Politics* 68 (3): 720-732.
- Wood, B. Dan. 2009a. *The Myth of Presidential Representation*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended

- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, Michael Herron, and Kenneth W. Shotts. 2001. "Leadership and Pandering: A Theory of Executive Policymaking." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (3): 532-50.
 - Canes-Wrone, Brandice. 2005. *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
 - Cohen, Jeffrey E. 1997. *Presidential Responsiveness and Public Policy-Making: The Publics and the Policies that Presidents Choose*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
 - Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2000. *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 - Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review* 77: 175-190.
-

Week 6 (10/8)

THE PRESIDENCY AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Required

- Skowronek, Stephen. 1997. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rogowski, Jon C. Forthcoming. "Presidential Influence in an Era of Congressional Dominance." *American Political Science Review*.

Recommended

- Lowi, Theodore J. 1985. *The Personal President*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
 - Milkis, Sidney. N.d. "The Presidency and American Political Development: The Advent—and Illusion—of an Executive-centered Democracy." In *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Forthcoming.
 - Scott, James C. 2000. *Presidents, Parties and the State: A Party System Perspective on Democratic Regulatory Choice, 1884-1936*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
 - Skowronek, Stephen. 2002. "Presidency and American Political Development: A Third Look." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32 (4): 743-752.
-

Week 7 (10/15)

MIDTERM EXAM DUE — NO CLASS

Week 8 (10/22)

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

Required

- Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-2, 7.
- Beckmann, Matthew N. 2010. *Pushing the Agenda: Presidential Leadership in U.S. Lawmaking*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hassell, Hans J.G., and Samuel Kernell. Forthcoming. "Veto Rhetoric and Legislative Riders." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Recommended

- Binder, Sarah A. 1999. "The Dynamics of Legislative Gridlock, 1947-96." *The American Po-*

litical Science Review 93 (3): 519-534.

- Bond, Jon R., and Richard Fleisher. 1990. *The President in the Legislative Arena*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
 - Brady, David, and Craig Volden. 1998. *Revolving Gridlock*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
 - Mayhew, David R. 2005. *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990*. 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
 - Moe, Terry M. 1985. "Control and Feedback in Economic Regulation: The Case of NLRB." *The American Political Science Review* 79 (Dec.): 1094-1116.
 - Peterson, Mark. 1990. *Legislating Together*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
 - Rivers, Douglas, and Nancy L. Rose. 1985. "Passing the President's Program: Public Opinion and Presidential Influence in Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 29: 183-106.
-

Week 9 (10/29)

PRESIDENTIAL BARGAINING

Required

- Kiewiet, D. Roderick, and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1988. "Presidential Influence on Congressional Appropriations Decisions." *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (August): 713-736.
- Cameron, Charles M. 2000. *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Groseclose, Tim, and Nolan McCarty. 2001. "The Politics of Blame: Bargaining before an Audience." *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (1): 100-119.

Recommended

- Kiewiet, D. Roderick. 1985. *Political Economy in Western Democracies*. New York: Holmes and Meier: 304-326.
 - Matthews, Steven A. 1989. "Veto Threats: Rhetoric in a Bargaining Game." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 104(2): 347-369.
 - McCarty, Nolan M. 2000. "Presidential Pork: Executive Veto Power and Distributive Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94(1): 117-129.
 - McGrath, Robert J., Jon C. Rogowski, and Josh M. Ryan. 2015. "Gubernatorial Veto Powers and the Size of Legislative Coalitions." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* Forthcoming.
 - Rohde, David W., and Dennis M. Simon. 1985. "Presidential Vetoes and Congressional Response: A Study of Institutional Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 29: 297-427.
 - Spitzer, Robert J. 1988. *The Presidential Veto: Touchstone of the American Presidency*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
-

Week 10 (11/5)

THE UNILATERAL PRESIDENCY

Required

- Howell, William G. 2003. *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bolton, Alexander D., and Sharece Thrower. 2015 (forthcoming). "Legislative Capacity and Executive Unilateralism." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Lowande, Kenneth S. 2014. "The Contemporary Presidency After the Orders: Presidential Memoranda and Unilateral Action." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 44 (4): 724-741.

Recommended

- Chiou, Fang-Yi, and Lawrence S. Rothenberg. 2014. "The Elusive Search for Presidential Power." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (3): 653-668.
 - Deering, Christopher J., and Forrest Maltzman. 1999. "The Politics of Executive Orders: Legislative Constraints on Presidential Power." *Political Research Quarterly* 52: 767-783.
 - Mayer, Kenneth R. 1999. "Executive Orders and Presidential Power." *Journal of Politics* 61: 445-466.
 - Mayer, Kenneth R. 2001. *With the Stroke of a Pen*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
 - Moe, Terry M., and William G. Howell. 1999. "Unilateral Action and Presidential Power: A Theory." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 29: 850-873.
-

Week 11 (11/12)

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE: MANAGING THE BUREAUCRACY

Required

- Rudalevige, Andrew. 2002. *Managing the President's Program: Presidential Leadership and Policy Formulation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dickinson, Matthew J., and Matthew Lebo. 2007. "Reexamining the Growth of the Institutional Presidency, 1940-2000." *Journal of Politics* 69.
- Lewis, David E., and William G. Howell. 2002. "Agencies by Presidential Design." *Journal of Politics* 64 (4): 1095-1114.

Recommended

- Feldman, Martha. 1993. "Organizational Theory and the Presidency." In *Researching the Presidency: Vital Questions, New Approaches*, ed. George C. Edwards, III, John M. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Gelman, Jeremy, Gilad Wilkenfeld, and E. Scott Adler. 2015. "The Opportunistic President: How US Presidents Determine Their Legislative Programs." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*

40 (3): 363-390.

- Hecllo, Hugh. 1977. *A Government of Strangers: Executive Politics in Washington*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
 - Krause, George A., and Jeffrey E. Cohen. 2000. "Opportunity, Constraints, and the Development of the Institutional Presidency: The Case of Executive Order Issuance, 1939-1996." *Journal of Politics* 62: 88-114.
 - Lewis, David E. 2003. *Presidents and the Politics of Agency Design: Political Insulation in the United States Government Bureaucracy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
 - Ragsdale, Lyn, and John J. Theis. 1997. "The Institutionalization of the American Presidency, 1924-1992." *American Journal of Political Science* 41: 121-139.
 - Whittington, Keith E., and Daniel P. Carpenter. 2003. "Executive Power in American Institutional Development." *Perspectives on Politics* 1: 495-513.
-

Week 12 (11/19)

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS

Required

- Wood, B. Dan, and Richard W. Waterman. 1991. "The Dynamics of Political Control of the Bureaucracy." *The American Political Science Review* 85 (Sep.): 801-828.
- Lewis, David E. 2008. *The Politics of Presidential Appointments: Political Control and Bureaucratic Performance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- McCarty, Nolan, and Rose Razaghian. 1999. "Advice and Consent: Senate Responses to Executive Branch Nominations, 1885-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (4): 1122-1143.

Recommended

- Bertelli, Anthony, and Sven Feldmann. 2007. "Strategic Appointments." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 17: 19-38.
- Cameron, Charles M., Albert D. Cover, and Jeffrey A. Segal. 1990. "Senate Voting on Supreme Court Nominees: A Neoinstitutional Model." *The American Political Science Review* 84 (Jun.): 525-534.
- Johnson, Timothy R., and Jason M. Roberts. 2004. "Presidential Capital and the Supreme Court Nomination Process." *Journal of Politics* 66: 663-683.
- Lewis, David E. 2005. "Staffing Alone: Unilateral Presidential Action and the Politicization of the Executive Office of the President, 1988-2004." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35 (June): 496-514.
- Lewis, David E. 2011. "Presidential Appointments and Personnel." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 47-66.
- Moraski, Bryon J., and Charles R. Shipan. 1999. "The Politics of Supreme Court Nominations: A Theory of Institutional Constraints and Choices." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (Oct.): 1069-1095.
- Pfiffner, James P. 1987. "Political Appointees and Career Executives: The Democracy-Bureaucracy Nexus in the Third Century." *Public Administration Review* 47 (1): 57-65.

◦ Resh, William G. 2015. *Rethinking the Administrative Presidency: Trust, Intellectual Capital, and Appointee-Careerist Relations in the George W. Bush Administration*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Week 13 (11/26)

THANKSGIVING BREAK



Week 14 (12/3)

THE PRESIDENT AND DOMESTIC POLICY

Required

- Kriner, Douglas L., and Andrew Reeves. 2015b. "Presidential Particularism and Divide-the-Dollar Politics." *American Political Science Review* 109 (1): 155-71.
- Blumenthal, David, and James A. Morone. 2009. *The Heart of Power: Health and Politics in the Oval Office*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Krause, George A. 2004. "The Secular Decline in Presidential Domestic Policy Making: An Organizational Perspective." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34: 79-92.
- Wildavsky, Aaron. 1966. "The Two Presidencies." *Trans-action* 4: 7-14.

Recommended

- Berry, Christopher R., Barry C. Burden, and William G. Howell. 2010. "The President and the Distribution of Federal Spending." *American Political Science Review* 104 (04): 783-799.

- Kriner, Douglas L., and Andrew Reeves. 2015a. *The Particularistic President: Executive Branch Politics and Political Inequality*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
 - McCarty, Nolan M. 2000. "Presidential Pork: Executive Veto Power and Distributive Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94(1): 117-129.
 - Light, Paul C. 1999. *The President's Agenda: Domestic Policy Choice from Kennedy to Clinton*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
 - Reeves, Andrew. 2011. "Political Disaster: Unilateral Powers, Electoral Incentives, and Presidential Disaster Declarations." *Journal of Politics* 73: 1142-1151.
 - Whitford, Andrew B., and Jeff Yates. 2009. *Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda: Constructing the War on Drugs*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
 - Yates, Jeff, and Andrew B. Whitford. 2005. "Institutional Foundations of the President's Issue Agenda." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 58: 577-585.
-

Week 15 (12/10)

THE PRESIDENT AND FOREIGN POLICY

Required

- Zeisberg, Mariah. 2013. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dueck, Colin. 2015. *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-2.

◦ We will also discuss student papers this week. All students should read the distributed papers and come prepared with 3 written questions for each author about their papers.

Recommended

- Allison, Graham. 1969. "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis." *American Political Science Review* 63 (3): 689-718.
- Fisher, Louis. 2004. *Presidential War Power*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- Howell, William G., Saul P. Jackman, and Jon C. Rogowski. 2013. *The Wartime President: Executive Influence and the Nationalizing Politics of Threat*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Mueller, John. 1973. *War, Presidents and Public Opinion*. New York: Wiley.
- Wood, B. Dan., and Jeffery S. Peake. 1998. "The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting." *American Political Science Review* 92 (1): 173-184.
- Wood, B. Dan. 2009b. "Presidential Saber Rattling and the Economy." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (3): 695-709.

Additional Concerns

Syllabus

This syllabus is a **tentative** guide for the course. I reserve the right to make announced changes to this document and will distribute these changes in class and on the course website. Each student will be responsible for all announcements and materials covered in class.

Class Conduct

Class atmosphere will be quite relaxed. Just a few guidelines to make sure:

- Arriving a few minutes late is tolerated as long as you make an effort to minimize the disturbance for other students.
- Eating and drinking in class should be reduced to a minimum. It is not forbidden, but please make sure that you are not disturbing others.
- Turn off all cell phones (or don't even bring them).
- No email, IMs, or web browsing on computers during class.
- If you have to leave a class early, please let me know in advance. It is very rude to simply walk out in the middle of a discussion.

Disabilities and Accommodations

Please let me know within the first week of class if you require assistance or special consideration. I can make accommodations for those who need them but must be informed of the need in advance. Any requests for accommodation based on a disability must be arranged through the Office of Disability Services (ODS). <http://ods.gmu.edu/>

Academic Integrity

All work completed in your name must be yours and yours alone. Any work you borrow or ideas you gather from other sources must be cited properly. Please see me if you are concerned about proper citation style. Any attempt to present someone else's work as your own will be met with the harshest consequences. You will receive an F for the assignment and an F for the course. Furthermore, notification of, and supporting documentation for, the violation will be forwarded to the appropriate university administrators.

Enrollment Statement

Students are responsible for verifying their enrollment in this class. Scheduled adjustments should be made by the deadlines published in the Schedule of Classes.

Last Day to Add: 9/8/15

Last Day to Drop: 10/02/15

Please note, after the last day to drop a class, withdrawing from this class requires the approval of the dean and is only allowed for nonacademic reasons. Undergraduate Students may choose to exercise a selective withdrawal. See the Schedule of Classes for selective withdrawal procedures.

Other Useful Campus Resources:

Writing Center

A114 Robinson Hall; (703) 993-1200; <http://writingcenter.gmu.edu>

University Libraries

<http://library.gmu.edu/mudge/IM/IMRef.html>

Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)

703.993.2380; <http://caps.gmu.edu>

University Policies

The University Catalog, <http://catalog.gmu.edu>, is the central resource for university policies affecting student, faculty, and staff conduct in university academic affairs. Other policies are available at <http://universitypolicy.gmu.edu>. All members of the university community are responsible for knowing and following established policies.