This seminar will explore the American presidency. We will concentrate on broad and conflicting theories of the presidency as well as specific dimensions of presidential activity (constitutional authority, staffing and management, legislative relations, public communication, etc.). The principal objectives of the seminar are to familiarize you with the leading scholarship and approaches to the study of the presidency, and to develop your own potential research interests in presidential politics.

The following books are required. They can be obtained online.


Bruce Miroff, *Presidents on Political Ground: Leaders in Action and What They Face* (University Press of Kansas)


Jon R. Bond and Richard Fleisher, *The President in the Legislative Arena* (University of Chicago Press)


(Additional readings are on Blackboard)
COURSE OUTLINE

Jan. 25 Introduction to the Course

Feb. 1 The Creation and Constitutional Authority of the Presidency
Reading: Richard J. Ellis, ed., *Founding the American Presidency* (excerpts)
*The Federalist Papers*, #67-77
Thomas E. Cronin, ed., *Inventing the American Presidency* (ch. 5-7)
(Readings from Ellis and from Cronin are on Blackboard. Readings from *The Federalist Papers* can be found online or in any unabridged edition of the book.)
Suggested Readings:
Charles C. Thach, Jr., *The Creation of the Presidency, 1775-1789*
Thomas E. Cronin, ed., *Inventing the American Presidency*
Ray Raphael, *Mr. President: How and Why the Founders Created a Chief Executive*
Ralph Ketcham, *Presidents above Party: The First American Presidency, 1789-1829*
Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., *Taming the Prince: The Ambivalence of Modern Executive Power*
Benjamin A. Kleinereman, *The Discretionary President: The Promise and Peril of Executive Power*
Forest McDonald, *The American Presidency: An Intellectual History*
Richard J. Ellis, ed., *Founding the American Presidency*

Feb. 8 Richard E. Neustadt: The Art of Presidential Leadership
Suggested Readings:
Robert Y. Shapiro, Martha Joynt Kumar, and Lawrence R. Jacobs, ed., *Presidential Power: Forging the Presidency for the Twenty-First Century*
Raymond Tatalovich and Thomas S. Engeman, *The Presidency and Political Science: Two Hundred Years of Constitutional Debate*

Feb. 15 Neustadt (continued)
Reading: *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*, pp. 167-318
Suggested Readings:
Erwin Hargrove, *The President as Leader*
James P. Pfiffner, *The Character Factor: How We Judge America’s Presidents*

Feb. 22
Stephen Skowronek: The Presidency in “Political Time”
Reading: Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*, pp. 3-196

Suggested Readings:
David A. Crockett, *The Opposition Presidency: Leadership and the Constraints of History*
Bruce Miroff, *Icons of Democracy: American Leaders as Heroes, Aristocrats, Dissenters, and Democrats*
Bruce Miroff and Stephen Skowronek, eds., Special Issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly* on Historical Research in Presidency Studies, Spring 2014

Mar. 1
Skowronek (continued)
Reading: *The Politics Presidents Make*, pp. 197-464
“Barack Obama and the Promise of Transformative Leadership” (Blackboard)

Suggested Readings:
Theodore J. Lowi, *The Personal President*
Richard Rose, *The Postmodern President*
Bert A. Rockman, *The Leadership Question: The Presidency and the American System*
William F. Grover, *The President as Prisoner*
Mar. 8 Presidents and Their Political Contexts
Reading: Bruce Miroff, *Presidents on Political Ground: Leaders in Action and What They Face*

Suggested Readings:
- Michael J. Korzi, *A Seat of Popular Leadership: The Presidency, Political Parties, and Democratic Government*
- Sidney M. Milkis, *The President and the Parties*
- B. Dan Wood, *The Myth of Presidential Representation*
- Douglas L. Kriner and Andrew Reeves, *The Particularistic President: Executive Branch Politics and Political Inequality*

**First Paper Due on March 8**

Mar.22 Staffing and Organizing the Presidency
Reading: James P. Pfiffner, ed., *The Managerial Presidency* (ch. 2-6, 8-9)
- Martha Joynt Kumar and Terry Sullivan, eds., *The White House World* (pp. 63-107)
- David E. Lewis and Terry M. Moe, “The Presidency and the Bureaucracy: The Levers of Presidential Control”
(All of these readings are on Blackboard)

Suggested Readings:
- Richard P. Nathan, *The Administrative Presidency*
- Bradley H. Patterson, Jr., *The White House Staff: Inside the West Wing and Beyond*
- Martha Joynt Kumar and Terry Sullivan, eds., *The White House World: Transitions, Organization, and Office Operations*
- Karen M. Hult and Charles E. Walcott, *Governing the White House: From Hoover through LBJ*
- Karen M. Hult and Charles E. Walcott, *Empowering the White House: Governance under Nixon, Ford, and Carter*
- David E. Lewis, *The Politics of Presidential Appointments: Political Control and Bureaucratic Performance*
Mar. 29  Executive Orders: Presidents, Congress, and the Bureaucracy

Suggested Readings:
Kenneth Mayer, *With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*
Philip J. Cooper, *By Order of the President: The Use and Abuse of Executive Direct Action*
Ricardo J. P. Rodrigues, *The Preeminence of Politics: Executive Orders from Eisenhower to Clinton*
Graham G. Dodds, *Take Up Your Pen: Unilateral Presidential Directives in American Politics*
William G. Howell, *Thinking About the Presidency: The Primacy of Power*

Apr. 5  Executive-Legislative Relations
Reading: Jon R. Bond and Richard Fleisher, *The President in the Legislative Arena*

Suggested Readings:
Charles O. Jones, *The Presidency in a Separated System*
Mark A. Peterson, *Legislating Together: The White House and Capitol Hill from Eisenhower to Reagan*
George C. Edwards, *At the Margins: Presidential Leadership of Congress*
Jon R. Bond and Richard Fleisher, eds., *Polarized Politics: Congress and the President in a Partisan Era*
Steven A. Shull, ed., *The Two Presidencies*
Andrew Rudalevige, *Managing the President’s Program: Presidential Leadership and Legislative Policy Formulation*
Charles M. Cameron, *Veto Bargaining: Presidents and the Politics of Negative Power*
Michael Nelson and Russell L. Riley, eds., *Governing at Home: The White House and Domestic Policymaking*

Apr. 12  Presidents, the Judiciary, and Constitutional Authority
Reading: Keith E. Whittington, *Political Foundations of Judicial Supremacy: The Presidency, the Supreme Court, and Constitutional Leadership in U. S. History*

Suggested Readings:
David A. Yalof, *Pursuit of Justices: Presidential Politics and the Selection of Supreme Court Nominees*
Louis Fisher, *Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President*
Louis Fisher, *Presidential War Power*
David Gray Adler and Larry N. George, eds., *The Constitution and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy*
Mark J. Rozell, *Executive Privilege*

**Apr. 19**

**Presidents and War**

Reading: Andrew J. Polsky, *Elusive Victories: The American Presidency at War*

Suggested Readings:
Elizabeth N. Saunders, *Leaders at War: How Presidents Shape Military Interventions*
Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith, *The Spoils of War: Greed, Power, and the Conflicts that Made Our Greatest Presidents*

**Apr. 26**

**The President and the Public**

Reading: George C. Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*

Suggested Readings:
George C. Edwards III, *The Strategic President: Persuasion and Opportunity in Presidential Leadership*
Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency*
Richard J. Ellis, ed., *Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective*
Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Politicians Don’t Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness*
Brandice Canes-Wrone, *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public*
Brandon Rottinghaus, *The Provisional Pulpit: Modern Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion*
Julia R. Azari, *Delivering the People’s Message: The Changing Politics of the Presidential Mandate*
Jeffrey E. Cohen, *The Presidency in the Era of 24-Hour News*
Martha Joynt Kumar, *Managing the President's Message: The White House Communications Operation*
Michael Nelson and Russell L. Riley, eds., *The President’s Words: Speeches and Speechwriting in the Modern White House*

**Second Paper Due on April 26**
May  3  A Stronger Presidency?
Reading: William G. Howell and Terry M. Moe, Relic: How Our Constitution Undermines Effective Government and Why We Need a More Powerful Presidency

May  10  Class Presentations of Review Essays
No assigned reading

**Review Essay Due on May 17**

Requirements for the course include two analytical papers on assigned readings (expected length of 7-8 pages each) and a review essay due at the end of the semester (expected length of approximately 15 pages). The nature of the review essay will be described in the first class session. Students taking the 2-credit version of POS 532 will write either of the two short analytical papers and will not write a longer review essay.

All students will be expected to respond to each week’s reading assignment with three analytical questions suitable for seminar discussion. The questions are due to me by email no later than 9 a.m. on the day the seminar meets.

Your attendance and active participation in the seminar are expected and, along with your questions on the readings, will be considered as part of your grade for the course

My office hours are: Milne 216, Wednesdays, 3:00-3:30, and by appointment. Voice mail messages can be left at 442-5273. The best way to reach me is by email: bmiroff@albany.edu