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Course Description

This course covers a selection of work in political science on the role of the presidency as a political institution and its relationship of the American federal executive with other political institutions and the public. The weekly progress of the course will focus on building familiarity with a core collection of books and readings as well as a collection of detailed summaries of these works for future reference. Along with this deliverable, the major course assignments will require students to review a recent published article on executive politics and both develop and present a research proposal grounded in one of the topics listed in the syllabus. Taken as a whole, these activities should allow students to leave the class with a familiarity with recent and important theoretical approaches, empirical strategies, and supported results regarding major questions about executive politics in the United States.

Objectives

To introduce students to a set of central books and articles on executive politics

To provide students with a set of annotated summaries of these central books and articles identifying the following characteristics of each:

The research question

The theoretical approach

The empirical strategy

The major findings

Potential flaws in the research design which could be exploited by future scholars

Potential avenues for extension based on unanswered questions raised by the findings

To develop the ability to effectively critique and engage with new research emerging in executive politics

To help students develop a promising research idea grounded in the literature

Required Course Materials

Neustadt, Richard. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents.* Skowronek, Stephen. *The Politics Presidents Make.* Cameron, Charles. *Veto Bargaining.* Beckmann, Matthew. *Pushing the Agenda.* Rudalevige, Andrew. *Managing the President's Program.* Potter, Rachel. *Bending the Rules.* Lewis, Dave. *The Politics of Presidential Appointments.* Howell, Will. *Power without Persuasion.* Chiou, Fang-Yi, and Lawrence Rothenberg. *The Enigma of Presidential Power.* Kernell, Samuel. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership.* Edwards, George C. *On Deaf Ears.* Canes-Wrone, Brandice. *Who Leads Whom?*
All of the readings will be made available electronically, which can be accessed through the course page on Blackboard.

Supplemental Readings

Krehbiel, Keith. *Pivotal Politics.*
Wood, B. Dan. *The Myth of Presidential Representation.*
Zeisberg, Mariah A. *War Powers: The Politics of Constitutional Authority.*
Tulis, Jeffrey. *The Rhetorical Presidency.*

Readings may be assigned to supplement the required text from online sources or excerpted from other books. Assigned readings derived from online sources are accessible through links within the course content folders on the class Blackboard page.

Grading

Participation 15%; Reading Summaries 5%; Midterm Article Review 30%; Research Proposal 50%.

Class participation counts for 15% of your final grade. This course is a seminar. Though the instructor will spend some time during each meeting introducing the material and (when needed) clarifying the technical aspects of the readings, the primary purpose of our class meetings is student-led critique and discussion of the readings. As such, the readings assigned for each week will be parceled out to students who will be expected to summarize the readings' main approach and make a 10 minute presentation, in parallel with the written summaries discussed in the next paragraph. Following the short presentations, we will then hold a student-led discussion of the readings for that week. I require all students to show up to class having read the readings for that week carefully, and ready to contribute critiques and questions for discussion.

Reading summaries will be used to calculate 5% of your final grade. Each week, you will be required to write a summary on an assigned article or on a portion of an assigned book. You must distribute the summary by email for a reading by 12:01 AM on the day the reading will be discussed in class as listed on the syllabus. When you write the summary, prepare it as if you are creating a one page (front and back) reference sheet to use while studying for comps. Be sure to include key points of relevance to understanding the reading, including, but not limited to, summaries of the research question, theory, empirical method, and results. Be sure to pay particular attention to identifying flaws in the argument and potential ways to build on or improve the reading. The lowest reading summary grade will be automatically dropped.

One midterm article review constitutes 30% of your final grade. Students must write a review of a published article on executive politics. The midterm article review must be submitted online to Dr. Klingler by the start of class on October 13.

A research proposal will be used to calculate 50% of your final grade. Each student must develop a research proposal which must be submitted in writing. The proposal must be explained to the class in a 20 minute presentation at the end of the semester on November 24. The research proposal must be grounded in a review and critique of the readings covered in one of the topics on the syllabus below.

Grade Scale

Below is how your final percentage grade will be mapped into a letter grade. There are opportunities for extra credit in this class so there will be no rounding. If you get an 87.99999999%, (for example) when the semester is over your final grade will be a B+. **No exceptions.**

Percentage Point Range	Letter Grade
92-100	A
88-91.99...	A-
85-87.99...	B+
81-84.99...	B
78-80.99...	B-
75-77.99...	C+
71-75.99...	C
68-70.99...	C-
65-67.99...	D+
62-64.99...	D
60-61.99...	D-
0-59.99...	F

Class Policies

Changes to the syllabus may be made in order to correct errors, adjust the schedule, fine tune course details, or address unforeseen issues. Changes will be discussed and announced in class. It is the student's responsibility to attend class to be aware of any syllabus changes. The official syllabus will always be available on Blackboard.

Policy on Remote and In-Person Class Meetings

Our class will meet weekly on Zoom for a discussion of the readings and for presentations. This is a remote class, so it is extremely important that you are able to get reliable internet access on Thursday mornings from 9 AM to 11:30 AM so that you can fully participate in the discussion. More information on the Zoom meeting ID will be available soon but the password will be 'POTUS'. If you are concerned that technological issues may prevent you from participating fully, please contact Dr. Klingler as soon as possible.

This class is being set up under the assumption that in person class meetings will not be safe or practical for the duration of the semester. However, circumstances can change, and there may be a time in which there there is consensus demand for meeting in person outdoors while practicing safe social distancing. Students may request that the very next class be held outdoors via an email to Prof. Klingler. If three such requests are received, an anonymous survey will be set up on Blackboard asking all students to voice whether they desire the very next class meeting to take place on Zoom or outside in Oxford. The vote tally will never be made public. If there is unanimous support for holding the next class meeting outdoors, arrangements will be made to try and implement this promptly and safely. Outdoor classes will follow the Outdoor Classroom Guidelines, found on the Keep Teaching webpage. Otherwise, class will always take place on Zoom.

In the event that we have a face-to-face class meeting, all present must have properly worn face coverings or face masks. Students who have a diagnosed health concern which interferes with the wearing of face coverings or face masks may contact SDS to seek a University-approved accommodations. Students and faculty must complete the daily symptom checker before any such face-to-face class meeting. Students will not be allowed in meeting spaces when they are out of compliance with the University's COVID-19 guidelines.

Policy on Readings and Assignment Expectations

Reading and any additional assignments should be completed before the official start time for class on the day assigned. This means that email copies of assignments must be in the instructor's possession at the official start time for class or the assignment is late. Pay careful attention to the syllabus and to any adjustments that may occur.

There a lot of assigned reading for this class, as there are typically four articles and an entire book assigned each week. I have selected these readings in order to introduce you to a wide variety of approaches to studying the presidency, and to represent the diversity of important research questions in this area. I have also worked to balance older, more foundational works, with more recent pieces from the last decade. In some weeks, not everyone will read exactly the same material, but I do expect that you read most of them, so that we are able to have a fruitful discussion on each assigned reading.

Policy on Missed Classes and Assignments

The University requires that all students have a verified attendance at least once during the first two weeks of the semester for each course. If attendance is not verified, then a student will be dropped from the course and any financial aid is adjusted accordingly by the University. Students attending the virtual component of hybrid, remote, or online classes are subject to the same attendance policy and procedures as traditional students. However, participation is defined in a different manner. The University's "Attendance Policy for Online Education" states: "Student attendance in online courses is defined as active participation in the course as described in the individual course syllabus." If students fail to meet online attendance requirements as stated in the syllabus, they will be given an absence. In this course, attendance is defined as participation in the course meetings on Zoom, in our outdoor meeting space, or any alternative medium used in the case of technical difficulties with Zoom.

Late and makeup assignments will be allowed only with a doctor's note or other equally serious documented reason for the absence. **Excused absences will only be given for dates listed in the documentation provided. Keep this in mind when requesting doctors notes or obtaining other documentation such as memorial programs in the event of a funeral.** Excused absences from mental health conditions such as depression, bereavement, or anxiety require a note from a doctor mentioning specific dates under which attendance was prevented as a result of the mental health condition. If no date is provided in the documentation, there will be no excused absence given.

Policy on COVID-19

The University is taking the pandemic seriously and each of us must take responsibility to limit the spread of the virus until more permanent solutions can be found. Students with COVID-19 should seek immediate medical attention at the Student Health Center and contact Dr. Klingler to let me know that you are sick, quarantined, or have some other health-related absence. If students test positive for COVID-19 at any health care facility, they must contact the Student Health Center at 662-915-7274. University Health Services will coordinate contact tracing to lessen the likelihood of spread. Students and faculty must quarantine for 14 days if they have a positive COVID-19 test, possible virus exposure, or display any symptoms related to COVID-19.

Students have been informed of the COVID-19 guidelines for the school year (including face covering, social distancing, hand hygiene, etc.). The University's Academic Conduct and Discipline Policy states that 'disorderly behavior that disrupts the academic environment violates the standard of fair access to the academic experience." Failure to adhere to health requirements during the COVID-19 emergency will be deemed as disruptive to the classroom and will be enforced following the Academic Conduct and Discipline procedures. The University of Mississippi has adopted a tiered disciplinary protocol for nonadherence to COVID-19 health requirements. This disciplinary protocol is maintained by the Office of Conflict Resolutoon and Student Conduct (http://conflictresolution.olemiss.edu)

Policy on Grade Appeals

All grade appeals must be made in writing to the instructor. No grade appeals will be considered within the first 24 hours of a grade being posted or an assignment/exam being returned; those that come in within the first 24 hours will be discarded. All grade appeals must be received within ten calendar days of the grade being posted or the assignment/exam being returned; those that come in after this deadline will be discarded. All appeals must contain the following information:

The name of the assignment in question

The reason why you believe your grade should be higher. Be specific and discuss this in the context of the requirements of the assignment.

Determine whether you believe it is an error of calculation (the instructor/TA incorrectly tabulated points), judgment (the grade received does not reflect the quality of the work), or both.

If the instructor/TA determines that an error of calculation is present, then the correct grade will be calculated and the correct grade will be allocated. If it is argued by the student that an error of judgment is present, then the student has the option to have the assignment graded *de novo* by the instructor. As this will be a regrade from scratch, there is the possibility that the grade given to

the regraded assignment will be lower than the initial grade given. All decisions by the instructor are final.

Policy on Disabilities

Students facing disabilities or mental health concerns who are not registered should apply for accommodation with Student Disability Services (SDS). Any student who has a documented disability and has received recommendations for accommodations from SDS should speak with the instructor as soon as possible regarding accommodations.

Policy on Email

Email communication must be used to make requests to the instructor/TA (*e.g.* for meetings outside of office hours) so that everyone has a record of the request and decision. For emails sent between Monday and Thursday, inclusive, please allow the instructor/TA up to 48 hours to respond. For those sent between Friday and Sunday, inclusive, please allow the instructor/TA up to 96 hours to respond.

It is the student's responsibility to check his/her Ole Miss email daily, since Blackboard works through Ole Miss email addresses and this is how I am able to communicate with you. If you prefer another email address, set up forwarding from your Ole Miss address.

Writing a professional email is an important skill one should master before graduation. All emails to the instructor/TA should include the following: a subject line briefly explaining the topic of the email and that it pertains to POL 704; a greeting more professional than "Yo" or "Hey" (I prefer "Professor Klingler" or "Dr. Klingler."); a clear question or request; and should identify the sender by name. Emails lacking any of these criteria will not be returned. Before sending an email, please make sure you cannot easily get the answer from another source, such as the syllabus or other class documents.

Policy on Technology

This course, as a remote class, relies heavily on access to computers and the Internet. At some point during the semester you will have a problem with technology. Your laptop will die, a file will become corrupted, a server will go down, or something else will occur. These are facts of life, not emergencies. Technology problems will not normally be accepted as excuses for unfinished work. Expect that "stuff" will happen and protect yourself by doing the following:

   Plan ahead - start early, particularly if you'll need something hard to get.

   Save work often at multiple stages - at least every ten minutes.

   Make regular backups of files in a different location from the originals - there are several free cloud services that you can use to do this automatically.

   When editing an image, set aside the original and work with a copy.

   On your personal computer, install and use software to control viruses and malware.

When submitting any assignment electronically in this course, you are responsible for any technological problems (*e.g.* Internet connection difficulties, corrupted files, misspelled email addresses,

delayed email delivery, etc.). To prevent problems along with the associated penalties for late assignments, you should submit assignments well before the deadline and take proactive steps to make sure that files were not corrupted and that assignments were received. Again, please do not trust your computer to function as expected at the last minute.

Policy on Respect and Civility

The exchange of ideas is an essential part of learning, and you are encouraged to frequently ask questions and share your thoughts during regular class. *Disagree without being disagreeable.* We will be discussing some polarizing issues in class, and conversation should remain civil and conducted in a good faith exchange. In order to maintain an atmosphere conducive to learning, students should use professional language in class discussions and written work and behave professionally. No offensive slang or profanity is permitted and unwanted physical contact of another student is a serious offense which will be reported for disciplinary action.

Disruptive behavior will result in a recommendation of appropriate sanction including grade reduction in minor cases and stronger action in more severe cases. If your behavior is disruptive enough to distract me, it can distract the people around you as well, and is a threat to the learning environment. The instructor reserves the right to ask all students in the vicinity of disruptive behavior or conversations to leave the class for the day.

Policy on Academic Discipline

Academic honesty is expected, and academic misconduct will not be tolerated. Examples of academic misconduct are explored in the M Book and include plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation), using someone else's work as your own, allowing someone else to represent your work as their own, gaining or attempting to gain an unfair advantages, giving false information or altering documents, harming academic support facilities, and any act that violates the principles of honesty or fairness that does not fall into these categories.

Turn in material that you have completed yourself and respect the learning environment. Acts of academic misconduct are serious offenses that will be reported for disciplinary action and appropriate sanction after discussion with the student. Please see the University's Student Academic Conduct and Discipline Policy, the University's Academic Regulations in the M Book and/or speak with Prof. Klingler if you have questions in this area.

Course Outline

Note: Please pay attention to the policy on reading expectations on page 4.

Week 1 (Aug 25) Introduction to the Course

No readings

Week 2 (Sep 1) Studying the Presidency

Neustadt, Richard. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents.*
Moe, Terry M. 2009. "The Revolution in Presidential Studies." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 39(4): 701-724.
Dickinson, Matthew J. 2009. "We All Want a Revolution: Neustadt, New Institutionalism, and the Future of Presidency Research." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 39(4): 736-770.
Jacobs, Lawrence. 2009. "Building Reliable Theories of the Presidency." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 39(4): 771-780.
Mayer, Kenneth R. 2009. "Thoughts on The Revolution in Presidential Studies." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 39(4): 781-785.

Week 3 (Sep 8) Personal Leadership and Institutional Development

Skowronek, Stephen. *The Politics Presidents Make.*
Moe, Terry. 1985 "The Politicized Presidency" in Chubb and Peterson, *The New Direction in American Politics* p. 235-272
Ragsdale, Lyn and John J. Theis, III. 1997. "The Institutionalization of the American Presidency." *American Journal of Political Science.* 41:1280-1318.
Dickinson, Matthew J., and Matthew Lebo. 2007. "Reexamining the Growth of the Institutional Presidency, 1940-2000." *Journal of Politics.* 69(1):206-219.
Rogowski, Jon C. 2016. "Presidential Influence in an Era of Congressional Dominance." *American Political Science Review.* 110(2):325-341.

Week 4 (Sep 15) Presidential Bargaining with Congress I

Cameron, Charles. *Veto Bargaining.*
McCarty, Nolan. 2000. "Presidential Pork: Executive Veto Power and Distributive Politics." *American Political Science Review.* 94(1):117-129.
Groseclose, Timothy, and Nolan McCarty. 2001. "The Politics of Blame: Bargaining Before an Audience." *American Journal of Political Science.* 45:100-119.
Canes-Wrone, Brandice, William G. Howell, and David E. Lewis. 2008. "Toward a Broader Understanding of Presidential Power: A Re-Evaluation of the Two Presidencies Thesis." *Journal of Politics.* 70:1-16.
Hassell, Hans J. G. and Samuel Kernell. 2016. "Veto Rhetoric and Legislative Riders." *American Journal of Political Science.* 60(4):845-859.

Week 5 (Sep 22) Presidential Bargaining with Congress II

Beckmann, Matthew. *Pushing the Agenda.*
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.
Lee, Frances E. 2008. "Dividers, Not Uniters: Presidential Leadership and Senate Partisanship: 1981-2004." *Journal of Politics.* 70(4):914-928.
Howell, William, and Jon Rogowski. 2013. "War, the Presidency, and Legislative Voting Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science.* 57(1):150-166.
Kriner, Douglas L. and Eric Schickler. 2014. "Investigating the President: Committtee Probes and Presidential Approval: 1953-2006." *Journal of Politics.* 76(2):521-534.

Week 6 (Sep 29) Managing the Executive Branch I

Rudalevige, Andrew. *Managing the President's Program.*
Potter, Rachel. *Bending the Rules.*
McCubbins, Mathew D. and Thomas Schwartz. 1984 "Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms." *American Journal of Political Science.* 28(1):165-179.

Week 7 (Oct 6) Managing the Executive Branch II

Lewis, Dave. *The Politics of Presidential Appointments.*
Carpenter, Daniel P. 1996. "Adaptive Signal Processing, Hierarchy, and Budgetary Control in Federal Regulation." *American Political Science Review.* 90(2):283-302.
Howell, William, and David E. Lewis. 2002. "Agencies by Presidential Design." *Journal of Politics.* 64(4):1095-1114.
Lewis, David E. 2005. "Staffing Alone: Unilateral Action and the Politicization of the Executive Office of the President, 1988-2004" *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 35(3):496-514
Hollibaugh, Gary E., Jr., Gabriel Horton, and David E. Lewis. 2014. "Presidents and Patronage." *American Journal of Political Science.* 58(4):1024-1042.

Week 8 (Oct 13) The Presidency and the Judiciary

Moraski, Byron, and Charles Shipan. 1999. "The Politics of Supreme Court Nominations: A Theory of Institutional Constraints and Choices." *American Journal of Political Science.* 43(4):1069-1095.
Bailey, Michael, Brian Kamoie, and Forrest Maltzman. 2005. "Signals from the Tenth Justice: The Political Role of the Solicitor General in Supreme Court Decision Making." *American Journal of Political Science.* 49(1):72-85.
Cameron, Charles, and Jee-Kwang Park. 2011. "Going Public When Opinion is Contested: Evidence from Presidents' Campaigns for Supreme Court Nominees, 1930-2009." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 41(3):442-470.
Hitt, Matthew P. 2013. "Presidential Success in Supreme Court Appointments: Informational Effects and Institutional Constraints." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 43(4):792-813.
<u>Midterm Article Reviews Due</u>

Week 9 (Oct 20) Executive Unilateralism I

Howell, Will. *Power without Persuasion.*
Moe, Terry and William Howell. 1999. "Unilateral Action and Presidential Power: A Theory." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 29(4):850-873.
Reeves, Andrew. 2011. "Political Disaster: Unilateral Powers, Electoral Incentives, and Presidential Disaster Declarations." *Journal of Politics.* 73(4):1142-1151.
Christenson, Dino P. and Douglas L. Kriner. 2017. "Mobilizing the Public Against the President: Congress and the Political Costs of Unilateral Action." *American Journal of Political Science.* 61(4):769-785.
Reeves, Andrew, and Jon C. Rogowski. 2018. "The Public Cost of Unilateral Action." *American Journal of Political Science.* 62(2):424-440.

Week 10 (Oct 27) Executive Unilateralism II

Chiou, Fang-Yi, and Lawrence Rothenberg. *The Enigma of Presidential Power.*
Mayer, Kenneth R. 1999. "Executive Orders and Presidential Power." *Journal of Politics.* 61(2):445-466.
Ostrander, Ian, and Joel Sievert. 2013. "What's So Sinister About Presidential Signing Statements?" *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 43(1):58-60.
Bolton, Alexander and Sharece Thrower. 2016. "Legislative Capacity and Executive Unilateralism." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(3):649-663.
Thrower, Sharece. 2017. "To Revoke or Not Revoke? The Political Determinants of Executive Order Longevity." *American Journal of Political Science.* 61(3):642-656.

Week 11 (Nov 3) Public Leadership and Approval I

Kernell, Samuel. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership.*
Cohen, Jeffrey E. 1995. "Presidential rhetoric and the public agenda." *American Journal of Political Science.* 39(1):87-107.
Canes-Wrone, Brandice, Michael C. Herron, and Kenneth W. Shotts. 2001. "Leadership and Pandering: A Theory of Executive Policymaking," *American Journal of Political Science.* 45: 532-50.
Wood, Dan, Chris Owens, and Brandy Durham. 2005. "Presidential Rhetoric and the Economy." *Journal of Politics.* 67(3): 627-645.
Jacobson, Gary C. 2012. "The President's Effect on Partisan Attitudes." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 42(4): 683-718.

Week 12 (Nov 10) Public Leadership and Approval II

Edwards, George C. *On Deaf Ears.*
Kernell, Samuel. 1978. "Explaining Presidential Popularity." *American Political Science Review.* 72: 506-522.
Edwards, George, William Mitchell, and Reed Welch. 1995. "Explaining Presidential Approval: The Significance of Issue Salience." *American Journal of Political Science.* 39(1): 108-34.
Druckman, James N. and Justin W. Holmes. 2004. "Does Presidential Rhetoric Matter? Priming and Presidential Approval." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 34(4): 755-778.
Cohen, Jeffrey and Richard Powell. 2005. "Building Public Support from the Grassroots Up: The Impact of Presidential Travel on State-Level Approval." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 35(1): 11-27.

Week 13 (Nov 17) Presidential Responsiveness

Canes-Wrone, Brandice. *Who Leads Whom?*
Canes-Wrone, Brandice, and Kenneth W. Shotts. "The Conditional Nature of Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science.* 48, no. 4 (October 2004): 690–706
Rottinghaus, Brandon. 2006. "Rethinking Presidential Responsiveness: The Public Presidency and Rhetorical Congruency, 1953–2001." *Journal of Politics.* 68 (3): 720-732.
Mcavoy, Gregory E. 2008. "Substance versus Style: Distinguishing Presidential Job Performance from Favorability." *Presidential Studies Quarterly.* 38(2): 284-299.

Week 14 (Nov 24)

Research Proposal Presentations
Research Proposals Due