

## POL 410F: Presidential Politics in America

INSTRUCTOR: Professor Lawrence LeDuc, AH329, (416-9261300, x3232)  
e-mail: leduc@chass.utoronto.ca

TEXTS: Stephen J. Wayne, *The Road to the White House* 2004

Joseph A. Pika & John Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency* (6<sup>th</sup> edition)

Readings packet [PKT]. A selection of articles which will be made available for purchase at cost by the instructor.

### MEDIA / INTERNET:

Students are expected to keep up to date with the events of the election campaign using the many sources that are readily available for this purpose. In particular, the *New York Times* and CNN will be used as routine references for current information and commentary. Both of these also maintain web sites [ [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com); [www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com) ]. Other useful sources are C-Span [ [www.cspan.org](http://www.cspan.org) ], *National Journal* [ [www.nationaljournal.com](http://www.nationaljournal.com) ] and *Politics1.com* [ [www.politics1.com](http://www.politics1.com) ]. Sites maintained by the major political parties and presidential candidates [e.g. [www.georgewbush.com](http://www.georgewbush.com) or [www.johnkerry.com](http://www.johnkerry.com) ] may also be of interest.

### RECOMMENDED BACKGROUND:

Paul Allen Beck, *Party Politics in America*  
Herbert B. Asher, *Presidential Elections and American Politics*

### ADDITIONAL SOURCES:

The literature on the U.S. presidency and on American presidential elections is vast. The following are recommended as additional reference sources, but are only a small sampling of the Political Science literature in this area. Note that there are multiple editions of a number of these books.

Paul Abramson et al, *Change and Continuity in the 2000 and 2002 Elections*  
James David Barber, *The Presidential Character*  
Larry Bartels, *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*  
Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*  
Colin Campbell & Bert Rockman, *The Clinton Legacy*  
Colin Campbell & Bert Rockman, *The George W. Bush Presidency: First Appraisals*  
Congressional Quarterly, *Presidential Elections Since 1789*

Lawrence Dodd & Calvin Jillson (eds.), *The Dynamics of American Politics*  
Morris P. Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*  
William H. Flanagan & Nancy Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*  
Doris Graber, *Mass Media and American Politics*  
Fred I. Greenstein (ed.), *The George W. Bush Presidency*  
Gary Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections*  
Samuel Kernell, *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*  
John H. Kessel, *Presidential Campaign Politics*  
Anthony King (ed.), *The New American Political System*  
Everett C. Ladd & Charles Hadley, *Transformations of the American Party System*  
Theodore J. Lowi, *The Personal President*  
L. Sandy Maisel (ed.), *The Parties Respond: Changes in the American Party System*  
Warren Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*  
Arthur H. Miller & Bruce Gronbach, *Presidential Campaigns and American Self Images*  
Michael Nelson (ed), *The Presidency and the Political System*  
Michael Nelson (ed), *The Elections of 2000*  
Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*  
Nelson Polsby & Aaron Wildavsky, *Presidential Elections*  
Gerald M. Pomper (ed.), *The Elections of 2000: Reports and Interpretations*  
James Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System*  
Martin P. Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties*  
Martin P. Wattenberg, *The Rise of Candidate Centered Politics*

#### COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

Two essays. The first essay (25%) will deal with some aspect of any one of the three areas of U.S. public policy scheduled for discussion in the classes of October 4<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, or 25<sup>th</sup>. The essay should be approximately 6-9 pages in length and should begin with (although not rely exclusively on) on the readings listed on the syllabus under the topic chosen. The due date for the first essay is **Thursday, November 4<sup>th</sup>**, but students are expected to make a very brief class presentation based on their preliminary work for the essay in one of the three class sessions mentioned above. The second essay (35%) will deal with any topic of your choice falling under one of the four broad areas scheduled for discussion in the classes of November 15<sup>th</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup>, and December 6<sup>th</sup>. It should be approximately 10-15 pages in length, and should address some of the themes found in the core readings for the appropriate class session. Although the second essay is not due until **Thursday, December 9<sup>th</sup>**, students should similarly expect to make a short class presentation based on their research in one of the three sessions commencing on November 22<sup>nd</sup>.

Participation/seminar (20%). Each student will be expected to contribute to and participate in all class discussions, and to make two short class presentations based on research undertaken for the essays (see above).

Final oral exam (20%). An oral exam based on the required readings, seminar presentations, and written work will be scheduled at a mutually agreeable time during the week of **December 13<sup>th</sup>**.

COURSE SYLLABUS (\* denotes required reading for all students)

**Note: This class begins one week later than other Political Science courses. Students should therefore be prepared for a full class at the first session.**

**September 20<sup>th</sup> — Studying the Presidency and the American Political System**

- \* Bert Rockman, “The American Presidency in Comparative Perspective: Systems, Situations, and Leaders” [PKT]
- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 1 and appendices
- \* Wayne, *The Road to the White House*, ch. 8 and appendices

Richard Rose & Ezra Sulieman (eds.), *Presidents and Prime Ministers*  
Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*  
Edward S. Corwin, *The President: Office and Powers*  
Sidney M. Milkis & Michael Nelson, *The American Presidency: Origins and Development*  
Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Imperial Presidency*  
Theodore J. Lowi, *The Personal President*

**September 27<sup>th</sup> — The American Electoral System in Comparative Perspective**

- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 2
- \* Wayne, *The Road to the White House*, ch. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9

Joseph A. Pika & Richard Watson, *The Presidential Contest*  
James W. Davis, *U.S. Presidential Primaries and the Caucus-Convention System*  
Alexander Heard, *Made in America: the Nomination and Election of Presidents*  
Walter Berns, *After the People Vote: A Guide to the Electoral College*  
Nelson Polsby & Aaron Wildavsky, *Presidential Elections*  
Paul D. Shumaker & Burdett Loomis, *Choosing a President*

**October 4<sup>th</sup> — The Candidates, Foreign Policy, and National Security**

- \* John Gerald Ruggie, “Interests, Identity and American Foreign Policy” [PKT]
- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 10

Donald Snow & Eugene Brown, *Beyond the Water’s Edge*  
John Spanier et al, *American Foreign Policy Since World War II*  
Bob Woodward, *Bush at War*  
Lawrence J. Korb, *A New National Security Strategy in an Age of Terrorism*  
Steven A. Shull (ed.), *The Two Presidencies: a Quarter Century Assessment*  
Alexander George, *Presidential Decision Making in Foreign Policy*  
Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*  
Thomas J. McCormick, *America’s Half-Century: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Cold War and After*

**October 11<sup>th</sup> — Thanksgiving**

## **October 18<sup>th</sup> — Economic Policy and the 2004 Election**

- \* Helmut Norpoth, “The Economy” [PKT]
- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 9

Morris P. Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*  
Helmut Norpoth et al, *Economics and Politics: the Calculus of Support*  
Heinz Eulau & Michael Lewis-Beck (eds.), *Economic Conditions and Electoral Outcomes*  
Allen Schick, *The Federal Budget: Politics, Policy, Process*  
Edward R. Tufte, *Political Control of the Economy*  
Douglas A. Hibbs, *The American Political Economy*  
Herbert Stein, *Presidential Economics: the Making of Economic Policy From Roosevelt to Reagan and Beyond*

## **October 25<sup>th</sup> — Social Policy Issues in Post-911 America**

- \* Russell Hanson, “Liberalism and the Course of American Social Welfare Policy” [PKT]
- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 8

John Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*  
Erwin C. Hargrove & Michael Nelson, *Presidents, Politics and Policy*  
Paul C. Light, *The President’s Agenda: Domestic Policy Choice From Kennedy to Clinton*  
Edward G. Carmines, *Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*  
Byron Shafer & William Claggett, *The Two Majorities: The Issue Context of Modern American Politics*  
Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: the Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*

## **November 1<sup>st</sup> — Assessing the Campaign; Predicting the Outcome**

- \* Thomas M. Holbrook, “A Model of Campaign Effects” [PKT]
- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 3
- \* Wayne, *The Road to the White House*, ch. 6, 7

Thomas M. Holbrook, *Do Campaigns Matter?*  
Michael Lewis-Beck & Tom Rice, *Forecasting Elections*  
Peter Goldman et al, *The Quest for the Presidency*  
Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President*  
Darrell M. West, *Air Wars: Television Advertising in Election Campaigns*  
Kathleen Hall Jamieson & David Birdsell, *Presidential Debates: The Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate*

## **November 2<sup>nd</sup> — Election Day**

## **November 8<sup>th</sup> — Election Retrospective: What Happened and Why**

- \* Warren E. Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, “Policy Directions and Presidential Leadership: Alternative Interpretations of the 1980 Presidential Election” [PKT]
- \* Pippa Norris, “The 1988 American Elections: Long, Medium, and Short Term Explanations” [PKT]

Stanley Kelley, *Interpreting Elections*

V.O. Key, *The Responsible Electorate*

Warren E. Miller & J. Merrill Shanks, *The New American Voter*

L. Sandy Maisel (ed.), *The Parties Respond* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition)

James W. Ceaser & Andrew Busch, *Losing to Win: the 1996 Elections and American Politics*

Herbert B. Asher & Janet Box-Steffensmeier (eds.), *Re-election 1996: How Americans Voted*

Gerald M. Pomper et al, *The Election of 2000: Reports and Interpretations*

Paul Abramson et al, *Change and Continuity in the 2000 and 2002 Elections*

### **November 15<sup>th</sup> — Organizing the Bush II [Kerry I] Administration**

- \* Joel D. Aberbach, “A Reinvented Government or the Same Old Government?” [PKT]
- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 6, 7

John P. Burke, *The Institutional Presidency: Organizing and Managing the White House*

Hugh Heclo, *A Government of Strangers*

James Pfiffner, *The Strategic Presidency*

Stephen Hess, *Organizing the Presidency*

David A. Stockman, *The Triumph of Politics*

Charles O. Jones, *Transitions*

Robert Reich, *Locked in the Cabinet*

### **November 22<sup>nd</sup> — American Politics and the 109<sup>th</sup> Congress**

- \* Matthew Dickinson, “The President and Congress” [PKT]
- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 5

Anthony King (ed.), *Both Ends of the Avenue*

Colin Campbell & Bert Rockman, *The George W. Bush Presidency: First Appraisals*

David Price, *The Congressional Experience: A View from the Hill*

Jon R. Bond & Richard Fleisher, *The President in the Legislative Arena*

Roger Davidson & Walter Oleszek, *Congress and Its Members*

James A. Thurber (ed.), *Divided Democracy: Cooperation and Conflict Between the President and Congress*

### **November 29<sup>th</sup> — Dealignment, Realignment, Continuity or Change?: the 2004 Elections and the American Party System**

- \* Sidney M. Milkis, “The Presidency and Political Parties” [PKT]

- \* Raymond Wolfinger, “Dealignment, Realignment and Mandates in the 1984 Election” [PKT]
- \* Wayne, *The Road to the White House*, ch. 3

John Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*  
James Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System*  
Martin Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties*  
Paul Abramson et al, *Change and Continuity in the 2000 and 2002 Elections*  
Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*  
Jerome M. Clubb et al, *Partisan Realignment: Voters, Parties and Government in American History*

### **December 6<sup>th</sup> — The Bush [Kerry] Legacy: What Will It Be?**

- \* Stephen Skowronek, “Presidential Leadership in Political Time” [PKT]
- \* Pika & Maltese, *The Politics of the Presidency*, ch. 4, 11

Charles O. Jones, *The Reagan Legacy*  
Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*  
Betty Glad, *Jimmy Carter: In Search of the Great White House*  
James Pfiffner, *Character and the Modern Presidency*  
James David Barber, *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*  
Fred Greenstein, *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to Clinton*

### **December 13<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> — Final oral exams (as scheduled)**

### **January 20<sup>th</sup> — Inauguration Day**