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This is a course is best described as an introduction to applied theory. The objective is to evaluate theories of the modern presidency in the American constitutional system and apply them systematically to the institution and the individuals who have occupied the Oval Office. The course begins with an overview of formal and informal presidential power, followed by theories covering presidential elections, the growth of the presidency as an institution, public approval, presidential relations with the media, the legislative presidency and relations with Congress, and domestic and foreign policy. In the latter third of the course we will then apply these theories to individual presidents spanning Truman–George W. Bush, using case studies and empirical evidence to evaluate presidential leadership.

Fall 2004 represents a unique vantage point from which to evaluate the state of the presidency. We will devote ample time to studying the dynamics of the 2004 presidential election. Moreover, we will evaluate how the horrific events of 9/11 transformed the presidency of George W. Bush, his subsequent domestic and foreign policy agenda, and the potential long-term effects of the war on terrorism on the presidency, national institutions more generally, and presidential relations with the public.

Books:

Pika, Thomas, Maltese, The Politics of the Presidency (CQ Press)
Stephen Wayne – Road to the White House 2004 (Wadsworth)
George Edwards and John Davies (eds.) New Challenges for the Presidency (Longman)
David Abshire (ed.), Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency: Case Studies (Praeger)
Determinants of Final Grade:

- Attendance 10%
- Participation 10%
- Quizzes 10%
- Election Paper (Nov. 8) 30%
- Final Research Paper (Dec. 13) 30%
  *Preliminary Outline (Nov. 15) 5%
  *Advance bibliography (Nov. 22) 5%

Attendance/Participation:

Attendance for this course is mandatory. This means that you expected to come to class on time each meeting and to have read the assigned material in advance. This is a 3-unit course that meets 50 minutes on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. If you cannot commit to being in class on a regular basis, you should not enroll in this course.

Attendance will be taken in each session of the course beginning the second week of courses. The computation of the attendance grade is straightforward: The number of times you attend the course will be divided by the number of meetings for the semester. All students will receive 2 absences without penalty—no questions asked. (Students who attend all meetings will receive extra-credit on this component of the course). Do not bring me excuses for weddings, travel plans, early plans for Thanksgiving travel, etc. If there is an extreme emergency situation that requires an extended absence you should consult Professor Conley in confidence during office hours or after class.

Participation in the course is inextricably linked to attendance. In other words, you cannot participate in the classroom discussions if you are not in attendance. Since much of our time in the course will involve discussion and interaction concerning assigned readings, you are expected to come to class having read the materials, ready to ask questions, and prepared to engage in critical analysis. If you cannot commit to this requirement, you should not enroll in this course.

Quizzes:

Quizzes in the course will be announced and unannounced and will typically cover readings assigned for the class meeting. Questions will typically be short-answer and are meant to show evidence of a knowledge of basic themes of the readings.

A Note on Films in the Course:

In the last third of the class, we will see a number of films on individual presidents. The objective of these films is to complement the course readings. The films are not “optional” in terms of attendance and may be the subject of quizzes. The films come from Professor Conley’s personal collection and are not available for viewing outside the classroom.
Written Assignments:

1) project on the 2004 presidential election (7-8 pp., due in mid-November)
2) final research paper on an individual president of your choice (10-12 pp., due at the end of the semester)

Due dates for the assignments are fixed and unalterable, though students may turn in papers early without penalty; the assignments are otherwise due in class on the dates specified; emailing papers to Professor Conley is not acceptable, nor is leaving papers under his office door, nor is turning the papers in to office staff in the Political Science Department after the deadline.

In fairness to all students in the class, late papers will not be accepted except under extreme circumstances, such as unavoidable legal obligations or family emergencies (death), which will require documentation. In all such cases, the acceptance of late papers for such emergencies is at the complete discretion of Professor Conley and will most likely be considered only with prior notice—a phone call or email at a minimum. Having an exam in another course that corresponds to a due date for an assignment, having a paper or computer diskette eaten by your pet, missing class because your alarm does not go off, or going out of town and missing class on the due date are unacceptable reasons and will not receive consideration.

All written work should be double-spaced and done in standard, 12-point font. Proper citations are always required (see instructions below).

Use of the “first-person” and the active voice in your work is acceptable and encouraged rather than the use of the passive voice.

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Assignment #1 (due Monday, November 8)
7-8 pp., additional charts and graphs acceptable and encouraged

Analyse the Bush and Kerry campaigns through the November 2 election. Draw upon both the Pika/Thomas/Maltese and Wayne readings on presidential elections as a theoretical basis to examine the general election dynamics. You are expected to cite both works in your analysis. Then conduct Internet and outside library research to provide an overview of the primary campaign and outcome. You are expected to cite at least eight (8) outside references, including newspaper articles covering the election.
Pose a basic question and state your argument clearly at the outset of the paper. For example, “On which issues did the presidential contestants choose to focus, and to which groups did they appeal the most? I will argue that while John Kerry attempted to balance his campaign with criticism of Bush’s handling of the war in Iraq and an emphasis on select social policy changes, most of incumbent President Bush’s campaign centred on the war on terror. The candidates’ respective focal points in the campaign explain the narrow outcome by which X won with the support of swing voters...

Newspaper article research is best conducted on Lexis-Nexis using the link available from the University of Florida Library West page [point and click on “quick links”] (more details will be given in class):

http://web.uflib.ufl.edu

Link to “quick links” and do an article search in Lexis-Nexis and FirstSearch, which will enable you to search through newspapers in specific states such as Iowa or New Hampshire. The New York Times and Washington Post offer national coverage of state primaries, and are thus additional, vital resources for your research.

**Final Research Paper (see Appendix 1 for details)**
(10-12pp. with additional charts/graphics acceptable and encouraged)

**Citations for Written Assignments**

All written work for this course must contain proper references. Proper referencing is critical for exemplary analytical writing. *Students who fail to properly cite references will receive lower evaluations of their work.* The general rule for citations is that any material that is not “common knowledge” should be referenced, in addition to specific citations to direct quotations and specialized commentary/works/etc. *Do not plagiarise* (see reference in the syllabus on academic dishonesty). The Library West web page also offers excerpts of the Chicago Manual of Style that you may find helpful for common questions about proper referencing (http://web.uflib.ufl.edu).

Footnotes, endnotes, or parenthetical references in text (with an accompanying bibliography at the end of the paper) are ALL acceptable. However, you must choose one style and keep to it throughout your work. Footnotes place the reference at the bottom of the page; endnotes place the reference at the end of the paper; both styles are easily employed using common word processing software such as WordPerfect or Microsoft Word and will automatically number your references.

Examples of footnote/endnote references:
Books:


Journal articles:


Articles in edited volumes (make sure you cite the author of the article first, then the editor(s)):


Newspaper articles:


Articles on the Internet/Web Pages:


Parenthetical referencing:

If you choose parenthetical (in-text) referencing, you might have the following paragraph you have written (text is from R.S. 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), pp. 730-750):

Changing institutional and electoral dynamics in Congress in the last several decades have placed greater limitations on presidents’ ability to influence roll-call outcomes. Presidents’ floor success rates have been a casualty of the interaction of split-party control of the presidency and Congress, or “divided government,” with heightened intra-party cohesion on Capitol Hill (Fleisher and Bond 2000). Recent presidents who have confronted assertive opposition majorities in Congress have adapted to these conditions by turning to a powerful tool in the bargaining process: the veto. Although critics may contend that “frequent use of the veto is difficult to reconcile with the Neustadtian imperative to govern by persuasion” (McKay 1994, p. 449), presidents’ veto success was exceptional in the closing decade of the twentieth century. President George Bush sustained twenty-eight of the twenty-nine regular vetoes he cast from 1989-92. Similarly, only one of William Clinton’s thirty-six regular vetoes was successfully challenged in Congress from 1995-2000.

At the end of the article you would give the full reference of the in-text citations. The references should be in alphabetical order by last name of the author:

References


**Academic Integrity and Plagiarism**

Plagiarism (using someone else’s ideas without giving him proper credit) is a serious offense. Students are bound by the University of Florida’s Student Code of Conduct. Cheating on examinations and plagiarism are violations of the academic honesty standards of the University of Florida, will have a serious effect upon your grade in this course, and will be referred to the appropriate University authorities for disciplinary action.

The written assignments for this class are to be your own work. Discussing your ideas or general approach with Professor Conley, teaching assistants, other students or faculty, revising your work in response to a colleague’s criticism, or using words or ideas from a text or another source with proper attribution or referencing is acceptable, and is, in fact, an important aspect of intellectual discourse. Plagiarism and other forms of dishonesty, including the failure to cite proper references, are unacceptable at all times.

**Cell Phones, etc.**

The use of cellular phones, beepers, or “palm pilots” is prohibited during class, and they must be turned off to avoid distractions. Students who fail to comply with this rule during class will be summarily dismissed for the remainder of the period. Failure to comply with any part of this rule during quizzes will result in a failing grade. Further, students receiving any messages from these instruments during quizzes or exams will referred to the proper University authorities for cheating.

**General Criteria for Grading**

Students who get top grades (A, B+) generally:

--Turn in high-quality written work which reflects careful research, good planning, well-conceived arguments, originality, clarity of thought, and integration of course material, where appropriate. They stay within stated page limits. Their bibliographies are solid and their footnotes carefully used. Their final product in typed and readable. Written work submitted is in nearly flawless English grammar and spelling.

--Complete all assigned readings on time, and reflect this in their exams, written work, and class participation. They review carefully and productively.

--Attend all classes.

--Participate actively and enthusiastically in class discussions. They ask questions on a regular basis, and their ideas are original and stimulating. They challenge the conventional wisdom. They summarize each author’s principal argument and their reaction to it when discussing the course material.

Students who get middle grades (B, C+) generally:

--Turn in acceptable written work with no serious deficiencies in writing. They meet deadlines generally. Their work is readable and typed.

--Attend class, complete the assigned readings and participate in class discussions, asking occasional questions.
Students who get low and failing grades (C, D, E) generally:

--Do not turn in their assigned work, or turn it in late with penalty. Their work is of poor quality and shows inadequate research, documentation, thought, and originality. It is poorly presented (untidy and/or handwritten rather than typed).  
--Complete only part of the required readings. 
--Do not attend class and avoid participation. When called upon, they are obviously not familiar with the material. They ask no questions and accept new ideas and opinions without challenging them.

Office Hours

Professor Conley keeps regular office hours to ensure that we are available to assist you. I encourage you to consult with me on course readings, assignments, problems you may be having with the course, or if you simply wish to come by to discuss your interests in American politics. If scheduled office hours are not convenient for you, Professor Conley will make every effort to schedule alternate meeting times. You may also reach Professor Conley via email or his office phone at (352) 392-0262 x.297.

Students with Handicaps or Special Needs

If there is any reason why you need extra time on the examinations and/or require special physical accommodation in lecture and/or discussion sections, please contact Professor Conley in confidence as soon as possible at the beginning of the course. Every effort will be made to accommodate your needs within the guidelines set forth by the University. Students with handicaps or special needs will need to coordinate with Student Services at 202 Peabody Hall, and we stand ready to assist any way we can.

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Readings Schedule:

Monday, August 23 – introduction to the course.

Wednesday, August 25 – The Formal and Informal Bases of Presidential Power

Pika et al., Chapter 1: The Changing Presidency.

Friday, August 27 – The Formal and Informal Bases of Presidential Power


Monday, August 30 – The Formal and Informal Bases of Presidential Power


Wednesday, September 1 – Presidential Elections

Pika et al., Chapter 2: Election Politics.

Wayne, Chapter 1: Presidential Selection: An Historical Overview.
Friday, September 3 – Presidential Elections

Film: “Presidential Campaign Advertisements, 1952-88”

Monday, September 6 – NO CLASS/LABOUR DAY

Wednesday, September 8 – Presidential Elections

Wayne, Chapters 2 & 3: Campaign Finance/The Political Environment

Friday, September 10 – Presidential Elections

Wayne, Chapters 4 & 5: The Race for Delegates/The Spring Interregnum

Monday, September 13 – Presidential Elections

Wayne, Chapters 6 & 7: Organization, Strategy and Tactics/Media Politics

Wednesday, September 15 – Presidential Elections

Wayne, Chapters 8 & 9: Predicting Presidential Elections/Reforming the Electoral System

Friday, September 17 – Institutional Presidency

Pika et al., Chapter 6: Executive Politics.

Monday, September 20 – Relations with Congress

Pika et al., Chapter 5: Legislative Politics.

Wednesday, September 22 – Relations with Congress

Burns, “Roosevelt’s ‘First One Hundred Days’,” in Abshire, ed.


Friday, September 24 – Relations with Congress


Owens, “Challenging (and Acting For) the President: Congressional Leadership in an Era of Partisan Polarization,” in Edwards/Davies, eds.
Monday, September 27 – Relations with the Judiciary

Pika et al., Chapter 7: Judicial Politics.

Wednesday, September 29 – Relations with the Media


Friday, October 1 – Public Politics

Film, Sam Kernell, UCSD, “Going Public.”

Monday, October 4 – Public Politics

Pika et al., Chapter 3: Public Politics.

Wednesday, October 6 – Presidential “Character”

Pika et al., Chapter 4: Presidential Character & Performance

Friday, October 8 – Domestic Policy

Pika et al., The Politics of Domestic Policy

Monday, October 11 – Economic Policy

Pika et al., Chapter 9: The Politics of Economic Policy

Wednesday, October 13 – Foreign/Defense/Security Policy

Pika et al., Chapter 10: The Politics of National Security Policy

Friday, October 15 – The War on Terrorism


Monday, October 18 – The War on Terrorism

Landy, “The Bully Pulpit and the War on Terror,” in Edwards/Davies, eds.
**Wednesday, October 20** – The War on Terrorism


**Friday, October 22** – Truman

Film: “Harry Truman: A New View”

**Monday, October 25** – Truman


**Wednesday, October 27** – Eisenhower


**Friday, October 29** – Eisenhower

Film: “Dwight D. Eisenhower: Commander in Chief”

**Monday, November 1** – Kennedy

Bartlett, “John F. Kennedy’s First One Hundred Days,” in Abshire, ed.

Sorenson, “JFK’s Man to the Moon,” in Abshire, ed.

Pfiffner & Goshko, “The Bay of Pigs Invasion, 1961,” in Abshire, ed.

Pfiffner & Goshko, “The Cuban Missile Crisis,” in Abshire, ed.

**Wednesday, November 3** – Discussion of 2004 Presidential Election Results

**Friday, November 5** – Kennedy

Film: John F. Kennedy: A Personal Story
Monday, November 8 – Johnson

[2004 Elections paper due at the beginning of class]

Film: Lyndon Johnson: Triumph and Tragedy

Wednesday, November 10 – Johnson

Beschloss, “Lyndon Johnson’s First One Hundred Days,” in Abshire, ed.

Pfiffner, “Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,” in Abshire, ed.


Friday, November 12 – NO CLASS/HOMECOMING

Monday, November 15 – Nixon

[Preliminary outline of final research paper due in class]

Huebner, “Richard Nixon’s First One Hundred Days,” in Abshire, ed.

Whitaker, “The Creation of the Environmental Protection Agency,” in Abshire, ed.


Rodman, “Nixon’s Opening to China,” in Abshire, ed.


Wednesday, November 17 – Nixon

Film: “Nixon”

Friday, November 19 – Nixon

Film: “Nixon”
Monday, November 22 – Ford

[Preliminary bibliography for final research paper due in class]

Film: “Gerald Ford: A Healing Presidency”


Wednesday, November 24 – Carter

Film: “Carter”


Quandt, “Lesson’s from Carter’s Camp David Summit,” in Abshire, ed.

Friday, November 26 – NO CLASS/THANKSGIVING

Monday, November 29 – Discussion of Ford/Carter Presidencies

Wednesday, December 1 – Reagan

Cannon, “Ronald Reagan’s One Hundred Days,” in Abshire, ed.


Pfiffner, “Iran-Contra,” in Abshire, ed.

Rodman, “Reagan and Lebanon,” in Abshire, ed.


Friday, December 3 – Reagan

Film: Ronald Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime
Monday, December 6 – Bush


Hatheway, “The US-Panama Crisis, in Abshire, ed.


Wednesday, December 8 – Clinton


Pfiffner, “Deficit Reduction in 1993: Clinton’s First Budget,” in Abshire, ed.

Pfiffner, “President Clinton’s Health Care Reform Proposals of 1994,” in Abshire, ed.


Pfiffner, “President Clinton’s Impeachment,” in Abshire, ed.


Appendix 1
Instructions for Final Research Paper

Due Date: Monday, December 13, 4:30 p.m. Papers are to be dropped off ONLY in the Political Science main office, 234 Anderson Hall.

DO NOT place papers under Professor Conley’s door or outside his office at 309 Anderson Hall—they will not be accepted. Papers e-mailed to Professor Conley will not be accepted.

Instructions:

Papers are to be 10-12 pp. (excluding bibliography/references), double-spaced, typed, standard 12 point font. Additional pages with charts/graphs are acceptable and encouraged.

Students are to choose a modern president of their choice (from FDR to George W. Bush) for study. Students should read at least one biography (which will be cited in the paper) on the president and bring to bear outside research from scholarly articles and books, as appropriate. In addition, students are expected to integrate the theories contained in the course readings into the research paper and to cite relevant course material.

The paper must contain a “thesis” statement in the beginning of the essay around which a well-conceived and analytical argument is structured. Students should also include an “organization” statement in the beginning of the paper that explains how the argument will be laid out. Concrete examples are expected throughout the paper.

The focus of the research paper will vary depending upon the president chosen and the student’s particular interest. Students are free to concentrate on a subject of interest to them. Examples may include 1) electoral analysis; 2) presidential decisionmaking; 3) presidential-congressional relations; 4) presidential-media relations; 5) public opinion leadership.

Whatever the particular substantive focus of your paper, you must include a section which addresses the following in your conclusion:

Presidential success or failure. Establish criteria to judge whether or not the president was successful in the particular aspects of the presidency that you analyzed (i.e., success in Congress, crisis situations, military conflict, marshaling public opinion, etc.). What lasting contributions (positive or negative) did the president make to the office?
Helpful Hints:

A. Follow page length. Use standard, 12 point font.

B. You must use *proper* referencing. Do not mix endnotes, footnotes, and parenthetical references. Choose one style and stick to it. Please consult the Random House or Chicago Manuals if you are confused about referencing, etc. Parts of the Chicago Manual of Style are on-line on the Library West web page. If you don’t know how to use the Library website ([http://web.uflib.ufl.edu](http://web.uflib.ufl.edu)) please go to the Reference section at the Library and ask for assistance.

If you use parenthetical referencing and cite an edited volume, you must cite the *author* of the article, not the editor.

For example, let’s say you use an essay in *Reassessing the Reagan Presidency*, edited by Professor Conley; you should cite the author(s) of the particular chapter at the end of the sentence—for example, (Blessing and Skleder, 2003). In the bibliography use the following:


C. Watch spelling and grammar.

_Congress* is always capitalized.

Avoid sentence fragments and incorrect syntax/sentence construction. Here are examples:

The president, while sitting in the Oval Office.
Therefore going to war. The president made the right decision.
The president’s advisory structures, causing him problems in decisionmaking.
And giving up on the tax cut proposal in Congress.

Make sure that your verb/subject and all articles match. Avoid sentences like the following:

While the Bush Administration tried to address unemployment, they ultimately failed.
Although the Kerry campaign ran strong in Florida, they were weak in Georgia.

What’s the problem with these sentences? Bush *Administration* and Kerry *campaign* are singular, not plural. Neither word can be a “they.” The indefinite “it” must be used. Otherwise, the sentence must be re-phrased.
D. All papers must have a thesis statement. This statement should be one or more sentences that presents your basic argument. For example,

In this paper I will argue that John F. Kennedy’s charisma, sharp wit, and youthful appearance enabled him to charm the media. His vibrant personality frequently translated into positive press coverage, particularly in news conferences, boosting his popular approval. However, Kennedy’s favorable news coverage and high job approval did not yield increased support in Congress because of the predominance of the conservative southern Democrats who controlled key elements of the legislative process.

E. All papers must have an organizational statement. This statement should be one or more sentences and follow the thesis statement. For example,

This essay is organized in four sections. First, I discuss theories of presidential success in obtaining positive press coverage and the general determinants of presidential job approval. In the second section I analyze how Kennedy handled press conferences during his first year in office to build public support for his domestic agenda. In the third section I examine voting structures and committee dynamics in Congress to show why, despite strong public approval ratings, Kennedy was unable to move key components of his agenda. In conclusion I assess Kennedy’s relative success along the different dimensions of press relations, public approval, and legislative success on Capitol Hill.

If you want good examples of how to structure your paper, take a look at any mainstream journal in American political science: Presidential Studies Quarterly, Political Research Quarterly, Public Opinion Quarterly, American Journal of Political Science, etc.

F. You must integrate relevant course readings and theories covered in the course into your essay. If you are discussing presidential character or executive politics, for example, make sure you draw on the relevant chapter from Pika. If you are talking about foreign affairs, see the relevant articles in the course syllabus.

G. How many references should you have? Short answer: as many as necessary to build your argument. As a rule:

2-5+ articles/chapters from the course readings.

2-5+ journal articles from publications such as Presidential Studies Quarterly, Congress and the Presidency, etc.

At least one biography of the president you are analyzing.

Several book chapters, if relevant, from edited volumes on the president you have chosen.

Several single-authored books on the president you have chosen.