

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

Fall 2018

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| Instructor: Dr. Shawn Patterson | Time: TR 3:30pm-4:45pm |
| Email: spatterson89@ucla.edu | Place: 362 Royce Hall |

“No man will ever carry out of the Presidency the reputation which carried him into it.” – Thomas Jefferson

“The presidency has made every man who occupied it, no matter how small, bigger than he was; and no matter how big, not big enough for its demands.” – Lyndon B. Johnson

“When you get to be President, there are all those things, the honors, the twenty-one gun salutes, all those things. You have to remember it isn’t for you. It’s for the Presidency.” – Harry S Truman



Objectives: Chief Executive, Commander-in- Chief, Leader of the Free World – this course provides a modern look at the central feature of American government: the Presidency. We will focus particular attention on the “leadership dilemma” – the gap between the expectations that are placed on presidents and the institutions and norms that limit their ability to meet those expectations. What makes a successful president? When are presidents more or less likely to achieve their objectives? How has the pursuit of these objectives and the office at large evolved over time? How do Congress, the courts, and the federal bureaucracies serve as checks on presidential ambitions? In answering these questions we will dive deep into the stylistic and substantive variations observed in different administrations with a particular focus on the tenures of Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump. In the end, we will be able to place this unique political institution into the larger framework of American government.

Course Website:

- <https://moodle2.sscnet.ucla.edu/course/view/18F-POLSCI140B-1>

Office Hours: T 1:00 – 3:00pm, 4258 Bunche Hall

Textbooks: This is a list of books required for this course. Other readings will be posted on the course website.

- Joseph Pika, John Maltese, and Andrew Rudalevige. 2017. *The Politics of The Presidency*, 9th edition.
- Michael Genovese, Todd Belt, and William Lammers. *The Presidency and Domestic Policy: Comparing Leadership Styles, FDR to Obama*, 2nd edition, Routledge, 2014.
- Cass Sustein. 2017. *Impeachment: A Citizen's Guide*. Harvard University Press.

Attendance Policy:

- Attendance is mandatory. I will not take attendance every day, but I will take attendance occasionally. Prescheduled excused absences should be brought to my attention in the first week. Other absences will only be excused for documented medial and family emergencies.

Grading Policy: Attendance & Quizzes (20%), Midterm 1 (25%), Midterm 2 (30%), Final Project (25%).

Final Project: The First 100 Days

- The “First 100 Days” is a common framework by which to evaluate presidential administrations. Your final project is two-fold: First, I will divide the class into groups of 4 to 5 students who will be assigned a previous presidential administration. As a group you are to design a 5–7 minute presentation detailing the first 100 days of the administration, which you will present on December 4, 2018. Second, each student will then write a 5–7 page paper comparing the first 100 days of either the Obama or Trump administrations with that previous presidential administration. While there will likely be significant overlap substantively between group members, these papers are to be written *individually*. We will discuss the specifics of this assignment after the first midterm exam.

Important Due Dates:

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| Midterm #1 | October 28, 2018 |
| Midterm #2 | November 27, 2018 |
| Final Presentations | December 4, 2018 |
| Final Paper | by December 7, 2018 @11:59:59pm |

Academic Honesty:

- Any issues with academic dishonesty will be sent directly to the Dean of Students.
- All work you do for this course is expected to be your own. I encourage you to discuss matters relating to this course with other classmates, friends, family members, and students, but your papers and exam answers must be your own ideas and your own words. If you are having trouble completing an assignment, contact me or the UCLA Undergraduate Writing Center for help before you resort to the use of someone else's words or ideas without proper attribution. If you are unfamiliar with the University's policy on academic dishonesty and associated penalties, see www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu. You are responsible for understanding these standards – not knowing that your actions constitute a violation of these policies is not an excuse.

Classroom Policies:

- Cell phone usage is not allowed in class. Please make sure that they are off or on silent BEFORE coming to class.
- I strongly discourage using laptops to take notes. There is a growing body of research which shows that [laptops hinder your ability to learn](#) and [taking notes by hand is more effective](#). I reserve the right to amend course policy to prohibit laptops if they become a distraction.

Course Outline & Assigned Readings:

Overview – The American Presidency at a Crossroads Sept. 27, 2018

- * Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt. 2016. “Is Donald Trump a Threat to Democracy?” *The New York Times*. December 16, 2016
- * Peter Baker. 2017. “For Trump, A Year of Reinventing the Presidency.” *The New York Times*. August 28, 2017
- * Uri Friedman. 2018. “How’s Democracy Holding Up After Trump’s First Year?” *The Atlantic*. January 13, 2018.
- * *The Wall Street Journal* Editorial Board. “About That Trump Autocracy.” January 1, 2018.
- * Jack Goldsmith. 2017. “Will Donald Trump Destroy the Presidency?” *The Atlantic*. October 2017.

Tools of the Trade – Methods for to Studying an Institution Oct. 2, 2018

- △ Abby Long. 2018. “10 Things to Know About Reading a Regression Table.”
- △ Rose McDermott. “Chapter 2: Aging, Illness, and Addiction.” 2010. in *Presidential Leadership, Illness, and Decision Making*.
- △ Stephen Skowronek. 2008. “Chapter 2: Presidential Leadership in Political Time.” in *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*.
- Michael Genovese, Todd Belt, and William Lammers. 2014. “Chapter 1: Strategies for Assessing Presidents.” in *The Presidency and Domestic Politics*, 2nd edition.
- * Benedict Carey. 2016. “The Psychiatric Question: Is It Fair to Analyze Donald Trump From Afar?” *The New York Times*. August 15, 2016.

Constructing the Office – The Constitutional Presidency Oct. 4, 2018

- *The Constitution of the United States*
- Alexander Hamilton. 1788. *The Federalist No. 69*.
- Sidney M. Milkis and Michael Nelson. “Chapter 2: Creating the Presidency.” 2014. *The American Presidency: Origins and Development 1776-2014*, 7th edition.
- * [The American President: Washington to Monroe](#)

 From Washington to Hoover – The Early Presidency Oct. 9, 2018

- Sidney M. Milkis and Michael Nelson. “Chapter 3: Bringing the Constitutional Presidency to Life.” 2014. *The American Presidency: Origins and Development 1776-2014*, 7th edition.
- * Julia Azari. 2017. “Trump Is A 19th-Century President Facing 21st Century Problems.” *FiveThirtyEight*. August 28, 2017.
- * [The American President: JQ Adams to Polk](#)
- * [The American President: Taylor to Lincoln](#)
- * [The American President: Johnson to Arthur](#)
- * [The American President: Cleveland to Taft](#)
- * [The American President: Wilson to FDR](#)

 From FDR to Trump – The Modern Presidency Oct. 11, 2018

- △ Richard Skinner. 2008. “George W. Bush and the partisan presidency.” *Political Science Quarterly*.
- Sidney Milkis and Michael Nelson. “Chapter 10: The Consolidation of the Modern Presidency.” 2014. *The American Presidency: Origins and Development 1776-2014*, 7th edition.
- Jeffrey Tulis. 2010. “The Two Constitutional Presidencies.” in Michael Nelson (ed.). *The Presidency and the Political System*, 9th edition.
- * Ross Douthat. 2014. “The Making of an Imperial President.” *The New York Times*. November 22, 2014.
- * [The American President: Truman to Ford](#)
- * [The American President: Carter to Bush](#)

 The Road to the White House Pt. 1 – The Primary Oct. 16, 2018

- Cohen et al. 2008. “Chapter 6: Mastering the Postreform System.” in *The Party Decides*.
 - John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. “Chapter 3: Indecision.” in *Identity Crisis*.
 - John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. “Chapter 6: Cracks in the Ceiling.” in *Identity Crisis*.
 - * [Conor Friedersdorf. 2016. “How the Party Decided on Trump.” *The Atlantic*. May 3, 2016.](#)
 - * [Nate Silver. 2016. “The Republican Party May Be Failing.” *FiveThirtyEight.com*. January 25, 2016.](#)
 - * [Martin Cohen et al. 2016. “Party versus Faction in the Reformed Presidential Nominating System.” *PS: Political Science & Politics*.](#)
 - * [John Martin. 2016. “Our Broken Presidential Nominating System”. *The New Republic*. February 24, 2016.](#)
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 The Road to the White House Pt. 2 – The Campaign Oct. 18, 2018

- Lynn Vavreck. 2009. “Chapter 3: Context Matters: A Campaign Typology.” in *The Message Matters*.
- John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. “Chapter 7: The Trump Tax.” in *Identity Crisis*.
- * Lynn Vavreck. 2016. “[Why This Election Was Not About the Issues.](#)” *The New York Times*. November 23, 2016.

 The Road to the White House Pt. 3 – The Election Oct. 23, 2018

- John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. “Chapter 8: What Happened?” in *Identity Crisis*.
- Nelson Polsby et al. 2012. “Chapter 1: Voters.” in *Presidential Elections*, 13th edition.
- * German Lopez. 2017. “[The past year of research has made it very clear: Trump won because of racial resentment.](#)” *Vox*. December 15, 2017.
- * Alan Abramowitz. 2016. “[Will Time for Change Mean Time for Trump?](#)” *PS: Political Science and Politics*.
- * Lynn Vavreck. 2017. “[The Ways That the 2016 Election Was Perfectly Normal.](#)” *The New York Times*. May 1, 2017.

 Midterm # 1 – Bring a Scantron! Oct. 28, 2018

Pomp & Circumstance – The Norms and Traditions of the Presidency Oct. 30, 2018

- △ Julia Azari and Jennifer Smith. 2012. “[Unwritten Rules: Informal Institutions in Established Democracies.](#)” *Perspectives on Politics*.
- * Tom McCarthy. 2018. “[Donald Trump and the erosion of democratic norms in America.](#)” *The Guardian*. June 2, 2018.
- * George Condon. 2013. “[President Obama: Mourner-in-Chief.](#)” *The Atlantic*. May 22, 2013.
- * Emily Bazelon. 2017. “[How Do We Contend With Trump’s Defiance of ‘Norms’?](#)” *The New York Times Magazine*. July 11, 2017.
- * Brendan Nyhan. 2017. “[Norms Matter.](#)” *Politico*. September/October 2017.

 Uphold & Defend – The President & the Courts Nov. 1, 2018

- *U.S. v. Nixon* Case Summary (1974)
- Joseph Pika, John Maltese, and Andrew Rudalevige. 2014. “Chapter 7: Judicial Politics.” in *The Politics of The Presidency*, 9th edition.

- Michael Genovese, Todd Belt, and William Lammers. 2014. “Chapter 2: Franklin D. Roosevelt: Artful Leadership during Hard Times.” in *The Presidency and Domestic Politics*, 2nd edition.
- * Carl Hulse. 2018. “[Political Polarization Takes Hold of the Supreme Court.](#)” *The New York Times*. July 5, 2018.

Advise & Consent – The President & CongressNov. 6, 2018

- Joseph Pika, John Maltese, and Andrew Rudalevige. 2014. “Chapter 5: Legislative Politics.” in *The Politics of The Presidency*, 9th edition.
- Gary Jacobson and Jamie Carson. 2016. “Chapter 6: National Politics and Congressional Elections.” in *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, pg. 179 – 205.
- * Seth Masket. 2018. “[A House forecast holds good news for Democrats.](#)” *Vox*. February 12, 2018.

Faithful Execution – The President & the Bureaucracy & Unitary ActionNov. 8, 2018

- David Lewis and Terry Moe. 2010. “Chapter 13: The Presidency and the Bureaucracy,” in Nelson (ed.), *The Presidency and the Political System*, 9th edition.
- Joseph Pika, John Maltese, and Andrew Rudalevige. 2014. “Chapter 6: Executive Politics.” in *The Politics of The Presidency*, 9th edition.
- Cass Sustein. 2017. “The Unitary Executive Again” in *Impeachment: A Citizen’s Guide*, pg. 104 – 106.
- * Ramesh Ponnuru. 2018. “[Battle Lines on Confrimations Are Hardening.](#)” *Bloomberg*. May 11, 2018.
- * Alvin Chang. 2017. “[Partisanship of Cabinet confirmations is rising. But Trump’s picks are different.](#)” *Vox*. February 7, 2017.

The Fourth Estate – The President & the PublicNov. 13, 2018

- Samuel Kernell. 2006. “Chapter 4: The Growth of Going Public.” *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*, 4th edition.
- James Stimson. 2004. “Chapter 5: Between the Campaigns.” *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*.
- Brandice Canes-Wrone and James Kelly. 2013. “[The Obama Presidency, Public Position-Taking, and Mass Opinion.](#)” *Polity*.
- * Gary Jacobson. 2017. “[Donald Trump, the Public, and Congress: The First 7 Months.](#)” *The Forum*.
- * Jack Shafer. 2017. “[Who’s Winning Trump’s War With the Press? Assessing Year One.](#)” *Politico*. December 27, 2017.
- * Kelsey Sutton. 2016. “[Gallup poll: Public confidence in media falls to all-time low.](#)” *Politico*. September 14, 2016.
- * John Sides. 2016. “[Is the media biased toward Clinton or Trump? Here is some actual hard data.](#)” *The Washington Post*. September 20, 2016.

A Chicken in Every Pot – The President & Domestic Policy Nov. 15, 2018

- Michael Genovese, Todd Belt, and William Lammers. 2014. “Chapter 3: Lyndon B. Johnson: Legislative Leadership and a Credibility Gap.” in *The Presidency and Domestic Politics*, 2nd edition.
 - Michael Genovese, Todd Belt, and William Lammers. 2014. “Chapter 8: Richard Nixon: An Activist with an Enemies List.” in *The Presidency and Domestic Politics*, 2nd edition.
 - Michael Genovese, Todd Belt, and William Lammers. 2014. “Chapter 9: Barack Obama: A Negotiator without a Partner.” in *The Presidency and Domestic Politics*, 2nd edition.
 - * Andrew Prokop. 2014. “[How Barack Obama is expanding presidential power and what it means for the future.](#)” *Vox*. September 14, 2014.
 - * Glenn Greenwald. 2016. “[Trump will have vast powers. He can thank Democrats for them.](#)” *Washington Post*, November 11, 2016.
 - * Michael Grunwald. 2016. “[The Nation He Built.](#)” *Politico*. January/February 2016.
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Commander-in-Chief – The President & Foreign Policy Nov. 20, 2018

- * *Note: I won't take attendance on this day if you're planning on a long vacation, however, I will be lecturing and you are **responsible** for the content.*
 - △ William Howell and Jon Rogowski. 2013. “[War, the Presidency, and Legislative Voting Behavior.](#)” *American Journal of Political Science*.
 - △ Matthew Baum and Tim Groeling. 2010. “[Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality.](#)” *International Organization*.
 - Joseph Pika, John Maltese, and Andrew Rudalevige. 2014. “Chapter 10: The Politics of National Security Policy.” in *The Politics of The Presidency*, 9th edition.
 - * Jeremy Herb. 2017. “[Could Congress stop Trump from bombing North Korea?](#)” *CNN*. August 10, 2017.
 - * Richard Wike et al. 2017. “[U.S. Image Suffers as Publics Around World Question Trump's Leadership.](#)” *Pew Research Center*. Pages 1, 2, & 3. June 26, 2017.
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No Class – Thanksgiving Break Nov. 22, 2018

When It Hits the Fan – Scandals, Impeachment, and Reputation Nov. 27, 2018

- △ Charles Warren. 1918. “[What Is Giving Aid and Comfort to the Enemy?](#)” *The Yale Law Journal*.
 - *Note: Just **skim** Warren (1918) for the list of treasonable offenses.*
- Cass Sustein. 2017. *A Citizen's Guide to Impeachment*. Chapters 4; 6–9.

Midterm # 2 – Bring a Scantron!Nov. 29, 2018

Student Presentations – The First 100 DaysDec. 4, 2018

The Presidency Reconsidered Dec. 6, 2018

△ Juan Linz. 1990. “The Perils of Presidentialism.” *Journal of Democracy*.

- Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. “Chapter 9: Saving Democracy” in *How Democracies Die*.
 - John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. “Chapter 9: The Soul of the Nation.” in *Identity Crisis*.
 - * *The West Wing*. “The Wake Up Call.”
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Final Papers Due on Course Website11:59:59pm Dec. 7, 2018

How to Handle the Readings

- Chapters from other textbooks are uploaded on the course website. Articles from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* (both behind paywalls) have also been posted. The remaining articles are linked above. If the links are broken, please let me know, but they can all be found through a quick [Google](#). Similar for academic articles – they can all be found on Google Scholar. Reminder, you need to either be using a UCLA internet source or a [VPN](#) to access academic journals.
- There are three types of readings listed in the syllabus. I would recommend a different reading strategies for each:
 - △ These readings come from political science academic research. These are going to be a little more advanced than most readings you’ve encountered. You are not responsible for knowing every detail about these pieces – I want you to be able to summarize these articles in a very general sense and to think about how they relate to the larger phenomenon we’re discussing. We will go through an example of this in Lecture 2. If you can answer the following questions, you’ve covered that reading in sufficient detail:
 1. What is the question or puzzle interesting the author(s)?
 2. How do they attempt to answer that question?
 3. What data do they use to address that question?
 4. What do they conclude?
 - These are general textbook readings. You should be familiar with these types of readings. These are the readings where I will draw a lot of the class structure (not to mention exam questions).
 - * These are contextual and ‘current’ events related articles. These are to provide you with opportunities to think about the course material and apply it to world around us. If you *have* to push some readings until after class, these should be your first choices. That said, they are still fair game – they will provide you with the case studies and examples necessary for papers and exams.

Midterm Previews

- There will be two close-book midterm exams (25% and 30%, respectively). They will both be *cumulative* to that point in the course. However, the second exam will focus more heavily on the material between the first exam. These exams will test your knowledge of the course material and your ability to apply those concepts to current events. They will consist of a combination of multiple-choice, fill-in-the-blank, short answers, and/or brief essays.
 - Questions to Help You Study
 1. What is the authors' main hypothesis?
 2. How do they justify that hypothesis?
 3. What approach do they use to test that hypothesis?
 4. What are the key results of that approach?
 5. How does that relate or conflict with other readings?
 - I will attempt to include review questions at the end of each lecture to help you get a feel for the types of questions I like to ask.
 - There will NOT be a separate study guide for either exams.
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Student Resources

- UCLA Consoling and Psychological Services
 - 24/7 Crisis Counseling: (310) 825-0768
 - [UCLA CAPS Services](#)
- UCLA Undergraduate Writing Center
 - Appointment Scheduling: (310) 206-1320
 - [UCLA Writing Center](#)
- UCSB Presidency Project
 - [The Presidency Project](#) has data on presidential approval, campaigns, States of the Union, etc.
- Best Presidential Biographies
 - Stephen Floyd's Blog on [Best Presidential Biographies](#).
 - *The Washington Post's* [Best Presidential Biographies](#).

The nation's founders originally intended the presidency to be a narrowly restricted institution. The Constitution succinctly defines presidential functions, powers, and responsibilities. The president's chief duty is to make sure that the laws are faithfully executed, and this duty is performed through an elaborate system of executive agencies that includes cabinet-level departments. Presidents appoint all cabinet heads and most other high-ranking officials of the executive branch of the federal government. The American Presidency Project. 13,898 likes · 5 talking about this. The American Presidency Project (americanpresidency.org), was established in 1999. Browse the history of presidential farewell addresses at the American Presidency Project: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/farewell_addresses.php. Presidential Farewell Addresses - The American Presidency Project. Presidential Farewell Addresses - The American Presidency Project. The American Presidency Project, non-profit and non-partisan, is the source of presidential documents on the internet. We are hosted at the University of California, Santa Barbara. 139,123 Presidential and Non-Presidential Records. It's great to have you visiting the American Presidency Project! Did you know we get no operating funds from UCSB? Please make a tax-deductible donation so we can continue to provide this resource.