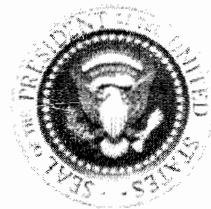


PRG REPORT



Newsletter of the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association

Volume XXIV, Number 1

Fall 2001



Is the Honeymoon Over?

The American People and President Bush

by Richard A. Brody

During the early months of presidents' first terms public assessments of their "job performance" are formed without the benefit of a great deal of hard information. News on a fledgling administration is dominated by stories about organizing the White House and the executive branch, about the cast of characters,

about the executive branch's internal struggle over controlling resources, and about the setting of priorities among the issues that comprise the president's policy agenda. The public gets little information about the success or failure of the president's program.

Later on, in developing its opinion, the public can and will make use of news reports describing and evaluating the effectiveness of the president's agenda and the results of presidential policy initiatives. But such news is scarce in the initial weeks after a new president has taken office.

This article first appeared in the July 30 issue of The Polling Report (www.pollingreport.com). It is followed by an addendum updating public approval of President Bush since the events of September 11.

From the perspective of citizens trying to judge whether the president is doing well or badly, news typical of the early term is full of uncertainty and ambiguity. In consequence, early in a presidency the public's assessment is constructed on a foundation of
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CONGRATULATIONS PRG AWARDS 2001 RECIPIENTS:

NEUSTADT AWARD FOR BEST BOOK

LAWRENCE R. JACOBS,
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
AND
ROBERT Y. SHAPIRO,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ROCKMAN AWARD FOR BEST PAPER

MATTHEW A. BAUM, UCLA

ROURKE AWARD FOR BEST CONVENTION

PAPER BY A GRADUATE STUDENT

MATTHEW ESHBAUGH-SOHA,
TEXAS A & M UNIVERSITY

(GO TO PAGE 3 FOR AWARD CITATIONS)

Liquid Origins of the Presidency Research Group

by Fred I. Greenstein

At some point in the 1970s when I resolved to apply my general interest in personality and politics to the presidency, I was distressed to find that it was becoming hard to get panels accepted on the APSA program and that there seemed to be a bias toward quantitative methodologies that only imperfectly leant themselves to presidency studies. At the same time the Association was endlessly hospitable to so called associated activities that were not part of the official pro-

gram, but were listed on it and held in the convention hotel. One day in the late 1970s, I was immersed in my motel pool on a torrid summer night with another presidency specialist (Lester Seligman, of the University of Illinois). Lester complained about the difficulty of getting panels accepted and I suggested that we co-sponsor a new associated group, calling it the Presidency Research Group. We did just that, held an organizational meeting, and the group was in business. Eventually, PRG became part of the formal structure of the APSA.

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Presidency Research Group Mission Statement

The Presidency Research Group (PRG) is the premier association of scholars devoted to the study of the presidency and executives. To that end, it welcomes diverse theoretical perspectives, analytical techniques, and data sources as they contribute to the advancement of scholarship and teaching. It also invites the contributions and perspectives of other disciplines. The PRG values the establishment and enhancement of non-partisan links between scholarship, the real world of presidential and executive

politics, and public policy.

To advance these goals, the PRG organizes presidency-related panels and conferences. It has also implemented such programs as: the White House 2001 Project, where presidency scholars prepared papers and publications on the functioning of key White House offices to both facilitate presidential transitions for new administrations and to advance scholarship on transitions; the Presidency Research Fellowship pro-

gram, to provide support for scholars in need of a workplace in Washington, D. C.; a junior faculty mentoring program, which has successfully paired new faculty with more senior presidency scholars to assist in the former's professional development; enhancement of research opportunities at presidential libraries and the National Archives; annual presentation of awards to recognize outstanding scholarship; and semi-annual publication of its newsletter, the PRG REPORT, which covers recent scholarship, teaching strategies, and PRG news.

The PRG Fellowship Program Needs your Donation

The Presidency Research Group has been a leader among organized sections in contributing to the APSA Centennial Campaign. Please help maintain this tradition through a contribution to the PRG Fellowship Project — even the smallest contributions are significant.

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

E-mail _____

Pledge Amount (checks payable to: PRG Fellowship/APSA) \$25 _____ Other \$ _____

In Honor of _____ // In Memory of _____ :

Send certificate to: _____

The Presidency Research Group is sponsoring a campaign to endow fellowships supporting research on the American presidency. The fellowships will fund the work of people whose scholarly research brings them to the Washington area to examine the relationships, institutions, and environment surrounding the President. Whether the scholar comes to Washington for archival work, library research, or interviews with key officials, the fellowships will help provide a place where people are supported as they conduct their work. Depending upon their research needs and the income from the endowment raised by the Presidency Research Group, the fellowships will support a scholar's stay from one to three months at the Centennial Center and in some cases, travel.

Mail to: American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

Presidency Research Groups Awards 2001

Richard E. Neustadt Award for the Best Book on the U.S. Presidency Published in 2000

Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)

Professors Jacobs and Shapiro address perhaps the most fundamental normative question for political science: the nature of democratic governance or, more precisely, the relations among public opinion, the mass media, and political rhetoric. They explicitly attack the stereotypical paradigm in the literature that politicians pander, or are enslaved by the polls to cater to every whim of the American people for fear of electoral reprisals. The problem, Jacobs and Shapiro explain, is that politicians face a political trade-off, of having to curry favor with a centrist public or acquiesce to the extreme demands of issue publics, pressure groups, and ideological partisans. The forces of polar-

ization are gaining the upper hand to the point where politicians must resort to what Jacobs and Shapiro call "crafted talk" to try to shape public opinion in line with leaders' policy agenda.

One might think that the President enjoyed an advantage in getting his message through, but the relationship between the message he seeks to convey, its transmittal by the mass media, and its impact on the public is not unidirectional or simplistic, but nuanced and complex. To prove their argument empirically, Professor Jacobs and Shapiro give a highly detailed account of two mega cases, the failed Clinton health care reform package of 1993-94 and the ill-fated Newt Gingrich Revolution of 1995.

This book may be characterized as an insider and outsider study, based on polling, content analysis, journalistic ac-

counts, and published works but also interviews with the congressional staff involved in those policy debates. It is revisionist scholarship at its very best, one that will endure the test of time. Any scholar or practitioner in presidency studies, political rhetoric and mass communications, or public policy who desires to read cutting edge research, both empirical and normative, should go first to *Politicians Don't Pander*.

Award Committee

Raymond Tatalovich, chair
Loyola University – Chicago
David Lewis
The College of William and Mary
Janet M. Martin
Bowdoin College
Donald Robinson
Smith College
Robert J. Spitzer
SUNY – Cortland

Founder's Award honoring Bert Rockman for Best Paper on the Presidency presented at the 2000 APSA Annual Meeting

Matthew A. Baum, "Who Rallies? The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon," Department of Political Science, UCLA

The Baum paper expands and refines our understanding of the "rally-round-the-flag" effect. Most of the existing research has treated this phenomenon as monolithic and homogeneous (i.e., was there a rally or not?), without exploring whether different groups

respond in different ways to presidential adventurism in foreign affairs. Baum addresses this question by disaggregating public opinion into its constituent elements, successfully bridging the gap between individual and aggregate level analysis. His paper demonstrates persuasively and with great agility that certain segments of the population under certain circumstances are, in fact, more responsive than others in handing presidents these short-term spikes

in approval ratings following sudden uses of military force. His conclusions are striking and counter-intuitive, and will, undoubtedly, provoke further exploration, as he has now thrown open the door to the next generation of questions in this field in a fresh and exciting fashion.

Baum builds upon and integrates two existing models of public opinion change to

(Continued on page 4)

Founder's Award honoring Francis Rourke for the Best Convention Paper on the Presidency by a Graduate Student Delivered in 2000-2001.

Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, "Anticipating Agendas: Dynamics of Presidential Policy," Texas A&M University, presented at the 2001 annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association

Eschbaugh-Soha's paper is an innovative and well-written contribution to a growing literature that examines the presidents' role in the agenda-setting stages of the legislative process. In this paper, he addresses interesting and important questions that consider the conditions under which presidents are likely to support different types of bills for passage.

Eshbaugh-Sosa classifies policies that presidents might support according to their importance and the duration of their impact. He then develops a

theory of the conditions under which bills of each type are likely to be supported by presidents. He finds that presidents are more likely to take positions on more significant types of policies (long-term, important policies) when conditions are more favorable to their chances of success. Larger and more liberal Democratic majorities, smaller budget deficits, higher levels of public approval, and the presence of a presidential honeymoon all make it more likely presidents will support the passage of more major policy proposals.

Award Committee

Cary Covington, chair
University of Iowa
Lydia Andrade
University of the Incarnate Word
David Cohen
University of Akron

DEADLINES FOR 2002 PRG AWARDS...

*BOOK:
APRIL 1, 2002*

*PAPER
APRIL 1, 2002*

*GRADUATE
STUDENT
PAPER
JUNE 1, 2002*

*SEE PAGE 6
FOR DETAILS
ON HOW TO
APPLY*

(Continued — Founder's Award honoring Bert Rockman for Best Paper on the Presidency presented at the 2000 APSA Annual Meeting)

(Continued from page 3)

generate intriguing hypotheses about who will rally and under what circumstances. First, he applies Kernell and Hibbs' partisan threshold model to determine whether differences in the strength of partisan preferences affect opinion change when presidents engage in unexpected military actions. Then, he uses Zaller's informational model to test whether different levels of political awareness and receptivity to new political information contribute to varied outcomes in presidential approval.

By combining elements from both models and through sound methodological testing, his results provide rich, new, and more detailed insights than ever before into the nature of the rally effect. The practical implications for this work are significant, and potentially quite helpful to any poll-driven president who is willing to consider scholarly research in shaping his foreign policy tactics to gain maximum domestic political advantage. For the rest of us, the impact of this work is equally dramatic, as committee mem-

bers unanimously agreed that "it will change the way we discuss the rally effect in our classes." That is high praise for a very worthy paper.

Award Committee

Nancy Kassop, chair
SUNY - New Paltz
Rebecca Dean
University of Texas - Arlington
Stephen Borrelli
University of Alabama
Jeff Cohen, ex officio
Fordham University

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RESEARCH GROUP

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The PRG Report serves the scholarly community in presidential and executive politics. The editor of the Report welcomes your submissions and ideas.

PRG Report

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PRG Governing Council

(table excludes officers, who are listed to the left)

PRG Board Member	Year Elected	Year Term Ends
Joel Aberbach	1999	2002
Lydia Andrade	2001	2004
MaryAnne Borrelli	2000	2003
Meena Bose	1999	2002
James Campbell	2001	2004
Jeffrey Cohen	2001	2004
Victoria Farrar-Myers	2001	2004
Lori Cox Han	1999	2002
John Hart	2000	2003
Diane Heith	2000	2003
Karen Hult, <i>ex officio</i>	2001	
Nancy Kassop	2001	2004
Martha Kumar, <i>ex officio</i>	1999	
Janet Martin	2000	2003
Daniel Ponder	1999	2002
Ray Tatalovich	1999	2002
Kathryn Dunn Tenpas	2000	2003
Andrew Barrett, <i>graduate student</i>	1999	2002

PRG Awards Committees, 2001 - 2002

Richard E. Neustadt Award for Best Book on the Presidency Published in 2001 (i.e. with a 2001 copyright). To be nominated for this award, please make sure your publisher (or you) send three copies to each of the members of the Neustadt Committee by the submission deadline of April 1, 2002.

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Founder's Award honoring Stephen Wayne for the Best Convention Paper on the Presidency delivered at the 2001 APSA Annual Meeting. Copies of the 2001 APSA papers to be considered for this award should be sent to the members of the committee by April 1, 2002.

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Founder's Award honoring Lester Seligman for the Best Paper Delivered by a Graduate Student in 2001-2002. Papers given at the APSA annual meeting or any of the regional meetings in the 2001-2002 academic year are eligible. The deadline for submission is June 1, 2002. Nominations by panel chairs, discussants, and even proud advisors are strongly encouraged!

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PRG Minutes

Presidency Research Group Business Meeting: September 1, 2001, San Francisco, California

Robert Spitzer, incoming President of the Presidency Research Group (PRG) opened the business meeting at 12:34. He asked members to volunteer for committee assignments to the Neustadt Book Award, and two Best Paper Awards committees. He further reminded members to be sure they were registered with PRGNET@UNC.EDU.

Nancy Kassop, Program Chair for the 2002 annual meeting, was called upon to discuss her thoughts on the upcoming Program. She thanked and congratulated Jeff Cohen for his excellent work in putting together the 2001 panels, and called for participation at the 2002 meeting. All proposals must be submitted online to APSA. The deadline for submissions is December 15, 2001. Notification of acceptance is scheduled for February 15, 2002.

Next, Nancy Kassop presented the Founders Award (best paper at the 2000 meeting), named this year in honor of Bert Rockman. The recipient of this award is Matthew Baum, for his paper entitled: "Who Rallies?: The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomena".

Raymond Tatalovich presented the Richard E. Neustadt Award for the Best Book on the U.S. Presidency published in 2000. The recipients were Lawrence J. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro for their book, Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness (University of Chicago Press).

Cary Covington presented the Founders Award (best paper delivered in 2000-01 by a graduate student), named this year in honor of Frances Rourke. The recipient of this year's award is Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, for his paper entitled: "Anticipating Agendas: Dynamics of Presidential Policy".

Robert Spitzer then presented outgoing PRG President, Karen Hult, with a "Thank You" gift on behalf of the entire PRG. Robert spoke glowingly of Karen's contributions to the PRG and the membership joined in with a rousing and much deserved round of applause.

Michael Genovese, outgoing Secretary/Treasurer, reported that the PRG was in fine financial shape, with \$4,559.59 (not including expenses for the 2001 meeting) in the treasury. Membership was at 381.

Editor of the PRG Newsletter, Thomas Langston encouraged scholars to submit short articles and research notes to the Newsletter.

Diane Heith asked members to submit proposals for the upcoming Western Political Science Association meeting in March of 2002 to be held in Long Beach, California. Members were also encouraged to submit proposals to the Midwest Political Science Association meeting.

Dan Ponder reported on the Presidency Syllabus Project. He reminded members that they should send syllabi of courses on the Presidency and related topics to him, and once collected, these would be disseminated (probably on the PRG web site). He asked for submissions to dponder@uccs.edu.

Martha Kumar discussed the PRG's new Mentoring Program. This program is in its early stages and she is trying to match young scholars with more senior PRG members in an effort to assist young scholars in their efforts to become active members of the discipline. She then reported that the Fellowship Program (part of APSA's Centennial Campaign) had a goal of \$50,000. We have reached that goal. Fellowships will begin in 2003. But we still need to supplement this fund, and Martha has asked PRG members to consider donating to this fund. Finally, Martha reported on the White House 2001 project. She announced that the project has gained a great deal of attention and has been used extensively by the new administration. Terry Sullivan reported on the online use of nomination forms. The report will be published in book form by Texas A&M Press.

Elections of new PRG officers followed. The PRG Board, at its breakfast meeting, voted for a slate of nominations to the Board. This slate (Lydia Andrade, James Campbell, Jeffrey Cohen, Victoria Farrar-Myers [for a second term] and Nancy Kassop), was presented to the membership. The Board also nominated Bruce Miroff for Secretary/Treasurer and Michael Genovese for Vice President. Dangling chads notwithstanding, all were elected by acclamation.

There being no new business, President Spitzer called for, received and rushed through, a motion to adjourn. The meeting ended at 1:16.

Respectfully Submitted by:
Michael A. Genovese,
Secretary/Treasurer, PRG

Announcements — Announcements — Announcements

White House Studies *Journal is In Print*

Presidency scholars are asked to take notice of a new journal in their field...

WHITE HOUSE STUDIES
www.whitehousestudies.com

White House Studies is a quarterly journal of scholarship and commentary on the presidents, first ladies, and the historic events and rooms of the White House. The journal also publishes a news and events section, book reviews, profiles of presidents and first ladies, and information and photographs of the presidential libraries, foundations, homes, and other historic presidential sites.

The editorial board of *White House Studies* features prominent scholars of the presidency, U.S. history, communications, and media studies as well as librarians, public figures, and heads of presidential sites. The editorial team includes:

Editor

Robert P. Watson, Florida Atlantic University
(formerly of University of Hawaii, Hilo)

Associate Editors

Colton C. Campbell, Florida International University
Anthony J. Eksterowicz, James Madison University
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George C. Edwards III, Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Jordan Chair at Texas A&M University, edits *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. He can be contacted via e-mail at: gedwards@tamu.edu, via phone at: (979) 845-9764, or mail: Texas A&M University, Department of Political Science, College Station, Texas 77843-4348.

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<http://www.workingpapers.org>

Book Review Editor

Colton C. Campbell, Florida International University

The journal is accepting manuscripts of scholarship and shorter commentary essays and research notes. Those interested in publishing in WHS should submit three copies of their manuscript to the editor.

The subscription price is \$35 for individuals and \$75 for institutions.

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Announcement/Essay: Electing the First Woman President of the United States A Forum at the Truman Library

by Lori Cox Han

Is America ready for a woman president? Ever since Geraldine Ferraro's historic nomination as the Democratic vice presidential nominee in 1984, political observers have debated the timing of the next appearance by a woman on a major party ticket in a presidential race. Elizabeth Dole's brief foray into the Republican primary race during the 2000 presidential election garnered much attention. And in the past decade, women politicians have made tremendous gains at both the state and national level. Yet the important question remains—when will America elect its first woman president? Following the gains of women politicians during the 2000 election, more women now serve in Congress than ever before (13 women in the United States Senate, and 59 women in the House of Representatives). The number of women who serve in state legislative office has also increased as has their role as leaders in state legislatures, but the role of women in executive positions within government has proved more elusive. There are only five women governors and there have only been 19 in the nation's history. Why the scarcity of women in executive positions? This is an important question to consider, since four of the last five presidents previously served as state governors.

According to a February 2001 poll conducted by the White House Project, a non-profit and non-partisan public awareness campaign to enhance the political viability of women candidates, 85 percent of more than 45,000 respondents indicated that they are willing to

vote for a woman as president. The online survey, which was conducted on AOL, also reported that 15.5 percent of the respondents thought that a woman would be elected president by 2004 while 30.2 percent thought that it would happen by 2008. An additional 19 percent predicted that America would see its first woman president by 2012. The survey indicated that potential candidates include U.S. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-NY), talk show host Oprah Winfrey, EPA Head Christine Todd Whitman, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, and U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-NY). Founded in 1998, the goal of the White House Project is to change the political climate so that women can more successfully enter American political life at all levels of government, including the U.S. presidency.

While talk within political circles of a woman candidate for the U.S. presidency has been around for more than three decades, political scientists have yet to adequately address the issue. The type of campaign environment that a female presidential candidate will face in the primaries and general election, as well as leadership challenges once elected, are scholarly topics that need to be considered. Future research on this topic will build from the work done on a variety of topics, including presidential elections, presidential leadership, women's political participation, electoral and party politics, voting behavior, campaign finance, and media and politics, just to name a few. There are numerous questions for scholars to consider about electing the first woman president, and the future research agenda on this topic will encompass a variety of methodologies across not only sub-fields within political science, but several academic disciplines as well.

In an attempt to begin a substan-

tive discussion on this important and timely topic, a public forum will be held Sunday, March 3 and Monday, March 4, 2002, titled "Madam President: Contemplating the First Female Presidency." The forum will be hosted by the Harry S. Truman Library Institute and White House Studies, a new journal devoted to the study of presidents, first ladies, and the White House. The event will be held at the University of Missouri, Kansas City campus and the Truman Presidential Museum and Library in Independence, Missouri. The co-conveners of the forum are Robert P. Watson, editor of White House Studies and Associate Professor of Political Science at Florida Atlantic University (formerly the University of Hawaii at Hilo), and Ann Gordon, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Ohio University.

Participants for the two-day event will include notable women politicians and journalists, as well as scholars from across the country who represent a variety of academic interests related to this topic. On the evening of March 3, the keynote address will be delivered by former U.S. Representative Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY), the first woman nominated on a major party ticket for the office of vice president. The following morning, March 4, the featured speaker will be prominent Washington journalist Eleanor Clift, contributing editor for *Newsweek* and weekly panelist on "The McLaughlin Group." She is widely recognized as one of the country's most accurate political predictors, and is the co-author (with Tom Brazaitis) of *Madam President*, published by Scribner in 2000, which addresses the is-

(Continued on page 10)

(Continued from page 9)

sue of when a woman will be elected president. A keynote luncheon address will also be delivered on March 4 by former U. S. Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), a prominent figure in American politics for more than three decades who was also often considered a potential presidential candidate during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Panels at the two-day event will cover a wide variety of issues related to electing the first woman president. The first panel will follow Ferraro's keynote address the evening of Sunday, March 3, and will include a discussion by Ferraro, Clift, and Schroeder addressing the issue of the current pool of prospective female candidates for president. Other major issues to be addressed during the second day of the forum include: governing in the White House from a woman's perspective; life on the presidential campaign trail for a woman candidate; and how both the news media and voters will react to a serious female contender for the White House. The participants on these panels will include not only presidency scholars, but also scholars representing other subfields within Political Science, most notably Women and Politics, as well as other disciplines.

Tentative Panel Topics and Participants

The Campaign, with panelists Diane Bystrom, Iowa State University; Anne Costain, University of Colorado; and Lori Cox Han, Austin College.

The Media and Voters, with panelists Diane Heith, St. John's University; Carole Kennedy, San Diego State University; and Marie Wilson, President of The White House Project and the Ms. Foundation and founder of the "Take your daughter to work"

program.

Governing, with panelists Michael Genovese, Loyola Marymount University; Karen Hult, Virginia Tech University; and Karen O'Connor, American University.

Issues, with the panelists John Davis, National Defense University, Melissa Haussman, Suffolk University, and Max Skidmore, University Missouri, Kansas City.

According to Prof. Watson, the eventual election of a woman president will bring with it changes in media coverage of the office, other opportunities for women in public life, new scholarship on the presidency, and a rethinking of the notion of gender and leadership. "The election of a woman president will shatter perhaps the last and most profound glass ceiling and will be the political story of its time," he said.

Professor Gordon believes that this forum will provide an important starting point to a more broadly defined scholarly discussion among not only presidency scholars, but also women and politics scholars as well. Accordingly, the notion of gender and its role in the political process will be an important topic for discussion, and may begin to address the question of why women have been elected to so few executive positions in government. "The answer may be in differing expectations for executives and legislators. The traits that voters look for in a governor or president include 'toughness and executive ability.' This puts women at a disadvantage due to gender stereotypes, which associate such traits with men," Gordon said.

In addition to the forum, many of the participants are collabo-

rating on an edited collection of essays to be titled "Anticipating Madam President: The First Female Presidency." The book will be co-edited by Watson and Gordon and will be published by Lynne Reiner Publishers, with an expected publication date in early 2003. Also, an upcoming edition of White House Studies will be devoted to this topic (Volume 1, Number 3), which is due out later this year.

A web page has also been set up for the forum, which will provide information on the specifics of the event as well as links to other sites related to women in politics. The anticipated launch date for the site is December 1, 2001, and the URL address is <http://www.ohiou.edu/pols/faculty/madam-president.html>.

Scholars are especially invited to attend the forum. For further information on tickets, reservations, or the program, please contact the Madam President Forum co-conveners: Robert P. Watson, White House Studies, P.O. Box 756, Boca Raton, FL 33429-0756, Phone: 561-347-6694, Fax: 561-447-4775, E-mail: claudiapwatson@cs.com; or Ann Gordon, Department of Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701, Phone: 740-593-3992, Fax: 740-593-0394, E-mail: gordon@oak.cats.ohiou.edu.

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Research Notes on Executive Politics

"Staying Private" in the Administrative Presidency

by Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha

A president's public statements are a potential source of influence over policy. Presidents use signals to inform members of the bureaucracy that they (1) have preferences for a particular policy, and (2) are committed to those preferences. If presidents discuss a policy area frequently in their public statements, they will have more influence over that policy's outputs. However, signaling is only effective

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when presidents can publicly express their preferences (Eshbaugh-Soha 2001). If presidents do not publicly express their preferences on a policy issue, they may still influence policy through other means. Indeed, the nature of certain policy issues encourages a presidential strategy that Cary Covington (1987) coined, "staying private."

Covington (1987, 741-3) argued that presidents have several incentives to avoid taking public positions on congressional roll-call votes. Presidents might increase their chances for success on roll-call votes if they remain silent and do not mobilize the opposition. Additionally, silence

avoids the appearance of defeat if the president's preferences are not realized. Silence also allows presidents greater bargaining room, and avoids the appearance of contradiction in light of a deal on legislation.

Another reason to stay private concerns the nature of a policy issue. Some policy areas are valence issues, to which presidents cannot be publicly opposed. Therefore, presidents stay private when their true preferences contradict the dominant position on a valence issue. Presidents can stay private not only in the legislative arena, as Covington (1987) demonstrates, but also as part of an administrative strategy, as I will show.

Ronald Reagan is an ideal president with which to demonstrate a staying private strategy in the federal bureaucracy. Reagan is one president who scholars agree had a unique ability to communicate publicly his policy positions (see Edwards and Eshbaugh-Soha 2000). Reagan made numerous addresses on national television to urge voters to write their legislators and encourage them to vote for his policies. Indeed, Reagan's mass appeals on his budget and tax plans are excellent descriptive examples of what Kernell (1997) calls "going public." Why would Reagan not go public on all issues if it were an effective strategy on some policies early in his tenure? One reason concerns the valence nature of some policy issues.

Valence issues are those in which only one side of the debate is legitimate or justifiable (see Baumgartner and Jones 1993, 150). Although solutions to a valence problem may be debated, the basic premise that the issue is a problem and must be addressed is agreed upon almost unanimously.

Clean air policy is a valence issue because, at face value, everyone values clean air. When air pollution is a problem, policy-makers must reduce it. Expounding on the virtues of dirty air is unlikely to endear one to public opinion. If a president's policy preferences were perceived to contradict the value of clean air, then he would be unlikely to express that position publicly. In other words, presidents who go against the book on clean air are unlikely to influence the bureaucracy effectively through signals. Therefore, presidents must use other means to affect clean air policy, assuming that they have a desire to do so.

Presidents who oppose stricter regulation of air quality are unlikely to use a public strategy to realize their policy goals. If they speak publicly at all, they are likely to do so symbolically, without substantive rhetoric and promise for action. Indeed, scholars consider Reagan to be pro-industry and against regulation of air pollution (Vig and Kraft 2000) despite regular claims in his speeches that he was the first environmental governor of California. Ronald Reagan also asked

Congress for a "responsible" clean air bill on at least two occasions during his first term, even though his administration forestalled debate on significant clean air legislation (Cohen 1995). Finally, data show that Reagan did not use a public strategy to affect clean air policy in the bureaucracy. As Table 1 shows, Reagan did not speak frequently about clean air regulation and signaled his clean air preferences much less than many other presidents. Clearly, if Reagan had any influence over clean air policy in the bureaucracy, he did not have it because of his public statements.

tion controls, to head the EPA. Although her appointment did not have a statistically significant impact on EPA outputs (again, see Wood 1988), it gave Reagan an ideological companion in his battle against the regulation of air pollution. With these administrative tools, Reagan effectively reduced the EPA's ability to enforce clean air regulations. By "staying private" on this valence issue, Reagan was able to influence clean air enforcements, yet "go public" on issues more conducive to public support.

In sum, the president's public statements are a potential means of influence over policy outputs. Valence policy issues, however, limit public appeals and encourage a private strategy of influence when the president's position contradicts the dominant point of view. When a president seeks to restrict enforcement of a valence issue, he is wise to keep his preferences private. Indeed, clean air policy encouraged President Reagan to adopt a private administrative strategy. Other presidents whose preferences contradict the dominant perspective on a

valence issue are also wise to stay private.

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(Continued on page 13)

Table 1. Average Yearly Signals on Clean Air Policy by President

<i>President</i>	<i>Total Average</i>	<i>Support</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Oppose</i>
Eisenhower	0.9	0.9	0	0.0
Kennedy	2.0	2.0	0	0.0
Johnson	7.6	6.0	1.4	0.0
Nixon	13.3	10.5	2.5	0.3
Ford	8.0	0	1.7	7.7
Carter	13.8	8.5	1.3	4.0
Reagan	6.1	2.5	2.5	1.1
Bush	29.8	25.0	4.3	0.5
Clinton	7.8	6.8	1.2	0.2

Research Notes on Executive Politics

Clinton's Cabinet: Stability in Disorder

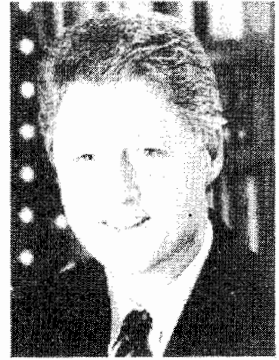
by Charles O. Jones

The Clinton Administration did not appear to be a felicitous environment within which to serve. Here is part of the record: an impeachment and trial of the president, investigations of the White House virtually from day one, the president held in contempt of court, independent counsels appointed for five cabinet secretaries, and loss of the party's majorities in Congress in the second year. Yet my impression was that of substantial cabinet stability. I was curious enough to compare the tenure of Clinton's cabinet to that of other administrations in the twentieth century and I judged that presidential scholars might find the results interesting and useful.

One problem is immediately apparent. There have been only five two-term administrations, 1901-2001—Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt (who had three full terms),

Eisenhower, Reagan, and Clinton. However, five other administrations carried over for a second term, either because the vice president subsequently won a full term (Theodore Roosevelt, Coolidge, Truman, Johnson) or the president resigned in his second term (Nixon, with Ford assuming office). I have, therefore, included these as multi-term administrations. Four others were one-term administrations—Taft, Hoover, Carter, and Bush—and they are treated separately.

Tables 1-3 present the results of my search. Only cabinet secretaries are included because other officials with cabinet designation vary from one administration to the next. Table 1 provides data for the multi-term administrations: one three-term president, five two-term presidencies, and five successive two-term presidents. Table 2 provides the same data for the one-term administrations. The data in those tables form the basis for



President William J. Clinton (1993-2001)

the comparisons offered in Table 3. It is those rankings that are of greatest interest for present purposes.

Note that the Clinton Administration ranks third in the average number of months of service by cabinet secretaries, first in the median number of months, and first in the number of cabinet secretaries serving the whole period (though Wilson had a higher proportion serving eight years). Not surprisingly, the successive two-term administrations

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Note: Numbers are yearly averages of the number of pages in "Public Papers of the Presidents" on which presidents mention clean air policy; Clinton is through 1998. Carter has a high number of opposition signals because of his "Energy Emergency" statements that gave several governors of mid-eastern states the discretion to suspend clean air regulations for thirty days.

Source: *Signaling Influence: Presidential Statements and their Power over Policy*, Texas A&M University dissertation, 2001 (expected), by the author.

I wish to thank George Edwards, Ken Meier, and Jim Anderson for comments helpful to the development of this work and recognize the American Politics Program at Texas A&M University for providing dissertation grant assistance.

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rank lowest number in the number of cabinet secretaries serving the whole period, though HardingàCoolidge scored higher than Reagan and close to Roosevelt's first two terms. KennedyàJohnson also had nearly as high an average as Reagan and, amazingly, had three cabinet secretaries serving the full eight years.

The data confirm my impressions of stability through the disorder of the Clinton years. The last highly-scandalized presidency, that of Richard Nixon, ranked next to the bottom and that of Harry Truman was last. In the Nixon and Truman cases the change from Nixon to Ford and from Roosevelt to Truman helps to explain the low scores. But it is also the case that turnover was high before Nixon resigned and after Truman was elected on his own. There were nearly four secretaries per department for Nixon-Ford, just two for Clinton. So the strong Clinton rankings beg for an explanation. Cabinet tenure was equal to that of presidents with strong reputations and little or no scandal.

What explains these results? I offer the following conjectures. Several cabinet secretaries really liked their jobs, not a common reaction in the past. That reason is apparent in the four cases of service through the administration—Janet Reno, Department of Justice; Richard Riley, Department of Education; Bruce Babbitt, Department of Interior; and Donna Shalala, Department of Health and Human Services. The White House reportedly would have preferred that Reno leave after the first term. In a sense scandal saved her, given that investigations were underway and her leaving would have been interpreted as the result of pres-

sure from the president and his political aides. For the other three, the president appointed people who wished to serve in the departments to which they were assigned. The same could be said of a number of second and third appointments: Madeline Albright, Department of State; Robert Rubin, Department of the Treasury; William Cohen, Department of Defense; Dan Glickman, Department of Agriculture; William Daley, Department of Commerce; Alexis Herman, Department of Labor; and Andrew Cuomo, Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Why might a cabinet secretary not like the job? The wrong fit has been an explanation in the past. It is a tribute to President Clinton that more often than not, he matched the person with the job. Not being good at the job is another possibility—seemingly the case with Les Aspin as the first appointment at Defense. White House staff interference can and has contributed to the frustrations of managing a department. In Clinton's case, controlling the political damage from scandals may have absorbed a great deal of staff energy, resulting in high turnover in the White House and freeing cabinet secretaries to manage their work more independently.

A more positive reason for liking your job as a cabinet secretary well enough to stay is that you see effects from your work. Impeachment, scandals, a contempt citation aside, it must have been engaging, perhaps even exciting, to be a part of the policy process in the Clinton Administration. The president was not a "closet" policy wonk, he exhibited his wonkishness continuously in public and before any forum. He had catholic interests and an insatiable desire to express those interests. As a walking, talking issue searcher, he reached down into the departments and agencies. Even minor

issues were used as gateways to larger ones. Thus there were rewards for service as cabinet secretary, notably access to the Oval Office and the satisfaction of presidential attention to various departmental agendas.

It may be worth identifying a larger point for this readership. Much attention will be paid to Bill Clinton in evaluating the period of his service as president. His style, even

in exiting the White House, begs for comment and analysis. Judgments will attempt to weigh his performance on the job against the sensationalism of personal scandal, all in the context of good times. And yet it is well to remember that the president is not the presidency and the presidency is not the government. Thus it is that Robert Rubin, Donna Shalala, Bruce Babbitt, and other major figures serving during this time have legacies too, as does the

Congress. Evaluating the Clinton years demands more than appraising the president. It also requires analyzing institutional performance in the system of separated and shared powers. The impressive continuity among Clinton cabinet secretaries deserves to be evaluated as a part of that story.

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Tables to Accompany Clinton's Cabinet: Stability in Disorder

Table 1
Tenure of Cabinet Secretaries, Multi-Term Administrations, 1901-2001

Administration	No. of Departments	No. Serving (Average)	Average Months of Service	Median Months of Service	No. Serving Whole Administration
Mck/TR (1901-09)	9	29 (3.2)	29.2	24	1
WW (1913-21)	10	20 (2.0)	47.8	44.5	3
WGH/CC (1921-29)	10	22 (2.2)	43.6	46	2
FDR (1933-41)	10	21 (2.1)	44.7	43	3
FDR (1941-45)	10	24 (2.4)	59.2	52.5	2
FDR/HST (1945-53)	11	35 (3.2)	25.4	19	0
DDE (1953-61)	10	20 (2.0)	47.3	40.5	2
JFK/LBJ (1961-69)	12	27 (2.3)	36.5	25	3
RMN/GRF (1969-77)	11	43 (3.8)	27.1	24	0
RR (1981-89)	13	33 (2.5)	37.5	35	1
WJC (1993-2001)	14	29 (2.1)	46.1	48	4

Source: Compiled and calculated by the author from cabinet listings in Michael Nelson, ed., *Guide to the Presidency*, 2d ed., Vol. II (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1996), pp. 1689-97.

Table 2
Tenure of Cabinet Secretaries, Single-Term Administrations, 1901-2001

Administration	No. of Departments	No. Serving (Average)	Average Months of Service	Median Months of Service	No. Serving Whole Administration
WHT (1909-13)	9	11 (1.2)	39.0	48	7
HH (1929-13)	10	15 (1.5)	32.0	40	5
JEC (1977-81)	13	21 (1.6)	27.5	25	4
GHWB (1989-92)	14	21 (1.5)	30.8	30	7

Source: See Table 1.

Teaching the Presidency

Learning From One Another: The PRG Syllabus Project

by Daniel E. Ponder

Introduction

The world is different for scholars who teach the presidency, more so than at any time in the past. Web sites, increasingly analytic readings, simulations, and video streaming are just a few of the ways in which professors can take advantage of "new and improved" materials to make their courses come alive for students. After all, most of today's college seniors

were born during the 1980 presidential election, and their first president of memory is likely to be George H.W. Bush. Many scholars have long searched for ways in which to make their courses more analytical, while giving students a taste of "realpolitik" as it concerns various aspects of the presidency. Particularly with the advent of the media age, students can more easily than ever be exposed to campaign commercials, major speeches,

and events as they affected the course of both the president and the presidency. Additionally, many presidential libraries have put much of their holdings on-line, so professors can give a sense of what a president knew about an important issue, and what he did with that knowledge. These items can be brought directly into the classroom, especially with the use of the world-wide-web, but also with the use of innovative syl-

(Continued on page 17)

(Cont'd-Tables to Accompany Clinton's Cabinet: Stability in Disorder)

Table 3
Ranking of Administrations by Tenure
of Cabinet Secretaries, 1901-2001

	Average Months of Service	Rank	Median Months of Service	Rank	No. Serving Whole Administration	Rank
<i>Three Terms</i>						
FDR	59.2	1	52.5	1	2	1
<i>Two Terms</i>						
WW	47.8	1	44.5	3	3	2
DDE	47.3	2	40.5	5	2	5
WJC	46.1	3	48	1	4	1
FDR (1933-1941)	44.7	4	43	4	3	2
WH/CC	43.5	5	46	2	2	5
RR	37.5	6	35	6	1	7
JFC/LBJ	36.5	7	25	7	3	2
McK/TR	29.2	8	24	8	1	7
RMN/GRF	27.1	9	24	8	0	9
FDR/HST	25.4	10	19	10	0	9
<i>One Term</i>						
WHT	39.0	1	48	1	7	1
HH	32.0	2	40	2	5	3
GHWB	30.8	3	30	3	7	1
JEC	27.5	4	25	4	4	4

Source: See Table 1

(Continued from page 16)

labi and approaches to teaching the presidency. This brief note introduces professors to the Presidency Syllabus Project, where scholars can share ideas and learn from one another in seeing how others have taught the presidency, what materials they used, the kinds of activities engaged in, and so forth. I then talk briefly about my own course on the presidency, how it worked, how it didn't, and what I might do to change it in the future.

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The Project

The Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association is collecting syllabi from faculty engaged in teaching on some aspect of the presidency. Faculty are invited to submit

syllabi for dissemination to others. While the PRG has not determined how best to distribute these, most likely they will be at least placed on a web site (probably the PRG web site), and possibly sent to PRG E-mail list subscribers. New advances in analytic techniques, on-line materials, video and audio streaming, simulation exercises, and the like have made possible exciting new approaches to teaching the presidency and/or executive politics. The syllabus collection project will be of use to faculty wishing to use it for a variety of reasons, including

building a new course, re-vamping an existing course, or simply becoming aware of what others are doing. We are interested in submissions from all people teaching the subject from all ranks and all institutional types from community college to Research I university. The collection will include any course that focuses on the American Presidency, including courses on the presidency and inter-institutional relations (e.g. Congress, the Courts, etc.), Comparative Executive Politics, and courses that place the presidency in a particular context, such as the Presidency and Public Policy Making or the Presidency in American Political Culture. We hope faculty will submit courses for graduate as well as undergraduate courses. The goal is to have as wide a selection as possible from which to draw. (Details on how to submit syllabi follow at the end of this article.)

In My Humble Experience...

When he suggested I contribute this piece, Tom Langston thought it might be a good idea to offer my thoughts on the trials and tribulations of wrestling with creating a syllabus for this course.

I agree. First, a little about my institution. The University of Colorado at Colorado Springs is a branch campus of the University of Colorado system. Approximately 7,500 students are enrolled, the bulk of them undergraduates. We have about 120 majors, most of whom select and specialize in one of four tracks (Global Politics, American Politics, Public Administration and

Public Policy, and a General Track). The presidency course is taught in rotation every two years, switching off with a course on the U.S. Congress, which I also teach.

I have taught the course 6 times (it was not always taught on rotation), and have revamped my syllabus every time. The last time I taught the course (Spring 2001), I took advantage of many of the emerging web resources, specifically Russ Renka's truly exceptional web page, covering virtually every conceivable topic on the presidency or presidents. I also used the web site developed at the University of California at Santa Barbara for John Woolley's course, relying heavily on the video streaming available there. My goal was to utilize these resources, especially the video and audio portions, to bring the presidency alive in an analytical way. For example, I developed a section on the president and crisis. During those class sessions, I offered theoretical and empirical perspectives, and then pulled up

Visit Russ Renka's Web Site:

<http://cstl-cla.semo.edu/renka/PresidencyLinks.htm>

Visit John Woolley's Web Site:

www.americanpresidency.org

and viewed such speeches as Lyndon Johnson's address to Congress a few days after John F. Kennedy's assassination, the Carter energy speech, and Reagan's address following the Challenger disaster. For the evolution of electoral politics, the sources on campaigns and campaign commercials were indispensable. After each of these, we had very informed discus-

sion, in which students expressed their thoughts and reactions to these presidents. The objective I had in mind was to introduce students to the literature, my perspectives, and include it with real life examples that make the study of the presidency relevant and exciting.

It seems to have worked, as many students reported on their course evaluations that the most effective parts of the course were the lectures integrated with the video and audio presentations. I was also able to have "guest lectures," by John Burke and Martha Kumar, who, without their knowledge, helped me present information on transitions and the presidency and the press, respectively, via their presentations at the Baker Institute at Rice University and available at the Baker Institute web site.

The assignments on the syllabus did not go over as well as the audio and video presentations. I assigned a relatively heavy reading load, and used a lot of formal analysis and statistical material in my lectures. The reading load consisted of three books (Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make*; Pfiffner, *The Modern Presidency*; and Shapiro et al, *Presidential Power*), plus students chose a biography or memoir from a list I supplied in the syllabus. (Perhaps anticipating the syllabus project, I got the idea for assigning biographies from a syllabus posted by Calvin MacKenzie of Colby College) There were also some short readings on reserve in the library, such as some of Neustadt's transition memos. Students were re-

quired to submit two 5-7 page papers. The papers were designed to be integrative. That is, students were required to read their biography at a steady pace, and then write, as we got past the relevant lectures, on the topics of Character in the Presidency; and Leadership and Decision Making. The objective here was to get students thinking analytically about the real world, and to give them practice in applying theoretical and empirical insights to the president of their choice (that is, the one they were reading about). Thus, they integrated analysis with the realpolitik of the presidency.

As is the case with so many things, this sounded good, but didn't fully work. That is, even though I pitched the course as one where students could read, listen, watch, think, and synthesize, and thus absorb material without the "threat" of exams, many of them took this as an excuse not to do their reading. They miscalculated, of course, in that they did need to do substantial reading to adequately apply insights from the course to their president. Some of the stronger students did not let the reading slide, of course, but many did. Thus, when I revise the syllabus, I will either re-emphasize how important the reading is for doing a good job on the papers, or I'll simply add a mid-term and final exam.

Conclusion

Some of the ideas I have in my syllabus were mine alone, but many were chosen and adapted from syllabi given to

me by friends and colleagues, either in conversation or on the web. Whatever merit my course possesses I share with these friends and associates. The idea behind the PRG Syllabus Project is to facilitate this type of sharing of information and ideas, and thus to enhance innovation among instructors of the presidency.

Submitting Your Syllabus

As this is written, twenty syllabi have been submitted. I hope that many other scholars will take the opportunity to send me their syllabi, and they will be distributed either directly, or posted on a web site, or both. Either way, the plan is to group them by category (e.g. Presidency; Inter-Institutional Relations; Comparative Executives, etc.). If you are interested, please send a copy of your syllabus by email in either PDF or Word format to dponder@uccs.edu. Please avoid hard copy submissions.

INTERESTED IN
CONTRIBUTING A
REPORT ON
TEACHING THE
PRESIDENCY?

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The Call for Conferences Going Unanswered at the Regional Level: An Examination

by Diane J. Heith

Conferences are an opportunity for scholars to come together to exchange ideas. Often, conferences present the first opportunity for graduate students to hear critiques of their work from outside their dissertation committee. Conferences offer a critical evaluation of a paper prior to submission to a journal, which can often be more useful than blind judgments. Conferences are useful intellectual exercises. They can even be fun. The desire to participate in the national conference – the Annual Meeting of the APSA – is quite high. However, the intense competition for presidency panel slots cannot be found at the regional level, across all regional conferences. Are the declining regional submissions something presidency scholars and the PRG need to be concerned about? If yes, then what are our alternatives for improving participation?

The Problem

As we all know from the repeated pleas at the Annual APSA meeting, the number of panels allotted to a section is influenced by attendance of a section's panels the year before. The presidency section had 15 panels and 15 posters at the 2001 meeting. During the three previous years, the section averaged 15 panels. Submission remain relatively high, yielding a rejection rate of between a 60% and 70%. A steadfast interest in our sub-

field and our panels currently exists. In 2001, my panel appearance on presidents and public opinion was thoughtfully scheduled at 8:45 Sunday morning (yes, I know someone has to be there). Despite the early hour on the last day, the room was filled almost to capacity with approximately 40 people, which matches the "mean adjusted attendance rate" for 2000 presidency panels. Greater attendance at presidency panels of course will offer greater opportunities for participation. At the national level, participation via submissions and attendance among presidency scholars could see some improvement, but in general, is healthy.

At the regional level, submissions and attendance also go hand in hand. Currently, the Western Association and the Midwest Association allotted the Executive Section 5 panels for the 2002 Annual Meeting. The Southern Executive Section increased the number associated with the section by jointly offering panels with other sections. Joint offerings count as half a panel toward a section's allotment.

Submissions to the regional conferences in no way approximate the national conference. This year, the Executive Section for the Western Annual Meeting received 24 papers and 10 of those were jointly submitted to other panels. In putting together the panels, only 2 papers were rejected outright. The Southern's Executive Section had similar

acceptance and rejection rates, according to Andrew Taylor of the University of North Carolina. The Midwest, based on the 2002 panel allotment, had seen similarly dismal submission rates in previous years.

Options for the PRG

Conferences, whether regional or national, offer scholars a wonderful opportunity to exchange ideas, network and socialize with "their own kind." I call the dearth of submissions and participation to the attention of the PRG because I believe we must be concerned with the declining presence of the Presidency sub-field at the regional level. Other sub-fields see much higher rates of submission and participation at both the national and regional meetings. While there is no immediate danger threatening the presidency panels at the national level, I fear a presidency presence could disappear from the regional meetings.

Given the discrepancy between the national meeting and the regional meeting submissions, the dearth of submissions is not due to a lack of presidency papers. Faculty and graduate students are submitting to the APSA conference. However, they are submitting in fewer numbers to the regional conferences. The problem, as I see it, has several forms and thus several potential solutions.

(Continued on page 20)

Awareness

The Midwest Annual Meeting and the Western Annual Meeting fall within weeks of each other as do their submission deadlines. In addition, both deadlines fall immediately after the APSA conference and right at the beginning of the semester. It is conceivable that individuals cannot gear up that quickly to produce a coherent abstract for the next project. Moreover, with the APSA's own submission deadline only a few months later, it is possible that all these conferences are competing for the same intellectual work. Low-key advertising campaigns might also be depressing submissions.

However, most scholars in the profession are cognizant of the regional meetings, and of course all subfields face the same problem of converging deadlines. Still, increased awareness of submission deadlines might improve the number of submissions. Both Rich Fleischer and I increased submissions via repeated announcements at the Annual Meeting and urging via PRGnet. (The advertising by Richard Fleischer produced so many more submissions that Fleischer asked the Midwest organizers to increase the section's allotment). PRGnet and the PRG Report are both excellent venues for the exchange of this information. Despite the generally low flow of conversation across PRGnet, information is successfully transmitted. I received numerous responses regarding the Western meeting from my initial notice and still more after I inundated the list with my email problems due to the attack on the World Trade Center, September 11, 2001. In a nutshell, advertising is effective for increasing participation.

Funding

Awareness of conference dead-

lines and a little peer pressure can successfully influence submissions and thus participation. The cost of conferences, however, is likely to be a seriously prohibitive factor for submissions. Some scholars can travel fully funded. Most scholars, in my experience, receive travel funding covering only one conference partially or in full. Some universities only pay for travel, or only lodging. Other universities provide a fixed monetary allotment to be spent on however many conferences it will cover.

The end result is that faculty, and even graduate students, have to choose where to spend their money. Thus, the desire to appear at the Annual Meeting is cost effective. At the Annual Meeting, there is a wider audience than at the regional meetings. There is also increased prestige in a panel appearance at the Annual Meeting as evidenced by the increased desire to appear even in the poster capacity. In addition, there are greater social and networking opportunities at the Annual Meeting. It makes sense for presidency scholars on a limited budget to spend their travel allowance on the source with the greatest benefit. Options do exist however. Travel grants for regional conference appearances might be an option the PRG would like to consider. Nevertheless, the uncomfortable question remains why presidency scholars with larger travel budgets are not using them to attend regional meetings.

Interest

I suspect that the real reason for the decline in submissions and attendance is not outside limitations but those from within the profession. I contend that presidency scholars are choosing not to attend regional conferences because they question the value in attending. For junior scholars, conference appearances are useful signals of success in the field. However, in the day and age where journals and conferences

must be justified on personnel forms, it is much easier to defend appearances at the premier conference in the field rather than the smaller ones.

In addition, I fear that the regional conferences are losing their attractiveness to faculty. Perceptions abound that the regional conferences are merely graduate student forums. This year's instructions to organizers for the Western included a reminder that graduate students rarely perform well as

discussants or chairs. In my experience, I have not been evaluated by a graduate student during any of my regional conference appearances, but it clearly is an issue.

The concern regarding perception unfortunately creates a self-fulfilling prophecy. Scholars laboring under false impressions choose not to attend. Meager attendance

depresses the perceived value of the conference for those who do go, and so on. It should be emphasized, however, that the regional conferences, though experiencing trouble, are still strong. At both the Western and the Midwestern presidency panels, faculty make up at least half the participants. The conferences are indeed intellectually valuable to researchers at all stages of their careers. How ironic that the value of these meetings must be defended, when these regional meeting were created to encourage connections and to provide a place for those not participating at the national Annual Meeting. The presidency panels for the Midwest and the Western in 2002 will be vibrant, stimulating panels. I encourage all to attend.

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Visiting the Scene of the Crime, Or How to Interrogate a Presidential Archive

by David Michael Ryfe

I am not the first to notice that doing archival research is similar to solving a mystery. Like detectives, researchers want to know "whodunit" and why. For answers, they go to archives, not the literal scenes of crimes, but in presidential research often the best available facsimiles. Locked away in their stacks are millions of clues—memos; letters; notes; reports—that, when put together by diligent researchers, might reconstruct who did what, where, when, and why in the modern presidency.

Like many novice detectives, I went to my first presidential archive—the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York—expecting to wring a confession out of it. I wanted a dramatic statement by the President himself detailing how uses of radio fit into his political philosophy. I wanted to know what he thought of his fireside chats and why he broadcast them in the way that he did. Of course, I would have accepted a smoking gun—a piece of incontrovertible physical evidence, say, a memo written by a trusted aide—on these issues. But I wanted answers, and I wasn't going to leave until I got them.

First lesson of archival research: presidents rarely confess and there are few, if any, smoking guns lying around their archives. In my visit to the Roosevelt Library I found few presidential mentions of the fireside chats. Since that visit in 1995, I've been to three other presidential libraries (the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Carter libraries), and been similarly thwarted. No one in the

Eisenhower Administration was nice enough to detail the political philosophy behind the President's use of public relations. Though his aides spoke of his televised press conferences, John F. Kennedy did the unthinkable and never put his thoughts in writing. And, as far as I can tell, President Carter never once mentioned his town hall meetings in a single memo or letter. The machinery of these initiatives was there for all to see: drafts of speeches; PR campaign memos; seating charts for events, etc. The reasons for pursuing them, and doing so in one way rather than another, were nearly invisible.

So, a second lesson: presidents are actors, not historians. They worry about getting their agendas implemented and about their place in history, not tenure, and they capitalize on every advantage of their office. One advantage is confidentiality. Generally, they don't have to tell the public how and why they reached a decision if they don't want to. This is especially true with overtly political decisions—like their preferences for particular kinds of formats in their public communication. Indeed, there seems to be an inverse correlation at work in presidential archives: the more political the decision, the less documentation one will find.

This is true as a general claim, but several caveats are in order. First, though they are not my research issues, the politics of public policies, labor reform or welfare legislation, for instance, are probably better represented in the archives. These policies usually attract the attention of more and more varied staff aides, and since the politics of

substantive policies are a matter of routine public discussion. Second, presidential libraries tend to take on the personality of their Presidents. If a President was secretive, or sensitive about his public image, his library will likely be secretive and concerned about his image. In my experience, I've found the Kennedy Library to be especially covetous of the President's image, and particularly reluctant to reveal information about his presidency that might put him in a bad light. Finally, time matters. The Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower archives have been well-catalogued and well-traveled by researchers. More recent libraries are less helpful simply because they contain scores of files and papers that have simply not been processed. In my visit to the Carter Library, I was astonished to find that the papers of many individuals remained unavailable, even after twenty-five years, for this reason.

And of course, advice to presidents given by aides is also now closed by law for (at least) 12 years following the end of an administration. The first president to be "protected" by this blanket restriction was Ronald Reagan. The current President Bush is at this writing attempting to block the opening of such protected material from the administration in which his father served as Vice President.

Having said all of this, I wouldn't want the prospective archival researcher to be discouraged. Presidential archives are useful and important. They are a must see for many presidential scholars. Rather, I simply want to insist that one's mere

presence at these archives will not unlock their secrets. Continuing with the mystery analogy, it is best to approach them as bystanders much of the time, hostile witnesses the rest. This is not to say that individual archivists are not helpful—they often go to heroic lengths to ferret out information. But it is to suggest that presidential archives are shaped by circumstances beyond their control. While in office, Presidents often operate on a need to know basis, and they are particularly loathe to document their political machinations. In the midst of these facts, much of the texture of political decisionmaking is lost in the archives. One may find reams of files stating the basic facts of public policies—say, the President's energy policy—and almost nothing about the President's intimate conversations on these subjects.

Approaching the archives as bystanders and hostile witnesses means first and foremost that one must prepare assiduously for the interrogation. This means combing the secondary literature to discover where other researchers have found clues and what they have made of them. This will increase your efficiency at the library and alert you to files and papers that researchers have not canvassed well. It means perusing a library's finding aids to become comfortable with their particular organizational structure. Many of these are on-line; most university libraries have them in book form. It means contacting librarians before a visit to gather background information. And, it means developing a plan on the basis of all this information: compiling questions and lists of pertinent files and papers and organizing this material into a coherent game plan.

Such plans should aid, rather than limit one's flexibility at archives. It is easy to be overwhelmed at the sheer volume of material archivists can pile beside a research table. A good plan of action can help researchers maintain focus, and make decisions quickly as to the usefulness of particular documents. Most of an interrogation should be reserved for the most important questions. A game plan can help one know when these questions have been adequately addressed, and when it is time to consider secondary issues.

One must also recognize that clues can at first be difficult to recognize. Crimes are often solved by organizing disparate circumstantial evidence into a compelling story. So be voracious at presidential archives. If possible, don't chintz on copying things, even if, at the time, they seem only distantly related to your topic. If one has more time than money, store data in a laptop computer. Be sure to mark materials precisely—the type of document, author or correspondent's full name, precise date, collection (White House Aides, Alphabetic File, e.g.), and file name—to protect the chain of evidence from the inevitable hurricane that is the modern academic office. Follow the library's guide to citation when making these notes. Many libraries caution, for instance, against relying on box numbers, because materials are sometimes shifted by the librarians as they periodically reorganize their collections.

A corollary: clues come in many forms. I went to the Roosevelt Library looking for direct statements about the fireside chats. But there just weren't that many. So, I expanded my sense of what might be relevant. I looked at pictures of the chats. I looked through files related to news, publicity and public relations. I re-

viewed motion picture and newsreel files. I examined public reactions to the President's radio broadcasts—a treasure trove of data on how ordinary listeners responded to the chats. And, I read theses and dissertations that would be difficult (and costly) to access elsewhere. Success in solving presidential mysteries is often contingent on how ingeniously researchers can connect seemingly tangential evidence to a research question.

When I first began visiting presidential archives, I thought that, all things being equal, while at an archive it was better to spend less time trying to make sense of data and more time collecting them. After all, I had all the time in the world back at the office to think through things. I still abide by that general rule, with one caveat. At some point toward the end of a visit, I take stock of the data I've gathered. What are the kinds of clues I've collected? How do they relate to the mystery I want to solve? Do they naturally lead to other things I haven't reviewed? Have I addressed all my questions? Engaging research librarians in conversation is important at this stage. They know the files better than anyone and you never know what will jog their memory.

Presidential libraries don't often yield all the clues necessary to solve a particular mys-

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(Cont'd— Is the Honeymoon Over?)

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(Continued from page 1)

ideological and partisan predisposition and elaborated on the basis of cues given the public by respected political leaders and trusted figures in the media.

Roughly speaking, this means that those who voted for the newly elected president are likely to give him the benefit of any doubt arising early in the term and “approve” of his “. . . handling of his job as president.”

“approval” by the president’s initial supporters will be affected by the support of his fellow partisans in Congress and, to a lesser degree, by the evaluative comments of respected media figures.

The initial evaluations of those who voted against the winning presidential candidate are not the mirror image of those of the president’s electoral supporters. At the outset some of those who voted against the winning candidate—consider them “hard core” opponents—record “disapproval” of his job performance.

Other presidential opponents in the electorate, about equal in

number to hard core opponents, withhold evaluation of the president’s performance and report that they “don’t know” or have “no opinion” when asked to assess his performance. Of this latter group, about one-third (7% to 12% of a typical sample) will never offer an opinion of the president’s job performance. However, the bulk of those who initially fail to express an opinion will come to express approval or disapproval depending upon evidence of the success or failure of presidential policy and/or depending upon the opinions expressed by party and media elites.

As the early weeks of the term pass by, continuing

the electorate, about equal in

How does this account of the dynamics of public support in

(Cont'd—Visiting the Scene of the Crime, Or How to Interrogate a Presidential Archive)

(Continued from page 22)

tery. But then again, most crime scenes don't either. Much as detectives must link clues found at scenes with evidence gathered elsewhere, so one usually will need to conduct searches beyond presidential archives. An example: I found very little explicit discussion in the Carter archives of the town hall meetings. I was particularly puzzled by the fact that the President abruptly stopped doing them mid-way through his term in office. There simply wasn't documentation on this issue. There were, however, references to aides who had worked on the meetings. Luckily for me, these individuals were happy to talk about the backroom political machinations that led to the demise of the Carter town meetings. Combining eyewitness testimony with evidence from the archive, I

was able to piece together the reasons why President Carter mysteriously terminated this experiment in presidential communications.

What happened to the townhall meeting and why is that important? You'll just have to read about it in my book! In the meantime, think of presidential libraries as reconstructed crime scenes and of yourself as a detective (I personally liken myself to Mike Hammer). Romanticizing one's occupation keeps the juices flowing. It also implies that one should be pragmatic about presidential archives, but persistent as well. They may not always yield confessions or smoking guns, but they are absolutely crucial for solving the mysteries of presidential politics.

Professor Ryfe is currently working on a manuscript, tentatively titled, Political Communication in the Media Age: a Cultural History. The work traces the history of American political communication from the progressives to the contemporary period through the prism of presidential communication. It examines such issues as the relation of progressivism to the emerging idiom of the news; the nature of media language and its impact on public life; the Cold War's reconstitution of political communication in the 1950s and 1960s; and, the re-emergence of populist vernaculars in the past quarter century.

the early, "honeymoon," phase of a presidency square with the early period of the Bush presidency?

Charting Opinion on Bush's Job Performance

Public evaluations of President Bush's "... handling of his job ..." have been measured by one or more of 10 nonpartisan

inaugural polling shows the new president's level of approval statistically indistinguishable from that of President Clinton in 1993 (48% vs. 51%).

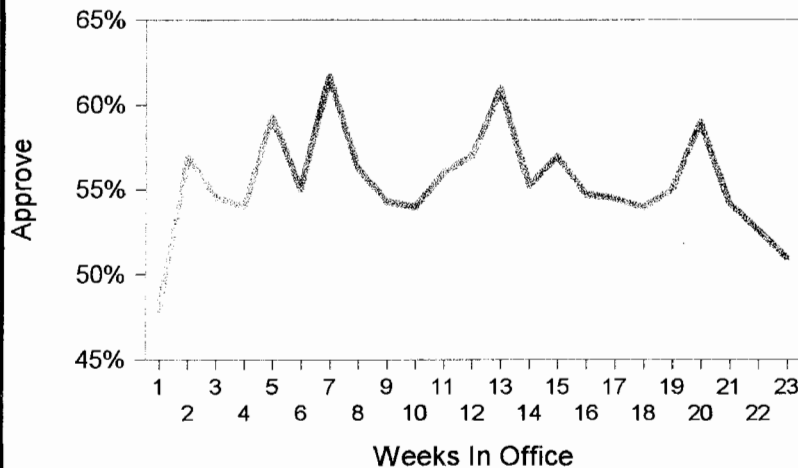
The pattern of public opinion in President Bush's second week in office is also similar to that of previous presidents: We observe in Chart 1 a jump in

opinion on the Bush presidency had begun to crystallize. The increase in the ranks of those with an opinion came at the expense of the group withholding judgment. By week two, the group of those without an opinion shrank by nearly 50%—from 35% in week one to 18% in the second week of the Bush presidency.

The level of public uncertainty about the Bush presidency—indicated by the fraction of the public without an opinion—increased slightly during February, declined fairly steadily during March, and leveled off at 12% in April, May and June. By the end of March (the beginning of his third month in office) 9 Americans in 10 were assessing President Bush.

With "approval," "disapproval" and "no opinion" all varying week-to-week in the early part of the term, it is difficult to get a clear picture of what is happening to public assessments of President Bush. If we set aside those without an opinion and focus on those approving of the President as a fraction of Americans with an opinion of

Chart 1: BUSH JOB "APPROVAL"

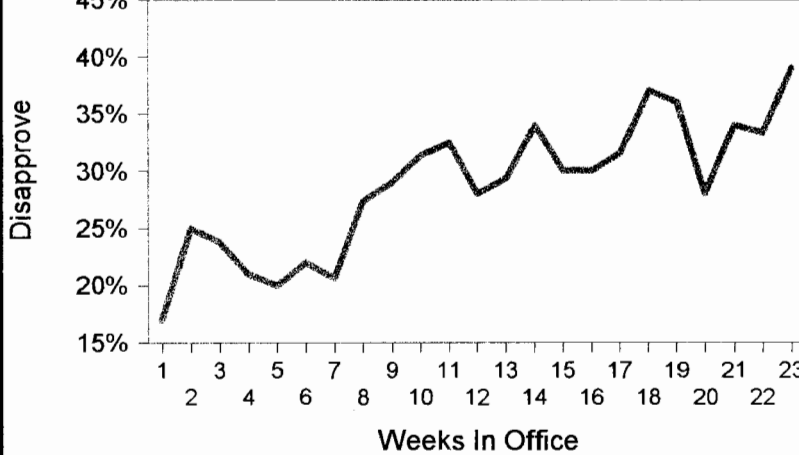


polling organizations every week since his inauguration on January 20, 2001. An examination of the trend in the percentage of the American public "approving" of Bush's handling of the presidency over his first 23 weeks in office, through the end of June, shows opinion on the President is similar to the patterns observed in previous presidential first terms.

Immediately after his inauguration President Bush's "approval" percentage (48%) approximated his share of the two-party popular vote. Just over half of the public (52%) did not approve of his "job handling" but only one-third of this group (17%) expressed hard-core disapproval. Thirty-five percent of the public failed to express an opinion in the first week of the Bush presidency. The immediate post-

the fraction of the public approving of the President's performance; the President enjoyed an 18% increase in the proportion of the public giving him positive marks.

Chart 2: BUSH JOB "DISAPPROVAL"



both approval and disapproval increasing it is obvious that, by his second week in office,

the President's job performance—think of it as "relative" approval—a clearer picture of

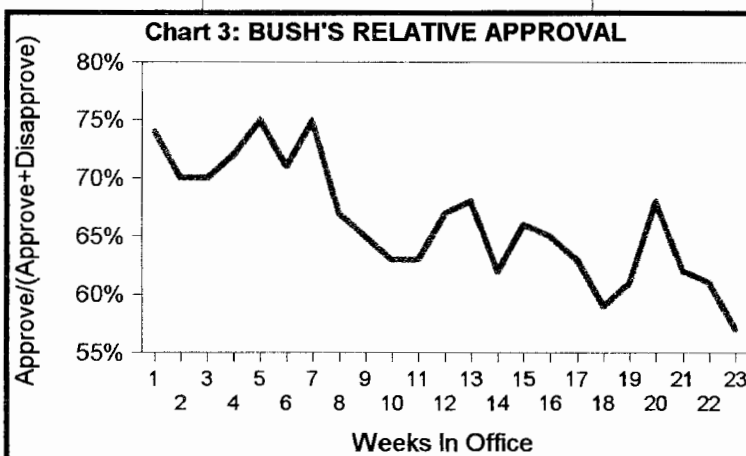
opinion dynamics emerges. The trend in "relative" approval is depicted in Chart 3.

For the first seven weeks of his presidency between 70% and 75% of those expressing an opinion on President Bush were positive in their assessment of his performance. Despite the questions raised about his election, President Bush had a "honeymoon" and this is when it took place. Over the next 10 weeks, from early March to mid-May, the level of "relative" approval dropped eight-plus percentage points. Support for President Bush did not come to rest at the March to mid-May level; the polls for

support for President Bush suggests the sources of the decline: The first precipitate drop in the President's approval rating came between the seventh and eighth weeks of his presidency—between the weeks of March 4 and March 11. The most notable political news event of that period was the delivery to Congress of the President's budget. The budget represents hard news; it is the President's campaign promises and policy agenda made manifest in billions of dollars.

Few members of the public will have read the budget but it does not have to have been

the introduction of the budget continued for four weeks. In the first week in April the drop in support was arrested, temporarily, by a small rally. The increase in support at this time is associated with the forcing down, by China, of an electronic surveillance plane flying a mission along the southern coast of China and the subsequent release of the plane's personnel. For the second half of April and in May the President's relative approval ratings fluctuated in a fairly narrow band—between 60% and 65%. In June President Bush's support declined slowly but steadily.



read by individuals in order to influence their opinion of President Bush. The budget received fulsome coverage in the press and on electronic news media. It also was the topic of a large volume of commentary by political leaders; this commentary also

Over these 10 weeks we find news that, from the President's perspective, is both good and bad. By far the most positive story was Congress's acceptance, with minor modifications, of his tax cut proposal; the President was able to sign it into law just as the early term period was coming to an end.

the remainder of May and for the last three weeks in June show a further five to seven point erosion in his level of relative approval.

President Bush finished his first five months in office 17 percentage points of relative support below where he started; 1 in 4 of his initial supporters changed their assessment of his job performance. What provoked this shift in opinion?

Sources of the Decline in Support

The timing of the decline in

was widely reported in the media. Many organized interests brought to their members' attention the connection between members' policy preferences, and relevant sections of the budget. By whatever means and via whichever medium, public opinion at the time the budget was introduced became both more crystallized—subsequent to this period fewer Americans withheld their assessment of President Bush's performance—and, on balance, more negative.

The decline in President Bush's support in the wake of

On the negative side, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, and Macedonia were on a slow boil and threatening to create real problems for American foreign policy. The reception of President Bush's "missile shield" proposal by our NATO allies and by Russia was less than lukewarm and the testing program designed to back up the proposal proved, at best, inconclusive. The worst political news of the period, from President Bush's perspective, was the change in partisan control of the Senate occasioned by Senator Jeffords's switch in party loyalty. When we add to these stories the small but steady increases in unemployment and inflation it is a bit surprising the decline

in the President's support was not deeper and more rapid.

Summary

President Bush had a "honeymoon" with the American public but it was, compared to his predecessors, short-lived. Seven weeks into his presidency, at the time he submitted his budget to Congress, the standard by which his performance was judged began to shift. At the outset his electoral supporters gave the new president the benefit of the doubt and those who voted for his opponent were as likely to withhold their opinion as to judge him negatively.

With the introduction of President Bush's budget, the standard shifted. Supporters now had evidence with which to consider whether on balance they still "approved" of what he was doing. Opponents used the same sources of evidence to consider whether they now knew enough to form and report an assessment.

There is nothing unusual in judging a president with readily available information; it is the way it is usually done. The judgment is based on evidence of whether or not the results of political and policy actions satisfactorily meet the citizens' expectations. Citizens' expectations result in part from their partisan and ideological predispositions and from their taking in the views of trusted opinion leaders, including the president.

From here on out, as in the past three to four months, the President will be evaluated on how well he meets our expectations. Getting his program passed will help; being seen as reducing tensions in the world's trouble spots will help; so, too, will having a vigorous economy. Congress-

sional gridlock will hurt; being seen to be catering to special interests rather than the common good will also hurt. The American people give presidents a fair amount of latitude; it is too early to tell whether President Bush is close to an overdraft on this account.

Footnotes

1. The number of polls taken in a given week varies between one and five. The numbers entered into the chart are average percentages "approving" in the week's polls.

2. The seven point jump in relative approval between the week beginning May 26 and the week beginning June 2 (weeks #19 and #20 on Chart 3) may not be real. The relative approval figure for the week of June 2, unlike the figures for most of the weeks covered in this report, is based on a single poll. Moreover, there does not appear to be a positive news story of sufficient magnitude to explain this temporary reversal of President Bush's declining fortunes.

AFTERWARDS: An Addendum written October 8, 2001

Public approval of President Bush's job performance, during his first twenty-three weeks in office, mostly fell between fifty and sixty per cent. Indeed, only one of the twenty-three observations fell below fifty per cent and two scored above sixty per cent. Toward the end of this period the early signs of a decline in support were observed. The decline appeared to be fueled by questions being raised about the president's foreign and defense

policies and by the movement of the economy toward recession. In most respects public support for President Bush, between his inauguration and the end of June 2001, was very much what we would have expected from studies of the public's responses to his predecessors.

Public opinion polls taken during July and August 2001 indicate that the decline in support observed in the late spring was not illusory. The erosion in President Bush's job approval continued between June 30 and September 10, 2001. His average level of support in the first twenty-three weeks was just over fifty-five per cent; his approval ratings for the next ten weeks averaged just under fifty-four per cent. Comparing the mean of the twenty-three averages for the weeks following January 20 with the mean for the ten weeks between June 30 and September 10 we find a difference of 1.62 percentage points. This difference approaches the commonly accepted standard of statistical significance [$t = 1.55$, $df = 31$; $.05 \# p_t \# .10$]. If we eliminate the outlying value from the first week's polls, the difference between the averages for the remaining twenty-two weeks before June 30, 2001 and the following ten weeks (1.96 percentage points) is statistically significant [$t = 2.12$; $df = 30$; $p_t \# .025$]. The erosion in the president's support in the summer of 2001 was slight but, from a statistical perspective, real.

The destructive attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon dramatically altered the public's assessment of how well President Bush is "...handling the job of presi-

dent." The eleven polls gauging the public's evaluation of President Bush's job performance, taken between September 11 and September 21, 2001, have a mean level of approval in excess of eighty-one per cent. On average, in the first ten days following the September 11 attacks, nearly three Americans in ten (28.3 per cent) changed their opinion of President Bush's job performance. Seven polls were taken during the next two weeks (September 22 to October 5); the average level of approval for President Bush in these polls is eighty-seven per cent. Support was significantly higher in the second fortnight of the crisis than in the first ten days after the attack ($t = 5.7\%$; $t = 2.94$; $p < .01$).

This is a "rally" if there ever was one! This sudden shift in support raises two questions which we will have to answer if we want to anticipate the pattern of support for President Bush in the months to come. What produces rallies in public opinion? And, how long do they last?

Rallies in public support were first brought to our attention by Nelson Polsby [1964, 25]. Polsby pointed out that "invariably, the popular response to a president during an international crisis is favorable regardless of the wisdom of the policies [the president] pursues." John Mueller [1973] provides us with a taxonomy of rally events and an explanation of the source of the rally – viz., that the threat to the United States inherent in an international crisis provokes a patriotic response which is manifested in the public's reluctance to criticize and predilection to praise the president.

Kernell [1978] refines Mueller's taxonomy and implicitly raises questions about the patriotism explanation by pointing out that some international crises have been accompanied by a decline in public support. Brody and Shapiro (1989; Brody 1991, Chapter 3) build their explanation of the rally phenomenon on the assumption that the confusion accompanying an international crisis predisposes the public to take its evaluative cue from trusted opinion leaders. If opinion leaders are outspokenly supportive of the president or if they acquiesce to the president's policy response to a crisis without comment, members of the public who theretofore had disapproved of his job performance will tend to switch their evaluation from negative to positive. A pre-crisis negative assessment of the president is more likely to be found among identifiers with the opposition party and partisan independents. Accordingly, we would expect these two partisan groups to be prominent among those producing the rally. Absent the active support or passive acquiescence of opposition elites, no rally should take place.

This explanation of the rally phenomenon has been useful in distinguishing international crises that produce rallies from those that do not [Brody & Shapiro, 1989; Brody, 1991]. However, analyses of the rally in public support following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, in August 1990, suggest that both "patriotism" and opinion leadership may be responsible for the reshaping of public assessments of President George H. W. Bush's job performance in August and September, 1990

[Brody, 1994]. The pattern of elite commentary in the August phase of the Gulf crisis suggests that Democratic leaders in Congress may have been reluctant to appear to be making common cause with Saddam Hussein and other foreign critics of our response to the invasion. This "reluctance" manifested itself in Democratic leaders both tacitly and actively supporting President George H. W. Bush's response to the invasion. When opposition commentary changed to criticism of the president's reliance on military means to end the invasion the rally came to an end [Brody, 1994, pp.220-221].

The duration of rallies, thus, also appears to depend upon the actions of opinion leaders: Rallies cycle with the support and/or silence of these elites. When negative commentary emerges, public support begins to decline. In essence, we can say, it appears that international crises produce rallies unless or until the opposition elite criticizes presidential policy.

It is likely that future analyses of the rally following the attacks on the towers of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon will also find that both patriotism and opinion leadership affected public support for President Bush. Manifestations of an upwelling of feelings of community and patriotism are seen everywhere; flags are displayed where they never were before, blood donors are enduring long waits to make their donations, and contributions to the Red Cross have vastly increased. Opinion leadership has been

virtually unanimous in its rhetorical support for the president's actions. Congress has gone beyond rhetoric and voted without dissent to put money into New York City, the Pentagon, and into anti-terrorism activities.

We can note that the first small signs of a breakdown in the elite consensus had begun to emerge early in October. This is noticeable in the very polite debate over the civil liberties implications of Attorney General Ashcroft's plans for intercepting terrorists before they enter the United States, choking off resources being transferred to potential terrorists, and monitoring intercourse between such individuals. Incidentally, questions about the wisdom of his proposals were raised by members of both political parties.

However, now that the military response in Afghanistan has come to dominate the news, we can expect dissent over the threat to civil liberties and questions about the efficacy of anti-terrorist activities in the U. S. to be supplanted in the news by questions about the effectiveness of the military campaign to eliminate the fountainhead of terrorist activity and the terrorism, itself. If news from Afghanistan is controlled by "official sources," as was news of the Gulf War, we might expect President Bush to enjoy a high level of support from the American people for some time to come.

October 7, 2001 might be considered as the end of the "rally phase" of the "9/11 crisis" and the start of the "war/policy" phase. This is to say, we may be at the end of the period in which public support is a response to the individual's "patriotism" and/or to the ac-

tions of opposition elite opinion leadership. In the "war phase" the public's assessment of presidential performance responds to "good" and "bad" policy results news – defined respectively by a match or a mismatch between policy expectations and policy performance.

In the Persian Gulf crisis the rally phase and the war phase were separated by three plus months. In the present crisis the transition took place over a weekend. Time, as such, should not be essential but the initial stock of public support for the two crises is very different. In the 1990 crisis President George H.W. Bush's rally boost had been totally dissipated well before the war began. The war phase of the present crisis begins with President George W. Bush at the peak of his popularity.

Other differences between the two crises are sources of analytic uncertainty. In the Gulf war the satisfaction of policy expectations was possible to demonstrate: Air superiority could be credibly claimed, the occupation of Kuwait could be seen to be ended, an invasion of Saudi Arabia could be precluded, Iraq's army could be pinned down and defeated, and so on. The successful attainment of goals in the present crisis may be inherently ambiguous: Ending terrorism may be hard to demonstrate, bringing Osama bin Laden to justice may be demonstrable but difficult to achieve, creating a "stable" alliance with Moslem states against terrorism depends on getting the public, the media, and opinion leaders to accept a particular, if not peculiar,

definition of "stability," and so on.

Where do we, as scholars of the presidency, stand in our ability to understand the reaction of the American people to this crisis as it unfolds before us? As analysts, we have the theoretical and analytic tools available now to enhance our understanding of changes in public opinion. But we do not now have a capability to anticipate when these changes will occur.

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BOOK SCAN — Books on the Presidency

By Meena Bose

The following list was compiled through a search of <http://www.amazon.com> for books on the American presidency published in 2001. Due to space constraints, the list focuses on books that may be useful for research and/or teaching, and books listed in previous issues are not included again (unless they have a new edition). Whenever possible, entries include page count, price, and ISBN number.

Anthony, Susan B. *An Account of the Proceedings on the Trial of Susan B. Anthony, on the Charge of Illegal Voting, at the Presidential Election in November, 1872*. Lawbook Exchange. ISBN 1584771879.

Berman, William C. *From the Center to the Edge: The Politics and Policies of the Clinton Presidency*. Rowman & Littlefield. \$60 cloth, ISBN 0847696146. \$16.95 paper, ISBN 0847696154.

Boller, Paul. *Presidential Inaugurations*. Harcourt Brace. \$25 cloth, ISBN 015100546X.

Burton, David H., ed. *The Collected Works of William Howard Taft: Presidential Addresses and State Papers*. Ohio University Press. \$59.95 cloth, ISBN 0821414046.

Busby, Robert. *Defending the American Presidency: Clinton and the Lewinsky Scandal*. Palgrave. \$65 cloth, ISBN 0333912500.

Conley, Patricia Heidotting. *Presidential Mandates: How Elections Shape the National Agenda*. University of Chicago Press. \$40 cloth, ISBN 0226114821. \$17.50 paper, ISBN 0226114848.

Denson, John V. *Reassessing the Presidency: The Rise of the Executive State and the Decline of Freedom*. Ludwig Von Mises Institute. \$35 cloth, ISBN 0945466293.

Dunn, Charles W. *The Scarlet Thread of Scandal: Morality and the American Presidency*. Rowman & Littlefield. \$19.95 cloth, ISBN 084769073.

Galambos, Louis, and Daun Van Ec, eds. *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: The Presidency — Keeping the Peace*. Vols. 18-21. Johns Hopkins University Press. \$80 cloth (each); ISBNs: 0801866383; 0801866847; 0801866995; 0801867185.

Fink, Gary M., and Hugh Davis Graham, eds. *The Carter Presidency: Policy Choices in the Post-New Deal Era*. Reprint ed. University Press of Kansas. \$17.95 paper, ISBN 0700610979.

Foley, Michael. *The British Presidency*. 2d ed. Manchester University Press. \$29.95 paper, ISBN 0719050162.

Friedenberg, Daniel M., and Howard Zinn. *Sold to the Highest Bidder: The Presidency from Dwight D. Eisenhower to George W. Bush*. Prometheus Books. \$29 cloth, ISBN 1573929239.

Greene, Abner S. *Understanding the 2000 Election: A Guide to the Legal Battles that Decided the Presidency*. New York University Press. \$20 cloth, ISBN 0814731481.

Greenfield, Jeff. *Oh, Waiter! One Order of Crow: Inside the Strangest Presidential Election Finish in American History*. \$24.95.

Greenstein, Fred I. *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to Clinton, With an Af-*

terword on George W. Bush. Reprint ed. Princeton University Press. \$16.95 paper, ISBN 0691090831.

Gullan, Harold I. *Faith of Our Mothers: The Stories of Presidential Mothers from Mary Washington to Barbara Bush*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. \$25 cloth, ISBN 0802849261.

Hayden, Joseph M. *Covering Clinton: The President and the Press in the 1990s*. Praeger. \$55 cloth, ISBN 0275970345.

Houck, Davis W. *Rhetoric as Currency: Hoover, Roosevelt, and the Great Depression*. Texas A&M University Press. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 1585441090.

Issacharoff, Samuel, Richard H. Pildes, and Pamela S. Karlan. *When Elections Go Bad: The Law of Democracy and the Presidential Election of 2000*. Foundation Press. \$14.20 paper, ISBN 1587781565.

Jones, Charles O. *Passages to the Presidency: From Campaigning to Governing*. Brookings Institute. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0815791232.

Kaplan, Leonard V., and Beverly I. Moran, eds. *Aftermath: The Clinton Impeachment and the Presidency in the Age of Political Spectacle*. New York University Press. \$65 cloth, ISBN 0814747426. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 0814747434.

Kura, Alexandra, ed. *Electoral College and Presidential Elections*. Nova Science Publishers, Inc. \$49 cloth, ISBN 1560729104.

Book Scan (cont'd)

Landy, Marc, and Sidney M. Milkis. *Presidential Greatness*. University Press of Kansas. \$16.95 paper, ISBN 0700611495.

Liebovich, Louis W. *The Press and the Modern Presidency: Myths and Mindsets from Kennedy to Election 2000*. Rev. 2d ed. Praeger. \$69.95 cloth, ISBN 0275974030. \$27 paper, ISBN 0275974049.

MacKenzie, G. Calvin, ed. *Innocent Until Nominated: The Breakdown of the Presidential Appointments Process*. Brookings Institute. \$18.95 paper, ISBN 0815754019.

Mayer, Kenneth R. *With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*. Princeton University Press. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0691012040.

Mieczkowski, Yanek, and Mark C. Carnes, eds. *The Routledge Historical Atlas of Presidential Elections*. Routledge. \$17.95 paper, ISBN 0415921392.

Montrose, Timothy. *Democracy's Biggest Test: The 2000 Presidential Election and the Thirty-Six Days That Followed*. \$11.95 paper, ISBN 0595177646.
Morton, Rebecca B., and Kenneth C. Williams. *Learning By Voting: Sequential Choices in Presidential Primaries and Other Elections*. University of Michigan Press. \$49.50 cloth, ISBN 0472111299.

New York Times. *36 Days: The Complete Chronicle of the 2000 Presidential Election Crisis*. Times Books. \$15 paper, ISBN 0805068503.

Parry Giles, Shawn J. *The Rhetorical Presidency, Propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955*. Praeger. \$59 cloth, ISBN 0275974634.

Saunders, Robert M. *Power, the Presidency, and the Preamble: Interpretive Essays on Selected Presidents of the United States*. Praeger. \$70 cloth, ISBN 0275968464. \$22 paper, ISBN 0275973352.

Shull, Steven A. *American Civil Rights Policy from Truman to Clinton: The Role of Presidential Leadership*. M.E. Sharpe. \$27.95 paper, ISBN 0765603942.

Simon, Roger. *Divided We Stand: How Al Gore Beat George Bush and Lost the Presidency*. \$25 cloth. Crown. ISBN 0812932048.

Toole, James F., Robert J. Joynt, and Arthur S. Link, eds. *Presidential Disability: Papers, Discussions, and Recommendations on the Twenty-Fifth Amendment and Issues of Inability and Disability Among Presidents*. University of Rochester Press. \$125 cloth, ISBN 1580460690.

U.S. Government. *Clinton Presidential Executive Orders: Proclamations and Executive Orders from Truman to Bush*. CD-ROM electronic book. \$19.95, ISBN 1893472701.

Waugh, John C., and Nat Henthoff. *Reelecting Lincoln: The Battle for the 1864 Presidency*. Da Capo Press. \$18 paper, ISBN 0306810220.

Webber, Michael J. *New Deal Fat Cats: Business, Labor, and Campaign Finance in the 1936 Presidential Election*. Fordham University Press. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0823219461.

Yalof, David Alistair. *Pursuit of Justices: Presidential Politics and the Selection of Supreme Court Nominees*. University of Chicago Press. \$15 paper, ISBN 0226945464.

Zall, Paul M. *Dolly Madison*. Nova Science Publishers. \$34 cloth, ISBN 1560729376.

JOURNAL SCAN

Articles on the Presidency

by Meena Bose

The following list of articles on the presidency was compiled through an electronic (and paper when available) review of spring, summer, and fall 2001 issues of the following scholarly journals: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *Polity*. Whenever possible, entries include page numbers. (Not all journal websites contain page numbers of articles.) Also listed are the contents of the June and September 2001 issues of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, as well as the Spring 2001 issue of *Congress and the Presidency*.

Caraley, Demetrios James. "Why Americans Need A Constitutional Right to Vote for Presidential Electors." *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 1-3.

Erikson, Robert S. "The 2000 Election in Historical Perspective." *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 29-52.

Farnham, Barbara. "Reagan and the Gorbachev Revolution: Perceiving the End of Threat." *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 225-52.

Jacobson, Gary C. "A House and Senate Divided: The Clinton Legacy and the Congressional Elections of 2000." *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 5-2000.

Martin, Andrew J. "Congressional Decision Making and the Separation of Powers." *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 2 (June 2001): 361-78.

Peake, Jeffrey S. "Presidential Agenda Setting in Foreign Policy." *Political Research Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (March 2001).

Pious, Richard M. "The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Limits of Crisis Management." *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 81-105.

Pomper, Gerald M. "The 2000 Presidential Election: Why Gore Lost." *Political Science Quarterly* 116, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 201-23.

Redlawsk, David P. "You Must Remember This: A Test of the On-Line Model of Voting." *Journal of Politics* 63, no. 1 (February 2001): 29-58.

Whittington, Keith E. "Presidential Challenges to Judicial Supremacy and the Politics of Constitutional Meaning." *Polity* 33, no. 3 (Spring 2001): 365-95.

Presidential Studies Quarterly, June 2001
Arnold, Peri E., Charles E. Walcott, and Bradley H. Patterson, Jr. "The White House Office of Management and Administration."

Durant, Robert F., and Adam L. Warber. "Networking in the Shadow of Hierarchy: Public Policy, the Administrative Presidency, and the Neoadministrative State."

Hargrove, Erwin C. "Presidential Power and Political Science."

Hult, Karen M., and Kathryn Dunn Tenpas. "The Office of the Staff Secretary."

Jones, Charles O. "Professional Reputation and the Neustadt Formulation."

In the Spring 2002 PRG Report...

Shirley Anne Warshaw on
Teaching the Presidency,

and Research Reports by Darius Udrys,
Patricia Lee Sykes and Matthew Baum

Kumar, Martha Joynt. "The Office of the Press Secretary."

Features

The Contemporary Presidency: Abrams, Herbert L. "Presidential Safety, Prosecutorial Zeal, and Judicial Blunders: The Protective Function Privilege."

The Law: Harriger, Katy J. "The President and the Independent Counsel: Reflections on Prosecutors, Presidential Prerogatives, and Political Power."

The Polls: Cohen, Jeffrey E. "Popular Views of the Vice President and Vice Presidential Favorability."

Source Material: Gavin, William F. "His Heart's Abundance: Notes of A Nixon Speechwriter."

Presidential Studies Quarterly, September 2001

Borrelli, MaryAnne. "Competing Conceptions of the First Ladyship: Public Responses to Betty Ford's 60 Minutes Interview."

Patterson, Bradley H., and James P. Pfiffner. "The White House Office of Presidential Personnel."

Peabody, Bruce G. "George Washington, Presidential Term Limits, and the Problem of Reluctant Political Leadership."
Romero, David W. "Requiem for a Lightweight: Vice Presidential Candidate Evaluations

and the Presidential Vote."

Walcott, Charles E., Shirley Anne Warshaw, and Stephen J. Wayne. "The Chief of Staff."

Weeks, Gregory. "Almost Jeffersonian: U.S. Recognition Policy Toward Latin America."

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The Contemporary Presidency: Dudley, Robert L. "The Presidential Election of 2000: A Great Civics Lesson?"

The Law: Boylan, Timothy S. "Constitutional Understandings of the War Power."

The Polls: Bond, Jon R., and Richard Fleisher. "Partisanship and Presidential Performance Evaluations."

Congress and the Presidency, Spring 2001

Burke, John P. "A Tale of Two Transitions: 1980 and 1988."

DeGregorio, Christine. "Party Leadership in the U.S. House of Representatives: Making Theoretical Sense of Ambition and Context."

Farnsworth, Stephen J. "Patterns of Political Support: Examining Congress and the Presidency."

Ward, Artemus. "The Nominations Presidents Make: Appointing Supreme Court Justices."

Review Essay: Pevehouse, Jon. "Congress, the Presidency, and U. S. Foreign Policy."



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