

PRG REPORT



Newsletter of the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science

Volume XXVI, Number 1

Fall 2003

Calling All Editors

New Editor Sought for PRG Report

After publishing the PRG Report for four years, Thomas Langston of Tulane University will complete his term as Editor with the publication of the Spring 2004 PRG Report. Presidency Research Group members with an interest in producing this Report by assuming its editorship with the Fall 2004 edition should contact the outgoing editor.

Thomas Langston
langston@tulane.edu, 504.862.8311.

PRG Awards 2003

Pages 6 - 8

Inside This Issue

Section News...

Report from the President	2
PRG Officers and Governing Council	3
PRG Awards Committees 2003-2004	4
PRG Awards Recipients 2002-2003	6
Minutes from the August 30, 2003 Meeting	9
Announcements	10

Research Reports...

Rudalavige on Hierarchy and the Institutional Presidency	Cover
Watson on Ranking the First Ladies	15

Teaching the Presidency...

Cox Han on Teaching the Presidency from a Liberal Arts Perspective	23
Crockett on Using the Constitution to Teach the Presidency	28
Renka on Teaching the Modern Presidency on the Internet	32

Book Scan...	44
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Journal Scan...	46
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What Should the President Know and When Should He Know It?

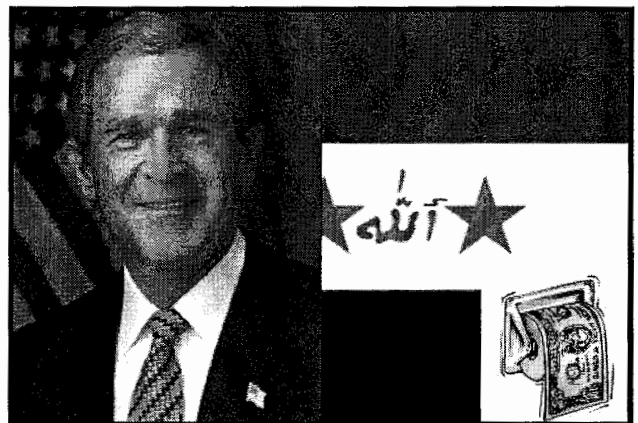
Hierarchy and the Study of the Institutional Presidency

by Andrew Rudalavige

As the summer of 2003 came to an end, President George W. Bush asked Congress for an additional \$87 billion to fund ongoing operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. "We will do what is necessary, we will spend what is necessary, to achieve this essential victory in the war on terror," the president declared.

Yet as the pricetag – in dollars and lives – of the Iraq war came into sharper focus, unwelcome questions began to swirl around the White House. Had Saddam Hussein's Iraq ever really been a grave threat to the United States? How much would the occupation and the reconstruction cost? "[The administration] did a miserable job of planning for a post-Saddam Iraq," charged Nebraska Senator Chuck Hagel, and others were quick to agree.

Implicit in the criticism was a single query, three decades old and first broached in a rather different context: "What did the president know, and when did he know it?" In



1973, when Senator Howard Baker first posed it, that question meant whether Richard Nixon knew about the Watergate cover-up and the crimes committed by all (or at least many of) the president's men. Asked in 2003, the question was quite literal. Namely: what information was

(Continued on page 37)

Report from the President

At the August 2003 American Political Science Association meeting of the Presidency Research Group in Philadelphia, I opened my three-hour inaugural address as your President with the words, "Our long PRG nightmare is over!", an obvious and cheap reference to President Gerald Ford's remark on assuming the presidency in the wake of the Watergate scandal and Nixon resignation. The joke, of course, was aimed at my predecessor, Robert Spitzer who finished his two-year term (it is now a one-year term) as President of the PRG, and who reluctantly (and after some considerable use of force) tearfully turned over the reins of "power" to me.

As I assumed power, using a crowbar to remove Spitzer's vice-like grip from the podium he clutched with such desperation, I reflected on how far the PRG has come since the 1980s when a small band of brave souls – our Founders – invented the Presidency Research Group. From idea to action to one of the top organized sections in APSA, the PRG (to give my State of the Union pitch) is in excellent shape!

We owe our success to the dedication and hard work of the Founders and those who succeeded them. The PRG has been blessed with a cadre of hard working, generous, creative people who gave of themselves to further the organization, and in ways large and small, made the PRG what it is today. From serving on a committee, to heading a task force, to serving as an officer, the PRG is most fortunate to

have wonderful, dedicated people who are so willing to serve the organization.

And then there is Bob Spitzer! All kidding aside, Bob was a tireless, conscientious, good natured, caring and outstanding President who deserves our thanks and recognition. Great job Robert!

And now, down to business. The PRG Newsletter has been edited by Tom Langston for the past several years. Tom has made the Newsletter more professional looking, more substantive, and has done an excellent job in handling a difficult and time-consuming task. Tom is ready to retire from this post, and the PRG is looking for a replacement. All those interested should contact Tom to discuss what the job entails.

At the 2003 APSA meeting, the PRG presented its series of awards (information listed on pages six through eight), including the first Career Service Award, which went to Richard Neustadt. The PRG will give another Career Service Award at the 2004 meeting, and will then place the award on a four-year cycle, coinciding with the year of a presidential election. At the 2003 meeting the PRG also voted to create a new award, to be given to the best undergraduate paper on the Presidency in the previous year. Jeff Cohen of Fordham University chairs that committee, and anyone wishing to nominate a paper (limited to one nomination per university) should send papers

directly to Jeff. (Award description on page five)

As president, I employed my prerogative powers and set up an ad hoc committee on

Minority

Inclusion. In the past dozen years, the PRG has done, I think, an excellent job of welcoming women into the organization. We have all benefited from this. It is now time to reach out to minority scholars who work in areas relating to presidential politics, and show them that they have a home in the PRG. Karen Hult has agreed to chair this committee. Anyone wishing to offer suggestions or support should contact Karen.

Finally, at the Philadelphia meeting, the PRG experimented with a new approach to holding our reception: we had it outside the conference hotel, at the historic CITY TAVERN. While this took us away from other conference action, overall the reaction to this experiment was very positive. Therefore, I've asked Ray Tatalovich to scout venues in Chicago for our Thursday evening reception. Ray is already on the case and will, I am sure, provide us with a venue equal to our Mount Rushmore status in the discipline.

— Michael A. Genovese
PRG President, Really!

**MICHAEL A.
GENOVESE IS
THE PRESIDENT
OF THE
PRESIDENCY
RESEARCH
GROUP. HE IS
LOYOLA CHAIR
OF LEADERSHIP
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Individual subscriptions to the PRG Report are provided to APSA members with membership in the Presidency Research Group (PRG). To become a member of PRG, send a \$10 check payable to the "Presidency Research Section, APSA" to: American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Address changes should also be sent to the American Political Science Association.

Institutional subscriptions to the PRG Report are \$10 annually. Send subscriptions to: American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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

PRG Report

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PRG Governing Council

(Table excludes officers who are listed to the left with full contact info)

PRG Board Member	Year Elected	Year Term Ends
Joel Aberbach	2002	2005
Lydia Andrade	2001	2004
Terri Bimes	2003	2006
Meena Bose	2002	2005
James Campbell	2001	2004
Jeffrey Cohen	2001	2004
Matthew Corrigan	2003	2004
David Crockett	2003	2006
Victoria Farrar-Myers	2001	2004
Lori Cox Han	2002	2005
John Hart	2003	2006
Diane Heith	2003	2006
Martha Kumar, <i>ex officio</i>	1999	
Kenneth Mayer	2002	2005
Daniel Ponder	2002	2005
Andrew Rudalevige	2003	2006
Israel Waismel-Manor, <i>graduate student</i>	2002	2005

PRG Awards Committees, 2003 - 2004

Richard E. Neustadt Award for the Best Book on the U.S. Presidency Published in 2003 (i. e., with a 2003 copyright.) To be nominated for this award, please make sure your publisher (or you) sends copies to each member of the Neustadt Committee by the submission deadline of February 15, 2004.

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Founder's Award honoring

Thomas E. Cronin for the Best Convention Paper on the Presidency delivered at the 2003 APSA. Copies of the 2003 APSA papers to be considered for this award should be sent to the members of the committee by February 15, 2004.

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Founder's Award honoring Don Bonafede for the Best

Convention Paper on the Presidency by a Graduate Student Delivered in 2003-2004 Papers given at the APSA or any of the regional meetings in the 2003-2004 academic year are eligible. The deadline for submission is May 15, 2004. Nominations by panel chairs, discussants, and even proud advisors are strongly encouraged!

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Paul Peck Presidential Awards Committee

Contact the Chair of the committee for additional information regarding this award. Information about the Paul Peck Presidential Awards appeared in the Fall 2002 PRG Report on page five. The issue is available at:
<http://cstl-cla.semo.edu/Renka/PRG/>

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Best Undergraduate Student Paper 2003 - 2004

This new award will be given to an undergraduate student, at any university, who completes an outstanding paper on the presidency in the 2003-2004 academic year. Please encourage your students to apply. Only one student may be nominated by a university. The deadline is June 10, 2004. Please send papers to the Chair of the Committee.

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Presidency Research Group Awards

Neustadt Prize and Founder's Award for the Best Convention Paper Awarded to Andrew Rudalevige

The Neustadt Award Committee of the Presidency Research Section of the American Political Science Association is pleased to announce its decision to name:

Managing the President's Program (Princeton University Press, 2002)

by Andrew Rudalevige

as the winner of the 2003 Richard E. Neustadt Award for the best book on the presidency published in 2002.

Managing the President's Program focuses on the critically important question of the management of the president's legislative program. The book excels on several dimensions. The early chapters engage theory directly, attending closely to the insights of different schools and to important historical cases, and draw out testable empirical implications in a convincing way. The work also represents an ambitious data collection effort and careful data analysis. The task of defining "the president's program," the creation of the data set, and the use of appropriate statistical techniques demonstrate a laudable concern for validity and careful operationalization. The author's elaboration of the analysis into a well-informed and thoughtful discussion of the implications for the president's program in Congress rounds off the project in an elegant way.

THE WINNER OF
THE PRESIDENCY
RESEARCH
GROUP'S
NEUSTADT PRIZE
FOR THE BEST
BOOK ON THE
PRESIDENCY
PUBLISHED
DURING 2002
AND THE BEST
PAPER AWARD
HONORING
JAMES YOUNG IS

ANDREW
RUDALEVIGE

In sum, *Managing the President's Program* is a commendable example of high quality scholarship, and the Neustadt Award Committee is pleased to present the 2003 award to Andrew Rudalevige.

— George C. Edwards, III
Chair, Neustadt Award
Committee.

Neustadt Award Committee
George C. Edwards, III Chair
Colin Campbell
Joseph Pika
Randall Adkins
Stephen Weatherford

The Founder's Award Committee of the Presidency Research Section of the American Political Science Association is pleased to announce its decision to award the Best Paper for 2002 honoring James Young to:

Andrew Rudalevige
"The Structure of Leadership: Information, Organization, and Presidential Decision Making"

The committee found this paper to be an interesting take on staffing as well as an effective effort to synthesize theoretical and empirical approaches to the presidency. This paper explored how institutional choices within the presidency influence information flow. Rudalevige explores what he terms "change points," points in time when an administration changes staff structure. Although the paper was intended as preliminary hypothesis testing, we found his suggestion that advising systems should be broadly constructed and cut across policy areas compelling. We look forward to seeing his argument expanded and developed in depth.

— Diane Heith
Chair, Best Paper Committee

Best Paper Committee
Diane Heith, Chair
Terri Bimes
Chris Dolan

NEUSTADT AWARD **for the Best Book on the Presidency**

1985: Bert A. Rockman, The Leadership Question: The Presidency and the American System (New York City: Praeger, 1984).

1986: Theodore J. Lowi, The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985).

1987: Colin Campbell, Managing the Presidency: Carter, Reagan and the Search for Executive Harmony (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 1986).

1988: Barry Schwartz, George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol (New York: Free Press, 1987).

1989: Erwin C. Hargrove, Jimmy Carter as President: Leadership and the Politics of the Public Good (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

1990: John P. Burke and Fred I. Greenstein with the collaboration of Larry Berman and Richard Immerman, How Presidents Test Reality: Decisions on Vietnam, 1954 and 1965 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1989).

1991: Harold H. Koh, The National Security Constitution: Sharing Power after the Iran-Contra Affair (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

1992: David Mayhew, Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991)

1993: Paul Brace and Barbara Hinckley, Follow the Leader: Opinion Polls and the Modern Presidents (New York: Basic Books, 1992).

1994: Stephen Skowronek, The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993).

1995: Charles O. Jones, The Presidency in a Separated System (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1994).

1996: Charles E. Walcott and Karen M. Hult, Governing the White House: From Hoover through LBJ (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

1997: Stanley A. Renshon, High Hopes: The Clinton Presidency and The Politics of Ambition (New York City: New York University Press, 1996)

1998: Jeffrey E. Cohen, Presidential Responsiveness and Public Policy-making: The Public and the Policies That Presidents Choose (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

1999: Keith Krehbiel, Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U.S. Lawmaking (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

2000: David Alistair Yalof, Pursuit of Justices: Presidential Politics and the Selection of Supreme Court Nominees (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

2001: 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).

2002: Kenneth R. Mayer, With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

2003: Andrew Rudalevige, Managing the President's Program (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Founder's Award for the Best Graduate Student Paper Awarded to Elvin T. Lim

The Founders' Award Committee honoring Peri Arnold for the best convention paper on the presidency by a graduate student delivered in 2002-2003 is pleased to announce its decision to name:

Elvin T. Lim
Nuffield College
University of Oxford
"The Lion and the Lamb:
De-Mythologizing Franklin
Roosevelt's Fireside Chats"

First, I would like to thank the award committee: Rebecca Deen and Jeff Peake. They did their work promptly and well, and the committee reached unanimity with great ease.

Second, I would like to thank those who nominated papers. It was a competitive field, and there is much to be proud of in our discipline. Judging from the evidence, presidential research is alive and doing well. Do please remember to nominate papers for next year's award as well. The committee needs your help.

It is always an honor to present an award; in this case, I am especially pleased to be able to do so, because this year's founders' award is given in honor of Peri Arnold, of the University of Notre Dame. Among Peri's manifold accomplishments is one that I think deserves particular attention as being especially meritorious--his is one of the signatures on my

dissertation. However that plays in the pantheon of his greatest written works, I cannot say, but it ranks pretty high in mine.

I shouldn't allow that to delay my main purpose here today, however, which is to present the award itself. This year, the founders' award goes to a paper that reexamines the conventional wisdom regarding Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Fireside Chats." The author concludes that the Chats were less intimate and more vitriolic and declamatory than is generally realized. The paper has theoretical and methodological implications for our understanding of FDR, the rhetorical presidency, and presidential oratory.

The paper is well structured, well written, and in the words of one committee member, "exemplifies good political science." The committee was especially impressed with the facility with which both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used. The paper does much to situate familiar data on new ground, and speaks to many areas of presidential research--rhetoric, power, public opinion, and collective memory.

Please join the committee in congratulating the winner of this year's founders' award given in honor of Peri Arnold: Elvin T. Lim, of Nuffield College, University of Oxford, for his paper "The Lion and the Lamb: De-

THE WINNER OF THE FIRST PRG CAREER SERVICE AWARD IS: RICHARD NEUSTADT

Richard Neustadt's influence on the study of the presidency cannot be measured nor fully appreciated. To paraphrase William Camden (1600), who was speaking of Oxford, England, "Suffice it to say of him what Pomponius Mela said of Athens; he is too well known to be pointed out." It is right and fitting that the first Presidency Research Group Career Service Award should be presented to Professor Neustadt. We in the PRG are, as always, in his debt. He is among the Mount Rushmore figures in our discipline, and is richly deserving of this honor.

— Michael Genovese

Mythologizing Franklin Roosevelt's Fireside Chats," presented at last year's APSA conference.

— Mary Stuckey
Chair, Best Graduate Student Paper Committee

Best Graduate Student Paper Committee
Mary Stuckey
Rebecca Deen
Jeff Peake

THE WINNER OF
THE PRESIDENCY
RESEARCH
GROUP'S
FOUNDER'S
AWARD
HONORING PERI
ARNOLD FOR THE
BEST GRADUATE
STUDENT PAPER
IS:

Minutes from PRG Business Meeting on August 30, 2003 — Philadelphia

I. Announcements

A. Hofstra University will host the latest in their series of presidential conferences in 2005 on the Presidency of Bill Clinton.

B. R. Spitzer presented a brief report on the Organized Sections Breakfast, also attended by M. Genovese, at which the panel allocation formula was discussed. Factors taken into account include: attendance, priority areas, and acceptance rate for previous year.

II. Proposal for new award for best presidency paper by an undergraduate:
After considerable discussion about the types of papers to be considered and the composition of the award committee, a motion for the new award was carried.

III. PRG Awards for 2002 were made by the chairs of the award committees.

IV. Reports:

A. Vice-President (M. Genovese): The reception at City Tavern was deemed a success, and was a monetary value as well.

B. Secretary-Treasurer (B. Miroff): Membership and bank account have been stable.

C. Newsletter Editor (T. Langston): Need for a new editor next year.

D. Section Head (V. Farrar-Myers): Short-course had thirteen registered; PRG program went well.

E. Web-Page (R. Renka): Web site has been redesigned and additional pages (some with data sets) will be created.

F. Peck Awards (K. Hult): We were again represented on the committee, though our nominees for this year were ultimately not the award recipients.

G. Presidency Research Fellowships (M. Kumar): Fellowships begin this year--first fellow is Elvin Lim.

V. Elections:

Vice-President and President-Elect: Bruce Miroff

Secretary-Treasurer: Nancy Kassop

New PRG Board Members: John Hart, Diane Heith, Andrew Rudalevige, Terri Bimes, David Crockett, Matt Corrigan (1 year term as replacement for Nancy Kassop)

VI. New President Takes Over--Mike Genovese presented a plaque to outgoing president Bob Spitzer. He announced the formation of an ad hoc committee on minority inclusion in PRG, headed by Karen Hult.

VII. Adjournment

Bruce Miroff, (outgoing) Secretary-Treasurer

Announcements

The Hofstra Cultural Center, acclaimed internationally for its academic contributions in such fields as art, music, literature, history, science, philosophy, politics, popular culture and drama,

is proud to announce its 11th Presidential Conference

The "New Democrat" From Hope
A Study of the Presidency of
William Jefferson Clinton

Thursday, Friday and Saturday
November 10, 11, and 12, 2005

See the
CALL FOR PAPERS
on page 27

Conference Director:

Eric J. Schmertz

Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Law
Hofstra University School of Law

Conference Coordinator:

Natalie Datlof

Executive Director
Hofstra Cultural Center

Erratum

The editor regrets that, for Sidney Milkis's research report run in the last edition, a draft version of the essay's footnotes found its way into print.

Readers desiring more complete documentation from Professor Milkis's report should kindly contact the editor for a corrected copy of the citations.

Visit the recently released, all- new web site
of the Presidency Research Group at:

<http://cstl-cla.semo.edu/Renka/PRG/>

The site contains a growing amount of information that includes the PRG Report Online, a massive collection of presidency course syllabi, the PRG bylaws, links to relevant web sites, links to presidency data web sites, information about upcoming conferences, and a host of other information.

If your library already subscribes to APSR,
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The APSA Policy Agendas Project — www.policyagendas.org

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 Jens Feeley, University of Washington (tjfeeley@u.washington.edu)

We are pleased to announce the creation and continued development of a major new resource for the study of public policy and American government in the post-1945 period. The Policy Agendas Project uses various archived sources to trace changes in the national policy agenda and their effects on public policy outcomes since the Second World War. The Project includes the development of new data resources as well as an extensive web-based distribution system that also allows scholars and students to analyze the data over the web with ease.

The Policy Agendas Project is directed by Bryan Jones and John Wilkerson of the University of Washington and Frank Baumgartner of Pennsylvania State University, with funds from the National Science Foundation, the University of Washington, and Pennsylvania State University. The recently-published volume, *Policy Dynamics*, edited by Baumgartner and Jones (University of Chicago Press, 2002), fully describes the effort and captures some of the most recent research to make use of these data sets.

The datasets consist of five core data sets that are currently available and four additional datasets that are being prepared for release. The **core datasets** include:

- 1 All congressional hearings, 1946-1998 (~74,700 records)
- 2 All statutes passed, 1948-1998 (~17,000 records)
- 3 All *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* stories, 1948-1998 (~12,500 records)
- 4 Congressional Budget Authority, FY1947-FY2002 (~6,000 records)
- 5 A sample of *New York Times Index* entries, 1946-1994 (~36,400 records)

Several **additional datasets** are in various stages of development for release in the future, including two of special interest to presidential scholars. Datasets in progress include

- 1 Gallup's Most Important Problem Series, 1937-2001; available in quarterly and annual summaries (~5,600 records)
- 2 All bills introduced in congress, 1947-2000 (~387,000 records)
- 3 Executive Orders promulgated, 1945-2001 (~3,600 records)
- 4 State of the Union speeches, 1947-2002 (~10,300 records)
- 5 *Encyclopedia of Associations*, 1959-2002 (~600,000 records)

The datasets are linked through a common content code of 19 major topics and 229 minor topics. Congressional Budget Authority uses OMB subfunctions. The content categories ensure comparability across the full time period by 1) high standards of inter-coder reliability; 2) backward compatibility, with no new policy content categories added without re-categorizing all prior entries; and 3) single categorization of each item. (For a full discussion, see *Policy Dynamics*).

Release Policy. We have established a release policy that has three levels. *Level 1* includes datasets that meet the very highest standards of quality. These data are available on our web site. *Level 2* data is data that has been collected, assembled and coded; we will release the data under special circumstances, but we do not guarantee the quality of the dataset. *Level 3* datasets are those under construction. 'Release' means that the data are at Level 1.

We intend to release two of these datasets, the Gallup MIP series and the Executive Orders, this autumn. The State of the Union speeches will be available in the winter of 2004.

Website. We maintain a website for the project, <http://www.policyagendas.org/>. The site is organized to allow access of the core datasets on three levels. The first includes examples of use to students and faculty interested in developing examples of policy change across time. The second allows the user to custom craft datasets to examine trends and compare them across datasets. The final level allows users to download the full datasets.

Conference: Researching the Public Presidency

February 27-28, 2004

**Bush Presidential Library Conference Center
Texas A&M University**

Leading the public is at the core of the modern presidency. Even as they attempt to govern, presidents are involved in a permanent campaign. Both politics and policy revolve around presidents' attempts to garner public support, both for themselves and their policies. Going public is the White House's core strategy for governing. The Department of Political Science and The George Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University will bring together scholars interested in the public presidency to focus on the critical and often ignored questions at the core of this strategy for governing, to identify fruitful areas for future research, and to demonstrate how such research may be implemented.

Conference Schedule

February 27

Dinner

February 28

Panel 1: The Impact of What the President Says
Tour George Bush Presidential Library and meet with archivists
Lunch

Panel 2: The Intermediating Role of the Press
Panel 3: Public Opinion and Presidential Strategy
Dinner at Messina Hof Winery

Paper givers include Brandice Canes-Wrone, Jeffrey Cohen, Roderick Hart, Lawrence Jacobs, Martha Kumar, Martin Wattenberg, B. Dan Wood, and David Zarefsky. All scholars who are interested in the Public Presidency are welcome. A small number of stipends are available to facilitate attendance at the conference.

For more information, please contact:

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(979) 845-9764
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Earl Shaw Memorial Scholarship

A scholarship fund for low income students has been established in the name of the late Earl Shaw, a presidency scholar who had many successful students. If you are interested in contributing, donations may be sent to: Dr. L. Earl Shaw Jr. Memorial Fund, c/o Centura Bank, ATTN Mary Shaw, 131 N. Church St., Rocky Mount, NC 27803

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.

Please mail checks payable to "PRG Fellowship/ APSA" to: American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Please provide an address for a certificate to be sent recognizing the contribution. Contributions made in honor or in memory of individuals are welcome.

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 Presidency. 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.

The White House Historical Association Research Grants Program.

The White House Historical Association invites scholars who are conducting research at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Presidential Library System, Library of Congress, or other appropriate repository, to apply for grants that will defray costs of travel and accommodations.

Sponsor

The White House Historical Association is a private, non-profit organization whose mission is to share and promote a greater understanding of the history of the President's House. The Association, founded in 1961 through the efforts of Mrs. John F. Kennedy and others, is located in Washington, D.C.

Purpose:

The Association wishes to encourage new scholarship on the history of the White House. For the research grants program, the Association will consider projects that make use of textual and non-textual records pertinent to the president, first family and subordinates *while the president lives in the White House*. The focus of the research should be the White House, including life and work there, as well the physical structure. This would include, but not necessarily be limited to:

- Image of the White House: the White House as symbol or icon; perceptions of the White House from the public, press or foreign dignitaries.
- White House personnel; personnel management; Executive Residence staff; White House staff (West Wing and East Wing operations, including Oval Office, Office of the First Lady and the Social Office); White House permanent operating offices; administration of the White House Office.
- Social and diplomatic functions: state dinners, performances, visits from heads of state and other honorees, entertaining.
- Study of the structure and its contents: construction, renovation, alteration, furnishing, decoration, use of space, historical collections, buildings and grounds; public tours and historical interpretation.
- Family life: issues of security, public scrutiny, privacy; public role of first family members; means of travel.
- Communications: use of communications technology to document events, meetings, conversations; the role of White House press corps and staff photographers; public presentation of the president, first lady and first family.

Awards

Grants awarded will not exceed \$2,000 and will be made according to need, using submitted budget as a guide. Grants must be used within one year of notification.

Eligibility

Preference is given to those undertaking dissertation research or post-doctoral research with plans for publication, but all proposals, including graduate-level research and independent projects, will be considered.

Deadlines

Applications should be received by March 1 and September 1. Awards will be announced in spring and fall.

Application

Researchers should submit the following:

- 1 A letter briefly describing the project title and the proposed final product of the research (book, dissertation, article, etc.)
- 2 A two-page project proposal
- 3 An assessment form, letter, search report or other verification from the Presidential Library that lists the appropriate holdings for the project. Records must support the White House research project.
- 4 A current vita
- 5 Three professional references in support of the proposal

- 6 A proposed budget, including expenses related to travel, per diem and photocopying. Please use local per diem set by specific Presidential Library or consult GSA rate (visit www.gsa.gov, and search for "domestic per diem"). Applicant should include approximate dates of travel.

Applicant should include approximate dates of travel. *Send applications to:*

Research Grants Program
White House Historical Association
P.O. Box 27624
Washington, D.C. 20038-7624

Application materials, letters of recommendation, and inquiries may also be faxed (202.789.0440).

End-of-Grant Responsibilities

Grant recipient must: 1) Donate a copy of resulting publication or unpublished paper to the Association, 2) Acknowledge support of the White House Historical Association in resulting publication, 3) Provide an update on progress of the research within two years of the end of grant, 4) Submit a 500-word statement describing how the grant forwarded the research project. Recipients are also strongly encouraged to submit for consideration the resulting research for publication by the White House Historical Association.

White House History Fellowships

The White House Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians seek proposals for projects shedding light on the roles of the White House as home, workplace, museum, structure, and symbol. Teachers and scholars whose work enhances understanding of how the White House functions in its several capacities and of life and work at all levels within the walls of the President's House are encouraged to apply. (Studies that deal primarily with political or governmental policy issues would not be appropriate for this program, but ones concerning the operation of the White House as a political institution would be considered.)

In an effort to reach a number of learning communities, the cosponsors offer three fellowships:

- The White House History Fellowship in Precollegiate Education for initiatives that reach the K-12 classroom.
- The White House History Research Fellowship for forwarding or completing dissertation, postdoctoral, or advanced academic work.
- The White House History Fellowship in Public History for public presentation in the form of exhibits, multimedia projects, films, etc., or for other projects that make historical collections available to broad audiences.

Awards are \$2000/month. We will consider proposals for fellowships lasting one to six months. To apply, send c.v. or resume, a two-page summary of your project including the proposed final product of the research and timetable, and three professional references to each of the committee members listed below by 1 December 2003. A modest travel stipend is also available. If interested, submit a travel budget as well. Application materials may be sent in the body of an electronic mail message before midnight 1 December 2003, to awards@oah.org.

The fellowships do not have a residency requirement and, in essence, scholars are allowed to use the funding to cover travel, or other costs associated with their research. Fellows have a bit of latitude, but are expected to supply monthly reports to the funder in order to receive the next disbursement. Scholars do work at presidential libraries, Library of Congress, or any number of repositories with White House content available.

RANKING THE FIRST LADIES: Polling Experts to Assess Performance

by Robert P. Watson

A noteworthy change in presidential scholarship in recent years is the growing inclusion of studies of presidential spouses. Since the late 1980s – and especially since the late 1990s – research on the first ladies has appeared in scholarly journals and at academic conferences. (1) Although the literature base is still developing, a number of important books have been published since the late 1980s (2) and scholars are beginning to develop theories and models to guide future research and promote a more systematic study of the first ladyship. Progress has been made, but as a field of study first lady scholarship is still in its infancy. (Watson 2003). To be sure, further systematic development and testing of theories is needed. One such obvious question has to do with the performance of first ladies: Which first ladies were successful and which were not? A similar question has been pursued with great interest and controversy by historians and political scientists endeavoring to rate and rank the nation's commanders-in-chief. Ever since Arthur M. Schlesinger published the results of his ranking of presidents in *Life* magazine in 1948 (3), presidential ratings have appeared with increasing regularity (4)

Challenges of Rating First Ladies

Most of the same challenges that confront scholars attempting to rank the presidents exist for those conducting a poll on the performance of first ladies. There exists a small "N" (43 presidencies, 42 presidents as of 2003) with much variation in approach, ability, and performance among them. Debate has swirled over what criteria to use in rating presidents, with some arguing for multiple, specific criteria (Bailey 1966, 262-266) such as treaties

ratified, bills passed, appointments confirmed, vetoes sustained, and the like. Others cite the need for a more quantitative approach to the rankings in general (Blessing 2003), while many (Schlesinger 2003, 1996) advocate a "holistic" approach to ranking presidents, whereby a general, overall assessment is the means for rating.

By far, the most common approach to ranking presidents is to poll presidential scholars. Some polls have been conducted using a large number of raters. This includes a poll of 93 historians by DeClerico (1979, 323), a poll of 570 historians by Maranell and Dodder (1970, 418), and, perhaps the largest such poll, a study of nearly 1,000 scholars conducted by Murray (1983, 1994). Others have employed a smaller number. Such "elite" polls survey only those individuals recognized as leading experts, and include both the early Schlesinger (1962, 1948) polls which surveyed 55 and 75 historians, respectively, the *Chicago Tribune* (1982) poll of 49 leading scholars, C-SPAN's (2000) study using 58 scholars, and the Schlesinger, Jr. (1996) poll of 32 experts.

Arguably, the best known polls are those administered by both Schlesingers, despite the criticism of a "Harvard Yard" bias. Felzenberg (2003, 1997, 1996), for instance, has argued that the polls exhibit a liberal preference for active presidents in the mold of Franklin D. Roosevelt. (5) As such, the critics allege, Republican presidents are rated poorly, not due to any innate shortcoming but rather to the bias of the raters. (6)

These debates provide useful guidelines for ranking the first ladies. Yet, in many ways, rating the first ladies is an even more problematic enterprise. There is an even smaller "N" (37) and more variation in approach, ability, and performance than for the presidents. So too is there less

information available. Few scholars study the first ladies and the scholarly literature base is far from mature. Thankfully a few systematic studies have been published; encyclopedic/reference works are now available (7); several presidential libraries are releasing White House social files and documents on the first ladies; and the National First Ladies' Library opened its doors in 1998. (8) Still, the first ladyship lacks statutory, legal, or constitutional grounding, leaving scholars without firm criteria for evaluating performance. Was Hillary Rodham Clinton, who was actively involved in the politics and policy of the Clinton administration, but who was quite controversial, more successful than, say, Barbara Bush, who was politically inactive but rarely criticized?

Previous efforts to rate the first ladies exist. *Good Housekeeping* commissioned a poll published in the magazine in 1980 which ranked first ladies of the twentieth century on twelve criteria associated with the office. (9) Two scholarly polls were conducted in 1982 and 1993 by the Siena Research Institute (SRI) at Siena College in New York, which polled presidential historians (10) In 1997, another poll of presidential scholars was conducted by the author.

The SRI (1982/1983) and Watson (1997) polls of first ladies are broadly comparable to the leading polls of presidents. Like the C-SPAN polls, but unlike some others (12), the scholarly surveys regarding first ladies included the wives of the two shortest-termed presidents, William Henry Harrison and James Garfield. The choice to include these women is debatable, however, as Mrs. Harrison never even made it to the capital city. Another concern arises because the rankings were based on large

(Continued on page 16)

polls of *presidential* scholars. Presidential scholars are not necessarily experts on first ladies. The SRI and Watson polls all received many “under-votes” (leaving blank certain first ladies) and comments from pollsters admitting they felt unqualified to rank first ladies. (13)

The results of the SRI polls are listed in Table 1 and the Watson 1997 poll in Table 2.

Methodology

Learning from previous polls, the current poll did *not* include Anna Harrison or Lucretia Garfield, or spouses who themselves died prior to their husband’s presidency. The poll also did *not* include Harriet Lane or other non-spouse hostesses who served for widowed or bachelor presidents or in place of ill first ladies. As such, only “established” first ladies were included.

Attempting to account for the possibility that presidential scholars might have insufficient expertise on first ladies, the poll borrows from the approach of Schlesinger, Schlesinger, Jr., and others by surveying only leading experts on the first ladies. Only those scholars who have published serious books, chapters, or scholarly articles and have a demonstrated expertise in and research agenda on the first ladies were included in this “elite” poll. (14) Based on a survey of literature in the field and interviews with first lady scholars, the author generated a list of 37 experts on the first ladies. This included scholars from political science and history, as well as a handful of other researchers fitting the aforementioned publishing. The response rate produced an “N” of 29.

As in other elite polls, a holistic criterion was used, whereby raters employed an overall assessment of the first ladies. Such approaches are deemed suitable when using an elite poll. Raters were provided with an instrument listing first ladies and were instructed to leave blank any first ladies with whom they were unfamiliar (unlike previous first lady polls, this poll produced almost no

under-votes). Categories employed for ratings included: Great; Near Great; High (or Above) Average; Average; Low (or Below) Average; and Failure.

Findings

Raters placed each first lady in one of the aforementioned categories. If a first lady was rated in the “Great” category she was assigned a score of “1”; “2” for “Near Great,” and so on. All ratings were summed and the mean score was used to assign the ranking. Results of the poll are listed in Table 3. A comparison of this poll with previous first lady polls appears in Table 4.

There was a degree of consensus between this poll and early polls, especially at the top and bottom of the rankings. This same phenomenon is true in presidential ratings, where the top and bottom demonstrate greater consistency and continuity across polls and across time. However, a few changes in ranking were apparent and are noteworthy. For instance, Nancy Reagan, who was near the bottom in all three previous polls, was ranked twenty-first in the recent poll and Caroline Harrison moved from the lower third to roughly midpoint in the recent poll. On the other hand, Bess Truman dropped several spots from the earlier rankings. Perhaps not surprisingly, some of the most controversial, activist first ladies – Hillary Clinton, Sarah Polk, and Edith Wilson – received drastically different ratings across the various polls, suggesting little consensus on their legacies.

Another notable result was that recent first ladies (serving in the modern era) – Eleanor Roosevelt, Johnson, Clinton, Carter, Kennedy, Ford – and the “founding mothers” (wives of the early Founding Father presidents) – Madison, Abigail Adams, Washington – dominated the top positions. So too were those in the bottom positions dominated by nineteenth century first ladies. These women’s husbands were mediocre to weak presidents; like their husbands, they were rated

poorly. Whether or not they were rated poorly *because* of their husbands is uncertain. This includes Pierce, Taylor, Letitia Tyler, and Eliza Johnson. Many of these first ladies were either seriously ill or suffered personal tragedies during their time in the White House, which might explain their poor rating.

In an effort to balance the “holistic” approach with specific criteria for rating, and to examine specific roles or duties associated with the office, raters were also asked to identify the “Great” and not-so-great first ladies according to specific aspects of the first ladyship. The Best/Worst by categories are listed in Tables 5-7.

There are no real surprises in the Best/Worst hostess category. Dolley Madison, Jacqueline Kennedy, Martha Washington, and Julia Tyler were all widely praised during their first ladyships as being extraordinarily talented hostesses. Both Madison and Tyler thrived in lively social environments, while Kennedy was noted for her tasteful, elegant affairs and Washington was widely considered to be the most proper and capable hostesses of her time. On the other hand, all five women ranked in the “Worst” category suffered from illness and tragedy during their first ladyships, which severely curtailed their social appearances and events.

All those listed as the top political advisors were very active, trusted confidantes for their

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husbands. At times, most notably with Adams and Wilson, their advice was not always the best, but they were influential. In the Worst category, Nancy Reagan and Florence Harding were also active, influential presidential confidantes. However, their advice was often poor and both were known to be thin-skinned and occasionally vindictive.

First Ladies Johnson, Carter, and Ford were all closely identified with social causes during (and after) their first ladyships. So well identified were they with these social issues – conservation/beautification, mental health care, breast cancer – and so outspoken were they on these issues, that subsequent first ladies

Professor Watson's tables appear on pages 19 - 22

have been expected to do the same.

Indeed, in contemporary times first ladies do not have the luxury of avoiding social activism. Pat Nixon is the exception, and is ranked in the Worst category as a result. Hillary Clinton and Eleanor Roosevelt functioned almost as super-activists, championing and speaking out on an array of causes. At the other extreme are Mamie Eisenhower and Bess Truman, the only two first ladies of the modern era who actively avoided identifying themselves with social causes.

Much attention is paid by politicians, the press, and scholars to approval ratings. Approval polls came quite lately to the first ladyship: Gallup conducted one poll on Eleanor Roosevelt and only a handful of approval polls were taken until Nancy Reagan's tenure. In lieu of the lack of public opinion/approval research historically, the poll asked experts to assess the popularity of first ladies.

Most first ladies have been quite popular. Noticeably absent from the "Most Popular" list are such first ladies as Martha Washington, Julia Tyler, Frances Cleveland, and Grace Coolidge who were enormously popular during their first ladyships.

However, all four of these received several votes and narrowly missed being listed. Those on the list remain very popular even after their first ladyships, although Hillary Clinton is noteworthy for being both admired and despised by large segments of the population. Not surprisingly, she received votes for both "Most" and "Least" popular. Mary Lincoln was arguably the most scandalous first lady, distrusted by some in the South for marrying Lincoln and distrusted by some in the North for being a southerner. She was also known for public fits of jealousy, erratic behavior, manic spending binges, and a number of scandals. Nancy Reagan and Florence Harding suffered minor scandals and generated opposition.

Conclusion

It is no easy matter to rate Martha Washington and Laura Bush using the same criteria. Indeed, it is problematic to attempt rating any first lady, as no standard exists for evaluating their performance of their "office." These inherent problems may preclude the use of specific criteria, and one is left to consider asking *experts* to rank on an *overall* ("holistic") approach. Certain aspects of the nature of the first ladyship are much different today than in the nineteenth century, yet there arguably *has* been continuity in the institution: facets of the office which have been a part of the first ladyship – in one form or another – since nearly the beginning (Watson 2001, 1997). For instance, Martha Washington established the notion of the presidential spouse as a public person (even though she was opposed to such), symbolic figure, "comforter-in-chief," and the nation's and president's social hostess (Watson, 2000b); Abigail Adams added the dimension of political adviser and policy/decision-making confidante; Dolley Madison further shaped the office as one of social hostess and public figure (Watson 2000b). Because all subsequent first ladies

were, to a degree, held to the roles forged by these early presidential spouses, it makes the rather daunting and problematic task of ranking all first ladies somewhat less so.

Still, unlike the presidency, some first ladies did not desire the office, and none "ran for" or were elected to the first ladyship. Those first ladies at the bottom of the rankings generally disliked politics, were intensely private (Pierce, Taylor, E. Johnson, McKinley, Monroe, L. Tyler), or were plagued by poor health during their husband's administration (Watson, 2000a). On the other hand, Madison, Julia Tyler, and Grant adored being first lady and enthusiastically welcomed even the most public and challenging duties of the office. Additionally, such first ladies as Abigail Adams, Polk, Lincoln, Taft, Harding, Eleanor Roosevelt, Carter, and Clinton enthusiastically involved themselves in presidential politics.

Many problems exist in ranking first ladies. This poll is only one of a handful of scholarly efforts to rank first ladies and marks the first effort to use the famous Schlesinger approach (categories of "Great" to "Failure", holistic criterion). Hopefully, the results will prompt scholars begin a conversation about how better to assess first ladies and further examine what the nation expects of the occupants of this most challenging office.

Notes

1. Several journals in political science, history, presidential studies, as well as in such disciplines as media studies, women's studies, and communication have featured articles on the first ladies. In fact, whole issues have been devoted to the topic: a half-issue (Vol. 20, No. 4, 1990) of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1990 (edited by

(Continued on page 18)

Lewis L. Gould); a special issue of *The Social Science Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 4, 2000 (edited by Robert P. Watson); an issue of the *Magazine of History*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 2001 (edited by Allida M. Black and Edith P. Mayo).

2. This includes: Betty Boyd Caroli, 1987, *The First Ladies* (Oxford University Press); Myra Gutin, 1989, *The President's Partner: The First Lady in the Twentieth Century* (Greewood); Carl Sferazza Anthony, 1990 & 1991 (2 vol), *First Ladies: The Saga of the Presidents' Wives and their Power* (Morrow); Lewis L. Gould, ed., 1996, *American First Ladies: Their Lives and Their Legacy* (Garland); Gil Troy, 1997, *Affairs of State: The Rise and Rejection of the Presidential Couple Since World War II* (Free Press/reprinted by University Press of Kansas); Robert P. Watson, 2000, *The Presidents' Wives: Reassessing the Office of First Lady* (Lynne Rienner); Robert P. Watson, 2001, *First Ladies of the United States* (Lynne Rienner).

3. Schlesinger's poll was published in the November 1948 issue of *Life* magazine, titled "Historians Rate U.S. Presidents."

4. Schlesinger's second poll was published on July 29, 1962 in *The New York Times Magazine*, titled "Our Presidents: A Rating by 75 Historians."

5. See James Piereson, 1997, "Historians and the Reagan Legacy," *The Weekly Standard* (September 29), 22-24.

6. For helpful discussions of these and other debates on how to rank the presidents, see: Arthur B. Murphy, 1985, "Evaluating Presidents of the United States," in David C. Kozak and Kenneth N. Ciboski, eds., *The American Presidency*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 438-448; Meena Bose, 2003, "Presidential Ratings: Lessons and

Liabilities," *White House Studies* 3 (1); James P. Pfiffner, *The Modern Presidency*, 1994, New York: St. Martin's Press, 219-227.

7. See the encyclopedia: Robert P. Watson, ed., 2001, *American First Ladies* (Salem).

8. The National First Ladies' Library is located in Canton, Ohio. See www.firstladies.org.

9. The poll appears on page 120 of the July 1980 issue of *Good Housekeeping*. Only first ladies serving between 1901 and 1980 were rated, using 12 criteria: hostess; campaigner; leader in causes; interest in politics; feminist; traditionalist; improving the White House; influence on the president; helpfulness to the president; outspokenness; charisma; inspiration to women.

10. SRI poll, Siena College, Loudonville, New York. The poll used a 5-point Likert scale (poor, below average, average, above average, outstanding) to assess 10 criteria: background; value to country; integrity; leadership; intelligence; own woman; accomplishments; courage; public image; value to president.

11. Phone interview and correspondence sent to the author from SRI, February 12, 1997.

12. W. Harrison died only one month into his presidency in 1841 and Garfield died from an assassin's bullet only months into his term in 1881.

13. For a detailed discussion of first lady polls, see Robert P. Watson, 1999, "Ranking the Presidential Spouses," *The Social Science Journal* 36 (1), 117-136.

14. The author's identification of experts on the first ladies was based, in part, on his knowledge of the literature and interviews with leading first lady scholars.

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Table 1. SRI Polls*1982 Poll*

<u>Rank/First Lady</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Eleanor Roosevelt	93.29
2. Abigail Adams	84.64
3. Lady Bird Johnson	77.45
4. Dolley Madison	75.39
5. Rosalynn Carter	73.84
6. Betty Ford	73.43
7. Edith Wilson	71.76
8. Jacqueline Kennedy	69.51
9. Martha Washington	67.45
10. Edith Roosevelt	65.35
11. Lou Hoover	63.51
12. Lucy Hayes	63.09
13. Frances Cleveland	62.33
14. Louisa Adams	62.03
15. Bess Truman	61.70
16. Ellen Wilson	61.52
17. Grace Coolidge	61.25
18. M. Jefferson Randolph**	61.02
18. Helen Taft	61.02
20. Julia Grant	60.74
21. Eliza Johnson	60.70
22. Sarah Polk	60.52
23. Anna Harrison*	60.11
24. Elizabeth Monroe	60.09
25. Mary Arthur McElroy**	60.07
26. Emily Donelson**	59.98
27. Julia Tyler	59.94
28. Abigail Fillmore	59.80
28. Harriet Lane***	59.80
30. Lucretia Garfield*	59.76
31. Mamie Eisenhower	59.72
32. Martha Patterson**	59.58
33. Margaret Taylor	59.35
33. Caroline Harrison Scott	59.35
35. Letitia Tyler	59.33
36. Angelica Van Buren**	59.27
37. Pat Nixon	58.45
38. Jane Pierce	57.58
39. Nancy Reagan	57.35
40. Ida McKinley	57.03
41. Florence Harding	55.06
42. Mary Lincoln	52.86

Note * = Spouse of president often not ranked in polls

** = Non-spouse hostess serving for ill or deceased presidential spouse

*** = Hostess for bachelor president

1993 Poll

<u>Rank/First Lady</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Eleanor Roosevelt	93.65
2. Hillary Clinton	86.35
3. Abigail Adams	83.63
4. Dolley Madison	77.42
5. Rosalynn Carter	77.38
6. Lady Bird Johnson	77.28
7. Jacqueline Kennedy	74.67
8. Barbara Bush	74.03
9. Betty Ford	72.16
10. Edith Wilson	70.72
11. Bess Truman	68.19
12. Martha Washington	67.39
13. Lou Hoover	63.90
14. Edith Roosevelt	63.87
15. Lucy Hayes	62.82
16. Louisa Adams	62.26
17. Mamie Eisenhower	62.10
18. Pat Nixon	61.78
19. Grace Coolidge	61.71
20. Sarah Polk	61.30
21. Ellen Wilson	60.82
22. Frances Cleveland	60.35
23. Elizabeth Monroe	60.13
24. Eliza Johnson	59.98
25. Helen Taft	59.94
26. Julia Grant	59.81
27. Julia Tyler	59.36
28. Lucretia Garfield*	59.25
29. Caroline Harrison	59.12
30. Letitia Tyler	58.62
30. Abigail Fillmore	58.62
32. Ida McKinley	58.53
33. Margaret Taylor	58.32
34. Jane Pierce	58.22
35. Florence Harding	55.15
36. Nancy Reagan	53.07
37. Mary Lincoln	52.62

Table 2. Watson 1997 Poll

<u>Rank/Spouse</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Eleanor Roosevelt	1.12
2. Abigail Adams	1.34
3. Dolley Madison	1.40
4. Martha Washington	1.52
4. Betty Ford	1.52
6. Sarah Polk	1.60
7. Julia Grant	1.67
7. Harriet Lane**	1.67
9. Frances Cleveland	1.75
9. Ellen Wilson	1.75
11. Jacqueline Kennedy	1.88
12. Lucretia Garfield*	2.00
12. Abigail Fillmore	2.00
12. Eliza Johnson	2.00
12. Edith Roosevelt	2.00
12. Hillary Clinton	2.00
17. Lady Bird Johnson	2.01
18. Bess Truman	2.03
19. Barbara Bush	2.06
20. Rosalynn Carter	2.08
21. Louisa Adams	2.20
21. Lucy Hayes	2.20
21. Pat Nixon	2.20
24. Elizabeth Monroe	2.25
24. Caroline Harrison	2.25
26. Grace Coolidge	2.27
27. Lou Hoover	2.43
28. Julia Tyler	2.50
28. Edith Wilson	2.50
30. Letitia Tyler	2.60
31. Margaret Taylor	2.66
32. Ida McKinley	2.80
33. Mamie Eisenhower	2.82
34. Nancy Reagan	2.90
35. Helen Taft	2.91
36. Florence Harding	3.06
37. Jane Pierce	3.33
38. Mary Lincoln	3.45
39. Anna Harrison*	3.60

Note N = 87 (1997)

* = Spouse of president not usually ranked in polls

** = Hostess for bachelor president

Table 3. First Lady Ranking**GREAT**

1. Eleanor Roosevelt
2. Dolley Madison

NEAR GREAT

3. Lady Bird Johnson
4. Abigail Adams
5. Martha Washington
6. Hillary Clinton
7. Rosalynn Carter
8. Jacqueline Kennedy

ABOVE/HIGH AVERAGE

9. Betty Ford
10. Edith Roosevelt
11. Sarah Polk
12. Lucy Hayes
13. Edith Wilson
14. Lou Hoover
15. Frances Cleveland
16. Caroline Harrison
17. Barbara Bush

AVERAGE

18. Julia Grant
19. Ellen Wilson
20. Laura Bush
21. Nancy Reagan
22. Helen Taft
23. Grace Coolidge
24. Pat Nixon
25. Abigail Fillmore
26. Louisa Adams
27. Bess Truman
28. Julia Tyler
29. Florence Harding
30. Mamie Eisenhowe
31. Elizabeth Monroe

BELOW/LOW AVERAGE

32. Eliza Johnson
33. Mary Lincoln
34. Ida McKinley
35. Letitia Tyler
36. Margaret Taylor
37. Jane Pierce

Table 4. Comparing First Lady Polls*Watson 2002/03 Poll**Scores and Statistics**Rating in Other Polls*

<u>Rank/First Lady</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>SRI/82</u>	<u>SRI/93</u>	<u>Watson/97</u>
1. Eleanor Roosevelt	1.00	1	1	1	11	
2. Dolley Madison	1.17	1	1-2	4	43	
3. Lady Bird Johnson	1.79	1	1-3	3	617	
4. Abigail Adams	1.87	2	1-4	2	32	
5. Martha Washington	2.26	2	1-5	9	124	
5. Hillary Clinton	2.26	2	1-6	-	212	
7. Rosalynn Carter	2.29	2	1-5	5	520	
8. Jacqueline Kennedy	2.38	3	1-4	8	711	
9. Betty Ford	2.67	2	2-5	6	94	
10. Edith Roosevelt	2.86	3	1-4	10	1412	
11. Sarah Polk	2.95	3	2-5	22	206	
12. Lucy Hayes	3.16	3	2-4	12	1521	
13. Edith Wilson	3.17	2	1-6	7	1028	
14. Lou Hoover	3.23	3	2-4	11	1327	
15. Frances Cleveland	3.34	3	2-5	13	229	
16. Caroline Harrison	3.39	3	1-6	33	2924	
17. Barbara Bush	3.48	4	2-4	-	819	
18. Julia Grant	3.62	4	2-4	20	267	
19. Ellen Wilson	3.65	3,4	2-5	16	219	
20. Laura Bush	3.70	4	3-4	-	--	
21. Nancy Reagan	3.74	4	2-6	39	3634	
22. Helen Taft	3.79	3,4	2-6	18	2535	
23. Grace Coolidge	3.90	4	2-6	17	1926	
24. Pat Nixon	3.92	4	2-5	37	1821	
25. Abigail Fillmore	4.06	4	2-6	28	3012	
26. Louisa Adams	4.10	4	3-5	14	1621	
27. Bess Truman	4.13	4	3-5	15	1118	
28. Julia Tyler	4.17	4	3-6	27	2728	
29. Florence Harding	4.29	5	2-6	41	3536	
29. Mamie Eisenhower	4.29	4	3-5	31	1733	
31. Elizabeth Monroe	4.48	5	3-6	24	2324	
32. Eliza Johnson	4.63	5	3-6	21	2412	
33. Mary Lincoln	4.83	5	2-6	42	3738	
34. Ida McKinley	5.00	5	4-6	40	3232	
35. Letitia Tyler	5.12	5	4-6	35	3030	
36. Margaret Taylor	5.39	5	4-6	33	3331	
36. Jane Pierce	5.39	6	3-6	38	3437	

Note: Watson 2003 poll: 37 first ladies; SRI 1982 poll: 42 first ladies; SRI 1993 poll: 37 first ladies; Watson 1997 poll: 39 first ladies

Table 5. Best/Worst Social Hostess

<u>Best</u> (score)	<u>Worst</u> (score)
1. Dolley Madison (102)	1. Jane Pierce (45)
2. Jacqueline Kennedy (71)	2. Margaret Taylor (41)
3. Mamie Eisenhower (19)	3. Eliza Johnson (33)
4. Martha Washington (18)	4. Ida McKinley (22)
5. Julia Tyler (15)	5. Elizabeth Monroe (18)
5. Nancy Reagan (15)	

Table 6. Best/Worst Political Advisor/Confidante to President

<u>Best</u> (score)	<u>Worst</u> (score)
1. Eleanor Roosevelt (62)	1. Jane Pierce (30)
2. Hillary Clinton (59)	2. Mamie Eisenhower (27)
3. Rosalynn Carter (52)	3. Margaret Taylor (25)
4. Abigail Adams (42)	4. Nancy Reagan (22)
5. Edith Wilson (33)	5. Florence Harding (16)
	5. Grace Coolidge (16)

Table 7. Best/Worst Social Advocate

<u>Best</u> (score)	<u>Worst</u> (score)
1. Eleanor Roosevelt (114)	1. Mamie Eisenhower (30)
2. Lady Bird Johnson (48)	2. Julia Tyler (24)
2. Rosalynn Carter (48)	3. Jane Pierce (17)
4. Betty Ford (42)	3. Bess Truman (17)
4. Hillary Clinton (42)	5. Pat Nixon (16)

Table 8. Most/Least Popular

<u>Most</u> (score)	<u>Least</u> (score)
1. Eleanor Roosevelt (75)	1. Mary Lincoln (53)
2. Dolley Madison (58)	2. Jane Pierce (34)
3. Jacqueline Kennedy (57)	3. Margaret Taylor (22)
4. Hillary Clinton (19)	4. Nancy Reagan (21)
5. Barbara Bush (18)	5. Florence Harding (19)

Teaching the Presidency from a Liberal Arts Perspective

by Lori Cox Han

In 1987, in his best-selling book *The Closing of the American Mind*, Allan Bloom had much to say about liberal education in America, including the following observation: "Most professors are specialists, concerned only with their own fields, interested in the advancement of those fields in their own terms . . . So the student must navigate among

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a collection of carnival barkers, each trying to lure him into a particular sideshow."¹ I found this quote to be particularly relevant for the topic of "Teaching the Presidency," since if you ask any presidency scholar, they will guarantee that their presidency course is the best sideshow on their college campus.

Continuing with Bloom's theme, what exactly is a liberal arts education, and how does a course on the American presidency fit within a liberal arts curriculum? Traditionally, liberal arts include the study of logic, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, geometry, music, and astronomy. The study of government has also been a mainstay in liberal arts education throughout the 20th century. A liberal education is grounded in the liberal arts

and investigates central human questions, such as: What is true? What is good? Who am I? What is my responsibility as a part of the community in which I live? A liberal arts curriculum also encompasses critical thinking and reasoning, and usually includes a survey of western culture and civilization.²

During the past two decades, there has been a healthy dialogue on liberal arts education, its worth within the academy, and how institutions of higher learning should define it. Several tensions emerge within the current debate, most notably perhaps the tension between the great books approach, as presented by Bloom, and a more inclusive, multicultural, postmodern approach. For example, Martha Nussbaum's 1997 book *Cultivating Humanity* calls for the latter. She argues that college professors "must ask what a good citizen of the present day should be and should know. The present-day world is inescapably multicultural and multinational."³

There is also an inherent tension between a liberal arts education and career preparation. All college professors must deal with this dichotomy as we move further into the 21st century. Faculty members at liberal arts colleges take seriously our obligation to educate the whole person, and many believe that includes some sort of professional preparation as well. My own institution, Austin College, is certainly representative of these

tensions, not only within Political Science, but across the entire campus as well. It is sometimes difficult for college administrators to not take a market-driven approach to the needs of the college as a whole, while still remaining true to the mission of a liberal arts education. For example, our pre-professional programs draw not only high student interest, but high parent and alumni interest as well. Yet, there is constant debate among the faculty about the overall worth of such programs within the liberal arts tradition.

This tension is evident at the departmental level as well. Austin College has a combined Economics/Business Administration department, and while Economics as a discipline more closely fits the goals of a liberal arts education, it is the Business Administration side of the department that overwhelmingly draws the most students. Political Science has similar challenges—how to provide a liberal education within the discipline of political science, particularly for all of our pre-law students, that considers the whole of politics—theoretical and empirical, past, present, and future. These types of issues remain a challenge for liberal arts educators as the marketplace becomes even more competitive for the best and brightest students and the ever-important rankings in *U.S.*

News and World Report.

How, then, does Political Science fit into a liberal arts education? Relying on a fairly standard definition, a liberal education “strives to reflect the breadth of human culture, enlighten human thought, and promote deeper understanding of the world in which we live.”⁴ This is also considered an important foundation for American democracy. So, what better course to promote a liberal arts perspective than one on the American presidency?

Before I provide the specifics about my presidency course, let me start with my own personal experience with liberal arts education. The first time that I had ever set foot on a liberal arts college campus was for my interview at Austin College. I am the product of large universities, including University of California Davis as an undergraduate, and California State University Northridge and the University of Southern California as a graduate student. That is not to say that a prominent liberal arts theme is not present in the educational missions of all three of those schools, particularly the last, but they are all still large institutions and nothing like Austin College with its student body of 1250 or faculty with just under 100 members. As for how I approach teaching the presidency, I was fortunate to be taught the subject by Larry Berman as an undergraduate and Bill Lammers as a graduate student, and both influenced me greatly in how I now teach my own course.

Looking back on my undergraduate course, I learned that students could really benefit from seeing a professor’s passion about his or her research interests in the classroom. I vividly remember not only Prof. Berman’s enthusiasm for teaching the entire course, but also particularly his passionate lectures on Lyndon Johnson and the Vietnam War. Prof. Lammers had almost an encyclopedic knowledge of the presidency, yet in the classroom he had a unique way of demanding critical thinking and analysis from his undergraduates that went way beyond any simple memorization of facts and figures. He also showed students the personal sides of presidents during his lectures, and this helped them to put both presidents and presidencies within their proper political and historical context. Students also knew why studying the presidency was so important in understanding how the governing process works in America.

Building on those experiences, when I first began teaching my own presidency course, particularly when I taught it for the first time at Austin College, three prominent themes emerged, and these themes are also integral within the broader goals of a liberal arts tradition.

Leadership: The first and most predominant theme that is evident in my course is the study of leadership. To quote Michael Genovese in *The Presidential Dilemma*, “We

live in an age of weakened leaders.”⁵ And politicians are not the only guilty parties; the same can be said of business and religious leaders as well. The higher civic aspirations that are sought through a liberal arts education must address the topic of leadership on a variety of levels, and what better topic to use as a case study than the American presidency. The study of leadership on a broader scale has also become an evident trend within higher education, as many colleges and universities are devoting specific courses or even minors or programs of study to the idea of leadership. In 1995, Austin College founded its Leadership Institute, which requires student members to take additional leadership courses and play an active role within the local community through service projects and building a relationship with a community mentor. Several other schools throughout the country have similar programs.

In the study of the American presidency, scholars, journalists, and citizens alike are fascinated by rankings and ratings about which president has been the “best” while in office. While there certainly is no absolute scientific method to determine presidential greatness that even a handful of scholars would agree with, we all have our opinion about which presidents were great leaders and which failures. I use this theme to organize my course, and focus most intently on the modern and postmodern presidents—FDR through

George W. Bush. I provide students with many definitions and explanations about presidential leadership, and we also talk a lot about how to assess presidential leadership. I have used a few different formats for my final exam, but my favorite is to provide a one-question final exam that asks students to pick the most successful and the least successful president, in terms of leadership, and explain how they came to that conclusion.

My approach is definitely a president-centered, as opposed to a presidency-centered, approach that focuses most on presidential leadership. I also focus on the public leadership aspects of the presidency, and how the president connects with individual citizens, whether it is through direct communication, the news media, or public opinion. During the first half of the course, I cover the following topics: constitutional origins of the office, presidential selection, congressional and judicial relations, policymaking, the media, and public opinion. The second half of the course is devoted to the study of presidential leadership, as I cover the presidents and events that shaped their administrations beginning with FDR. I spend the most time on Kennedy through the present, and discuss FDR, Truman, and Eisenhower in a more historical context to explain what is meant by the "modern presidency."

Civic participation/responsibility: The second

theme that is relevant to my course is that of civic participation and civic responsibility, core themes within a liberal arts education. These are actually themes that are evident in all of my American government courses, but they apply to the study of the presidency as well. Going back to the theme of public leadership of the presidency, the president has become increasingly important during the television age as the ultimate symbol of American power and authority. Research has shown for several decades now that American citizens look to the president for guidance and leadership in times of crisis, and often mistakenly give credit to or blame the president for events over which he has little control. Presidents can also encourage American citizens to get involved in politics and civic life in general—one of the best examples is the impact that Kennedy had on an entire generation by motivating thousands of young people to serve their country through public works or other civic projects.

Presidents and their activities, and in some cases their scandals, can also captivate the nation as the White House and its occupants have become a bankable news story on a recurring basis. As we watch our president on a daily basis in the national news media, we see the ultimate portrayal of civic participation and responsibility, or the lack thereof. We see a single individual who has dedicated his, and eventually her, life to public service and public

scrutiny in exchange for the keys to the White House. We also hold our presidents to pretty high standards, and we have all witnessed presidents fail to meet those expectations, fail to live up to the notion of civic responsibility, and generally fall from grace in front of a national audience. Presidents, therefore, provide great case studies for students to learn about civic participation and civic responsibility.

Critical thinking skills:

Finally, the third theme evident in my presidency course is the development of critical thinking skills, an underlying goal sought through the study of the traditional disciplines found within a liberal arts education. My students would say that I really emphasize the need for critical thinking in not only all of their written work in my courses, but in their class participation as well. This year, I am using a revised syllabus in my presidency course to better emphasize critical thinking. The writing assignments I am using this fall require students to analyze current research on the presidency, as well as to define presidential leadership in their own terms. I state on the syllabus, and I reiterate on a regular basis in the classroom, that the purpose of writing assignments is not to retell events, but to analyze them based on the themes discussed in class.

For example, the first writing assignment is a scholarly article review, and it has two goals: First, to introduce students to scholarly work

being done on the presidency, and second, to get them to think about and form their own opinions on the research that they encounter.

Obviously, I do not expect students to be able to write the equivalent of a reviewer's analysis back to the author when it is under consideration for publication. However, the assignment does require students to think independently about the research, including the methodology and theoretical framework, and allows them to make an argument based on their own perceptions from what they have learned in class about the study of the presidency.

The second writing assignment is a five-page essay on presidential leadership, a more concise version of a ten-page term paper that I used to assign. I have students select a president, a specific topic relevant to that president, and write a brief essay that draws conclusions about presidential leadership. Narrowly tailoring the assignment in this way allows students to focus on developing a sound critical argument about presidential leadership. I use the same type of approach with my midterm and final exams to encourage critical thinking skills. I often use short-answer identifications, where students not only have to define the term but state its significance to the topic at hand, but I also use fairly broad essay questions that allow students to show me what they have learned based on readings, lectures, and class discussions. I have

often told them that my essay questions on exams are never a surprise, but that they allow a well-prepared student to write a strong critical argument that gives evidence of having completed the reading, paid attention in class, and thought carefully about key concepts and how they fit together. Students who do well on my exams understand how to make a strong opening thesis statement, and argue it systematically as they develop their own opinion about a topic.

One final point—many students are afraid to express their opinions. I have been surprised at how difficult it often is to get students to feel safe in making an argument based on their own opinion of the course material. I remind them that I am not looking for their personal opinion, but am instead looking for their opinion of the scholarly material that we have discussed in class. My ultimate goal by teaching this course is to get them to move beyond their personal, sometimes partisan, opinion of presidents, and to assess a president and his presidency, and his success or failure as a leader, through the lens of academic presidential scholarship. My students regularly try to decipher my political affiliation based on my assessments of presidents in this class, and based on the themes of the course, I can run the gamut of praising and trashing any given president all in the same lecture. I always tell them that how I vote is irrelevant, but that as a presidency scholar, it is my

job to be an equal-opportunity critic about presidents. And my ultimate goal is for them to develop some of those same types of critical thinking skills about the role that presidents play in our democratic, constitutional system of government.

¹ Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 339.

² Diane Glyer and David L. Weeks, Introduction to *Liberal Arts in Higher Education: Challenging Assumptions Exploring Possibilities*, eds. Diane Glyer and David L. Weeks (Lanham, MD: University Press, 1998), xiii-xv.

³ Martha C. Nussbaum, *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 8.

⁴ Phillip V. Lewis and Rosemary Liegler, "Integrating Liberal Arts and Professional Education," in *Liberal Arts in Higher Education: Challenging Assumptions Exploring Possibilities*, eds. Diane Glyer and David L. Weeks (Lanham, MD: University Press, 1998), 47.

⁵ Michael A. Genovese, *The Presidential Dilemma: Leadership in the American System*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 2003), xii.

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Using the Constitution to Teach the Presidency

by David A. Crockett

The title of this article may seem a bit odd. Don't we all "use" the Constitution when we teach courses in American politics? Perhaps so – but I don't know that we all take it as our central text, and that's what I do when I teach the presidency.

I should provide a note on context before I proceed further: I teach at a small school (2,400 students) in a small department (7 faculty members). The contingent of Americanists in the department is even smaller – I am one of three. We have no graduate students, as Trinity University is primarily an undergraduate institution, with only a few programs at the Master's level. As a result, I teach both the presidency course and a course on elections, which allows me to separate the two topics.

Like all of us, any time I start to teach a course I have to figure out how to approach the topic – figure out what my "angle" is or what perspective I'm going to take. I do not come from the value-neutral school of political science, nor do I fool myself into thinking that a significant percentage of my undergraduates are going to be political scientists. In fact, most of our students go on to law school or some variation on a theme of public policy school, or just get jobs while deciding the course of their lives. So, one of the questions I ask myself when planning a course is, "What do I want these students to take away from this course?" – recognizing that it is quite possibly the last (sometimes the first *and* last) political science course they will

ever take. In effect, I ask myself what I think a liberally-educated person should know about the American presidency, given that this is the last time in their lives that they will receive formal instruction on that institution.

There is, then, a civic education aspect to my course, and I take that normative perspective seriously. I don't want my students simply to learn about the presidency – I want them to be able to leave the course better able to evaluate the institution and those who reside there – to be better citizens. As I say on my first day of class, the president swears an oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States – and I want them to be able to evaluate whether he is doing precisely that.

My goal is not to engage in a semester-long series of partisan debates about policy (though such debates do arise). Instead, I start from a more fundamental level. You can see this by reading some of the questions that appear in the orientation section of my syllabus: What is the constitutional design of the presidency, and *why* did the Framers structure it such? How does the presidency relate to the other branches of government – and how *should* it? Does the individual make the office, or vice versa? How *should* American citizens evaluate their presidents?

Normative concerns are a core feature of my approach. In fact, my guiding principle is to get students to explore the place of executive leadership in a republican government.

Dave the Tulsian

The referee for a recent article I wrote said I employed "Tulsian analysis." That was certainly true in the case of that article – it was my explicit objective. It is also true, however, that I am a "Tulsian" in the broader sense, though I would prefer the term "Publian" or "Federalist" since my constitutional perspective is informed by a close reading of *The Federalist Papers*. In fact, I have my students read all of the Federalist Papers that deal directly with the presidency. My perspective on teaching the presidency rests on a triad of constitutional features which constitute the core orientation of the course.

First, I have my students walk through an analysis of the functions of American political institutions.¹ I start by having students read the first line of the first three articles in the Constitution – "all legislative powers herein granted," "the executive power," "the judicial power" – so that they understand that the Framers made a principled distinction between different types of powers or functions. I think this is essential in an age when we often think of "separated institutions sharing powers" – and thus the careless reader of Neustadt thinks of "power" as an undifferentiated mass with no connection to function.

My "Tulsian" perspective on this helps me walk the students through a discussion of what we want from republican government – what goals do we think need to be satisfied for republican government to be considered effective. Usually students are pretty good about

(Continued from page 28)

understanding that simple democracy – simple responsiveness to the popular will – is not the only thing republican government needs to provide. We also discuss the nature of executive power prior to the Constitution –

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under the crown and the Articles of Confederation – to see that qualities such as liberty, security, and steady administration of the law were also seen as important and essential.

One of the reasons, then, for a separation of powers system is to regulate and accommodate the inherent

tension between different goals of republican government. That inherent tension between liberty and security, or democracy and liberty, has become especially apparent to students in the post-9-11 age. This discussion allows the students to understand that our different political institutions were designed to provide different qualities to republican government, and that their very structure was designed to help them fulfill their primary functions.

For example, Congress is a plural entity because it is supposed to be representative of the popular will, and it is tied to the popular will in the House through frequent elections. The Supreme Court

is a small collegial body of learned experts who enjoy job security so that they can protect constitutional rights and liberties even in the face of popular pressure. I do not suggest that these institutions always succeed in fulfilling their functions, but this analytical tool allows students to get a firmer purchase on why things go wrong when they do go wrong.

Publius makes clear that the primary functions of the presidency are leadership and clerkship – leadership in the area of setting goals and responding to crises, and clerkship in the area of steady administration of the law.

My second constitutional feature is structure. Since the presidency is part of a separated system, the students can't understand the place of the presidency in our system without understanding the functions of all the institutions – but this is a course on the presidency, so we quickly move to a focus on how the presidency is structured to fulfill its functions. *Federalist #70* is clearly the core text for the structure of the presidency, for there Hamilton argues for the central importance of energy in the political system – what we might call effective power or strength. “Energy” is perhaps better explained by noting the other qualities that Publius thinks should be associated with effective executive power: decision, activity, secrecy, dispatch, vigor, expeditiousness.

These are all qualities that are supposed to enable the president to respond to

internal and external dangers – to protect us against foreign enemies, but also against the “enterprises and assaults of ambition, of faction, and of anarchy” (*Federalist #70*) and “to withstand the temporary delusion” of moves against the public interest “in order to give [the people] time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection” (*Federalist #71*).

Of course, when it comes to structure, the thing that separates the presidency from the other branches of government is its unity – it is composed of one person. Indeed, Hamilton spends all of *Federalist #70* explaining why the alternative – either a plural executive or an executive that answers to a council – would eliminate energy from the political system, and thus greatly reduce the ability of government to ensure security and stability.

My third and final constitutional feature is the inherent ambiguity of the “vesting clause” in Article II. Unlike Article I, which mentions “all legislative powers *herein granted*,” and then proceeds to list those powers in section 8, Article II simply states that “the executive power shall be vested in a President.” Well, what is “the executive power”? A lot of ink has been spilled talking about this clause, but the bottom line is that its inherent ambiguity provides an opening for presidents to interpret broadly how they should exercise “the executive power” in line with their vision of the function of the executive branch.

To sum up, then, my teaching of the presidency rests on the triad of function, structure, and power. This allows students to

understand that the presidency was not designed to be merely democratic; it has democratic elements about it, of course, but it is not the democratic centerpiece of the American republic. This allows students more clearly to understand the transformation of the office into a more popular institution, and the consequences of that transformation. This allows the students to understand why some people were fearful of the design of the presidency, seeing it as “the fetus of monarchy.” This allows me to make good use of the structure of the executive branch in my own state of Texas as a comparison, for there we have a plural executive that is constitutionally quite weak.

Most important, students understand this dynamic, and it becomes the core evaluative mechanism for the rest of the course. We spend two weeks working through these issues at the very beginning of the course, and the ability to recall these concepts in later topics – to drive home their relevance – ingrains them into the students’ consciousness. Semesters later, either in other classes or in casual conversation, students are able to repeat my mantra of “unity gives us energy.” (They may not remember much else, but they do remember that!)

Practical Application

What I’d like to do for the rest of this article is simply highlight some of the places where this “constitutional triad” helps illuminate aspects of the presidency.

Prerogative power: I teach this topic in the classic Lockean sense of an executive acting

outside the law presumably for the public good. It really deals with the essence of discretionary authority. I use several court cases, but the best ones that illustrate the power and potential danger of the unitary executive are the *Prize Cases* (Lincoln and the Civil War), the *Korematsu* case (FDR and the Japanese internment), and the *steel seizures* case (Truman during the Korean War).²

All three cases involve presidents acting to ensure the security of the nation, and all three cases illustrate the inherent power of the unitary executive when it comes to discretionary power. We read Lincoln’s letter to Albert G. Hodges justifying his violations of the Constitution. We talk about the collapse of checks and balances in the Japanese internment case, noting the power enjoyed by the unitary executive acting on behalf of national security in a legitimate crisis, and how that scenario can imbalance the separation of powers system. We talk about how the Supreme Court slapped down Truman when he ordered the Army to seize and operate the nation’s steel mills, while also recognizing the existence of discretionary authority, and what needs to be present for that authority to be at its strongest.

Intrabranch relations: I spend a week working through the issue of presidential appointments and the bureaucratic expansion and centralization of power in the White House. With respect to appointments, Publius makes the argument for nomination by one person by focusing on

the need for a coherent and integrated policy focus – one agenda. Here we read Madison’s argument for the president’s removal power, amplified in the *Myers* and *Humphrey’s Executor* cases. This also opens up interesting discussions on the Tenure of Office Act, Nixon in Watergate vs. Reagan in Iran-Contra, Clinton’s diversity appointments, and the nexus between the president’s clerkship and leadership functions.

We trace the expansion, institutionalization, and centralization of power from the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 through the Brownlow Committee report and further, all supposedly serving the cause of greater unity and energy, while also raising questions about control and abuse (see CREEP, Iran-Contra, Filegate/Travelgate, and President Bush’s much-vaunted Oval Office discipline).

Lawmaking: I spend a week working with the students on the president’s part in lawmaking. Our examination of the veto focuses on individual power, and we read Jackson’s famous veto message, discuss the use of the veto through history, and look at Clinton’s use of the veto as a bargaining tool. It all comes together when you realize that the power of a unitary official beats a divided opposition every time. When looking at such legislative agenda-setting tools as the state of

(Continued from page 30)

the union address and the power to recommend legislation, we again see that those powers are magnified by the unitary nature of the office. Newt Gingrich's attempt in 1995 to serve as an agenda-setter while heading up a plural institution makes for a useful comparison.

Foreign policy and war powers: We spend several class days on this arena (more if the course happens to coincide with a war.....), and I start by using Wildavsky's "two presidencies thesis" as an introductory tool, which makes explicit mention of the unity of the office as an advantage in foreign policy. The *Curtiss-Wright* case is a good example of how bad constitutional law seems to magnify the power of the unitary executive in foreign policy – calling such power "plenary and exclusive." The debate between Hamilton and Madison (*Pacificus vs. Helvidius*) is another discussion of the security function of the executive, and how that function is empowered by the vesting clause. This power is seen in numerous examples of presidential doctrines (Monroe, Truman, Carter) and personal diplomacy (JFK and Cuban Missile Crisis, Nixon and China).

War making is the big test case, for it tends to exemplify the power of the unitary executive vis-à-vis Congress. The usual suspects here are the Tonkin Gulf Resolution and the War Powers Resolution, though certainly examples seem to multiply daily. It seems here that in the past fifty years it is the ambiguity of the vesting

clause that has been abused by contemporary presidents.

Impeachment: Can the unitary nature of the presidency lead to abuses of power? With Andrew Johnson, a strong case can be made that he used the unitary power of his office to sabotage Reconstruction policy, thus misusing the clerkship tools of the presidency to usurp congressional will. It seems clear that Nixon used the unitary nature of his office to attack his enemies through such clerkship entities as the FBI and IRS, thus abusing the clerkship tools for corrupt gain. Such abuses are precisely what the impeachment clause was designed to combat.

Relations with the judiciary: This tends to be a neglected area, not even mentioned in some college presidency textbooks, but it too is illuminated by a constitutional perspective. Judicial appointments allow presidents to influence policy and extend their legacy far beyond their term in office. If a president has a unitary policy vision, it might be manifested in his judicial philosophy, and a strategy for enacting that philosophy. That allows us to get involved in interesting discussions concerning the proper criteria for "fitness" in Senate confirmation debates.

Conclusion

I cover other topics, including a robust discussion of character, for if we accept the importance of unity in the executive, it stands to reason that the character of the individual in that office is important. In the end, my hope

is that I can raise students' awareness of the peculiar place of the presidency in our system – the inherent tension for republican government (a system that supposedly privileges deliberative representation) posed by a presidency designed to act energetically on behalf of security and stability. Events like 9-11 – and war in Afghanistan and Iraq – drive home this inherent tension for the students.

¹ I derive this perspective from pp. 41-45 of Tulis's *The Rhetorical Presidency*, where he does a masterful job of summarizing the purpose of the separation of powers system.

² Many primary source documents, including court cases, speeches, letters, impeachment articles, and resolutions, can be found in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Evolving Presidency* (CQ Press, 1999). Other texts used in this course include Sidney M. Milkis and Michael Nelson, *The American Presidency: Origins and Development 1776-2002*, 4th ed. (CQ Press, 2003); Louis Fisher, *The Politics of Shared Power: Congress and the Executive*, 4th ed. (Texas A&M University Press, 1998); Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 7th ed. (CQ Press, 2003).

Teaching the Modern Presidency on the Internet

This paper is written for both web use and print form. Accordingly, the text contains numerous web links with underlining for recognition on printed copies of this file. Print readers can access URL locations by visiting the paper's web site address listed in the box to the right of this column. Remember that with the passage of time, URLs often disappear; but their accompanying filenames can still be used (on a search engine) to find the new URLs.

by Russell Renka

Introduction

Several years ago, a former student of mine created a website of source materials for his political science students. He prompted them to use it by insisting that "the web is here to stay." He was correct. It is here for keeps, will grow yet greater in importance, and will demand adaptations to its use by college faculty in practically every discipline.

The modern American presidency lends itself exceptionally well to being taught online, but that's not to say every aspect of the office and its occupant is comparably amenable to website courses. This paper shows that there is wide variation in what is available, in quality control, and in usability. It provides a synopsis for anyone looking to teach about the presidency via extensive use of website materials. It is designed not solely for those who teach on line, but rather for any classroom course that has web access.

The web basis for this paper is my file entitled U.S. Presidency

Links - Russell D. Renka (henceforth called Presidency Links). This lengthy annotated links file covers all modern presidents, first via subject-area files, and second through material specific to each of the 12 modern presidents from Franklin Roosevelt through George W. Bush. It has been created as a byproduct of teaching the modern presidency for the past decade-plus with a host of very cost-averse and web-friendly students. It is currently a pure public good, meaning it is free to all users, is available simultaneously to any browsers in the neighborhood, and is not cordoned against those who don't pay for its use.

The Open v. The Closed Web

The first issue with finding usable web resources for classrooms is open site availability. The open web has the characteristics of a "pure public good" with nonrivalrous consumption, nonexcludability, and typically a lack of congestion in supply (Weimer and Vining 1999, 80ff; see Figure 5.2). Put another way, open web resources such as my Presidency Links do not fence anyone out, and are provided at zero marginal cost of consumption for those who access them. The cost of upkeep is fixed, no matter the turnstile count of browsers; I make one "copy" and leave to customers the decision of how many duplications are needed. The only marginal cost linked to usage or congestion is for website servers associated with downloads. To my knowledge, even that cost for non-music files is very low, save for some streaming audio/video applications. Even while open to all, site congestion at my

non-streaming Links has not been a problem. That will probably remain so--unless the site somehow achieves public recognition akin to the access-challenged Starr Report of September 1998 impeachment

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Paper website location:
http://cstl-cla.semo.edu/renka/teaching_presweb.htm

season fame.

But any open public good site like mine can be converted readily to a "toll good" via creating barriers to entry such as fee demands enforced by passwords. University on-line courses routinely do this. Passworded course entry is a typical example of charging a toll for web access, which otherwise remains nonrivalrous and (with very high likelihood) uncongested for its paying customers.

These jargon-larded distinctions are not minor, but rather are crucial to the enterprise of using the web for teaching the presidency. The general openness of web resources is an extremely valuable public good for all of us. If all sites close, the game is over. That has never happened on the web. However, sites put up barriers one at a time. When one valuable site converts itself from public good to toll good, my web practice is to shut off reference to it unless the barrier is readily handled under fair use. That asserts the community's stake in keeping the web open rather than closed. It

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pp. 32-36

affirms that a privatized site will see a serious drop in customer traffic. It resembles the music recording industry's problem that privatized music downloads come at expense of volume of customer traffic.

This issue is not a question of copyright, since that falls under

'fair use' doctrine permitting one to link and refer to a site in a way that retains all attribution to its originator and/or proprietor. Rather, the problem is accessibility of material without paying a fee to obtain it.

Fortunately, in 2003 most presidential website materials are still under

open access. That is why we do not see wholesale copyright violation via copying material from one site to another. It is far simpler to set up straightforward links to the original site, in confidence that it will remain available indefinitely under the same file name and URL (or with an auto-forward to the newer URLs when target sites are revamped).

Audio, Video, Photography, and Artwork

The modern rhetorical presidency, dated from Franklin D. Roosevelt, is exceedingly well represented on the web. For example, the historical presidency prior to the second Roosevelt in 1933 provides few materials enabling students to directly hear the presidents.¹ By contrast, every modern president is extensively

heard on line via audio files (with FDR), or heard and seen with streaming audio/video files (from Truman onward).

This is a superb opportunity for students, whom I find are consistently enthusiastic about directly seeing and hearing recently past presidents in rhetorical action. Video assemblages can be readily imported into a Power Point or web-based presentation under fair use doctrine. Students can directly hear Franklin Roosevelt's first and second inaugurals, see and hear the celebrated 1944 'my dog Fala' speech, watch Truman in the 1948 campaign, hear and watch obfuscations during Eisenhower press conferences, and compare Kennedy pronouncements at the Berlin Wall with those of Reagan a generation later.

Less public documents of importance can also be accessed. For example, considerable portions of Lyndon Johnson's telephone logs, and Richard Nixon's White House tapes, are available for on-line eavesdroppers. The public C-SPAN site is excellent for entree to these and other resources (LBJ White House Tapes & Nixon White House Phone Calls, at [C-SPAN](#)).

Although these resources are sometimes technically inferior to traditional audio and video presentations of the public or the private rhetorical president, the wide array of low-cost online streaming source materials has great advantages in accessibility and cost. Public institutions in the current climate of radical reductions of state support can find solace in substituting web materials for aging videotapes

and fair use television excerpts. New video compilations from commercial sources are often prohibitively expensive. Careful judgments so far on use of server space for streaming files are underway, so estimates of true costs to the server-sponsoring institution will doubtless become accurate fairly soon. Meanwhile, subsidization exists via institutional servers, leaving user's monetary and queue costs at near-zero so long as site congestion is not high.

The audio/video side is supplemented with interesting photographic and graphic art galleries associated with modern presidents. Some of these are closely aligned with suitable textual material for apt instruction. For one example, any student seeking insights to modern presidential campaigns can gain historical perspective from Harry S. Truman's famous 1948 'Whistle Stop' Campaign of train stops throughout much of America ([1948 Campaign Campaign Strategies](#) and [1948 Campaign](#) sites). There are many primary-source documents for perusal, including the famous "Dewey Defeats Truman" front page headline of the *Chicago Tribune*, held up for ridicule by Truman on 3 November 1948 after his 1948 election was evident to the world.

These materials are more suitable for classrooms with web access than with traditional blackboard approaches. But even in the latter, assignments using such material provide excellent groundwork for understanding this office and its occupants.

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Graphics

So what is the web worth to presidency teachers? It's a very rich source of primary visual documents that lend themselves well to classroom teaching. For example, website access in the classroom lets one employ [Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections](#) to highlight the State of Florida in 2000 down to the level of congressional districts and counties (at [2000 Presidential Election Results - Florida](#)). Or one can employ two browsers to highlight the county-by-county presidential vote among the 3051 American counties in 2000 compared to 1960 ([2000 Presidential Election Results](#) and [1960 Election Results](#)). They are strikingly different despite the rather similar national popular vote outcomes.

One can do somewhat comparable illustrative teaching about elections and voting trends with traditional atlases on visual display. For example, I have employed Kenneth Martis' outstanding *Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1789-1989*, to show congressional election results in something like the manner described above. But this non-web approach suffers considerably. Martis' book is an expensive private good that I don't own but temporarily borrow from the library's public Reference holdings. Therefore I can use it only briefly, and cannot pull it forth on an impromptu basis to answer a question or nail home a point. Students also cannot access Martis the way they can Leip. Leip's Atlas is a highly valuable pure public good (currently) yet Leip is not paid for its use, except in reputation via spread-the-word accolades offered by proselytizers like myself.

Data Sources on the Web

Audio, video, pictures, and art are charm factors for all students, but for graduate students, access to data is fundamentally important. What is the web's status with respect to this? In brief, it is modest--but getting gradually better.

A strong suit is the presence of basic historical and biographical data about presidents and their administrations. Many students seriously lack the necessary context of time, place, events, and principals to understand a particular administration's incentives and behavior. The web has made this easier to correct than in the past. Major event timelines, lists of Cabinet officials, election results, and their like are abundant.

By contrast, standard data sets such as those richly profiled by Lyn Ragsdale in *Vital Statistics on the Presidency* are often lacking. And when they are present, it's often in truncated form. For example, The American Presidency Project's data section ([americanpresidency.org - Data Archive](#)) has "Presidential Vetoes" divided by president, by regular v. pocket vetoes, and by proportion of overrides against each president. That matches Ragsdale's Table 8-13 (1998, 402) but lacks the contextual statement she employs (p. 372) to give some life to this data. Graduate students may not need this statement, and faculty certainly will not; but undergraduate students often do.

A similar situation prevails on other standard data sites, including The Roper Center's [Presidential Job Performance Page](#), which contains downloadable presidential approval ratings from as far back as Roosevelt in the late 1930s. This is raw data, very interesting in itself but not analyzed at all. For those seeking interpretation of how approval works, go to texts and journals, or directly see [Paul Gronke's Web Site](#) for several recent interpretive recent journal papers from Gronke and colleagues.

There are likely to soon be many more fruitful combinations of unprocessed data together with sophisticated interpretations such as Gronke's work. That will be a boon to future graduate students and upper-division research-minded undergraduates alike.

Other Web Assets

Space does not permit adequate coverage of all materials here, to say the least. Some, including [Welcome to the White House](#), are sufficiently well known to require no introduction.² Others, like [Search the Public Papers of the Presidents](#), are limited to the Clinton and current Bush Administrations once the web became publicly established. These will eventually be valuable in on-line form, but meanwhile traditional library uses of these are also essential.

The Wild Wild Web and Quality Control

This "www" term is shorthand for the notorious problem of informational quality controls on the internet. Every

presidency scholar and teacher has to recognize that web searches encounters material of highly mixed quality. The special problem for presidency courses is that the subject invites an unrestrained assortment of hobbyists, enthusiasts, and plain crackpots to vet their ideas through personal websites and blogs. A Google search of a few dozen "Kennedy assassination" sites will prove this point.

There is no central authority on the web save the student's instructor. Central control of non-web materials is almost a given since student access to traditional materials is largely vetted through university librarians and the faculty who authorize what books and journals to subscribe. But the web, most obviously, has no such constraint.

Herein lies a certain opportunity. Skilled amateurs and hobbyists are bulwarks of knowledge in many fields, and they can be so here. But when students are cut loose to tour these sites without explicit cautions, trouble is sure to follow. Any instructor who turns students loose here is advised to vet their source citations by requiring something like a short annotation on the source name and affiliations. For example, if the source is a personal hobbyist, students should indicate so.

A corollary problem of quality control is the ideological website. A vast number of these are available on recent presidents. This is shown with the search term "Reagan" or "Reagan+Cold War." Either is enough to draw forth dozens of sites devoted to proving that the 41st President was the ultimate savior of postwar America. For diversity's sake, a good many

Kennedy sites are similarly inclined with an ideologically different hero figure. For enemies in lieu of heroes, scan among the Nixon and Clinton sites to find a host of hate-you devotionals.

These sites are often the property of knowledgeable amateurs and hobbyists. Many have extensive web links and valuable interpretive material. However, nearly all are hazardous to students for encouraging severe ideological self-selection of source materials for term papers, oral briefings, and other class assignments. Students should be advised to stipulate the ideological slant of any cited web source that they employ.

My own experience shows a woeful tendency for web-adapted undergraduate students to rely entirely too much on the web for assembling material for course papers. Their idea of a resource search is to write a couple of search terms on Google and Yahoo. Some, especially in web classes where students may never see the professor in habeas corpus, never visit a college or university library. The fact of ready web access to professional journals does not impede this minimal effort criterion. Many students actively resisted journal perusal before the web appeared, and this new open resource has only made that pathway clearer and more enticing.

My recommendation is to partially but not completely fight this tendency. Set up a separate list of web and non-web source requirements, with each being comparable in importance. Web reliance by students is a fact of life, isn't going to go away, and is likely to grow.

Despite these pitfalls, students can be taught good habits via ready

access to the web. For instance, the easy access to original documents such as court decisions, White House proclamations, legislation, and presidential speeches is unprecedented. Students can now be expected to back up their evidentiary claims to a far greater extent than in the past. Faculty with classroom web access can employ the web on site to demonstrate how it's done. Students can be expected to back up claims with original-source citations more readily than in the past.

The Weakness of Website Coverage

The primary weakness of presidential web coverage is in readings for students. Unless a syllabus be largely based on journal articles available through JSTOR, the web in 2003 never provides adequate mandatory reading. This section addresses why, and suggests a means of reconciling the problem.

Journals and journal articles are largely treated as public goods, and are available on the web. Published books and readers are private goods, not available on line. So long as this market continues to flourish, there is little to no incentive for leading publishers or scholars to emphasize web material.

Presidency books are not on the web, and barely acknowledge the web's presence as a source of pertinent information. I conducted a survey of 15 primary presidency texts and readers published with copyright years of 2000 or newer. All are published by

established scholars with highly reputable presses, and many are in multiple editions. Most take the customary topical approach, and two do a chronology of presidents or modern presidents. Every one shared in common that website materials on the presidency are almost totally absent from any citation or discussion.

This informational dearth contributes to a problem cited earlier, of unsupervised student searches on Google and its ilk. These searches are prone to both Type I and Type II errors, leaving students without material they should have and with some material they're better off avoiding. Since Google and all other search engines dredge up sites on the basis of a network of cited references, the presidential academic community has a powerful stake in fostering sites that accomplish this. So far that has not been done to a high degree. If presidency book publishers and presidency syllabi were on line in full hypertext fashion with extensive reference links to good sites, there is a high likelihood that student searches on Google would become far more fruitful.

Books are still strictly in the realm of printed private goods rather than public goods or toll goods. There is some incentive for writers to circumvent that for the sake of a website audience (akin to musicians using web freeware to spread the word), but unrestricted downloading of freeware inhibits the profit motive enough to leave dim prospects for website textbooks and edited readers. Until that is resolved, the weakness will remain.

Once a presidential web book is published, it should meet two criteria. First, it will be a toll good, available only to paying customers. The web is perfectly amenable to this practice, and

many organizations have lavish web resources available only to their paying customers (be they individual ones or institutions).

Second, it should incorporate a wealth of links to on line materials on the presidency. To do so, books must escape the confines of strict print form. The leading print form for web material now is the PDF Acrobat file. This is highly effective in skirting the problem of wholesale low-cost downloading and text theft. But it forfeits all the inherent assets of hypertext, including working links to other hypertext. There is never a good reason to read a PDF file on line rather than in print form; PDF is the printer manufacturer's natural ally. For on line books and readers to be truly useful to students, they should take standard hypertext form.

One must grant that books in hypertext form invite the current jeopardy associated with downloaded popular music files. Students may get one copy of the book and file-swap it to others who avoid paying a charge. But academic books are far from the mass-appeal items that popular music files are, so the untested prospect of file-swapping is only a remote future hazard. Also, institutions control access right now to on-line courses by vetting who is properly enrolled and who is not. That could incorporate access to the books for that course, as they reside behind this firewall. It is a challenge, but not an insuperable one.

And once all that is done, faculty and students will have a true wealth of on line material to employ for teaching and learning about the American presidency. That will be a good day for our shared profession.

Notes:

1. Vincent Voice Library's U.S. Presidents of the Twentieth Century has one sampling for presidents from Benjamin Harrison through Herbert Hoover.
2. But one is advised to remind students to run current White House information through a filter to detect political flackery. The White House is a prototypical "chamber of commerce tour" site in the sense of placing only favorable interpretations upon events.

This characteristic also pervades the former White House sites associated with the Clinton Administration. A Clinton flackery site is seen at President William J. Clinton - Eight Years of Peace, Progress and Prosperity. The former Clinton White House site has moved to NARA at the home site of Welcome To The White House.

3. The text/reader authors are Cohen and Nice; Cronin and Genovese; Edwards and Wayne; Genovese; Greenstein; Kessel; C. Jones; Milkis and Nelson; Nelson; Pfiffner; Pfiffner and Davidson; Pika, Maltese, and Thomas; Roper; Thomas and Pika; and Waterman, Wright, and St. Clair. Publishers are Addison Wesley Longman; Bedford St. Martin's; Chatham House; CQ Press; Edinburgh University Press; The Free Press; McGrawHill; Oxford University Press; and Westview.

References outside the Web

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Cont'd — What Should the President Know and When Should He Know It?

(Continued from page 1)
 available to President Bush as he made the key decisions about going to war? Was he provided sufficient data to calculate the probabilities of various

outcomes: of the likelihood of Iraqi chemical and nuclear weapons? the willingness of Iraqi guerillas to fight on after the American victory? the resources needed to provide the promised new democracy to the Iraqi people?

These questions, in turn, implicate the president's staff and staff structure.

For if decisions are at the heart of the presidency, information is at the heart of how presidential decisions are taken – and information, at least in the modern presidency, is a function of staff and staff organization. Thus how an administration is organized to provide for the flow of advice is of critical interest to scholars and policymakers. Did the president get the information he needed? Did information that might have changed his mind get lost somewhere on its way to the White House? Were bad data (Iraq's connection to Nigerian uranium, for example) somewhere made good? As early as February 2002 a "senior administration official" complained that President Bush "finds out what he wants to know. But he

does not necessarily find out what he might need to know" (Balz and Woodward 2002: A15).

While analysis of the Bush advisory process is beginning to appear, in scholarly (Hult 2003; Tenpas and Hess 2002) and journalistic (Barry and Thomas 2003; Suskind 2002; Woodward 2002) array, it is far too early to draw any sort of systematic conclusions about the Bush advisory process in Iraq. However, it is not too early to push research on the presidency in this direction. We need to know more about how presidents structure their staffs in order to ensure that they both become aware of relevant policy problems and receive germane, timely advice on the range of options which might be utilized to mitigate them. What, and what kind of, information reaches presidents, of the nearly infinite amount that in prospect might do so? How does this affect the ways decisions are conceived, and taken?

These are certainly not new questions to presidency scholars (see, e.g. White 1948; Neustadt 1960: 153). However, while the notion that organization reflects informational needs has received sustained attention in economics and in other subfields of American politics (see especially Krehbiel 1991), presidency scholars have been relatively slow to take up the challenge. In this brief

essay, I suggest one approach to doing so.

The Institutional Presidency

There is a large and valuable collection of scholarship under the rubric of the "institutional presidency" (for a wide-ranging review, see the essays in Shapiro et al. 2000). Analysis in this tradition seeks to examine the *presidency* as an ongoing collection of regularized processes and roles, as opposed to the common behavioral focus on the *president* as individual. Much of this work centers on how executive behavior is shaped and channeled by the organizational and institutional nature of the modern presidency, highlighting the routines, procedures, and staff units that comprise the presidential branch. It provides a broadly historical account of units and functions in the EOP through different administrations, sometimes assessing typologies of staff organization and dicta of staff management.

Whether or not it is made explicit, information is a central issue in the institutional development traced by this scholarship. However, most scholars have not explored presidential information in terms of presidential institutions by systematically evaluating advisory systems to

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determine the impact differential institutions might have on the nature and amount of information the president receives. One exception that perhaps proves the rule is the frequent comparison of the Bay of Pigs to the Cuban Missile Crisis, where contrasting decisions are easily linked to different decision-making structures. Burke et al. (1989) also come close to what I have in mind in their structured comparison of the Eisenhower and Johnson decision-making processes with regards to Vietnam.

The standard trilogy of presidential management structures -- hierarchical, collegial ("spokes-of-the-wheel"), or competitive (see Johnson 1974) -- is a useful framework. But such structures are not unitary facts, one per administration: presidents utilize multiple formal and informal structures to channel information, and these vary within administrations across issue areas and shift with the priorities presidents attach to a given question or set of policies. Indeed, relatively small variations in communication networks within an administration can significantly affect information flow (Kessel 1984). Thus the unit of analysis must be the decision, not the structure per se.

So if extant research on staff structures to date is vital grounding for hypotheses appropriate for comparative, empirical testing of the informational content of staff institutions in the EOP, thus

far it does not provide them.

Agendas and Organizations

Other work on institutions in political science and economics explicitly explores their informational role. Institutions help to mitigate the uncertainty inherent in strategic interactions, giving actors an idea of the behavior to expect from each other by providing a set of rules for decision-making. This is necessary because, as formal theorists have shown, very few areas of decision making have stable outcomes flowing directly from the preferences of the participants. In the jargon, there are very few "preference-induced" equilibria -- "structure-induced" equilibria are required instead (Shepsle 1989).

That structure is provided by an agenda, where "agenda" is broadly defined as the determination of which options are considered in what order. Having no agenda can mean no result is reached -- but equally striking is that different agendas, even over the same options, will lead to different results (Riker 1993). Thus, for example, part of the power of the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives is to determine not only which amendments may be offered but when, and to what base bill. If amendments are put up against each other, instead of against the status quo, a wholly different outcome may result. Hence the use of complicated rules like "king

of the hill" (Sinclair 2000: 20-28).

Now, in a real sense presidents seeking decision-making advice oversee institutions that guide the consideration of policy alternatives. They produce outputs that are created by the sequential consideration of sets of options. Suddenly this looks a lot like the definition of "agenda" above. Organization charts even look like an extended form game tree. Further, like agendas, hierarchies are always "biased" in some way: how they are structured affects the alternatives that reach the top. Since "policymaking involves making comparisons.... an organization's structure affects who compares what with what, so that different structures can produce different policy outcomes" (Bendor and Hammond 1992: 317; Hammond 1993).

Applied to the presidency, this insight has direct implications for the organizational choices the president makes. After all, the input to presidential decisions is information; and in a real sense his problem is not too little advice, but too much (Jones 2001). For reasons of time and cognitive capacity, no president could usefully receive as much information as exists on any given topic. Thus the problem is not *gathering* data so much as it is *structuring* them. Informational chaos must be structured by imposing an agenda upon it -- by forcing it through a staff. Just as in the world of

(Continued from page 38)

collective preferences, equilibrium must be induced by the imposition of some sort of structured rules, narrowing the options available to the president.

If so, how does a president arrange his hierarchy -- how does he set the organizational agenda -- to achieve the informational results he wants and needs?

Presidential Problems and Solutions

Lyndon Johnson's aide, Harry McPherson, put the problem this way (1988: 292):

The real danger was that we [LBJ's advisors] would weigh it wrong. The very process of reducing a dozen position papers and committee meetings to a three page memorandum for the President required that we exclude some arguments and data, and emphasize others. We tried to give him both sides, but our judgments colored what we wrote. ... [T]he danger of bias or omission is always there, and it is unavoidable so long as Presidents make twenty decisions a day on the basis of information they can only receive through the filter of other men's convictions.

Or as Nixon counsel Leonard Garment put it: "there is an old rule in physics that the ingredients of the screen affect the material that passes through the screen" (Reichley 1981: 62).

How should presidents construct that screen or filter so that it best serves them? We need to consider two

things: what the president needs to know; and, flowing from this, what staff structures should look like.

A. What does the President need to know?

A decision process itself is not "good" or "bad" based on its outcome alone. Rather, it should be assessed according to whether it brought the president the information he needed. What kind of information do presidents need to rise to the top? Wilensky's classic 1967 study of "organizational intelligence" describes high-quality information as clear, timely, reliable, logically consistent with real-life contexts, comprehensive, and diverse (1967: viii-ix; Graber 1992).

While very broad, the last three points mesh well with research more specific to the presidency. For example, Alexander George (1980: Ch. 6) gives a set of decisional malfunctions, such as the avoidance of certain logical options; the presentation of a united front by advisors to the president, disagreements having already been hashed out; dependence on a single channel of information; lack of review of key premises by neutral parties; and a lack of follow-up on dissenting proposals. Further, each of the basic models of presidential staffing suggests costs and benefits (George 1980; Graber 2003; Porter 1980). The formalistic model provides for clear jurisdictions, a wide potential scope for information gathering, and the elimination of extraneous data, but the screening process may hide necessary information. A

collegial model allows useful horizontal interconnection; however, its reliance on consensus-building may lead to "groupthink." A competitive model, by creating overlapping jurisdictions, forces wealth of information to the president and ensures he maintains final control over decisions, but builds up staff resentment and requires that the president invest a good deal of personal energy in managing the system.

The common threads of this literature, then, enable us to draw a picture of "good advice." Namely: presidents need advice that gives them a manageable amount of information; that information must be useful, in the sense that it fits real-world options; it must be "comprehensive," in that it includes a range of options and an estimate of their likely success; it must be diverse, in that it provides both the "winning" and dissenting options, and (addressing George's point) is vetted by "neutral" people not in the specialist camp.

B. How can he get to know it?

Part of the problem discussed by McPherson and Garment above is a classic principal-agent question of hidden action and information. Since what the agent (here, the staffer) does may be unobservable by the principal (here, the president), the agent must be given incentives to act in the desired manner. A

McPherson's account later suggests two ameliorating mechanisms: that the president (1) choose subordinates with care, to ensure they share his values; and (2) understand the bias of each and weight it accordingly when considering their advice. Careful selection of responsive subordinates on the basis of loyalty and ideological commitment -- along with the centralization of tasks within the White House partly in order to reduce monitoring costs -- is, of course, the cornerstone of work on the "politicized presidency" (Moe 1985). This is quite consistent with more formal treatments of principal-agent problems (Moe 1984; Waterman and Meier 1998). Even if staff members remain biased in some manner, knowing the direction and extent of the bias can still make advice useful (Calvert 1985).

However, the wrong staff members may still be selected. Responsiveness may overshadow competence. Further, the principal may not know what to ask, or know what options are missing from the menu she receives. How do principals prevent shirking (i.e., the presentation of options that do not match the principal's interest) by subordinate agents who have more substantive knowledge of a given topic than the principal?

The answer returns to structure: they must structure their advisory stream to bring the "best" information to the top. In effect, they must "institutional[ize] distrust," to borrow Richard Rose's useful phrase (1991: 108). As above, hierarchy implies that

different institutional structures influence what conflicts reach the president and, thus, what information he gets with regard to decisions. The same people, with the same preferences, organized differently, can yield different outcomes. Since a priority for presidents is preserving their right of choice over important decisions, they need to ensure that their resolution is not pre-empted. Since a standard feature (or pathology) of hierarchy is that subordinates tell those at the next level up only what they think the latter want to hear, the key question of institutional design can be restated as one of designing a process by which desired information is forced through the hierarchy.

Looking at the private sector, Hammond (1994) argues that this process is largely a function of the categories around which the institution is organized. The chief executive in any hierarchy will learn about *inter*-category matters, but not *intra*-category concerns, since the latter will be settled at a lower level. For the presidency, for example, if the reporting structure of the State Department is based on countries, the Secretary will hear about different issues than if it is based on policy-areas (trade, military, etc.). However the units are defined, presidents will learn largely about what crosses units' jurisdictions.

Consider that a policy staff might be organized around cross-cutting functional lines -- speechwriting, statute-drafting, and the like - or around its own sort of product lines (perhaps better

termed "policy-lines." Such lines would be economic, domestic, foreign; or even agriculture, commerce, etc.). Both methods would produce options for the president, but different advisory networks would be involved. The former would bring together different personnel depending on the task at hand; the latter would mainly unite specialists. In the modern EOP, replete with specialized policy staffs from NSC aides to the Office for Policy Development, the latter seems to be -- at least formally -- the dominant method of staffing.

But few presidential staffers fully share the president's viewpoint; a given aide may not know how a given transaction fits into others. Compartmentalized policy advice channels cannot produce the information the president most needs: namely, how different problems interact across policy areas. Longtime presidential troubleshooter W. Averell Harriman argued, "all talk of 'two Presidencies' -- one foreign and one domestic -- is nonsense. All policies *within* and *beyond* our national frontiers have to be concerted and integrated. They can only be different aspects of the same national purpose" (Hughes 1974: 349).

A functional approach, on the other hand, seems close to the organizational formulation Richard Neustadt once urged: "the most effective kind of staff organization is an organization built around what I would call an *action-forcing process*, by which I mean a steady stream of actionable issues, concrete issues, that have to be attended to, issues where something has to be done, a

decision has to be reached" (1965: 283). Notably, as Neustadt later elaborated, these streams are "differentiated by particular sorts of actions, not by program areas" (1990: 221).

This nestles comfortably with another aspect of organizational design. Namely, jurisdictions need not be unique, and managers are often urged to create alternate, and competing, sources of information. John Kennedy's inclusion of domestic advisers like Robert Kennedy, Arthur Schlesinger, and Ted Sorensen in deliberations over the Cuban Missile Crisis, for example, reflected his discomfort with the advice received from the CIA and Defense Department leading up to the Bay of Pigs.

When practiced systematically, this strategy has costs, in time, timeliness, and managerial effort. Still, some presidents have done this: beyond the examples above, notions of "parallel processing" run through the literature describing Franklin Roosevelt's "competitive ad-hocracy" (Dickinson 1997; George 1980) and even Reagan's first-term "troika" (Buchanan 1991). Roosevelt did the coordinating himself; Reagan delegated this. In both cases, broader policy review invited competition and review by generalists more attuned to the widest range of presidential goals and needs. That is, it created a functionally-driven staff structure.

Hypothesizing and Testing Hierarchy

We might think about assessing presidential institutions along the following lines. First, if different structures (different combinations of jurisdictions and sequence) bring different types of information to the attention of the president, functionally-based structures will give the president more useful information than policy-specific structures. We would also expect that multiple sources of competing information (parallel processing) will give the president better information, though at some cost. Finally, drawing on principal-agent literature, we should expect presidents will get better information about policy matters when they have (a) effective monitoring mechanisms; or (b) know and weight for the elements of bias along the information channels. Again, by "better" or "more useful" information, I mean advice with the characteristics traced above: that it is tied to real world policy and political realities; that it is comprehensive; that it is diverse.

Systematic tests of these hypotheses await both more space and, more importantly, more data. One of the only communications-oriented studies of the White House concludes that "the organizational structure imposed on the White House in each term directly affected information flow into the Oval Office as well as the extent to which other sources of information were used in the

decision-making process" (Witherspoon 1991: 178). Likewise, in tracing cases of presidential staff "change points" in the Truman, Nixon, and Reagan presidencies, I have found that staff choices have clear implications for information flow, and that presidents and EOP staff thought about these issues in ways that resonate with the discussion here (Rudalevige 2002). Where presidents have cut themselves off from multiple points of view, they have gotten information well-attuned to one vantage but more poorly integrated with the various tasks associated with the modern presidency.

However, while suggestive, individual cases cannot be much more than that. What I hope presidency scholars will add to our store of knowledge is an effort to build hypotheses that systematize the construction of staff structures. In a perfect empirical world, one would seek to build a comprehensive database of presidential decisions providing variation over goals and environment; over issue-areas; over "management styles" and personalities; and over institutional arrangements. Control variables would be exactly specified, and both sides of the causal equation precisely measured. This last sentence describes little of political science and the study of the

presidency least of all. Still, there is more room for systematic study than is usually exploited. Given a random set of presidential decisions, we can work backwards from the president to yield a more precise sense of what sequence each decision went through -- which advisors, having which jurisdictions and (tougher) what preferences. Ideally, the decision set should include routine and critical items both, encompassing presidential priorities and sacrificial lambs.

Collecting, not to mention coding, this kind of data will be difficult -- this is yet another area where the subfield can benefit from creative approaches to using archival and quantitative research as complement rather than substitute (and hostile substitute at that). But the project is one worth undertaking. The gap between the expectations placed on presidents and their capacity to deliver upon those demands remains wide. Why have staffs increased in numbers and specialized knowledge often failed to advance presidential prospects? Perhaps the growth has been along counterproductive lines. In the end, the words of Dwight Eisenhower still ring true: "leadership is as vital in conference as it is in battle" (Burke et. al. 1989: 265). President Bush is finding that out now.

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Book Scan

Books on the Presidency

By Meena Bose

The following list was compiled through a search of amazon.com for books on the American presidency published in 2003. 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 a new edition is available. Whenever possible, entries include page count, price, and ISBN number.

Abbott, Philip. *The Challenge of the American Presidency*. Waveland Press. 304 pp. \$21.95 paper, ISBN 1577662865.

Bass, Warren. *Support Any Friend: Kennedy's Middle East and the Making of the U.S.-Israel Alliance*. Oxford University Press. 360 pp. \$30 cloth, ISBN 0195165802.

Baumgartner, Jody C., and Naoko Kada. *Checking Executive Power: Presidential Impeachment in Comparative Perspective*. Praeger. \$59.95 cloth, ISBN 0275979261; \$24.95 paper, ISBN 027597927X.

Benson, Thomas W. *Writing JFK: Presidential Rhetoric and the Press in the Bay of Pigs Crisis*. Texas A&M University Press. 128 pp. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 1585442763; \$14.95 paper, ISBN 158544281X.

Boller, Paul. *Presidential Wives: An Anecdotal History*. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press. 576 pp. \$30 cloth, ISBN 0195127021.

Bose, Meena, and Mark Landis, eds. *The Uses and Abuses of Presidential Ratings*. Nova Science Publishers. \$49 cloth, ISBN 1590337948.

Browne, Stephen Howard. *Jefferson's Call for Nationhood: The First Inaugural Address*. Texas A&M University Press. 176 pp. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 1585442518; \$14.95 paper, ISBN 1585442526.

Brownlee, W. Elliot, and Hugh Davis Graham, eds. *The Reagan Presidency: Pragmatic Conservatism and Its Legacies*. University Press of Kansas. 392 pp. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0700612688.

Buchanan, Bruce. *Presidential Campaign Quality: Incentives and Reform*. Prentice Hall. 160 pp. \$26.67 paper, ISBN 0131841408.

Cook, Rhodes. *The Presidential Nominating Process: A Place for Us*. Rowman & Littlefield. 176 pp. \$60 cloth, ISBN 0742525937; \$22.95 paper, ISBN 0742525945.

Cowger, Thomas W., and Sherwin J. Markman, eds. *Lyndon Johnson Remembered: An Intimate Portrait of a Presidency*. Rowman & Littlefield. 208 pp. \$25.95 cloth, ISBN 0742527980.

Cronin, Thomas E., and Michael A. Genovese. *The Paradoxes of the American Presidency*. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press. 432 pp.

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Donaldson, Gary A. *Liberalism's Last Hurrah: The Presidential Campaign of 1964*. M.E. Sharpe. 376 pp. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 0765611198.

Gillman, Howard. *The Votes That Counted: How the Court Decided the 2000 Presidential Election*. University of Chicago Press. \$17 paper, ISBN 0226294080.

Goldstein, Michael L. *Guide to the 2004 Presidential Election*. Congressional Quarterly Books. 136 pp. \$23.75 paper, ISBN 1568028482.

Greenberg, David. *Nixon's Shadow: The History of an Image*. W.W. Norton. 384 pp. \$26.95 cloth, ISBN 0393048969.

Greenstein, Fred I., ed. *The George W. Bush Presidency: An Early Assessment*. Johns Hopkins University Press. 320 pp. \$55 cloth, ISBN 0801878454; \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0801878462.

Gregg, Gary L., and Mark J. Rozell, eds. *Considering the Bush Presidency*. Oxford University Press. 256 pp. \$65 cloth, ISBN 0195166817; \$24.95 paper, ISBN 0195166809.

Hardesty, Von, and Schieffer, Bob. *Air Force One: The Aircraft That Shaped the Modern Presidency*. Northword Press. 192 pp. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 1559718943.

Heith, Diane J. *Polling to Govern: Public Opinion and Presidential Leadership*. Stanford University Press.

208 pp. \$50 cloth, ISBN 0804748489; \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0804748497.

Houck, Davis W., et al. *FDR's Body Politics: The Rhetoric of Disability*. Texas A&M University Press. 160 pp. \$32.96 cloth, ISBN 158544233X.

Howell, William G. *Power Without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton University Press. 280 pp. and \$45 cloth, ISBN 0691102694; 239 pp. and \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0691102708.

Jordan, Chris. *Movies and the Reagan Presidency: Success and Ethics*. Praeger. 208 pp. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0275979679.

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Mayer, William G., ed. *The Making of the Presidential Candidates*. Rowman & Littlefield. 384 pp. \$85 cloth, ISBN 0742529185; \$29.95 paper, ISBN 0742529193.

Mayer, William G., and Andrew E. Busch. *The Front-Loading Problem in Presidential Nominations*. Brookings. 288 pp. \$49.95 cloth, ISBN 0815755201; \$22.95 paper, ISBN 0815755198.

McHale, John P., et al. *Campaign 2000: A Functional Analysis of Presidential Campaign Discourse*. Rowman & Littlefield. 288 pp. \$65 cloth, ISBN 0742529134; \$26.95 paper, ISBN 0742529142.

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Meier, Kenneth J., and George C. Edwards, eds. *Reinventing the Presidency*. Seven Bridges Press. 256 pp. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 188911961X.

Nelson, Michael, ed. *The Presidency A to Z*. 3rd ed. CQ Press. 603 pp. \$156.25 cloth, ISBN 1568028032.

Olson, Keith W. *Watergate: The Presidential Scandal That Shook America*. University Press of Kansas. 305 pp. and \$35 cloth, ISBN 0700612505; 220 pp. and \$15.95 paper, ISBN 0700612513.

Pederson, William D., and Frank J. Williams, eds. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln: Competing Perspectives on Two Great Presidencies*. M.E. Sharpe. 287 pp. \$69.95 paper, ISBN 0765610353.

Preston, Daniel, and Marlena C. DeLong. *The Papers of James Monroe*. Greenwood Publishing. 840 pp. \$125 cloth, ISBN 0313319782.

Roberts, John B., II. *Rating the First Ladies: The Women Who Influenced the Presidency*. Citadel Press. 288 pp. \$22.95 cloth, ISBN 0806523875.

Scala, Dante J. *Stormy Weather: The New Hampshire Primary and Presidential Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan. 240 pp. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 0312296223.

Simon, John Y., et al. *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*. Southern Illinois University Press. 616 pp. \$75 cloth, ISBN 0809324997.

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Strober, Gerald, and Deborah Hart Strober. *The Kennedy Presidency: An Oral History of the Era*. Rev. ed. Brasseys, Inc. 554 pp. \$27 paper, ISBN 1574885812.

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Tenpas, Kathryn Dunn. *Presidents as Candidates: Inside the White House for the Presidential Campaign*. Routledge. 191 pp. \$22.95 paper, ISBN 0415947464.

Troy, Tevi. *Intellectuals and the American Presidency: Philosophers, Jesters, or*

Journal Scan

Articles on the Presidency

By Meena Bose

The following list of articles on the presidency was compiled through a review of recent issues of the following scholarly journals: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and *Political Science Quarterly*. Whenever possible, entries include page numbers.

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Presidential Studies Quarterly, June 2003

ARTICLES

Richard J. Ellis, "The Joy of Power: Changing Conceptions of the Presidential Office"

Stephen J. Farnsworth and S. Robert Lichter, "The Manchester Union Leader's Influence in the 1996 New Hampshire Republican Primary"

Michael J. Korzi, "Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers: A Reconsideration of William Howard Taft's 'Whig' Theory of Presidential Leadership"

Brandon Rottinghaus, "Reassessing Public Opinion Polling in the Truman Administration"

Ryan L. Teten, "Evolution of the Modern Rhetorical Presidency: Presidential Presentation and Development of the State of the Union Address"

Reed L. Welch, "Presidential Success in Communicating with the Public Through Televised Addresses"

FEATURES

The Contemporary Presidency: Martha Joynt Kumar, "Communications Operations in the White House of President George W. Bush: Making News on His Terms"

The Law: Louis Klarevas, "The Constitutionality of Congressional-Executive Agreements"

The Polls: Jeffrey E. Cohen, and John A. Hamman, "Can Presidential Rhetoric Affect

Cont'd Bookscan

(Continued from page 45)

Technicians? Rowman & Littlefield. 280 pp. \$18.95 paper, ISBN 0742508269.

Watson, Robert P. et al, eds. *Presidential Doctrines: National Security From Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush*. Nova Science Publishers. \$34 cloth, ISBN 159033812X.

Wayne, Stephen J. *The Road to the White House 2004: The Politics of Presidential Elections*. Wadsworth Publishing. \$30.95 paper, ISBN 0534614256.

Weisberg, Herbert F., and Clyde Wilcox, eds. *Models of Voting in Presidential Elections: The 2000 U.S. Election*. Stanford University Press. 320 pp. \$65 cloth, ISBN 0804748551; \$24.95 paper, ISBN 080474856X.

Whitman, Mark, ed. *Florida 2000: A Sourcebook on the Contested Presidential Election*. Lynne Rienner. 300 pp. \$65 cloth, ISBN 1588262049.

the Public's Economic Perceptions?"

Source Material: Robert P. Watson, "Toward the Study of the First Lady: The State of Scholarship"

REVIEW ESSAY

Barbara Burrell, "Children, Mothers, and U.S. Presidents"

Presidential Studies Quarterly,
September 2003

Special Issue: The Permanent War

INTRODUCTION

Introduction by Louis Fisher

ARTICLES

David Gray Adler, "Presidential Greatness as an Attribute of Warmaking"

Louis Fisher, "Military Tribunals: A Sorry History"

Nancy Kassop, "The War Power and Its Limits"

James M. Lindsay, "Deference and Defiance: The Shifting Rhythms of Executive-Legislative Relations in Foreign Policy"

Nancy V. Baker, "National Security Versus Civil Liberties"

Jennifer K. Elsea, "Presidential Authority to Detain 'Enemy Combatants' "

Harold C. Relyea, "Organizing for Homeland Security"

FEATURES

The Contemporary Presidency: Douglas A. Lonnstrom and Thomas O. Kelly, II, "Rating the Presidents: A Tracking Study"

The Law: T.J. Halstead, "*Walker v. Cheney*: Legal Insulation of the Vice President from GAO Investigations"

The Polls: Joshua G. Behr, "Searching for

Determinism: A Comparative Assessment of First-Term Approval, Volatility, Buoyancy, and Polarization"

Source Material: Martha Joynt Kumar, "The White House and the Press: News Organizations as a Presidential Resource and as a Source of Pressure"

Congress and the Presidency, Spring 2003

ARTICLES

Gary C. Jacobson, "Partisan Polarization in Presidential Support: The Electoral Connection"

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White House Studies, Summer 2003

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White House Studies, Fall 2003

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Nada Mourtada-Sabbah, "The Political Question Doctrine, Executive Discretion, and Foreign Affairs"

Robert M. Dunkerly, "A Tale of Two Cabins: Searching for Andrew Jackson's Birthplace"

Lawrence J. Rifkind, "A Student-Centered Approach to Teaching a Course on First Ladies"

Anthony J. Eksterowicz, "Teaching First Ladies"



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Russell Renka on Teaching the Modern Presidency on the Internet — A Special Online Presentation

**In the Next
Issue...**

**Research Articles
by:**

Kenneth Mayer

Elvin Lim

Colleen Shogan

plus:

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