

Gov30/PBPL52: Leadership and Political Institutions
Fall 2015, 10A
X-hour Wed: 3-3:50

Professor Linda L. Fowler

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Course Objectives: In democracies, political institutions provide legitimacy and accountability for leadership decisions that insure a government "of laws, not of men." Institutions set the rules of the game and create incentives that lead political actors to behave in particular ways. Typically, legal structures impose constraints on public leaders greater than what their counter-parts experience in the private sector, but the public and press focus on the individual leaders rather than the rules that influence their behavior. Although institutions may be at odds with popular expectations, they confer authority on leaders to act on behalf of the public and change society. Consequently, we measure leaders' success by the wellbeing of the community rather than their individual achievements.

In this course, we explore how political leaders balance the constraints of public office with demands for accomplishment, sometimes of historic proportions. The readings and discussions focus on three questions: What expectations are appropriate for political leaders in a democratic system? How do political conditions, events and personality shape leaders' ability to lead their institutions? How do institutional environments of the presidency, Congress and Supreme Court shape their leaders' strategy and effectiveness?

Throughout the term, students will gain a deeper understanding of the challenges confronting the nation's political leaders and develop criteria for evaluating their efforts. They will explore a variety of historical sources, biographies, court opinions, and empirical analyses to consider how different scholarly and ideological perspectives shape perceptions of individual leaders. They will write challenging critical essays that relate the readings to the actions of a political leader of their choosing and produce a final research paper. Throughout the course, students will have the opportunity to reflect on their own leadership traits and opportunities.

Format: My intention in the course is to promote active learning of the material rather than passive absorption of formal lectures. Generally, I will develop important themes, theories, and historical events for the first half of the class and turn to discussion of real world cases for the second half. For this "Socratic" method to work, students will need to do the reading before class and expect me to call on them regularly. Given the increasingly negative findings about the adverse effects of in-class computers on student learning, I will be restricting the use of laptops, ipads and smart phones.

Help: I like to talk to students about their ideas and their future plans during my office hours. I particularly encourage students with personal concern that can affect their comfort in class discussion or performance on papers or in discussion to talk to me outside of class so that we can make whatever accommodations might be helpful. I usually respond quickly to email requests for appointments outside of regular office hours, so students should be able to see me when they need to. Students also may call me at home (but not after 10pm), if they are having difficulties.

I make an effort to avoid scheduling tests and papers on religious holidays. If I overlook an important date or need to make an exception for a student whose religious beliefs require missing class, I am happy to work out a mutually satisfactory accommodation.

Papers are due at the start of class on the assigned day. Late papers have a grade deducted for each day beyond the due date. Sometimes students have unavoidable conflicts in their schedules or emergencies that inhibit their ability to complete assignments on time. I will give extensions to students who **consult me in advance** about multiple assignments due on the same day or to students who call or email about an emergency the night before. Because I am prepared to be flexible with students who take responsibility for their work, I am not interested in hearing last minute pleas about a bad cold, oversleeping, or a draft that just needs a bit more tinkering.

Expectations: I expect students to work independently and to observe the rules of the college honor code regarding plagiarism and cheating. For the assigned readings, students may use an informal citation format (author's last name, date and page of article for direct quotes and references to an author's name in the text for big ideas). For outside sources, students should use full citations, including weblinks for material read online. I urge students to be careful about unintentional violations of the rules, such as quoting an author but neglecting to put quotation marks around a passage or using an author's idea without giving him or her credit. Also, avoid long strings of quotes: I am interested in how students work with ideas not their ability to cut and paste.

Readings: I have ordered the following books at the Wheelock Bookstore:

Medvic, *In Defense of Politicians*, 2013

Rosen, *The Supreme Court: The Personalities and Rivalries that Defined America*, 2007

Selected articles and chapters are available on the Canvas website for this course.

Grades and Requirements: Requirements include two short critical essays of 4 pages each and a longer one of 12 pages, all organized around a leader of the student's choosing. In addition, students will participate in a role playing exercise.

Students can pick the days for which they want to hand in the short papers and will submit the long one at the end of the term. For example, a student who chooses to write about Justice Clarence Thomas might want to prepare the first short essay for October 1, "Leadership, personality and character" and the second for November 10, "Judges as Leaders and Followers," with a full analysis of Thomas that explores other themes in the course for the final paper due on November 23.

I expect students to participate in class discussion, especially on days for which they have written papers. I don't take attendance, but do notice who is regularly present or absent and will use that information to make judgments about borderline grades.

Short essays	20 percent for essay 1; 25 percent for essay 2
Long essay	50 percent
Role play	5 percent
Class participation	plus or minus for borderline cases

Weekly Assignments:

I. Expectations for political leaders

Th 09/17	Overview (no reading assignment) Review of public attitudes towards institutions and leaders Review of political ambitions among young people
T 09/22	Expectations for leaders Machiavelli, <i>The Prince</i> , ch.7, 18, 19, Canvas Heifitz, <i>Leadership Without Easy Answers</i> , ch.1, Canvas Medvic, <i>Defense of Politicians</i> , Preface, ch. 1-2 Cronin and Genovese, <i>Leadership Matters</i> , ch. 1, Canvas Case study: Why Mandela Was Unique, Canvas
W 09/23	Submit brief description of leader (1/2 page). Put under the door to my office by 9:30 pm
Th 09/24	Leaders, ambition and political entrepreneurship Fowler, <i>Candidates, Congress and American Democracy</i> , ch. 2, Canvas Tocqueville, <i>Democracy in America</i> , ch. 19, vII, Canvas Medvic, <i>Defense of Politicians</i> , ch. 3-4 Case study: "Presidential Hopefuls Have No Time to Waste," Canvas
Sat 09/26	Women as leaders Lawless, <i>Becoming a Candidate</i> , ch. 4, Canvas Jamieson, <i>Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership</i> , ch. 1-2, Canvas Case study: Davidson, "What Women in Congress Really Got Done," Canvas
T 09/29	Leaders as history makers Hook and Carlyle, excerpts in Kellerman, Canvas Skowronek, <i>Presidential Leadership in Political Time</i> , Ch.1, Canvas Case study: McCulloch, <i>Truman</i> , ch. 11-12, Canvas

- Th 10/01 Leadership, personality and character
 Cronin and Genovese, *Leadership Matters*, ch. 11, Canvas
 Medvic, *Defense of Politicians*, ch. 6-7
 Dalleck, *Hail to the Chief: The Making and Unmaking of Presidents*, ch. 4, Canvas
 Case study: Gergen, *Eyewitness to Power*, ch. 8, 9, 10 on Clinton, Canvas
- T 10/06 Leaders, representation and accountability
 Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I-68, Canvas
 Pitkin, *Concept of Representation*, ch.7, Canvas
 Sulkin, *Legislative Legacy of Congressional Campaigns*, ch. 1, 6, Canvas
 Case Study: LBJ and civil rights
 Milkis, "The President in the Vanguard: Lyndon Johnson...", Canvas
 Zelizer, "The Power of Lyndon Johnson is a Myth, Canvas"

II. Presidents as Institutional Leaders

- Th 10/08 Popular expectations about the presidency
 Hess, "Why Great Men Still Are Not Chosen President," Canvas
 Dickenson, "Presidential Power," Canvas
 Miller, *The End of Greatness: Why America Can't Have (and Doesn't Want) Another Great President*, ch. 11, Canvas
 Case study: Obama
 Miller, *End of Greatness*, ch. 13, Canvas
 Klein, "Green Lantern Theory of the Presidency,"
<http://www.vox.com/2014/5/20/5732208/the-green-lantern-theory-of-the-presidency-explained>
 GUEST SPEAKER: Former President, Seneca Nation
- T 10/13 Bargainer in Chief
 Neustadt, *Presidential Power*, ch. 1, Canvas
 Jones, *The Presidency in a Separated System*, ch. 1, Canvas
 Case Study: Greenstein, *The Hidden Hand Presidency*, ch. 3,4, Canvas
 GUEST SPEAKER: John Lynch, former Governor of NH
- Th 10/15 Presidential rhetoric as a leadership tool
 Kernell, *Going Public*, ch. 1, 2, Canvas
 Canes-Wrone, *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy and the Public*, ch. 3, Canvas
 Case study: Edwards, *Governing by Campaigning*, ch. 2, 3, Canvas

- T 10/20 Presidents and "the nature of the times"
 Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*, ch. 2,
 Canvas
 Case Study: Reagan
 Hayward, *Age of Reagan*, Chs. 3, 5, 6, Canvas
 Zenko, "When Reagan Cut and Run." Canvas
- Th 10/22 Presidents and war
 Dalleck, *FDR and U.S. Foreign Policy*, excerpt, Canvas
 Schickler, "Entrepreneurial Defenses of Congressional Power,"
 Canvas
 Kennedy, *Thirteen Days*, excerpt, Canvas
 Case study: Woodward, *Obama's Wars*, excerpt, Canvas

II. Congress and Institutional Leadership

- T 10/27 Herding Cats
 Karol, "Leadership and American Parties," Canvas
 Sinclair, "Leadership in the House and John Boehner,"
 Smith, "Harry Reid and Senate Party Leadership," Canvas
 Case study: Catalini, "How John Boehner Finally Got a Fiscal-
 Cliff Deal to Obama," Canvas
- Th 10/29 Leadership styles in the legislature
 Cooper and Brady, Institutional Context and Leadership Style:
 The House from Cannon to Rayburn," Canvas
 Theriault, *The Gingrich Senators*, ch. 2
 Case study: Caro, *Master of the Senate*, ch. 22, 24-25, Canvas
- T 11/03 The art of compromise
 Binder and Lee, "Making Deals in Congress," Canvas
 Theriault, *The Gingrich Senators*, chs. 9, 10, Canvas
 Case Study: Birnbaum and Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch*,
 skim, chs. 1, 2, 4, 9, 10, Canvas
 GUEST SPEAKER: FORMER SENATOR JUDD GREGG (R-
 NH)

Wed 11/04 Briefing on roll playing exercise

Th 11/05 Role Playing Exercise

III. Leadership and the Supreme Court

- T 11/10 Judges as leaders or followers
 Provine, "Judicial Activism and American Democracy,"

Canvas

Sunstein, "Moneyball for Judges," Canvas

Greenhouse, "Law and Politics," Canvas

Schuck, Why Government Fails, ch. 9, Canvas

Case study: *McCutcheon* decision on campaign contributions,
NYTimes, Canvas

Th 11/12

Does leadership matter in judging?

Rosen, *The Supreme Court: The Personalities and Rivalries that Defined America*, ch. 1-3

Sunstein: "Top Supreme Court Justices," Canvas

Case study: *Marbury v. Madison*, Canvas

T 11/17

Judging the judges

Rosen, ch.4-end

Shesol, "The Court's Contempt for Congress," Canvas

Case study: Toobin, "To Your Health,"

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2012/07/09/to-your-health>

Mon 11/23 Paper due in my office at noon