

Nelson A. Rockefeller Center for Public Policy and the Social Sciences
Dartmouth College

PBPL 52: Leadership and Political Institutions
Winter 2012, 2A

Professor Linda L. Fowler

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Course Objectives: In democracies, political institutions provide the mechanisms for the legitimacy and accountability of leadership decisions. They insure a government "of laws, not of men," and they promote the peaceful reconciliation of disputes and transfer of power among competitors for leadership positions. Institutions set the rules of the game for political actors, advantaging some over others and creating incentives for leaders to behave in particular ways. Institutions, consequently, operate in constant tension between demands for stability and change.

Political institutions pose unique challenges for leaders at all levels of government. Leaders in public office operate under greater constraint than private sector leaders because they must deal with rival institutions and appeal to multiple constituencies. At the same time, institutional leaders enjoy enormous scope to change society because they receive authority from the polity to act on its behalf. We consequently judge their success by observing the wellbeing of the community rather their individual status.

This course explores how political leaders negotiate the constraints of public office with the opportunities for accomplishment, sometimes of historic proportions. The readings and discussions focus on four questions: How does leadership differ in the public and private spheres? What determines the effectiveness of public leadership? What personal skills and attributes affect the success or failure of leaders of political institutions? How do political conditions and historical contingency shape institutional leadership? We examine these issues in the context of three types of institutional leadership in the U.S.: the presidency, the Congress and the Supreme Court.

Format: My intention in the course is to promote active learning of the material rather than passive absorption of formal lectures. Generally, I will lay out important themes, theories and historical events for the first half of the class; we will then break for discussion and application of material in the readings to real world cases. For this "Socratic" method to work, students will need to do the reading before class and be able to respond to discussion questions that I distribute beforehand. Be prepared for me to call on you on a regular basis, even if you have not raised your hand.

Help: I like to talk to students about their ideas and their future plans during my office hours, and I am generally around until 6 pm, if you need to see me outside of office hours.

I encourage students with disabilities, including non-obvious conditions, or with personal concerns that can affect their performance on papers or in discussion, to talk to me outside of class so that we can make whatever accommodations might be helpful. I also encourage students to 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.

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. If you have not cleared an extension with me, understand that ***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.*** 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. Students may use an informal citation format (last name, date and page of article for direct quotes and references to an author in the text for big ideas). Be careful about unintentional violations of the rules, such as quoting an author and citing him/her, but neglecting to put quotation marks around a passage that you have plugged into your own paper. Also, avoid long strings of quotes: I am interested in how you work with ideas not your ability to cut and paste.

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

Birnbaum and Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch*, 1987

Hayward, *The Age of Reagan*, 2010

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

Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*, 2011

Selected articles and chapters are available on the Blackboard website for this course. News articles or magazine pieces for discussion will be distributed throughout the term.

Grades and Requirements: Requirements include three essays that apply the reading to a contemporary leadership issue. *Students will have the option of rewriting the first paper if the grade is below a B-; their new grade for the paper will be the average of the two.* The rewrite is due within 2 weeks of my returning it to you. I will not grade daily class participation separately, but will score it as a plus or minus in the event of a borderline grade. I don't take attendance, but do notice who is regularly absent.

First two Papers	30 percent each
Third paper	40 percent
Class participation	plus or minus

Weekly Assignments:

I. Expectations for political leaders

- Th. 01/05 Overview (no reading assignment)
- T. 01/10 What interests do leaders serve?
Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ch.7, 18,19, Blackboard
Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation*, ch. 1, 2, 7, Blackboard
Heifetz, *Leadership Without Easy Answers*, ch.1
- Th. 01/12 Leaders and ambition
Federalist 51, 53, 57, excerpts on Blackboard
Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ch. 29, VII, Blackboard
Fowler, *Candidates, Congress and the American Democracy*,
ch. 1, 3, Blackboard
Lawless and Fox, *It Takes a Candidate*, ch. 3, Blackboard
- T. 01/17 Leaders as history makers
Hook and Carlyle, excerpts in Kellerman, Blackboard
Burns, *Leadership*, ch. 1,5
McCulloch, *Truman*, ch. 11, 12, Blackboard
Lowi, *The Personal President*, ch. 5, 6, Blackboard
- Th. 01/19 Leadership, personality and character
Burns, *Leadership*, ch.3, Blackboard
Gergen, *Eyewitness to Power*, Ch. 8, 9, 10 on Clinton, Blackboard
Dalleck, *Hail to the Chief: The Making and Unmaking of Presidents*, Ch. 4, Blackboard
- T. 01/24 Leaders, followers and accountability
Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I-55, 68, Blackboard
Fatovic, "Constitutionalism and Presidential Prerogative:
Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian Perspectives," Blackboard
Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership....*, Ch. 3
- Th. 01/26 Paper due in class**

II. Presidents as Institutional Leaders

- T. 01/31 Bargainer in Chief
Neustadt, *Presidential Power*, ch. 1, Blackboard
Jones, *The Presidency in a Separated System*, ch. 1, Blackboard
Greenstein, *The Hidden Hand Presidency*, ch. 3,4 Blackboard
- Th. 02/02 Presidential rhetoric as a leadership tool
Kernell, *Going Public*, ch. 1, 2, Blackboard

Edwards, *Governing by Campaigning*, ch. 2, 3, Blackboard
Canes-Wrone, *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy and the Public*, ch. 3, Blackboard

- T. 02/07 Presidents and "the nature of the times"
Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership...*, ch. 1, 2, 3
Blackboard
Hayward, *The Age of Reagan*, Prologue, ch. 1-3,
- Th. 02/09 Presidents...and "times" continued
Hayward, *Age of Reagan*. Ch. 2-8
Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership...*, Ch. 5, 6, Blackboard
- T. 02/14 Presidents and war
Dalleck, *FDR and U. S. Foreign Policy*, excerpt, Blackboard
Kennedy, *Thirteen Days*, excerpt, Blackboard
Woodward, *Obama's Wars*, excerpt

W. 02/15 Paper due in my office at 9pm

II. Congressional Leadership

- Th. 02/16 Herding Cats in Congress?
Cooper and Brady, "Institutional Context and Leadership Style: The House from Cannon to Rayburn,"
Blackboard
Sinclair, "Parties and Leadership in the House," Blackboard
Smith, "Parties and Leadership in the Senate," Blackboard
- T. 02/21 Leadership styles in the legislature
Schickler, "Entrepreneurial Defenses of Congressional Power,"
Blackboard
Caro, *Master of the Senate*, ch. 22-25, Blackboard
Lee, *Beyond Ideology: Politics, Principles, and Partisanship in the U.S. Senate*, Ch. 4, Blackboard

III. Leadership of the Supreme Court

- Th. 02/23 Does leadership matter in judging?
Provine, "Judicial Activism and American Democracy,"
Blackboard
Rosen, *The Supreme Court: The Personalities and Rivalries that Defined America*, ch. 1-2
- T. 02/28 Judging the judges
Rosen, ch.3-end

IV. Institutional Conflict and Cooperation

Th. 03/01 The art of compromise
Murray and Birnbaum, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch*

T. 03/06 When institutions fail
No reading assignment

M. 03/11 Paper due in my office at noon