

Political Science 670
THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

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This course focuses on the American presidency and the primary relationships and responsibilities of the office, including dealing with the public, making decisions, influencing Congress, and implementing policy. We will stress relationships because we want to explain why presidents and their aides and other appointees act as they do and why these actions have the consequences they have. Whenever possible, we seek to reach generalizations about the presidency on the basis of systematic research and rigorous logic. This is not a course in analysis by anecdote.

Presidential elections are central to the study of the presidency, but we will not examine them in detail, because other courses in the Department of Political Science consider them in depth. We will, of course, be sensitive to the relationship between elections and governing.

Grades will be based on a comprehensive essay final examination (50%), a 15-page research paper (40%), and class participation (10%). The paper is due on April 30. You will select the topic by February 13 in consultation with me. It may be a critical review of the literature or original research. You will receive additional instructions regarding the form and focus of the research paper.

There will be several guest speakers in this course. Former White House Chief of Staff Andrew Card will meet with us on April 9. William Howell will speak on the politics of unilateral action on February 27. Martha Kumar will lead a session on presidential press relations and interviewing officials on March 5. In addition, a senior archivist at the Bush Presidential Library will guide you on a behind the scenes tour of the library on April 9. We will also have a class dinner on April 26.

One of my goals is to introduce you to different approaches to researching the presidency. You will read a substantial amount of quantitative research. You will also read scholars who employ interviews, documentary research, and formal modeling. In addition, Professor Kumar is well known for both her use of interviews and direct observation, Professor Howell has effectively exploited formal models, and the Bush Library is an easily accessible source of relevant documents.

The handouts used in this course are copyrighted. By “handouts,” I mean all materials generated for this class, which include but are not limited to syllabi, exams, and in-class materials. Because these materials are copyrighted, you do not have the right to copy the handouts, unless I expressly grant permission.

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact the Department of Student Life, Disabilities Services in Room B118 of Cain Hall, or call 845-1637.

Academic Dishonesty

Matters of academic integrity are always important and I take such matters very seriously. As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own the ideas, words, writings, etc. which belong to another. In accordance with this definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you should have the permission of that person. Plagiarism is one of the worst academic sins, for the plagiarist destroys the trust among colleagues without which research cannot be sagely communicated. If you have any questions regarding plagiarism, please consult the latest issue of the Texas A&M University Student Rules, under the section "Scholastic Dishonesty." I welcome your questions on this topic.

Students should be aware that academic dishonesty involves acts other than plagiarism. Please consult the Aggie Honor Code, which took effect September 1, 2004 at the Aggie Honor System Office website (<http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor>) for more information.

Aggie Honor Code: "An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal or tolerate those who do."

REQUIRED TEXTS

- John S. Burke and Fred I. Greenstein, *How Presidents Test Reality* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1989).
- George C. Edwards III, *The Strategic President: Persuasion and Opportunity in Presidential Leadership* (Princeton University Press, 2009)
- George C. Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit* (Yale University Press, 2003) (I will provide each student a copy).
- William G. Howell, *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action* (Princeton University Press, 2003).
- Martha Joynt Kumar, *Managing the President's Message* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).
- Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents* (Free Press, 1990).

Many, many articles and chapters! I have selected these readings to introduce you to a wide variety of approaches and methods to studying the presidency, as well as to represent the diversity of important research questions regarding the chief executive. In some weeks, not everyone will read exactly the same material. *Many of the * (optional)*

readings are excellent and may be excluded from required reading simply to use the time to illustrate another approach, method, finding, or line of inquiry. I will help guide you as to the importance of the optional readings.

COURSE OUTLINE

Readings preceded by an * are suggested for further study and should be read by anyone who expects to answer a prelim question on the presidency but are not required for this course.

STUDYING THE PRESIDENCY

George C. Edwards III and William G. Howell, *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency* (Oxford University Press, 2009). (I will provide each student a copy.)

William G. Howell, "Quantitative Approaches to Studying the Presidency."

Brandice Canes-Wrone, "Game Theory and the Study of the Presidency."

Scott C. James, "Historical Institutionalism: Political Development and the Presidency."

Stephen Skowronek, "The Paradigm of Development in Presidential History."

George C. Edwards III, Bert A. Rockman, and John H. Kessel, eds., *Researching the Presidency* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), Part II. (I will provide each student a copy.)

<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/text-idx?c=pittpress;cc=pittpress;view=toc;idno=31735057894002>

George C. Edwards III and Stephen Wayne, eds., *Studying the Presidency* (University of Tennessee Press, 1983). (I will provide each student a copy.)

Fred I. Greenstein and Richard H. Immerman, "What Did Eisenhower Tell Kennedy about Indochina? The Politics of Misperception," *The Journal of American History* 79 (September 1992): 568-586.

*Jeffrey M. Chwieroth, "Counterfactuals and the Study of the American Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32 (June 2002): 293-327.

*Karen M. Hult, Charles E. Walcott, and Thomas Weko, "Qualitative Research and the Study of the U.S. Presidency," *Congress & the Presidency* 26 (Fall 1999): 133-152.

THE PRESIDENCY IN SYSTEMIC PERSPECTIVE

Federalist Papers, #10 and 47-51

George C. Edwards III, *The Strategic President*, Chapters 1 and 6.

Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents* (Free Press, 1990), Chapters 1-3.

Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make* (Harvard University Press, 1993), Chapters 1-3 and 7.

*Richard Ellis and Aaron Wildavsky, *Dilemmas of Presidential Leadership: From Washington through Lincoln* (Transaction Publishers, 1989).

THE CREATION OF THE PRESIDENCY

Federalist Papers, #67-77.

*Thomas E. Cronin, ed., *Inventing the Presidency* (University Press of Kansas, 1989).

*Forrest McDonald, *The American Presidency: An Intellectual History* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1994).

*Michael P. Riccards, *A Republic If You Can Keep It* (Greenwood, 1987).

*Donald L. Robinson, "To the Best of My Ability" (Norton, 1987).

THE PUBLIC PRESIDENCY

Understanding Public Opinion

Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis, "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War," *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (Winter 2003-2004): 569-598.

Martin P. Wattenberg, *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics* (Harvard University Press, 1991), chapters 4-5.

*Articles by Patrick Caddell, Warren Miller, and Everett Ladd in *Public Opinion*, October/November 1979, pp. 2-15, 27-39, 52-55, 58-60.

*Bruce Altschuler, *LBJ and the Public Polls* (University of Florida Press, 1990).

*George C. Edwards III, *The Public Presidency*, St. Martin's, 1983), Chapter One.

*Robert M. Eisinger, *The Evolution of Presidential Polling* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

*David Gergen, "A Report from the Editors on the 'Crisis of Confidence,'" *Public Opinion*, August/September 1979, pp. 2-4, 54.

*Diane J. Heith, *Polling to Govern* (Stanford University Press, 2004).

*Lawrence R. Jacobs, "The Recoil Effect: Public Opinion and Policymaking in the U.S. and Britain," *Comparative Politics* 24 (January 1992): 199-217.

*Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, "The Rise of Presidential Polling: The Nixon White House in Historical Perspective," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 59 (Summer 1995): 163-195.

*Gregory B. Markus, "Political Attitudes During an Election Year: A Report on the 1980 NES Panel Study," *American Political Science Review* 76 (September 1982), pp. 538-560.

*Benjamin I. Page and Richard A. Brody, "Policy Voting and the Electoral Process: The Vietnam War Issue," *American Political Science Review* 66 (September 1972), pp. 979-995.

Responding to Public Opinion

Brandice Canes-Wrone and Kenneth W. Shotts, "The Conditional Nature of Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion," *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (October 2004): 690-706.

Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, "Presidents, and Polling: Politicians, Pandering, and the Study of Democratic Responsiveness," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 31 (March 2001): 150-167.

*Matthew A. Baum, "How Public Opinion Constrains the Use of Force: The Case of Operation Rescue Hope," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (June 2004): 187-226.

*James N. Druckman and Lawrence R. Jacobs, "Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion," *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*.

- *Shoon Kathleen Murray, "Private Polls and Presidential Policymaking: Reagan as a Facilitator of Change," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70 (Winter 2006): 477-498.
- *Wood, B. Dan, *The Myth of Presidential Representation* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Expectations of the President

- Richard Waterman, Richard, Carol Silva, and Hank Jenkins-Smith. *The Presidential Expectations Gap: Public Attitudes Concerning the Presidency* (University of Michigan Press, 2013).
- *Thomas Cronin, "The Presidency and Its Paradoxes," in Thomas E. Cronin and Rexford Tugwell, eds., *The Presidency Reappraised*, 2nd ed. (Praeger, 1977).
 - *George C. Edwards III, *The Public Presidency* (St. Martin's, 1983), Chapter Five.
 - *Charles W. Ostrom, Jr. and Dennis M. Simon, "Promise and Performance: A Dynamic Model of Presidential Popularity," *American Political Science Review* 79 (June 1985), pp. 334-372.
 - *Lee Sigelman and Kathleen Knight, "Why Does Presidential Popularity Decline? A Test of the Expectation/Disillusion Theory," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1983): 310-324.
 - *Dennis M. Simon, "Public Expectations of the President," *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*.
 - *Stephen Wayne, "Great Expectations," in Thomas E. Cronin, ed., *Rethinking the Presidency* (Little, Brown, 1982).

Leading the Public

- Matthew A. Baum and Samuel Kernell, "Has Cable Ended the Golden Age of Presidential Television?" *American Political Science Review* 93 (March 1999): 99-114.
- Adam J. Berinsky, "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict," *Journal of Politics* 69 (November 2007): 975-997.
- Jeffrey E. Cohen, "Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda," *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (February 1995): 87-107.
- James N. Druckman, Erik Peterson, and Rune Slothuus, "How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation," *American Political Science Review* 107 (February 2013): 57-79.
- George C. Edwards III, *The Strategic President*, Chapters 2-3, 6.
- George C. Edwards III, *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit* (Yale University Press, 2003).
- Martin P. Wattenberg, "The Changing Presidential Media Environment," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (September 2004): 557-572.
- B. Dan Wood, *The Politics of Economic Leadership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), chap. 6.
- *Terri Bimes, "Understanding the Rhetorical Presidency," *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*.
 - *Brandice Canes-Wrone, *Who Leads Whom?* (Princeton University Press, 2006).
 - *Jeffrey E. Cohen, *Presidential Responsiveness and Public Policy-Making* (University of Michigan Press, 1997).

- *Thomas Cronin, "The Presidency Public Relations Script," in Thomas E. Cronin and Rexford G. Tugwell, eds., *The Presidency Reappraised* (Praeger, 1974).
- *George C. Edwards III, *Governing by Campaigning*, 2nd ed. (Longman, 2007).
- *George C. Edwards III, "Leading the Public," *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*.
- *George C. Edwards III, *The Public Presidency*, St. Martin's, 1983), Chapter Two.
- *Gary C. Jacobson, *A Divider, Not a Uniter: George W. Bush and the American People*, 2nd ed. (Longman, 2007).
- *Roberta Glaros and Bruce Miroff, "Watching Ronald Reagan: Viewers' Reaction to the President on Television," *Congress and the Presidency* 10 (Spring 1983), pp. 25-46.
- *John A. Hamman and Jeffrey E. Cohen, "Reelection and Congressional Support: Presidential Motives in Distributive Politics," *American Politics Quarterly* 25 (January 1997): 56-74.
- *Kim Quaile Hill, "The Policy Agendas of the President and the Mass Public: A Research Validation and Extension," *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (October 1998): 1328-1334.
- *Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, "Issues, Candidate Image, and Priming: The Use of Private Polls in Kennedy's 1960 Presidential Campaign," *American Political Science Review* 88 (September 1994): 527-540.
- *Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Politicians Don't Pander* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- *Samuel Kernell, *Going Public*, 3rd ed. (Congressional Quarterly, 1997).
- *William Lammers, "Presidential Attention-Focusing Activities," in Doris Graber, ed., *The President and the Public* (Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1982).
- *Mel Laracey, *Presidents and the People* (Texas A&M University Press, 2002).
- *Bruce Miroff, "The Presidency and the Public: Leadership as Spectacle," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 5th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1998).
- *Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, "Presidential Leadership through Public Opinion," in Edwards, et al, *The Presidency and Public Policy Making*.
<http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=pittpress;cc=pittpress;rgn=full%20text;idno=31735057894044;didno=31735057894044;view=image;seq=0044;node=31735057894044%3A7>
- *Lyn Ragsdale, "The Politics of Presidential Speechmaking, 1949-1980," *American Political Science Review* 78 (December 1984): 971-984.
- *Lee Sigelman, "Gauging the Public Response to Presidential Leadership," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 10 (Summer 1980): 427-433.
- *Lee Sigelman and Carol K. Sigelman, "Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion: From 'Benevolent Leader' to Kiss of Death?," *Experimental Study of Politics* 7 (No. 3, 1981), pp. 1-22.
- *Dan Thomas and Lee Sigelman, "Presidential Identification and Policy Leadership: Experimental Evidence on the Reagan Case," in Edwards, et al, *The Presidency and Public Policy Making*, pp. 37-49.
- *Edward R. Tufte, *Political Control of the Economy*, pp. 15-64 (Princeton University Press, 1978).

- *Jeffrey K. Tulis, *The Rhetorical Presidency* (Princeton, 1987).
- *M. Stephen Weatherford, "The Interplay of Ideology and Advice in Economic Policy-Making: The Case of the Political Business Cycle," *Journal of Politics* 49 (November 1987): 925-952.
- * B. Dan Wood, "Presidential Saber Rattling and the Economy," *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (July 2009): 695-709.
- * B. Dan Wood, *The Myth of Presidential Representation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- *John Zaller, "Elite Leadership of Mass Opinion: New Evidence from the Gulf War," in W. Lance Bennett and David L. Paletz, eds., *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 186-209.

Presidential Approval

- Matthew A. Baum, "The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon," *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (2002): 263-298.
- Tim Groeling and Matthew A. Baum, "Crossing the Water's Edge: Elite Rhetoric, Media Coverage, and the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon," *Journal of Politics* 70 (October 2008): 1065-1085,
- Jeffrey A. Cohen, "If the News Is So Bad, Why Are the Presidential Polls So High?" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (September 2004): 493-515.
- George C. Edwards III, *Presidential Approval* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990). (I will provide each student a copy).
- George C. Edwards III, William Mitchell, and Reed Welch, "Explaining Presidential Approval: The Significance of Issue Salience," *American Journal of Political Science* (February 1995): 108-134.
- Donald R. Kinder, "Presidents, Prosperity, and Public Opinion," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45 (Spring 1981), pp. 1-21.
- Jon A. Krosnick and Donald R. Kinder, "Altering the Foundations of Support for the President through Priming," *American Political Science Review* 84 (June 1990): 497-512.
- Douglas Kriner and Liam Schwartz, "Partisan Dynamics and the Volatility of Presidential Approval," *British Journal of Political Science* 39 (No. 3, 2009): 609-631.
- B. Dan Wood, *The Politics of Economic Leadership* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), chap. 5.
- * William D. Baker and John R. Oneal, "Patriotism or Opinion Leadership?: The Nature and Origins of the 'Rally 'Round the Flag' Effect," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45 (October 2001): pp. 661-687.
- *Richard A. Brody, *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support* (Stanford University Press, 1991).
- *James N. Druckman and Justin W. Holmes, "Does Presidential Rhetoric Matter? Priming and Presidential Approval," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34 (December 2004): 755-778.
- *George C. Edwards III, *The Public Presidency* (St. Martin's, 1983), Chapter Six.
- *George C. Edwards III and Tami Swenson, "Who Rallies? The Anatomy of a Rally Event," *Journal of Politics* 59 (February 1997): 200-212.

- *Paul Gronke and Brian Newman, "Public Evaluations of Presidents," *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*.
- *Gary C. Jacobson, "The Bush Presidency and the American Electorate," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 33 (December 2003): 701-729.
- *Samuel Kernell, "Explaining Presidential Popularity," *American Political Science Review* 72 (June 1978), pp. 506-522.
- *Jon A. Krosnick and Laura A. Brannon, "The Impact of the Gulf War on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations: Multidimensional Effects of Political Involvement," *American Political Science Review* 87 (December 1993): 963-975.
- *Richard Lau and David O. Sears, "Cognitive Links between Economic Grievances and Political Responses," *Political Behavior* 3 (No. 4, 1981), 279-302.
- *John E. Mueller, *War, Presidents and Public Opinion* (Wiley, 1970).
- *Brian Newman, "Presidential Traits and Job Approval: Some Aggregate-Level Evidence," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34 (June 2004): 437-448.
- *Brian Newman, "Personal Integrity and Presidential Approval: The Effects of Integrity Assessments, 1980-2000," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67 (2003): 335-367.
- *Dennis M. Simon and Charles W. Ostrom, Jr., "The President and Public Support: A Strategic Perspective," in Edwards, et al, *The Presidency and Public Policy Making*.

Relations with Interest Groups

- Mark A. Peterson, "The Presidency and Organized Interests: White House Patterns of Interest Group Liaison," *American Political Science Review* 86 (September 1992): 612-625.
- Burdett A. Loomis, "Connecting Interest Groups to the Presidency," *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*.

Presidential Press Relations

Presidential press conference transcript

Martha Kumar, *Managing the President's Message: The White House Communications Operation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

Setting the Press's Agenda

- George C. Edwards III and B. Dan Wood, "Who Influences Whom? The President, Congress, and the Media," *American Political Science Review* (June 1999): 327-344.
- *Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha and Jeffrey S. Peake, "Presidents and the Economic Agenda," *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (March 2005): 127-38.
 - *Jeffrey S. Peake, "Presidential Agenda Setting in Foreign Policy," *Political Research Quarterly* 54 (March 2001): 69-86.
 - * B. Dan Wood and Jeffrey S. Peake, "The Dynamics of Foreign Policy Agenda Setting," *American Political Science Review* 92 (March 1998): 173-84.

Presidential Press Coverage

- Scott L. Althaus and Young Mie Kim, "Priming Effects in Complex Information Environments: Reassessing the Impact of News Discourse on Presidential Approval," *Journal of Politics* 68 (November 2006): 960-976.
- Matthew A. Baum, "Sex, Lies and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public," *American Political Science Review* 96 (March 2002): 91-109.
- Jeffrey E. Cohen, "The Presidency and the Mass Media," *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*.
- Jeffrey E. Cohen, *The Presidency in the Ear of 24-Hour News* (Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Lauren Feldman, Edward W. Maibach, Connie Roser-Renouf, Anthony Leiserowitz, "The Nature and Impact of Global Warming Coverage on Fox News, CNN, and MSNBC," *International Journal of Press/Politics* 17 (January 2012): 3-31.
- Tim Groeling and Samuel Kernell, "Is Network News Coverage of the President Biased?" *Journal of Politics* 60 (November 1998): 1,063-1,087.
- Daniel C. Hallin, "The Media, the War in Vietnam, and Political Support," *Journal of Politics* 46 (February 1984): 2-24.
- Joanne M. Miller and Jon A. Krosnick, "News Media Impact on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations: Politically Knowledgeable Citizens Are Guided by a Trusted Source," *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (April 2000): 295-309.
- Diana Owen, "Talk Radio and Evaluations of President Clinton," *Political Communication* 14 (1997): 333-353.
- Dhavan V. Shah, Mark D. Watts, David Domke, David P. Fan, and Michael Fibison, "News Coverage, Economic Cues, and the Public's Presidential Preferences, 1984-1996," *Journal of Politics* 61 (November 1999): 914-943.
- Darrell M. West, "Television and Presidential Popularity in America," *British Journal of Political Science* 21 (1991): 199-214.
- *William C. Adams, "Convention Coverage," in Michael J. Robinson and Austin Ranney, eds., *The Mass Media in Campaign '84* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1985), pp. 18-23.
- *William C. Adams, "Media Coverage of Campaign '84: A Preliminary Report," in Robinson and Ranney, eds., *The Mass Media in Campaign '84*, pp. 10-14.
- *Dean Alger, "Television, Perceptions of Reality and the Presidential Election of '84," *PS* (Winter 1987), pp. 49-57.
- *Stephen Ansolabehere, Roy Behr, and Shanto Iyengar, "Mass Media and Elections: An Overview," *American Politics Quarterly* 19 (January 1991): 109-139.
- *David C. Barker, "Rushed Decisions: Political Talk Radio and Vote Choice, 1994-1996," *Journal of Politics* 61 (May 1999): 527-539.
- *Kevin G. Barnhurst and Catherine A. Steele, "Image-Bite News: The Visual Coverage of Elections on U.S. Television, 1968-1992," *Press/Politics* 2 (No. 1, 1997): 40-58.
- *Larry M. Bartels, "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure," *American Political Science Review* 87 (June 1993): 267-285.
- *Matthew A. Baum, "The Oprah Effect: How Soft News Helps Inattentive Citizens Vote Consistently," *Journal of Politics* 68 (November 2006): 946-59.

- *Matthew A. Baum, *Soft News Goes to War: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy in the New Media Age* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003).
- *Peter Braestrup, *Big Story* (Anchor, 1978).
- *Laura Clancey and Michael J. Robinson, "General Election Coverage: Part I," in Robinson and Ranney, eds., *The Mass Media in Campaign '84*, pp. 27-33.
- *Russell J. Dalton, Paul A. Beck, and Robert Huckfeldt, "Partisan Cues and the Media: Information flows in the 1992 Presidential Election," *American Political Science Review* 92 (March 1998): 111-129.
- *Lutz Ebring, Edie N. Goldenberg, and Arthur H. Miller, "Front Page News and Real-World Cues: A New Look at Agenda-Setting by the Media," *American Journal of Political Science* 24 (February 1980): 16-49.
- *George C. Edwards III, *The Public Presidency* (St. Martin's, 1983), Chapter Four.
- *Michael Baruch Grossman and Martha Joynt Kumar, *Portraying the President* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), Chapter Ten.
- *Marc J. Hetherington, "The Media's Role in Forming Voters' National Economic Evaluations in 1992," *American Journal of Political Science* 40 (May 1996): 372-395.
- *Shanto Iyengar and Donald R. Kinder, *News that Matters: Television and American Public Opinion* (University of Chicago Press, 1987).
- *Lynda Lee Kaid, Donald L. Singleton, and Dwight Davis, "Instant Analysis of Televised Political Addresses: The Speaker versus the Commentator," in Brent D. Ruben, ed., *Communication Yearbook I* (Transition Books, 1977), pp. 453-464.
- *Matthew Robert Kerbel, *Edited for Television: CNN, ABC, and the 1992 Presidential Campaign* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994).
- *Steven Kull, Clay Ramsay, and Evan Lewis, "Misperceptions, the Media, and the Iraq War," *Political Science Quarterly* 118 (Winter 2003-2004): 569-598.
- *S. Robert Lichter, Daniel Amundson, and Richard Noyes, *The Video Campaign: Network Coverage of the 1988 Primaries*, (AEI, 1988).
- *S. Robert Lichter and Richard E. Noyes, *Good Intentions Make Bad News*, 2nd ed. (Rowman and Littlefield, 1996).
- *Martin Linsky, et al, *How the Press Affects Federal Policy Making* (Norton, 1987).
- *Richard Nadeau, Richard G. Niemi, David P. Fan, and Timothy Amato, "Elite Economic Forecasts, Economic News, Mass Economic Judgments, and Presidential Approval," *Journal of Politics* (February 1999): 109-135.
- *Thomas E. Patterson, *The Mass Media Election* (Praeger, 1980).
- *Thomas E. Patterson, *Out of Order* (Knopf, 1993).
- *Markus Prior, "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout," *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (July 2005): 577-592.
- *Michael J. Robinson and Margaret A. Sheehan, *Over the Wire and on TV* (Russell Sage Foundation, 1983).
- *Michael J. Robinson, "Pressing Opinion," *Public Opinion*, September/October 1986, pp. 56-59.
- *Michael J. Robinson, "Where's the Beef? Media and Media Elites in 1984," in Austin Ranney, ed., *The American Elections of 1984* (Washington, D.C.: Duke University Press, 1985), pp. 166-202.

- *Lee Sigelman and David Bullock, "Candidates, Issues, Horse Races, and Hoopla," *American Politics Quarterly* 19 (January 1991): 5-32.
- *Frederick T. Steeper, "Public Response to Gerald Ford's Statements on Eastern Europe in the Second Debate," in George F. Bishop, Robert G. Meadow, and Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, eds., *The Presidential Debates: Media, Electoral, and Public Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1978), pp. 81-101.
- *Joseph Wagner, "Media Do Make a Difference: The Differential Impact of Mass Media in the 1976 Presidential Race," *American Journal of Political Science* 27 (August 1983), pp. 407-430.

THE LEGISLATIVE PRESIDENCY

Structure of Presidential-Congressional Relations

- Charles M. Cameron, *Veto Bargaining* (Cambridge, 2000), chapters 4-6.
- Charles M. Cameron, "The Presidential Veto," *Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*.
- Jeffrey E. Cohen, *The President's Legislative Agenda, 1789-2002* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- George C. Edwards III and Andrew Barrett, "Presidential Agenda Setting in Congress," in Jon R. Bond and Richard Fleisher, eds., *Polarized Politics: Congress and the President in a Partisan Era* (Congressional Quarterly, 2000).
- *Richard Conley and Amie Kreppel, "Toward a New Typology of Vetoes and Overrides," *Presidential Research Quarterly* 54 (December 2001): 831-852.
 - *George C. Edwards III, *Presidential Influence in Congress* (W.H. Freeman, 1980), Chapter 2.
 - *Louis Fisher, *Congressional Abdication on War and Spending* (Texas A&M University Press, 2000).
 - *Louis Fisher, *Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President*, 5th rev. ed. (University Press of Kansas, 2007).
 - *John B. Gilmour, "Institutional and Individual Influences on the President's Veto," *Journal of Politics* 64 (February 2002): 198-218.
 - *D. Roderick Kiewiet and Matthew D. McCubbins, "Presidential Influence on Congressional Appropriations Decisions," *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (August 1988): 713-736.
 - *John W. Kingdon, *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 3rd edition (University of Michigan Press, 1989), Chapter Six.
 - *Christopher H. Pyle and Richard M. Pious, *The President, Congress, and the Constitution* (Free Press, 1984), chapters 1-3.
 - *Robert J. Spitzer, *The Presidential Veto* (SUNY Press, 1988).
 - *Stephen Wayne, *The Legislative Presidency* (Harper and Row, 1978).

Presidential Party Leadership in Congress

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