

The Politics of the Presidency

REVISED 9th EDITION



Joseph A. Pika, *University of Delaware (Emeritus)*

John Anthony Maltese, *University of Georgia*

Andrew Rudalevige, *Bowdoin College*

Contents

| | |
|--------------------|------|
| Tables and Figures | viii |
| Preface | x |
| About the Authors | xiv |

I. THE PRESIDENT AND THE PUBLIC

1. **The Changing Presidency** 1
 - The Scope of Presidential Power 1
 - Expansion of the Presidency 22
 - Presidential Culture 29
 - Conclusion: The Changeable, Political Presidency 32
 - Suggested Readings 33
 - Resources on the Web 34
 - Notes 34
2. **Election Politics** 39
 - Evolution of the Selection Process 40
 - Defining the Pool of Eligibles 46
 - Competing for the Nomination 54
 - The National Convention 63
 - The General Election 65
 - Validation 87
 - Conclusion: Transitions to Governing 90
 - Suggested Readings 91
 - Resources on the Web 92
 - Notes 92
3. **Public Politics** 101
 - Public Attitudes toward the Presidency 103
 - Rallying Public Support 115
 - The President and the Media 131
 - Conclusion: The Permanent Campaign 145
 - Suggested Readings 146
 - Notes 147

- 4. **Presidential Character and Performance** 157
 - Determinants and Evaluations of Performance 159
 - What Manner of Person? 166
 - Psychological Characteristics of U.S. Presidents 174
 - Management Styles of Modern Presidents 182
 - Understanding Presidents: Barack Obama and Donald J. Trump 187
 - Conclusion: Seeking Presidential Success 205
 - Suggested Readings 207
 - Resources on the Web 207
 - Notes 208

II. THE PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNMENT

- 5. **Legislative Politics** 216
 - Three Confrontations in Interbranch Relations 216
 - Development of the President's Legislative Role 222
 - The Presidential-Congressional Relationship 226
 - The President's Formal Legislative Powers 236
 - The President's Informal Legislative Influence 241
 - Explaining Presidents' Legislative Success 253
 - Conclusion: Legislating Together 264
 - Suggested Readings 265
 - Notes 266
- 6. **Executive Politics** 275
 - The President as Executive 278
 - The President and the Executive Branch 280
 - The President and the Cabinet 292
 - The Vice President 299
 - The First Lady 302
 - Presidential Control of the Bureaucracy 304
 - Presidential Management of the Bureaucracy 320
 - Conclusion: The Frustrating Search for Control 328
 - Suggested Readings 329
 - Resources on the Web 330
 - Notes 330
- 7. **Judicial Politics** 341
 - Presidential Appointment of Federal Judges 343
 - Other Presidential Influences on the Federal Courts 363
 - Judicial Oversight of Presidential Action 370
 - Conclusion: A Balancing Act 373
 - Suggested Readings 374
 - Notes 374

III. THE PRESIDENT AND PUBLIC POLICY

8. The Politics of Domestic Policy 381

The Domestic Policy Process 387

The Domestic Policy Environment 399

The Domestic Policy Apparatus 403

Conclusion: Providing Policy Leadership 413

Suggested Readings 416

Notes 416

9. The Politics of Economic Policy 422

Macroeconomic Policy 426

Microeconomic Policy 433

Presidents and the Economy: 1933–2017 437

The Politics of Macroeconomic Policymaking 447

The Economic Subpresidency 452

Presidents and Economic Policy Coordination 465

Congress's Role in Macroeconomic Policy 469

Conclusion: Avoiding Economic Disorder 473

Suggested Readings 475

Resources on the Web 476

Notes 476

10. The Politics of National Security Policy 482

Issues in National Security Policy: Search for a New Consensus 486

The Problem with National Security Policymaking 500

The President, Congress, and National Security 501

Organizing and Managing National Security 521

Conclusion: Limiting the Exercise of Power 530

Suggested Readings 531

Notes 532

11. The Trump Transition and First One Hundred Days 542

The Transition 543

The Inauguration 547

The First Hundred Days 548

President Trump: A Natural Experiment 555

Notes 557

Appendices 562

Index 576

Tables and Figures

TABLES

- 1-1 Models of Executive Considered by the Constitutional Convention 13
- 2-1 Principal Experience of In- and Out-Party Candidates before Gaining Nomination, 1932–2016 50
- 2-2 Party Identification, 1952–2012 (Percentage) 76
- 2-3 Group Voting Patterns in Presidential Elections, Selected Years (Percentage) 82
- 2-4 Participation of General Public in Presidential Elections, 1932–2016 86
- 3-1 Losses by President's Party in Midterm Elections, 1862–2014 130
- 4-1 Selected Ratings of U.S. Presidents 164
- 4-2 Pessen's Analysis of Presidential Social Class 168
- 5-1 Partisan Control of the Presidency and Congress, 1933–2018 231
- 5-2 Presidential Vetoes of Bills, 1933–2017 239
- 6-1 Backgrounds of the Trump Cabinet through April 2017 295
- 6-2 Executive Orders, 1969–April 20, 2017 312
- 7-1 Race, Ethnicity, and Gender of Appointments to the U.S. District Courts and Courts of Appeals, by Administration, Nixon through Obama 352
- 7-2 Failed Supreme Court Nominees 358
- 9-1 Inflation, Unemployment, and Federal Budget Deficits/Surpluses, 1970–2016 438
- 9-2 Chairs of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1953–2017 453
- 9-3 Directors of the Budget Bureau/Office of Management and Budget, 1953–2017 454
- 9-4 Secretaries of the Treasury, 1953–2017 455
- 9-5 Chairs of the Federal Reserve Board, 1951–2017 456
- 10-1 Treaties and Executive Agreements Concluded by the United States, 1789–1999 505
- 10-2 International Agreements, 1969–2015 505
- 10-3 Duration of U.S. Wars since 1900 512
- 10-4 Presidential Use of Force Reported, Consistent with the War Powers Resolution, 1969–2017 517

FIGURES

- 2-1 The 2016 Presidential Contest Timeline 46
- 2-2 State Size by Number of Electoral Votes, 2016 72
- 3-1 Presidential Approval, 1961–May 2017 112
- 3-2 Presidential Addresses, 1933–2011 (Yearly Averages for First Three Years of First Term) 120
- 3-3 Days of Political Travel by Presidents, 1933–2011 (Yearly Averages for First Three Years of First Term) 121
- 4-1 Relationship of Background to Performance 161
- 4-2 Barber's Typology of Character 177
- 4-3 Barber's Characterization of Modern Presidents 179
- 5-1 Legislative Support Scores for the President: Average by Party and Chamber, 2001–2016 254
- 10-1 Presidential Management Styles and the National Security Advisor's Roles 523