# THE OBAMA PRESIDENCY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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# THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONSTITUTION

- ARTICLE II FORMAL POWERS
- Commander in Chief
- Power to Pardon federal offenses
- •Negotiate Treaties
- Make appointments to federal office and the federal judiciary
- Make recess appointments
- "Take Care" Clause Section 3



# FORMAL CONSTRAINTS

- Impeachment Congress can remove the President and all civil officers from office (Article II, Section 4). The House of Representatives votes articles of impeachment and the Senate acquits or convicts
- Veto Override Article 1, Section 7 President can disapprove (veto) a bill but the Congress can override that disapproval with a two-thirds vote in each chamber
- Term Limits Amendment 22 (1951) No Person shall be elected to the office more than twice

# JUDGING PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

- Clear Policy Vision
- Communication Skills
- Negotiation Skills
- Maximum Use of Presidential Powers

# **CLEAR POLICY VISION**

 Articulating a view of the relationship between the federal government and the individual on legal, economic, and social dimensions

# **COMMUNICATION SKILLS**

- "Using the Bully Pulpit"
- Speeches
- Press conferences
- Public appearances
- Use of website, facebook, twitter
- Relationships with elite media

# **NEGOTIATION SKILLS**

- Negotiation Skills
- Power to set legislative agenda
- Emerge with preferred policies
- Ability to mobilize interest groups
- Working within unified or divided government

# MAXIMUM USE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

- Use of executive orders
- Signing statements
- Bureaucratic appointments
- Judicial appointments
- Use of military power
- Policy implementation through regulatory process
- Release of federal funds

## PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

- •How do we define a successful presidential-congressional partnership?
- •Do all incumbent presidents leave legislative and partisan legacies?
- Do voters connect the president and Congress in an election year?

## PRESIDENT AS PARTY LEADER

#### Mandate

 The connection between specific policy promises made during a campaign and sizeable margin of victory for winning candidate.

# Realignment

- When significant numbers of voters switch their vote from one party to another
- When voting patterns persist for more than two consecutive elections.

#### Coattails

Does President's electoral success translate into party success in House, Senate and Gubernatorial elections?

#### **GOVERNING WITH CONGRESS**

- Electoral Mandate for each Party
  - Forging electoral links across levels of office
  - Importance of midterm elections
- Differences in ideological perspective
  - Issue positions e.g. taxes, energy policy, abortion, gun control
- Different voter base
  - Geographic
  - Economic
  - Religious
  - Racial/Ethnic
- Institutional Rules in House and Senate
- Majority Power in the House
- Minority Power in the Senate

#### WHAT THE 2012 ELECTIONS TELL US

- Romney Percent
  - Men 52
  - Women 44
  - ages 18-29 37
  - ages 65+ 56
  - HS only 47
  - College+ 42
  - < 30K 35
  - >100K 54
  - IND 50
  - REP 93
  - DEM 7

- Obama Percent
- Men 45
- Women 55
- Voters aged 18-29 60
- Voters aged 65+ 44
- HS only 51
- College+ 55
- <30K 63
- >100K 44
- IND 45
- REP 6
- DEM 92

Source: New York Times Exit Poll

# DID PRESIDENT OBAMA CHANGE PARTY POLICY POSITIONS ON KEY ISSUES?

- Economy
  - Unemployment
  - Housing Market
  - Banking Regulation
- Iraq and Afghanistan Wars
- Deficit and National Debt
- Health Care
  - Expanding insurance coverage
  - Medicare and Medicaid
- Energy and Environmental Policy
  - Development of alternative fuels
  - Global Warming
  - Domestic Drilling
  - Keystone Pipeline

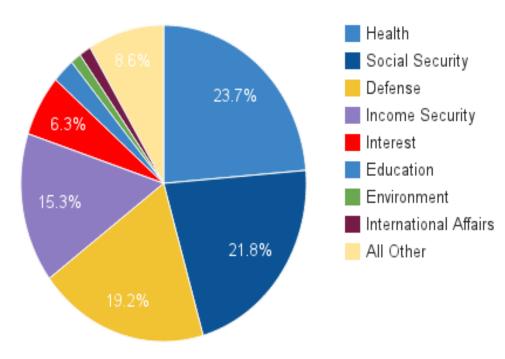
#### ELECTORAL LEGACY OF INCUMBENT PRESIDENTS

- Type of Voting Framework
  - Retrospective
  - Prospective
- Different Electoral Scenarios
- Incumbent seeking reelection
  - FDR, Truman (1948), Eisenhower, Johnson (1964), Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, GHW Bush, Clinton, GW Bush, Obama
- Vice-President of incumbent's Party seeking election
  - Nixon (1960), Mondale (1984 not sequential), GHW Bush (1988), Gore (2000)
- True "Open Seat"
  - **1952**, 1968, 2008



# **FEDERAL SPENDING FY 2012**

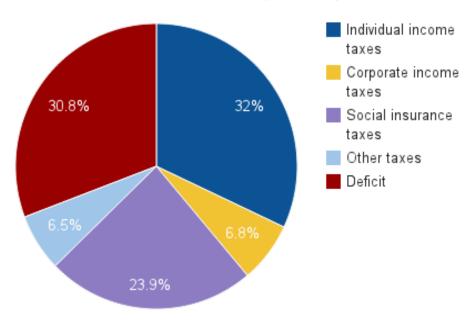
#### Federal Spending, Fiscal Year 2012 (in billions)





# **FEDERAL REVENUES FY 2012**

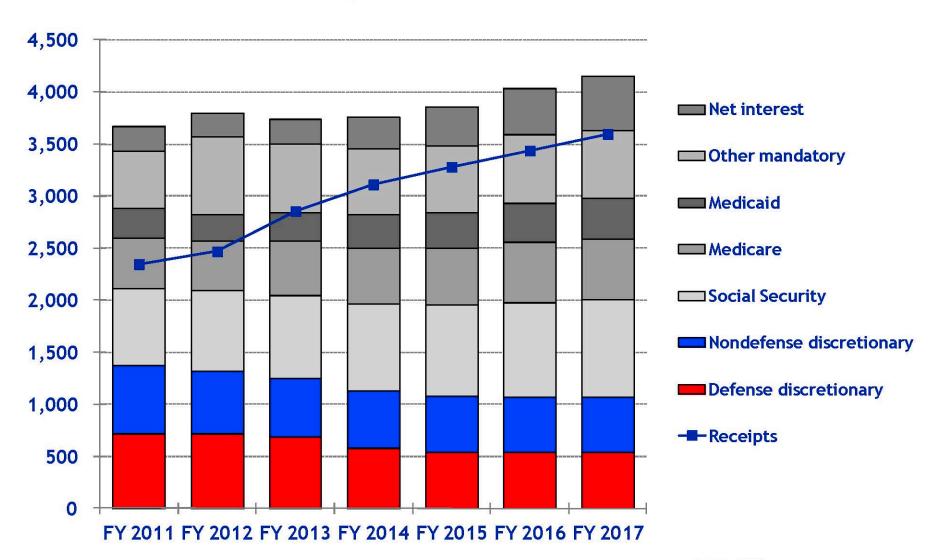
#### Federal Revenues, Fiscal Year 2012 (in billions)



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### **FY 2013 Budget Projections**

outlays in billions of constant FY 2012 dollars



Source: Budget of the United States Government FY 2013.

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# THE FISCAL SLOPE 2013

- Budget Control Act of 2011 automatic sequester \$85 billion
- January 1, 2013 Congress enacts the American Taxpayer Relief Act of 2012 which maintains "Bush" tax cut rates for all income below \$400,000 for single and \$450,000 for couples. Also raises capital gains rate. Puts sequester on hold.
- January 2013: U.S. hit its debt ceiling (\$16.394 trillion) and Congress suspended the debt ceiling.
- October 1, 2013: Congress fails to pass Continuing Resolution and federal government shuts down.
- October 17, 2013 U.S reaches debt ceiling (again)

#### **RECOMMENDED READINGS**

- Richard E. Neustadt. 1990. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
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- Joseph A. Pika and John Anthony Maltese. 2010. The Politics of the Presidency., Revised 7<sup>th</sup> Edition, Washington, DC: CQ Press.