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- I. Presidents and governors as party leaders
    - A. The president as campaigner-in-chief
      - 1. Coattail effects
        - a. Positive:
        - b. Neutral or negative:
      - 2. Coattails even without the coat
        - a. Surge-and-decline pattern in presidential & midterm congressional elections (-34 seats in the 35 midterm elections between 1862 and 1998)
        - b. Explanations
          - (1) Decline in presidential popularity
          - (2) Increase in turnout among those who disapprove of presidential performance
          - (3) Absence of short-term forces with a reduction in turnout among less partisan
          - (4) Return of presidential defectors to their home party
          - (5) "Strategic" politicians deciding when to run for Congress
        - c. Exceptions: presidents whose party did not lose House seats in a midterm election
          - (1) Franklin Roosevelt (1934)
          - (2) Clinton (1998)
          - (3) George W. Bush (2002)
      - 3. Presidents' impact
    - II. Party leadership and legislative relations
      - A. How executives try to influence legislatures
        - 1. Prestige
        - 2. Persuasiveness
        - 3. Command of media
        - 4. Patronage & preferments
        - 5. Coattails
      - B. Legislative support for executives Figure 14.1, p. 275
        - 1. Divided control of government
        - 2. Comparison to governors:
          - a. Legislative careerism
          - b. Seniority rules
          - c. Party organizational strength
    - III. Party influence in executive agencies pp. 276-79
      - A. Bureaucrats have constituents too
        - 1. Bureaucratic responsiveness to constituency interests:
        - 2. Legislative role in executive organization
          - a. Appointments & senatorial courtesy (less than 3000 positions)
          - b. Civil service
          - c. Independent agencies
        - 3. Plural-executive system in many states:
        - 4. Term limits for executives

- B. Holding bureaucrats accountable
  - 1. Cabinet and agency appointments
    - a. Partisan
    - b. Ideological
  - 2. White House staff and EOP appointments
- C. Changing political outlooks in the federal bureaucracy
  - 1. Generational replacement (of New-Deal/Fair-Deal/New-Frontier/Great-Society career appointees with Eisenhower/Nixon/Ford/Reagan/Bush appointees)
  - 2. *Senior Executive Service* created by the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 (expanded the top-level management positions subject to presidential control by about 8500)

IV. Traces of party in the courts Box, p. 280

- A. Judicial voting along party lines
  - 1. Compared to party voting in legislatures:
  - 2. By type of case:
- B. What causes partisan behavior on the courts? Box, p. 282
  - 1. Explicit partisan activity:
  - 2. Patronage:
- C. Party and judicial appointments Box, p. 284
  - 1. Federal judges–
  - 2. State court judges
    - a. Gubernatorial appointment (6)
    - b. Legislative election (5)
    - c. General election – partisan (13)
    - d. General election – nonpartisan (14)
    - e. ‘Missouri Plan’ (12) –
  - 3. All five selection methods still produce measurable partisan outcomes in judicial decisions because of internalized value differences between Democratic and Republican judges
  - 4. Most continental European countries use civil-service, merit examinations

V. The party within the executive and the judge

- A. Similarities: main avenue of party influence is indirect (stemming from internalized values)
- B. Important limits to direct influence