

Presidential Leadership in Public Opinion

Causes and Consequences

Although presidents may have a difficult time actually leading the public and Congress, voters still desire strong leadership from their commander in chief. In Presidential Leadership in Public Opinion, Jeffrey E. Cohen argues that the perception of presidential leadership in American politics is affected not so much by what presidents accomplish but by whether voters think their president is a good leader. When assessing whether a president is a good leader, voters ask two questions: Does the president represent me and the nation? And, is the president strong? Cohen shows that presidential interactions with Congress affect voter perceptions of presidential representation and strength. These perceptions have important implications for public attitudes about American politics. They affect presidential approval ratings, the performance of candidates in presidential elections, attitudes toward Congress, and trust in government. Perceptions of presidential leadership qualities have implications not only for the presidency, but also for the larger political system.

Jeffrey E. Cohen is a professor of political science at Fordham University. Cohen is the author of thirteen other books. His book *Going Local: Presidential Leadership in the Post-Broadcast Age* (Cambridge University Press 2010) won both the 2011 Richard E. Neustadt Award from the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association and the 2012 Goldsmith Award from the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. He is the author of more than fifty articles in academic journals such as the *American Political Science Review*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, and the *Journal of Politics*.



Presidential Leadership in Public Opinion

Causes and Consequences

JEFFREY E. COHEN

Fordham University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107083134

© Jeffrey E. Cohen 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Cohen, Jeffrey E.

Presidential leadership in public opinion: causes and consequences / Jeffrey E. Cohen. pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-I-107-08313-4 (hardback)-ISBN 978-I-107-44369-3 (pbk.)

1. Presidents-United States-Public opinion. 2. United States. Congress-Public opinion. 3. Political leadership-United States. 4. Executive power-United States. 5. Public opinion-

United States. I. Title. IK516.C52995 2015

352.23'60973-dc23 2014031411

ISBN 978-I-107-08313-4 Hardback ISBN 978-I-107-44369-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Figures #		<i>page</i> vii
Та	Tables	
Аc	knowledgments	xi
I	The Many Meanings of Presidential Leadership	I
2	Evidence of the Public Demand for Presidential Leadership	24
3	Congressional Sources of the President's Leadership Image	34
4	Success in Congress and Perceptions of Presidential Strength	63
5	Presidential Representation and Public Opinion	107
6	Presidential Leadership and Presidential Elections	139
7	Perceptions of Presidential Leadership, Trust in Government, and Attitudes toward Congress	156
8	Presidential Leadership, Public Opinion, and American Democrac	су 181
So	urces	191
Inc	dex	211



Figures

3.I	Comparison of Folded Ideological Self-Placement	
	by Campaign Activity Level, 1972–2004	page 38
3.2	Presidential Policy Extremism, 1953–2010	43
3.3	Impact of Divided Government and Polarization	
	on Presidential Extremism, 1953–2010	47
3.4	The Relationship between Presidential Policy	
	Extremism and Success, 1953–2010	48
3.5	Impact of Divided Government and Presidential	
	Extremism on Presidential Success in Congress, 1953–2010	52
3.6	The Legislative Presidency in the News by Decade,	
	1946–2006	61
4.I	Trends in Presidential Strength Ratings,	
	Estimated Monthly Ratings, 1976–2011	71
4.2	Monthly Presidential Job Approval and Monthly	
	Estimated Strength Perceptions Compared, 1976–2011	75
4.3	Scatter Plot between Monthly Estimated Strength	
	Perceptions and Job Approval Ratings, 1977–2011	75
5.1	Comparing Rhetorical and Roll Call Measures of	
	Presidential Liberalism, 1972–2004	112
5.2	Aggregate Comparison of Presidential Policy	
	Positions (Corrected ADA Scores) and Public Perceptions	
	of Presidential Policy Positions, 1972–2000	113
5.3	Comparing Measures of Presidential Policy Distance	126
5.4	Impact of Dyadic Policy Distance	
	on the Probability of Approving of the President	133
5.5	Impact of Presidential Success in Congress	
	on the Probability of Approving of the President	137

vii



viii		Figures
6.1	Relationship between Presidential Success	
	in Congress and Incumbent Party Vote Share	
	in the Presidential Election, 1956–2008	143
6.2	Relationship between Presidential Roll Call	
	Extremism and Incumbent Party Vote Share	
	in the Presidential Election, 1956–2008	143
7 . I	Trends in Political Trust, 1953–2008	157
7.2	Scatter Plot between Presidential Approval	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
,	and Political Trust, 1958–2008	163
7.3	Scatter Plot between Presidential Success	,
, ,	and Political Trust, 1958–2008	163
7.4	Scatter Plot between Presidential Extremism	9
/ I	and Political Trust. 1958–2008	164



Tables

2.1	Importance of Selected Traits in the President, 2007	page 25
2.2	Attitudes Concerning Presidential Representation, 2008	27
2.3	Public Preferences for Presidential	
	Characteristics, 1995-2003	28
2.4	The Idealized President, Nixon Polls, 1971	30
2.5	How Essential Are Certain Traits for Presidents?	31
2.6	Preferences for Presidential Traits	31
3.1	Congress and Public Perceptions of Presidential Leadership	35
3.2	Impact of Party Reform and Congressional Context on	
	Presidential Policy Extremism, 1953–2010	45
3.3	Impact of Party Control and Presidential Policy Extremism	
	on Success in Congress, 1953–2010	51
3.4	Frequency of News on the Legislative Presidency,	
	Presidential News that Does Not Mention Congress,	
	and Congressional News that Does Not Mention the	
	President in The New York Times, 1946-2006	58
3.5	Frequency of Front Page News on the Legislative	
	Presidency, Presidential News that Does Not Mention	
	Congress, and Congressional News that Does Not Mention	
	the President in <i>The New York Times</i> , 1946–2006	60
4.I	Impact of Presidential Dummy Variables on Aggregate	
	Perceptions of Presidential Strength, 1976–2011	70
4.2	Descriptive Statistics of Monthly Averaged Estimated	
	Presidential Leadership Strength Ratings	72
4.3	Relationship between Presidential Strength and	
	Approval Ratings at the Individual Level, 1980–2004	76
4.4	Two-Stage Least Squares Estimation of Strength	
	Perceptions, Success, and Approval, 1975–2011	79

ix



X		Tables
4.5	Multilevel, Simultaneous Equation Estimation of Approval,	
4.)	Success, and Strength Perceptions, 1975–2011	83
4.6	Multilevel, Simultaneous Equation Estimation of Approval,	0)
4.0	Success, and Monthly Estimated Strength Perceptions, 1975–2011	E 85
4.7	Multilevel, Simultaneous Equation Estimation of Approval,	- 0)
Τ'/	Success, and Strength Perceptions, ANES, 1980–2004	89
App	endix 4.1 Number of Presidential Leadership	- /
ГГ	Questions by Year	96
App	endix 4.2 Frequency of Presidential Leadership	
11	Questions by Polling Firm	97
App	endix 4.3 First Stage Results for Two-Stage Least	- /
- 1 1	Squares Estimates for Table 4.4	101
App	endix 4.4 Times-Series Analysis (with gaps)	
	of Estimated Monthly Strength Perceptions, 1975–2011	105
5.1	Accuracy of Public Perceptions of Presidential	
	Policy Location, 1972–2004	114
5.2	Impact of Presidential Roll Call Positions (Corrected ADA Scores)	
	on Public Perceptions of Presidential Liberalism, 1972-2004 (ANES) 117
5.3	Impact of Divided Government and Presidential Policy	
	Extremism on Quarterly Presidential Approval, 1948–2010	122
5.4	The Impact of Divided Government on Presidential	
	Approval, a Replication, 1972–2004 (Probit Results)	128
5.5	Impact of Various Measures of Presidential Policy	
	Distance on Presidential Approval, 1972–2004 (Probit Results)	130
5.6	Impact of All Policy Distance Measures and Presidential	
	Success on Presidential Approval, 1972–2004 (Probit Results)	134
6.1	Impact of Success in Congress and Presidential Extremism	
	on Comparative Candidate Likes-Dislikes, 1956-2004 (ANES)	146
6.2	Impact of Presidential Leadership Qualities on Comparative	
	Candidate Likes–Dislikes, 1980–2004 (ANES)	148
6.3	Impact of Success in Congress and Presidential	
	Extremism on the Probability of Voting for the Incumbent	
	Party's Presidential Candidate, 1956–2004 (Probit Results)	150
6.4	Impact of Presidential Leadership Variables on the	
	Probability of Voting for the Incumbent Party's Presidential	
	Candidate, 1980–2004 (Probit Results)	153
7 . I	Impact of Presidential Approval, Success, and	_
	Extremism on Individual Level Political Trust, 1958–2004	167
7.2	Impact of Presidential Leadership on Individual	
	Level Political Trust, 1972–2004 (OLS)	169
7.3	Impact of Presidential Approval, Success, and	
	Extremism on Representative and Congressional Approval,	
	1980–2004 (Probit Results)	175
7.4	Impact of Presidential Leadership on Representative and	
	Congressional Approval, 1980–2004 (Probit Results)	177



Acknowledgments

I incurred a large number of debts in writing this book. The idea for this book was planted in 2009, when Michael Hagen and Christopher Wlezien invited me to present some of my research at Temple University. Special thanks go to Chris, who took the extra time to talk to me about statistical methods and, more importantly, theory and encouraged me to continue the line of reasoning I was proposing. In 2012, I presented a more mature version of this research at Yale University, and again I received very helpful comments from the seminar attendees.

Closer to my academic home, my colleagues in the Political Science department at Fordham University provided me with support, encouragement, and, importantly, their ears and time. Three of those colleagues deserve a special thank you: Richard Fleisher, Costas Panagopoulos, and Robert Hume. Bob read several papers that became chapters of this text, providing me with insights on interpretation of the theory and findings. Also at Fordham, I want to thank the university, and its Faculty Fellowship program, which provided me with a semester's leave to finish writing this book. Dean Nancy Busch, Associate Vice President/Chief Research Officer at Fordham, also provided me with additional funding, which allowed me to buy some statistical software that helped me perform some of the analysis presented in these pages.

The anonymous readers of an early version of this manuscript provided me with a mass of useful comments and advice, much of which I followed, leading to an improved and more coherent piece of research and book. I also want to thank my editor at Cambridge University Press, Robert Dreesen. Robert is truly a scholar's editor, and, over the years, he has supported me through several projects, even at the early stages when my ideas were not fully formed



xii

Acknowledgments

or clear. His faith that I could produce worthy research provided important motivation to keep plugging away. I could not ask for better editorial and production staff than those at Cambridge University Press.

Finally, I want to thank my wife, Phyllis, who understands my irregular and at times annoying work habits, and puts up with me with grace and humor.