


SEPARATED POWERS

THE DEMOCRATS, THE REPUBLICANS AND DONALD TRUMP IN THE 2018 MIDTERMS

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 @ProfHansNoel

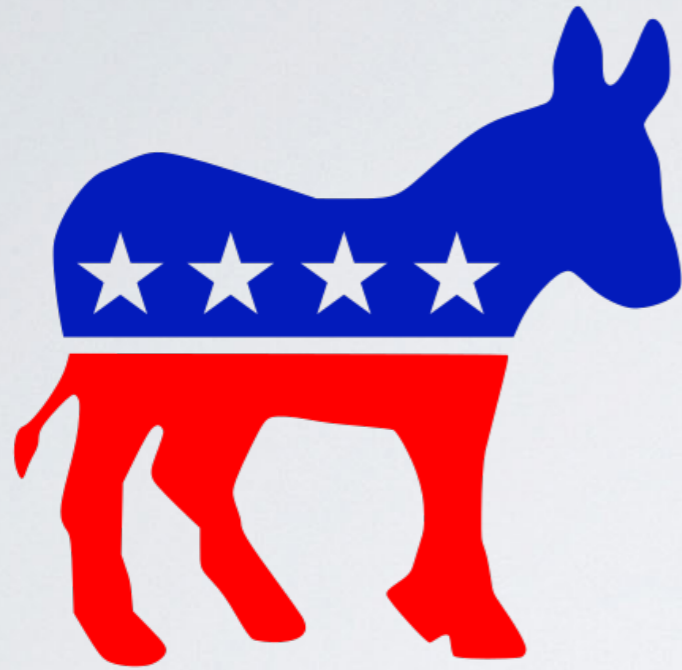
<http://hansnoel.com>

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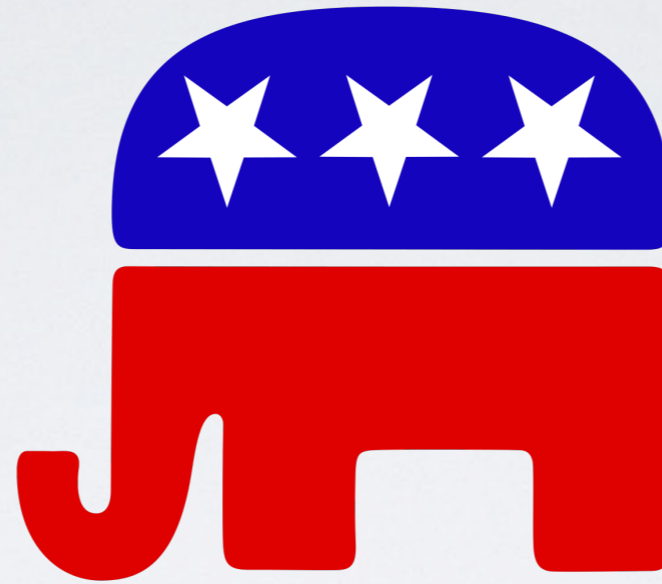
1. The players
2. The game
3. The stakes
4. 2018

THE PLAYERS



Democrats

Center-Left
("liberal")



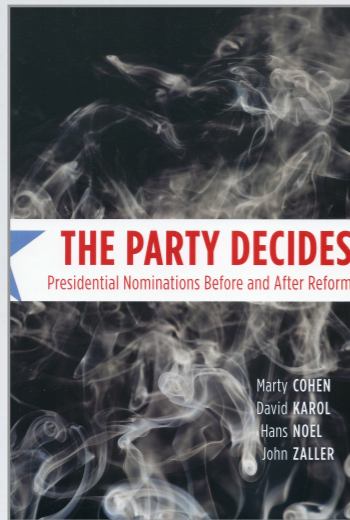
Republicans

Center-Right
("conservative")

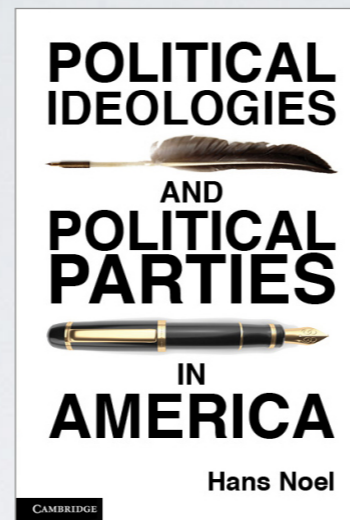


Trump

Populist &
Nationalist

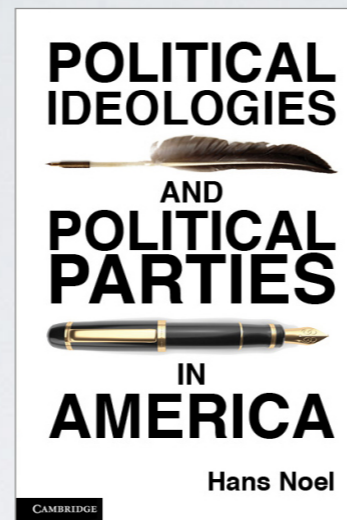
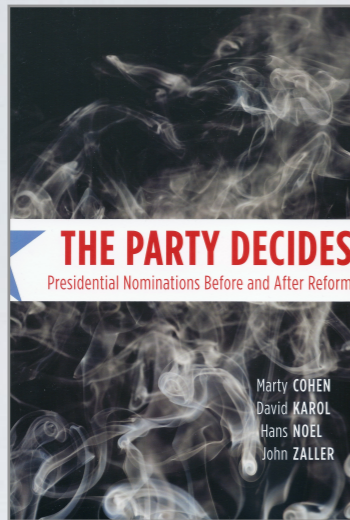


Trump and the
**Republican
Party**



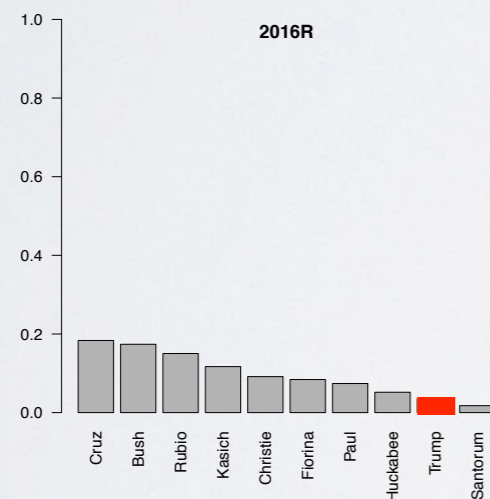
Trump and
**conservative
ideology**

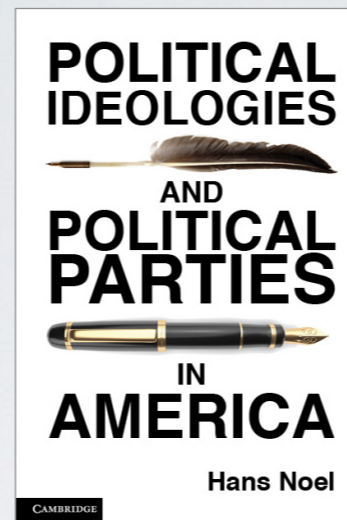
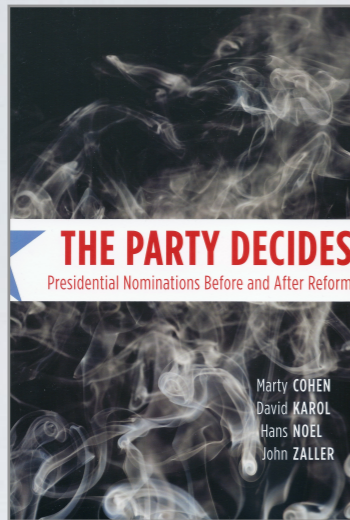




Trump and the **Republican Party**

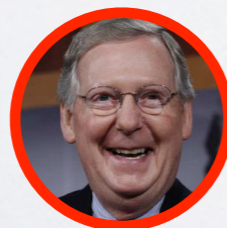
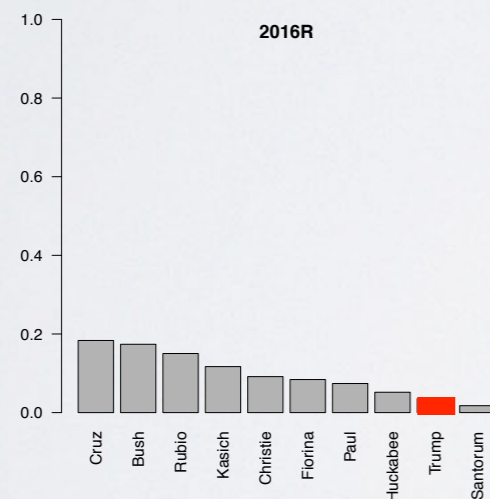
Trump and **conservative ideology**

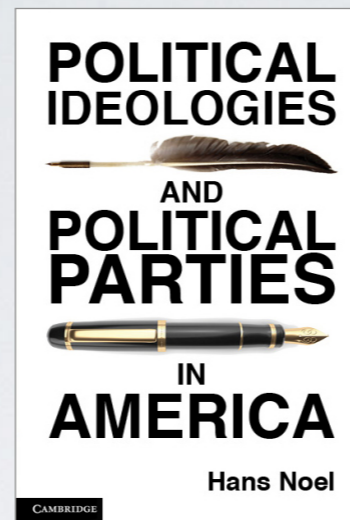
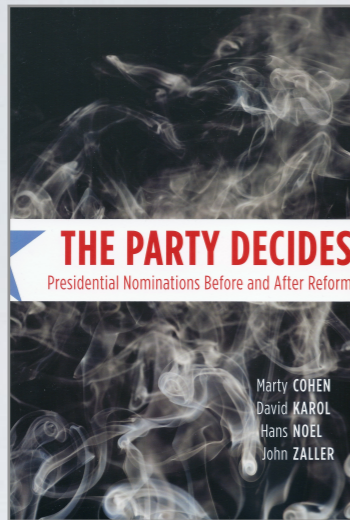




Trump and the **Republican Party**

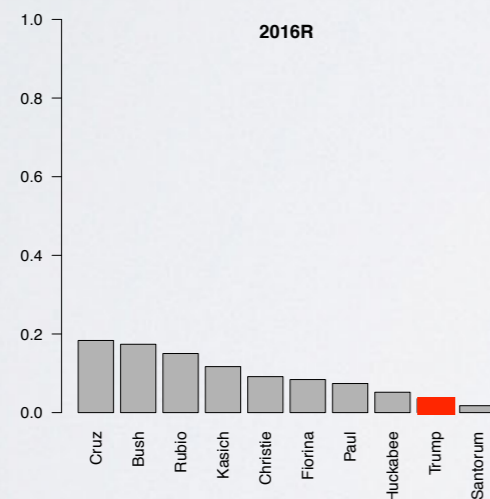
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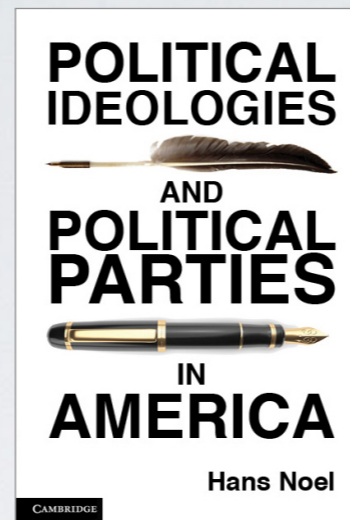
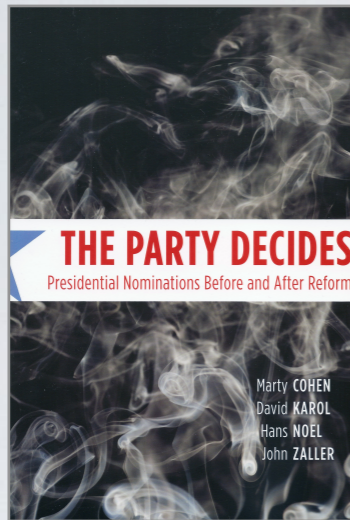




Trump and the **Republican Party**

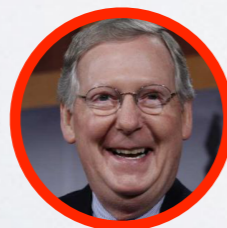
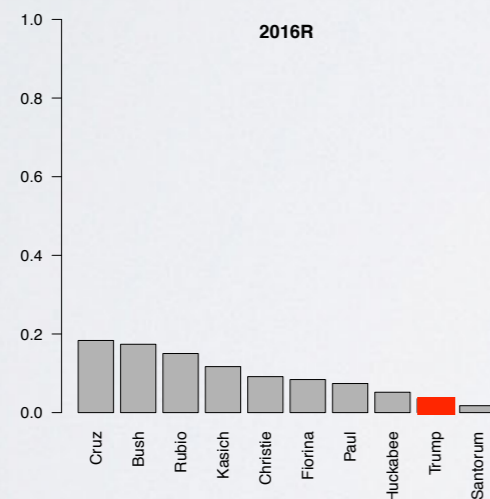
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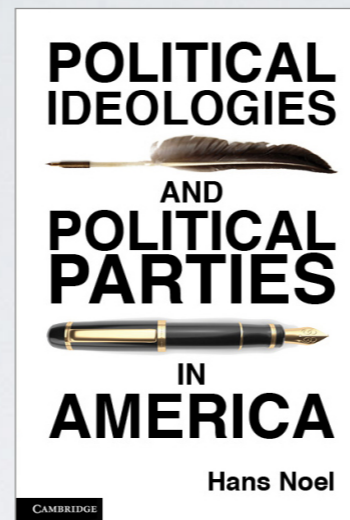
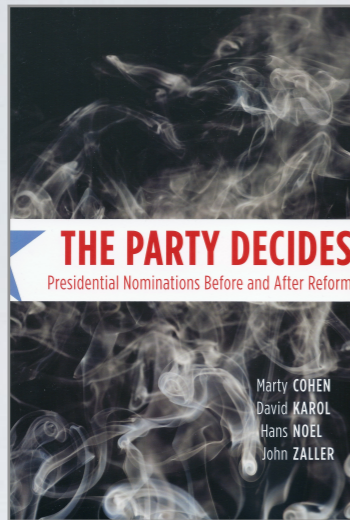




Trump and the **Republican Party**

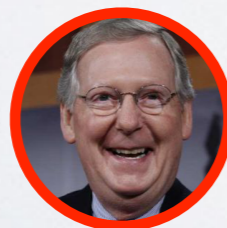
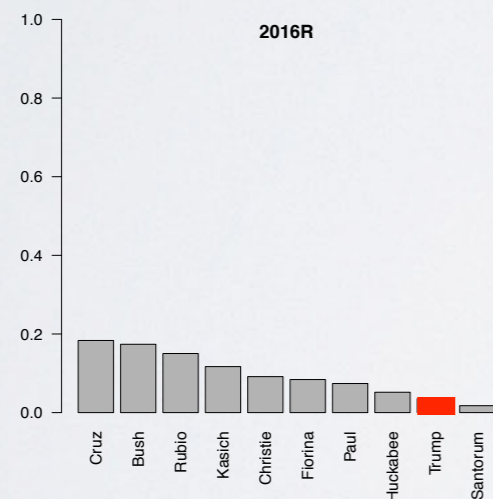
Trump and **conservative ideology**





Trump and the **Republican Party**

Trump and **conservative ideology**



THE GAME

THE U.S. POLITICAL SYSTEM FROM THE AUSTRIAN PERSPECTIVE



SEPARATION OF POWERS



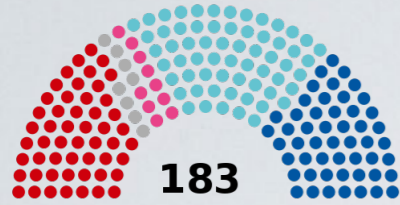
CONGRESS
(Legislative)



PRESIDENCY
(Executive)

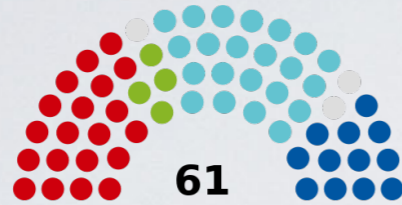


SUPREME COURT
(Judicial)



Nationalrat
(National Council)

183 members
unfixed terms
List PR



Bundesrat
(Federal Council)

61 members
unfixed terms
Indirectly / PR



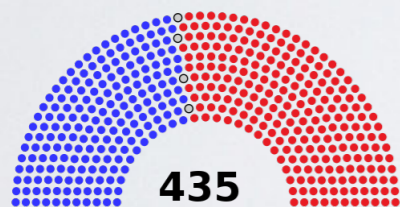
Bundeskanzler
(Federal Chancellor)

- Chosen by President
- Answers to Parliament
- Head of Government



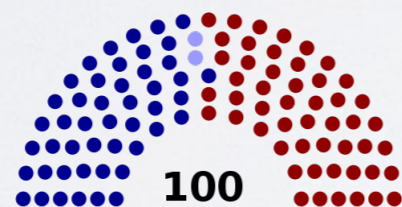
Bundespräsident
(President)

- Separate election
- Head of State



**House of
Representatives**

435 members
2-year terms
SMD



Senate

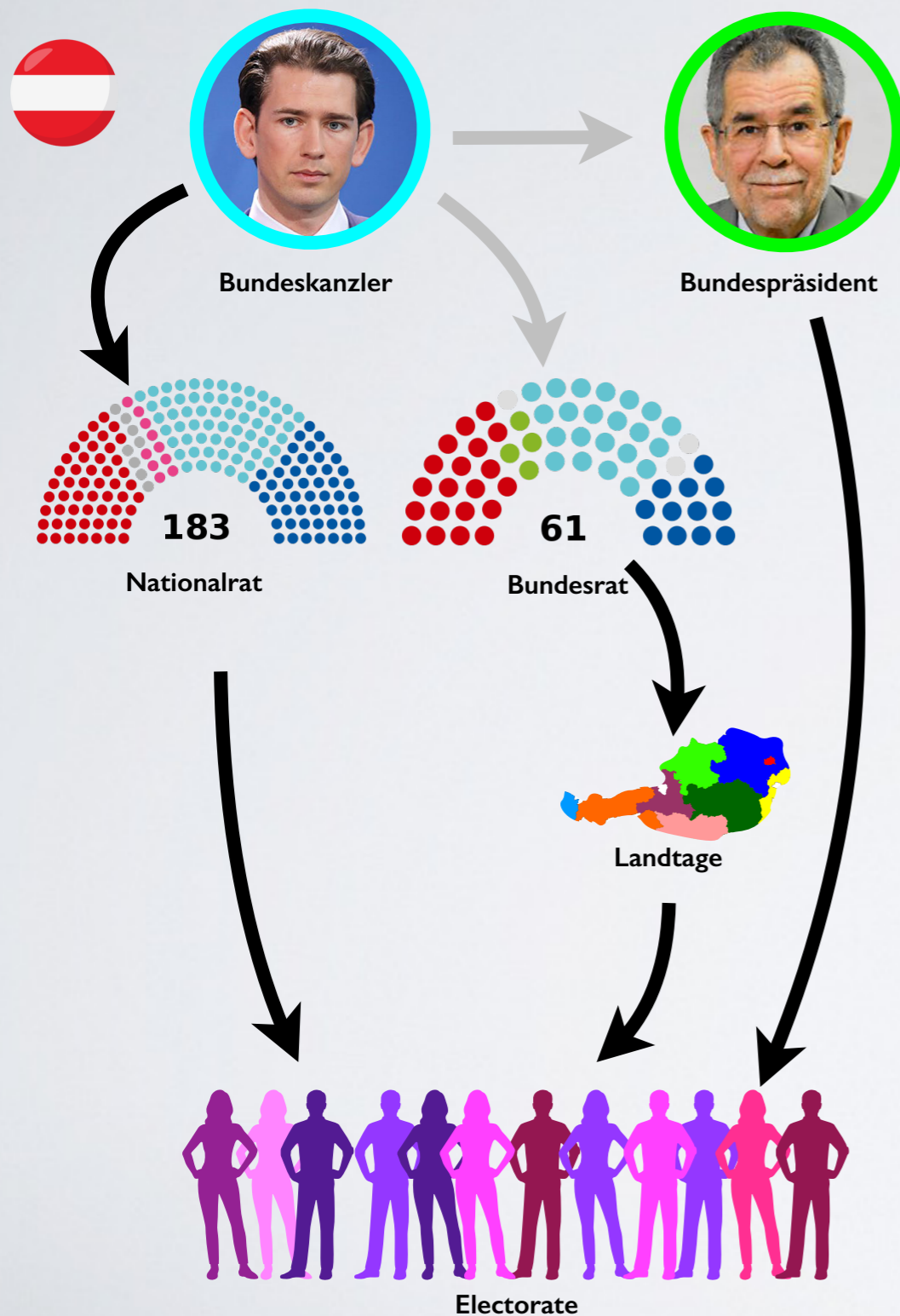
100 members
6-year terms
SMD (states)



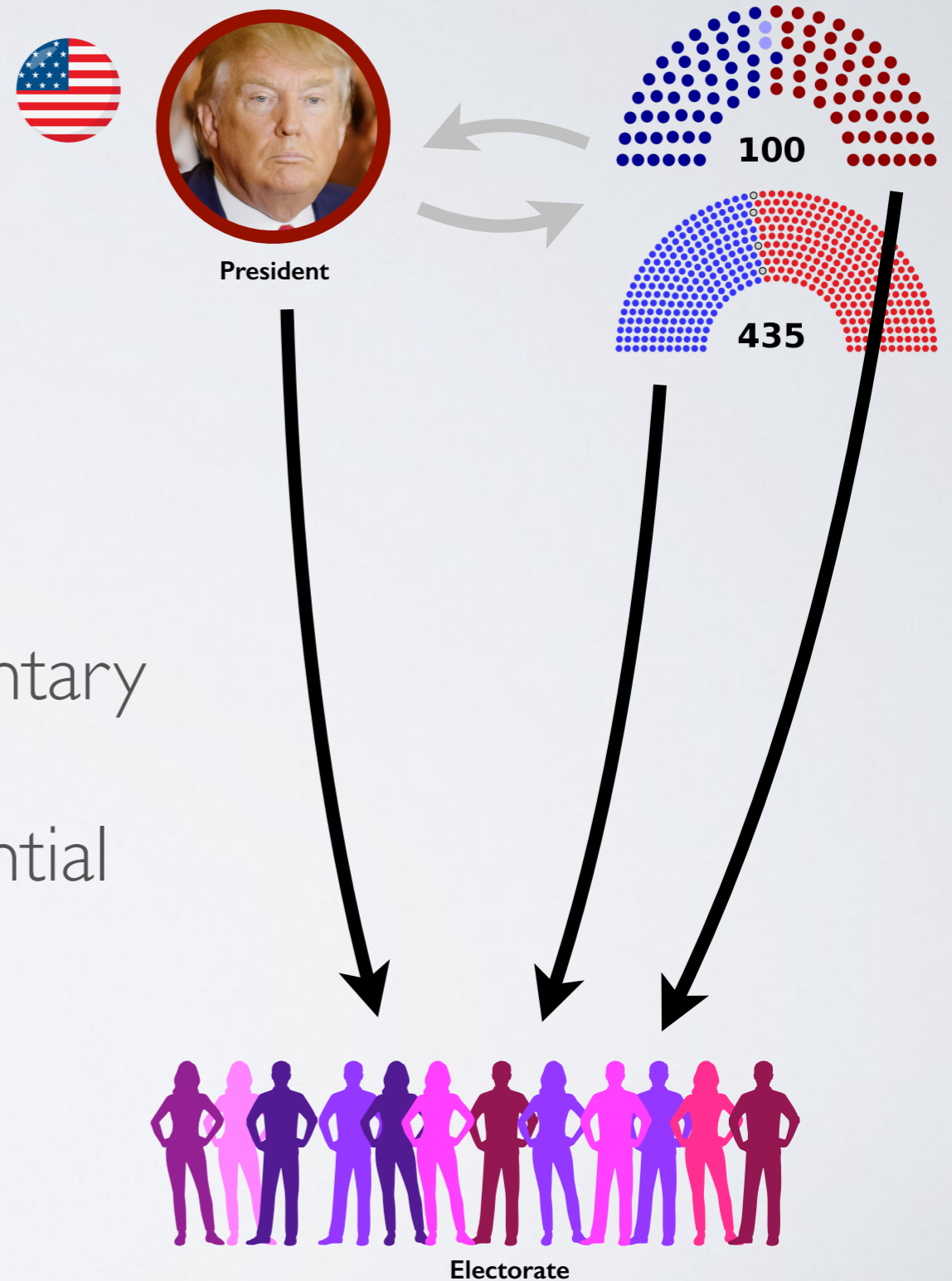
President

- Separate election
- Electoral College
- Head of Government *and* Head of State

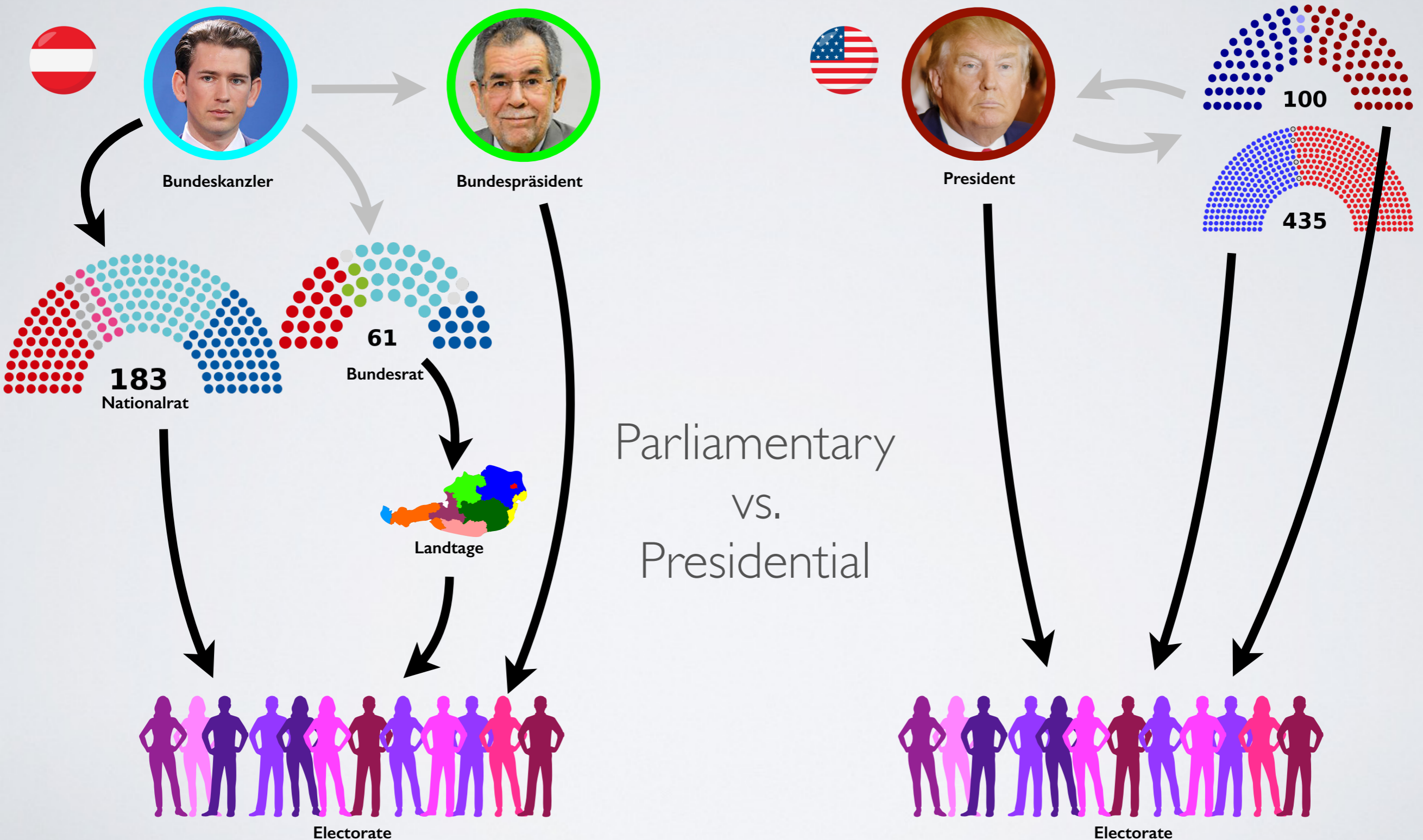
CHAINS OF ACCOUNTABILITY



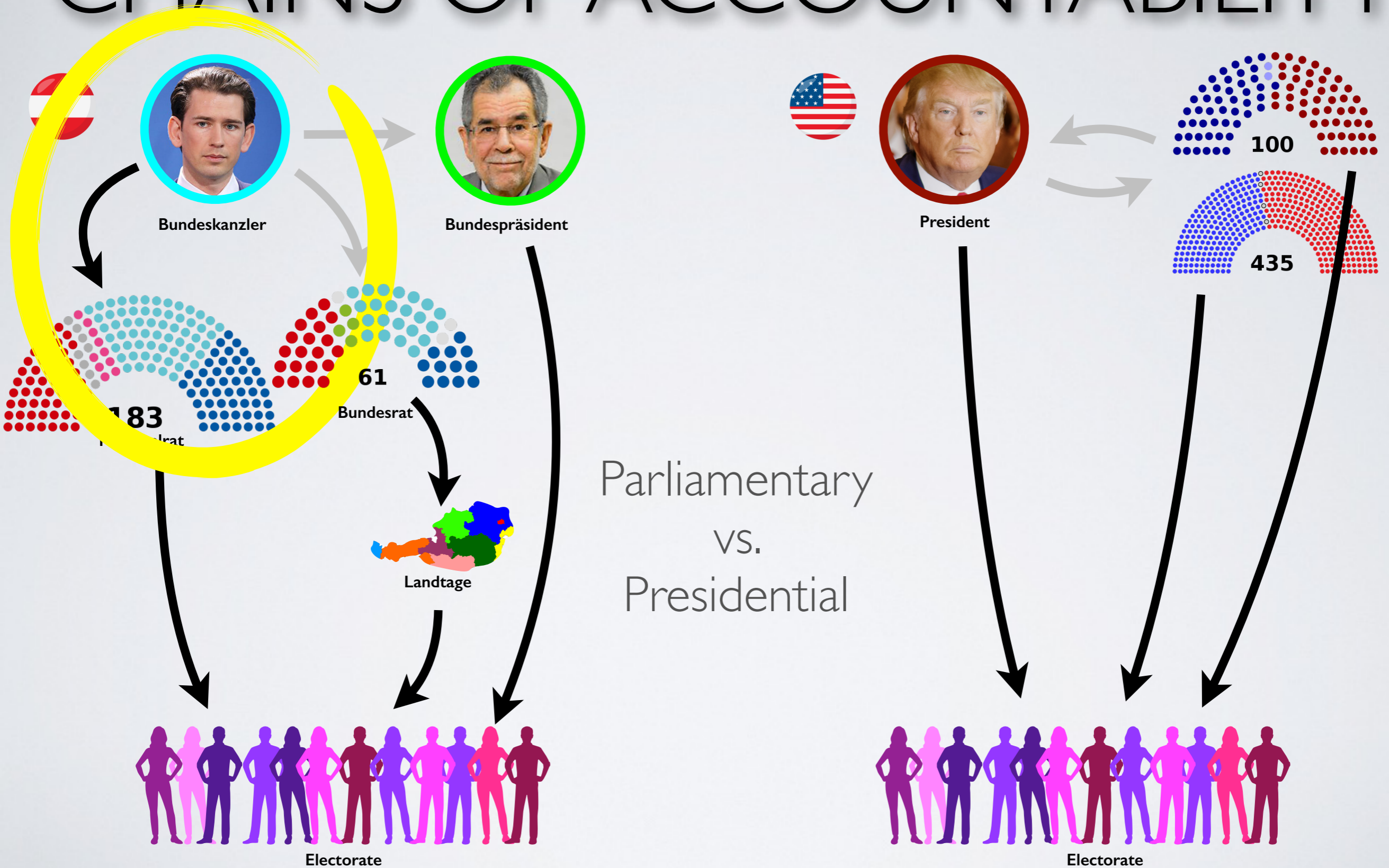
Parliamentary
vs.
Presidential



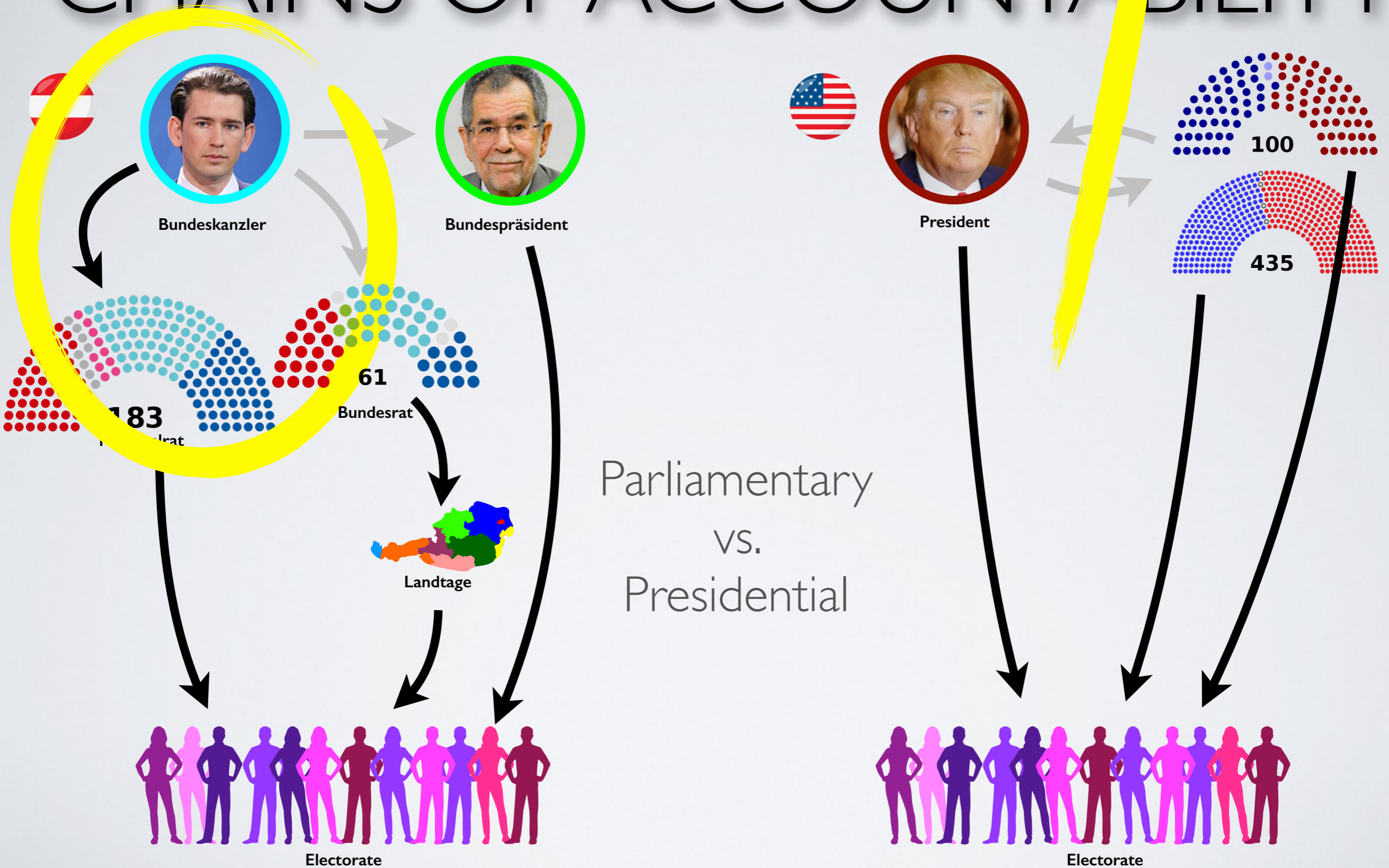
CHAINS OF ACCOUNTABILITY



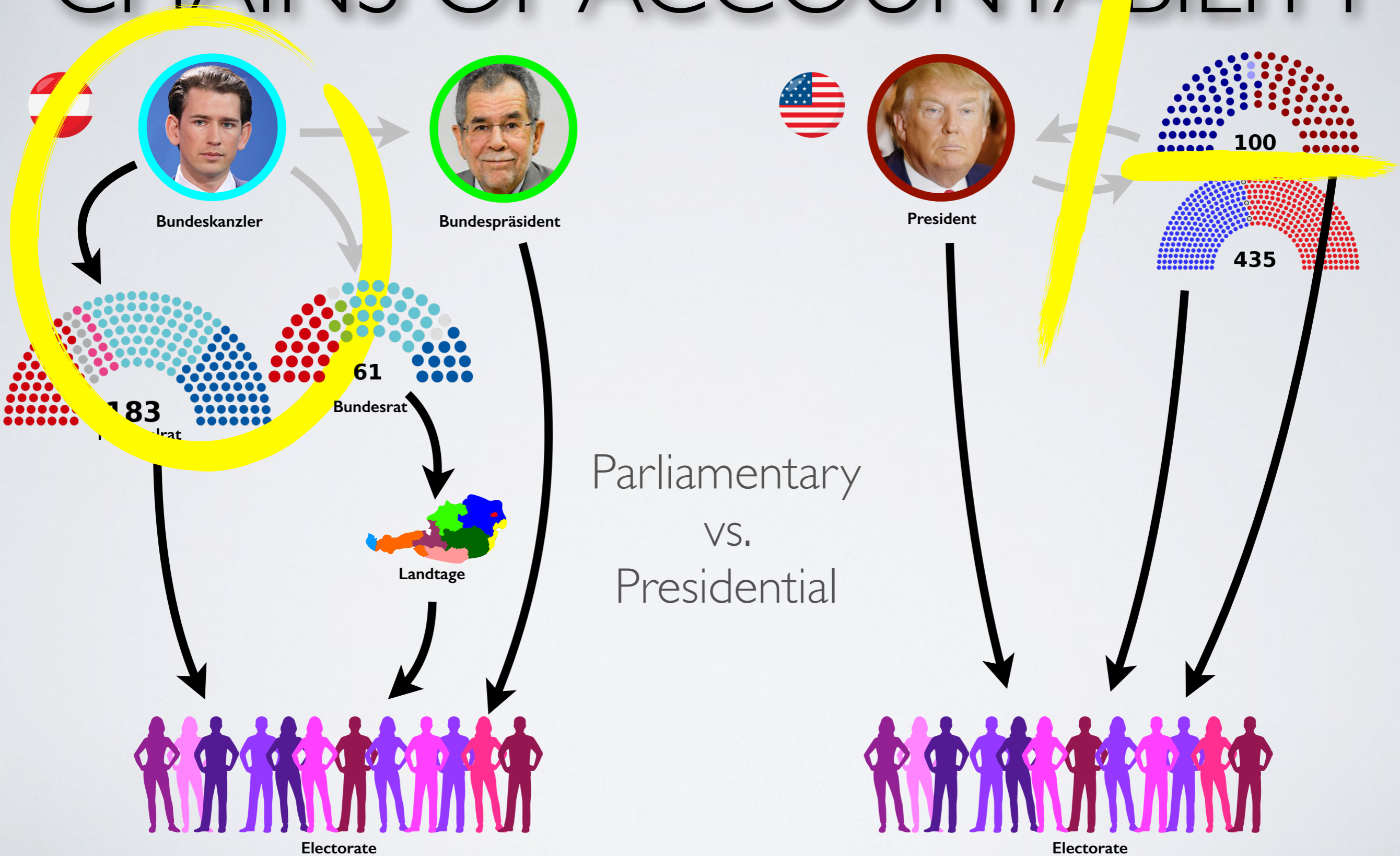
CHAINS OF ACCOUNTABILITY



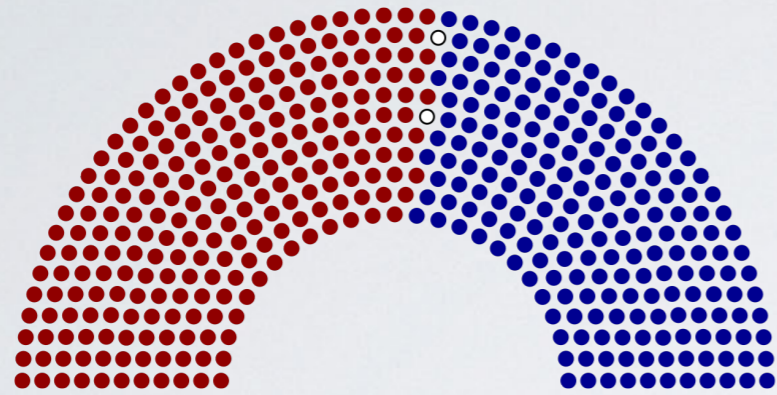
CHAINS OF ACCOUNTABILITY



CHAINS OF ACCOUNTABILITY

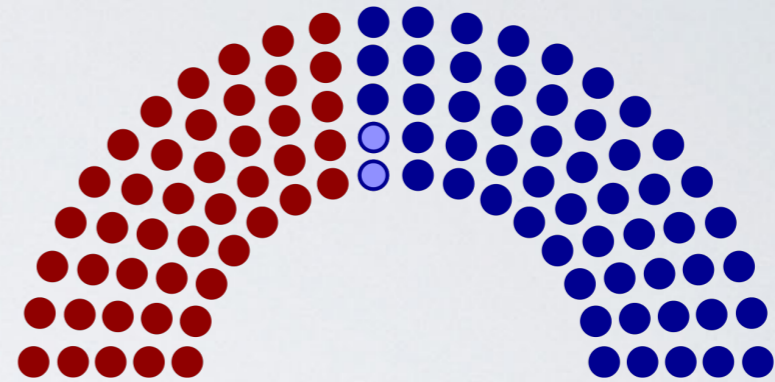


HOUSE



- Representation by population
- 2-year terms
- 435 members
- Majoritarian
- Strong leadership
- Strong parties
- Committees important
- **Currently Republican**
237 to **193** (5 vacant)

SENATE



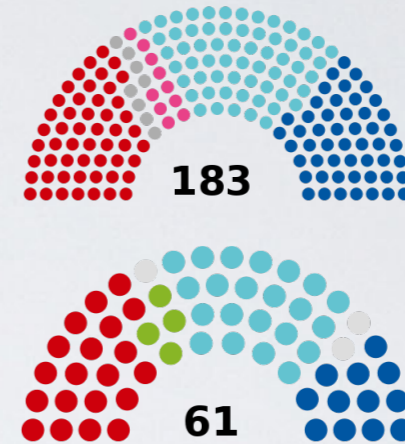
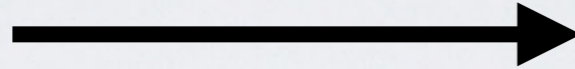
- Representation by state
- Staggered 6-year terms
- 100 members
- Minority rights
 - Filibuster and holds
- Consensus
- Weaker committees
 - No germaneness
- **Currently Republican**
51 to **47 (+2)**

THE STAKES

AGENDA SETTING



Legislation can originate
with **Government**

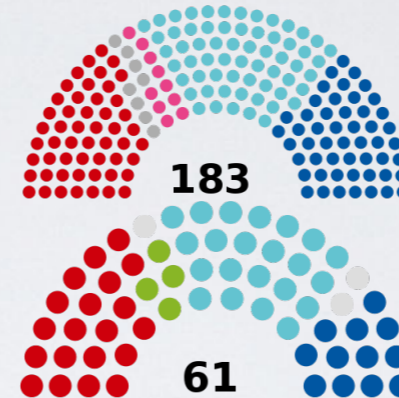


Parliament can accept, revise, veto

AGENDA SETTING



Legislation can originate
with **Government**

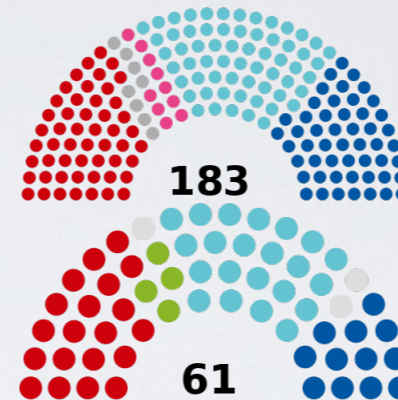


Parliament can
accept, revise, veto

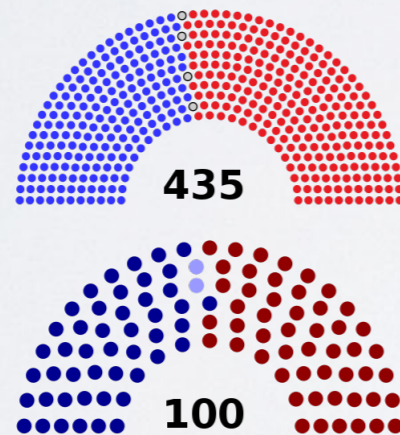
AGENDA SETTING



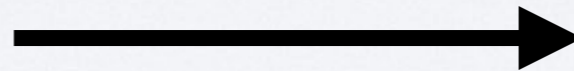
Legislation can originate with **Government**



Parliament can accept, revise, veto



Legislation originates in **Congress**

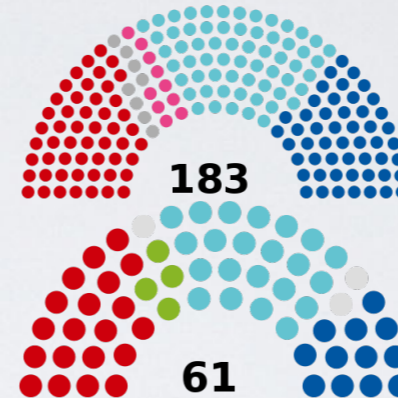


President can veto

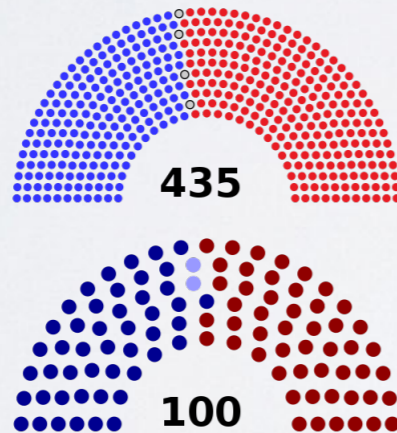
AGENDA SETTING



Legislation can originate
with **Government**



Parliament can
accept, revise, veto



Legislation originates
in **Congress**



President can veto
Executive power

IMPEACHMENT

IMPEACHMENT

I AM NOT PREDICTING DONALD TRUMP WILL BE IMPEACHED

I AM NOT PREDICTING DONALD TRUMP WILL BE IMPEACHED

IMPEACHMENT

But prospect for impeachment can affect relationship with Congress

I AM NOT PREDICTING DONALD TRUMP WILL BE IMPEACHED

IMPEACHMENT

But prospect for impeachment can affect relationship with Congress



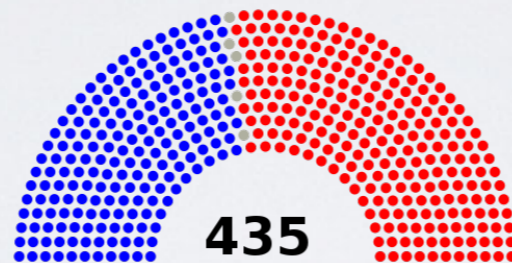
I AM NOT PREDICTING DONALD TRUMP WILL BE IMPEACHED

IMPEACHMENT

But prospect for impeachment can affect relationship with Congress



HOUSE



Votes to Impeach

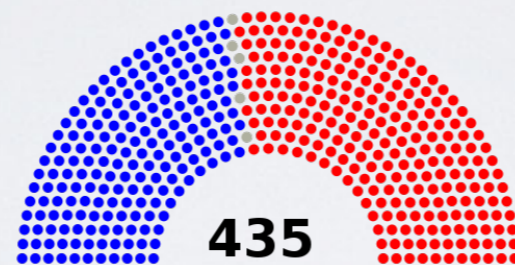
I AM NOT PREDICTING DONALD TRUMP WILL BE IMPEACHED

IMPEACHMENT

But prospect for impeachment can affect relationship with Congress



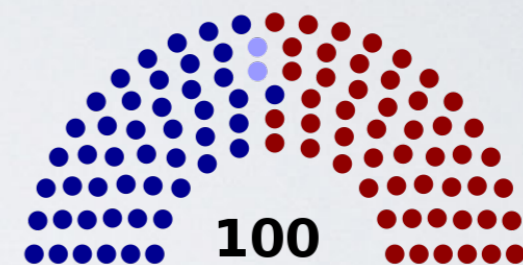
HOUSE



435

Votes to Impeach

SENATE



100

Conducts Trial

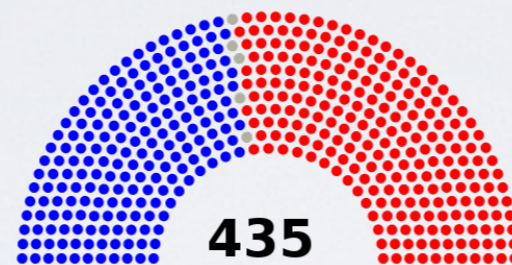
I AM NOT PREDICTING DONALD TRUMP WILL BE IMPEACHED

IMPEACHMENT

But prospect for impeachment can affect relationship with Congress

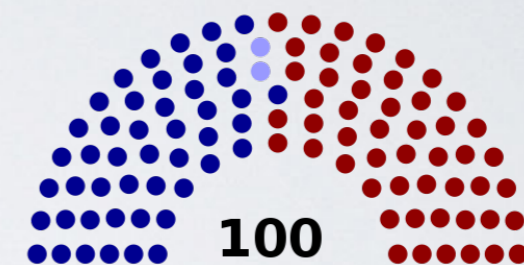


HOUSE



Votes to Impeach

SENATE



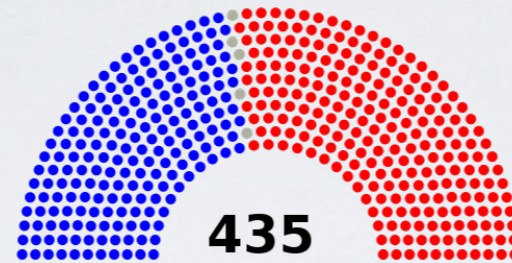
Conducts Trial



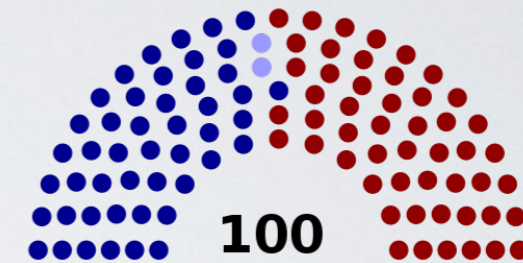
- Chief Justice presides
- House member(s) act as prosecutor
- Need 2/3 supermajority

IMPEACHMENT

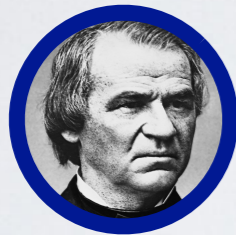
HOUSE



SENATE



JOHNSON
1868

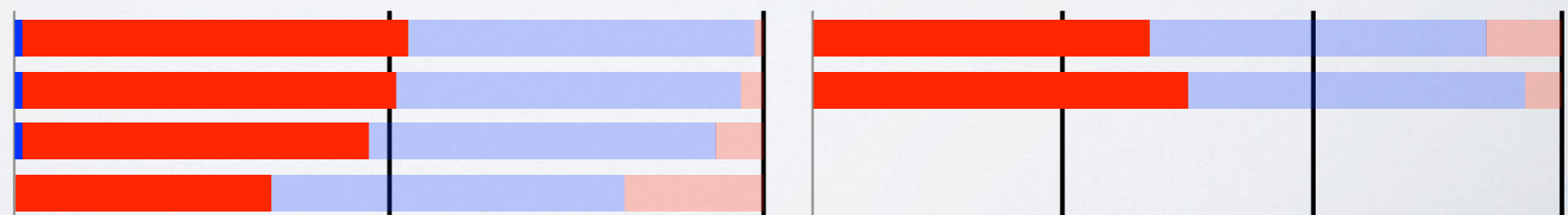


NIXON
1974



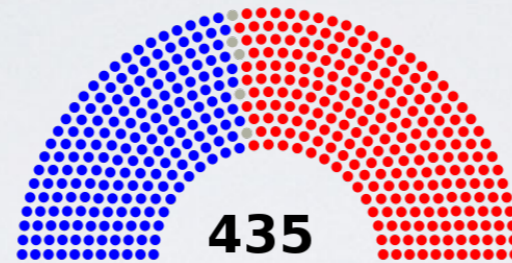
Referred to committee.
Brought to floor.
Nixon resigned before vote.

CLINTON
1998

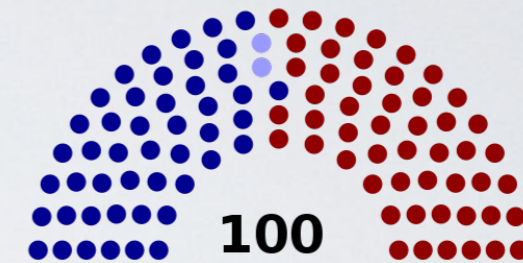


IMPEACHMENT

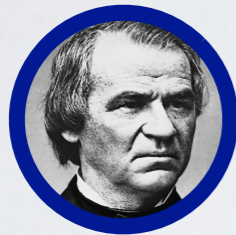
HOUSE



SENATE



JOHNSON
1868

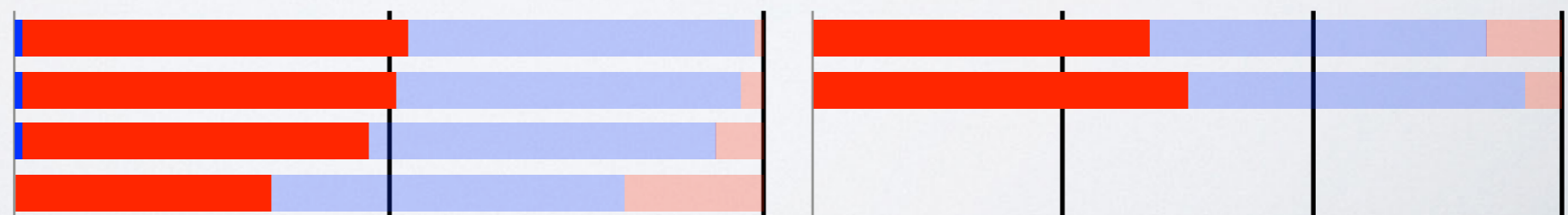


NIXON
1974



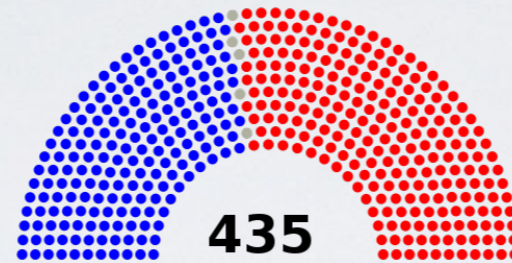
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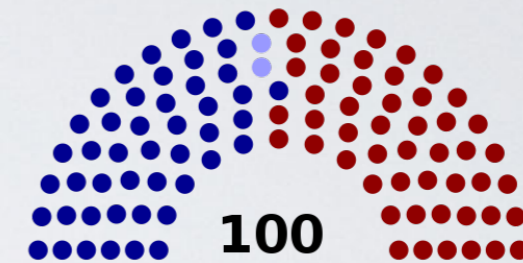


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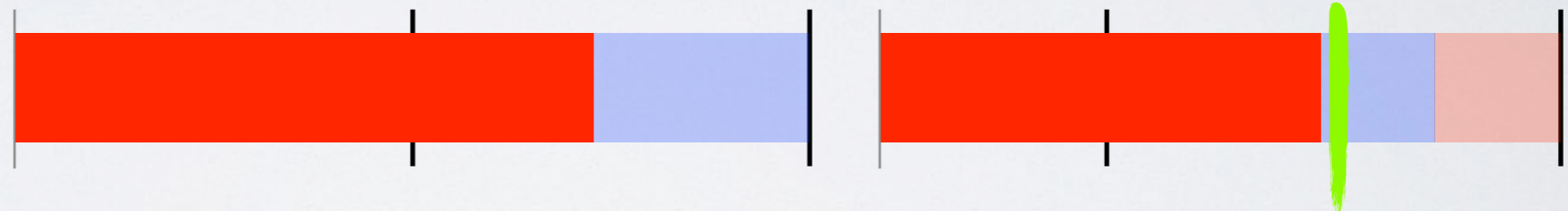
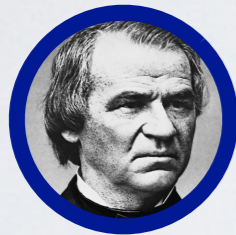
HOUSE



SENATE



JOHNSON
1868



NIXON
1974



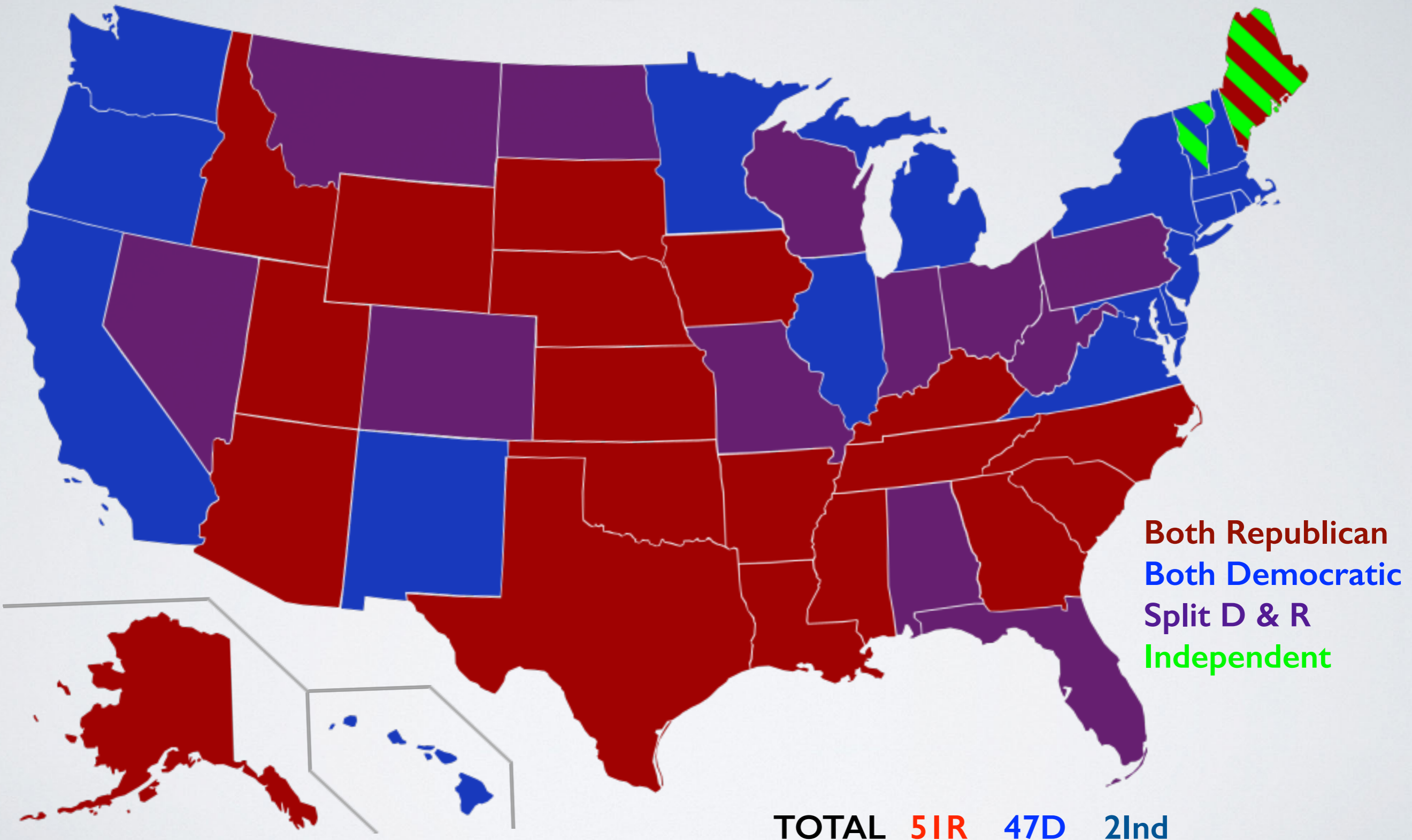
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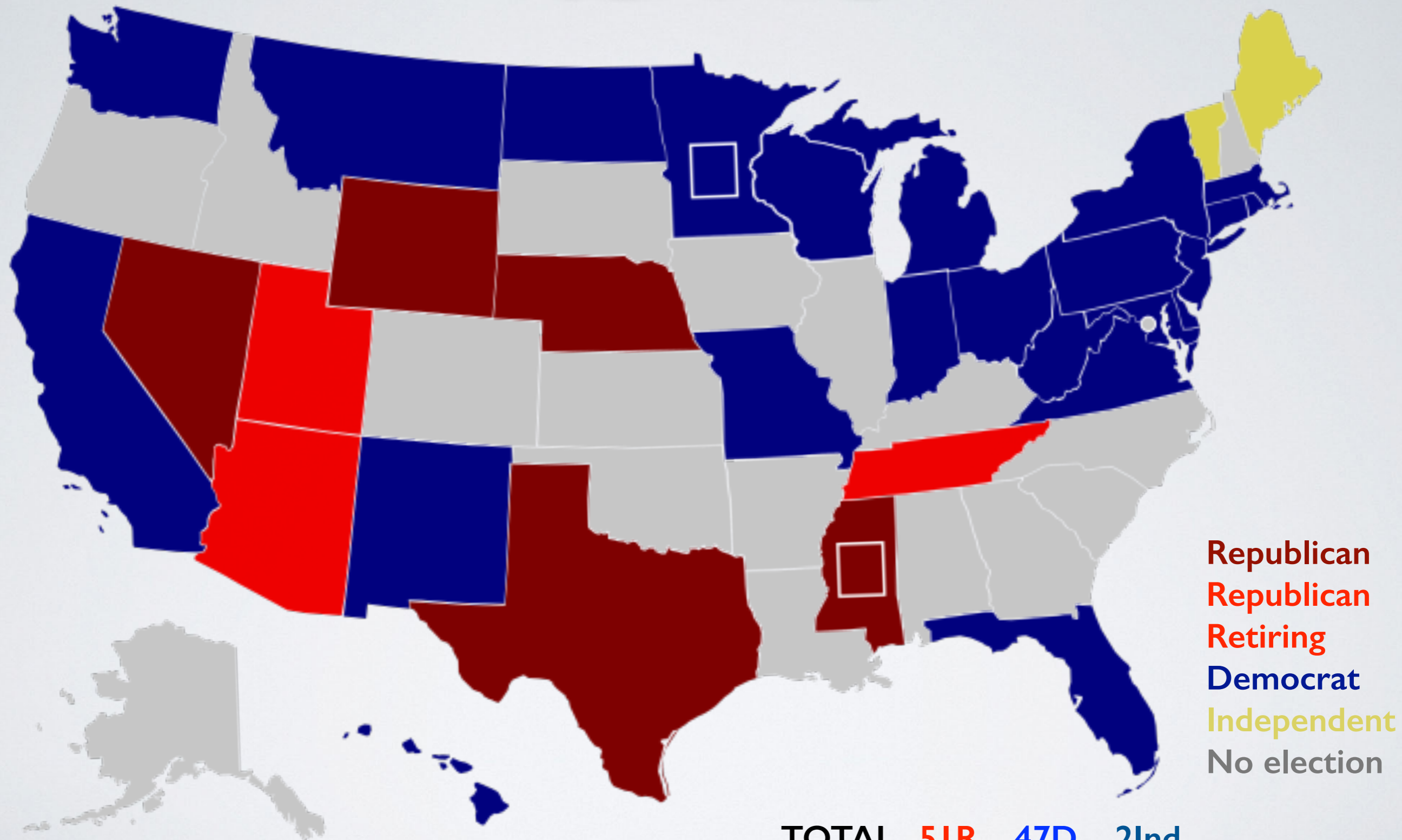


THE 2018 LANDSCAPE

SENATE

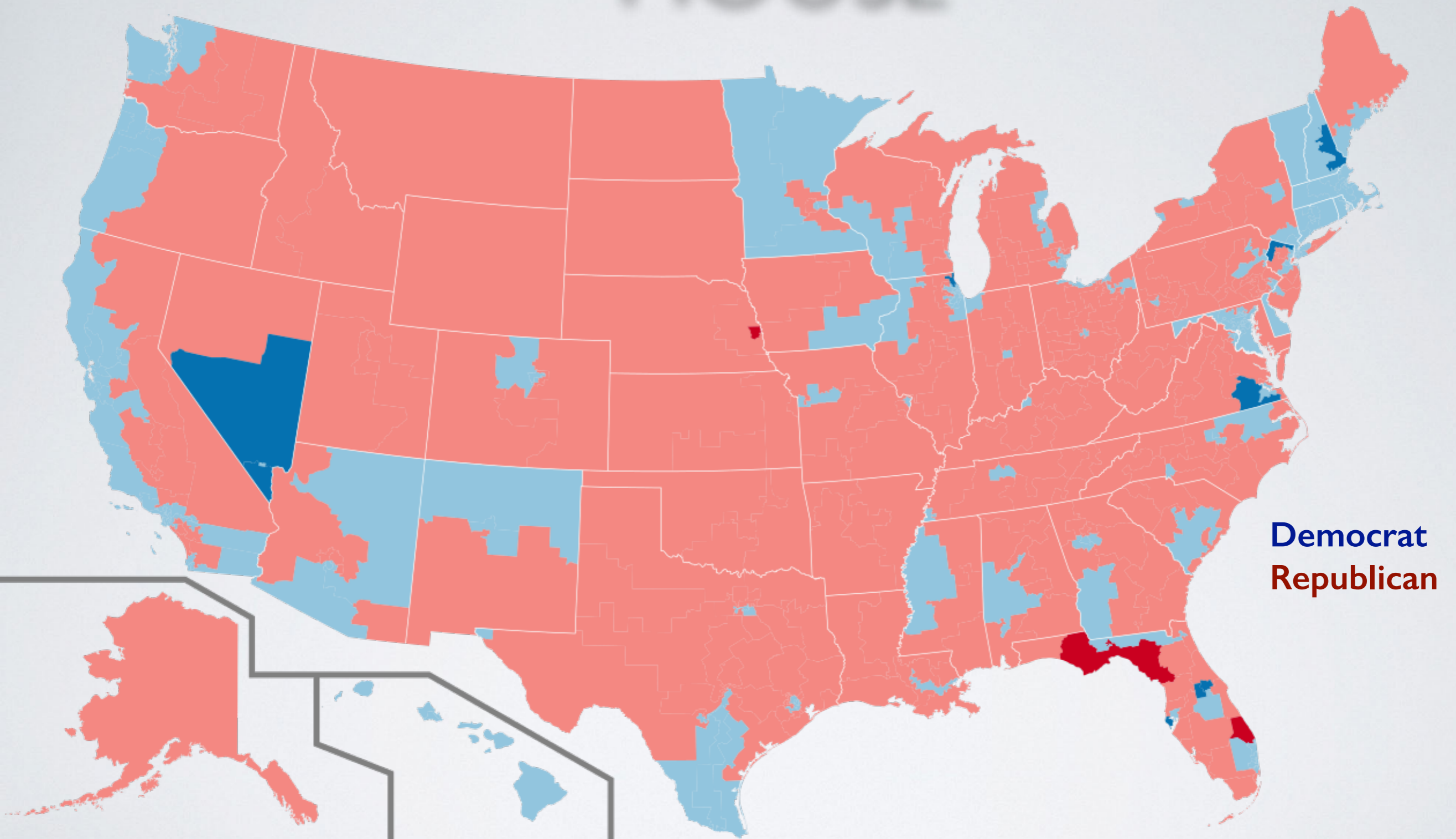


SENATE



TOTAL	51R	47D	2Ind
UP IN 2018	9R	24D	2Ind

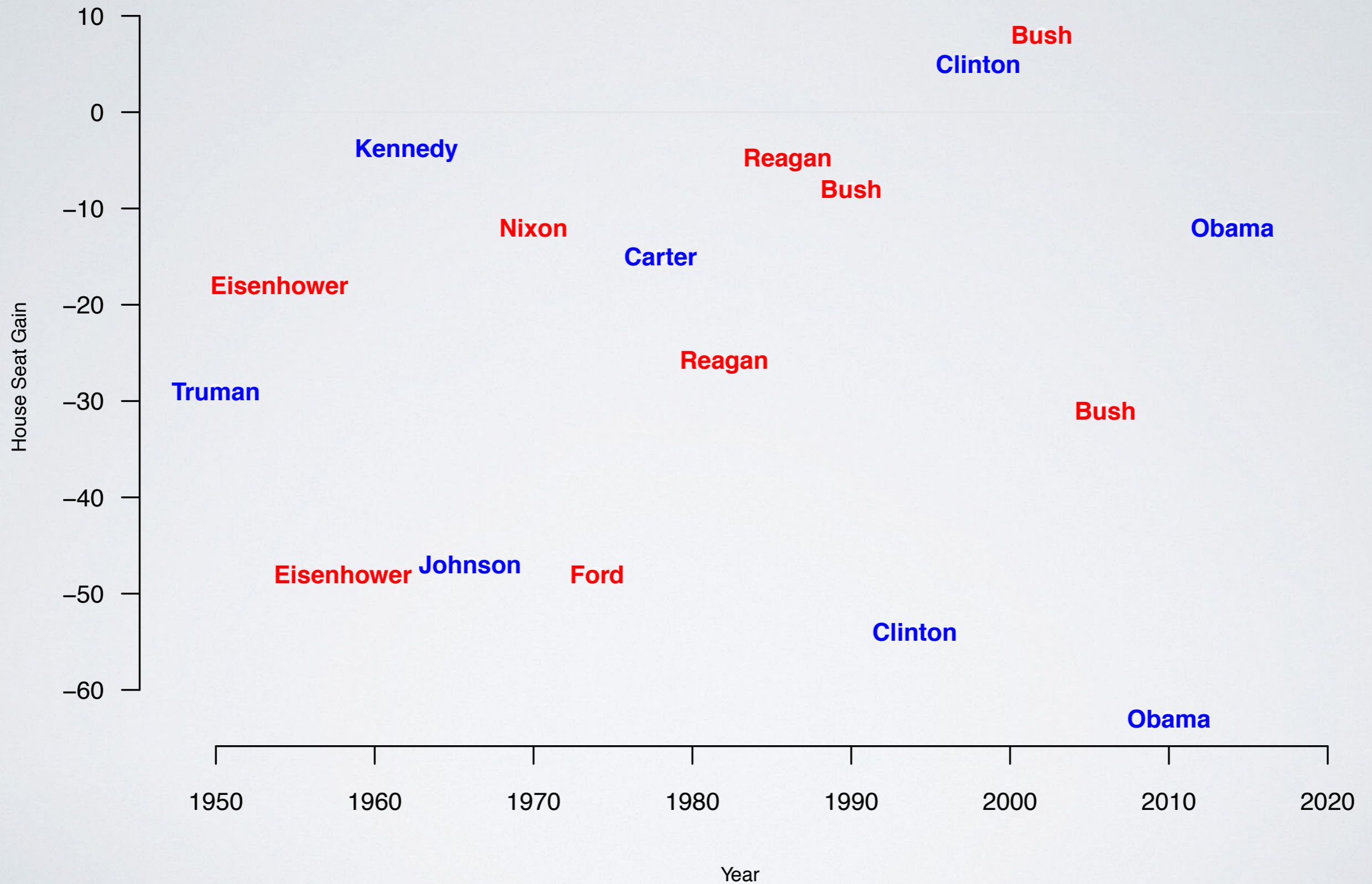
HOUSE



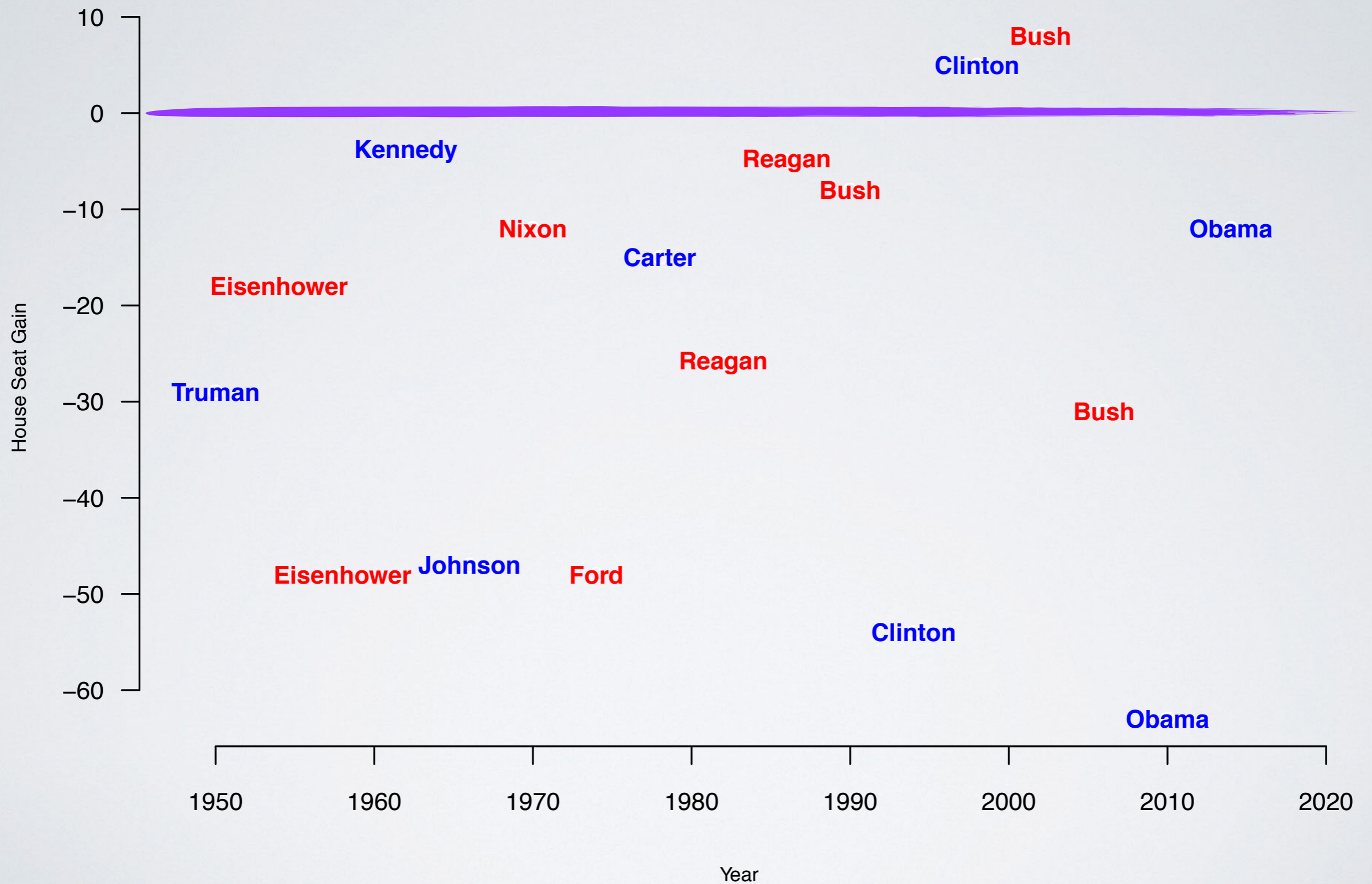
WHAT EXPLAINS VOTER BEHAVIOR?

1. Midterms are tied to the President
2. Economic performance matters

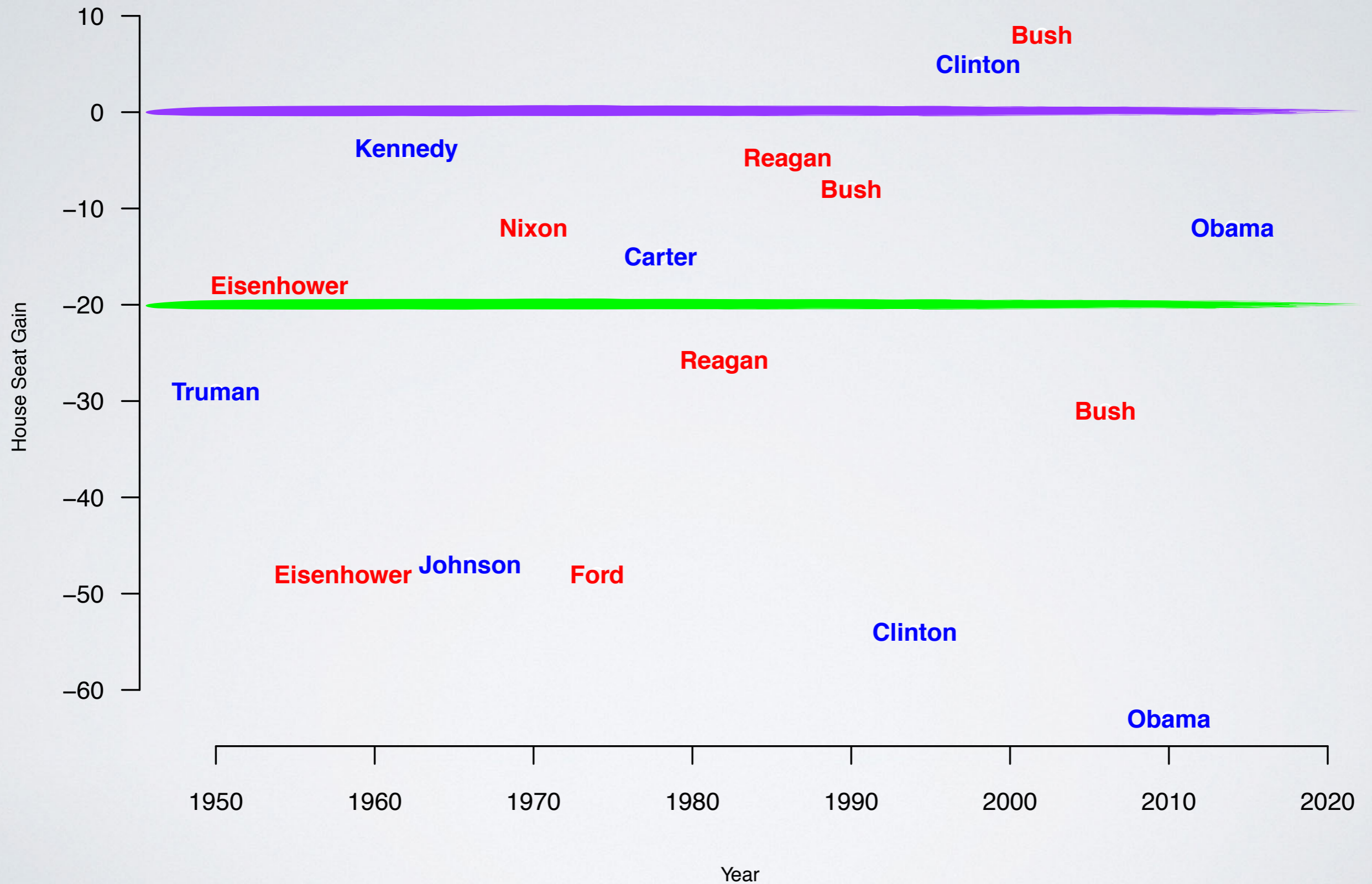
PRESIDENTS' PARTIES LOSE (HOUSE)



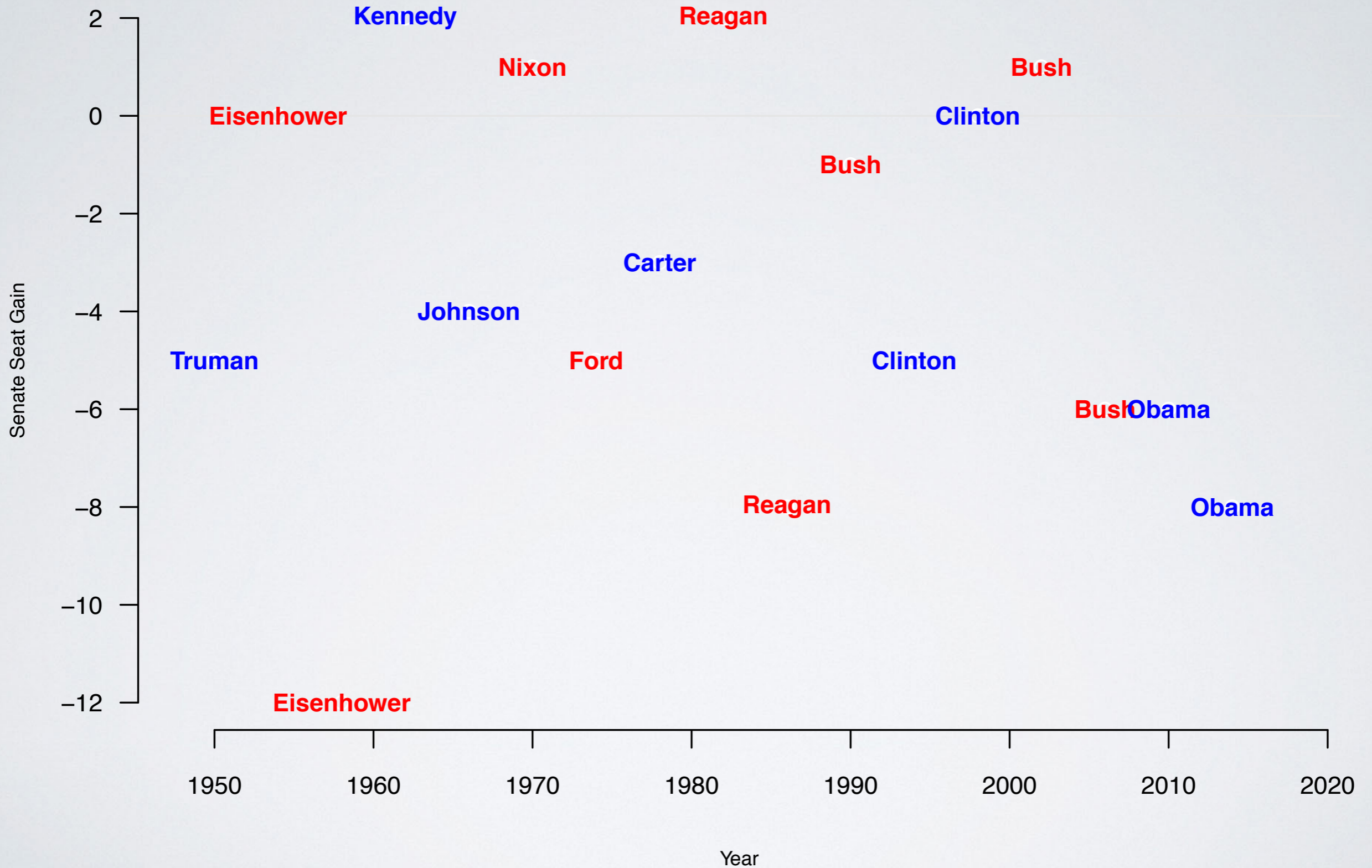
PRESIDENTS' PARTIES LOSE (HOUSE)



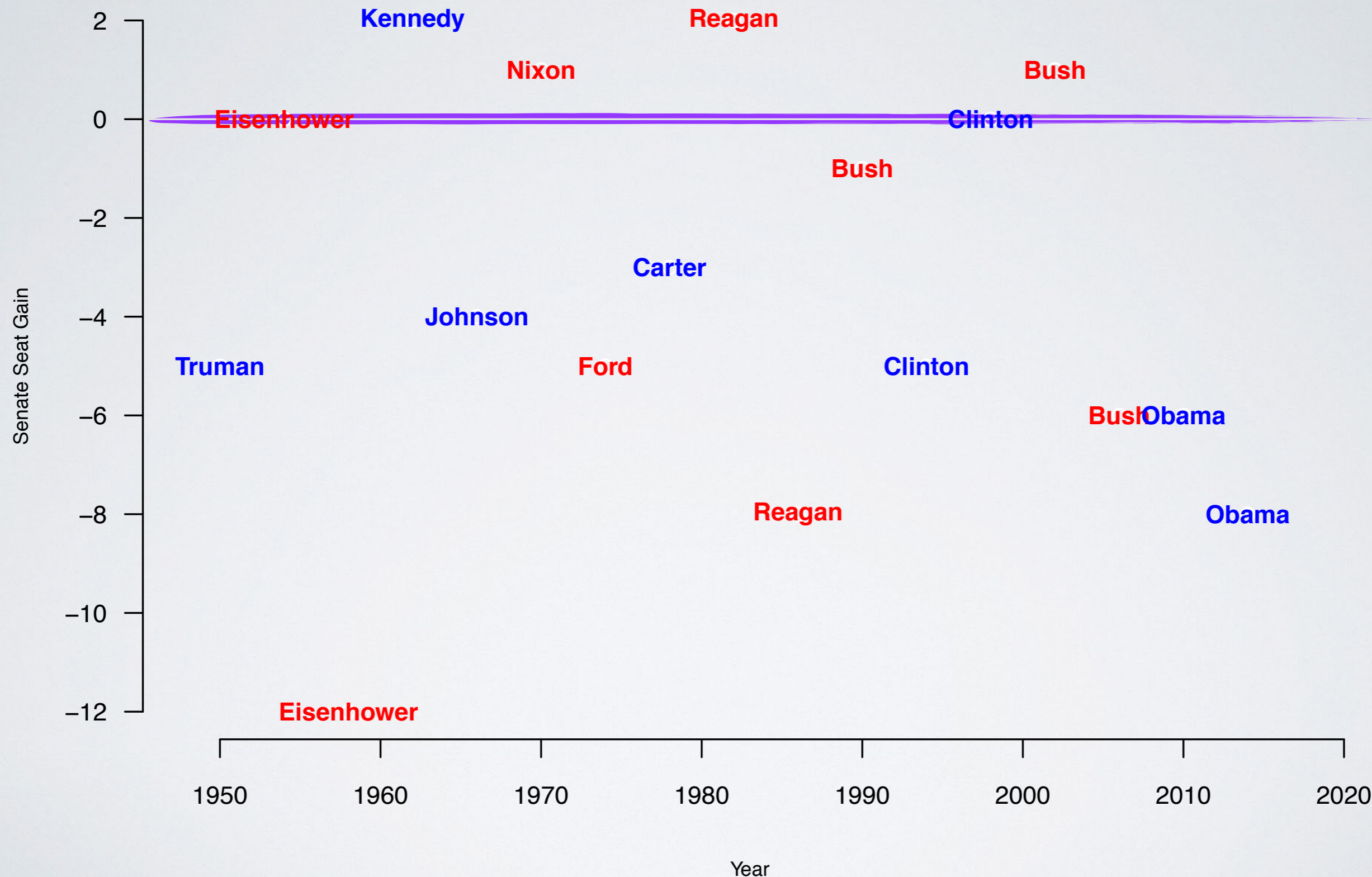
PRESIDENTS' PARTIES LOSE (HOUSE)



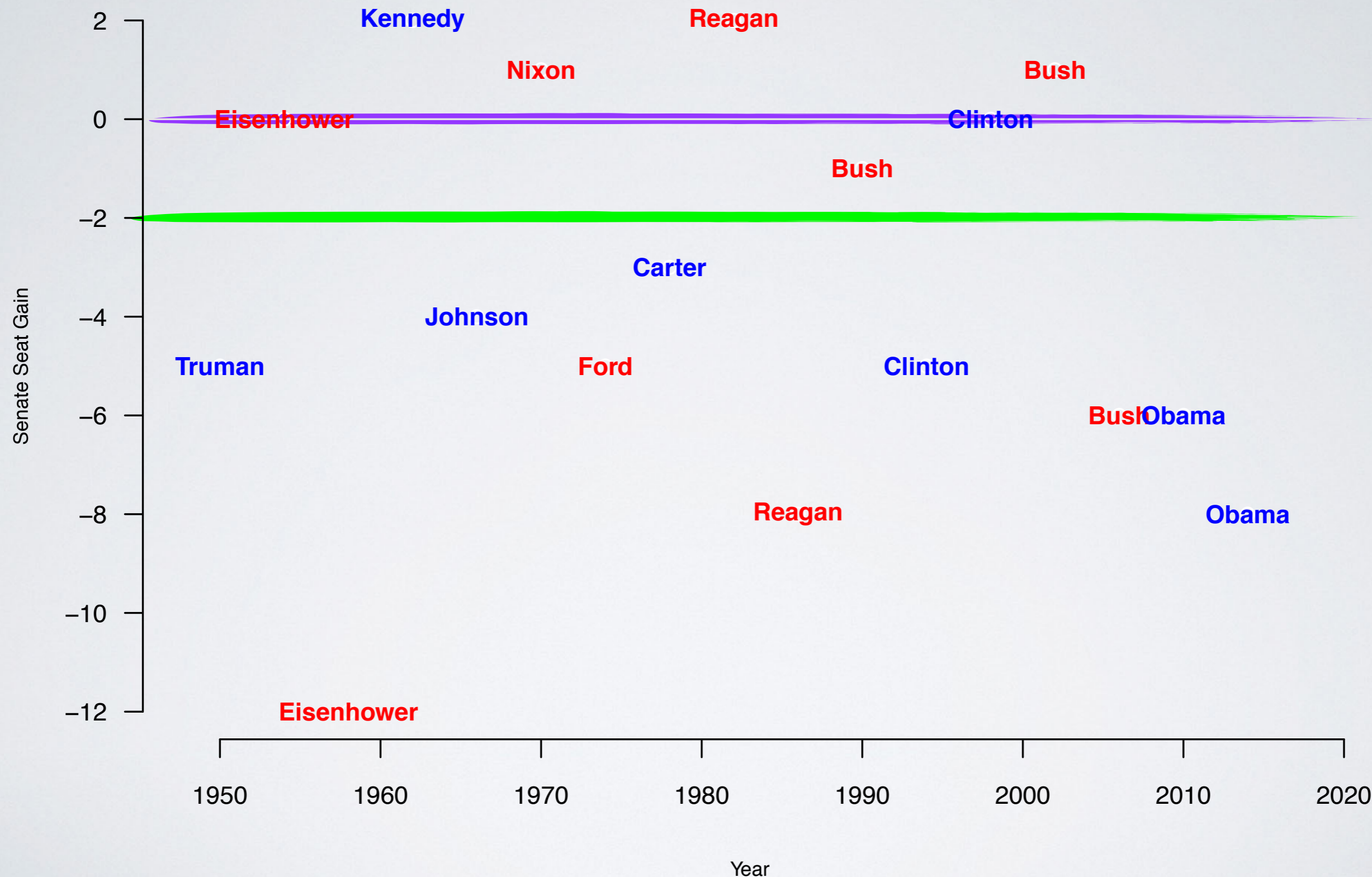
PRESIDENTS' PARTIES LOSE (SENATE)



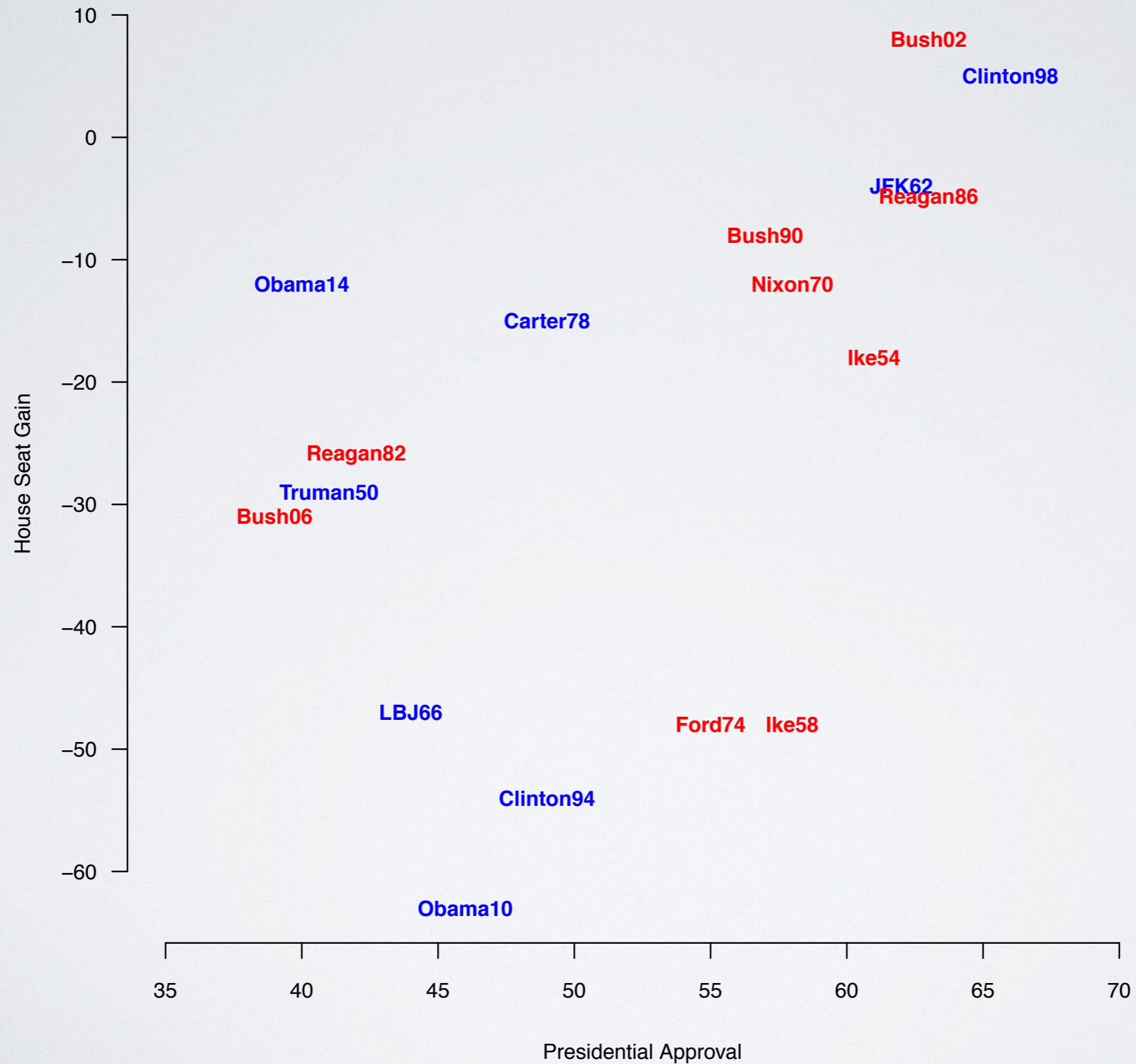
PRESIDENTS' PARTIES LOSE (SENATE)



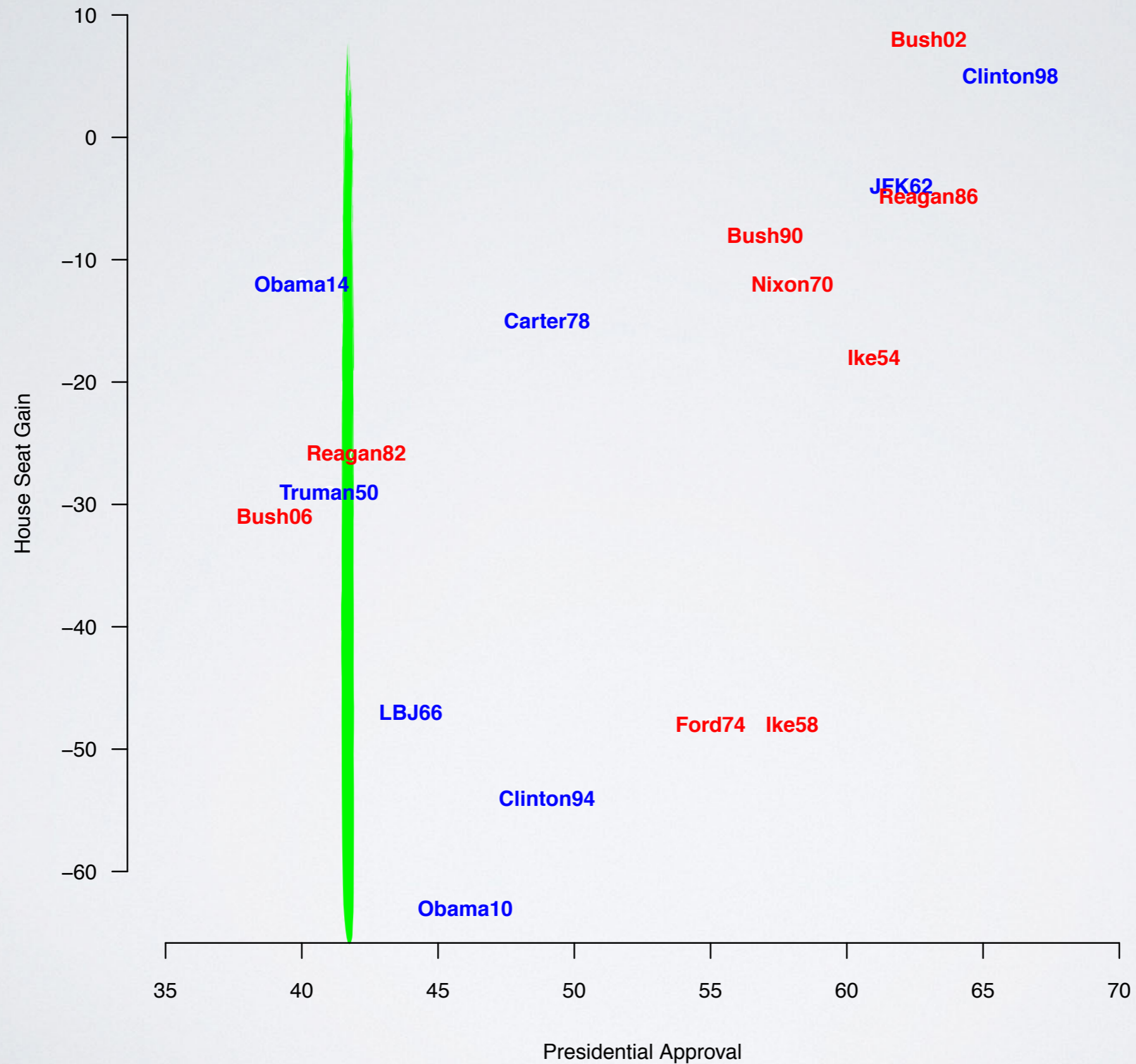
PRESIDENTS' PARTIES LOSE (SENATE)



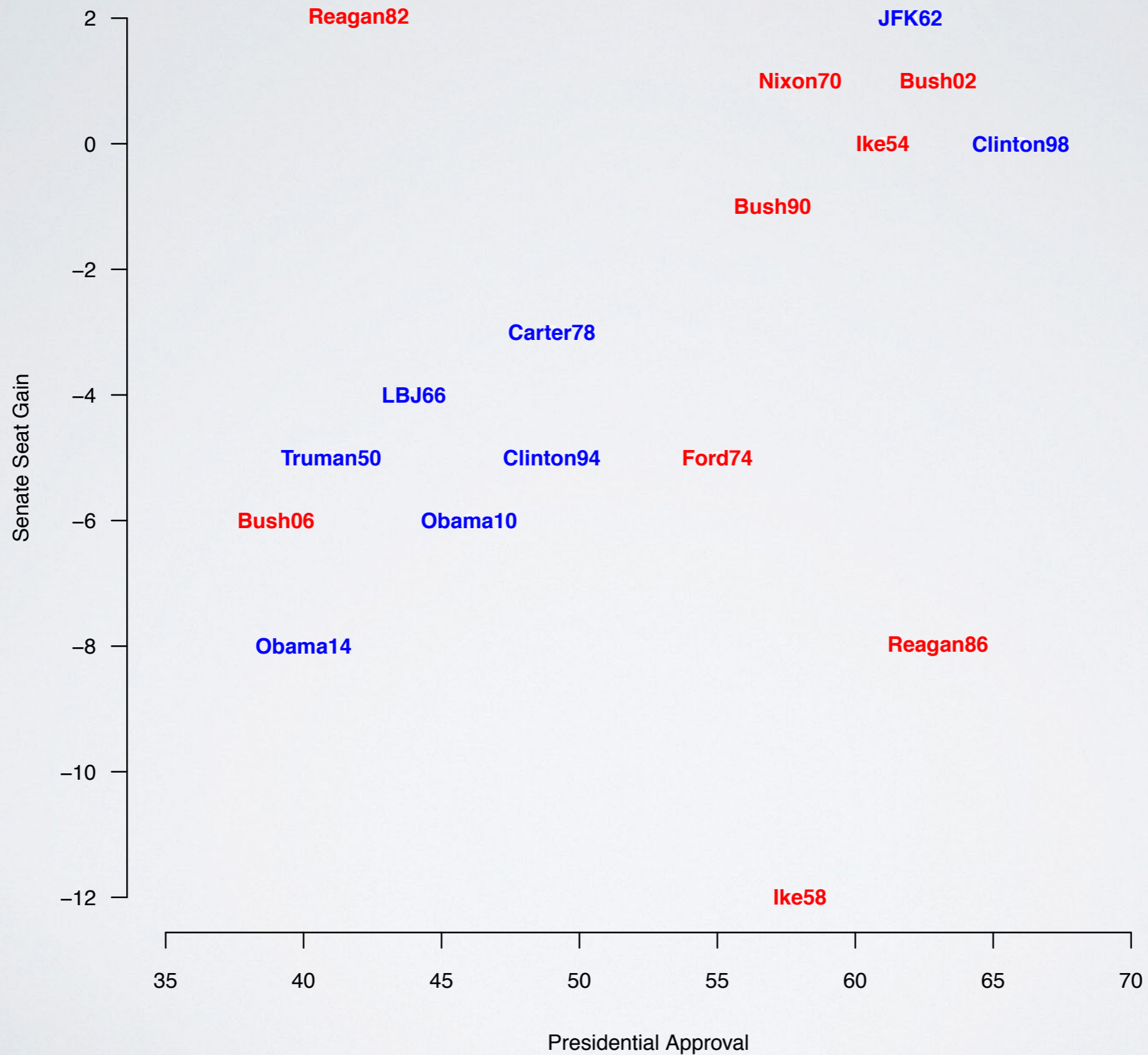
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL (HOUSE)



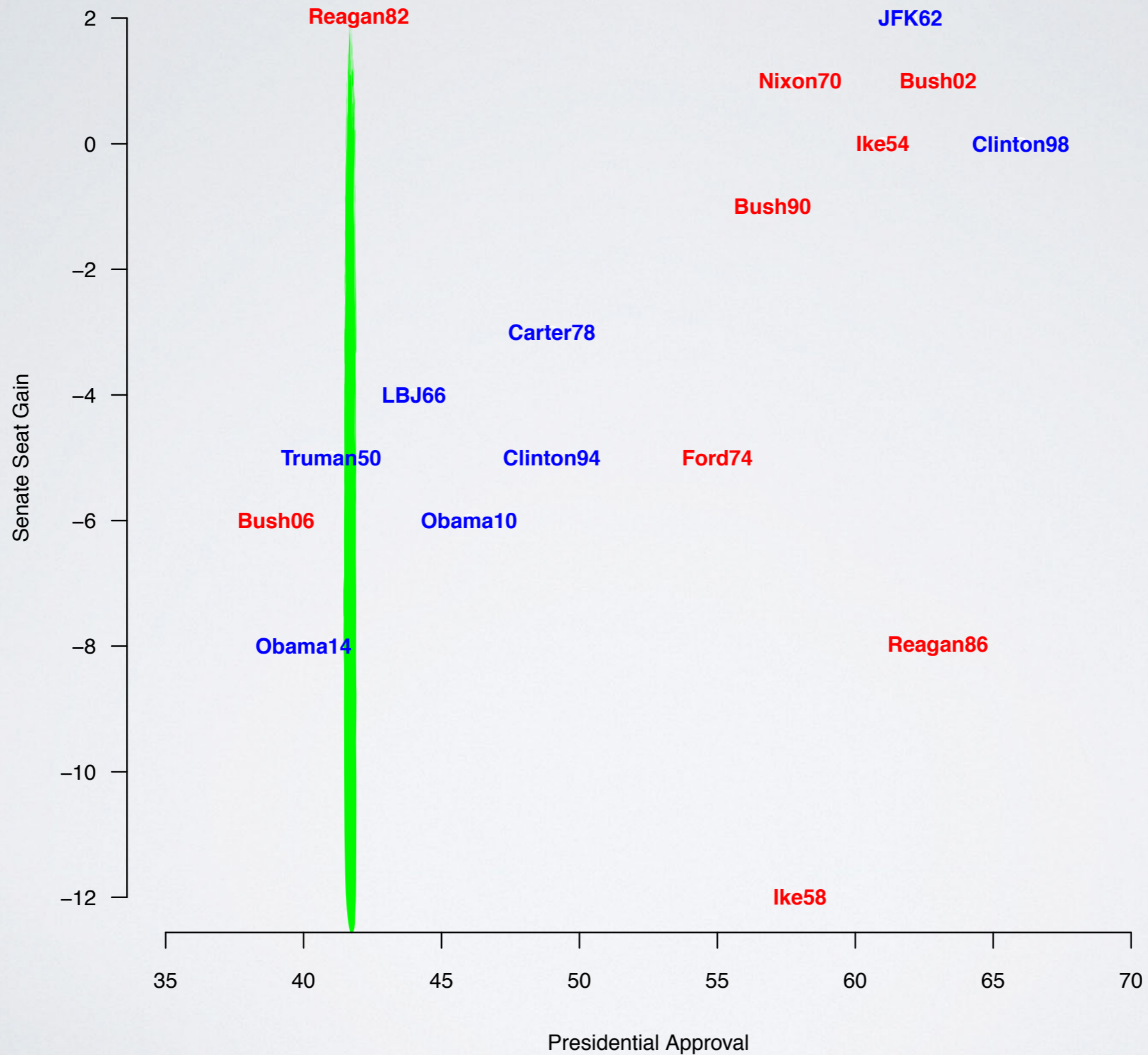
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL (HOUSE)



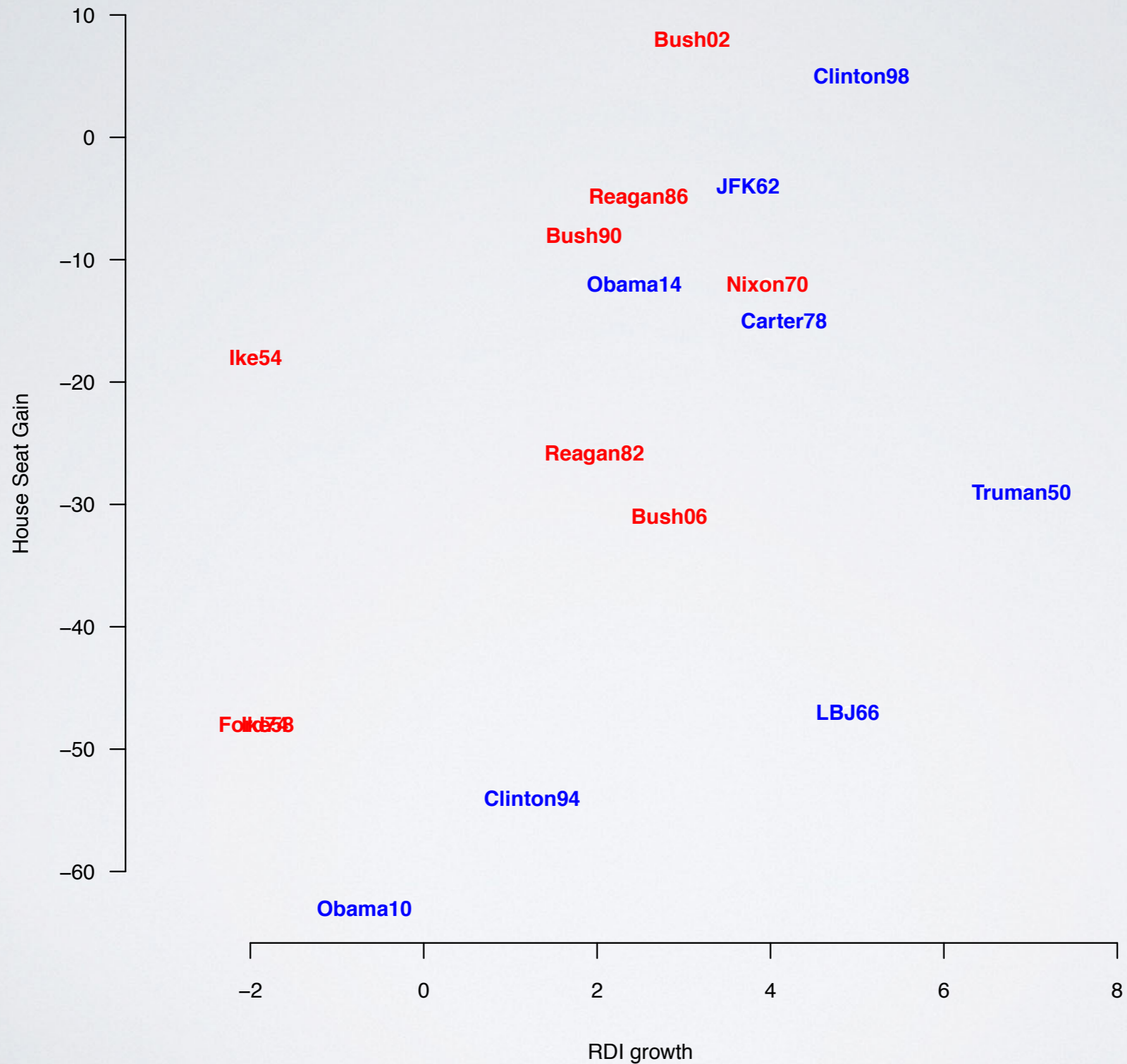
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL (SENATE)



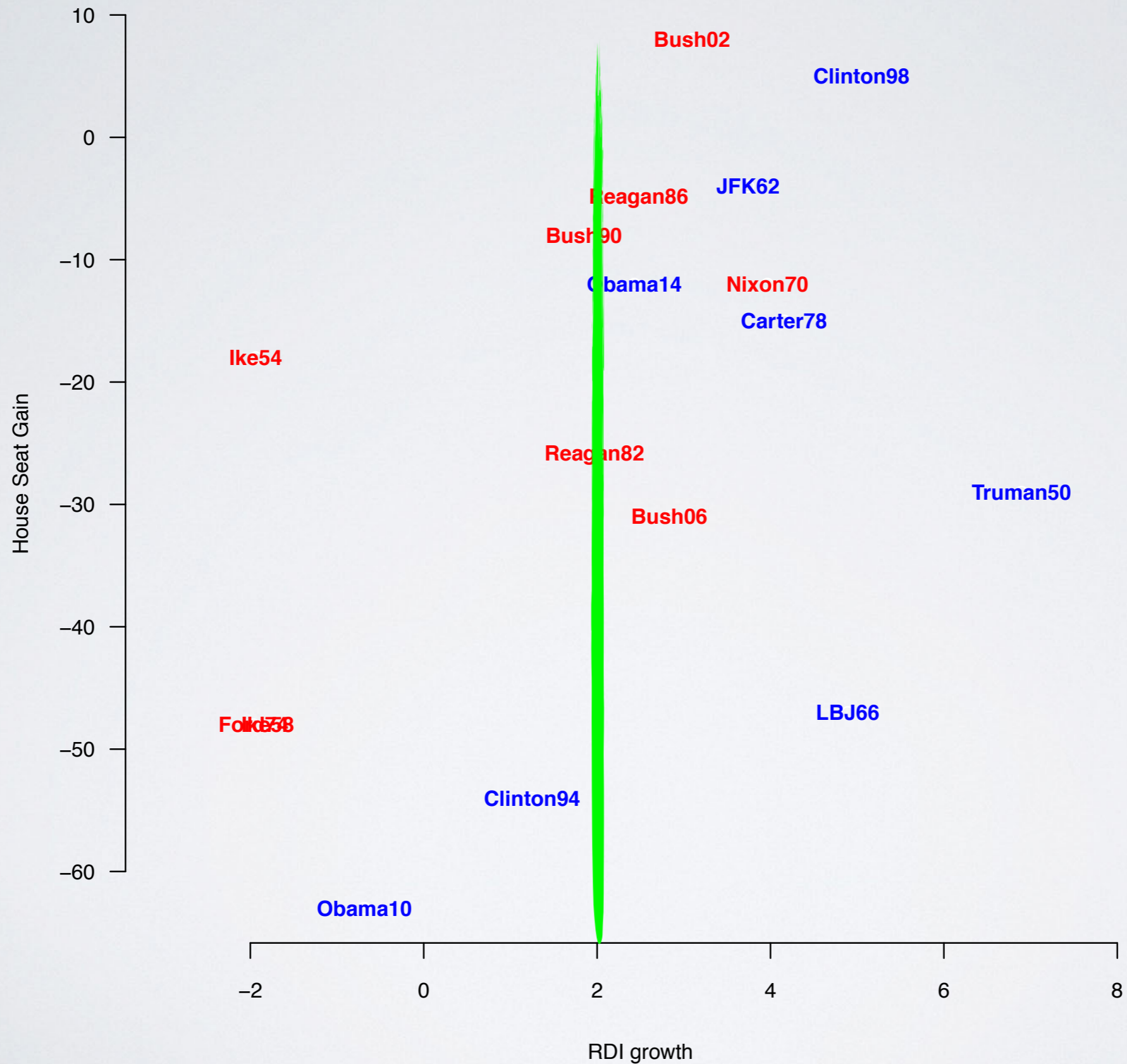
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL (SENATE)



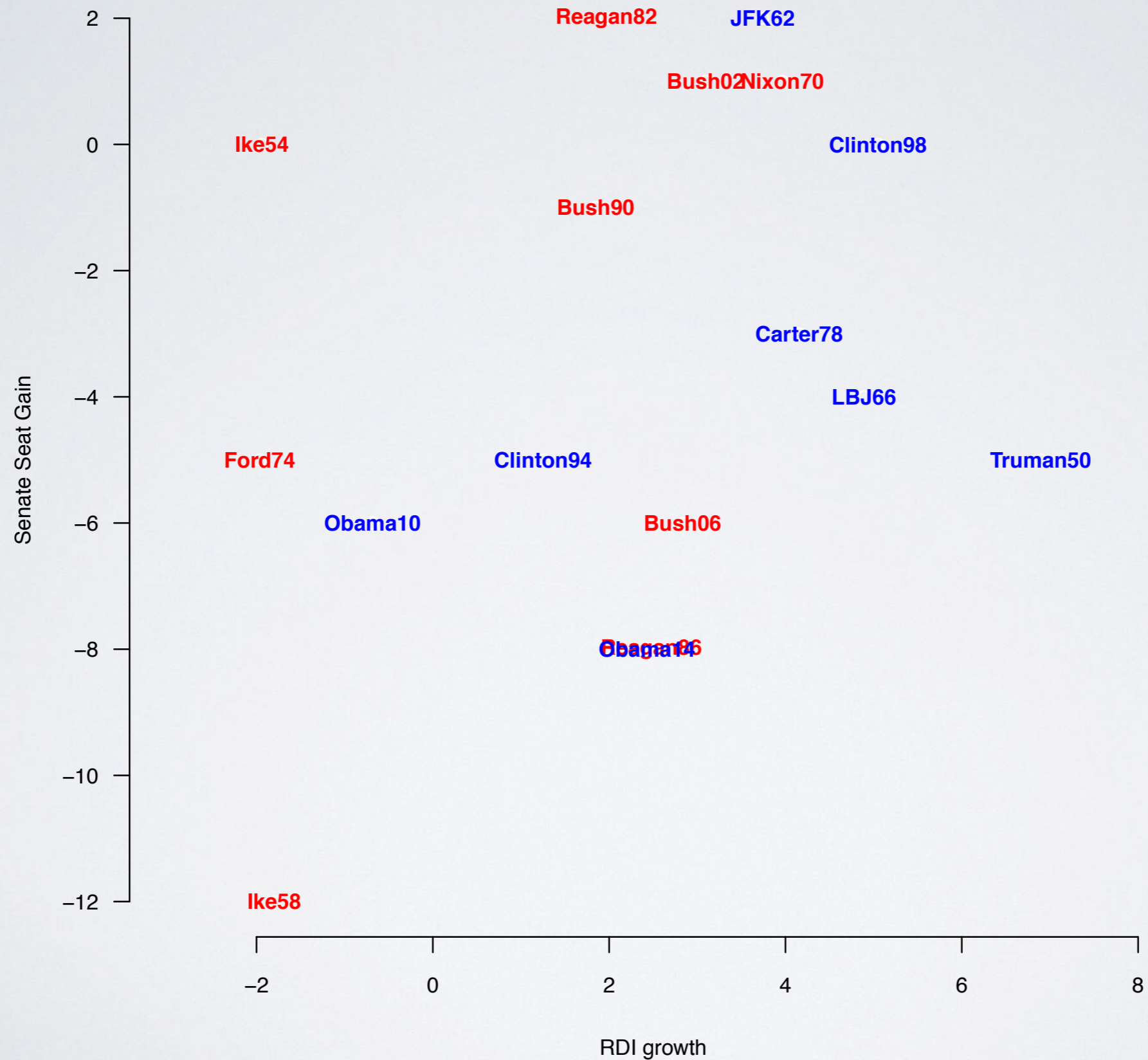
ECONOMIC GROWTH (HOUSE)



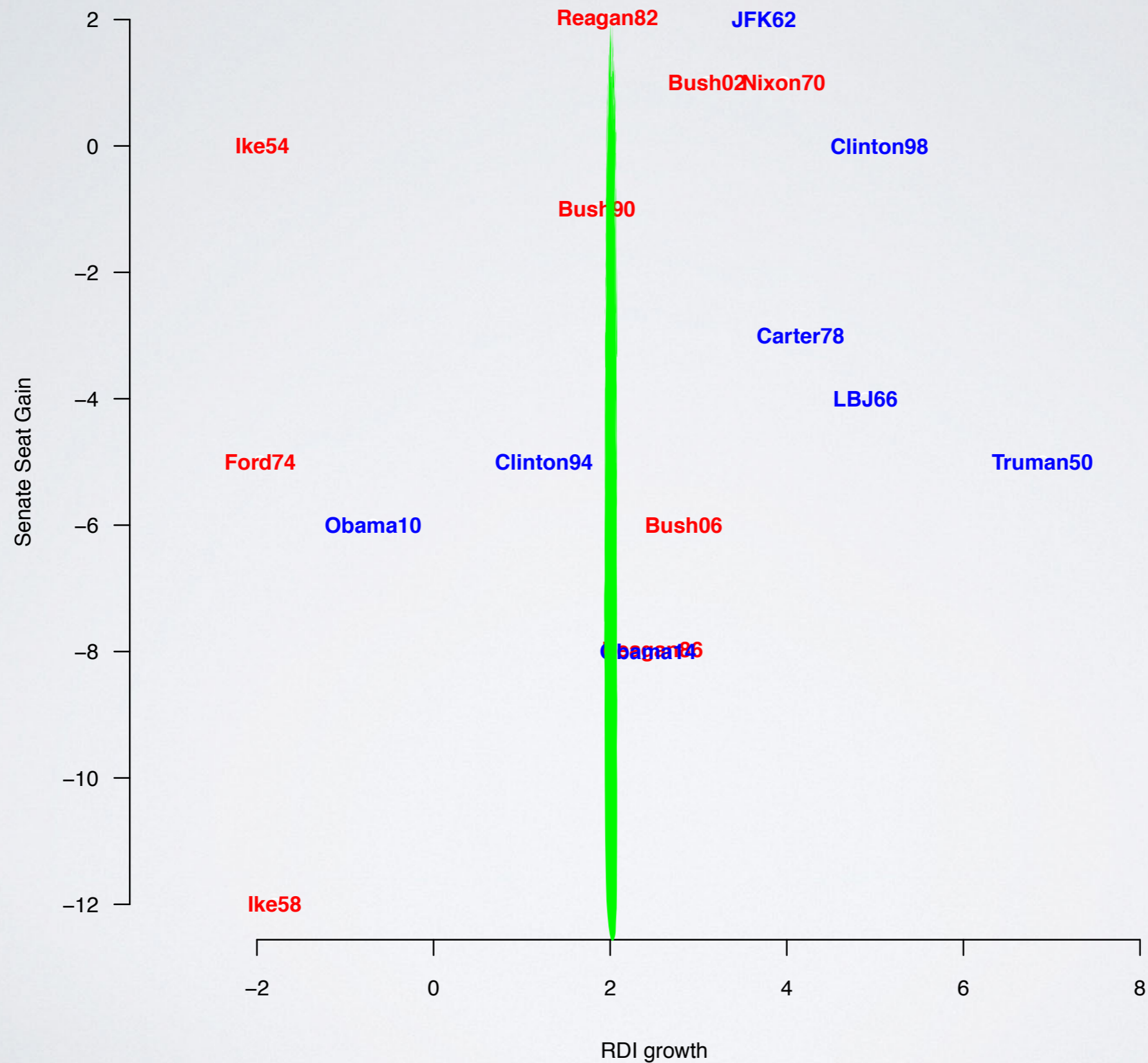
ECONOMIC GROWTH (HOUSE)



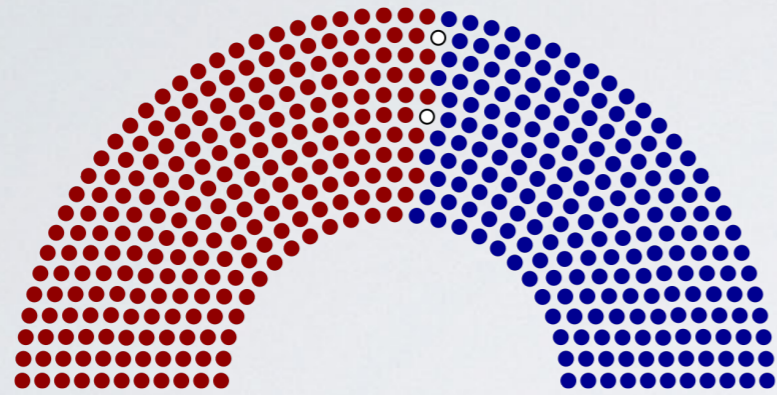
ECONOMIC GROWTH (SENATE)



ECONOMIC GROWTH (SENATE)



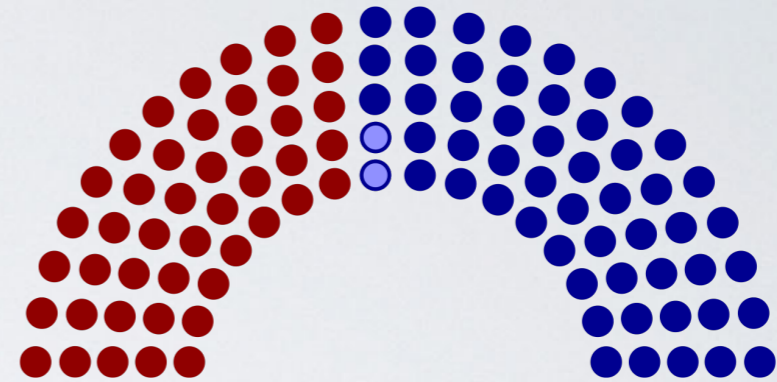
HOUSE



Currently Republican
237 to **193** (5 vacant)

Likely to take control
Many Republicans Retiring
(Including Speaker Ryan)

SENATE



Currently Republican
51 to **47 (+2)**

9 R / 24+2 D up


Possible to take control.
Harder
Impossible to get 2/3

THANK YOU

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ELECTORAL SYSTEM

FIRST PAST THE POST

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

single-member districts

multi-member districts

plurality winner

allocated by proportion.

30% of vote \approx 30% of seats

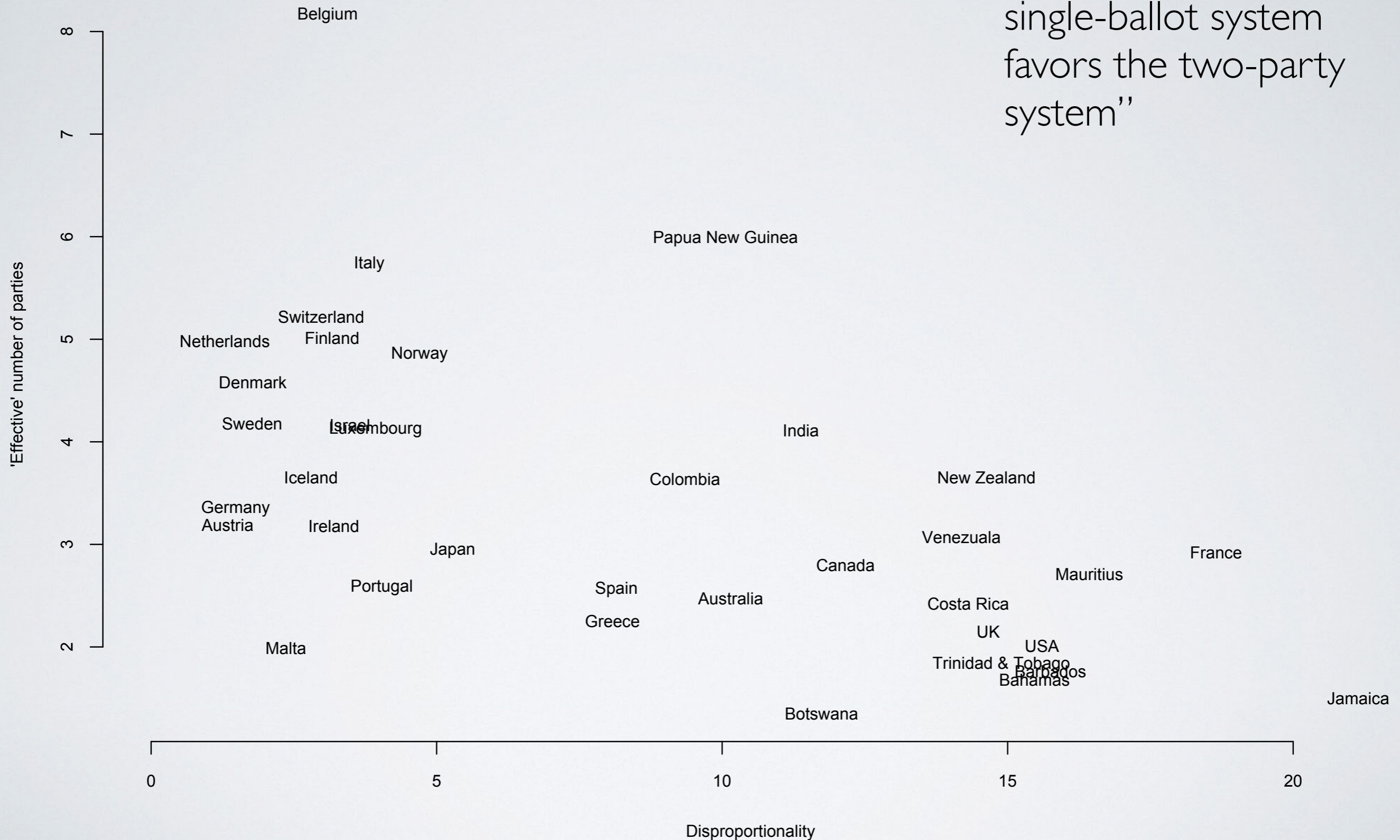
direct representation
by district

indirect representation
by party

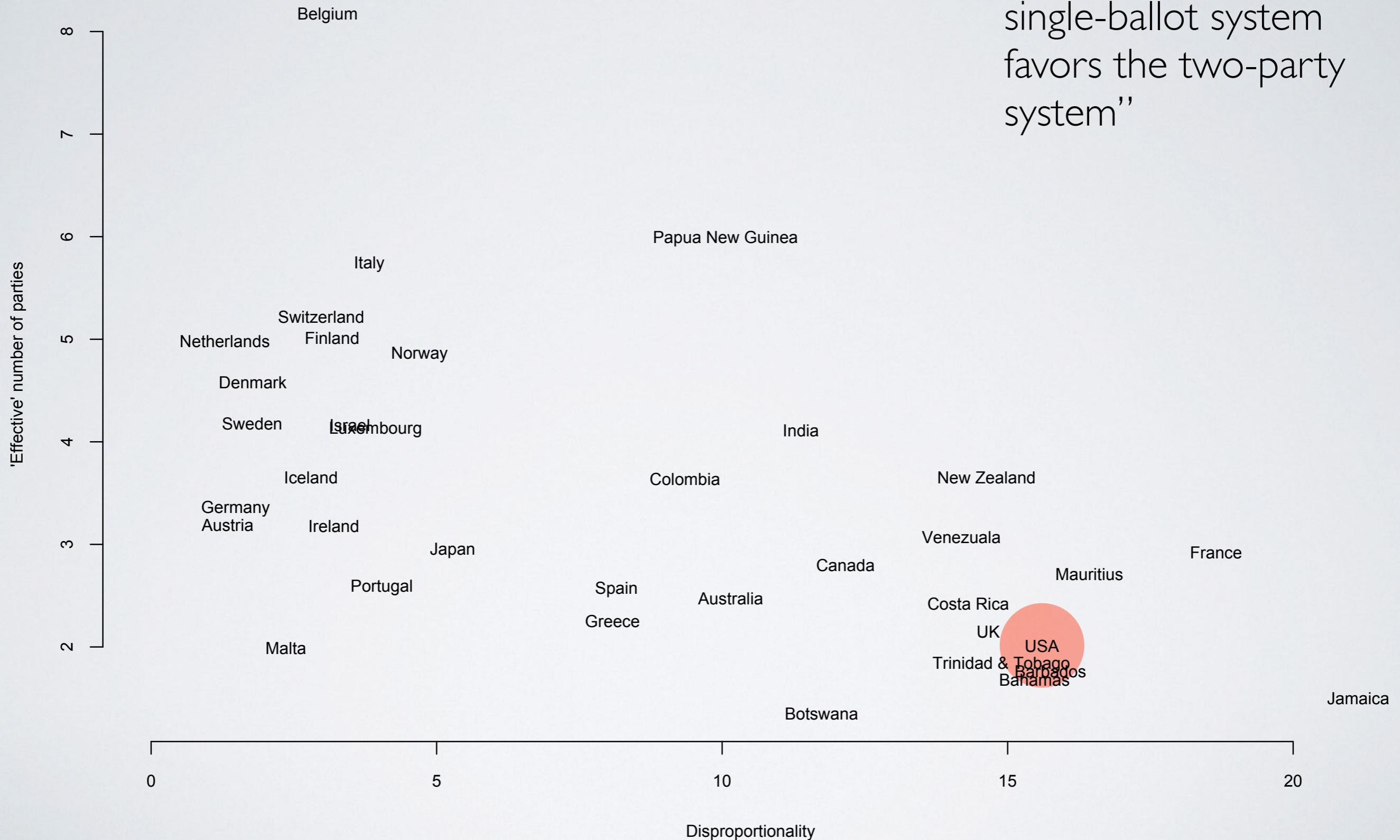
two-parties

multiple parties

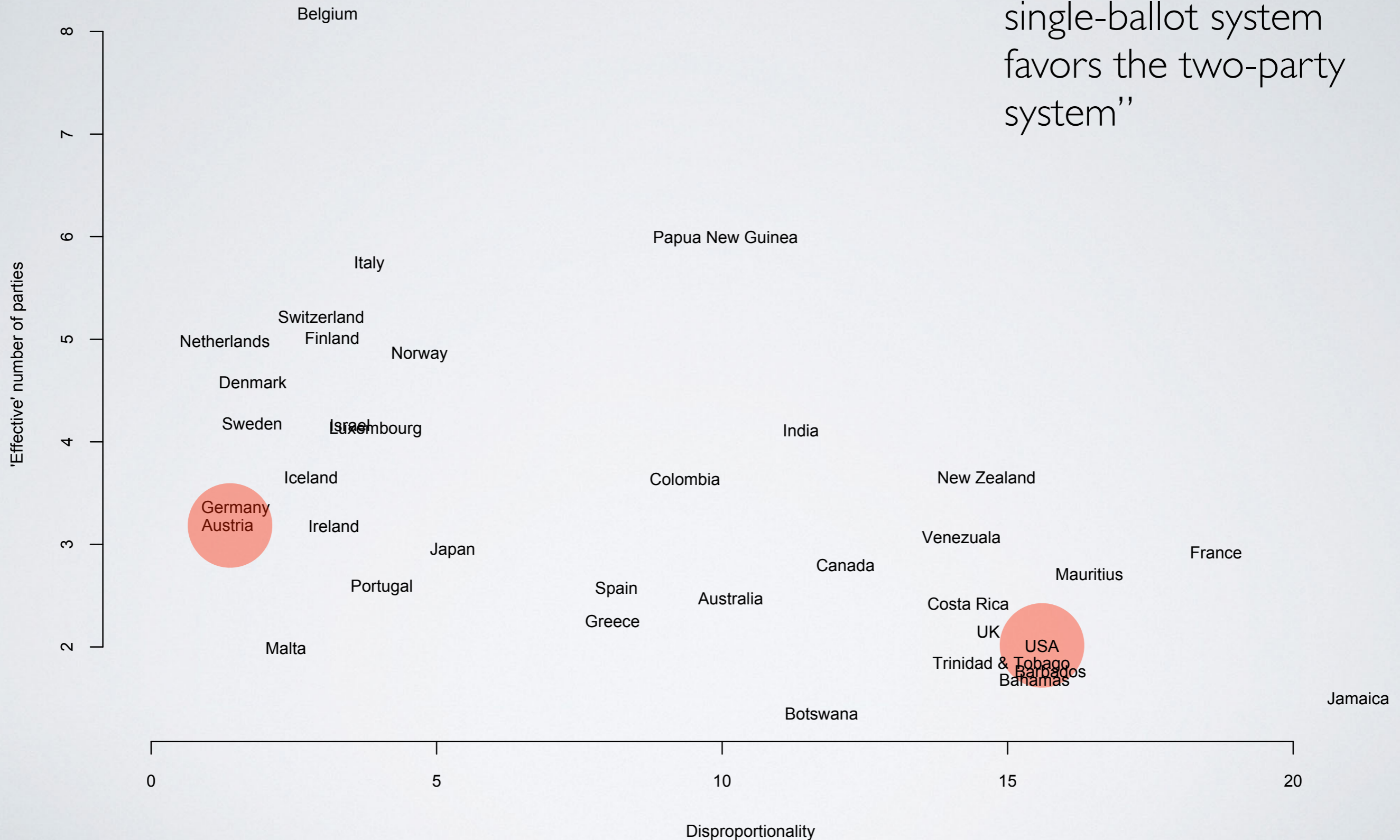
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“The simple-majority
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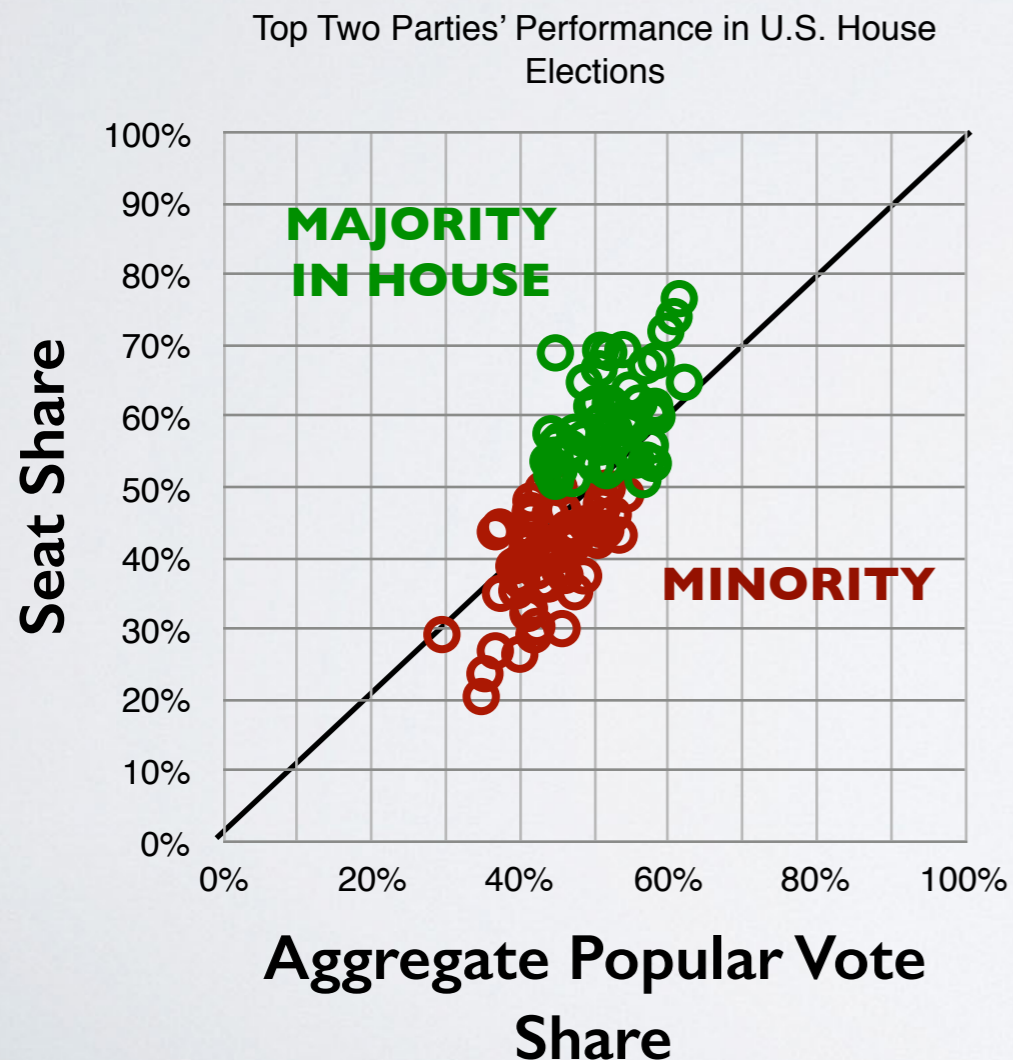
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U.S. DISPROPORTIONALITY

First Past the Post

Disproportionality at the aggregate level



Electoral College

Exaggerates Disproportionality

- Single-member
- “district” (the presidency)
- Winner-take-all for each state

