

her perspective. Although the legal norms and various exogenous conditions, such as national security, emphasized here are no doubt important for judicial decisions, institutional factors may also be at work in these cases. Justices who care about the legitimacy of the Court may be deterred in ruling against the other branches of government if they believe retaliation is imminent. Congress can sanction the judiciary through curtailing legislation, and the executive branch can choose not to enforce its rulings.

Of course, the likelihood of these threats may be determined by the degree to which the three branches of government agree or disagree over policy. Ample resources of funding or staffing, internal cohesiveness, and favorable public opinion can likewise empower Congress and the executive branch to retaliate against the Supreme Court, thus making justices less likely to rule against these political actors under such conditions. In these cases, the Court may rely more heavily on the imperative social or international context to justify expansions of executive power, rather than on the legal norms that are potentially being violated. Future studies could further examine the conditional relationship between these various factors when developing theories of judicial decision making.

Finally, researchers should use the insights provided by this book to study the exercise of presidential power over time. Have presidents and other executive branch actors moderated their actions based on the prevailing norms of executive authority established by the Supreme Court during particular time periods? Does this executive behavior change or correspond to the key cases Fletcher identifies that redefine such authority? And may limitations or expansions of executive foreign policy power have implications for the executive's domination in domestic policy areas as well?

Overall, Fletcher provides a firm foundation in *The Collision of Political and Legal Time* for answering these and other questions on which future work could fruitfully build. She provides one of the most thorough and in-depth treatments of Supreme Court cases concerning executive authority in foreign policy to date. There is no doubt that these case studies will serve as a vital reference point for students of judicial politics, executive power, foreign affairs, and American political development.

The Obama Legacy. Edited by Bert A. Rockman and Andrew Rudalevige. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2019. 320p. \$34.95 paper.
doi:10.1017/S153759271900416X

— Andrew Dowdle, *University of Arkansas*
adowdle@uark.edu

During the last three decades, Bert Rockman has produced a number of edited volumes summarizing the

legacies of presidential administrations. *The Obama Legacy*, coedited with Andrew Rudalevige, stands out as one of the most insightful works in this collection to date. One of its strengths is aptly identified in its preface. Typically, scholarly appraisals of this nature occur shortly after or even during the course of a presidency. Although that decision allows for timely assessments of an administration, the need for speed also leads to hasty and superficial evaluations. By making an editorial decision to wait until two years after the end of the Obama presidency, the authors in this volume are able to make judgments that are both measured and reflective but still relevant.

Presidents are often trapped between the expectations of their supporters and the difficult political impediments they must overcome when trying to enact major policy changes, as the Trump administration discovered when it tried unsuccessfully to get a Republican-controlled Congress to repeal the Affordable Care Act. One of the key themes of this book, however, is that Obama faced both a greater level of expectations from key constituency groups than previous Democratic presidents and a higher wall of stubborn obstacles to surmount before being able to enact needed reforms.

In part, these expectations were raised by Obama's reliance on strategic ambiguity during the 2008 campaign. As Alvin Tillery argues in his contribution to the volume, Obama often presented himself as an arbiter, not an umpire, in dealing with disputes that supporters saw as having a moral dimension. Instead of fighting consistently against systematic injustice, Obama often voiced what Tillery describes as a form of racial neoliberalism. This doctrine placed a portion of the blame, as well as the solution to the problems of racism, in the hands of the individuals who had suffered discrimination. At the same time, Obama's approach was unlikely to persuade many of those white voters who blamed most of the ills of discrimination on individual behaviors. As Tillery points out, every presidential administration had a racial legacy. However, the starkly divided public reaction to the killing of Travon Martin and the Republicans' ongoing attempts to roll back the Voting Rights Act were bound to be a challenge for a president who was a "racial insider," but who also wanted to address the country's long-standing racial issues. Tillery presents a balanced assessment of Obama's accomplishments and shortcomings in this area.

Angela Gutierrez, Angela Ocampo, and Matt Barreto demonstrate that Obama initially faced a period of uncertainty among Latino supporters during the first years of his presidency but was eventually able to overcome this apprehension. During the 2008 campaign, he started out as unknown, but was able to win the support of a growing number of Latinos over the course of the contest. Still, many Latinos became skeptical of Obama after the initial efforts of his Department of Homeland

Security to increase the number of deportations of undocumented immigrants. Obama was able to transform these misgivings into a deep well of Latino support through the passage of the Affordable Care Act, the nomination of Sonia Sotomayor to the United States Supreme Court, and his support for legislative and administrative efforts to protect undocumented young people. The resulting surge in Latino support was evident in his 2012 election and is likely an enduring part of the political landscape.

The tension between these political expectations and the ability of the Republican congressional opposition to thwart the administration's legislative initiatives did create a number of political dilemmas for Obama. Although better bargaining skills may have helped, Molly Reynolds demonstrates that Republican legislative opposition and institutional gridlock made securing an effective legislative majority impossible. In response, Rudalevige argues that after the 2010 midterm elections the Obama administration relied to a greater degree on unilateral mechanisms to implement many of the measures necessary to deliver on the president's promises to his supporters. Although previous Republican presidents had used this approach, prior Democratic administrations had been more reluctant to do so (William F. West, "Presidential Leadership and Administrative Coordination: Examining the Theory of a Unified Executive," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2006). Sharece Thrower makes a convincing argument that, although some attempts were made to promote the reach of the Executive Office, these uses of executive power fell well short of what critics charged was happening and were often less expansive than those efforts of previous presidents. Although this method of policy making had some short-term successes, it also left many of these policies vulnerable to repeal by the incoming Trump administration.

One of the most daunting challenges facing editors is the dilemma of confronting an almost infinite number of world-altering events when covering an entire presidency and its legacy while possessing a finite amount of space. Even so, more space could have been used to cover the trade-off between the administration's usage of political capital during the first two years to enact the Affordable Care Act and its inability to mount a more concerted effort to fight for a more robust economic stimulus. On the one hand, as Joe Biden was famously overheard saying, the passage of the ACA was "a big f—ing deal" of historical importance. On the other hand, an inadequate stimulus that was seen to ignore the middle class may have arguably been a factor in the decline in white working-class support from 2008 to 2012. Still, Alyssa Julian and John Graham provide a useful summary of the domestic policy legacies of the Obama presidency, especially the challenges of implementing the ACA.

Julia Azari crafts a concise chapter that skillfully summarizes Obama's efforts at building the Democratic

Party in a country with both institutionally weaker parties and growing partisan polarization. She points to a number of instances, such as the shift in control of the political group, Organizing for America, from the Democratic Party to the White House, as examples of how Obama embraced the presidentialization of this organization. Azari also addresses the cost of this approach to other officeholders and to the party's electoral future.

Because of limited space, little material explicitly addresses Obama's long-term effect on the Republican Party, such as the electoral surge and eventual decline of the Tea Party, as well as the GOP's efforts to oppose the first African American president in a country with an increasingly diverse electorate. One can argue that, with the exception of Ronald Reagan, Obama had the greatest effect on an opposition party's future direction of any president since Franklin Roosevelt. Although some of the internal changes in the GOP were caused by the failures of the Bush administration, it can be argued that Obama had less of a long-term effect on his own party than he did on the opposition, especially as the Republican Party's electoral support seems to have shifted from its traditional upper-middle-class base to a party that ran better among the white working class, particularly in the 2018 midterm elections.

In many ways, scholars have fruitlessly searched for the next reconstructive presidential regime (Stephen Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal*, 2008). Although Obama's presidency does not meet Skowronek's standards, his effect on reshaping the opposition party is certainly worthy of greater reflection. This volume presents a balanced and nuanced overview of the legacies of the Obama presidency. Even though Obama's presidency was not a reconstructive one, this volume demonstrates why it will be one whose accomplishments and failures will have an impact that will shape US politics for decades.

Rock of Ages: Subcultural Religious Identity and Public Opinion among Young Evangelicals. By Jeremiah J.

Castle. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019. 236p. \$104.50 cloth, \$34.95 paper.

doi:10.1017/S1537592719004730

— Ryan L. Claassen, *Kent State University*
rclaasse@kent.edu

Rock of Ages is the latest in Temple University Press's *Religious Engagement in Democratic Politics* series, edited by Paul A. Djupe. In it, Jeremiah J. Castle investigates one of the most pivotal groups in modern US politics, white evangelicals. Many have characterized the seemingly unprecedented level of support from white evangelicals as essential to Trump's 2016 victory. In a country where several major demographic trends favor the Democrats, the future of the Republican Party seems to be in the hands