

well to engage both mass- and elite-level politics, it also leaves room for more engagement between the two. Such questions arise as early as the first section, where the editors juxtapose Grossman's historical account of twentieth-century policy making alongside Morone's review of tribal politics throughout US history. Grossman describes a tacit agreement between Republicans and Democrats throughout the twentieth century by which governing proceeded by achieving moderately progressive ends via conservative means. That is, mid-century Republicans gradually acquiesced to leftward policy movements on the condition that such policy goals were met via marketized and private-sector-driven policies. Grossman's depiction of policy making in Congress's "textbook" era is a compelling one, but it suggests an important question that persists throughout the remainder of the book: Has Congress's shift away from this arrangement resulted from intentional changes on the part of party elites, or have congressional parties merely responded to a public with an appetite for more conflictual politics?

Although these electorate-focused chapters seem to point to the latter possibility, chapters focused on political elites are decidedly divided. On the one hand, contributions from Frances Lee and from Nicholas Jacobs and Sidney Milkis indicate that elites benefit from the theater and branding associated with partisan competition, thereby creating incentives to accentuate "polarized" dynamics. In Congress, for example, Lee argues that tight competition over majority control incentivizes party leaders to emphasize divisions between the parties. In her chapter, she asserts that such dynamics render roll-call-based measures of preferences an unreliable source of true ideological information, because many votes are not policy altering, thereby providing opportunities for electoral positioning. With respect to the executive, Jacobs and Milkis underscore how today's party conflict—and the consequent importance of centralized branding—has served to empower the president.

Other chapters on political elites, however, provide evidence that members of Congress and other elites are genuinely polarized—much like the voters who elected them. Nolan McCarty, for example, contends that partisan sorting has forced Congress into genuine, long-term gridlock, opening opportunities for state governments to pursue policy innovations instead. Here, it is the *nationalization* of America's party system that presents the largest challenges to governance, because it hamstringing state party leaders from pursuing policy stances that are tailored to their states.

This internal tension regarding the "source" of US political dysfunction—elite-driven strategy versus deep-seated cultural division—perhaps explains the uncertainty of the findings in the "reforms" section. Indeed, if the United States is to address its challenges via institutional reforms, one must first identify the most fundamental

causes of division. Can the creation of a final-five electoral system reorient politicians' incentives away from our present "duopoly," as Katherine Gehl and Michael Porter argue? Or are voters' divisions so stark that coordinating around new parties may prove prohibitively difficult, as Lee Drutman, William Galston, and Tod Lindberg seem to find?

Expecting any single book to fully answer such fundamental questions, of course, is unreasonable. However, given how well the chapters raise such questions, this volume will undoubtedly serve as a survey text for both graduate and undergraduate courses on polarization and contemporary US politics. The accessibility of the writing also permits broader engagement outside universities, as does the book's inclusion of contributors from several types of institutions.

The Unorthodox Presidency of Donald J. Trump. Edited by Paul E. Rutledge and Chapman Rockaway. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 2021. 432p. \$80.00 cloth, \$34.95 paper.
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— Alexander Bolton, *Emory University*
abolton@emory.edu

Evaluating a presidency soon after it ends is a difficult task. The full legacy of a president and their impact on the institution can take years, if not decades, to assess. This is especially true with an occupant of the office like President Trump, who brought to the White House a distinctive (to say the least) governing philosophy, style, and set of policies. Despite the complexity of the enterprise, this volume, made up of 14 short essays on different aspects of the Trump presidency, provides readers with incisive theoretical grounding and empirical insights on which they might draw to begin thinking about the Trump presidency and Trump's legacy for the institution and American politics generally.

Throughout the volume, the contributors identify areas where the Trump presidency represented continuations of preexisting trends or behavior consistent with historical practice, as well as places where there appeared to be substantial breaks with the past. This provides a great service to readers and scholars trying to identify how the Trump presidency fits into existing frameworks, as well as developments that we are less able to understand and explain through existing theoretical constructs.

The volume is divided into three sections. In the first section, Chapman Rockaway, Wayne Steger, Russell Booker, Tyler J. Hughes, and Lawrence A. Becker track Trump's rise and ultimate win in the 2016 election; they also examine the 2018 midterm elections that resulted in Democrats taking control of the House of Representatives. The contributors offer important insights into the partisan, ideological, and racial attitudes that led to support for

Trump in the election, as well as the context in which the election occurred—eight years after the election of the country's first Black president and as the US population was increasingly diversifying. The authors helpfully offer important scholarly context for Trump's approach to the electorate and rhetoric through the frame of right-wing populism in the United States and around the world.

The second part of the book features essays from Paul E. Rutledge, Rebecca M. Eissler, Jonathan Lewallen, JoBeth Surface Shafran, Heather T. Rimes, and Thomas Rogers Hunter examining President Trump's interactions with Congress, the courts, and the broader administrative state. Here the contributors provide vital data and insights into President Trump's behavior, again noting the areas of continuity with past presidential practice and aberrations during Trump's term. Notably, Trump was never able to overcome initial opposition to some of his legislative agenda and faced significant challenges from Congress during divided government. He entered office skeptical of the bureaucracy and sought to exert influence over the agencies to advance his unilateral and administrative agendas. These are familiar patterns to scholars of the presidency. Divergence from past practice emerges when we consider other aspects of President Trump's term—for example, his seeming lack of interest in advancing a coherent legislative agenda; his overt criticisms of individual judges and their decisions; widespread administrative vacancies that were slowly or never filled; and his use of Twitter to announce major policy proposals, which were often uncoordinated with the rest of the administration.

The final section of the volume examines policy-making during the Trump administration. Essays from Burdett Loomis, Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, Joshua P. Montgomery, Roy T. Meyers, Christopher Olds, and Jeffrey S. Peake examine the administration's approach to lobbying, the media and communications, budgeting, and foreign policy. Here, again, we see some indications of stability and a string of broken norms (and possibly laws in some cases). President Trump presided over increased deficits and executed military conflicts in ways that were reminiscent of other presidents. But he also shattered traditions about the norms of diplomacy, abrogated international agreements, and at the very least pushed boundaries on laws about the obligation of appropriated funds, which in part led to his first impeachment.

It is impossible to do justice to all the insights, arguments, and analysis in this volume's chapters in such a short review. However, several themes emerge that will be useful to scholars trying to better understand the Trump presidency and the institution more generally. First, the essays highlight that Trump faced familiar political and institutional constraints throughout his term that prevented him from changing politics and policy too rapidly. His legislative proposals that did not have preexisting

support from Congress foundered. His rhetorical calls to "drain the swamp" were ineffective in curbing the influence industry (and some of his actions seemed to encourage its growth).

Second, Trump was as much an avatar for extant impulses in American politics as he was an agent of change. One of Trump's largest accomplishments was the confirmation of substantial numbers of judges, but it is clear this was driven as much by Trump as the conservative legal movement on whom Trump relied to recommend candidates. Trump's rhetoric capitalized on existing opinion in his campaign, emphasizing issues like economic nationalism, racial conservatism, economic dislocation, and disenchantment with elites. These views were widely held in the electorate but not activated in combination by existing political figures to a substantial degree before Trump.

Finally, an undoubted legacy of President Trump was his breaking down traditional ways that presidents interacted with the media and the American people. Through his Twitter account and rallies, President Trump eschewed the traditional media to unprecedented degrees and presented a less-filtered, less-polished president to the American public than many were accustomed to. The broader impact of this approach on public expectations surrounding the presidency and political culture remains to be seen, but the approach was clearly one some politicians will seek to emulate.

These are important insights. Questions remain about what President Trump's ultimate legacy will be. How will his successors behave? Will they continue in his style? Will they follow his example in areas where he shattered previous expectations and practices? Or will the four years of the Trump presidency be an aberration? Moreover, scholars will be interested in Trump's impact on issues not addressed in this volume. What will be the continuing impact of Trump's behavior in questioning the results of the 2020 election and spurring the political violence that occurred on January 6 (which happened after the completion of this volume)? How will Trump's brand of right-wing populism affect the political culture of an increasingly diverse democracy? What are the impacts of Trump's unilateral approach for the future of separation-of-powers politics? Will future presidents pursue Trump's aberrational appointment strategies?

These questions will take decades of perspective to truly address, but this volume offers a fascinating initial assessment of the Trump presidency. It will certainly not be the last word as scholars attempt to better understand the impact that Donald Trump had on the institution of the presidency and American (and global) politics. As an insightful first step in this broader intellectual project, however, the book will be of great interest to students of the American presidency, interbranch relations, and presidential elections. All the contributions are clear

and well written and would be at home on related syllabi as well.

At War with Government: How Conservatives Weaponized Distrust from Goldwater to Trump.

By Amy Fried and Douglas B. Harris. New York: Columbia University Press, 2021. 305p. \$120.00 cloth, \$30.00 paper.
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— Rachel M. Blum , *University of Oklahoma*
rblum@ou.edu

Americans' trust in governmental institutions has been in freefall since the 1960s. In *At War with Government*, Amy Fried and Douglas Harris explain this decline in trust as the result of an intentional strategy deployed by political elites on the American right. Specifically, they argue that the conservative wing of the Republican Party has weaponized distrust to build and maintain political coalitions. Fried and Harris connect their research on the conservative war with government to scholarly work on parties, social movements, polarization, racial politics, the submerged state, and more, making this a timely book with relevance for researchers in American politics, sociology, and history.

The book revolves around several key points. The conservative weaponization of distrust has, Fried and Harris argue, (1) provided conservative elites with organizational, electoral, institutional, and policy benefits; (2) been closely tied to opposition to racial equality; (3) been deployed selectively to target political institutions like Congress and the presidency when those institutions are controlled by Democrats; and (4) encountered difficulties in the policy arena due to Americans' tendency to distrust government while supporting specific policies (i.e., Medicare).

The authors explore these themes in four substantive chapters that chronicle the historical rise and development of the war on government. The first is a survey of Americans' skepticism toward government beginning with the American founding and continuing through the Nixon years. Fried and Harris argue that the Republican Party's flirtation with the politics of distrust began in the 1920s, gaining steam during the New Deal era as a conservative backlash against two developments. The first was the Democratic Party's successful use of government in New Deal programs. The second concerned racial inequality, specifically the Democratic Party's role in advancing civil rights legislation. From the 1960s onward, Republican politicians like Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon began framing distrust as a racialized, states' rights issue. As Fried and Harris explain, "To conservatives, the untrustworthy state was one that dismantled racial segregation and sought to reduce racial disparities limiting opportunity" (p. 40).

In the next substantive chapter, aptly titled "Here to Help," Fried and Harris document Ronald Reagan's

artful use of antigovernment messaging as "glue" to hold together a conservative coalition of groups from Christian fundamentalists to free-market capitalists (p. 60). In this and the next substantive chapter, which focuses on the Clinton era, Fried and Harris identify two apparent contradictions in the conservative war on government. For instance, Republicans cultivated an oppositional movement based on distrust of government while pursuing or holding control of one or more branches of government. In addition, Republicans' war on government was selective. When faced with a Democratic Congress and a Republican presidency, Reagan-era conservatives attempted to establish the president's supremacy by decrying congressional overreach and peddling the unitary executive theory. In the next several decades, Republicans flip-flopped on their views of the constitutional separation of powers based on which party controlled a given branch at a given time. As Fried and Harris note, "For all their anti-government rhetoric, these Reagan-era conservatives were not against governmental power so much as they were against others exercising it" (p. 85). This contradiction features prominently in Fried and Harris's discussion of Gingrich's efforts to amplify the role of Congress when the branch was controlled by Republicans and to run against Congress when it was controlled by Democrats.

The final two substantive chapters focus on the strategic deployment of distrust during the presidencies of Barack Obama and Donald Trump. From 2008 to 2020, the war on government took an aggressive turn toward extremism and nativism. In the chapter on the Obama era, Fried and Harris discuss the Tea Party's uncompromising opposition to Obama's agenda and anger toward government. Again, distrust was the glue that held together the various members of the Tea Party coalition, from libertarian elites to activists motivated by racial resentment. In the final substantive chapter, Fried and Harris describe Trump's presidency as the logical consequence of the Tea Party's intensification of the war on government. Trump, they argue, both ramped up opposition to national institutions and to established political actors and explicitly combined antigovernment sentiment with racial resentment and economic populism in an overt effort to shift power to himself. Trump made explicit the dark underbelly of the conservative war on government: an exclusive view of Americanness in which distrust of government means opposition to the use of government power to benefit nonwhite Americans.

Fried and Harris conclude the book by considering paths toward "recovering collective memory of good government" (p. 206). They argue that the organizational, electoral, institutional, and policy areas that were breeding grounds for distrust in government can be co-opted to strategically promote *trust* in government. They also recommend elite messaging that reminds Americans that