

# *The Contemporary Presidency*

## Organizing the Trump Presidency

JAMES P. PFIFFNER

*President Trump differed significantly from other recent presidents in his management of the White House staff, domestic cabinet appointments, and relations with his national security team. This article traces the roots of White House dysfunction, particularly the lack of a strong chief of staff, the absence of a regular policy process, and the factions that fought for control of policy. It then examines President Trump's unusual approach of appointing domestic cabinet secretaries hostile to the traditional missions of their departments. Finally, it analyzes the fractious relations between President Trump and his national security cabinet secretaries.*

Keywords: presidency, Trump, White House staff, cabinet, political appointees

### Trump's White House

After he was elected, Donald Trump's instinct was to continue the approach to management that had been so successful in his real estate empire. Trump had never had to deal with a boss (other than his father) and had not managed a large bureaucracy. Thus his professional experience did not prepare him well for being president, which entails managing a vast number of organizations, delegating authority to subordinates, and coping with a fractured Congress and an often hostile press. Trump's style of management during his career in real estate was personal and informal, he told tech company executives early in his transition, "You can call my people, call me—it makes no difference—we have no formal chain of command around here" (Balakrishnan 2016). He put a high premium on personal loyalty.

His disinclination toward formal organization was reflected in his early White House, in which up to 10 staffers had walk-in privileges to the Oval Office. Experience over the past half century, however, has shown that, although several close advisors must have regular access to the president, someone short of the president must make the trains run on time, guard access to the president, and manage the policy process. That person is the chief of staff to the president (Pfiffner 1993; 2010; Walcott and Hult 2005). Trump wrote in *The Art of the Deal*, "I leave my door open. You can't be imaginative or entrepreneurial if you've got too much structure. I prefer to work each day and just see what

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James P. Pfiffner is a professor in the Schaefer School of Policy and Government at George Mason University. His books on the presidency include *Power Play: The Bush Administration and the Constitution* and *The Character Factor: How We Judge America's Presidents*. AUTHOR'S NOTE: I thank George Edwards, Terri Bimes, and Jeremy Mayer for comments on a previous version of this article.

# Contemporary Presidency

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