

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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Table of Contents Contemporary Presidency

1. Understanding the eBook Contemporary Presidency
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Contemporary Presidency
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Contemporary Presidency
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Contemporary Presidency
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Contemporary Presidency
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Contemporary Presidency User Reviews and Ratings
 - Contemporary Presidency and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Contemporary Presidency Free and Paid eBooks

- Contemporary Presidency Public Domain eBooks
- Contemporary Presidency eBook Subscription Services
- Contemporary Presidency Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Contemporary Presidency eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Contemporary Presidency Compatibility with Devices
 - Contemporary Presidency Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Contemporary Presidency
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Contemporary Presidency
 - Interactive Elements Contemporary Presidency
- 8. Staying Engaged with Contemporary Presidency
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Contemporary Presidency
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Contemporary Presidency
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Contemporary Presidency
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Contemporary Presidency
 - Setting Reading Goals Contemporary Presidency
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Contemporary Presidency
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Contemporary Presidency
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
- 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development

- Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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