

Revisiting the Administrative Presidency: Policy, Patronage, and Agency Competence*

This paper argues that we should revisit the common assumptions in the administrative presidency literature about political appointments. Specifically, it contests the notions that presidential politicization of the executive branch is only intended to enhance political control of the bureaucracy and is successful at doing so. Instead, it argues that politicization choices are importantly driven by patronage concerns and politicization of the bureaucracy can ultimately make it harder for presidents to control the bureaucracy. The paper illustrates how one might theorize more generally about patronage politics in the White House and the impact of appointments on performance.

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Recent episodes of presidential politicization of the executive branch present a quandary for administrative presidency scholars.¹ While existing work on the politics of appointments assumes that appointed positions are intended to enhance presidential control of the bureaucracy and are generally successful at doing so, at least some of these cases suggest otherwise. For example, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) was heavily politicized, employing two to three times the number of political appointees of other agencies its size (Lewis 2008a). According to recent agency evaluations by academics, Congress, and the press, FEMA's appointee-heavy management structure was driven partly by patronage concerns and created numerous administrative problems that made the agency less competent, unresponsive, and, ultimately, harder to control (Lewis 2008a; Roberts 2006; U.S. Senate 2006).

In this paper I argue that we should revisit the common assumptions that presidential politicization of the executive branch is only intended to enhance political control of the bureaucracy and is successful at doing so. Instead, politicization choices are importantly driven by patronage concerns and politicization of the bureaucracy can ultimately make it harder for presidents to control the bureaucracy. I use material from my recent book project on presidential

¹ For recent examples see the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Office of Special Counsel, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Education. For details on FEMA see Lewis 2008a. For details on the Office of Special Counsel see Lee, Christopher. 2005. "Head of Worker Protection Office is Accused of Retaliatory Transfers." *Washington Post*, January 11, 2005, A13; Lee, Christopher. 2005. "Dispute and Whistleblower Office." *Washington Post*, February 24, 2005, A19; Barr, Stephen. 2005. "Agency's Reorganization Results in Accusations, Employees Leaving." *Washington Post*, March 18, 2005, B2. For details on the Central Intelligence Agency see Pincus, Walter, and Dana Priest. 2004. "Goss Brings 4 Staffers From Hill to CIA." *Washington Post*, October 1, 2004, A4; Priest, Dana, and Walter Pincus. 2004. "Deputy Chief Resigns from CIA." *Washington Post*, November 13, 2004, A1; Priest, Dana. 2004. "Shake Up at CIA Headquarters Continues." *Washington Post*, November 15, 2004 (on-line edition); Pincus, Walter. 2005. "Changing of the Guard at the CIA." *Washington Post*, January 6, 2005, A3. For details on political intervention into personnel processes in the Department of Justice see Eggen, Dan. 2007. "Justice Department Fires 8th U.S. Attorney." *Washington Post*, February 24, 2007, A2. The politicization of the Department of Education received the most scrutiny in the Clinton Administration. See Pasternak, Judy. 1999. "White House Appoints Loyalists to Education Department Posts." *Los Angeles Times*, October 3, 1999, B10 and Jackson, Robert L. 2001. "Education Secretary Vows to Rid Agency of 'Mismanagement, Fraud'." *Los Angeles Times*, April 21, 2001, part A, 15.

appointments to illustrate how we can theorize more generally about patronage politics in the White House and the impact of appointments on performance.

The argument proceeds deliberately. In the first section I review the literature on politicization of the executive branch and explain how it focuses largely on control. In the second section I describe the patronage pressures on the White House personnel operation and describe how they work in parallel with appointment politics centered around policy concerns. In the third section I explain how politicization influences performance and why presidents politicize even when it appears harmful for performance. In the final section I conclude and suggest that more research needs to be done on the patronage side of presidential personnel politics.

Politicization, and Political Control

The most prominent academic work on the administrative presidency was written in response to actions taken by presidents Nixon and Reagan. President Nixon's administrative strategy is well documented in a number of sources (Hecl 1975, 1977; Nathan 1975, 1983; Rudalevige 2005). According to these accounts, Nixon's approach to the administrative state began unremarkably when Nixon publicly gave cabinet secretaries authority to make their own subcabinet appointments and tried to integrate appointees into the working of the White House through interagency working groups. When this strategy failed to produce the type of responsiveness Nixon desired, he adopted a strategy of centralization and politicization, first by building a White House counter-bureaucracy and then by shifting his personnel strategy. After the 1972 elections, Nixon replaced existing appointees with loyalists, inserted loyal political appointees deep into the bureaucracy, and layered appointees on top of existing structures.

Taking its cue from the Nixon administration, the Reagan administration used similar strategies to gain control of environmental and social welfare agencies. Reagan used the enhanced appointment power in the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, natural vacancies occurring through attrition, reorganization, and program cuts, and increases in political appointees in key agencies to get control (Goldenberg 1984; Rosen 1983).² Extant evidence suggests that Reagan's efforts to get control of agencies was at least partially successful at changing the ideological composition of the top executive ranks (Aberbach and Rockman 1990, 2000).³

Moe (1985a), building on the work about Nixon and Reagan, argues that all modern presidents, both Republicans and Democrats, have an incentive to get control of the bureaucracy. Presidents, he reasons, are held accountable for the performance of the whole government and respond by centralizing decision making authority in the White House and politicizing the bureaucracy.⁴ He is dubious of the responsiveness of career employees to presidential direction. Moe claims that the president is primarily a politician and is less concerned with effectiveness than with a staff structure that is responsive to his political needs. He cites the White House Office (all employees serve at the pleasure of the president) as an example of a structure that better meets the needs of the president than the Bureau of the Budget (later OMB). Moe also claims that while presidents largely inherit the basic institutional framework of the presidency, they try to make it more responsive by "manipulating civil service rules, proposing minor

² See also Causey, Mike. 1984. "Reagan's Plum Book Plumper than Carter's." *Washington Post*, May 11, 1984, C2.

³ Aberbach and Rockman 1990 show that the top managers in the upper reaches of government, both civil servants and appointees, were both more Republican and more conservative in 1986-7 than in 1970. The trends described in the piece appear to have continued into the Bush Administration. Surveys from 1991-2 confirm the trend described in their earlier work. Aberbach and Rockman 2000.

⁴ For further research on centralization and politicization see Lewis 2005, 2008a; Rudalevige 2002; Rudalevige and Lewis 2005.

reorganizations, and pressing for modifying legislation . . . to increase the number and location of administrative positions that can be occupied by appointees.”(245)

The empirical evidence produced during and after this period largely validates the importance of appointees in changing agency policies to be more in line with those of the president (Moe 1982, 1985b; Randall 1979; Stewart and Cromartie 1982; Wood 1990; Wood and Anderson 1993; Wood and Waterman 1991, 1994). Within agencies, political appointees provide an important means by which presidents control the bureaucracy and influence policy. Appointees interpret the vague and sometimes conflicting laws enacted by Congress and translate them into policy. Since agencies have multiple responsibilities, appointee decisions about budget requests to Congress, rulemaking, personnel, and the allocation of resources inside the agency can significantly influence policy. More generally, appointees monitor bureaucratic activity and communicate the president’s vision to the press and agency employees, clients, and stakeholders.

Importantly, a number of works, particularly on presidential transitions, continue to point out the immense patronage pressures on presidents (Burke 2000, 2004; Henry 1960; Patterson and Pfiffner 2001, 2003; Pfiffner 1996; Weko 1995). These works, however, have gotten less attention than has been deserved since the focus of recent political science research in this area has largely been on congressional delegation and control and whether the president or Congress controls the bureaucracy (see, e.g., Epstein and O’Halloran 1999; Ferejohn and Shipan 1990; McCubbins and Schwartz 1984; McCubbins, Noll, and Weingast 1987, 1989; Moe 1985b, 1990; Snyder and Weingast 2000; Weingast and Moran 1983). The focus on control, who has it and whether it is possible, leads scholars to focus on the aspects of personnel politics that are associated with control rather than patronage.

Does Politicization Enhance Control?

At the same time that the administrative presidency literature has been emphasizing the role of appointees for enhancing political control, however, other research has pointed out that centralization and politicization hurt bureaucratic performance (See, e.g., Cohen 1998; Dunn 1997; Gailmard and Patty 2007; Heclo 1975, 1977; Kaufman 1965; National Commission on the Public Service 1989, 2003; Suleiman 2003). These works argue that appointees are often poorly prepared for the jobs to which they are being appointed. They also stay for short tenures, impeding efforts to plan and making intra and inter-agency teamwork difficult. Appointed managers have a hard time committing to long term plans or policy reforms and career professionals are slow to respond and grow cynical after multiple experiences with these “birds of passage.”⁵ For many scholars, increases in appointees have predictable consequences. Heclo (1977) decries the adverse consequences of “a government of strangers” created by the increase in appointees. More recently, Suleiman (2003) argues that increasing numbers of appointees delegitimize the bureaucracy and impair its ability to deliver important goods and services.

The persistent willingness of presidents to keep a large number of appointees even when this might hurt performance is a puzzle. Specifically, political appointments influence not only the content of agency policy decisions but also the capacity of agencies to effectively implement the policy political actors have chosen. If political appointments lower agency capacity too much, the net effect of increasing appointments may be zero or negative since low capacity agencies are hard to control (Huber and McCarty 2004). Recent attempts to model institutional variation in the degree of executive control show that limiting the amount of executive control or finding the right balance between appointees and careerists can improve not only bureaucratic

⁵ For the existence of short appointee tenures and their impacts see Brauer 1987; Boylan 2004; Chang, et al. 2003; Heclo 1977; Mackenzie 1987; Mann 1965; National Commission on the Public Service 1989; Stanley, Mann, and Doig 1967.

performance (Krause, Lewis, and Douglas 2006) but also outcomes for the president and the legislature (Dunn 1997; Golden 2000; Hecllo 1977; McCarty 2004).

By and large, however, the literatures on presidential appointments, political control, transitions, and bureaucratic performance rarely coalesce. A widely held view continues to be that politicization occurs primarily to enhance political control and this strategy is usually successful.

Presidential Patronage

Both policy and patronage concerns shape modern personnel politics.⁶ On the policy side, presidents are confronted with a need to fill hundreds of Senate-confirmed policy positions across the government. These positions require specific skills, experience, and expertise and include positions such as Secretary of Defense or Assistant Secretary of Labor for Occupational Safety and Health or Under Secretary of Commerce for Intellectual Property. Starting with President Nixon, many presidents have employed professional recruiters to help identify qualified persons for top executive posts. The most important personnel task for the start of each administration is identifying candidates for these positions in order to fill. Each administration has produced lists of positions to be filled first. These include positions important for public safety but also usually positions that need to be filled early to advance the president's policy agenda. When presidents think about using appointments to control the bureaucracy, they think about this effort to find the right people to be in the right places. In some cases the existing number of positions is sufficient to gain control and advance the president's agenda. In others it is not.

⁶ For a good overview see Patterson and Pfiffner 2001.

Presidents also face immense pressures to satisfy patronage demands, however. Presidents importantly serve as the head of their political party. The president's choices about personnel can influence his and his party's fortunes nationwide since control over personnel provides the president a means of holding party factions together, inspiring campaign work, and lubricating the process of political dealmaking.

Politicization for patronage follows a different pattern than politicization for policy and different people and processes are involved at the White House. Modern personnel operations have responded to the two sides of presidential personnel organizationally through increasingly formal division between patronage and policy efforts. For example, one group of aides for President Kennedy headed by his brother was responsible for priority placement and patronage management. Another set, headed by Sargent Shriver, was charged with tapping "New Frontier Types" from their "egghead constituency" to direct the executive branch in a way responsive to Kennedy (Weko 1995). By the Clinton Administration the demand-supply division was institutionalized in an office called the Office of Priority Placement. In the George W. Bush Administration this job was handled by the Office of Political Affairs (Lewis 2008a,b).

This organizational division illustrates the different demands and tensions between the two operations. There is a disjuncture between the needs of those recruiting for executive positions and those handling requests from office seekers. What is demanded for the top executive slots is often not supplied through the priority placement operation. The two streams in the personnel operation can run side-by-side and only intersect haphazardly since different people are involved in the two processes day-to-day and the types of people the recruitment operation is searching for looks different from the population that worked on the campaign or state party political apparatus. The number of people who want a job in the administration

exceeds the number available but this does not imply that applicants are qualified for the specific jobs they are seeking. Presidential personnel officials play the role of traffic cop, there to ensure that the persons recommended for jobs had the competencies the position required. The priority placement operation will often recommend names of politically active people (e.g., state directors, contributors, etc.) for open executive slots but these names are thrown into the mix with those uncovered in the recruitment process.

The distinction between patronage and policy activities in presidential personnel is not to suggest that efforts to reward campaign supporters cannot influence policy or that policy-driven personnel practices have no patronage component. On the contrary, appointees of all types can influence policy outputs and patronage concerns invariably influence high level executive appointments. Rather, the point is that the patronage process revolves primarily around placing persons and the policy process revolves around filling positions. These two fundamentally different goals are managed differently and have different effects on the number and penetration of political appointments in the bureaucracy.

Theorizing About Patronage Patterns

The two different appointment patterns suggest distinct predictions about politicization for patronage versus policy. While presidential politicization driven by policy concerns should be targeted at agencies with policy views that diverge the most from the sitting president (subject to whether the agency and issues are on the president's agenda) politicization for patronage reasons should follow a distinctly different pattern (Lewis 2008; Parsneau 2007). This should be regular and predictable since presidents of both parties confront similar pools of potential patronage appointees. A sizeable proportion of this group is young, politically ambitious, has

limited experience, and what experience they do have is for the party or one of the party's core constituencies. They have worked on the campaign, for a state party, a member of Congress, or interest group. They want a job that will give them a rewarding work experience and advance their career prospects, particularly within the party or its constellation of related groups. It was the promise of such a job that probably motivated them to work for the campaign.

The pool of patronage appointees does differ by competencies, however. Since the core constituencies of the two parties are different, Democratic and Republican patronage appointees have different types of background experience and find different jobs in the administration attractive. Presidential personnel officials try to match experience and qualifications of potential appointees to appropriate jobs. The less background experience, the harder it is to find them jobs. If potential appointees have experience working for organized labor or the U.S. Chamber of Commerce or the Federal Farm Bureau, this signals competence for work in specific agencies. PPO officials use this information to recommend these persons for jobs in these agencies.

The pool of potential appointees also differs in the types of jobs they prefer. Young ambitious politically active job-seekers want jobs that will enhance their resume and future prospects, particularly within the party or its constellation of related groups and businesses. While some jobs in the administration will enhance the career of personnel from either party, other positions will be less useful helping the candidate develop the background and connections necessary to satisfy their ambitions within the party. The parties differ in which agencies are attractive given that some agencies have missions closer to the policy commitments of one party than the other. Patronage appointees are better qualified for and have more desire to work in agencies whose policy views are similar to those of the president. While almost all personnel officials note that there are more applicants than jobs, difference in competencies and views

between the parties suggest that PPO officials will have an easier time placing patronage appointees into agencies with views or policy commitments closer to those of the president or the president's party.

An Illustration: George W. Bush's Appointments

Figure 1 graphs the change in the percentage of managers that are presidential appointees in all government agencies between 2000, the last year of the Clinton Administration, and 2004, the last year of George W. Bush's first term. The agencies are disaggregated by the liberalism or conservatism of government agencies (estimates of agency ideology being determined in a 2005 expert survey).⁷ While the number and percentage of appointees increases for all types of agencies, the increases are largest for liberal agencies. The data appear to confirm on their face that Bush politicized liberal agencies such as the Department of Education, the Department of Labor, and the Environmental Protection Agency more than moderate or conservative agencies.⁸ This is consistent with our expectations given that Bush would be more concerned about controlling liberal agencies since their views are most likely to diverge from his own.

[Insert Figure 1 here.]

Somewhat surprising and more important for the purposes of this paper, however, is the data suggesting that percentages increased more in conservative agencies than moderate

⁷ Rather than attempt to identify agencies that tend to be liberal consistently, conservative consistently, or neither, I relied on the expertise of academics and Washington observers. With the help of a colleague I identified a set of thirty-seven experts in American bureaucratic politics among academics, journalists, and Washington think-tanks. We sent them a list of eighty-two departments and agencies with the following directions: "Please see below a list of United States government agencies that were in existence between 1988 and 2005. I am interested to know which of these agencies have policy views due to law, practice, culture, or tradition that can be characterized as liberal or conservative. Please place a check mark (✓) in one of the boxes next to each agency—"slant Liberal, Neither Consistently, slant Conservative, Don't Know." We received twenty-three responses to the request (a response rate of 62%), and used these expert survey responses—adjusting for the degree of expertness (discrimination) and different thresholds for what constitutes a liberal or conservative agency—to get estimates of which agencies are consistently liberal or conservative. For details see Clinton and Lewis 2008.

⁸ Some caution should be taken in interpreting this figure, however, since the number of cases is small and the difference among groups of agencies is not statistically distinguishable from zero.

agencies. When appointees were disaggregated by type, the number of Senate-confirmed appointees increased the most in liberal agencies and actually declined in conservative agencies. This suggests that the Bush Administration kept a fuller team of the most policy-relevant appointees in liberal agencies than in conservative agencies. For schedule C appointees, both liberal and conservative agencies received about the same increases (Lewis 2008b). Schedule C appointees are the easiest to use to satisfy patronage demands since they are not confirmed, lower paying, and tend not to have managerial responsibilities. This provides initial evidence that it may be easier for the Bush Administration to satisfy patronage demands in conservative agencies since the pool of potential patronage appointees is most likely to have skills and ambitions that qualify them more easily for posts in traditional conservative agencies such as Defense, Treasury, and Commerce.

Appointees, Performance, and Political Control

With concerns for both patronage and policy driving politicization decisions it is not surprising that the number of appointees exceeds the number optimal for agency performance. This is not to say that appointees are always bad for agency management. On the contrary, appointees are an important leavening agent in bureaucratic operations. Appointees can improve agency performance by counteracting inertia, bringing energy and vision, and introducing new and useful information into a stale and insular decision-making environment (Bilmes and Neal 2003; Bok 2003; Krause, Lewis, and Douglas 2006). In many agencies the existing number of appointed positions provides exactly this type of performance-enhancing influence. Most agencies have already passed the point where adding appointees will have a leavening influence, however. The history of civil service expansion, the antistatist political culture of the United

States, and presidential incentives for patronage have created a deeper penetration of appointees into the administrative state than is found in any other developed country by a large margin.

Whereas the United States employs over 3,500 presidential appointees, other developed countries have between 100 and 200 (Raadschelders and Lee 2005).

Politicization of the bureaucracy by maintaining a high number of appointees or adding appointees influences performance in two ways. It systematically influences the types of people who are selected to run government agencies and it generates hidden effects on the morale, tenure, and incentives of career managers. While appointees bring new perspectives to an agency, a broader vision, and private management experience, they are less likely to have agency experience, policy area expertise, and public management skills than their careerist counterparts. Even if appointees and careerists were identical in background and ability, the transitory nature of political appointments hurts an agency's overall performance. Appointees stay for shorter tenures than their careerist counterparts (Chang et al. 2003). This disrupts policy implementation, executive monitoring, breaks up inter-agency teams, and leaves important programs without representation in the political and budget process. Appointees are routinely given the highest-paying jobs and those with the most policy influence. When the most rewarding jobs are no longer accessible to careerists, they are less likely to stay, to invest in site-specific training and expertise, or to even choose to work for an agency in the first place (Gailmard and Patty 2007; Lewis 2008a).

If centralization and politicization hurt bureaucratic competence as these works suggest, this can create problems for control. Huber and McCarty (2004), for example, argue that politicians have a more difficult time controlling low capacity bureaucracies because these

bureaucracies are both more likely to make errors and because their lack of capacity makes it more likely that they will be punished regardless of what they do.

Why Do Presidents Politicize if it Hurts Performance?

The question that emerges, then, is why would presidents politicize if maintaining high numbers of appointees is harmful? There are several answers. First, presidents are willing to trade some competence in order to get agencies to do what they want them to do. The case of Porter Goss's appointment to run the Central Intelligence Agency in 2004 is a good example. In the summer of the 2004 President Bush appointed Porter Goss to succeed George Tenet as the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Goss brought with him a number of political appointees from Capitol Hill to help him run the agency.⁹ Conflicts quickly arose between Goss's new team and career staff at the CIA.¹⁰ Goss froze top careerists out of high level decision making and sought to put his stamp on the agency. Goss's actions created significant attrition among top career managers at CIA. The Director of Central Intelligence, the Executive Director (3rd in command), and the head of the Analysis Branch all left. In total about 20 top career managers within the agency left after Goss's arrival.¹¹ The "Gossification" of the CIA, while praised by some, was widely decried on Capitol Hill and the press as bad management that could have dangerous consequences for national security.¹² Members of Congress were divided about whether politicization of the CIA was a necessary tactic for reining in an unresponsive

⁹ Pincus, Walter, and Dana Priest. 2004. "Goss Brings 4 Staffers From Hill to CIA." *Washington Post*, October 1, 2004, p. A4; Jehl, Douglas. 2004. "New C.I.A. Chief Chooses 4 Top Aides From House." *New York Times*, October 1, 2004, (on-line edition).

¹⁰ Priest, Dana, and Walter Pincus. 2004. "Deputy Chief Resigns from CIA." *Washington Post*, November 13, 2004, p. A1; Priest, Dana. 2004. "Shake Up at CIA Headquarters Continues." *Washington Post*, November 15, 2004 (on-line edition); Pincus, Walter. 2005. "Changing of the Guard at the CIA." *Washington Post*, January 6, 2005, p. A3.

¹¹ Pincus, "Changing of the Guard at the CIA."

¹² See, for example, Pincus, Walter. 2004. "McCain Backs CIA Shake-Up." *Washington Post*, November 15, 2004, p. A2; Priest, Dana, and Walter Pincus. 2004. "CIA Chief Seeks to Reassure Employees." *Washington Post*, November 16, 2004, p. A1.

government agency or whether it was a dangerous example of bad management with potentially disastrous consequences for national security. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) called the CIA a “dysfunctional” and “rogue” agency and argued that Goss should do “whatever is necessary” to reform the agency.¹³ Generally, those members of Congress who shared the administration’s views about policy took McCain’s view. Those who opposed the administration took the latter view. Representative Jane Harman (D-CA) warned of an implosion at the CIA, and Senator Evan Bayh said, “Anytime you’ve got top people dropping like flies when we’re facing serious risks, you have to be concerned.”¹⁴ For Bush, Goss, and Republicans in Congress, however, the loss of key top-level managers was a price he was willing to pay to get control of the agency.

Second, it is possible that centralization or politicization can improve performance in the short run. For example, it can be the case that a very competent appointee can come in and improve performance as long as he or she serves in that position. The deleterious consequences of politicization on performance may not show up until later, when a second or third appointee has assumed office and the ripple effects of the politicization have played themselves out. While some programs are fortunate enough to be administered by very competent appointees, it is much less common that programs are administered by a string of effective appointees. Even agencies and programs that are able to attract top-quality appointees on a regular basis still suffer in the process. Politicization means more managerial turnover, new appointed positions often engender additional appointed positions, and the deeper penetration of appointees means that fewer high-level policy and well-paying jobs are available to career employees. Eventually, this leads top-quality people to leave for jobs where they can have more of an influence or earn higher pay, as

¹³ Jehl, Douglas. 2004. “C.I.A. Churning Continues as 2 Top Officials Resign.” *New York Times*, November 16, 2004 (on-line edition).

¹⁴ Duffy and Frank, “In Your Face at the CIA.”

discussed above. In short, politicization can be a short-term strategy for improving performance, but its long-term consequences are pernicious.

Third, politicians often conflate loyalty and competence or partisanship and competence so a very competent person who is engaging in what political actors perceive to be the wrong policy is often viewed as being incompetent. Similarly, an unqualified person who is doggedly pursuing what political actors perceive as the right policy can be viewed as the only competent person working in an agency. Former Reagan aide, Lyn Nofziger said, “As far as I’m concerned, anyone who supported Reagan is competent.”¹⁵ Therefore, when political actors talk about making appointments to improve managerial effectiveness, we should be cognizant that this idea of improvement likely includes having the “right” policy views.

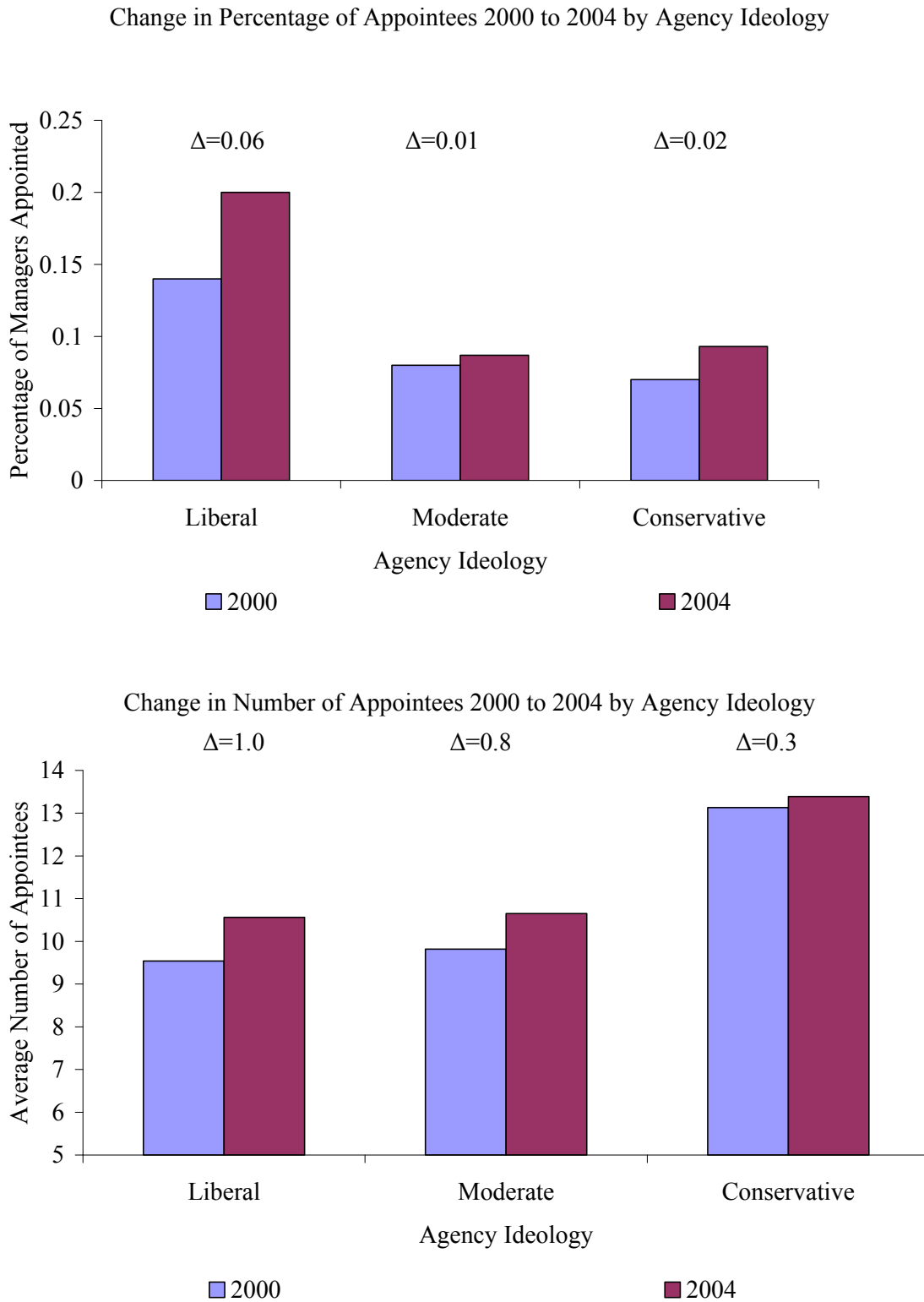
Conclusion

This paper has tried to make two points. First, presidency scholars have focused too much on politicization as a strategy for presidential control and not enough on politicization as a response to intense patronage demands on the presidency. Second, it has sought to show that politicization driven by concerns both for policy and patronage can have deleterious consequences on agency performance that ultimately make it harder for presidents to control the bureaucracy.

The case of FEMA illustrates these two important points well. Hurricane Katrina was one of the most visible aspects of President George W. Bush’s administrative presidency. Without an understanding of how presidential control strategies can hurt performance or how patronage politics influence presidential decision making, we will be ill-equipped to explain it or predict future political disasters like it.

¹⁵ As quoted in Pfiffner 1996, 65.

Figure 1. Change in Presidential Appointees 2000 to 2004 by Agency Ideology



Source: Lewis (2008b)

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