

# ANDREW C. RUDALEVIGE

THOMAS BRACKETT REED PROFESSOR OF GOVERNMENT  
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## EDUCATION

**Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts**

Ph.D., June 2000, Political Science; M.A., June 1997, Political Science.

Robert Noxon Toppan Prize for Harvard's best dissertation in political science, 1999-2000.

**The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois**

B.A., June 1989, Political Science

General and departmental honors; Phi Beta Kappa; Student Marshal; National Merit Scholar

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

### TEACHING AND ADMINISTRATION

**BOWDOIN COLLEGE, Brunswick, Maine**

Thomas Brackett Reed Professor of Government and Legal Studies, July 2012-present

Department Chair, July 2019-June 2023

Departmental honors director, July 2017-June 2019

**MILLER CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, Charlottesville, Virginia**

Nonresident Senior Faculty Fellow, September 2024-present

**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON, London, England**

Honorary Professor, Centre for United States Politics (CUSP), October 2023-present

**LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (LSE), London, England**

Visiting Professor, September 2023-June 2024

**UNIVERSITY OF LYON, Lyon, France**

Visiting Professor, Institut d'Études Politiques (Sciences Po Lyon), Fall 2011.

**UNIVERSITY OF EAST ANGLIA, Norwich, England**

Visiting Professor and Director, Dickinson Humanities Program, London and Norwich, England, July 2007-July 2009

**PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, Princeton, New Jersey**

Visiting Scholar, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics,

School of Public and International Affairs, September 2004-June 2005.

**DICKINSON COLLEGE, Carlisle, Pennsylvania**

Walter E. Beach '56 Distinguished Chair in Political Science, July 2008-June 2012

Associate Professor of Political Science (with tenure), July 2004-June 2012; Department Chair, 2006-07

Assistant Professor of Political Science, July 2000 - June 2004

**HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Massachusetts**

Assistant Senior Tutor and Tutor in Government, Lowell House, September 1997 - June 2000

Assistant Head Tutor and Teaching Fellow, Department of Government, September 1996 - June 1999

## GOVERNMENT AND POLICY EXPERIENCE

### **Massachusetts State Senator Michael J. Barrett**

*Chief of Staff, November 1991 - September 1994*

*Legislative Assistant, September 1989 - November 1991*

Served as senator's ranking assistant, supervising staff within Boston State House office and the Middlesex and Suffolk district. Conducted budgetary and issue-area research and analysis; legislative drafting; press relations and communications work; and constituent service. Served as senator's designee to Watertown and to the Allston-Brighton neighborhood of Boston. During 1994 took leave to work full-time on senator's gubernatorial campaign, as state convention coordinator and policy analyst.

### **Town of Watertown, Massachusetts**

*Town Councilor, January 1994 - January 1996*

*Charter Commissioner, May 1996 - August 1997*

Elected in November 1993 to 9-member governing body of Watertown, a 34,000-person municipality bordering Boston and Cambridge with a then-\$52 million operating budget. Chair, Committee on Rules and Ordinances; Vice-Chair, Committee on Education. Member, Massachusetts Municipal Councilors Association. Later appointed by President of the Town Council to serve on the Special Commission on the Review of the Watertown Home Rule Charter. Co-authored commission report and represented commission in public hearings and the media.

## PUBLICATIONS

### **Books**

*The Politics of the Presidency*, 11<sup>th</sup> edition, revised, with John Anthony Maltese and Joseph A. Pika (Sage/CQ Press, forthcoming). See also the 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (2016); 9<sup>th</sup> rev. ed. (2018); 10<sup>th</sup> ed. (2020); 10<sup>th</sup> rev. ed. (2022); and 11<sup>th</sup> ed. (2024).

*By Executive Order: Bureaucratic Management and the Limits of Presidential Power* (Princeton University Press, 2021). **Winner of the 2022 Richard E. Neustadt Prize honoring the best book on the presidency, awarded by the Presidents and Executive Politics Section of the American Political Science Association. Winner of the 2022 Louis Brownlow Prize honoring the best book on public administration, awarded by the National Academy of Public Administration.**

*Understanding a New Presidency in the Age of Trump*, with Joseph A. Pika and John Anthony Maltese (Sage/CQ Press, 2018). Course supplement (85 pp.)

*The New Imperial Presidency: Renewing Presidential Power after Watergate* (University of Michigan Press, 2005). **Named a Choice Outstanding Academic Title.**

*Managing the President's Program: Presidential Leadership and Legislative Policy Formulation* (Princeton University Press, 2002). **Winner of the 2003 Richard E. Neustadt Prize honoring the best book on the presidency, awarded by the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association.**

### **Edited Volumes**

*The Trump First Term: Appraisals and Aftermath*, ed. with Julia Azari and Bert Rockman (University Press of Kansas, forthcoming 2026).

*A Political Science Experiment: Comparative Politics*, ed. with Joshua Tucker (CritReview/VitalSource, 2024)

*Executive Policymaking: The Role of OMB in the Presidency*, ed. with Meena Bose (Brookings Institution Press, 2020).

*The Obama Legacy*, ed. with Bert Rockman (University Press of Kansas, 2019). ***Choice Highly Recommended Academic Title***.

*The Obama Presidency: Appraisals and Prospects*, ed. with Bert Rockman and Colin Campbell (Sage/CQ Press, 2012).

*The George W. Bush Legacy*, ed. with Colin Campbell and Bert Rockman (CQ Press, 2008).

### ***Journal Articles***

"Implementing Executive Orders in the Administrative State," with Joshua Kennedy, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 55 (June 2025): 72-86.

"Not by the Numbers: Evaluating Trump's Administrative Presidency," with Rachel A. Potter, Sharece Thrower, and Adam L. Warber, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 52 (September 2022): 596-625.

"Pandemics and Presidential Power: Executive Branch Authority in a Public Health Crisis," with Victoria E. Yu, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 50 (September 2020): 690-715.

"Continuity Trumps Change: The First Year of Trump's Administrative Presidency," with Rachel A. Potter, Sharece Thrower, and Adam L. Warber, *PS: Political Science and Politics* 52 (October 2019): 613-19.

"New Data for Investigating the President's Legislative Program: OMB Logs and SAPs," with Samuel Kernell, Roger LaRocca, and Huchen Liu, *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 49 (June 2019): 330-57.

"Beyond Structure and Process: The Early Institutionalization of Regulatory Review," *Journal of Policy History* 30 (October 2018): 577-608.

"Regulation Beyond Structure and Process," *National Affairs* 34 (Winter 2018): 93-108.

"The Obama Administrative Presidency: Some Late-Term Patterns," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 46 (December 2016): 868-90.

"Old Laws, New Meanings: Obama's Brand of Presidential 'Imperialism,'" *Syracuse Law Review* 66, No. 1 (2016): 1-39.

"Executive Branch Management and Presidential Unilateralism: Centralization and the Formulation of Executive Orders," *Congress and the Presidency* 42 (Winter 2015): 342-65.

"The Letter of the Law: Administrative Discretion and Obama's Domestic Unilateralism," *The Forum* 12 (April 2014): 29-59.

"Narrowcasting the Obama Presidency," *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (December 2013): 1126-34.

"'A Majority is the Best Repartee': Barack Obama and Congress, 2009-12," *Social Science Quarterly* 93 (December 2012): 1272-94.

"Executive Orders and Presidential Unilateralism," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42 (March 2012): 138-60.

"Bureaucratic Control and the Future of Presidential Power," *White House Studies* 10 (2010): 51-68.  
Reprinted in Meena Bose, ed., *President or King? Evaluating the Expansion of Executive Power* (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Publishers, 2011).

“‘Therefore, Get Wisdom’: What Should the President Know, and How Can He Know It?,” *Governance* 22 (April 2009): 177-87.

“The Administrative Presidency and Bureaucratic Control: Implementing a Research Agenda,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39 (March 2009): 10-24.

“Juggling Act: The Politics of Science in Education Research,” *Education Next* 8 (Winter 2009): 35-41.

“‘Worked Out in Fractions’: Neutral Competence, FDR, and the Bureau of the Budget,” with Matthew J. Dickinson. *Congress and the Presidency* 34 (Spring 2007): 1-26.

“Civil Rights and Uncivil Wrongs”: review essay drawing on *Not a Suicide Pact*, by Richard Posner, *War by Other Means*, by John Yoo, and *Guantánamo and the Abuse of Presidential Power*, by Joseph Margulies, *Foreign Affairs* 86 (January/February 2007): 148-54.

“The Decline and Resurgence and Decline (and Resurgence?) of Congress: Charting a New Imperial Presidency,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36 (September 2006): 506-24.

Reprinted in slightly different form as “A New Imperial Presidency?” in James P. Pfiffner and Roger H. Davidson, eds., *Understanding the Presidency*, 4<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> eds. (Longman, 2007-13); as “The Contemporary Presidency,” in *The American Presidency: Reference Shelf* 80:04 (H.W. Wilson, 2008); and excerpted in Cal Jillson and David Robertson, eds., *Perspectives on American Government: Readings in Political Development and Institutional Change* (Routledge, 2009).

“The Structure of Leadership: Presidents, Hierarchies, and Information Flow,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 35 (June 2005): 333-60.

“Presidents, Responsiveness, and Competence: Revisiting the ‘Golden Age’ at the Bureau of the Budget,” with Matthew J. Dickinson. *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (Winter 2004-05): 633-54.

“The Politics of ‘No Child Left Behind,’” *Education Next* 3 (Fall 2003): 63-70.

“Revisiting Midterm Loss: Referendum Theory and State Data,” *American Politics Research* 29 (January 2001): 25-46.

### **Book Chapters**

“Managing the Unmanageable: Trump and White House Decision-Making,” in Julia Azari, Bert Rockman, and Andrew Rudalevige, eds., *The Trump First Term: Appraisals and Aftermath* (University Press of Kansas, forthcoming).

“The (Unfinished) Trump Trajectory: From Voice to Retribution,” with Julia Azari and Bert Rockman, in Azari, Rockman, and Rudalevige, eds., *The Trump First Term: Appraisals and Aftermath* (University Press of Kansas, forthcoming).

“Executive Directives,” in Alan Abramson and Stefan Toepler, eds., *The Tools of Governance*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

“The Meaning of the 2024 Election: Reality Check,” in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Elections of 2024* (University of Virginia Press, 2025).

“‘Hand to Hand Combat’: Bureaucratic Politics and National Security,” in Sarah E. Kreps and Douglas Kriner, eds., *Checking the Costs of War: Sources of Accountability in Post-9/11 U.S. Foreign Policy* (University of Chicago Press, 2025).

"Obama's Domestic Policymaking and the Administrative Presidency," in Meena Bose and Paul Fritz, eds., *Evaluating the Obama Presidency: From Transformational Goals to Governing Realities* (De Gruyter, 2024).

"'On My Own': George W. Bush, the Unitary Executive, and Unilateral Action," in Michael Nelson and Barbara Perry, eds., *43: The Presidency of George W. Bush* (University Press of Kansas, 2022).

"Presidents and Midterm Loss," in Patrick Andelic, Mark McLay, and Robert Mason, eds., *Midterms and Mandates: Electoral Reassessment of Presidents and Parties* (Edinburgh University Press, 2022).

"The Meaning of the 2020 Election: Fundamentally Divided," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Elections of 2020* (University of Virginia Press, 2021).

"The Crossroads of Impeachment: The Threat of Removal and the Separation of Powers," in Michael Nelson and Barbara Perry, eds., *The Presidency: Constitutional Crossroads* (University of Virginia Press/Miller Center, 2021).

"Barack Obama and the Administrative Presidency: Finding New Meaning in Old Laws," in Francois de Chantal, ed., *Obama's Fractured Legacy: The Politics and Policies of an Embattled Presidency* (Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

"Projects Worth the Price: OMB and the Central Clearance of Legislation and Executive Orders," in Meena Bose and Andrew Rudalevige, eds., *Executive Policymaking: The Role of OMB in the Presidency* (Brookings Institution Press, 2020).

"The Presidency and Unilateral Power: A Taxonomy," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 12<sup>th</sup> ed. (CQ Press/Sage, 2020).

[Earlier versions appeared in the 11<sup>th</sup> (2018), 10<sup>th</sup> (2013) and 9<sup>th</sup> (2009) editions.]

"'Executive Orders and Other Unilateral Presidential Directives Undermine Democracy': The Case Against," in Richard Ellis and Michael Nelson, eds., *Debating the Presidency: Conflicting Perspectives on the American Executive*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Sage/CQ Press, 2020).

[An earlier version appeared in the 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (2017).]

"Obama and the Unilateral Presidency: Imperial or Imperiled?" in Bert A. Rockman and Andrew Rudalevige, eds., *The Obama Legacy* (University Press of Kansas, 2019).

"Obama's 'Long Sweep' and the Fragility of Legacy," with Bert A. Rockman, in Rockman and Rudalevige, eds., *The Obama Legacy* (University Press of Kansas, 2019).

"Process with Caution: The Insufficiency of Early Executive Action," in Michael Nelson, Jeffrey L. Chidester, and Stefanie Georgakis Abbott, eds., *Crucible: The President's First Year* (University of Virginia Press, 2018).

"The Meaning of the 2016 Election: The President as Minority Leader," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Elections of 2016* (Sage/CQ Press, 2017).

"Constitutional Structure, Political History, and the Invisible Congress," in Gary J. Schmitt, Joseph M. Bessette, and Andrew E. Busch, eds., *The Imperial Presidency and the Constitution* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

"George W. Bush's Administrative Presidency: Unilateral Action and the 'Unitary Executive Branch,'" in Meena Bose, ed., *The George W. Bush Presidency: The Constitution, Politics, and Policy Making* (Nova Publishers, 2016).

"The Broken Places: The Clinton Impeachment and American Politics," in Michael Nelson, Barbara A. Perry, and Russell L. Riley, eds., 42: *Inside the Presidency of Bill Clinton* (Cornell University Press, 2016).

"The Imperial Presidency in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," in Maxmillian Angerholzer III, James Kitfield, Norman Ornstein, and Stephen Skowronek, eds., *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Center for the Study of the Presidency and Congress, 2016).

"Presidential Authority in a Separated System," in Raymond J. La Raja, ed., *New Directions in American Politics* (Routledge, 2013).

"'Hail, Gridlock?': Hamiltonian Energy, Madisonian Institutions, and American Dissensus," in Iwan Morgan and Philip Davies, eds., *Broken Government? American Politics in the Obama Era* (University of London Press/Brookings Institution Press, 2012).

"Obama et le Congrès: Un Chantier Inachevé" ["Obama and Congress: A Work in Progress"], trans. Alix Meyer, in Olivier Richomme and Vincent Michelot, eds., *Le bilan d'Obama* [*The Obama Balance-Sheet*] (Presses de Sciences-Po, 2012).

"Rivals, or a Team? Staffing and Issue Management in the Obama Administration," in Bert A. Rockman, Andrew Rudalevige, and Colin Campbell, eds., *The Obama Presidency: Appraisals and Prospects* (CQ Press, 2012).

"Introduction: A Counterfactual Presidency," with Bert A. Rockman, in Rockman, Andrew Rudalevige, and Colin Campbell, eds., *The Obama Presidency: Appraisals and Prospects* (CQ Press, 2012).

"Unilateral Powers of the Presidency," in Michael Nelson, ed., *Guide to the Presidency*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (CQ Press, 2012). [An earlier version appeared in the 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (2007).]  
Reprinted in CQ Press reference volume *The Powers of the Presidency*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Sage, 2013).

"Government in a Box: Challenges of Policy Implementation in the American System," in Frederick Hess and Andrew Kelly, eds., *Carrots, Sticks, and the Bully Pulpit: Lessons from a Half-Century of Federal Efforts to Improve America's Schools* (Harvard Education Press, 2011).

"Rating Bush," in Iwan Morgan and Philip Davies, eds., *Assessing George W. Bush's Legacy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

"The Crisis Speech and Other Landmark Addresses: Managing Speechwriting and Decision-making," in Michael Nelson and Russell L. Riley, eds., *The President's Words: Speeches and Speechwriting in the Modern White House* (University Press of Kansas, 2010).

"George W. Bush and the Imperial Presidency," in Mark Rozell and Gleaves Whitney, eds., *Testing the Limits: George W. Bush and the Imperial Presidency* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

"Diminishing Returns: George W. Bush and Congress," in Robert Maranto, Tom Lansford, and Jeremy Johnson, eds., *Judging Bush* (Stanford University Press, 2009).

"The Imperial Presidency vs. The Hill," in James A. Thurber, ed., *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

"Structure and Science in Federal Education Research," in Frederick M. Hess, ed., *When Research Matters* (Harvard Education Press, 2008).

"Marking the Boundaries: The Advantages and Dangers of a 'Unitary Executive,'" in Pierre Lagayette, ed., *L'empire de l'exécutif* [*The Empire of the Executive*] (Presses Universitaires de Paris-Sorbonne, 2007).

“‘The Decider’: Issue Management in the Bush White House,” in Colin Campbell, Bert A. Rockman, and Andrew Rudalevige, eds., *The George W. Bush Legacy* (CQ Press, 2008).

“Legacies and Leadership in Context,” with Colin Campbell and Bert A. Rockman, in Campbell, Rockman, and Rudalevige, eds., *The George W. Bush Legacy* (CQ Press, 2008).

“Inventing the Institutional Presidency: Entrepreneurship and the Rise of the Bureau of the Budget, 1939-1949,” in Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman, eds., *Formative Acts: American Politics in the Making* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

“Opportunity Costs: The Politics of Federal Student Loans,” in Frederick M. Hess, ed., *Footing the Tuition Bill* (American Enterprise Institute Press, 2007).

“Adequacy, Accountability, and the Impact of the No Child Left Behind Act,” in Martin West and Paul E. Peterson, eds., *School Money Trials: The Legal Pursuit of Educational Adequacy* (Brookings Institution Press, 2007).

“George W. Bush and Congress: New Term, New Problems – Same Results?” in Robert Maranto, Douglas M. Brattebo, and Tom Lansford, eds., *The Second Term of George W. Bush: Prospects and Perils* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

“Cabinet Government, American Style,” in Richard Ellis and Michael Nelson, eds., *Debating the Presidency: Conflicting Perspectives on the American Executive* (CQ Press, 2006).

“The Executive Branch and the Legislative Process,” in Joel D. Aberbach and Mark A. Peterson, eds., *Institutions of American Democracy: The Executive Branch* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

“The President and the Cabinet,” in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (CQ Press, 2005).

“‘No Child Left Behind’: Forging a Congressional Compromise,” in Paul Peterson and Martin West, eds., *No Child Left Behind? The Politics and Practice of School Accountability* (Brookings Institution Press, 2003).

“Presidential Management and the Politicized Presidency: Reagan and Centralization,” in Richard S. Conley, ed., *Reassessing the Reagan Presidency* (University Press of America, 2003).

### ***Other Essays and Reviews***

Regular postings on the presidency, bureaucracy, public policy, and political happenings as mastheaded “occasional contributor” to the political science blog *The Monkey Cage* and its successor *Good Authority*, 2010-present. The blog was part of *The Washington Post* from September 2013 through December 2022: posts from that time are available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/people/andrew-rudalevige>, and posts from *Good Authority*, launched September 2023, are available at <https://goodauthority.org/>.

“Founding Principles,” fifteen-part video series on the structure and practice of American government, released 2015 and 2016. Broadcast on Maine public television (MPBN) starting in August 2016 and adopted as a featured national PBS “LearningMedia” web resource in fall 2017.

See <http://www.bowdoin.edu/founding-principles/> and <https://mainepublic.pbsllearningmedia.org/collection/founding-principles-american-governance-in-action/>

“U.S. War Powers: Time for Reform,” with Oona Hathaway and Tom Campbell. Report of the Princeton Initiative on Restoring the Constitutional Powers of Congress, March 2024; published as a *Yale Law & Economics* research paper, July 2024.

"Review of *No Blank Check: The Origins and Consequences of Public Antipathy Towards Presidential Power*, by Andrew Reeves and Jon C. Rogowski, *Congress & the Presidency* 51, no. 1 (2024): 118-20.

"Foreword," in Charles U. Zug, *Dwight Eisenhower and the Federal Highway Act* (Univ. Press of Kansas, 2024).

"The United States of America," in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events*, 2022 (Chadwyck, 2023).

"A President's Day Pop Quiz," *The Monkey Cage* newsletter (February 20, 2023)

"Review of *The Toddler-in-Chief: What Donald Trump Teaches Us About the Modern Presidency*, by Daniel Drezner, *The Forum* 20 (2022): 223-25.

"The United States of America," in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events*, 2021 (Chadwyck, 2022).

"Authorizing Military Force, Twenty Years After 9/11," *Bipartisan Policy Review*, Cornell University Institute of Politics and Global Affairs (March 2022): 22-26.

"Not On My Own: The Delights of Interdisciplinarity in Studying Bureaucratic Politics," *Notice & Comment*, a blog of the *Yale Journal on Regulation* (January 17, 2022).

"The United States of America," in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events*, 2020 (Chadwyck, 2021).

"Review of *Clinton's Elections: 1992, 1996, and the Birth of a New Era of Governance*, by Michael Nelson, *Perspectives on Politics* 18 (December 2020): 1229-30.

"The Ruling Passion of the Noblest Minds," and "The Importance of Presidential Archives to the Citizens of a Republic," essays in the forum on "Ex-Presidents and the Republic They Served," *Cato Unbound: A Journal of Debate* (November 25 and December 4, 2020).

"The United States of America," in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events*, 2019 (Chadwyck, 2020).

"A Small Step in the Right Direction: Congress, Trump, and the Inspectors General," *PEX Network* (Presidents, Executives, and Cabinet Politics Research Group Blog), Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil (June 16, 2020).

"Review of *The Dual Executive: Unilateral Orders in a Separated and Shared Power System*, by Michelle Belco and Brandon Rottinghaus," *Journal of American Studies* 53 (November 2019): A71.

"The United States of America," in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events*, 2018 (Chadwyck, 2019).

"Bending the Discipline: A Review of *Bending the Rules*, by Rachel A. Potter," *Notice & Comment*, blog of the *Yale Journal on Regulation* (August 7, 2019).

"Review of *The Impossible Presidency: The Rise and Fall of America's Highest Office*, by Jeremi Suri," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 48 (December 2018): 869-70.

"The United States of America," in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events*, 2017 (Chadwyck, 2018).

"Review of *Investigating the President: Congressional Checks on Presidential Power*, by Douglas L. Kriner and Eric Schickler," *Political Science Quarterly* 133 (Summer 2018): 359-61.

"President Trump Couldn't Pass Obamacare Repeal. This is Why," *Washington Post* (March 24, 2017). *Monkey Cage* post reprinted in Ryan Emenaker and James A. Morone, *Current Debates in American Government*, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> eds. (Oxford University Press, 2018 and 2022.)



"Review of *Calling the Shots: The President, Executive Orders, and Public Policy*, by Daniel P. Gitterman," *Congress and the Presidency* 44 (2017): 401-02.

"The United States of America," in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events, 2016* (Chadwyck, 2017).

"Battleground States: Maine's 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District," *The Cook Political Report* (October 18, 2016).

"The United States of America," in *The Annual Register: A Record of World Events, 2015* (Chadwyck, 2016).

"Historians Re-enter Presidential Studies," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (December 4, 2015): B17.

"Review of *Prisoners of the White House*, by Kenneth Walsh," *Party Politics* 21 (September 2015): 834-35.

"Review of *Take Up Your Pen: Unilateral Presidential Directives in American Politics*, by Graham G. Dodds," *Review of Politics* 76 (Fall 2014): 705-08.

"Review of *The Wartime President*, by William G. Howell, Saul P. Jackman, and Jon C. Rogowski," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 44 (September 2014): 562-64.

"The Violence of Faction," *Washington Post* (October 16, 2013).

"Review of *The Republican Party and American Politics from Hoover to Reagan*, by Robert Mason," *History* 98 (July 2013): 492-94.

"An Arranged Marriage: A Review of *Ike and Dick: Portrait of a Strange Political Marriage*, by Jeffrey Frank," *The Washington Monthly* (January/February 2013).

"Review of *The Performance of Politics: Obama's Victory and the Democratic Struggle for Power*, by Jeffrey C. Alexander," *Journal of American Studies* 46 (May 2012): E41.

"Weakness and Wisdom: A Review of *In My Time*, by Dick Cheney, and *Known and Unknown*, by Donald Rumsfeld," *The Forum* 10, Issue 1 (May 2012).

"Bribery, Blackmail, and Implementation: Thoughts on Federal Education Policy," *Education Week* 31, no. 30 (May 1, 2012).

"Review of *Angler: The Cheney Vice Presidency*, by Barton Gellman," *The Historian* 72 (Winter 2010): 923-4.

"Review of *The Discretionary President: The Promise and Peril of Executive Power*, by Benjamin A. Kleinerman," *Congress and the Presidency* 37 (September 2010): 328-30.

"Review of *The Myth of Presidential Representation*, by B. Dan Wood," *Political Science Quarterly* 125 (Fall 2010): 511-13.

"The Obama Administration: What Can Social Science Offer?", delivered at a roundtable of the Academy of Social Sciences, London, and published in *21<sup>st</sup> Century Society* 4 (November 2009): 319-45.

Reprinted in abridged form in *European Political Science* 9 (Spring 2010): 244-58.

"Review of *Presidents Creating the Presidency: Deeds Done in Words*, by Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson," *Political Science Quarterly* 124 (Summer 2009): 347-49.

"A Wake-Up Call for the 111<sup>th</sup> Congress," *NiemanWatchdog.org*, Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University (February 4, 2009).

Reprinted in Stanley M. Brand and Lance Cole, eds., *Congressional Investigations and Oversight: Cases and Materials* (Carolina Academic Press, 2011).

"Review of *Presidential Secrecy and the Law*, by Robert M. Pallitto and William G. Weaver," *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (March 2008): 181-82.

"Review of *Balance of Forces: Separation of Powers Law in the Administrative State*, by Harold H. Bruff," *Congress and the Presidency* 34 (Fall 2007): 81-82.

"Review of *The America That Reagan Built*, by J. David Woodard," *Political Science Quarterly* 122 (Fall 2007): 492-93.

"A To-Do List for the 110<sup>th</sup> Congress," *NiemanWatchdog.org*, Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University (November 8, 2006).

"Imperial Presidency, Invisible Congress," *NiemanWatchdog.org*, Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University (November 15, 2005).

"Reform, or Séance? Seeking the 'Spirit' of NCLB," *Teachers College Record* (August 10, 2005).

"Governance and the Nixon Administrative Legacy": review essay on *Empowering the White House: Governance under Nixon, Ford, and Carter*, by Karen M. Hult and Charles E. Walcott, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 15 (January 2005): 167-70.

"Domestic Policy," essay for *The Presidency in Action*, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, *AmericanPresident.org*, last updated August 2004.

"What Should the President Know and When Should He Know It? Hierarchy and the Study of the Institutional Presidency," *Presidency Research Group Report* 26 (Fall 2003).

"Political Parties," with John H. Fenton, essay-length entry in *Encyclopedia Americana* (Grolier, 2003) and on-line *Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*.

"Review of *Vicious Cycle: Presidential Decision Making in the American Political Economy*, by Constantine J. Spiliotes," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 32 (December 2002): 828-30.

"Accountability and Avoidance in the Bush Education Plan," Program on Education Policy and Governance, JFK School of Government, Harvard University, Working Paper PEPG/02-12, June 2002.

"Review of *Good Advice: Information and Policy Making in the White House*, by Daniel E. Ponder," *American Political Science Review* 95 (March 2001): 218-219.

## PAPERS AND PRESENTATIONS

### *Conference Papers*

- "Putting Neutral Competence to the Test: OMB in the Trump Years," with Matthew J. Dickinson, paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2025.
- "Meanings and Mandates in the 2024 Election," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Keele University, England, January 2025.
- "Putting Unilateral Action in the Bully Pulpit," with Victoria E. Yu, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 2024.

- "Executive Orders as Public Relations, 1961-2024," with Victoria E. Yu, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the UK Political Studies Association, Glasgow, Scotland, March 2024.
- "Implementing Executive Orders in the Administrative State," with Joshua B. Kennedy, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Queen Mary University, London, England, January 2024.
- "Obama's Domestic Policymaking and the Administrative Presidency," paper presented at the "Conference on Barack Obama, 44th President of the United States," Hofstra University, April 2023.
- "Trump and the 'Deep State': A Love Story?", paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, University of Leicester, England, January 2023.
- "Executive Orders and the Administrative State: Formulation, Implementation, and Regulation," with Joshua B. Kennedy, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada, September 2022. *Winner, 2023 Presidency & Executive Politics Group Founders' Prize for best paper on the presidency at the APSA in 2022.*
- "'Policy' as Preamble: Executive Orders as Public Relations," with Victoria E. Yu, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, University of Kent, England (virtual), January 2022.
- "When 'Policy' is Preamble: Executive Orders as Public Relations, 1961-2021," with Victoria E. Yu, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, WA, October 2021.
- "Everyone Likes Butter: Continuity and Change in Trump's Administrative Presidency," with Rachel A. Potter, Sharece Thrower, and Adam Warber, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, virtual, September 2020.
- "Central Clearance as Presidential Management," Public Policy Conference on Bureaucracy and Presidential Administration, C. Boyden Gray Center for the Study of the Administrative State, George Mason University Scalia Law School, Washington, DC, February 2020. CSAS Working Paper 20-05.
- "Donald Trump and the 'Deep State': A Love Story," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 2020.
- "Projects Worth The Price: OMB and Central Clearance," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 2019.
- "OMB and the Central Clearance of Legislation and Executive Orders," paper presented at the "Prioritizing Presidential Policies: How Does the Office of Management and Budget Influence Executive Policy Making?" conference, Hofstra University, April 2019.
- "'I'm the Only One Who Matters': Continuity and Change in the Trump Administrative Presidency," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Norwich, England, January 2019.
- "Institutionalizing Regulatory Review, from Reagan to Trump," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 2018.
- "Administration Bills on the Hill: Presidents, Legislation, and OMB," with Samuel Kernell, Roger LaRocca, and Huchen Liu, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Oxford, England, January 2018.
- "Administration Bills on the Hill: OMB Clearance and Legislative Effectiveness," with Samuel Kernell, Roger LaRocca, and Huchen Liu, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2017.

- “Beyond Structure and Process: The Early Institutionalization of Regulatory Review,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2017.
- “The Early Institutionalization of Regulatory Review,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Leicester, England, January 2017.
- “The Obama Administrative Presidency,” paper presented at the Conference on the Obama Legacy (“L’héritage Obama”), Fondation des États-Unis, Paris, France, December 2016.
- “Agencies and Agency in Presidential Management of Executive Orders,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, PA, September 2016.
- “Protecting the President from Presidential Unilateralism,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Reading, England, January 2016.
- “Constitutional Structure, Political History, and the Invisible Congress,” paper presented at the Conference on the Constitution and the Imperial Presidency, American Enterprise Institute/Clements Center for National Security, University of Texas, Austin, TX, October 2015.
- “Presidential Unilateralism, Executive Branch Management, and Bureaucratic Sway,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2015.
- “Executive Branch Management and Presidential Unilateralism: Towards a Duration Model of Executive Order Issuance,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2015.
- “George W. Bush’s Administrative Presidency: Unilateral Action and the ‘Unitary Executive Branch,’” paper presented at the Conference on the George W. Bush Presidency, Kalikow Center for the Study of the American Presidency, Hofstra University, March 2015.
- “Executive Branch Management and Presidential Unilateralism,” paper presented at the Conference on Executive Politics, University of Houston, February 2015.
- “Tribune of the People or Minority Leader? Presidents in an Age of Polarization,” paper presented at the Conference on the Rights of the Political Minority in America, Pembroke College and the Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, England, September 2014.
- “Bargaining with the Bureaucracy: Transaction Costs and the Formulation of Executive Orders,” paper presented at the Conference on Executive Politics, Center for New Institutional Social Sciences, Washington University in St. Louis, June 2014.
- “How Unitary an Executive?” paper presented at Presidential Power in the United States: Emerging Research, conference held at the Ford School of Public Policy, University of Michigan, May 2014.
- “Bargaining with the Bureaucracy: Executive Orders and the Transaction Costs of Presidential Unilateralism,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2013. *Winner, 2014 Presidency & Executive Politics Group Founders’ Prize for best paper on the presidency at the APSA in 2013.*
- “Budgets, Management Initiatives, and the Evolution of the OMB, 1993-2008,” with Matthew J. Dickinson. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2013.
- “Bargaining with the Bureaucracy: Executive Orders and Presidential Unilateralism,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Leicester, England, January 2013.

- “Presidential Unilateralism and Executive Orders: Bargaining with the Bureaucracy,” paper presented at Theoretical and Empirical Approaches to the Administrative Presidency, conference held at the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, September 2012.
- “‘Wheeling the Bureaucracy’: The Administrative Presidency and the OMB,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Manchester, England, January 2012.
- “Context and Constraint in Presidential Unilateralism,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September 2011.
- “Executive Orders and their Formulation: Persuasion or Command?” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2011.
- “Opening the Black Box: How Unilateral are Executive Orders?”, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Oxford, England, January 2011.
- “The Birds and the Bees and the Black Boxes: Presidential Power and the Formulation of Executive Orders,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 2010.
- “Responsive Competence, Roosevelt, and Nixon: Institutional Change and Continuity in the Office of Management and Budget,” with Matthew J. Dickinson, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2010.
- “Implementing Presidential Power: The Administrative Presidency from Eisenhower to Obama,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Oxford, England, January 2010.
- “Rivals, or a Team? Competitive Advisory Institutions and the Obama Administration,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Toronto, September 2009.
- “Institutionalizing Responsiveness: Roosevelt, Nixon, and the Evolution of the Office of Management and Budget,” with Matthew J. Dickinson, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2007.
- “The Plot that Thickened: Inheriting the Administrative Presidency,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2006.
- “Parsing the Politicized Presidency: Centralization and Politicization as Presidential Strategies for Bureaucratic Control,” with David E. Lewis. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2005. *Winner, 2006 Presidency Research Group Founders’ Prize for best paper on the presidency at the APSA in 2005.*
- “Presidents, Responsiveness, and the Creation of the Office of Management and Budget,” with Matthew J. Dickinson. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2005.
- “‘Worked Out in Fractions’: Neutral Competence, FDR, and the Bureau of the Budget,” with Matthew J. Dickinson. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 2004.
- “The ‘M’ in OMB: The Office of Management and Budget and Presidential Management of the Executive Branch, 1939-2003,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 2003.

- “Presidential Hierarchies and Decision Making,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2003.
- “The Structure of Leadership: Information, Organization, and Presidential Decision Making,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 2002. *Winner, 2003 Presidency Research Group Founders’ Prize for best paper on the presidency at the APSA in 2002.*
- “Presidential Management and the Reagan Legislative Program: The Limits of Centralization,” paper presented at the Conference on the Reagan Presidency, University of California at Santa Barbara, March 2002.
- “Revisiting the Golden Age: Responsiveness and Competence at the Bureau of the Budget, 1945-1952,” with Matthew J. Dickinson. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, September 2001.
- “Presidential Information and Managerial Choice: Contingent Centralization and the Legislative Program,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 2000.
- “The President’s Program and the Politicized Presidency,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, September 1999.
- “The Politicized Presidency and Policy Formulation,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1999.
- “Centralization and the Presidential Program,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association, Boston, November 1998.
- “Deficit Politics and the Item Veto,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 1997
- “The Institutional Perspective and the Presidency,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 1997
- “Testing the Politicized Presidency,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 1997

#### ***Selected Invited Presentations (in US)***

- “The Future of (Research On) the Administrative State,” roundtable presentation at the Conference on Politics and Law in the Administrative State, Yale University, June 2025
- “Evaluating the New Trump Administration,” roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2025.
- “The Imperial Presidency Strikes Back,” presentation at Teach-In 2025, Institute for the American Constitutional Heritage, University of Oklahoma, February 2025.
- “Executive Power and the Administrative State,” panel presentation at “The State of American Institutions,” The Center for Revitalizing American Institutions, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, December 2023.
- “Emergency Powers and Presidential Constraints,” panel presentation at the “Toward a More Responsible and Effective Presidency” conference, The Miller Center, University of Virginia, October 2023.

- “Presidential Management of the Executive Branch in the Age of Reagan,” panel presentation at the Age of Reagan Conference, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, California, August 2023.
- “By Executive Order: A Research Agenda,” presentation and seminar at the School of Public and International Affairs, University of Georgia, November 2022.
- “*By Executive Order: Winner of the Brownlow Book Prize*,” discussion at the annual meeting of the National Academy of Public Administration, Washington, DC, September 2022.
- “Policy as Preamble: Executive Orders as Public Relations,” with Victoria E. Yu, paper presented at “The Evolving Executive” conference, Vanderbilt University, September 2022.
- “Federal Education Policy,” panel presentation at the conference on “Conversations on Education in a Federal System,” Program on Education Policy and Governance, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, May 2022.
- “The Presidency, the Administrative State, and the Separation of Powers,” roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2022.
- “The State of the Union: Checks and Balances Edition,” public lecture at the Institute of Politics, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, March 2022.
- “By Executive Order,” presentation to the George Washington University Regulatory Studies Center, virtual, February 2022.
- “Governing by Executive Order,” panel presentation at the American Bar Association Administrative Law Conference, ABA Section of Administrative Law and Regulatory Practice, virtual, Nov. 2021.
- “Authorizing Military Force, Twenty Years After 9/11,” Cornell University, New York, September 2021.
- “U.S. Presidential Leadership in Times of Crisis,” Colby College (virtual), March 2021.
- “The OMB in Brief,” presentation as part of the panel “How Will the Office of Management and Budget Shape Policy in the Biden White House?,” Hofstra University (virtual), February 2021.
- “Slipping Toward Monarchy? The Rising Power of the Presidency,” Constitution Day address, Furman University, September 2019.
- “Jobs at Teaching-Oriented Institutions,” roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, August 2019.
- “Authors Meet Critics: Exploring *Rivalry and Reform: Presidents, Social Movements, and the Transformation of American Politics*,” roundtable at the Annual Meeting of the New England Political Science Association, Portland, Maine, April 2019.
- “Politics is Sums: Financing the American Dream,” roundtable presentation at Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY, April 2019.
- “The President and Executive Branch Actors: Welcome to the Interagency,” lecture and seminars, U.S. Air War College, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama, November 2018 (also December 2014).
- “Donald Trump and Presidency Research,” roundtable presentation at the conference on New Developments in the Study of Executive Politics, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, June 2018.

- “The White House and the Administrative State: Lessons Learned, From Reagan To Trump,” panel presentation at the Hoover Institution, Washington, DC, May 2018.
- “The First Year of the Trump Presidency,” roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2018.
- “The Obama Legacy,” roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2018.
- “‘Wheeling the Bureaucracy’: OMB, Good Advice, and the Administrative Presidency,” presentation to the Jain Family Institute, New York, NY, December 2017.
- “Regulatory Review and Barriers to Entrepreneurship,” roundtable presentation, Center for Best Practices, National Governors Association, Washington, DC, December 2017.
- “Is the American Presidency Too Powerful?,” roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 2017.
- “Executive Orders and the Not-So-Unitary Executive Branch,” public research talk at Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina, March 2017.
- “The Glories of NARA Record Group 51,” presentation to the Executive Power symposium, Department of Political Science, University of California-San Diego, February 2017.
- “A Primer on Executive Orders,” presentation as part of a panel on “The History of Executive Orders,” sponsored by the National History Center at the Rayburn House Office Building, US Congress, Washington, DC, February 2017. Available at <https://www.c-span.org/video/?423765-2/origins-executive-orders>.
- “The Unilateral Legacy of Barack Obama,” presentation at Williams College as part of panel on “Obama: Leadership, Legacy, Lessons,” Williamstown, MA, November 2015.
- “After Obama: Legacies of America’s First Minority President,” roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2015.
- “U.S. War Powers,” panel participant at the Clarke Forum for Contemporary Issues, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, February 2015.
- “Domestic Policy in the Clinton Years,” participant in panel held as part of the Symposium on the Clinton Administration, sponsored by the Clinton Presidential Library, the Clinton Foundation and the Miller Center (University of Virginia), Little Rock, Arkansas, November 2014. See <https://www.c-span.org/video/?322629-2/discussion-president-bill-clintons-domestic-policy&event=322629&playEvent>
- “Managing the Executive Branch in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” participant in roundtable held at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., August 2014.
- “Barack Obama and the Imperial Presidency: A Status Report,” public lecture at Colby College, Waterville, Maine, April 2014.
- “Barack Obama and the Imperial Presidency,” public lecture at Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, September 2011.
- “Government in a Box: Challenges of Policy Implementation in the American System,” presented at “Carrots, Sticks, and the Bully Pulpit: Lessons from a Half Century of Federal Efforts to Improve America’s Schools,” American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, May 2011.



- "Obama: How's He Doing?", roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2011.
- "Chief Executive: Centralization, Politicization, and Bureaucratic Control," presented at the Rooney Center for the Study of American Democracy, University of Notre Dame, March 2010.
- "Bureaucratic Control and the Future of Presidential Power," presented at "President or King? Evaluating the Expansion of Executive Power," sponsored by the Peter S. Kalikow Center, Hofstra University, November 2009.
- "The Crisis Speech and other Major Addresses," roundtable presentation at the White House Speechwriters Symposium, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, June 2008.
- "'Truth vs. Partisanship': Structure and Science in Federal Education Research," paper presented at the conference "The Politics of Knowledge," American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, May 2007.
- "The Administrative Presidency: A New Research Agenda," roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 2007
- "The New Imperial Presidency, Home and Abroad," Department of Political Science, University of Delaware, April 2007.
- "Chief Executive: Centralization, Politicization, and Bureaucratic Control," Department of Political Science, Purdue University, December 2006.
- Participant and discussant, "Politicization in Theory and Practice," book conference on *Politicizing Administration* by David E. Lewis, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, November 2006.
- "The President and Congress: In Conflict or Concert?", panelist presentation at the conference "Presidential Power in America," Massachusetts School of Law at Andover, October 2006.
- "Irreconcilable Differences? The Political Topography of Federal Student Loans," paper presented at the conference "Footing the Tuition Bill: New Developments in the Student Loan Industry," American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, September 2006.
- "Chief Executive: Centralization, Politicization, and Bureaucratic Control," Department of Political Science, Indiana University (Bloomington), May 2006.
- "Presidential Power in Wartime," presented at the Undergraduate Political Science Association's Walker Conference "Behind Closed Doors: Analyzing Government Actions During Times of War," University of Michigan (Ann Arbor), March 2006.
- "Adequacy, Accountability, and the Impact of 'No Child Left Behind,'" presented at the conference "The Adequacy Lawsuit," Program on Education Policy and Governance, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, October 2005. Published as Working Paper PEPG/05-27.
- "A New Imperial Presidency," presented at the symposium "Checks and Balances: Perspectives on American Democracy at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University, August 2005.
- "New Congress, New Problems: Same Results?" presented at the conference "The Second Term of George W. Bush: Prospects and Perils," Villanova University, January 2005.

- “The Rise of the Bureau of the Budget, 1939-1949: Harold Smith and James E. Webb as Bureaucratic Entrepreneurs,” presented at the Conference on American Political Development, Center for the Study of American Politics, Yale University, October 2004.
- “Accountability and Avoidance in the Bush Education Plan,” presented at the conference “No Child Left Behind,” Program on Education Policy and Governance, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, June 2002.

### *Selected Invited Presentations (International)*

- “Trump So Far,” panel presentation for Policy and Practice Seminar, Centre on U.S. Politics, University College London, England, March 2025.
- “Trump, Episode 2: The Imperial Presidency Strikes Back,” public lecture at King’s College, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, March 2025.
- “Donald Trump and the Prospects for American Democracy and Foreign Relations,” panel presentation at the Word Festival 25, Odense, Denmark, February 2025.
- “Trump, Episode 2: The Imperial Presidency Strikes Back,” lecture at the University of Southern Denmark, January 2025.
- “*Rebondissement* (Plot Twist): The Structure -- and Surprises -- of the 2024 U.S. Elections,” online lecture to three linked campuses in Nantes, Angers, and Niort, France, October 2024.
- “The Presidency in 2024: Election, Transition, and Power,” lecture at Queen’s University, Belfast, Northern Ireland, May 2024.
- “The Shape of U.S. Politics in 2024 and Beyond,” London Mid-Atlantic Club, London, England, April 2024.
- “The Campaign for the White House: How Donald Trump would use Presidential Power in a Second Term,” London POTUS Group, London, England, March 2024.
- “The 2024 U.S. Elections and the Future of Democracy,” panel presentation, University College Cork, Ireland, March 2024.
- “Elections 2024: Presidential Leadership and U.S. Foreign Policy,” panel presentation, Chatham House, London, England, March 2024.
- “‘By Executive Order’: Presidential Unilateralism Meets Bureaucratic Politics,” research seminar, Durham University, Durham, England, March 2024.
- “A Half Century of Regulatory Review, from Nixon to Biden,” research seminar, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, England, March 2024.
- “U.S. Election 2024: The Stakes, the Candidates, and What to Expect,” panel presentation, Birmingham University, Birmingham, England, February 2024.
- “The 2024 Presidential Election,” panel presentation, Agora Oxford, Keble College, University of Oxford, Oxford, England, February 2024.
- “The 2024 Presidential Election and the Future of Presidential Power,” Annual Centre for U.S. Politics Lecture, University College, London, England, February 2024.

- “The Sequel Nobody Wants: The 2024 U.S. Elections, One Year Out,” public lecture, King’s College, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, November 2023.
- “The Impact of the War in Ukraine on U.S. Politics,” panel presentation, American Politics Group Colloquium, British Library, London, England, November 2023.
- “The U.S. Presidency and Executive Politics: An Overview,” guest lecture, Queen Mary University, London, England, October 2023.
- “The State of the Union – and of American Politics,” public lecture, King’s College, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, England, March 2022.
- “Presidents, Wars, and War Powers,” public lecture, University of Leicester, Leicester, England, March 2022.
- “Presidential Power Since 9/11, in Theory and Practice,” keynote address at the conference “Twenty Years Later: Looking Back at 9/11,” Université Toulouse-Jean Jaurès, Toulouse, France, October 2021.
- “The Biden Administration and Executive Action,” panel presentation at “The Biden Presidency: Promise and Peril,” University College London (virtual), February 2021.
- “Obama, Executive Action and Administrative Government: Is the Presidency an Exhausted Institution?” public lecture, University of Paris-Diderot, Paris, France, January 2020.
- “Donald Trump and the ‘Deep State’: A Love Story,” Conference on The Trump Presidency and the Course of American Political Development, Rothermere American Institute and Nuffield College, University of Oxford, England, June 2019.
- “Presidential Power and the Midterm Elections,” keynote lecture, Conference on Midterm Elections, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, November 2018.
- “‘American Carnage’ or a ‘Nation of Miracles’?: President Trump’s First Hundred Days,” keynote address at the Conference on Trump’s First Hundred Days, University of Reading, England, May 2017.
- “Obama and Congress: From Glory to Gridlock,” public lecture, El Colegio de México (Colmex), Mexico City, Mexico, February 2017.
- “The Scope of Presidential Executive Authority: What Trump Can (and Can’t) Do,” public lecture, Institut d’Études Politiques, Université de Lyon 2, Lyon, France, December 2016.
- “The American Presidential Election of 2016 (So Far),” public lecture, Institute of the Americas, University College London, London, England, September 2016.
- “Everybody Believes in Democracy Until He Gets to the White House: The Unilateral Legacy of Barack Obama,” 2016 Richard E. Neustadt Lecture, University College London, London, England, March 2016.
- “Sore Losers and Glass Ceilings: Continuity and Change in American Presidential Elections,” keynote address at the special Seminar on American Presidential Elections in History, Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, England, February 2016.
- “Presidential Power Meets Today’s Middle East,” Eccles Center, British Library, London, England, July 2015.
- “Recent Advances in the Study of the Administrative Presidency,” seminar and workshop, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil, May 2015.

- “Barack Obama and Congress: From Glory to Gridlock,” keynote address at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Manchester, England, January 2015.
- “A Terminal Prognosis? The Study of U.S. Politics in Europe,” roundtable presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group, Oxford, England, January 2014.
- “The Obama Presidency, Congress, and the 2012 Elections,” University of East Anglia, Norwich, England, January 2013.
- “The Obama Presidency and the 2012 Elections,” Copenhagen Business School and the University of Southern Denmark, Copenhagen and Odense, Denmark, March 2012.
- “‘A Snarly Sort of Politics’: The Obama Presidency and the 2012 Elections,” 10<sup>th</sup> Annual Lecture in American Studies, University of Leicester, England, March 2012.
- “The State of the Presidency after 9/11: ‘A Snarly Sort of Politics,’” plenary address delivered to the Annual Conference of the German American Studies Association, Lambrecht, Germany, November 2011.
- “Obama et Congress: Des Travaux en Cours [A Work in Progress],” presented at the conference “L’administration Obama: Ruptures, Continuités, et Devenir,” Institut d’Études Politiques, Université de Lyon 2, Lyon, France, January 2011.
- “‘Hail, Gridlock’?: American Dissensus and the Loss of Hamiltonian Energy,” paper presented at the conference “Can Government Be Repaired?: Lessons from the USA,” Eccles Centre, British Library, London, England, December 2010.
- “The Imperial Presidency: Issues and Arguments,” invited participant in a workshop sponsored by the Einstein Institut, Potsdam, Germany, March 2010.
- “George W. Bush and the US Congress,” presented at the conference “Les Années Bush en Question [Discussing the Bush Years],” Université de Lyon 2 and ENS, Lyon, France, October 2009.
- “Organizing the Obama Administration: An Early View,” Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Westminster, London, England, June 2009.
- “Managing the Presidency: What Can Social Science Tell Us?,” panel presentation to the British Academy of Social Sciences, British Library, London, England, March 2009.
- “Rating the Bush Presidency,” plenary address to the conference “The Right Man? Assessing George W. Bush’s Legacy,” Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London, March 2009.
- “What Obama Inherits: The State of the (Imperial) Presidency,” public lecture at Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, England, January 2009.
- “Managing the New White House,” public symposium at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, England, November 2008.
- “Interpreting the U.S. Election Results: Themes, Variations, and Implications,” Rothermere American Institute, University of Oxford, England, November 2008.
- “History in Context: The 2008 American Elections,” public lecture at King’s College, University of Cambridge, England, October 2008.
- “The 2008 American Elections: Themes and Variations,” public lecture at the School of Political, Social, and International Studies, University of East Anglia, England, October 2008

- “Political Culture, Political Institutions, and American Policymaking,” guest lecture to the Norwich Business School, University of East Anglia, England, October 2008.
- “George W. Bush and the New Imperial Presidency,” public lecture at the University of Bergen, Norway, October 2008.
- “The American Presidential Election Campaign 2008,” presented at the International Conference for Political Communication, Akademie der Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Berlin, Germany, May 2008.
- “History in the Making? What to Expect from the 2008 American Presidential Campaign,” public lecture at King’s College, University of Cambridge, England, May 2008.
- “The Imperial Presidency, Old and New,” lecture at the University of Aix-en-Provence, France, March 2008.
- “The Presidency, Then and Now,” guest lecture at the University of Maastricht, the Netherlands, March 2008.
- “Taking Stock of the American Presidential Election,” presentation as part of the Cultural Exchanges Festival, DeMontfort University of Leicester, February 2008.
- “Is there a New Imperial Presidency?,” public lecture at the University of Paris-4 (The Sorbonne), France, January 2008.
- “Taking Stock of the 2008 Presidential Election: Candidates, Parties, and Issues,” public lecture at the School of Political, Social, and International Studies, University of East Anglia, England, January 2008.
- “What Should the President Know, and When Should She Know It?,” keynote address to the Annual Meeting of the American Politics Group (UK), London, January 2008.

#### SELECTED FELLOWSHIPS, SERVICE, and AWARDS

- Fellow, National Academy of Public Administration, elected September 2023
- Princeton University Initiative on Restoring the Constitutional Powers of Congress, commission member; co-chair, War Powers and International Agreements Subcommittee, June 2022-May 2024
- Presidency and Executive Politics (formerly Presidency Research Group) organized section, American Political Science Association:
  - *President*, 2016-17
  - Vice President, 2015-16; Secretary/Treasurer, 2014-15
  - member, Steering Committee, 2003-09 and 2014-18
  - chair, Richard E. Neustadt Award (best book) committee, 2014
  - chair, Peck (Smithsonian) Award Subcommittee, 2005-06
  - chair, Founders Award (best graduate student paper) committee, 2022
  - member, Founders Award (best paper by a Ph.D.-holding scholar) committee, 2001 and 2009
  - member, Founders Award (best dissertation) committee, 2020
  - member, Ragsdale Award (best mentoring in the profession) committee, 2025
- National Academy of Public Administration 2022 Louis Brownlow Book Prize for the Best Book on Public Administration
- Presidents and Executive Politics (formerly PRG) section of the American Political Science Association 2022 Richard E. Neustadt Prize for the Best Book on the Presidency

- Presidency Research Group (later PEP) of the American Political Science Association 2003 Richard E. Neustadt Prize for the Best Book on the Presidency
- Four-time winner of Presidency Research Group/Presidents and Executive Politics section prize for the best paper on the presidency presented at the Annual Meetings of the APSA (2003, 2006, 2014, and 2023)
- Co-director, Workshop on Teaching American Politics, American Political Science Association Centennial Center, May 2018
- Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation research grant, 2016-17
- Mentor, Miller Center Fellowship Program, University of Virginia, 2016-17
- American Political Science Association, member of prize committee for the Gladys M. Kammerer Award for the Best Book on American National Policy, 2015-16
- Franklin Research Grant, American Philosophical Society, 2011-12
- Advisory Board, University Press of Kansas series on Landmark Presidential Decisions, 2022-
- Advisory Board (Conseil Scientifique), *Politique Américaine*, 2015-
- Editorial Board, *Congress & the Presidency*, 2009-
- External Advisory Board, United States Presidency Centre, Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London, 2008-
- Editorial Board, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 2007-
- Program Committee member and chair of executive politics section for the 2007 Midwest Political Science Association meetings, Chicago
- Civilian participant, Strategy Implementation Seminar, U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, July 2006
- U.S. State Department program leadership:
  - Middle East Partnership Initiative, co-director, Summer 2003 and January 2004
  - South Asian Study of the United States Institute, contributing faculty, Summers 2005 and 2006
  - U.S. Political Economy Study of the United States Institute, co-director, Summer 2006
- Peer reviewer for professional journals, including the *American Political Science Review*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Journal of Policy History*, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *American Politics Quarterly*, *Politics and History*, *Review of Policy Research*, *Publius*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, and *Congress and the Presidency*; and for presses including Princeton University Press, Oxford UP, Cambridge UP, University of Chicago Press, University Press of Kansas, University of Michigan Press, Rowman & Littlefield, Johns Hopkins University Press, and Yale University Press.
- Discussant at numerous professional conferences, including the Annual Meetings of the American Political Science Association, the Midwest Political Science Association, the Southern Political Science Association, the New England Political Science Association, and the American Politics Group (UK).
- Visiting Research Scholar, Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 2004-05.

- Annenberg Foundation Trust Project on the Institutions of Democracy, member, Commission on the Executive Branch, 2003-05. Resulting volume *Institutions of American Democracy: The Executive Branch* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), ed. Joel D. Aberbach and Mark A. Peterson, won the Richard E. Neustadt Award for best reference book on the presidency in 2006.
- Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Toppan Prize, recognizing the best dissertation upon a subject of political science, June 2000.
- Harvard University: three-time winner of university citation for undergraduate teaching excellence, 1997-2000.

## COURSES TAUGHT

### *First-year Seminars & Introductory Courses*

Political Leadership  
Presidential Elections  
Introduction to American Government  
The World after Watergate  
Ideas That Shape the World (common core humanities syllabus)  
Foundations of Policy Studies  
State and Society in the United States

### *Intermediate Courses*

U.S. Presidency  
Presidents and Civil Rights  
Public Administration  
Congress and the Legislative Process  
Campaigns and Elections  
Watergate and American Politics  
Political Science Research Methods  
Current Issues in American Politics (for University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK)  
The Art of Power (for Dickinson Humanities Program, London, UK)  
British History, Politics, and Culture (for Dickinson Humanities Program, Norwich, UK)  
Presidential-Congressional Relations (for Sciences-Po, Lyon, France)

### *Senior Seminars*

Presidential Power and the Law  
The Politics of Policy Implementation  
Presidential Elections  
Lawmaking: Inside and Out

## ON-CAMPUS COMMITTEE SERVICE

### *Bowdoin College*

Committee on Appointments, Promotion, and Tenure (elected), 2024-  
Chair, Department of Government and Legal Studies, 2019-2023  
Faculty Representative to Trustees Honors Committee, 2021-22  
Governance and Faculty Affairs Committee (elected), 2018-19  
Faculty Representative to Trustees Resources Committee, 2017-20  
Curriculum Implementation Committee, 2017-18  
Faculty Representative to Trustees Academic Affairs Committee, 2013-16  
Curriculum and Educational Policy Committee, 2013-16

*Dickinson College*

Academic Program and Standards Subcommittee on Assessment, 2010-12

Co-Director, Bridge Institute for Entering International Students, Summer 2011

Director, Dickinson Humanities Program (UK), 2007-09

Chair, Department of Political Science, 2006-07

Planning and Budget Committee, 2002-04

*Updated 30 June 2025*