# Kathryn Dunn Tenpas, PhD

#### Current

The Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, Senior Fellow, participate in events, continued study of the American presidency and collaboration, August 2020-present.

**Brookings Institution**, Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Governance Studies, participate in a range of projects concerning the American presidency, presidential campaigns and elections, occasional authoring of blog posts, scholarly journal articles, papers and reviewing Brookings publications, July 2004-present.

**The Center for Presidential Transition**, Fellow, Partnership for Public Service, May 2020-present.

The White House Transition Project, Senior Research Director, participate in a wide range of projects pertaining to the 2016-2017 presidential transition including conference preparation and attendance at presidential libraries, preparing essays on key White House offices, monitoring current appointments and executive actions, conducting interviews with former White House staff members and other related research projects, July 2016-present.

**Independent Research Consultant**, Projects on the American presidency and Congress, utilizing qualitative, quantitative and writing skills. Clients include the Partnership for Public Service (2014-2015), The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation (2015-2016), and the White House Transition Project (2016), August 2014-present.

**The Governance Institute**, Fellow, appointed December 2003 – present, (elected Secretary of the Institute, May 2006).

### **Academic Positions**

University of Pennsylvania, Director of the Washington Semester Program and Adjunct Professor of Political Science, oversee all aspects of program including budget, hiring faculty, assisting with internship placement, supervising and teaching students while in Washington, D.C., July 2006 – 2014.

**The Brookings Institution**, Visiting Fellow, Participated in a range of scholarly projects, including participation in Brookings events, authoring papers and journal articles and reviewing Brookings publications, Visiting Fellow, January 2004–June 2004; Guest Scholar, January 2001-December 2003 (see above for current affiliation).

Washington University in St. Louis, Senior Fellow, The Weidenbaum Center on the

Economy, Government and Public Policy, and Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science, August 2004-November 2005 (joined the Center as a Visiting Fellow in August 2004 and was promoted to Senior Fellow and Senior Lecturer in April 2005).

University of Pennsylvania, Associate Director of the Washington Semester Program, Adjunct Associate Professor of Political Science, taught advanced American Government seminar, Independent Study seminar and administered the program from Washington, D.C., July 1999 – June 2004 (on leave 2004-2005).

University of South Florida, Associate Professor, Department of Government and International Affairs, won award for Outstanding Undergraduate Teaching, taught the following courses: American National Government, the American Presidency, Presidential Campaigns and Elections, and the Honors seminar. Responsibilities also included Director of Political Science Honors Program and the USF Washington, D.C. Internship program, appointed December, 1993-August 1999.

**Leiden University**, The Netherlands, Guest Scholar, taught courses on the American Presidential Electoral Process and the American Presidency, August 1992 to September 1993.

### **Publications**

### Refereed Publications

"White House Staff Turnover in Year One of the Trump Administration: Context, Consequences and Implications for Governing," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 48, Issue 3, September 2018, pp. 502-516.

With Emily Charnock and James A. McCann, "First Term Presidential Travel from Eisenhower to George W. Bush: The Emergence of an 'Electoral College' Strategy," *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 124, Number 2, Summer 2009, pp. 323-339.

With James A. McCann, "Testing the Permanence of the Permanent Campaign: An Analysis of Presidential Polling Expenditures, 1977-2002," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Volume 71, Number 3, Fall 2007, pp.349-366.

Presidents as Candidates: Inside the White House for the Presidential Campaign, New York: Garland Press, 1997, Routledge Press, 2003 (paperback edition).

With Stephen Hess, "The Bush White House: First Appraisals," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Fall 2002, pp.577-585.

With Matthew Dickinson, "Explaining Increasing Turnover Rates Among Presidential Advisers, 1929-1997," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 64, May 2002, pp.434-48.

With Karen Hult, "Office of the Staff Secretary," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 31, Number 2, June 2001, 262-281.

"The Clinton Reelection Machine: Placing the Party Organization in Peril," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Fall 1998, pp.761-767.

With Matthew Dickinson, "Governing, Campaigning, and Organizing the Presidency: An Electoral Connection?," *Political Science Quarterly*, Spring, 1997, pp.51-66.

"Promoting President Clinton's Policy Agenda: DNC as Presidential Lobbyist," *The American Review of Politics*, Volume 17, Fall 1996, pp.283-298. Reprinted in Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, *American Politics: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999.

"Institutionalized Politics: The White House Office of Political Affairs," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 26, Number 2, Spring, 1996, pp.511-522.

"Time for Fairness in the Presidential Electoral Process: Major and Minor Parties in Competition," *Journal of Law and Politics*, Spring 1990, pp.625-660.

### **Book Chapters/Other**

"The President's Advisors: An Analysis of Women on the President's A Team," part of 19A: The Brookings Gender Equality Series, <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/essay/the-presidents-advisors-an-analysis-of-women-on-the-presidents-a-team/">https://www.brookings.edu/essay/the-presidents-advisors-an-analysis-of-women-on-the-presidents-a-team/</a> (accessed September 2020).

"How instability and high turnover on the Trump staff hindered the response to Covid-19," FIXGOV blog post, May 7, 2020.

https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/05/07/how-instability-and-high-turnover-on-the-trump-staff-hindered-the-response-to-covid-19/ (accessed May 2020)

Brookings Webinar, with Benjamin Wittes and Anne Joseph O'Connell, "How federal job vacancies hinder the government's response to Covid-19," April 29, 2020. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/events/webinar-how-federal-job-vacancies-hinder-response/">https://www.brookings.edu/events/webinar-how-federal-job-vacancies-hinder-response/</a> (accessed May 2020)

"And then there were ten: With 85% turnover across President Trump's A Team, who remains?," FIXGOV blog post, April 13, 2020. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/04/13/and-then-there-were-ten-with-85-turnover-across-president-trumps-a-team-who-remains/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/04/13/and-then-there-were-ten-with-85-turnover-across-president-trumps-a-team-who-remains/</a> (accessed May 2020)

"Crippling the capacity of the National Security Council," FIXGOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, January 21, 2020.

https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2020/01/21/crippling-the-capacity-of-the-national-security-council/ (accessed May 2020)

- "Who is in the president's cabinet?," FIXGOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, May 21, 2019. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2019/05/21/who-is-in-the-presidents-cabinet/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2019/05/21/who-is-in-the-presidents-cabinet/</a> (accessed May 2020)
- "Kirstjen Nielsen, secretary of Homeland Security, out amidst national emergency, FIX GOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, April 9, 2019. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2019/04/09/kirstjen-nielsen-secretary-of-homeland-security-out-amidst-national-emergency/">https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2019/04/09/kirstjen-nielsen-secretary-of-homeland-security-out-amidst-national-emergency/</a> (accessed May 2020)
- "Compared with recent presidents, Trump does not like to travel—except when he's campaigning," with James A. McCann, Monkey Cage, *The Washington Post*, January 25, 2019. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2019/01/25/compared-to-previous-presidents-trump-is-not-a-frequent-flier-except-when-he-has-a-chance-to-campaign/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2019/01/25/compared-to-previous-presidents-trump-is-not-a-frequent-flier-except-when-he-has-a-chance-to-campaign/</a> (accessed May 2020)
- "In search of a third chief of staff, Trump sets a record," FIX GOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, December 10, 2018.
- "Record-setting White House staff turnover continues with news of Counsel's departure," FIXGOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, October 19, 2018.
- "With the revelation of Marc Short's impending departure, President Trump has lost the vast majority of Tier One staff members," FIXGOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, June 27, 2018.
- "McMaster out and turnover on the White House "A Team" continues at a steady clip," FIXGOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, March 22, 2018.
- "Trump A Team Staff Tracker," hosted by the Brookings Institution, February 2018-present, <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/research/tracking-turnover-in-the-trump-administration/">https://www.brookings.edu/research/tracking-turnover-in-the-trump-administration/</a>, accessed September 2020.
- "Trump makes fewer public trips than recent presidents. Will that hurt the Republicans in November?," with James A. McCann and Emily J. Charnock, Monkey Cage/Analysis, *The Washington Post*, January 17, 2018.
- "Why is Trump's staff turnover higher than the 5 most recent presidents?" Brookings Institution: January 19, 2018. <a href="https://www.brookings.edu/research/why-is-trumps-staff-turnover-higher-than-the-5-most-recent-presidents/">https://www.brookings.edu/research/why-is-trumps-staff-turnover-higher-than-the-5-most-recent-presidents/</a> (Accessed January 19, 2018)
- "Public Presidency, U.S. Elections and the Permanent Campaign." In Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science. Ed. Sandy Meisel. New York: Oxford University Press, July 2017. <a href="https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223/obo-9780199756223-0227.xml">https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756223-0227.xml</a>. (accessed May 2020)

"The Office of the Staff Secretary," with Karen Hult, The White House Transition Project, summer 2016, <a href="http://www.whitehousetransitionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/WHTP2017-23-Staff-Secretary.pdf">http://www.whitehousetransitionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/WHTP2017-23-Staff-Secretary.pdf</a>

"The White House Counsel," with MaryAnne Borrelli, Karen Hult, and Nancy Kassop, summer 2016, <a href="http://www.whitehousetransitionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/WHTP2017-29-Counsel.pdf">http://www.whitehousetransitionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/WHTP2017-29-Counsel.pdf</a>

"The Office of the First Lady," with MaryAnne Borrelli and Lauren Wright, summer 2016, <a href="http://www.whitehousetransitionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/WHTP2017-30">http://www.whitehousetransitionproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/WHTP2017-30</a> First Lady AT 11-30-16.pdf

"Shutdowns Break Government and its Workers," FIXGOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, September 28, 2015.

"A Curious Strategy of the Obama Administration's Final Stretch," FIXGOV blog post, The Brookings Institution, September 15, 2014.

"President Obama's Second Term: Staffing Challenges and Opportunities," *Issues in Governance Studies*, Number 57, The Brookings Institution, February 2013.

With Emily J. Charnock and James McCann, "What to Expect in the Second Term: Presidential Travel and the Rise of Legacy Building, 1957-2009," *Issues in Governance Studies*, No. 54, The Brookings Institution, December 12, 2012.

"The State of the Union Address: Process, Politics and Promotion," in *The President's Words: Speeches and Speechwriting in the Modern White House*, Michael Nelson and Russell L. Riley (eds.), Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2010.

With Karen Hult, "The Office of the Staff Secretary 2009," The White House Transition Project Reports, 23, Fall 2008. See <a href="www.whitehousetransitionproject.org">www.whitehousetransitionproject.org</a>. Reports prepared for McCain and Obama campaigns, directed by Martha Kumar, Towson State University and Terry Sullivan, University of North Carolina.

With Charles O. Jones, "Shaping the 44<sup>th</sup> Presidency," *Issues In Governance Studies*, Number 9, August 2007.

"The Veto-Free Presidency, (George Bush – 2001 – Present [June 2006])," Issues in Governance Studies, Number 4, July 2006, published by The Brookings Institution.

"West Wing Shuffle," The Washington Post, Outlook Section, April 2, 2006, B2.

"Collect Crucial Data on How Faith-Based Programs Work," *The Miami Herald*, October 9, 2003, A33.

"Lobbying the Executive Branch: Outside-In and Inside-Out" in Paul S. Herrnson, Ronald G. Shaiko and Clyde Wilcox (eds), *The Interest Group Connection* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.),

(Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly), 2004.

"How Incumbent Presidents Run for Reelection" in William G. Mayer, *The Making of the Presidential Candidates* 2004, (Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield), 2003.

With Stephen Hess, Organizing the Presidency: Assessing Its Early Performance," in Mark J. Rozell and Gary L. Gregg (eds.), *Considering the Bush Presidency*, NY: Oxford University Press, 2003.

"Words vs. Deeds: President George W. Bush and Polling," *The Brookings Review*, Summer 2003. (Reprinted in 2010 *Annual Edition of American Foreign Policy*, NY: McGraw Hill, 2010, Chapter 28.)

"Campaigning to Govern: Presidents Seeking Reelection," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, April 2003.

With Karen Hult, "The President's Advisory System: A Critical Examination of Its Capacity for Governance," in Roger Davidson (ed.), *Workways of Governance*, copublished by The Brookings Institution and the Governance Institute, 2003.

With Karen Hult, "The Office of the Staff Secretary," in Martha Joynt Kumar and Terry Sullivan (eds.), *The White House World: Transitions, Organization and Office Operations*, College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2003.

"Can an Office Change a Country? The White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, A Year In Review," Report Prepared for the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, February 2002.

With Stephen Hess, "The Bush White House: First Appraisals," The Brookings Institution, Working Paper, January 2002.

With Stephen Hess, "Bush's "A' Team: Just Like Clinton's, But More So," *The Washington Post*, Outlook Section, B5, January 27, 2002.

"The American Presidency: Surviving and Thriving amidst the Permanent Campaign," in *The Permanent Campaign and Its Future*, eds. Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution and American Enterprise Institute, 2000, pp. 108-133.

With Susan A. MacManus, "The Changing Political Activism Patterns of Older Americans: Don't Throw the Dirt Over Us Yet," in Janie Steckenrider and Tonya Parrot (eds.), *New Perspectives on Old Age Policies*, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998, pp.111-131.

"Women on the White House Staff: A Longitudinal Analysis (1939-1994)," in Janet Martin and MaryAnne Borrelli (eds.), *The Other Elites: Women, Politics, and Power in the Executive Branch*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reiner, 1997, pp. 91-106.

With William E. Hulbary and Lewis Bowman, "Florida: An Election with Something for Everyone," in Laurence W. Moreland and Robert P. Steed, *The 1996 Presidential Election in the South*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997, pp.147-164.

## **Conference Papers and Presentations**

Chair, "Power and Persuasion in Presidential Leadership," at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 29-September 1, 2013

With Emily Charnock and James A. McCann, "Second-Term Presidential Travel: The Impermanent Campaign and the Rise of Legacy-Building, 1957-2009," Accepted, but not delivered at the 2012 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, hurricane cancellation.

Speech, "The Evolution of the Presidency," Delivered to incoming Fellows of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science, September 4, 2009.

Panelist, "The Politics of Presidential Appointments," The Brookings Institution, November 12, 2008.

Panelist, "The State of the Union Address," White House Speechwriters Symposium, the Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, June 20 and 21, 2008. (Broadcast by C-Span.)

With Emily Charnock and James A. McCann, "Goin' Mobile: Assessing First Term Presidential Travel from Eisenhower to George W. Bush," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 31-September 3, 2006.

"Staffing the Bush Presidency: Second Term Challenges and Opportunities," School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University, April 1, 2005.

"Staffing the Bush White House: Second Term Challenges and Opportunities," The Weidenbaum Center Breakfast Lecture Series, January 19, 2005.

With Jay McCann, "Testing the Permanence of the Permanent Campaign: An Analysis of Presidential Polling Expenditures, 1977-2000," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2-5, 2004.

Panel Chair and Roundtable Participant, "Still Keeping the Faith? President Bush and the Faith-Based Initiative," the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2003.

Roundtable Participant, "The Making of the Presidential Candidates, 2004," the annual

meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2003.

"Presidential Polling from Reagan to Bush the Younger: A Look at Trends and Patterns," lecture given at the Brookings Institution, June 3, 2003. (With Jay McCann)

Respondent, "The Faith-Based Initiative Two Years Later: Examining its Potential, Progress and Problems," March 5, 2003, The Brookings Institution.

Panel Chair and Roundtable Participant, "Political Miracle or Mission Impossible? Presidential Politics and the Faith-Based Initiative," the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August 2002.

"Can an Office Change a Country? The White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, a Year in Review," presented at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 20, 2002 sponsored by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life and the Brookings Institution.

"The American Presidency: Surviving and Thriving amidst the Permanent Campaign," book conference for *The Permanent Campaign and Its Future*, at the American Enterprise Institute, October 2000.

"The Presidency and the Permanent Campaign," presented at the American Enterprise Institute, Conference on the Permanent Campaign," Washington, D.C., April 1999.

"Campaigning to Govern: Political Consultants as Presidential Advisors," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, 1998.

Discussant, "Elections, Public Opinion and Voting," at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association, Orlando, 1998.

With Matthew Dickinson, "The Revolving Door at the White House: Explaining Increasing Turnover Rates Among Presidential Advisors, 1936-1997," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1997.

"Women on the White House Staff: A Longitudinal Analysis (1939-1994)," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, 1996.

Roundtable on Elections, "Florida in the 1996 Presidential Campaign," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association, Sarasota, 1996.

"Promoting President Clinton's Policy Agenda: DNC as Presidential Lobbyist," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Tampa, 1995.

With Jessica Korn, "Changing Relationships Between Presidential Power and Political Parties: The Constitution is the Framework Not the Cause," presented at the Annual

Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 1995.

Roundtable Panelist, "President Clinton at Midterm," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Political Science Association, Winter Park, 1995.

"Institutionalized Politics: The White House Office of Political Affairs," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1994.

With Matthew Dickinson, "Presidential Staff Shuffling: The Impact of the Reelection Campaign on White House Staff Structure," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 1994.

"Presidents as Candidates and the Principal-Agent Model," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., 1993.

"Third Party Candidates: A Role in the Presidential Electoral Process?" presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, 1990.

### **Grants and Honors**

**Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life Grant Recipient**, to study the White House Office of Faith-based and Community Initiatives, 2001.

**Pew Charitable Trust Grant Recipient**, to study the role of presidential political consultants, 2000.

**Recipient,** Research and Creative Scholarship Grant, University of South Florida, April 1999, for research on the role of presidential political consultants.

**Recipient** of the Gerald R. Ford Library Research Grant, December 1998.

Outstanding Undergraduate Teaching Award, University of South Florida, April 1998.

Recipient of USF College of Arts and Sciences, Faculty Development Grant, April 1998.

**Travel Grant Recipient,** the University of Maryland Center for Political Leadership and Participation, Conference on Presidential Power, Columbia University, November 15-16,1996.

Research and Creative Scholarship Grant, University of South Florida, April 1995.

#### **Professional Service**

**Board Member representing the American Political Science Association,** The National Coalition for History, Executive Committee, 2015-present.

**Program Chair**, Presidents and Executive Politics Section, American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting 2013.

**Chair**, George C. Edwards Dissertation Award Committee, Presidents and Executive Politics Section, American Political Science Association, Spring 2012.

**Participant in the White House Transition Project,** 2000, 2008 and 2016. Selected to examine and explain the development of the White House Office of the Staff Secretary, subsequent updates in 2008 and 2016.

**Interviewer, Clinton Administration Oral History Project,** The Miller Center at the University of Virginia, October 14-15, 2004, February 10-11, 2005, March 30-31, 2006, November 20, 2009.

Lecturer, U.S. Department of State, (Public Diplomacy Program), "The 2004 Presidential Election: Implications and Analysis," November 6-13, 2004, Strasbourg, Lyon and Paris, France.

**Member**, **The White House 2001 Project**, Selected to prepare a study of the White House Office of the Staff Secretary to aid in the 2000-2001 presidential transition, sponsored by the Pew Charitable Trust.

**Board Member**, the American Political Science Association's Presidency Research Group, appointed August 1997 and reappointed August 2000.

**Presidency Program Chair** for the 1999 Southern Political Science Association's Annual Meeting.

**Presidential Libraries Committee Member**, the American Political Science Association's Presidency Research Group, September 1996.

### Education

University of Virginia, Ph.D. May 1993; M.A. in Government, 1987-1989.

Georgetown University, B.A. Government, 1981-1985.