Assistants to the President: White House Top-Tier Staff Turnover During the First 17 Months¹

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- President Trump has the highest turnover of top-tier staff of any recent president at the 17 month mark. The figures for losses at the Assistant to the President level at 17 months are: Trump 61%; Obama 14%; George W. Bush 5%; Clinton 42%; George H. W. Bush 19%; Reagan 29%.
- As of June 20, 2018, among the designated highest level staff, there are 19 of the original 31 Assistants to the President or the equivalent who have left or publicly announced they are leaving their posts. Additionally, six Assistants who came in as their replacements also left. Total: 25 Assistants to the President have left or indicated they are leaving their White House posts.
- Twelve people remain at the White House who were the original staff member appointed to hold a position titled Assistant to the President.

In varying degrees, all government institutions are hierarchically organized with a key group of staff at the top managing the decision making structure and personnel carrying out the orders coming from the top. In that way, the White House is no different from other institutions with a core of approximately two dozen people atop a framework of around 450-500 paid White House staff, plus detailees assigned to the White House from other government agencies. The top-tier White House staff are commissioned officers who carry the title Assistant to the President. Among people traditionally holding the title are the Chief of Staff, the National Security Advisor, the directors of the National Economic Council, the Domestic Council, and the Press Secretary. The group of approximately two dozen plus a few additional staff form a president's core leadership team making turnover at this level particularly important for the stability and direction of the presidential decision making process. I do not count Detailees from other parts of the government in my counts of Assistants to the President as they are not regular employees of the White House Office.

The Assistants to the President are the most significant staff people a president appoints as they reflect his leadership and management styles as well as his policy priorities. Additionally, it is this group of aides who form the principals group making recommendations to the president on policies and initiatives as well as coordinating and implementing his decisions from the White House level. Staff losses at the top level bring about disruption at the levels below.

Commissioned Officers: Assistants to the President Form the Top-Tier. The top White House staff in both pay and responsibilities are commissioned officers who get their positions from and are responsible to the president who signs their formal commission. There are three levels of commissioned officers at the White House: Assistant to the President, Deputy Assistant to the President, Special Assistant to the President. The Assistants form the highest paid (\$179,700 for 2017) core leadership group of principals making recommendations to the president while the Deputy Assistants are those who develop alternatives for the Assistants to whom they report. The Special Assistants are the specialists who make arrangements and carry out plans decided on by the commissioned officers at the two levels above them. A president is currently restricted by law and budget to 25 Assistants to the President, 25 Deputy Assistants to the President, and approximately 70 Special Assistants though there is some room to add a few more at the top levels.²

Congress has gradually increased the numbers of staff allowed at each level. In President Trump's case, there are staff at the top level who are not or did not take a salary (Ivanka Trump, Jared Kushner, Reed Cordish) and two who took \$30,000 instead of the top salary (Chris Liddell and Gary Cohn). The list that follows includes those who hold or have held the Assistant to the President or equivalent title at the highest pay level [Counselor to the President, Senior Advisor] along with the announcement dates of their appointment and, if relevant, their resignation dates as well as the type of office where they served. Unless the White House formally announced when people were appointed or left, there are sometimes inconsistencies among sources on announcement dates for appointments as well as when they left. Some staff members, such as Sean Spicer and Hope Hicks, stayed for several weeks after their resignations were announced. Others did the same making it difficult to say when individuals left the White House complex. Where I can, I include the announcement dates for staff resignations because once people know you are leaving, the staff reshuffle begins. The jockeying for position doesn't wait until people walk out the door.

With the exception of Keith Kellogg, who works at the same level, but with reduced responsibilities, 61% of those who held the title of Assistant to the President when they came into the White House in the early months are no longer there. During his first 17 months in office, President Trump lost 25 people who held the title of Assistant to the President or the equivalent. He lost 19 of his original group of Assistants to the President plus six of those replacing original Assistants. There are 12 original Assistants to the President who are in their positions 17 months into President Trump's tenure. That high turnover brings with it an instability in how a White House operates, an outcome that leads to lack of policy and communications coordination as well as disruption in an established decision making process. Effective planning for events several months out is difficult to do when top staff leaders are in flux.

The Impact of the Loss of Assistants to the President. In order to assess the impact of White House staff turnover, the staff is divided into three basic types of positions that form the White House staff. They are process offices, policy ones, and those devoted to relationships outside of the White House. Process offices are those devoted primarily to managing internal White House issues and decision making, such as the Staff Secretary, the Counsel, the Chief of Staff. Policy offices are ones dedicated to handling substantive issues as is the case with the National Economic Council, the National Security Council, and the Domestic Policy Council. The third group of offices are ones devoted to relationships with those outside of the White House, including the Press Office, the Office of Communications, Legislative Affairs, Cabinet Affairs, Public Liaison, Intergovernmental Affairs, and Political Affairs.

Process Offices – ones dealing with the creation and management of the decision making system as well as with its implementation – have been particularly hard hit with changes in the Chief of Staff's position and his deputies as well as with the Staff Secretary leaving. In the earlier administrations compared here, Presidents Reagan, George H. W. Bush, and George W. Bush all had one person serve continually through the 17 month period as Assistant to the President heading each of four key process offices: Chief of Staff, Counsel, Personnel, and Staff Secretary. That has not been the case with President Trump who is the only one of the six to lose a Chief of Staff in that early 17 month period. While Obama had a change in his Counsel, the other three offices were headed by the same appointee through the period. Clinton had changes in Personnel and Counsel.

When you change a Chief of Staff, you bring in a new management team with an altered decision making and enforcement structure. There are changes in the Chief's office beyond moving from Reince Priebus to John Kelly as Chief of Staff. The position of Deputy Chief of Staff with responsibility for carrying out the Chief's orders has passed to four people within 16 months. Katie Walsh had the position when Reince Priebus was Chief, and it passed to Kirstjen Nielsen when John Kelly took over the post. After Nielsen left the White House in the fall and became Secretary of Homeland Security in early December, the position remained vacant until February 2018 when a White House press release announced the appointment of James Carroll to the deputy position. Then in June, Zachary Fuentes, the other aide Kelly brought with him when he came from the Department of Homeland Security, took over the position shortly after Carroll left for an administration post outside of the White House. Without a settled core leadership group of his own, Kelly has had difficulty coordinating White House offices and staff. When Staff Secretary Rob Porter left the White House, Kelly lost a key lieutenant who knew well how a White House functions, and how to coordinate policy and people. He also had first-hand experience on the Hill.

In the Trump White House, the Office of White House Counsel and the Office of Presidential Personnel are the two offices headed by an Assistant to the President to have their original appointee serving as head of the office, though Johnny DeStefano, who heads Personnel, now has a significantly expanded portfolio. The result of having the same director has been a stable staff within each office. While there are losses in the Counsel's office, some Assistant-level staff left for other positions within the administration or in the judiciary.

The Trump White House has few senior staff with White House experience from earlier administrations, but one person who does recently announced his departure date. Joe Hagin, announced on June 19th that he planned to leave in the coming month. His loss is a particularly important one because as the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations in the George W. Bush White House as well as holding the same position in the Trump one, Hagin knows the rhythms of a White House. He is the expert on security measures and arrangements and is at the center of White House structural and organizational changes as well as knowing how to arrange events and presidential travel.

Policy Offices in the Trump White House have witnessed a much sharper turnover at the Assistant to the President level than was true of Presidents Obama, George W. Bush, Clinton, and George H. W. Bush. President Reagan experienced changes in national security and domestic policy areas somewhat similar to what Trump has experienced. There are four basic policy offices in a contemporary White House: the National Security Council, the National Economic Council, the Domestic Policy Council, and the Homeland Security and Counterterrorism adviser. In his 17 months in office, President Trump has had leadership changes at the NSC (3 National Security Advisors or 4 if you count Acting National Security Advisor), NEC, Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, which NSC adviser John Bolton has brought into the NSC and not filled. Only the Domestic Policy Council has the same Assistant to the President, Andrew Bremberg, leading the office.

Four of President Trump's predecessors – Presidents Obama, George W. Bush, Clinton, and George H. W. Bush – had no changes in who headed the four offices. While the National Economic Council and the Homeland Security and Counterterrorism advisor did not exist for all of those years, their White House leadership teams in these economic and security areas was consistent with no changes in the first 17 months. President Reagan, however, made leadership changes in both the National Security Council and with his domestic and economic policy office. There were two offices then that cover the four current ones. He brought in a second National Security Advisor when Richard Allen left and a domestic and economic policy adviser when Martin Anderson went back to California in early 1982.

Of all of the policy offices in the Trump White House, the National Security Council staff has seen a constant churn in its leadership. With a third person, John Bolton, or four when you count Keith Kellogg serving in February as the acting advisor, now serving as President Trump's National Security Advisor, the turnover in the position represents the highest 17 month turnover in the history of the National Security Advisor position. For an office that requires consistency in managing foreign and national security policy, the staff changes represent a disruption in policy direction. In Bolton's case and to a lesser extent when H. R. McMaster came in, both replaced many of the Deputy Assistants to the President, and the Special Assistants heading the dozen

directorates, which meant a real change in direction for the office. Though not as dramatic as the NSC example, there is also a change in leadership at the National Economic Council where the president chose Larry Kudlow to replace the original director, Gary Cohn. Key support staff have left or are leaving, such as Shahira Knight, Deputy Assistant to the President for Economic Policy and Deputy Director of the NEC, who was planning to leave the White House in June though Larry Kudlow's heart attack may have altered her plans to soon join the Clearing House Association.³

Additionally, in the policy area, President Trump disbanded three policy councils he established: the business oriented Strategic Development Group [later renamed the Strategic and Policy Council], the American Manufacturing Council, and the Advisory Council on Infrastructure. The Domestic Council staff, headed by Andrew Bremberg, is stable with little turnover, but Bremberg shares policy responsibilities with Stephen Miller who is Assistant to the President and Senior Advisor for Policy. Immigration policy, a signature item for President Trump, is one of Miller's responsibilities.

Relationship Offices focus on White House connections with outside institutions and groups. President Trump has had difficulty settling on a framework and finding suitable leadership for offices dealing with a president's outside relationships. Of the six key offices dealing with outside groups and institutions – Legislative Affairs, Communications, Press, Public Liaison, Political Affairs, and Intergovernmental Affairs – President Trump had leadership changes at the top of all of these offices, except for Legislative Affairs. Unhappy with the way the offices were working, President Trump charged Johnny DeStefano, the director of the Office of Presidential Personnel, with overseeing Political Affairs, Public Liaison, and Intergovernmental Affairs.

With changes to five of the six offices, President Trump's experience is very different than that of his recent predecessors, except for President Clinton. Clinton had leadership changes in four of the six – Legislative Affairs, Communications, Intergovernmental Affairs, Political Affairs – with both Presidents Bush at the opposite end with no changes. Obama had one change – Communications – while Reagan had two, Congressional Affairs and Political Affairs. Consistency in the leadership of these offices is important for developing long range strategy to get initiatives adopted by Congress and elsewhere through long and short range communications and political strategies.

Legislative Affairs headed by Marc Short provides an example of a stable structure and staff while other offices are experiencing changes in leadership. If the president appoints a communications director, for example, that would mean a change in leadership for a seventh time beginning with the pre-inauguration announcement of Jason Miller as the first director followed by Sean Spicer, Michael Dubke, Spicer for a second time, Anthony Scaramucci and Hope Hicks. Having so many directors in a short period of time has resulted in poor communications strategy development and implementation. The same has been true of the turnover in the Public Liaison operation, which is focused on coordinating outside groups to support the president's initiatives. Turnover has consequences in presidential planning operations and in the effectiveness of strategies coordinating and implementing initiatives.

The relationship offices have been hard hit in part because the leaders of the Intergovernmental Affairs and Political Affairs offices were headed by Deputy Assistants to the President, rather than by people who were at the top leadership level. In fact, Reince Priebus had his deputy chief of staff, Rick Dearborn, supervise those operations by assigning him legislative, Cabinet, intergovernmental, and implementation responsibilities. Then late in 2017, word leaked out of the White House that the personnel chief, Johnny DeStefano, would have additional responsibilities overseeing Public Liaison, and Political Affairs, while also managing Personnel.⁴ Once Dearborn left in mid-spring, Kelly did not replicate the same responsibilities for the Deputy Chief of Staff position, but rather had Chris Liddell become a deputy for policy coordination retaining the title of Assistant to the President.

Assistant to the President level turnover is much higher in the Trump White House than was the case in other recent administrations. Comparing six administrations, the turnover rate for the Trump White House among Assistant to the President top-tier positions is extraordinarily high. There are two aspects of turnover: leaving the Assistant to the President position a person is appointed to and, second, leaving the White House rather than taking another position there at the Assistant to the President level. Basically, a change in White House jobs represents a lateral move where the staff person continues to hold the title Assistant to the President. Having the same people even if they are sitting in different chairs represents less disruption to White House operations than having the staff leave the building and new people take their places.

President	% of Original Assistant Staff Who Resigned / Fired	Number Assistant Positions	Number Assistant Staff Remaining in Same Position	Number of Original Assistant Staff Leaving Position	Number Original Assistant Staff Leaving the White House	Number Remaining in White House in Another Assistant Position	Number of Replacement Assistant Staff Resigned / Fired
Trump	61 %	31	12	19	18	1	6
Obama	14 %	28	24	4	4	0	1
G. W. Bush	5 %	20	19	1	1	0	0
Clinton	42 %	24	14	10	4	6	0
G.H.W. Bush	19 %	16	13	3	3	0	0
Reagan	29 %	17	12	5	5	0	0

Turnover of Assistant to the President and Equivalent Positions at 17 Months

President Trump Assistant to the President Turnover: 61%. As of June 20, 2018, 19 of the original 31 Assistants to the President are no longer in their positions or have formally announced they are leaving (Joe Hagin). Eighteen of them have left or have said they are leaving the White House altogether. Only Keith Kellogg remains in the White House in a lateral move from the NSC where he was Executive Director and

Chief of Staff. When John Bolton came in as the National Security Advisor, Kellogg shifted to Vice President Pence's staff as his national security advisor. In addition to the 19 original Assistants to the President he lost, President Trump had six Assistants leave who replaced those who left. None of the five other presidents experienced such a loss of replacement Assistants. In fact, the only president to lose any second Assistants appointees in the same post in 17 months was President Obama who lost an Acting Communications Director, Anita Dunn, who had committed to a short stay. The other presidents lost none.

President Obama Assistant to the President Turnover: 14%. The turnover rate for a comparable time period for Assistants to the President in the Obama White House was 14% with four people of the 28 leaving and none of the four taking another White House position. Anita Dunn, the one replacement Assistant to the President also left during the time period.

President George W. Bush Assistant to the President Turnover: 5%. In the George W. Bush White House, the turnover was 5% with one person (John Dilulio) leaving of the original 20 Assistants to the President. He left the White House.

President Clinton Assistant to the President Turnover: 42%. There were 24 original Assistants to the President. Ten of them were replaced, but six of those ten stayed on in the White House in other positions that were also at the Assistant to the President level. Only four people leaving the White House meant there was a stability in who the people at the top were, even if there was a significant shift in who headed which White House offices.

President George H. W. Bush Assistant to the President: 19%. The rate was 19% with three staff members out of the originally appointed 16 Assistants to the President replaced and leaving the White House. That number includes Richard Breeden who became chair of the Securities and Exchange Commission.

President Reagan Assistant to the President Turnover: 29%. There were 17 positions at the Assistant to the President level in the 1981- June 1982 period and five of the Assistants left their positions and left the White House in the first 17 months.

The turnover rate has been significantly higher among the top-tier staff in the Trump White House than was the case in earlier White Houses. The impact of the staff churn has been felt in all three types of White House offices: process, policy, and relationships. With that turnover comes significant difficulty in developing and coordinating policy and implementing it from the White House side.

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202-285-3537

Assistant to the President Turnover in the Trump White House -

January 20, 2017 – June 20, 2018

• Indicates person who came in to a position where he or she replaced the original staff member to hold the post. I count the original person to hold the Assistant position even if the post is not created until several months into the administration, as was the case with Ty Cobb's position. While I include in the table the names and dates of those who replace the original Assistant appointees, they are not part of the turnover percentage for a White House. I include the information on those who replaced the original Assistants in order to give a sense of which positions in a White House were particularly vulnerable to change.

PERSON	Senior Title	Type of Office: Process, Policy, Relationships	Announced Appointment	Announced Resignation
Left White House, or, in case of Kellogg, lost key parts of job				
Steve Bannon	Assistant to the President, Chief Strategist, Senior Counselor	Policy	11/13/2016	8/18/2017
Tom Bossert	Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism	Policy: National Security	12/27/16	4/10/2018
 James Carroll Jr [replaced Nielsen] 	Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff	Process; management	11/2017	2/2018
Ty Cobb	Assistant to the President, Special Counsel to the President [replaced by Emmett Flood as of 5/31]	Relationship: legal community	7/31/18	WH announced 5/2 Cobb would "retire" 5/31/18
Gary Cohn	Assistant to the President and Director of the National Economic Council	Policy: economic	12/12/2016	3/9/2018
Reed Cordish	Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental and Technology Initiatives; Office of American Innovation	Policy: economic; relationship: Jared Kushner and Ivanka Trump	1/17/2017	2/16/2018
Rick Dearborn	Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff for Legislative, Cabinet, Intergovernmental Affairs and Implementation	Relationships: institutions in White House orbit	1/4/2017	1/18/2018; final day 3/16/2018
 Michael Dubke [replaced Spicer in Comms post] 	Assistant to the President and Director of Office of Communications	Relationships: media, constituency media groups	2/17/2017 Announced and release March 6, 2017	5/29/2017
Michael Flynn	Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor	Policy: national security	11/11/2016	2/13/2017
Joe Hagin	Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations	Process: management	1/4/17	Early July 2018
Hope Hicks	Assistant to the President and Director of Strategic Communications	Relationships: news media	12/22/2016	2/28/2018
Hope Hicks Assistant to the President and Director of Strategic Communications and Acting Communications Director [Acting 8/16/17 – 9/12/17]			8/16/17 and with permanent title of Communications Director 9/12/17	2/28/2018

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Joseph Keith Kellogg	Assistant to the President and Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff for the National Security Council [transferred to Vice President Pence's staff as National Security Advisor and no longer Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff for the National Security Staff. He remains an Assistant to the President.]	Policy: national security	12/15/16	4/23/18 [served as Acting National Security Advisor 2/13/- 2/20/2017]
 Joseph Keith Kellogg [replaces Michael Flynn as Acting] 	Acting Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs			2/13/2017 – 2/20/2017
Omarosa Manigault	Assistant to the President and Director of Communications for the Office of Public Liaison	Relationships: black community	1/4/216	12/13/17
K. T. McFarland	Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor	Policy: national security	11/25/16	4/9/17
 H. R. McMaster [replaced Michael Flynn.] 	Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor	Policy: national security	2/20/2017	4/9/2018 scheduled handover to John Bolton as announced 3/22/2018
 Kirstjen M. Nielsen [replaced Katie Walsh] 	Assistant to the President and Principal Deputy Chief of Staff	Process: management	7/30/2017	10/11/2017 nominated for DHS secretary; confirmed 12/5/2017by 62- 37 vote
Joshua Pitcock	Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff to the Vice President	Process: management	1/6/17	6/29/17
Robert Porter	Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary	Process: management	1/12/16	2/7/18
Dina Powell	Assistant to the President and Senior Counselor of Economic Initiatives and Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategy	Policy: economic and national security	1/12/17 3/15/17	to NSC 3/15/17 1/11/18
Reince Priebus	Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff	Process: management	11/13/17	7/28/17
 Anthony Scaramucci [replaced Spicer in Comms role] 	Assistant to the President and Director of Communications	Relationships: news media	7/21/17	7/31/17
George Sifakis	Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Liaison	Relationships: interest groups	3/6/17	8/18/17
Sean Spicer [has both titles twice]	Assistant to the President and Press Secretary and Communications Director; second time he is Acting Communications Director	Relationships: news organizations	12/22/16 and 6/2/17	3/6/17 and 7/21/17
Sean Spicer	Press Secretary	Relationships: news organizations		3/6/17 - 6/2/17
 Ricky Waddell [replaced K.T. McFarland] 	Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor	Policy: national security	5/10/17 & 5/19/17	4/12/18
Katie Walsh	Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of	Process: management	1/4/17	3/30/17

White House Staff Appointment • Note Ages Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff Process: management and politics 7/14/17 • John Boiton Ireplacing H.R. Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor Policy: national security 3/22/2018 • Andrew Bremberg Assistant to the President and Director of Domestic Policy Courcil Policy: national security 3/22/2018 • Kellyanne Conway Assistant to the President and Senior Courselor Policy: domestic 1/5/17 • Andrew Bremberg Assistant to the President and Courselor to the President 129/2018], Assistant to the President and Director of President Afairs in December 2017, Igssignment and the broadened 29/18 Policy: legal community 5/7/2018 • Emmet Flood would replace him] Assistant to the President and Special [announced 52 that Ty Cobb would be leaving at the end of the month and Emmet Flood would replace him] Process: management and broadened 29/18 5/7/2018 • Jasen Greenblatt Assistant to the President and Special Walsh] Policy: Middle East 1/2/7/16 • Joseph Keith Was promoted freplaces Jon Lerner Boutonal Security Advisor and no longer Whose tithe Was than Use Dec	2	Assistants to the President Currently Serving on White House Staff		
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• Emmet Flood (replaces Ty Cobb) Assistant to the President and Special Counsel [announced 5/2 that Ty Cobb would be leaving at the end of the month and Emmet Flood would replace him] Policy: legal community 5/7/2018 • Zachary Fuentes [replaces James Carroll Jr., who replaced Kirstjen Nielsen who replaced Katie Walsh] Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff Process: management 6/6/2018 • Joseph Keith Kellogg [replaces Jon Lerner whose title was Deputy Assistant to the President and Special Representative for International Negotiations Policy: legal community 5/7/2018 • Joseph Keith Kellogg [replaces Jon Lerner whose title was Deputy Assistant to the President and Special Representative for International Negotiations Policy: Middle East 12/27/16	John DeStefano	the President [2/9/2018]; Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Personnel, [made Acting Director of Public Liaison, Political Affairs, Intergovernmental Affairs in December 2017, [assignment and	Relationships: Washington community and state and	Broadened Assignment
Fuentes [replaces James Carroll Jr., who replaced Kirstjen Nielsen Was replaced Katie Washi]of StaffWas promoted from his post in the Chief of Staff office as Deputy Assistant to the President. He was promoted from Special to DeputyJason GreenblattAssistant to the President and Special Representative for International NegotiationsPolicy: Middle East12/27/16Jason GreenblattAssistant to the President and Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff for the National Security Council [Itransferred to Vice President Pence's staff as National Security Advisor and no longer whose title was Deputy Assistant to the President.]Policy: mational security12/15/16	Flood [replaces	Assistant to the President and Special Counsel [announced 5/2 that Ty Cobb would be leaving at the end of the month and Emmet Flood would replace him]	Policy: legal community	
Representative for International Negotiations Policy: national security Joseph Assistant to the President and Executive Policy: national security 12/15/16 Keith Secretary and Chief of Staff for the National Policy: national security 4/23/18 [replaces [transferred to Vice President Pence's staff as National Security Advisor and no longer his assignment whose title Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff for the National Security Staff. He remains an his assignment Deputy Assistant to the President.] Assistant He remains an He remains an	Fuentes [replaces James Carroll Jr., who replaced Kirstjen Nielsen who replaced Katie Walsh]			Was promoted from his post in the Chief of Staff office as Deputy Assistant to the President. He was promoted from Special to Deputy Assistant 2/9/2018.
Keith Kellogg [replaces Jon Lerner whose title was Deputy AssistantSecretary and Chief of Staff for the National Security Council (transferred to Vice President Pence's staff as National Security Advisor and no longer the National Security Staff. He remains an Deputy Assistant4/23/18 redefinition of his assignment	Jason Greenblatt	Representative for International Negotiations	-	
to the President] Image: Comparison of the president and Chief of Staff Process: management 7/30/17	Keith Kellogg [replaces Jon Lerner whose title was Deputy Assistant to the President]	Secretary and Chief of Staff for the National Security Council [transferred to Vice President Pence's staff as National Security Advisor and no longer Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff for the National Security Staff. He remains an Assistant to the President.]		4/23/18 redefinition of his assignment

[replaced Reince Priebus]			
 Marcia Lee Kelly [promoted] 	Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Management and Administration	Process: management	
Larry Kudlow	Assistant to the President and Director of the National Economic Council	Policy: economic	3/14/2018
Jared Kushner	Assistant to the President and Senior Adviser	Policy: Middle East	1/9/17
Chris Liddell	Assistant to the President for Strategic Initiatives [1/17/17] Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy Coordination [3/30/18] [was shifted to position that expands his original responsibilities with new roles]	Process: management	1/17/17 3/20/18
 Derek Lyons [replaces Robert Porter] 	Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary	Process: management	6/6/2018 promoted from Deputy Assistant position
Donald McGahn II	Assistant to the President and Counsel to the President	Process: legal	11/25/16
Stephen Miller	Assistant to the President and Senior Advisor for Policy	Policy: domestic, immigration in particular	12/13/16
 Peter Navarro [promoted] 	Assistant to the President for Trade Policy	Policy: trade	2/25/2018
Lindsay Reynolds	Assistant to the President and Chief of Staff to the First Lady	Process: management	2/1/17
 Mira R. Ricardel [replacing Ricky Waddell] 	Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor	Policy: national security	4/20/2018 White House announced
Brooke Rollins [replacing Reed Cordish]	Assistant to the President [in the American Innovation Office]	Policy: prison reform	2/16/18 announced; begins end May-early June
 Sarah Sanders [replaces Sean Spicer and promoted] 	Assistant to the President and Press Secretary	Relationships: news organizations	7/21/17
Dan Scavino	Assistant to the President and Director of Social Media	Process; presidential communications	12/22/16
 Mercedes Schlapp [replaces Anthony Scaramucc i] 	Assistant to the President and Senior Advisor for Strategic Communications	Relationships: news organizations	9/12/17
Marc Short	Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Legislative Affairs	Relationships: Congress	1/4/17
Ivanka Trump	First Daughter and Assistant to the President [this is her title listed on the White House Staff and Salary List submitted to Congress June 30, 2017]	Policy: women's issues	3/29/17

² The relevant laws for White House staffing are: 3 USC 105. Assistance and services for the President. The numbers and salaries of Assistants are tied to the Office of Personnel Management's Executive Level compensation.

Executive Level II Limits Assistants to the President to 25. Executive Level III has a maximum of 25 as well. Executive Level IV controls for Special Assistants and others covering a significant span of salaries and skills. Other laws relevant for White House staff hiring are: 3 USC 108. Assistance and services for the President for emergency needs; 3 USC 106. Assistance and services for the Vice President; 3 USC 107. Domestic Policy Staff and Office of Administration Personnel. 3 USC 3109 Employment of experts and consultants. The text of the statutory provisions can be found at: uscode.house.gov. The text of the statutory provisions is available at uscode.house.gov.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/white-house-looks-to-make-internal-changes-amid-worries-of-a-toughyear-ahead/2017/12/28/76308d98-ec08-11e7-8a6a-80acf0774e64_story.html?utm_term=.a0b8668ba943_

¹ This study focuses on Assistant to the President level positions, including Counselor and Senior Advisor when those positions are at the highest level. My information comes from staff-level information including formal staff titles found in the relevant presidential libraries, staff member biographies, internal White House phone books that I have collected over several administrations, National Journal's *The Capital Source*, which I also have collected during the period it was published, and the *Federal Yellow Book*. I do not count Detailees from other parts of the government in my counts of Assistants to the President as they are not regular employees of the White House Office.

The USC sections are referenced in the annual budget request in the Budget Appendix and the annual appropriations

act which includes the EOP appropriation, currently the Financial Services and General Government (FSGG) Appropriations Act. The FY2017 Appendix is available at:

https://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/Appendix . The FY2017 text of the FSGG bill, as passed by the House, is available at Congress.gov by placing HR 5485 in the search box and then reviewing the EOP section.

 ³ <u>https://www.cnbc.com/2018/06/04/top-white-house-tax-advisor-to-leave-for-bank-lobbying-group.html</u>
 ⁴ Ashley Parker and Josh Dawsey, *The Washington Post*, December 29, 2017,