

Public-Private Partnerships in the Presidential Library System

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Abstract

Public-private partnerships have become an important aspect of public administration theory and practice both in the United States and internationally. The National Archives and Records Administration, in partnership with private support foundations, administers 13 individual presidential libraries that make up the Presidential Library System. These privately constructed, publicly supported archives not only preserve official presidential records, but through their museum displays, also offer visitors a glimpse into the life and times of specific presidents. Although many consider these partnerships vital for the continued success of the Presidential Library System, relatively little is known about them. This qualitative case study explores the nature and extent of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System, focusing on libraries established following the Presidential Records Act of 1978. Key themes related to the nature of these simultaneously mandated and voluntary relationships are their informal governance, decentralized administration, and increased reliance on private resources. This research has implications for both theory and practice of public-private partnerships in general as well as those supporting sites of collective memory such as archives, museums, monuments, and memorials.

Dedication

To Seantylle, Graham, Charlotte, Madeline, and Thomas: Everything is better with you!

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Society depends on “a sufficient unity of outlooks among the individuals and groups comprising it” (Halbwachs, 1952/1992, p. 182). Collective memories form the foundation upon which this unity rests. Commonly held beliefs about the past allow citizens to make sense of the present (Bodnar, 1992). Collective memory strengthens the political institutions of a particular regime (Edkins, 2003; Hasian & Frank, 1999) in that it provides an impression of immortality (Nora, 1989), the view that what was still is and always will be. The illusion of stability offers continuity and order in an otherwise tumultuous sea of change (Brown & Davis-Brown, 1998).

Collective memories are often linked with specific geographic locations. It is these memories that turn an otherwise ordinary space into a culturally significant place (Atwater & Herndon, 2003). Places of shared memory include such locations as museums, archives, libraries, monuments, and memorials (Gillis, 1994b; Kammen, 1991; Savage, 2009; Young, 1993). It is at these sites where a “nation tells its story” (Luke, 2002, p. 14). The narratives found at sites of collective memory create an illusion of societal cohesion, allowing a diverse citizenry to appear united in common principles, values, and ideals (Young, 1993). Additionally, such locations work to legitimize existing social and political structures (Kammen, 1991); in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, sites of collective memory have the capacity to generate and inspire “respect and love of the citizens for the institutions of his country” (cited in Bodnar, 1992, p. 179). The complex and at times paradoxical development of citizenship and national political identity (O’Leary, 1999) has its roots in collective memory work. These sites become “classrooms of democracy” (Wilson, 1991, p. 773) as citizens come “to be both educated and inspired” (Bodnar, 1992, p. 177).

A significant aspect of sites of collective memory is in their ability to legitimize certain narratives as truth (Luke, 2002). The rhetorical structure of a collective memory site “gives prominence to some facets of the past and not others” (Schudson, 1989, p. 108). This structure explicitly identifies certain aspects of the past as worthy of being remembered while others are forgotten or at least deemphasized. This is significant because what is remembered depends on who is remembering. As the former president of the American Historical Association Carl Becker said: “Left to themselves, the facts do not speak; left to themselves they do not exist, not really, since for all practical purposes there is not fact until someone affirms it” (quoted in Nerone, 1989, p. 98).

It is impossible for the whole of history to be remembered. It is the responsibility of the scholar, the archivist, and the curator to determine which memories will become history and which will fade from collective conscience (Nora, 1989). That is not to say that what we call history or even collective memory is neither contested nor contestable; however, certain memories are legitimized and thus become “official” or “true” while others are marginalized or even forgotten (Bodnar, 1992). Far from the work of Oceania’s Ministry of Truth portrayed in George Orwell’s (1977 , originally published in 1949) famous novel *1984*, collective memory work is not cut from whole cloth but operates within a specific context of legitimized truth (Irwin-Zarecka, 2007). Within a particular social and political context some memories are privileged, others are forgotten, while others are not so much remembered but not forgotten (Schudson, 1989).¹

¹ Schudson (1989) uses slavery as an example of something many Americans would like to forget but cannot, largely because race continues to be an important issue in modern United States society. Interestingly, sites of collective memory can both promote certain memories and allow society to forget (Gillis, 1994a). The internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II is something that is not forgotten (the National Parks Service operates the Manzanar Historical Site) but not remembered. The national park remembers this tragic period of American history, thus allowing citizens to forget.

In considering sites of collective memory and their impact on the memories that are remembered, it is necessary to understand how certain individuals and groups become authorized to create, conserve, and promote certain collective memories. The question of who decides what is remembered is significant because there is rarely *a* collective memory but rather several competing collective memories (Nerone, 1989). National governments are often seen as primary originators and purveyors of collective memory (Young, 1993). This is significant because sites of collective memory use the past to influence the future (Popular Memory Group, 1982). What a nation chooses to remember is less of a description of what was than it is a normative statement about what can be (Wills, 1997). Collective sites of memory not only present a vision for what the future might be but, more importantly, what it should be.

Government institutions, are often significant means of forming and shaping collective memory; however, it is critical to remember “not all political institutions are governmental” (Orren & Skowronek, 2007, p. 84). In many countries, sites of historical and cultural significance are owned and administered by the national government; in the United States this is not the case (Bratich, Packer, & McCarthy, 2003). Although the federal government maintains scores of collective memory sites, non-governmental actors play significant roles in creating, maintaining, and preserving collective memory. Often these non-governmental actors operate independent of direct government support; however, many sites of collective memory rely on support from public and private organizations. These partnerships are as diverse as the sites they seek to preserve.

The question of who remembers is of particular interest in the United States because, compared to many other nations, most sites of collective memory are operated by private nongovernmental organizations (Sterne, 2003). The importance of nonprofit organizations in

preserving and administering sites of collective memory is not surprising considering that in the United States nongovernmental organizations have provided many “fundamental economic and cultural activities” (Hall, 1982, p. 1).

Sites of collective memory such as presidential libraries “seem to remember everything but their own past, their own creation” (Young, 1993, p. 14). Sites of collective memory are not neutral rhetorical sites (Kinross, 1985); that is, they not only preserve memory, they help create it (Hasian & Frank, 1999) through privileging certain memories while suppressing or ignoring others altogether (Gillis, 1994a). If sites of collective memory are not rhetorically neutral, it follows that the rhetors responsible for the creation and perpetuation of the narratives found at these sites are not neutral either. Often, the distinction between public and private action at collective memory sites in the United States can be difficult to make. The public-private partnerships at these sites can blur the line between governmental and nongovernmental action. As such, it is vital to understand why and how certain sites came into existence. Of equal importance is to examine the administration and such sites as well as how and why certain administrative structures evolve over time.

Purpose of the Study

Every former U.S. president has at least one museum, monument, or memorial honoring his memory. Most of these physical sites of presidential memory are administered by nongovernmental organizations. Although some are overseen solely by federal, state, or local government agencies, many are administered through public-private partnerships between governmental and nongovernmental organizations (Clotworthy, 2008). In the United States, many consider private groups and individuals, rather than the federal government, to be the legitimate “custodian[s]” of collective memory (Kammen, 1991, p. 13). Over the past one

hundred years, federal agencies [such as the National Parks Service (NPS) and the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA)] have become more involved in creating and maintaining sites of collective memory. These federal agencies often maintain such sites with the help of private nonprofit partners; yet, little is known about the nature and extent of these partnerships and their implications for collective memory.

Near the end of his second term, Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed the creation of a facility to both archive his presidential records and provide a museum for visitors to view artifacts from his life and presidency. Central to Roosevelt's proposal was that the structure would be privately constructed and donated to the federal government to be supported in perpetuity (Hufbauer, 2001). In 1939, Congress passed the Franklin Roosevelt Library Act, allowing the National Archives to accept a privately built facility. President Roosevelt and supporters of his library proposal raised the necessary funds for the construction of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum established a model for preserving presidential records that every successive former president has followed. The public-private partnerships between the National Archives and the presidential support foundations have become central to the administration of the current Presidential Library System.

The importance of the public-private partnerships to the individual libraries was evident at the dedication of the George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum. Like previous libraries in the Presidential Library System (PLS), the George W. Bush Library and Museum was paid for with non-federal money and donated to the federal government to be administered by the National Archives and Records Administration (Curry, 2013). (See Table 1.1.). NARA² administers each presidential library in partnership with a private support foundation or

² For clarity and consistency, this study refers to the agency either as the National Archives or by its current formal name, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

institute.³ Former presidents and/or their supporters create these private organizations to raise funds for the construction, and often continued support, of individual libraries. Although many consider these partnerships to be vital for the continued success of the Presidential Library System (Fawcett, 2006), rather little is known about the nature and extent of the partnerships (Hackman, 2006b).

The relationships between the National Archives and its presidential foundation partners in the Presidential Library System are some of the oldest public-private partnerships in the U.S. federal government (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b). Franklin D. Roosevelt's proposal in 1938 for a privately constructed, publicly administered archive for presidential records set the pattern for each subsequent presidential library. In recent years NARA has become more reliant on the individual foundations supporting each library to fund important public programs such as educational outreach, conferences, and museum exhibit renovations (Cochrane, 2006).

With limited federal appropriations for these activities, the private support organizations play a significant role in the Presidential Library System (Fawcett, 2006); however "these partnerships are little understood and are largely ignored – or avoided – in writings about presidential libraries" (Hackman, 2006a, p. 8). The public-private partnerships that exist in the Presidential Library System present an opportunity to understand better the relationships between a federal agency and its private partners in the preservation of memory.

³ These foundations and institutes are all 501 (c) 3 charitable foundations and have been granted tax exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service (Government Accountability Office, 2011).

Table 1.1 Federal Presidential Library System.

Library	Location	Year Transferred to federal government
Herbert Hoover Presidential Library and Museum	West Branch, Iowa	1964
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum	Hyde Park, New York	1940
Harry S. Truman Library and Museum	Independence, Missouri	1957
Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum	Abilene, Kansas	1964 (Library) 1966 (Museum)
John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum	Boston, Massachusetts	1979
Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum	Austin, Texas	1984
Nixon Presidential Library and Museum	Yorba Linda, California	2007
Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum	Ann Arbor, Michigan (Library) Grand Rapids, Michigan (Museum)	1980 (Library) 1982 (Museum)

Jimmy Carter Library and Museum	Atlanta, Georgia	1986
Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum	Simi Valley, California	1991
George Bush Presidential Library and Museum	College Station, Texas	1997
William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum	Little Rock, Arkansas	2004
George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum	Dallas, Texas	2013

(Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 3).

Research Questions

As noted above, the private support foundations play a significant role at each presidential library and are important institutional actors in the system as a whole (Hackman, 2006b). The major questions driving this research are: What are the nature and extent of the relationships between NARA and presidential foundations, and how have these relationships evolved over time? Here, I focus more specifically on the evolution of the relationships since the implementation of the Presidential Records Act of 1978. The study seeks to enrich the analytic and practical understanding of public-private partnerships by adding empirical evidence about analysis of a particular type of relationship.

Significance of Research

The relationships between the National Archives and its presidential foundation partners in the Presidential Library System are some of the oldest public-private partnerships in the U.S. federal government (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b). Roosevelt's 1938 proposal for a privately constructed, publicly administered archive for presidential records set the pattern for each subsequent presidential library. In recent years NARA has become more reliant on the individual foundations supporting each library to fund important public programs such as educational outreach, conferences, and museum exhibit renovations (Cochrane, 2006). With limited federal appropriations for these activities, the private support organizations play a significant role in the Presidential Library System (Fawcett, 2006); however "these partnerships are little understood and are largely ignored – or avoided – in writings about presidential libraries" (Hackman, 2006a, p. 8).

Although much has been written about the origins of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum (Connor, 1940b; Hufbauer, 2001; Koch & Bassanese, 2001; Leland, 1955; McCoy,

1975; Ward, 1989; Wolff, 1989), there have been only two significant systematic studies of the Presidential Library System itself. Lynn S. Cochrane (1998) highlights the distinct nature of the multi-organizational relationships between NARA and the individual private presidential support foundations. Describing the Presidential Library System as a policy sub-system, a “functionally interdependent” (p. 194) arrangement based on the “shared responsibility and shared governance” (p. 187) of governmental and nongovernmental actors. Benjamin Hufbauer’s (2005) work investigates how presidential libraries have shaped collective memory regarding the American presidency. He concludes that presidential libraries significantly contribute to “the civil religion of the United States,” presenting an often “propagandistic” view of the accomplishments of a former president (p. 198). Each of these studies is useful for understanding the PLS; however, neither attempts to investigate the nature or evolution of the public-private relationships in the broader PLS.

The public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System were an important topic throughout a February 2011 joint hearing before the U.S. House of Representatives committees on Transportation and Infrastructure and on Oversight and Government Reform. Among other concerns, committee members asked about the role of the private foundations at each library (*American's Presidential Libraries: Their mission and their future*, 2011). Shortly before the hearing began, the General Accountability Office issued a report focused on the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System that highlighted the distinctive nature of these multi-organizational relationships (2011).

The public-private partnerships between NARA and presidential support foundations have become important inter-organizational structures in the Presidential Library System. Organizations and their structure are purposefully designed to achieve certain goals (Ashby,

1966). Many governmental organizations have come to rely on multi-organizational collaborations, such as public-private partnerships and contracts, to address complex public issues (Kettl, 1993). Contrasted with traditional hierarchical organizational structures, multi-organizational arrangements provide governmental actors more flexibility in producing and delivering public goods and services (Agranoff, 2007; Goldsmith & Eggers, 2004; O'Toole, 1997). The obvious benefits of organizational structures capable of adapting to dynamic environmental influences notwithstanding, it is significant to recognize that organizational structures are “the result of political choices of politicized actors” (Knott & Miller, 1987, p. 274). From this perspective, multi-organizational collaborations are mutually beneficial, allowing each organization a greater opportunity to fulfill its purposes (Kettl, 2012, p. 115).

Current scholarly literature related to public-private partnerships is multi-disciplinary in nature and lacks consensus in both theory and in practice (Mcloughlin, 2011; Teamey, 2007). Little agreement exists among researchers from various countries and academic disciplines about the definition and attributes of public-private partnerships (Selsky & Parker, 2005). Many of these multi-organizational relationships are simply contractual while others are more complicated (Gazley, 2008). Public-private partnerships represent one type of these complex relationships. The uncertainty surrounding the term itself is not surprising considering the various understandings of public and private as analytic concepts (Pesch, 2005). The disparate nature of public-private partnerships in public administration practice (Najam, 2000) presents significant challenges for empirical research and public administration theory related to such inter-organizational relationships. Empirical studies of public-private partnerships often are case studies (Teamey, 2010) with limited generalizability.

Yet it is the very diversity and complexity of these multi-organizational relationships that make them worthy of scholarly scrutiny. Although there are commonalities among the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System, each is distinct. The disparate nature of these multi-organizational relationships may limit the generalizability of this study's findings; however, a better understanding of the relationships between NARA and its presidential support foundation partners may be beneficial to understanding other public-private partnership dedicated to public history as well as public-private partnerships more generally.

This study of public-private partnerships has important implications for both theory and practice. As government actors come to rely more and more on public-private partnerships (Krawchenko & Stoney, 2011), it is imperative to better understand the nature and extent of these relationships. Each attempt at identifying how and why public-private partnerships form and persist provides scholars and practitioners a better understanding of public-private partnerships in general.

In addition to offering a fuller understanding of public-private partnerships as a collaborative inter-organizational structure, this study sketches a richer perspective of the National Archives and Records Administration generally and of presidential libraries specifically. By conserving presidential records and artifacts, presidential libraries are a means of holding a former president accountable for the decisions made during an administration. Since their inception, presidential libraries have provided scholars, journalists, and citizens unprecedented access to the official documents of former executives. The libraries are a critical resource in nurturing and sustaining public trust in and providing a more open system of government.

The practical significance of this study can be found in the observation that the majority of visitors to presidential libraries do not come to use the archives but rather to enjoy the museum exhibits (Hufbauer, 2005). These museums are important because they shape visitors' understanding not only of particular presidents but also of the presidency as a governing institution. NARA officials traditionally have been less interested in the content of presidential library museum displays than in preserving and providing access to presidential records (Hufbauer, 2006). In the United States, nongovernmental organizations play a significant role in the preservation and maintenance of cultural and historical sites (Bratich, et al., 2003). As such, it is important to understand more fully the role that private actors play at public museums and other public sites dedicated to the preservation and promotion of history and collective memory. Collective memory, like organizations and their structure, has purpose (Young, 1993). As public spaces, presidential libraries present an opportunity to comprehend better why and how nongovernmental actors engage in preserving and maintaining public sites in the United States dedicated to the cultivation of collective memory.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter 2 contextualizes the study by providing an overview of the U.S. federal government's involvement in preserving physical sites of presidential history as well as official presidential records. Chapter 3 surveys scholarly literature relevant to public-private partnerships and introduces the study's conceptual framework. Chapter 4 provides a detailed account of the study's research design, including data collection and data analysis. Chapter 5 presents the study's findings, including both archival and interview data. Chapter 6 examines the implications of the research for public-private partnerships in general as well as those specific to sites of

collective memory such as archives, museums, monuments, and memorials. The chapter ends with an examination of future research possibilities.

Chapter 2

Presidential Papers and Presidential Places

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the federal government's involvement in preserving presidential records and sites of historical significances related to former presidents. Next, it briefly examines the origins of the National Archives and the Presidential Library System, including the role that Franklin D. Roosevelt played in establishing the first federally administered presidential library. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of significant legislation affecting the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System.

Preserving Presidential Papers

For most of the nation's history presidential records have been considered private property (Schick, Schick, & Carroll, 1989). The custom of former presidents retaining ownership of their records is rooted in "the British tradition that the sovereign's working papers were the sovereign's personal property" (Rhoads, 1975, p. 33). At the end of his second term, George Washington shipped his presidential records from Philadelphia to Mount Vernon with plans to eventually construct a facility to house them (Hufbauer, 2001). Washington never built an archive for his presidential papers; however, the practice of presidents leaving office with ownership of records was virtually unchallenged until the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon in 1974 (McDonough, 1975; McKay, 1982). Although the official records of a president are now considered property of the federal government, the tradition of private ownership of presidential records continues to have relivance in the administration of the Presidential Libray System.

Nonetheless the private ownership of presidential papers did not preclude the federal government's involvement preserving records of historical importance. During the nineteenth century, the State Department and the Library of Congress were both instrumental in gathering

and preserving the records of former presidents (Veit, 1987, p. 2). Even as the federal government's collection of presidential records increased, the tradition of private ownership of presidential papers was not seriously challenged (H. G. Jones, 1969).

Historically, private ownership of presidential records was justified on the principles of “confidentiality, separation of powers, and partisanship”; respect for these concepts continues even as presidential records have become public property (Smith & Stern, 2006, p. 81). In 1886, members of the Senate demanded access to executive records regarding President Grover Cleveland's involvement in the removal of a sitting United States district attorney. According to R.D.W. Connor (1940b), the first Archivist of the United States, this was the first serious test of the tradition of private ownership of presidential records. Cleveland instructed the Attorney General not to comply with the Senate's request. In a letter to the Senate, President Cleveland emphatically defended the tradition of private ownership of presidential papers:

I regard the papers and documents withheld and addressed to me or intended for my use and action purely unofficial and private, not infrequently confidential, and having reference to the performance of a duty exclusively mine. I consider them in no proper sense as upon the files of the Department, but as deposited there for my convenience, remaining still completely under my control. I suppose if I desired to take them into my custody I might do so with entire propriety, and if I saw fit to destroy them no one could complain...

They consist of letters and representations addressed to the Executive or intended for his inspection; they are voluntarily written and presented by private citizens who are not in the least instigated thereto by any official invitation or at all subject to official control. While some of them are entitled to Executive consideration, many of them are so irrelevant, or in the light of other facts so worthless, that they have not been given the least weight in determining the question to which they are supposed to relate...

Their nature and character remain the same whether they are kept in the Executive Mansion or deposited in the Departments. There is no mysterious power of transmutation in departmental custody, nor is there magic in the undefined and sacred solemnity of Department files. If the presence of these papers in the public offices is a stumbling block in the way of the performance of Senatorial duty, it can be easily removed.

The papers and documents which have been described derive no official character from any constitutional, statutory, or other requirement making them necessary to the performance of the official duty of the Executive. (Richardson, 1899, pp. 378-379)

Cleveland's vigorous defense of the private nature of presidential papers ended any further discussion of the matter.

Confidentiality has been an important justification for the private ownership of presidential records. It is not difficult to understand a former president's desire to ensure certain records remain confidential. Chief executives seek advice from a variety of individuals on a range of topics. Herman Kahn (1954), former Director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum, cautioned that if former presidents could not limit access to certain records, the "full documentation" of an administration would "dry up" (p. 161). That is presidents and their advisors would simply cease to produce written records of certain events and conversations. David D. Lloyd (1955), director of Harry S. Truman Library, Inc., echoed the concern that public ownership of presidential records could decrease the historical record of an administration. Lloyd complained some scholars were "heartless" in their demands for greater access to presidential records. He continued that in matters of access, the wishes of a former president should be considered, because if they were not, "the papers may never get to the scholars at all. The owners, after all, can always destroy them, and some Presidents, or Presidents' families have done – or tried to do – just that" (p. 105).

In addition to confidentiality, the tradition of private ownership of presidential papers has been justified by the principle of separation of powers. In 1915, former president William Howard Taft argued presidential records were unlike records generated by executive agencies because "the executive office of the President [is a constitutional office,] not a recording office" (quoted in McDonough, 1975, p. 4). The constitutional nature of the presidency grants the office

a certain amount of independence. The chief executive maintained control of the records needed to carry out the constitutional and statutory responsibilities of the office. From this perspective, the nature of the papers did not change once a president left office; presidential papers were the private property of a president both during and after his term in office (Kahn, 1959).

A final justification for private ownership of presidential papers is found in the partisan nature of presidential politics. As they became leaders of political parties, presidents grew enmeshed in partisan political activities. Following the pattern established by his predecessor, John Adams took his papers with him at the conclusion of his term in office, thus denying Thomas Jefferson and other political opponents access to his political writings (Connor, 1940b). It is easy to forget that presidents serve for set number of years and that the private activities of their lives both precede these years of service and often continue long afterward. Making political records of a former president publicly available “could be embarrassing and might seriously damage their effectiveness in” later activities (Rhoads, 1975, p. 34).

With no legal mandate to preserve the records of an administration, the maintenance of presidential records was the personal responsibility of a former president or his estate. The physical and financial burdens of preserving presidential records was significant for many former presidents and their families (Connor, 1940b). Several early American presidents or their estates donated or sold portions of their records to the federal government (Kahn, 1959). Many of these records were preserved in the Library of Congress; others were held by the Department of State; and the papers of other presidents were donated to local, state or university libraries (Schick, et al., 1989). Those presidential records that were not preserved in libraries or archives often were distributed to friends and supporters, maintained as cherished family heirlooms, misplaced, or inadvertently or even maliciously destroyed (Ward, 1989).

The National Archives

Early archives of federal records were little more than storage warehouses, providing limited public access (Van Tassel, 1960) and susceptible to fire (H. G. Jones, 1969). In 1913, Congress approved initial plans for the construction of an archival building to house the federal government's records. Efforts to construct a national archive were delayed by World War I (p. 9). In an effort to accommodate the growing federal bureaucracy, Congress passed the Public Buildings Act of 1926. The Act called for the design and construction of a number of federal buildings, including a national archive (National Archives and Records Administration, 2013a). Construction began in 1931 and as the facility neared completion, Congress passed the National Archives Act of 1934, creating the National Archives of the United States, an independent administrative agency, charged with preserving U.S. government documents. Congress justified the new agency's independent nature based on "the fact that the National Archives was responsible for the records of all three branches of government" (H. G. Jones, 1969, p. 20). The new agency called for the "Office of Archivist of the United States, the Archivist to be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" (quoted in H. G. Jones, 1969, p. 14).

The first real threat to the National Archives' independence occurred just three years after its creation. Administrative reformers, concerned about government efficiency, argued for the incorporation of smaller federal agencies, like the National Archives, into larger ones. With the help of President Roosevelt and professional historians and archivists, the fledgling agency successfully defended its independence (H. G. Jones, 1969, p. 22). Acting on recommendations from the Hoover Commission, in 1950, Congress stripped the National Archives of its independent status, renamed the agency the National Archives and Records Service (NARS) and

moved it into the General Service Administration (GSA) (Warner, 1995, p. 4). During this period, the Administrator of General Services rather than the president appointed the Archivist of the United States. In 1985, NARS was removed from the GSA and once again made an independent administrative agency, this time known as the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) (Wilson, 1996). Since 1985 the Archivist of the United States has been appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate (National Archives and Records Administration, 2013f).

Preserving Presidential Places

For the first one hundred years of the nation's history, Congress repeatedly declined to financially support efforts to build monuments or memorials to commemorate the accomplishments of sitting or former presidents (Harvey, 1902). Shortly after the death of George Washington, then-Congressman John Marshall introduced legislation calling for a federally funded monument to the memory and legacy of the former president. The joint resolution called for "a marble monument [to] be erected by the United States at the City of Washington...designed as to commemorate the great events of [Washington's] military and political life" (Annals of Congress, December 23, 1799, p. 208).

A year later plans to erect the monument stalled as the House of Representatives could not agree on whether the project was an appropriate use of federal appropriations. Supporters of the Washington Monument argued a federally funded site would be proper in that the construction of such a structure would "not be the act of an individual" but rather "the act of a Government expressing the will of a great nation." Some opponents expressed their concern about the precedent such a monument would create for future, perhaps less worthy, former presidents (Annals of Congress, December 5, 1800, p. 802). Others were not opposed to the idea

of a memorial to Washington but considered such action beyond the mandate of the federal government (Savage, 1987).

In 1801, the Senate rejected a House bill that included appropriations for the construction of the proposed Washington Monument. The vote is not surprising considering the political climate of the time regarding the size, scope, and role of the federal government. Over the next several decades, Congress intermittently debated the appropriateness of financially supporting the construction of a monument to Washington. Responding to the question of why the federal government had not constructed a monument to honor George Washington, former president John Quincy Adams stated that monument building was undemocratic; the “very essence” of democracy “is iconoclastic” (quoted in Savage, 2009, p. 1).

Throughout the nineteenth century Congress periodically argued about the appropriateness of the federal government preserving sites of national historical significance (West, 1999). Upon the death of Thomas Jefferson in 1826, Congress was urged to purchase his estate at Monticello “as both a shrine and a summer executive mansion” (Peterson, 1962, p. 13). Similarly, George Washington’s estate at Mount Vernon had become somewhat of a “patriotic mecca” following his death, and many saw the property as “a shrine that ought to be the property of the nation” (Hosmer, 1965, p. 29).

In 1833, a group of citizens from the District of Columbia, including Chief Justice John Marshall, organized the Washington National Monument Society to raise funds to construct the monument. Having received a grant of land from Congress to construct the monument, leaders of the organization assumed citizens from around the nation would be eager to contribute financially to a permanent monument to the memory of George Washington. In 1851 the United States Army inquired about purchasing Washington’s Mount Vernon to be used as a retreat for

injured soldiers (Hosmer, 1965). When Congress would not appropriate funds to purchase George Washington's former estate, owner John Washington reluctantly sold the estate to Ann Cunningham and the Mount Vernon Ladies Association (Hosmer, 1965, pp. 41-62).

The efforts of the Washington National Monument Society, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, and other similar nongovernmental organizations emphasize the role nongovernmental organizations have played in the preservation and administration of historical sites in the United States (Bratich, et al., 2003; Hosmer, 1965; Kammen, 1991). Surely, Alexis de Tocqueville was speaking of such groups when he famously stated:

Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations.... Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association. (Tocqueville, 2003, p. 374)

As the nation prepared to celebrate its first centennial public pressure to memorialize certain political figures intensified (Savage, 1987), and progressively the federal government became more involved in creating monuments (Savage, 2009) and preserving significant sites in the lives of former presidents (Beasley, 2001).

Preserving Presidential Papers and Presidential Places

The early decades of the twentieth century saw increased interest by local, state, and federal governments and by nongovernmental actors in preserving sites of historical significance (Bodnar, 1992) and government records (H. G. Jones, 1969). In 1914, a public-private partnership between the State of Ohio and the Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation created the first presidential library in the United States. The Rutherford B. Hayes Memorial Library combined two parallel movements in preservation: the archiving of historically significant documents and the creation of sites of memory dedicated to former presidents. The Hayes Library is not administered by NARA and is not a part of the federal

Presidential Library System; however, the public-private partnership served as an model for the current federal system (Hufbauer, 2005).

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

Shortly after Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in 1933 it became clear to him that no archive or museum in the country was large enough to accept the voluminous records that his administration would produce. As early as 1935, FDR targeted the National Archives as a possible custodian for his vast collection of papers related to his life in public service. The fact that Roosevelt did not want his presidential records archived in a separate depository from those associated with his earlier public service created a problem (Connor, 1940b). FDR believed it would be inappropriate for records related to his service as a New York state-senator and governor of New York to be housed in the National Archives (McCoy, 1975). After much consideration in December 1938, Roosevelt invited a group of scholars to lunch at the White House to seek support for a proposal he was about to make concerning the preservation of his presidential records; the reaction he received was overwhelmingly positive (Ward, 1989).

With the support of many of the day's foremost historians, FDR laid out a plan to use private funds to construct an archive to hold his records and other personal items of historic significance. Once the privately built facility was completed and the contents in place, he would present it as a gift to the people of the United States.⁴ In exchange for his gift, Roosevelt asked that the federal government agree to maintain the facility, his records, and many of his personal collections in perpetuity (McCoy, 1975). Roosevelt rejected the idea that his papers be stored in the recently completed National Archives building in Washington, D.C. (Hufbauer, 2005), preferring that they be preserved in a facility constructed on his family estate in Hyde Park, New

⁴ By donating his papers to the National Archives, Roosevelt allowed them to become public property. It is significant that according to the deed of gift, Roosevelt and a group of trustees maintained control over which papers were to be made available to the public (Ward, 1989).

York (McCoy, 1975). FDR insisted that the proposed facility would be more than an archive, but also would contain a museum for tourists to see the President's personal collections (Hufbauer, 2001).

On December 17, 1938, a group of supporters met to discuss matters related to FDR's proposal. Among the topics considered at this first meeting were fundraising plans, the need for new legislation to allow the federal government to accept and care for the building and the historical materials it would hold, and what the facility ultimately should be called (Connor, 1940b). Less than a week later, on December 22, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc. was incorporated in New York State. The organization was given the "power to solicit, accept, borrow, invest, and expend money, and transfer property to the United States provided that adequate legislation should be enacted for the acceptance of such property and for its permanent care and maintenance" (Leland, 1955, pp. 17-18).

In July 1939, Congress passed a joint resolution outlining the conditions under which the Archivist of the United States could accept real property, records, and other historical artifacts that would make up the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library. In accordance with the statute, no federal funds were used to construct the library. As library construction neared completion and preparations were made to transfer the property to the federal government, Roosevelt confided to R.D.W. Connor, the first Archivist of the United States, that the President anticipated the Library would incur certain expenses that Congress would be unwilling to fund. FDR planned to "to keep in existence the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Inc., through which such necessary funds could be raised from private sources, when needed" (Connor, 1940c, p. 29). Clearly, Roosevelt intended the private foundation to remain actively involved in the administration of his presidential library.

Even after he turned the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum over to the federal government, President Roosevelt remained deeply interested in the project. Archivist Connor wrote in his diary that the library was

A lucky break for me. It has made it possible for me to see a great deal more of him in personal as well as official relations than I would have otherwise. As my notes show, he took a keen personal interest in the library...The words 'Franklin D. Roosevelt Library' were an Open Sesame to his office; whenever I wanted to see him about any matter, I had only to mention the Library and the way was opened for me (Connor, 1941, pp. 78-79).

The Roosevelt Library was a boon for the National Archives more generally (McCoy, 1975); however, the President's attention was not without its challenges. Following a conversation with the President about the FDR Library, Connor wrote: "I don't envy the man who takes over the job of administering the F.D.R. Library unless he is able to conform to the ideas – I may say the queer ideas of Franklin D. Roosevelt – about how it ought to be administered!" (Connor, 1940a, p. 71). When time came to name a library director, the President and Connor had different ideas about the qualifications necessary for the position. FDR proposed a close political advisor while Connor preferred a trained archivist (Hufbauer, 2001). On June 27, 1940, Connor met with the President to discuss the appointment of a library director. Connor wrote that when he informed FDR that he was ready to make an appointment, "He wanted to know, and I told him that it was Fred W. Shipman, a member of the staff of the National Archives. 'Where does he come from?' he asked. I replied that he as from Massachusetts. 'Is he a Democrat?' I said 'Of course,' although, as a matter of fact, I haven't the slightest idea whether Shipman has any politics or not" (Connor, 1940c, p. 27). Even after the library became federal property, Connor complained, "The President still thinks of the Library as his personal property. He is a fine man to work with, but he has a tendency to forget that minor officials of the Government must do their work 'within the law'" (Connor, 1941, p. 78).

From One Library to a System of Libraries

Presidential Libraries Act of 1955.

The success of the Roosevelt Presidential Library has not been lost on his successors. In 1952, the Harry S. Truman Library Inc., a foundation established by former President Truman and his supporters, began a campaign to raise \$1.5 million for the construction of a structure to house the former president's records (Waggoner, 1952). As the Truman Library neared completion, Congress passed the Presidential Libraries Act (PLA) of 1955. Table 2.1 identifies legislation that has had substantial impact on the individual libraries in the PLS. The PLA outlined the terms under which the federal government would accept the presidential records of any living former president and of future former presidents, essentially creating the current Presidential Library System (Wilson, 1991).

The PLA and subsequent legislation regarding presidential records and presidential libraries have significantly influenced the evolution of the PLS. One fundamental aspect of the PLS is the condition that federal funds cannot be used in the construction of a new presidential library. This provision essentially institutionalized the pattern established by FDR of private foundations working with NARA; that is, it established a “privately built, publicly maintained” model (Cochrane, 2002, p. 60) for preserving presidential records. Through the George W. Bush presidency, every eligible former president has chosen to construct a library to archive his records.⁵

A significant aspect of the PLS is the control a former president, and by extension his presidential foundation, have over where the library will be constructed. Early advocates of the

⁵ As of fall 2013, neither the White House nor the National Archives has made an official announcement about the possibility of a Barack H. Obama Library and Museum. Many of those interviewed for this study anticipated President Obama to follow the established pattern of constructing a presidential library. Regardless of his decision to raise non-federal funds for the construction of a presidential library, the official records of his presidency are subject to the Presidential Records Act of 1978 and the property of the federal government.

Presidential Library Act of 1955 praised the bill for allowing former presidents the flexibility to preserve “their papers at the place of their choice” (H.R. Rep. No. 998, 1955). In rejecting the idea that his presidential papers be archived in the Library of Congress or the then newly constructed National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. (Connor, 1940b), FDR created the precedent for future former presidents to construct their libraries at the locations of their choosing. The decision to have presidential libraries in geographically diverse locations has contributed to the decentralized administration of the PLS.⁶

Creation of the Office of Presidential Libraries.

NARA employees at each library traditionally have enjoyed considerable autonomy from NARA officials in Washington. Initially, the head NARA employee at each library, the library director, reported directly to the Archivist of the United States. In 1964, Archivist Wayne C. Grover created the Office of Presidential Libraries (OPL) to address the increasing number of presidential libraries (Fawcett, 2006). Herman Kahn, former director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, served in the OPL as the first assistant archivist for presidential libraries (Schick, et al., 1989).

As the head of OPL, the assistant archivist for presidential libraries, a career civil service position (Fawcett, 2006), was responsible for the administration of presidential libraries, with the Archivist retaining certain administrative responsibilities, such as hiring library directors. The mission of the OPL has not changed from its original mandate to:

⁶ It is undeniable that the Cold War had a significant impact on the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955. Supporters of the law argued in favor of locating presidential libraries outside of Washington, D.C. as a means of influencing all visitors, but particularly young Americans, who might be called upon to defend the nation in a time of war (H.R. Rep. No. 998, 1955).

Table 2.1 Legislation Related to the Presidential Library System

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library Act of 1939

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

Presidential Library Act of 1955

Herbert Hoover Library

Lyndon B. Johnson Library

Harry S Truman Library

Gerald R. Ford Library

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

Jimmy Carter Library

John F. Kennedy Library

Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act of 1974

Richard Nixon Library

Presidential Records Act of 1978

Ronald Reagan Library

William J. Clinton Library

George H.W. Bush Library

George W. Bush Library

...establish and coordinate policies with regard to Presidential Libraries, including programs for acquisition, preservation, and use of historical materials appropriate for deposit in the Presidential Libraries, maintain liaison with the incumbent administration and with officials of former administrations with regard to organizations, storage and reference service on Presidential papers and other historical materials prior to the establishment of a Presidential Library... (quoted in Schick, et al., 1989, p. 11)

In 2011, NARA (2011a) announced significant changes to the organizational structure of the agency. Among the changes affecting the PLS were that the head of the Office of Presidential Libraries is now called the Director of Presidential Libraries (2012b). The head of the OPL no longer reports directly to the Archivist of the United States but rather to the head of Legislative Archives, Presidential Libraries, and Museum Services (2013b).

Library directors play an important role in the administration of presidential libraries. According to Cochrane (1998), “the personal characteristics and professional skills of the library director” have been key indicators of a “library’s vibrancy and effectiveness” (p. 188). It may not be surprising then that individual library directors enjoy considerable discretion in their dealings with their specific foundation partners. NARA’s organization chart lists each presidential library as an organizational unit under OPL; traditionally, however, each library has been “left largely on their own” concerning their general administration and “relationship with their foundation” (Fawcett, 2006, p. 17). One way library directors have managed their relationships with their presidential foundations is by serving as a foundation board member. Although this practice was never the norm and is not currently utilized, Larry J. Hackman, former Truman Library Director and Truman Library Institute President, praised this structure, suggesting it allowed the director to present a unified message about the library to the public (Hackman, 2002). Yet critics of this arrangement argue that the dual responsibilities of library director and foundation board member potentially compromise the foundation’s independence and represent a conflict of interest (Craig, 2006).

Public Ownership of Presidential Papers

Shortly after the PLS was established, some scholars contended presidential records should be publicly owned, not just publicly preserved. H.G. Jones (1969) argued private ownership of presidential papers created an “illogical” and “unconstitutional” situation where “a private citizen – perhaps one who never had exercised the office of President or could even be eligible to do so – could decide what papers of the Presidency a subsequent holder of its powers might or might not see” (pp. 162-163). Nearly two decades after the PLA passed, ownership of presidential records became a contested issue. In September 1974, then former President Richard M. Nixon entered into a written agreement with the head of the General Services Administration, Arthur Sampson. This agreement reaffirmed that Nixon’s presidential papers were private property and identified specific records that would be destroyed on September 1, 1984 or upon Nixon’s death, whichever occurred first (Nelson, 1978). In response, Congress passed the Presidential Records and Materials Preservation Act of 1974, which seized Nixon’s presidential papers and placed them in NARA’s care. Over the next few years debates in academia, the popular press, and Congress raged about who should own presidential records (McDonough, 1975; Schlesinger, 1975).

In 1978, Congress passed the Presidential Records Act (PRA), making presidential records created on or after January 20, 1981 public property. The PRA fundamentally altered the nature of presidential papers. Presidential records archived in those presidential libraries not covered by the PRA became public property by means of a deed of gift. That is, a former president donated his private papers to the federal government. Now, presidential records subject to the PRA are at no point the private property of a president. Such records remain in federal custody in perpetuity. Under the PRA, a newly constructed presidential library archive is the

official property of the United States government rather than the donated property of a former president.

Periodically, the idea of a centralized archive for presidential records located in proximity to Washington, D.C. has been proposed (Elliott, 1981; National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b). Some lawmakers have suggested such an archive could reduce the federal government's financial obligations in preserving and maintaining presidential records. NARA officials recognize that a centralized facility could potentially eliminate, or at best, significantly reduce the private support received from private presidential support foundations. Presidential foundation support of individual presidential libraries is an important argument against a centralized facility for presidential records (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b).

Presidents have issued three significant executive orders on presidential restrictions of presidential records. On January 18, 1989, President Ronald Reagan issued Executive Order 12667, establishing procedures by which a former president could limit access to presidential records subject to the PRA. President George W. Bush modified this order on November 1, 2001 with Executive Order 13233, extending the "constitutionally based privileges" of a former or the incumbent president to restrict access to presidential records related to the:

military, diplomatic, or national security secrets (the state secrets privilege); communications of the President or his advisors (the presidential communications privilege); legal advice or legal work (the attorney-client or attorney work product privileges); and the deliberative processes of the President or his advisors (the deliberative process privilege) (Executive Order 13233, 2001).

E.O. 13233 is significant because it allowed a former president, his family members, or other designated representatives to block the release of certain materials archived in presidential libraries. The order sparked controversy as critics claimed it significantly hampered public

“access to the papers and records of former presidents” (Yuhan, 2004).⁷ Hufbauer (2005) argues that in practice Executive Order 13233 undermined the Presidential Records Act, giving former presidents control over access to public records (pp. 184-188). On January 21, 2009, President Barack Obama signed Executive Order 13489, revoking 13233 and essentially reinstated E.O. 12667. Interestingly, Section 1 (e) of 13489 defines presidential records as “those documentary materials maintained by NARA pursuant to the Presidential Records Act, *including* [emphasis added] Vice Presidential records” (Executive Order 13489, 2009).

Shortly after Congress passed the Presidential Records Act of 1978, Senator Lawton Chiles of Florida and others in Congress expressed concerns over benefits provided to former presidents (C-SPAN, 2001). In 1986, Congress amended the Presidential Library Act requiring private support foundations to provide an endowment to cover a percentage of annual operating costs.⁸ The level of endowment required by a support foundation is a calculation of a presidential library’s square footage. The endowment requirement is an example of the recent trend of NARA relying more on the resources of the presidential foundations for financial support for public programs (Fawcett, 2006). NARA’s increased reliance on private funding for public programming, once paid for by federal appropriations, is a major concern of those interested in the administration of presidential libraries (Hackman, 2004).

NARA currently administers 13⁹ presidential libraries in partnership with private foundations created by former presidents to support their libraries. Variation in these relationships stems from the fact that NARA must react to the mission and interests of the

⁷ For an overview of EO 13233 and its impact on access to presidential records, see (Karin, 2002).

⁸ The 1986 legislation required a 20% endowment. That percentage was increased to 40% in 2006 and 60% in 2008. The increased endowment does not affect the George W. Bush Library but applies to all future libraries (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009).

⁹ This number includes the George W. Bush Library and Museum in Dallas, Texas dedicated on April 25, 2013.

individual foundations. For example, the Jimmy Carter Library and Museum does not receive direct support from the Carter Center; however, NARAs working relationship with the former president and his foundation is considered positive (Fawcett, 2006). It appears in general the individual foundations rather than NARA dictate the nature and relative strength of a specific public-private partnership in the Presidential Library System (Hackman, 2006).

The distinctiveness of these relationships is evident in the variation within the formal written agreements between NARA and the individual presidential foundations. A 2011 report on presidential libraries by the Government Accountability Office describes early agreements as “Letters of Offer and Acceptance between the foundation and the General Service Administration (GSA), with later agreements taking the form of a mutually signed agreement between the foundation and NARA.” The GAO report acknowledges “these agreements differ in format; content; and the extent to which they address use of facilities, library, and foundation staff relationships, and political activities” (Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 13). The report notes that these formal agreements are important; however, the relationships between NARA and the presidential foundations are “shaped over time...by factors such as the particular foundation’s interest in collaborating with the library or doing charitable work elsewhere” (p. 14). The formal written agreements between NARA and the individual foundations are an important tool in understanding the relationships between the two parties, but they do not fully describe the complexity of each relationship.

Preserving Records vs. Preserving Legacy

Presidential libraries account for a small portion of NARA’s statutory mandate (Craig, 2006). This alone may explain why NARA historically has left the museum portion of these institutions to the private foundations to initiate, construct, and maintain (Hackman, 2006).

Those in favor of presidential libraries often downplay the role of the private foundations in memory creation and highlight the public benefit such partnerships provide (Fawcett, 2006). NARA and foundation employees almost universally consider the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System as critical to its success (Fawcett, 2006). The statutory requirement that no federal funding be used to construct presidential libraries means that these partnerships are not completely voluntary. Statutes do not require former presidents to build libraries to house their records; however, if they choose to do so NARA is obligated to work with their foundations.¹⁰ The multi-organizational relationships between NARA and presidential foundations generally have persisted beyond the initial construction of the libraries themselves, and NARA recognizes the public-private partnerships as integral to the success of each library (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009). Additionally, the Archivist of the United States is obligated by statute to consult with a former president or representatives from his foundation before a new library director is appointed (Fawcett, 2006). Although the final appointment power remains with the Archivist, a presidential foundation can exercise considerable influence over the process (Craig, 2006).

A 2006 special issue of the *Public Historian* was dedicated to questions surrounding presidential libraries. In it, Larry J. Hackman, former director of the Truman Library and Museum and President of the Truman Library Institute, wrote: “if the National Archives treats these partner/support organizations, as it does, as fundamental to the future of public programs in the presidential libraries, the public interest requires...a thorough, thoughtful, and forthright examination of presidential libraries” (2006, p. 170).

¹⁰ If a president were to decide not to construct a presidential library, NARA would still be responsible for the preservation, maintenance, and access of the public records of that particular presidency.

Summary

Franklin D. Roosevelt's proposal of a "privately built, publically maintained" (Cochrane, 2002, p. 60) archive for presidential papers has had a significant impact on the public access of such records. The public-private partnerships that were central to FDR's original presidential library proposal have become vital to the current Presidential Library System. What is less clear are the nature and extent of these relationships and their implications for the creation and preservation of public history. To address these issues, Chapter 3 reviews scholarship related to public-private partnerships and how both rational choice institutionalism and resource dependency can elucidate how and why these relationships form and evolve over time.

Chapter 3

Relevant Scholarship

In an effort to make fuller sense of why and how certain public-private partnerships form and persist, Guo and Acar (Guo & Acar, 2005) suggest scholars view these multi-organizational relationships from several theoretical perspectives. To understand better the nature and evolution of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System, this study relies on scholarship related to public-private partnerships (PPP), rational choice institutionalism, and resource dependency. I begin this chapter with a review of literature germane to public-private partnerships and then turn to rational choice institutionalism and resource dependency. These three areas of research provide the basis for the study's conceptual framework.

Public-Private Partnerships

Governments have long coordinated with nongovernmental actors to produce and deliver public goods and services (Hammack, 2002). Contracts and other cross-sector public service delivery methods are often justified by increased efficiency and effectiveness (Lynn, 1998). In the early 1990s, politicians and public administration scholars and practitioners in the United States, and around the world, argued for a greater reliance on market-based approaches to public administration (Rosenbloom, Kravchuk, & Clerkin, 2009). This results orientation toward government is consistent with the public administration reform movement known as New Public Management (NPM). Advocates of NPM encourage government at all levels to, among other things, “arrange for the provision of public services rather than delivery them directly” (p. 362). Recently government agencies have become reliant on contracts, partnerships, and associations with nongovernmental organizations (Huang & Provan, 2007). Although public-private partnerships (PPPs) are not a “consequence” of NPM (Grossman, 2012), they are consistent with

its principles. NPM highlights the benefits of the private sector (K. Jones & Bird, 2000), emphasizing efficiency (Singleton, 2000) and encouraging government agencies to “steer rather than row” (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992, p. 28). Beyond NPM, government’s increased reliance on private partners to create and deliver public goods and services also can be seen as a response to increasingly complex public problems (Kettl, 1993). Complicated modern challenges require flexible multi-organizational solutions that traditional bureaucratic structures cannot provide (Bovaird, 2004; Goldsmith & Eggers, 2004; O’Toole, 1997).

PPPs can refer to a variety of multi-sector relationships involving government, for-profit and not-for-profit organizations (Selsky & Parker, 2005). The variance in both public and private actors creates confusion about what constitutes a PPP and how these arrangements differ from contracting and other methods of multi-organizational collaboration (Mcloughlin, 2011). The review here focuses on partnerships between nonprofit organizations and government agencies because these particular PPPs have become an important aspect of public administration practice and theory both in the United States and internationally (Krawchenko & Stoney, 2011; Wettenhall, 2003).

As an analytic concept PPP has been studied in many countries around the world (Hodge & Greve, 2007) and from the perspectives of a variety of academic disciplines (Teamey, 2007); yet these multi-sector, multi-organizational relationships continue to be “poorly understood” (Mcloughlin, 2011). Research findings related to PPPs have been varied and often contradictory (Weihe, 2008); as a result there is little consensus about the sorts of relationships that constitute a PPP (Hodge & Greve, 2007; Linder, 1999; Peters, 1998; Teamey, 2010). A single generally accepted definition of PPPs does not exist (D. W. Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Mcloughlin, 2011). Some scholars have lamented the lack of a clear definition, arguing for a single definition

of partnership (Nelson, 2002). Najam (2000), however, contends that a single definition of PPP is unrealistic, considering “that the NGO sector is certainly not monolithic, and neither is government.” (pp. 390-391). That is, the distinctive nature of government agencies and their nongovernmental partnerships (Selsky & Parker, 2005) makes a comprehensive definition impossible to produce (Weihe, 2008).

Although the term partnership has become widespread (Crawford, 2003), its meaning has remained unclear in both public administration theory and practice (Teamey, 2007). Abrahamsen (2004) describes two general streams within the PPP literature. The first views PPPs as positive or desirable relationships between governmental and nongovernmental organizations. These “genuine” partnerships (p. 1455) are beneficial to civil society and ends unto themselves (J. M. Brinkerhoff, 2002, p. 20). A key aspect of this normative view of genuine PPPs is that they are founded upon the principle of equality. Relationships between participants are expected to those of equals; that is, the organizational partnership is between principal-principal rather than principal-agent (Peters, 1998). Abrahamsen (2004) argues that from this perspective the goal of PPPs includes “mutual respect and equality of power and influence” between organizational actors (p. 1455).

The second perspective views PPPs as a rhetorical device designed to legitimize a particular organizational relationship (Abrahamsen, 2004). That is, the term partnership is used instrumentally as a rhetorical device reinforcing the “belief in the capacities of the private sector” (K. Jones & Bird, 2000, p. 494). Edgar, Marshall, and Bassett (2006) contend “the term ‘partnership’ does not imply an equal distribution of power, resources, skills, and responsibilities” (p. 4). Linder (1999) argues that multi-organizational relationships often are strategically described as PPPs to quiet critics. Wettenhall (2003) suggests that for some the term

PPP is simply a synonym for contracting or privatizing, but for others it represents a “third way” for producing and delivering public goods and services, an attractive balance between the public and private sectors.

Much of the early literature related to PPPs has roots in scholarship highlighting the benefits of collaborative multi-organizational relationships (Hardy & Phillips, 1998). Proponents of PPPs often portrayed them as a “panacea for governance” without fully understanding how these relationships emerge, evolve, and persist over time (J. M. Brinkerhoff, 2002, p. 20). Wettenhall (2003) warns against casting all PPP as positive and cooperative; more recently scholars have presented a richer view of PPPs, acknowledging their potential drawbacks as well as their potential benefits (Bovaird, 2004; Edgar, et al., 2006; Gazley & Brudney, 2007; Hodge & Coghill, 2007; Krawchenko & Stoney, 2011; Rosenau, 1999; Teamey, 2007).

One drawback of PPPs is the potential of decreased democratic accountability (Hodge & Coghill, 2007; Kettl, 1993). While PPPs need not affect the accountability and responsibility the public partners have to citizens, the multi-organizational relationships must balance these ideal with the private sector ideals of efficiency and economy. As such, multi-organizational collaborations may not be appropriate in all situations (Goodsell, 2007). PPPs generally encompass formal and informal relationships (Peters, 1998). Although most PPPs have formal written agreements, Gazley (2008) argues these relationships are more than the sum of duties found in a contract. The commitment to a specific shared goal is often the driving force in these relationships rather than mere fulfillment of legal obligations. This informal aspect of PPPs can be beneficial as both partners seek “to meet public needs, accomplish common agendas, or wrestle over definitions of the common good” (p. 142); however, too much flexibility can cause

confusion as partners struggle to identify and carry out specific roles and responsibilities (Batley, 2006).

Najam (2000) argues that even a single partnership between governmental and nongovernmental actors operates across multiple dimensions. The individual actors engaged in partnerships might agree or disagree on both the means and the ends of a specific project. Governmental and nongovernmental partners *cooperate* as they seek similar ends through similar means. Here both partners not only coordinate activities but have shared norms and values guiding those actions (pp. 384-385). *Confrontation* occurs in PPPs when partners seek conflicting goals through divergent strategies. The extent of an adversarial relationship can vary and may not describe the overall relationship, but rather a portion related to a particular organizational subunit, policy, or practice (pp. 385-387). A partnership where governmental and nongovernmental organizations seek congruent objectives through disparate methods is a *complementary* relationship. Such a partnership might see the individual organizations “work separately but not antagonistically” (p. 388). *Co-optation* can occur both formally and informally (Selznick, 1980) when organizational partners pursue similar means in an effort to produce dissimilar results (Najam, 2000, pp. 388-389).

One view of PPPs and other multi-organizational collaborations highlights their instrumental nature. This perspective argues multiple organizations are able to produce and deliver public goods and services more effectively than any single organization. (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001). Synergistic qualities aside, multi-sector relationships can be highlighted by “acrimony, power determination, disagreement over problems and aims, impossibility in reaching agreement, and lack of implementation ability” (McGuire & Agranoff, 2011, p. 266). Much has been written about the struggles inherent in managing complex inter-organizational

relationships (Klijn, Steijn, & Edelenbos, 2010; Provan, Fish, & Sydow, 2007); however, many empirical studies have overlooked why such relationships form and persist (O'Toole & Meier, 2004). The antecedents of PPPs are an important part of understanding why such collaborations initially form and persist (Halpert, 1982). Understanding why certain partnerships initially formed can be helpful in making sense of why particular partnerships are constructed as they are (Skelcher, Mathur, & Smith, 2005). PPPs between governmental and nongovernmental organizations are not immune to external pressures; the historical, social and political contexts in which these relationships exist have a profound impact on how specific PPPs form and function (Lewis & Opoku-Mensah, 2006).

Collaborative partnerships are often said to involve voluntary relationships (Wood & Gray, 1991). Although this frequently is the case, it is important to recognize it is not always so. Some multi-organizational relationships are not voluntary but rather mandated by an influential third party (Halpert, 1982). Obligatory relationships can create tension between partners as each seeks to maintain autonomy while fostering interdependence (Rodríguez, Langley, Béland, & Denis, 2007). In addition to looking at the larger context in which PPPs occur, these multi-organizational relationships are both dynamic and complex (K. Jones & Bird, 2000). That is, like all relationships, PPPs “are not fixed”; they evolve over time and might be simultaneously “cooperative and/or competitive” (McLoughlin, 2011, p. 249). Moreover, a governmental organization might have different relationships with each of its nongovernmental partners (Najam, 2000).

Researchers have analyzed PPPs using a variety of theoretical lenses (D. W. Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2011; Teamey, 2010). In her review of the PPP literature, Teamey (2007) identifies several theoretical perspectives that have been employed to better understand PPPs;

these include economic and political new institutionalism, resource dependency, and power (pp. 12-20). From these and other theoretical foundations, researchers have developed myriad frameworks to study PPPs; yet many of these frameworks have not been empirically tested (Teamey, 2010).

The public-private partnerships in the PLS provide an opportunity to investigate PPPs that are voluntarily continued beyond the initial mandated period. As discussed above, under the PLA, NARA is required to collaborate with a former president and/or his support foundation in the construction of a presidential library. Former presidents are not required to construct a facility to house their records; however, in choosing to do so a former president obligates NARA to cooperate with his support foundation. Once a presidential library is constructed and turned over to the federal government, the partnership need not continue; yet most of the presidential support foundations have maintained close relationships with NARA (Fawcett, 2006).

Rational Choice Institutionalism

Neoinstitutional theories provide potentially beneficial perspectives when considering how and why multi-organizational relationships develop and persist (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2008). Institutions and processes of institutionalization have been a matter of interest for organizational theorists from a variety of academic disciplines (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). Research across disparate disciplines has revealed diverse perspectives relating to institutions and the institutionalization process (Ragsdale & Theis, 1997). In considering the goals and behaviors of institutional actors (Vijge, 2013), rational choice institutionalism provides significant insights into why and how public organizations have formed and evolved over time (Durant, 2006).

Rational choice theory has been an important theoretical lens for exploring complex human interactions (Hindmoor, 2010). Like most contemporary views of rational choice theory, this study began with the assumption that individuals are purposeful actors, who have bounded rationality. Although these suppositions may assume too much, rational choice theory has significant explanatory capacity (Hindriks, 2008). According to institutional rational choice theory, organizations are essentially an accumulation of rules and regulations that shape and reflect the behavior of actors. Just as organizational rules offer incentives for actors to behave in a predictable manner, they also provide negative consequences for those who deviate from them (Scott, 2008). Although many of the general assumptions of rational choice theory have been questioned (Green & Shapiro, 1994; Perrow, 1986), they provide the foundation of “a good working hypothesis that should not be easily abandoned” (Granovetter, 1985, p. 506).

Terry Moe (1990, 1994, 2005) contends all organizations, but specifically public bureaucracies, are organized as they are because the groups and individuals creating the rules for how an organization is to be designed have powerful incentives to structure them in such ways to maintain and strengthen their power and influence. Similarly, Teamey (2010) describes PPPs as complex relationships between strategic actors seeking to accomplish particular ends through specific means. PPPs are deliberately designed by individuals and groups trying to promote their own interests (Peters, 2005; Reenock & Gerber, 2008). Such a perspective highlights the significance of inter-organization structures. That is, such structures are not benign, but rather the means by which certain groups and individuals pursue their goals (Moe, 2005).

Beginning from a view that organizations are strategically structured suggests initial insights into the PPPs in the PLS. In 1938, NARA possessed both the legislative mandate and the physical space necessary to preserve Roosevelt’s presidential records. In his personal narrative

concerning the creation of the Roosevelt Library, Waldo G. Leland (1955) described the incorporation of a private foundation to construct the Roosevelt library and museum as a “hedge” against the possibility of congressional inaction (p. 18). The existence of a private foundation actively fund raising to support the construction of a future Roosevelt Library influenced members of Congress and ultimately the language of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library Act. Having set a precedent with the Roosevelt Library, legislative support for the Presidential Library Act of 1955 is not surprising. NARA continues to consider the private presidential support foundations vital to the success of the Presidential Library System.

Rational choice institutionalism views PPPs like other organizational designs as “the structural means by which political winners pursue their own interests” (Moe, 1990, p. 213). Such an acknowledgement raises important questions about why and how public-private partnerships have formed and persisted in administering presidential libraries as well as how these relationships have evolved over time (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, & Suddaby, 2008).

Resource Dependence

Resource dependency is an important theoretical perspective in empirical studies attempting to understand the nature and extent of multi-organizational collaborations (Hillman, Withers, & Collins, 2009). An organization’s environment is a key element in strategic action (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Resource dependency theory seeks to understand the specific environments in which an organization operates in order to identify where critical resources are both located and obtained (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). The need for vital resources (such as capital, knowledge, and legitimacy) leaves organizations exposed to external threats. As organizations gain control over resources, whether tangible or intangible, such threats are mitigated (Wernerfelt, 1984). The scarcity of critical resources within a given organizational

environment encourages resource interdependence (Lundin, 2007). This organizational interdependence comes at the price of decreased autonomy (Provan, 1984). Organizations seek to gain control over critical resources as this decreases uncertainty as well as interdependence. Control over environmental resources is paramount since as an organization decreases its reliance on other entities for its survival, its own autonomy increases (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Additionally, an organization that controls resources often increases the number of organizations dependent on it for their own survival (Morgan, 2006).

It is important to acknowledge that not all resources are financial. The legitimacy of an organization and its actions depends in large part on the environments in which it operates (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). In addition to tangible resources, organizations “need social acceptability and credibility” to survive (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000, p. 237). Following Suchman (1995), legitimacy refers to the “general perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions.” (p. 574). In this view, legitimacy is an external evaluation of an organization’s activities. Once an organization and its actions are considered legitimate they achieve a certain “taken-for-grantedness” (p. 582) that shapes “how people act toward...and understand” that organization (p. 575). Legitimacy works to explain and justify certain action (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and is contingent on the existence of a set of shared values (Koppell, 2008).

The position of an organization in an environment is relative to other organizations in that environment. As a result, organizations often seek to adapt to and or endeavor to change their environment to control external resources organizations (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Effort to construct a more favorable external environment may include collaborative arrangements with

other organizations (Hillman, et al., 2009). This is not surprising: as organizations seek to access and control external resources, they may come to see other organizations as being vital their own success. Multi-organizational collaborations often are the result of organizational interdependence (Pfeffer & Nowak, 1976). Such collaborations (e.g., PPPs), are consistent as well with rational choice theory, and they can be seen as strategic actions to acquire and maintain access to necessary resources (Pfeffer & Nowak, 1976). These collaborations introduce new structures that simultaneously encourage and obstruct certain types of action (Giddens, 1984). This relationship between agency and structure (Giddens, 1981) is central to Pfeffer and Salancik's (1978) view of resource dependency theory: organizations structure and are structured by individual actions (p. 258).

Maintaining organizational interdependence, or at least the perception of symbiosis, can be beneficial in maintaining and increasing access to important resources (Ozcan & Eisenhardt, 2009). Collaborative relationships can be problematic since cooperation makes each partner susceptible to the opportunistic actions of other partners (Lee, Lee, & Feiock, 2012) and ultimately to cooptation. In an attempt to understand the antecedents of inter-organizational collaborations and the motivation behind such relationships, O'Toole and Meier (2004) suggest revisiting Philip Selznick's (1980) *TVA and the Grass Roots*. Within this germinal text of institutional theory, Selznick utilizes the concept of cooptation in describing the Tennessee Valley Authority's (TVA) relationships with its nongovernmental constituencies. He uses cooptation, or the "process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence" (p. 13), to investigate vital characteristics of the TVA's multi-organizational relationships. Selznick argues that cooptation can be both formal and informal. *Formal cooptation* is publicly manifested in the

form of contracts, new organizations or administrative structures; it occurs when the legitimacy and authority of an act or actors is questioned by those outside the network relationships. An example of former cooptation can be seen in the TVA's relationships with local organizations that were "established to gain local participation in the administration of the Authority's programs" (p. 14). Formal cooptation creates the appearance of shared power or co-management between parties; however, it is responsibility, not power, that is delegated through formal cooptation (p. 14). *Informal cooptation* occurs within network relationships as internal groups or individuals seek to exchange resources for the ability to shape policies or outcomes. Informal cooptation is implicit and seeks to avoid recognition by external actors. An example of informal cooptation occurred as the TVA hired prominent individuals from among its partners to fill employment vacancies (p. 147). It is through informal cooptation that formal relationships can be established and maintained or undermined and weakened (p. 15).

Cooptation assumes organizational actors are both purposive and strategic. This view acknowledges that public-private partnerships, somewhat vaguely defined relationships between governmental and non-governmental actors, can be used as strategic mechanisms to accomplish certain political ends (K. Jones & Bird, 2000). That is, structures, such as public-private partnerships, are purposefully designed by individuals and groups seeking to promote their own self-interests (Peters, 2005; Reenock & Gerber, 2008). Such an understanding complicates these relationships, considering that partnerships are designed to be somewhat informal by nature. The expectation that partnerships extend beyond the written contract inherently creates a situation where both formal and informal cooptation might exist.

Presidential papers are an important resource in the relationships between NARA and its presidential foundation partners. As mentioned above, prior to the Presidential Records Act of

1978 in order for NARA to obtain control over presidential records, the agency needed a former president to donate his private property to the federal government through a deed of gift. Under the PRA, all official presidential records created on or after January 20, 1981 are the property of the federal government. NARA does not need a deed of gift for these records. The PRA marked a fundamental shift in the preservation of presidential records: it eliminated a significant resource the private foundations brought to their relationship with NARA. Nonetheless, the PPPs continue to be important aspects of the PLS (Government Accountability Office, 2011).

Conceptual Framework

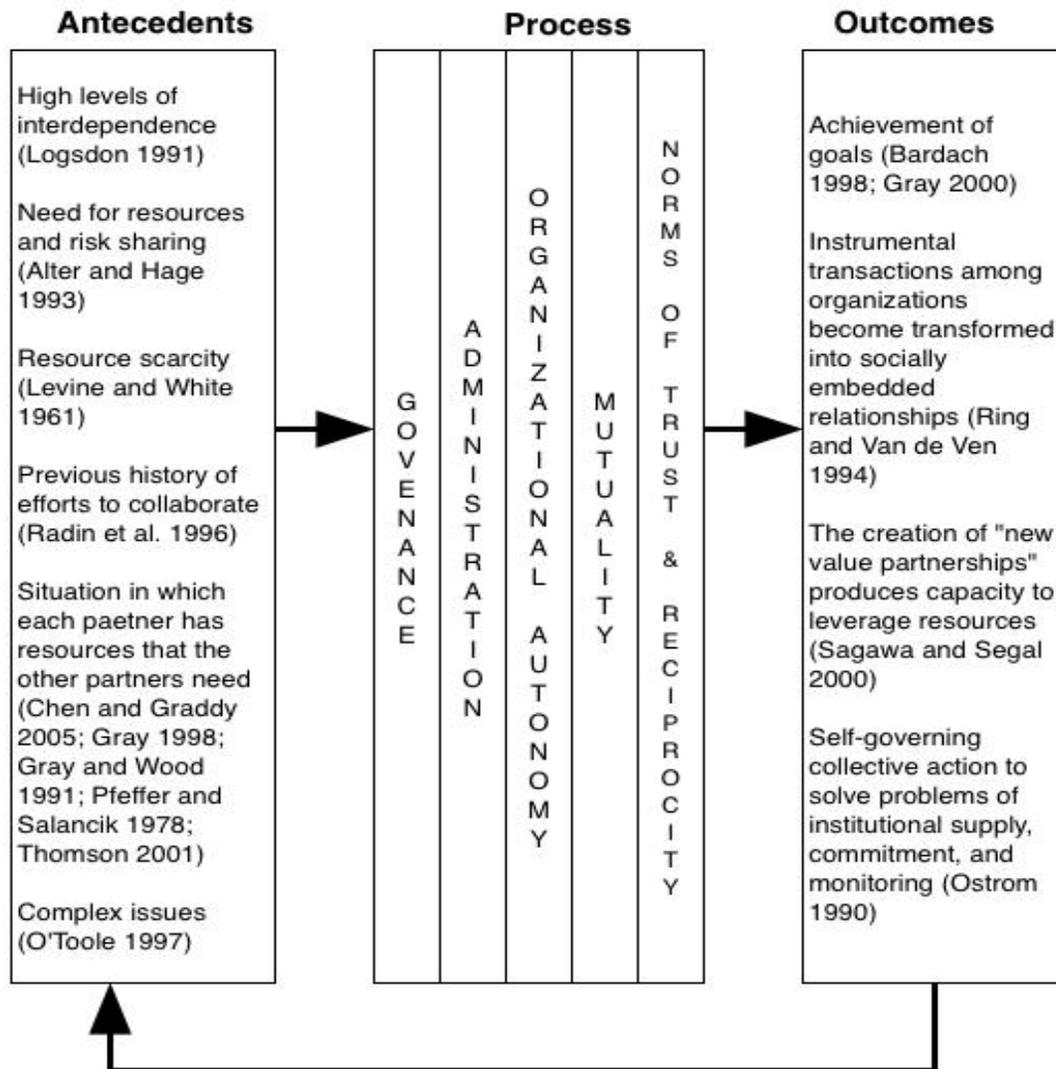
This chapter introduces the conceptual framework for this study. The framework relies on assumptions found in rational choice institutional theory; that is institutional actors are both purposive strategic. From this perspective, the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System become means to accessing tangible and intangible resources. The framework for this study builds on Thomson and Perry's (2006) process model of collaboration. Thomson and Perry's process model of collaboration seeks to address questions of why and how organizations collaborate.¹¹ Building on the work of Wood and Gray (1991), Thomson and Perry's (2006) model begins with the assumption that multi-organizational relationships, like PPPs, are not inevitable but rather form for specific purposes. Consistent with rational choice institutionalism, understanding the antecedents of a relationship is an important step in comprehending how and why certain partnerships emerge and persist as they do (Halpert, 1982). In an attempt to reveal the contents of the "black box" of collaboration, Thomson and Perry (2006) suggest that collaboration consists of five key dimensions: governance, administration,

¹¹ The model includes outcomes of multi-organizational relationships as part of the process of collaboration. Although this is an important aspect of collaboration, the outcomes of the public-private partnerships are beyond the scope of this research project. The outcomes of the relationships between NARA and their private support foundations in the Presidential Library System are significant and should be the subject of future empirical work.

organizational autonomy, mutuality, and norms of trust and reciprocity (p. 21). (See Figure 3.1.) For the purposes of this study, it is important to acknowledge that each of these components of the collaboration process is multidimensional. This multidimensionality makes them difficult to operationalize for research purposes; however, it provides a fuller understanding of the richness and complexity of the collaborative relationships in the Presidential Library System.

Governance, the first dimension in Thomson and Perry's (2006) framework, relates to the defining structures of these partnerships, emphasizing the roles and responsibilities of each organizational partner. The concept refers to structures by which rules are made; it is through these structures that action in the partnership is defined, sanctioned, and constrained (p. 24). While the governance dimension of collaboration is concerned with what the collaborating partners will do, the administration dimension relates to how things get done within the partnership. The roles and responsibilities of each partner is a central aspect of how multi-organizational collaborations are administered (p. 25). Both the governance and administration of multi-organizational relationships recognize the negotiated nature of collaboration. Governance and administrative structures are the result of strategic alliances (Gulati, 1995) formed by purposive actors seeking to mitigate organizational uncertainty (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Rational choice institutionalism and resource dependency theories establish expectations about the governance and administrative structures of these relationships. That is, these two perspectives elucidate both why organizations would enter into multi-organizational relationships, like public-private partnerships, and how and why these relationships are structured as they are (Kettl, 2012, p. 115).

Figure 3.1 Antecedent-Process-Outcome Framework.



The Antecedent-Process-Outcome Framework

Source: Adapted from Wood and Gray (1991).

(Thomson & Perry, 2006, p. 21)

The organizational autonomy dimension of Thomson and Perry's (2006) model captures the struggle organizational partners experience as they attempt to retain their own identities and autonomy while acknowledging their interdependency (p. 26). This perspective of autonomy reinforces the idea that organizational autonomy is not binary; rather, it is potentially nuanced and complex (Damgaard, 2006). The interdependence of multi-organizational partners is of increasing importance to public organizations reliant on nongovernmental organizations to produce and deliver public goods and services (Huang & Provan, 2007). Governance and administrative structures designed to establish or reinforce organizational autonomy can be undermined by political, social, or economic influences beyond the control of organizational partners (Yesilkagit, 2004).

The mutuality dimension of Thomson and Perry's (2006, p. 27) model is in line with both rational choice institutionalism and resource dependency scholarship. Mutuality refers to the idea that multi-organizational arrangements are purposive, designed to achieve specific goals (Moe, 1995) and form and persist only to the extent that each party receives some benefit from the relationship (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Closely related to mutuality, the norms of trust and reciprocity are important aspects of collaboration. This idea emphasizes that partners often are only willing to cooperate if a potential partner can be trusted to respond collaboratively (Thomson & Perry, 2006, pp. 27-28).

For Thomson and Perry (2006), outcomes of a particular multi-organizational collaboration have the potential to impact the future of not only that particular relationship but also subsequent collaborative efforts. It is significant to recognize the outcomes of multi-organizational collaborations can be both tangible and intangible. Although the outcomes of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System are beyond the scope of this

project, the concluding chapter considers the implications of private foundation influence in the Presidential Library System as it relates to collective memory work.

Summary

Multi-organizational collaborations are increasingly important tools for government at all levels to address complex public challenges. This chapter began with a review of scholarship relevant to public-private partnerships. In an attempt to understand better both why the multi-organizational relationships in the Presidential Library System formed and how they have evolved over time, this chapter considered scholarly work on rational choice institutionalism and resource dependency. This study relies on the five dimensions of Thomson and Perry's (2006) collaboration framework to identify explicit examples of the process of multi-organizational collaboration in the Presidential Library System. Consistent with both rational choice institutionalism and resource dependency, the model assumes multi-organizational collaborations are strategic arrangements designed to achieve specific goals and to help organizations survive in resource-scarce environments. A better understanding of the antecedents and processes of the PPPs in the PLS will help elucidate the complex nature of these collaborative relationships as well as how they have evolved over time. In Chapter 4, I discuss the specifics of how I applied Thomson and Perry's framework to this study.

Chapter 4

Research Design

Having presented the scholarly and conceptual grounding of this study in the two previous chapters, I now turn to the details of how I examined the extent and nature of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System. The chapter begins with a discussion of the case selection for this qualitative case study. Next, attention turns to the scope of the research project, data collection and data analysis. The chapter concludes with an examination of the study's limitations.

Case Selection

Over the past one hundred years, the federal government has become more involved in creating and maintaining sites of historical and cultural importance (Bodnar, 1992; Kammen, 1991; Shackel, 2001). Nongovernmental actors play an important role in helping to preserve and maintain many of the sites. Investigations into the administration of such sites often overlook the nature of these multi-organizational relationships. The public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System provide an opportunity to investigate such relationships.

This research considers the Presidential Library System as a whole beginning in 1938; however, the project focuses on the multi-organizational relationships in the system following the Presidential Records Act (PRA) of 1978. The PRA marked a qualitative shift in the resources that both NARA and the presidential foundations bring to their relationships with one another. As a result, I pay greater attention to those partnerships between NARA and the libraries covered by the Presidential Records Act (PRA) of 1978, beginning with the Ronald Reagan Library and Museum and ending with the George W. Bush Library and Museum. Although Richard Nixon's records are not subject to the PRA, they were at the heart of the legislation. The research project does not compare relationships before and after the PRA but rather examines those PPPs that the

legislation affected. The study's units of analysis is the relationship between each presidential library and its private support foundation. These relationships are distinct (Fawcett, 2006), and the variations among them provide important clues about the nature of the partnerships in the PLS.

Qualitative Case Study

To investigate the nature and evolution of the multi-organizational relationships in the Presidential Library System, I follow Yin's (2009) definition of a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 18). Here the overall case is the Presidential Library system, with the relationships between libraries and foundations serving as "embedded cases."

Case study research has been praised for its exploratory value as well as for providing a "depth of analysis" that may not be obtainable through other means (Gerring, 2004, p. 348). Qualitative case studies permit researchers to explore complex problems in an effort to better understand how and why they exist and how they evolve over time (Marshall & Rossman, 2010).

The principal concern of all case study research is to produce better understanding of a particular case. Although generalization or transferability is a significant research goal, it need not be the primary objective of case study research (Stake, 1995, p. 4). Individual case studies may have both intrinsic and instrumental value. To understand the difference between intrinsic and instrumental case studies, one must distinguish the case from the issue(s) of interest. This distinction at times can be difficult to make; however, separating the specific issue or issues to be examined from the context in which they occur allows the researcher to understand the value a distinct case might offer (Yin, 2004). Stake refers to a study that is more interested in a certain

case as an intrinsic case study, while an instrumental case study uses a case to understand more fully a particular issue or issues. The main rationale for investigating an intrinsic case is to gain greater understanding about that specific case or cases rather than to generalize. This is not to say that intrinsic cases cannot be instrumental as well; however, the main focus of such projects are to better understand the case rather than an identifiable characteristic that also may appear in others (Stake, 1995).

This study is an intrinsic case analysis with instrumental value. Its intrinsic value is rooted in the missions of the National Archives and Records Administration generally and of presidential libraries specifically. The work of the National Archives is significant because official government records often “provide the scaffolding” (Cox & Wallace, 2002, p. 2) for the construction of narratives forming collective memory and shaping national identity (Brown & Davis-Brown, 1998). This perspective highlights the importance of the National Archives and Records Administration and emphasizes the value in understanding better the multi-organizational relationships in presidential libraries. Although there are commonalities among the PPPs in the PLS, each is distinct. The diverse nature of these relationships may limit the instrumental value of the study; however, a better understanding of the multi-organizational collaborations between NARA and its presidential support foundation partners may be beneficial to understanding similar collaborative arrangements between governmental and nongovernmental actors dedicated to preserving and promoting public history.

The inter-organizational relationships between NARA and its private foundation partners do not constitute a closed system, but rather they are embedded in a broad political and social environment. For example, university libraries have long archived presidential records. More recently, a pattern of constructing presidential libraries on university campuses emerged with the

LBJ Library at the University of Texas and has reappeared with the H.W. Bush, Clinton, and W. Bush libraries (at Texas A&M, Arkansas-Little Rock, and Southern Methodist Universities, respectively). This practice has been simultaneously criticized and praised (Mitchell & Kirk, 2008). The decision by a specific president or presidential foundation to collaborate with a particular university has implications for NARA as it potentially imposes another partnership on the agency. This research emphasized the relationships between NARA and the presidential support foundations; however, it is important to recognize that both NARA and its foundation partners have relationships with other organizations that may influence the relationships germane to this study.

Data Collection

This study relied on document analysis and elite interviews to better understand how and why NARA's relationships with its private partners have emerged and evolved over time. Data collection occurred in two phases, beginning in the spring of 2011 and continuing through the fall of 2012. I first collected administrative documents through a series of internet searches and Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests; then I conducted elite interviews. FOIA requests specifically asked for documents detailing the initiation, and subsequent modification, of the relationships between NARA and its foundation partners. Such documents provided a better understanding of the governance, administration, and organizational autonomy of the public-private relationships. Several individuals who took part in the study were instrumental in creating many of the administrative documents I obtained. This allowed me to ask questions about specific documents as well the impetus behind their creation and how they were used in practice (Marshall & Rossman, 2010). Such interviews provided information regarding the antecedents of these relationships and a better understanding of the process of collaboration in the Presidential

Library System. Becoming familiar with relevant documents not only enhanced my preparation for the interviews but also allowed for the triangulation of data (Gross, Giacuinta, & Bernstein, 2004). The use of multiple data sources provides a richer view of the complex nature of the PPPs in the PLS.

Legislation.

Congress has played an important role in shaping the relationships between the National Archives and the presidential support foundations in the Presidential Library System. The initial model FDR proposed had presidential libraries being “privately built [and] publicly maintained” (Cochrane, 2002, p. 60); this was fundamental to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library Act and has been institutionalized through subsequent legislation. I used scholarly literature relevant to the PLS and the Office of Presidential Libraries websites to identify statutes pertinent to the Presidential Library System.

NARA administrative records.

I obtained administrative records relating to the nature and extent of relationships between NARA and the private presidential foundations through a series of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. In May 2011, I submitted a FOIA request for documents relevant to the formal relationships between NARA and the presidential support foundations such as joint use agreements, contracts and memoranda of understanding. These documents detail the initiation, and subsequent modification, of the formal partnerships. In December 2011, I submitted a second FOIA request seeking material specifically related to the administration of presidential libraries. The documents that I requested were the NARA handbooks *The Presidential Libraries Manual*; a previous version of this handbook, *Presidential Libraries: A GSA Handbook*; and the *Architectural Design Standards for Presidential Libraries*. NARA was

unable to locate a copy of *Presidential Libraries: A GSA Handbook* but I did receive electronic copies of the other two manuals.

In addition to these documents, I requested access to other documentation detailing NARA's policies on the agency's relationships with presidential support foundations and documents related to the Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries, a committee formed in 1988 by then-Archivist of the United States Don Wilson that was made up of foundation representatives (National Archives and Records Administration, 1988a). NARA estimated that this request produced 2300 to 3000 documents. I visited Archives II in College Park, Maryland on three separate occasions to go through and scan documents relevant to this project. The documents included in this study were chosen based on the relevance and richness of the data they provided. They include:

- Joint Use Agreements
- Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries meeting minutes
- NARA's General Council opinion regarding the role of Library Directors
- Presidential Library Foundation Task Force Report (1995)

In addition to the administrative records obtained via FOIA requests, I examined transcripts from a congressional hearing held on February 28, 2011 directly related to the PPPs in the PLS to identify some of the issues regarding NARA's relationships with former presidents and their library support foundations.

Interviews.

I also employed elite interviews in an effort to better understand the PPPs in the PLS. The purpose of the interviews was to use the "perspectives and experiences of [my] interviewees" to "build a solid, deep understanding" of the multi-organizational partnerships in the Presidential

Library System (Rubin & Rubin, 2011, p. 38). Interviewees included current and former NARA and support foundation representatives such as Archivists of the United States, presidential library directors, officials from the Office of Presidential Libraries, and foundation directors and other representatives. Additional interview subjects included scholars with significant knowledge and experience related to the history and administration of individual presidential libraries. Because each library director acts as a liaison between NARA and the specific support foundation for their library, I made a special effort to interview former and current library directors.

Potential interviewees were identified initially from those present at the February 2011 congressional hearing. Those in attendance included current and former NARA employees, current and former presidential foundation representatives, representatives from non-federally administered presidential libraries and historic sites, and scholars familiar with the PLS. I expanded the preliminary list of potential interviewees to include individuals who attended the 2004 conference held on presidential libraries at Princeton University and authors of articles published in the 2006 special edition of the *Public Historian*. I invited potential respondents to participate in the study via email or phone.

At the end of each interview, I asked respondents to recommend other potential interviewees. The use of snowball or chain sampling (Patton, 2002, p. 237) resulted in the names and contact information for several individuals who were willing to participate as well as others who declined to do so. From the possible participants, I requested 25 interviews, and 14 agreed to be interviewed, a 56% response rate. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 summarize the nonparticipants and participants, respectively, and their professional involvement with the PLS. Several participants in the study have experienced the PLS from multiple perspectives. I asked these individuals

about their experiences from both perspectives of the public-private partnerships. Participant #1, for example, served as the director at two different presidential libraries, a high-level administrator at NARA and a presidential foundation representative.

In accordance with Virginia Tech's Institutional Review Board requirements, interviewees signed an informed consent form. To allow individuals time to read and understand the purpose and risks of participating in the study, I emailed the form to the participant prior to our scheduled interview. Participants signed the consent form in-person or returned the signed form via mail, email or fax. I initially expected that participants would not want to be identified and that names would not be associated with interview responses. As a result, the first version of the consent form offered confidentiality and anonymity to all participants. As I was scheduling some of the first interviews, several participants asked that they have the choice to waive their confidentiality. As a result, I amended the consent form prior to conducting any of the interviews. The amended consent form provided participants with the choice to remain anonymous or connect their names with their interview responses. After conducting several interviews, I realized while some participants were willing to have their names associated with their responses, the majority wished to remain anonymous. In analyzing the data, I decided that to preserve the privacy of those respondents who requested anonymity and confidentiality I would not identify any of the participants by name.

These interviews were informal and conversational in nature (Patton, 2002). I began each one by allowing participants to ask me questions about the research project generally. In an effort to put participants at ease I asked about their professional experiences with the Presidential Library System, how long they had been associated with it and in what capacities. Although I used a list of specific questions to maintain some structure and consistency, the protocol was

flexible enough to accommodate the different experiences of each participant (Fontana & Frey, 2005). I conducted five of the 14 interviews in person and the others over the phone. Each interview provided me the opportunity to ask follow-up and clarification questions when necessary (Marshall & Rossman, 2010). In requesting each interview, I explained to each participant that I anticipated each interview to last between 45 to 60 minutes. Several interviews lasted longer than an hour; when this occurred, I acknowledged that we had gone over the scheduled time limit and asked the participant if they wanted to continue. In each of the interviews that this occurred, the participants allowed the conversation to continue.

Eleven participants consented to the interview being audio recorded. During these interviews, I took minimal notes. These notes not only helped develop follow-up questions but also served as notes during the data analysis process. I took extensive notes during the three interviews that were not audio recorded. Following these interviews I used my notes to make an audio recording of what was said during these interviews (Patton, 2002, pp. 380-383). I used the audio recordings to make a written transcript of each interview. The written transcript serve as a record of what was discussed during the interview (Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

Table 4.1. Summary of Nonparticipants by Position.

	Current NARA Employee	Former NARA Employee	Former Foundation Representative	Current Foundation Representative	Scholar	Nonresponse	Declined to Participate
Nonparticipant #1		X	X		X		X
Nonparticipant #2		X			X		X
Nonparticipant #3	X					X	
Nonparticipant #4	X					X	
Nonparticipant #5	X		X			X	
Nonparticipant #6	X						X
Nonparticipant #7	X					X	
Nonparticipant #8				X		X	

Nonparticipant #9				X			X	
Nonparticipant #10				X			X	
Nonparticipant #11				X			X	
Nonparticipant #12				X			X	
Total	5	2	2	5	2		9	3

Table 4.2. Summary of Participants by Position.

	Current NARA Employee	Former NARA Employee	Former Foundation Representative	Scholar
Participant #1		X	X	
Participant #2				X
Participant #3		X	X	
Participant #4				X
Participant #5			X	
Participant #6		X	X	
Participant #7		X		
Participant #8		X		
Participant #9	X			

Participant #10	X				
Participant #11	X				
Participant #12					X
Participant #13		X			
Participant #14		X			X
Total	3	7		4	4

The individuals' willingness to participate clearly affected the research. It is important to recognize the differences between those who consented to be interviewed and those who declined or did not respond to requests to participate (Goldstein, 2002). The majority of those who took part were former employees of the National Archives. Many current NARA employees did not respond to my interview requests via email and telephone. One current NARA employee initially consented to be interviewed, only to decline later, referring me to a supervisor.

Another important perspective largely missing from this study is that of the presidential support foundations. Although several former representatives were willing to discuss their experiences collaborating with NARA, I was unable to interview any current support foundation officials. I enlisted the aid of several study participants to help persuade current foundation representatives to agree to interviews. It is important to recognize that no current foundation representative declined to participate in this study; instead, my e-mail and phone requests went unanswered. Two of the former foundation representatives who were willing to participate only consented after they learned that I had received their contact information from another former foundation representative.

Recent congressional interest in the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System could have been one possible factor in the high nonresponse rate of current NARA employees and foundation representatives. As part of the 2008 Presidential Historical Records Preservation Act, Congress required NARA to produce a report outlining alternative models to the current PLS. In February 2011, the Government Accountability Office released a report on presidential libraries (Government Accountability Office, 2011), and a congressional hearing was held to specifically discuss the PPPs in the PLS. The increased congressional attention to presidential libraries generally and their administration more specifically could be one reason for

the low response rate by these two important players in the administration of presidential libraries. Additionally, the 2012 presidential election and associated media attention on the U.S. presidency could have deterred current NARA employees and foundation representatives from participating.

C-SPAN video archives.

Several of the potential study participants either declined the invitation to participate in research project or did not respond to my requests. I used C-SPAN's video archive not only to supplement some of the interviews that I was able to conduct but also to serve as a surrogate for some of the individuals I was not able to interview. I began my search of the C-SPAN archives website by searching for the names of those individuals who attended the 2011 congressional hearing on the PPPs in the PLS. I expanded the search to include other former and current NARA employees and presidential foundation representatives. These searches produced a variety of events from 1996 to 2011, most of which were unrelated to this research project. I selected videos to include in this study based on the information they contained about the relationships between NARA and the private presidential support foundations. Once I identified the videos germane to this study, I transcribed the portion of the audio relevant to the project.

The five C-SPAN videos included in this study are:

- December 14, 2001: Role of Presidential Libraries
- November 17, 2004: Presidential Libraries
- January 6, 2007: The Life Cycle of Presidential Libraries
- June 23, 2010: Presenting Controversial Presidential History
- February 28, 2011: Presidential Libraries Symposium

Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred in several phases (Patton, 2002). Content analysis was employed to systematically identify categories within the data (Krippendorff, 2004). This process began with multiple readings of both the documents and transcripts included in the study (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). I then reviewed the data, seeking to identify key concepts or themes related to the nature and evolution of the relationships between NARA and presidential foundations; I also looked for evidence of why and how these relationships developed and persisted over time. Initial data analysis began with identifying examples of Najam's (2000) "4 C's of Third Sector – Government Relations: Collaboration, Confrontation, Complementary, and Co-optation" (p. 375). These broadly defined categories allowed me to identify specific examples of interaction between the organizations. According to Eller, Gerber, and Robinson (2013) "coding is the process of extracting or imposing meaning" to data (p. 217). The initial coding was an attempt to clarify the formal and informal roles NARA and its foundation partners occupy in the Presidential Library System. This reading illuminated explicit circumstances of collaboration, cooperation, and conflict (Mulford & Rogers, 1982) in the PLS. Next, in an attempt to elucidate explicit examples of the nature, extent, and evolution of these multi-organizational relationships, data were coded based on Thomson and Perry's (2006) five dimensions of collaboration: governance, administration, organizational autonomy, mutuality, and norms of trust and reciprocity (p. 21). I then coded the data to identify specific examples of each element of multi-organizational collaboration.

Two issues emerged during this second coding process. First, it became clear that each of the five dimensions of Thomson and Perry's model was multifaceted. Governance of any organization, for example, is a complex concept to say nothing of the governance of multi-

organizational collaborative relationships. As a result, I defined questions of governance in terms of the defined expectations of each organization found in relevant statutes, joint operating agreements and written NARA policies. Second, several elements of Thomson and Perry's model were better represented in the data than others. For example, the mutuality dimension (Thomson & Perry, 2006, p. 27) suggests that multi-organization collaborations emerge and persist only to the extent that each party receives some benefit from the relationship; this assumes a voluntary relationship that either party can terminate. Yet as stated above, a former president's decision to build a presidential library and donate the facility to the federal government places certain mandates on NARA. In theory, the partnerships between NARA and the presidential foundations need not continue beyond the initial construction of the library. In practice, however, these relationships generally have persisted beyond the construction of the libraries themselves.

Once these original coding phases were complete, a third coding phase refined and clarified the preliminary codes (Creswell, 2014) based on Thomson and Perry's model. During this axial phase, themes and patterns disassembled during the open coding phase were reconstructed (Strauss & Corbin, 2008, p. 193) and compared with scholarly literature (Rubin & Rubin, 2011) relevant to public-private partnerships. As Chapter 6 will elaborate, this review revealed that rational choice institutionalism and resource dependency theories are helpful in explaining why and how the multi-organizational relationships have formed and evolved as they have in the Presidential Library System. Table 4.3 outlines the final coding scheme that emerged from both the data and the scholarly literature.

Table 4.3. Final Coding Scheme based on Thomson and Perry's (2006) Multidimensional Model of Collaboration.

Code	Data Source	Multidimensionality	Example
Antecedents	Legislation	NARA and the President	"These people have run the country; do you think [a federal employee] can tell them what to do?" (Participant #2, personal communication, July 26, 2012)
	Interviews	Distinct Mission of Presidential Foundations	"The foundations exist... basically for the family, for the legacy" of a former president. (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012)
	C-SPAN Archive		
Governance	Legislation	Informal Governance	NARA officials and Foundation representatives agree a formal document defining "norms" and expectations of partnerships "not necessary" and "not prudent" (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995e)
	Joint Use Agreements	Role Ambiguity	Few clear expectations about "what is supposed to be the government's expense and what is supposed to be paid for at private expense." (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995b)
	Administrative Documents		
	Interviews	Negotiated Relationships	The phrase "usable square footage" is "a key element" in calculating the square footage counted toward the endowment. (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012)
C-SPAN Archive			

		Decentralized Administration	NARA officials in cannot manage relationships centrally in Washington, D.C. (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012)
Administration	Administrative Documents	Role of Presidential Library Directors	The library director is central to a “good working relationship” between the two organizational partners (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012)
	Interviews		
	C-SPAN Archive	Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries	Made up of representatives of former presidents, “[the Advisory Committee provides] the opportunity to share information...about issues related to what’s happening at the various libraries.” (Participant #5, personal communication, August 13, 2012)
	Legislation	Separate Organizations with Distinct Goals	“We are different entities working together sometimes to common goals, sometimes we’re doing different things.” (Participant #9, personal communication, September 21, 2012)
	Joint Use Agreements		
Organizational Autonomy	Administrative Documents	Potential for Cooptation	The National Archives “finds it difficult to challenge these organizations” often hoping “good relationship” with presidential library support foundations “will [be] helpful in terms of keeping bad things from happening and maybe making good things happen.” (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012)
	Interviews		
	C-SPAN Archive		

	Administrative Documents	Mutually Assured Existence	“The National Archives could never have built a presidential library without the support of the private foundation...they need one another.” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 13, 2012)
Mutuality	Interviews C-SPAN Archive	Resources Generated by Partnership	Presidential libraries provide NARA with “first class archival facilities around the country” and in return, each presidential library is “an official...federal, national monument.” (Participant #2, personal communication, July 26, 2012)

Norms of Trust & Reciprocity	Administrative Documents	Protecting Presidential Legacy	“If we leave out certain elements of truth regarding a president’s [indiscretions] are we being unfair to history? I don’t think so.” (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012)
	Interviews		
	C-SPAN Archive	Defending Partnerships	Some NARA officials emphasize the “need to fully embrace the...the positive relationships...with the foundations.” (C-SPAN, 2011)

Limitations

In working to better understand the nature and extent of the PPPs in the PLS, this study focuses on those presidential libraries affected by the Presidential Records Act (PRA). Restricting the scope of the study in this way is not without its limitations. Surely, the earlier deed of gift libraries influenced, and will continue to shape, NARA's relationships with PRA presidential foundations. Inclusion of historical documents and through interviews captured some of these effects. This study, however, did not emphasize these relationships, which I hope to examine more systematically in a future study.

Researcher bias is a potential limitation of any research project. While providing great flexibility, more informal conversational interviews are susceptible to "interviewer effects" such as asking "leading questions" (Patton, 2002, p. 343). Being aware of my own attitudes and expectations was helpful in reducing research bias (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). I generated a general list of interview questions prior to conducting any of the interviews. In my preparations for a specific interview, I identified particular questions from the general list of questions that were appropriate for each participant based on their experiences in the Presidential Library System. Tailored questions allowed participants to provide in-depth answers; however, due to their customized nature I asked some questions to only one or two participants.

Several participants were willing to speak about the PPPs in the PLS only in general terms. One participant in particular was pleasant but unwilling to answer any questions about specific public-private relationships although she did discuss them more generally. Another participant asked that my final analysis not include a particular story shared about how a library director, the former president, and his foundation representatives worked together to solve an administrative problem at a particular library. I pressed this individual about why she believed it

was necessary to exclude a positive example of multi-organizational collaboration from this study. The participant feared the illustration was too specific and that the former president could construe it as an invasion of his privacy. Archivists, of course, are trained to handle sensitive documents; NARA employees working at presidential libraries are privy to classified records related to presidential administrations, and they must understand the importance of discretion. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that even those participants critical of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System expressed their concerns in general rather than specific terms.

Finally, the lack of generalizability of case study research (Johnson, Reynolds, & Mycoff, 2008) is an important limitation of this study. Although the relationships between NARA and presidential support foundations share many characteristics of other public-private partnerships, they are distinctive. For this reason, the results of this study are not statistically generalizable. However, description of the research methods provided above should allow other researchers interested in similar issues to transfer the analysis to other research contexts (Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2002).

Summary

This chapter reviewed the study's research design, outlining the case selection, the research scope of the project, data collection and data analysis. It detailed how the research applied Thomson and Perry's (2006) collaboration framework. The following chapter addresses the study's findings on the nature, extent and evolution of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System.

Chapter 5

Findings

The chapter begins with an examination of several significant antecedents of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System. The chapter combines resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism with Thomson and Perry's five dimensions of collaboration (governance, administration, organizational autonomy, mutuality, and norms of trust and reciprocity) to identify the nature and the extent of the PPPs in the PLS as well as to better appreciate why and how these relationships have evolved over time. It emphasizes the first three elements of the Thomson and Perry framework: antecedents, governance, and administration. Although the chapter includes the other components of the framework for completeness, the main contribution of the collaboration framework here are the first three elements.

Antecedents

Designed to accomplish certain goals, organizations are purposively structured (Ashby, 1966). Recognizing the antecedents of a multi-organizational collaboration is an important part of comprehending why and how such relationships form and persist (Halpert, 1982). Following Thomson and Perry (2006), this section identifies some of the key antecedents of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System.

NARA and the president.

Long before a presidential support foundation is formally incorporated, the groundwork for the relationship with the National Archives is established. NARA's association with a president begins as the agency assists in the transition into the White House and continues into the post-presidency (Smith, 2008). The relationship between NARA and an incoming president

begin early in a presidency (Participant #5, personal communication, August 13, 2012). NARA is among the first federal agencies an incoming president meets with; among the topics addressed during these early meetings are the difference between a presidential record and a personal record. Participant #1 mentioned that in his capacity at NARA, he encouraged newly elected presidents to keep a diary but counseled against telling agency officials if they did: “because if you tell [us], or if you use it in the carrying out of the [office of the presidency] then it becomes subject to [being] a federal record, becoming a federal record or a presidential record” (personal communication, July 25, 2012). I elaborate on the distinction between personal and presidential records below; for now, it is significant to note that during a presidency, NARA does not have regulatory authority over presidential records but rather serves in an advisory role to the White House and the president (Participant #11, personal communication, October 1, 2012). Although understandable, this provision in the law harkens back to the period when presidential records were the personal property of a president, and it may help may explain why former presidents continue to consider many presidential records their own personal property rather than property of the federal government.

These interactions between NARA and a sitting president no doubt influence the multi-organizational relationships in the PLS. In the American system of government, “formers have to understand, or should understand, that once they become a former they go from being important to nothing overnight. In a split second, but that isn’t necessarily so of former presidents. They still maintain a lot of clout.” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

Another respondent highlighted the influence a former president can have in the administration of a presidential library:

I remember [Name], director of the [Presidential] Library, [The] Archivist of the United States came down to the library...to [talk to Director] about...who calls the shots [at the

library]; and I remember [Director] telling [the Archivist], ‘As long as [the president] is alive, I’m going to do what he tells me to do and I guarantee you that at the point he’s no longer giving direction...I will do everything you tell me to do.’...Quite frankly, if [the Archivist] would have told [Director], ‘You’re going to do what I say to do...no matter what [the former president] says’, it wouldn’t have worked (Participant #6, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

The impact of a living president on a presidential library cannot be overstated: “if the president’s alive...Who’s going to challenge him?” (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

Participant #2 recalled one former library director saying, “These people have run the country; do you think [a federal employee] can tell them what to do?” (July 26, 2012). Once a former president is no longer alive, “the wishes of the family” concerning the governance and administration of a presidential library “only go so far”; however, a former president’s family often remain actively involved in preserving his legacy “through the foundation” even after a former president has died (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). It seems the advisory role NARA plays from the early days of an administration influences how a former president views the relationship with NARA and how NARA views its relationship with a former president and to a certain extent with his heirs and his support foundation.

Starting a presidential foundation.

There is no established pattern for how or when a president formally charters a foundation to raise money for the construction of a presidential library (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). GAO (2011) outlined several significant aspects in the process of establishing a presidential library. (See Figure 5.1.) Some presidents have chosen to organize their support foundations while in office; others have waited until after they left office. However, the preparations for a presidential library by both the sitting president and NARA begin long before a presidential foundation is created (Participant #5, personal communication, August 13, 2012).

The role an individual president plays in establishing a presidential support foundation varies from president to president. Although some are actively involved, others choose to delegate much of the decision making process to trusted friends and advisors (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). Regardless of how and when a support organization is formally organized, the concept of a presidential library is not lost on a newly elected president (Participant #5, personal communication, August 13, 2012). Most sitting presidents are unwilling to talk about a presidential library during their first terms. Neither a president nor his supporters believe he will lose reelection, assuming there will be time for discussions about a presidential library during a second term (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

Participant #5 commented: “there were conversations during [President X’s] first term...they were very limited, very internal, and I even had people tell me quit talking about it [because] it [was] bad luck” (personal communication, August 13, 2012). The process of formally establishing a presidential foundation is not fixed. Although Presidents Reagan, Clinton and George W. Bush organized their foundations prior to their leaving office, President George H.W. Bush did not formally establish a foundation until after he left the White House. Participant #1 noted that from his perspective President H.W. Bush did not establish a foundation for his library because he did not expect to leave office after only one term (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).¹² In many respects, NARA officials prefer a two-term presidency because it allows more time to plan for the design and construction of a presidential library (Participant #11, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

The creation of a presidential support foundation is a multistep process. If a sitting president wins reelection, NARA typically will contact the White House a few months into a

¹² As of late September 2013, authorized discussion concerning the potential of a Barack H. Obama Library had not been made public; however, the participants in this study who commented on a potential Obama Library anticipated that President Obama would follow the establish pattern for preserving presidential records.

second term in an attempt to begin conversations about a potential presidential library (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). If a foundation does not already exist, the president generally will task a close friend or advisor to help establish one; this person will most likely become the head of the foundation (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). It should be reiterated that individual presidential support foundations are established to support single libraries rather than the system as a whole. During a 2011 congressional hearing about the PPPs in the PLS, the idea of creating an “umbrella” foundation to support the PLS in general was proposed. Clearly, from the federal government’s perspective such a foundation would be beneficial as it could provide financial resources independent of federal appropriations and private funds from the individual foundations. The foundation representatives in attendance received the proposition with little enthusiasm. This is not surprising, since a federal foundation supporting the PLS as a whole could conceivably siphon financial resources away from the individual foundations (*American's Presidential Libraries: Their mission and their future*, 2011, pp. 45-46). In understanding the partnerships between NARA and the presidential support foundations in the PLS, it is vital to remember the relationship between a current or former president and the foundation that bears his name. Additionally, Participant #1 emphasized: “the foundations exist... basically for the family, for the legacy” of a former president (personal communication, July 25, 2012). A central foundation dedicated to the system at large could disrupt the relationships between NARA and the private support foundations.

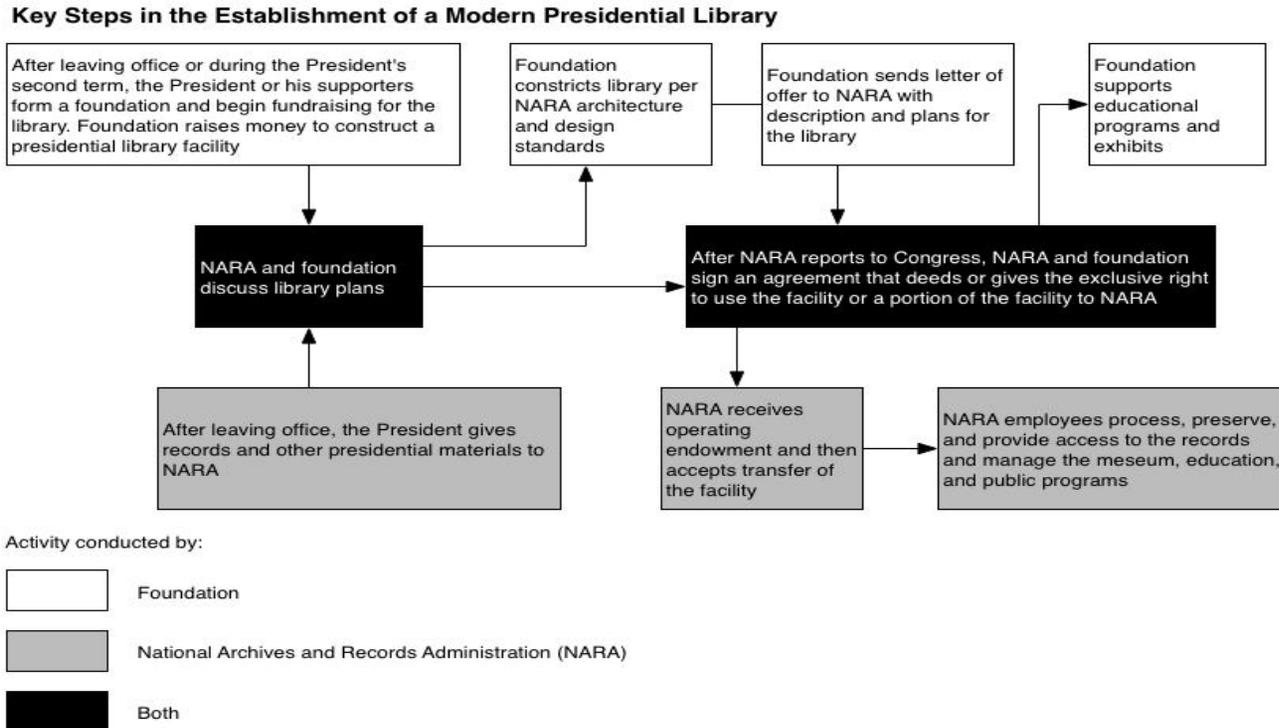
Presidential support foundations are playing an increasingly important role in the PLS (Fawcett, 2006; Hackman, 2004, 2006b; Hufbauer, 2005, 2007). According to Participant #6, many of the early foundations “lost interest in the librar[ies]” after they were completed; “the

foundations were really just in place to raise the money to build the library and then in most cases they sort of saw that as their work being done.” In his opinion, it was “the Archives position [that] these foundations should probably go out of business” after the library was complete (personal communication, August 16, 2012). In recent years, foundations have remained more involved in presidential libraries (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). Regardless of the role presidential foundations play after a library is complete, the current structure of the PLS depends on the presidential support foundations (Participant #2, personal communication, July 26, 2012).

Missions of presidential foundations.

That each presidential support foundation is created to support a specific library rather than the broader system (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b) presents significant challenges for NARA. Each foundation is distinct with its own mission and objectives. As much as NARA might want to standardize its relationships with the presidential foundations, it must react to the interests of these nongovernmental organizations (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012).

Figure 5.1 Establishing a Presidential Library



Source: GAO.

Note: Where the library is built on a university campus, the university is also involved in the various stages of library development

(Government Accountability Office, 2011, p. 5)

Presidents are not required to construct an archive to house the records of their administration; however, if a presidential library is to be built NARA is mandated to work with the president and his foundation representatives to ensure certain architectural and design requirements are met. In this regard, NARA must be prepared to react to the goals, interests, and vision a particular president has for his foundation and library. In general, the more recent presidential foundations and institutes are more active with a broader mission and scope of activities than previous foundations. The LBJ Library foundation's mission, for example, has no external focus other than supporting the School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin or the LBJ Library. In contrast, the mission of the Carter Center has little to do with the Carter Library and Bill Clinton's foundation has interests that span the globe (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

NARA's statutory mandate.

The nature of the relationships between the National Archives and Records Administration and presidential support foundations in the Presidential Library System are complex. NARA is a large public agency with a considerable legislative mandate "to receive, preserve, and make available permanently valuable Federal and Presidential records" (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009a, p. vi). The National Archives is a large bureaucratic organization. The administration of presidential records in presidential libraries is a small portion of NARA's statutory responsibilities (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012).

Don W. Wilson (1996), seventh Archivist of the United States, argued that the National Archives, like the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian, is a "cultural institution" rather than simply a "recordkeeper" (p. 196). From this perspective, it is not hard to see how some at NARA

have come to view presidential libraries as “less monuments to great men” and more “classrooms of democracy” (Wilson, 1991, p. 773). Even as a “cultural agency” (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012), NARA’s legislative mandate far exceeds its appropriated resources to support presidential libraries (Participant #2, personal communication, July 26, 2012). The dual responsibilities of preserving presidential records and providing nonpartisan educational programs have been difficult at times; especially considering that the records contained in presidential libraries are a small fraction of the federal records NARA is accountable for administering (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). In an environment of decreasing appropriated funds, NARA has increasingly embraced a larger role for its private foundation partners at presidential libraries.

Designing and building a presidential library.

A presidential support foundation serves as the lead during the design and construction phases of a presidential library with NARA serving in an advisory capacity. It is the foundations’ responsibility to determine the location of the facility, resolve any land lease issues, originate building designs, as well as develop the museums’ first exhibits. During the initial stages of the design and construction of a presidential library, NARA serves as a technical advisor regarding such things as security and records storage issues (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

NARA’s Design and Architectural Standards ensure that each new presidential library meets the technical requirements necessary to be a presidential archival depository; however, how those standards are met is at the discretion of a former president and his foundation representatives (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). The 1986 amendments to the PLA required NARA to develop a design and architectural standards for

presidential libraries. This requirement was in large part due to the financial burden of paying to maintain a building the federal government did not build (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). One library foundation “didn’t even bother to seal the concrete floors in stack areas, which of course, would create a lot of dust and would be inappropriate for the [preservation of archival] records” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012).

NARA’s first attempt at developing design and architectural standards “was pretty vague” and addressed the “program function[s]” of presidential libraries more than “standards for actual construction and building, and preservation.” It was not until the later part of the 1990s that the agency finally finished a set of standards addressing “construction materials, preservation requirements, environmental requirements...security, [and]...the amount of [archival and office] space [NARA requires]” at a presidential library. The Clinton Library was the first presidential library to be subject to NARA’s Design and Architectural Standards (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). In 2008, NARA’s Design and Architectural Standards for presidential libraries were revised and updated (National Archives and Records Administration, 2008).

A former president typically has a substantial impact on the design of a presidential library. Participant #5 described a meeting between representatives from NARA and the presidential foundation early in the design phase of a particular presidential library:

[The President] was there, and the architect showed the design of the building and...We were going over the Archives space and [the President] picked up the model and said [to the NARA representative] don’t you think this would be a better view of this were [larger]? And [the NARA representative] said, “Yeah, I do”. And [the President] looked at the architect and said, “Well let’s make it [larger]. So it was one of those type things, we were working together fairly well.” (personal communication, August 13, 2012).

At this stage of the process, communication between organizational partners is essential (Participant #9, personal communication, September 24, 2012). For example, by the time NARA was briefed on the design of a recent presidential library, the president already had decided on certain architectural and design elements of the facility that complicated NARA's archival and preservation mission. In this case, NARA officials had to explain the requisite technical requirements of the facility in an effort to find a solution satisfactory to both parties.

This example illustrates the unequal nature of these relationships. A federal employee very well may disagree with a former president or his foundation concerning a specific design characteristic unrelated to the technical aspects of archiving presidential records; however, NARA's capacity is advisory at this stage. In many respects, NARA's advisory role at this point is understandable considering the private nature of the building prior to its donation to the federal government and the restrictions on the use of federal funds in constructing a presidential library. Certainly foundation representatives recognize the library will eventually be NARA's building; however, many important decisions about the facility are "[the former presidents] alone" (Participant #7, personal communication, August 13, 2012). Such situations are difficult for NARA: "you're not going to tell the person who is building you an \$80M building that they can't have [certain design elements] if they want [them]." (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

In an attempt to mitigate difficulties that arise when one organization builds a facility for another, NARA and foundation representatives communicate at regular intervals throughout the design and construction processes about the technical requirements necessary for a presidential records depository. The distinct nature of each presidential library project means NARA's technical requirements are guidelines, rather than "hard and fast rules." One respondent

described meetings between NARA and the presidential support foundation at the various stages of the design and construction phases. These formal meeting are between representatives from the foundation and various NARA employees (such as engineers and security experts) depending on the topic to be discussed (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

Participant #5, a former foundation representative, described the process of working with NARA during the design and construction phase of the presidential library as “very collaborative.” As the foundation selected architects and exhibit designers, “the National Archives ha[d] strong views about different things along the way...[and because] it actually was going to be their building it just made common sense to work collaboratively with them.” (personal communication, August 13, 2012). Participant #9, a current NARA employee, echoed the importance of collaborative communication between the two organizations during the design and construction of a presidential library: because “we are different entities working together sometimes to common goals; sometimes we’re doing different things so I think one way, again is just communicating it” (personal communication, September 21, 2012).

Governance

It will be recalled that in Thomson and Perry’s (2006) model of collaboration, governance refers to the creation of organizational structures “for reaching agreement on collaborative activities and goals through shared power arrangements” (p. 24). Although the concept of governance is difficult to define in practice (Heinrich, Hill, & Lynn, 2004), it is through the governance process that decisions concerning the goals and purposes of the collaboration are formed (Warren, 1967). To examine the governance of the PPPs in the PLS, this section investigates relevant legislation, efforts to define the core functions of each partner, and the joint use agreements between NARA and four of its presidential foundation partners.

Informal governance.

It perhaps is not surprising that Congress has provided very little statutory guidance on the nature of the relationships between NARA and their private foundation partners. As Participant #8 noted, the aspects of the laws related to the PPPs in the PLS are “a little bit vague, vague enough for various interpretations.” This can make things difficult for NARA because “quite frankly you’re dealing with former presidents and former presidents families” (personal communication, August 24, 2013). Over the years, statutes have formalized various aspects of these relationships; however, much of the legislation relating to presidential libraries is more concerned with the preservation of presidential records than with the inter-organizational relationships between NARA and the presidential support foundations. The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 is the statutory basis for NARA forming partnerships with presidential support foundations; the 1986 amendments to the Act reinforce congressional approval of these relationships (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

Statutes.

Presidential Libraries Act of 1955.

The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 allowed for the expansion of presidential record archives from the singular Franklin D. Roosevelt Library to the current Presidential Library System. The Act allowed for the Administrator of the General Services Administration to accept “land, buildings, and equipment offered as a gift to the United States for the purposes of creating a Presidential archival depository” (quoted in Buck, 1955, p. 337). As a 1995 National Archives report on presidential libraries and their private support organizations highlighted, the 1955 legislation created the statutory foundation upon which the PPPs in the PLS rest. The Act authorized the head of GSA to “cooperate with and assist a university, institution of higher

learning, institute, foundation, or other organization or qualified individual” in the preservation and use of the materials stored in the Presidential archive (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995j, p. 6). A 1991 legislative conference report once again underscored the importance of the nongovernmental organizations in the PLS:

The presidential libraries rely on a successful partnership of public and private support. This shared public-private responsibility for presidential libraries was envisioned by the Congress when it passed the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 and amendments to the Act in 1986. The Act requires the initial construction of presidential libraries to be funded by non-federal sources and authorizes the libraries to charge an admission fee and accept private funding. (quoted in National Archives and Records Administration, 1995j, p. 7)

An important source of revenue for most libraries is their ability to “charge and collect reasonable fees for the privilege of visiting and viewing exhibit rooms or museum space in a Presidential archival depository”; these funds help offset the costs associated with administering the facility. Any fees collected at a particular presidential library are to be paid into a “National Archives Trust fund...for the benefit and in the interest of the presidential archival depository in connection with which they were received.” Additionally, the Act allows for “reasonable office space in a Presidential archival depository for the personal use of a former President of the United States.” (National Archives and Records Administration, 2013d).

The voluntary nature of the PLS is underscored in the 1955 legislation. In a 2001 speech on presidential records, Nancy Smith, a long-time National Archives employee, noted that the system is “based on volunteerism.” She went on to explain that those libraries created prior to the Presidential Records Act of 1978 were possible because:

The president had to agree to donate his papers [to the federal government], and then the government had to agree to staff and run the libraries. Access and preservation was controlled by the president and his designees through a donor’s deed of gift. And it preserved the institutional memory of the presidency it fostered historical research in that it brought in many collateral collections dealing with the president, the first family, and the first lady. And it allowed for public access to the materials, it also established what

has become increasingly important which is a museum component to the library. (C-SPAN, 2001).

Another important and enduring aspect of the 1955 legislation is the absence of limitations on where a former president might choose to locate a presidential library (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). Participant #5, a former foundation representative, recalled that he was named as the head of a presidential support foundation prior to the decision of where the library was to be constructed. The National Archives was made aware of the discussions the president and his foundation were having about the possible location for the library; however, “NARA was not “involved with the decision making [process]... [until] we narrowed it down to a couple of sites.” Participant #5 invited OPL employees and other NARA representatives to view potential sites because he “wanted their recommendations and thoughts when [he] had conversations with [the president]... [The National Archives served] an advisory role regarding the site selection. And [they] made their, you know their recommendations... [but] the decision [as to where the library will be constructed] is [the president’s] and [the president’s] alone” (personal communication, August 13, 2012).

Presidential Records Act of 1978.

President Richard M. Nixon’s resignation and agreement with Arthur Sampson, Administrator of the General Services Administration, concerning the destruction of his presidential records had a tremendous impact on presidential records in general and on presidential libraries (McKay, 1982; Schick, et al., 1989; Sezzi, 2005; Smith & Stern, 2006; Turley, 2003). The Presidential Records Act of 1978 represents a compromise between the tradition of private ownership of presidential records and the desire to ensure the preservation of official government records (Participant #11, personal communication, October 1, 2012). The Act recognizes that not all records generated during an administration are related to the official

duties of a president. As such, the PRA distinguishes between presidential and personal records. Those records “which relate to or have an effect upon the carrying out of the constitutional, statutory, or other official or ceremonial duties of President” are deemed presidential records. In contrast, “diaries, journal, or other personal notes... which do not relate to or have an effect upon the carrying out of the constitutional, statutory, or other official or ceremonial duties of the President” are considered personal records. Participant #1 explained that a president’s personal papers are those records that are not part of:

carrying out the function of the Presidency; they are...campaign records, personal financial records, income tax records, this kind of thing...anything else that he’s been involved with a long legal lines, but they aren’t necessary open to the public...these are family records, these are part of your personal relations (personal communication, July 25, 2012).

The PRA places the responsibility of maintaining and preserving the official records of an administration on the sitting president. Congress expected NARA to provide the White House and the president advice about the distinction between personal and official records; however, the distinction is not always clear. Participant #1 continued: “the president has that right to make that decision [between which papers are official and which papers are personal]...and that... [right has]...been questioned...challenged... [but in my opinion it] really shouldn’t be” (personal communication, July 25, 2012). The Presidential Records Act of 1978, explicitly grants the President, “not the Archivist of the United States,” the responsibility “to determine the stature of [presidential] records...the Archivist of the United States does not have the authority to” make that distinction (Wilson, 1996, p. 189). A major problem for both a former president and NARA is the fact that “all [of the official and personal] records [of a president] are intermingled during the presidency. [At] the end of the administration [the records] have [become] so intermingled,

the personal with the official records” that to separate them completely from one another would be very difficult (Participant #6, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

The PRA provides several conditions under which a former president can restrict access to official records. In an effort not to hamper the deliberative process between a president and his advisors Congress allowed for former presidents to restrict access to “confidential communications requesting or submitting advice, between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors” (National Archives and Records Administration, 2013e). According to Participant #11, the PRA has made access to certain records more difficult because the professional career of a political advisor might span multiple presidential administrations. That is, a person who served in a Republican presidential administration, the Reagan administration for example, might also have been in H.W. Bush and the W. Bush administrations; similarly, many people have served in both the Clinton and the Obama administrations. At times, former presidents and their representatives are reluctant to make public certain documents from an earlier administration that might be embarrassing to a later administration (personal communication, October 1, 2012).

Even with the restrictions available to former presidents, several participants of this study suggested the PRA has had a chilling effect on the creation of certain presidential records. One former advisor to several presidents told Participant #1 he did not have any official records from his time as a White House advisor saying, “if the president wanted my opinion let him ask it. I didn’t put anything in writing” (personal communication, July 25, 2012). Additionally, the practice of audio recording communication inside the White House, which was common in the middle of the twentieth century, no longer occurs (Participant #11, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

Presidential Libraries Act of 1986.

In an effort to reduce the costs associated with operating presidential libraries, Congress amended the Presidential Libraries Act in 1986. The two most significant aspects of the 1986 legislation regarding the relationships between NARA and its presidential foundation partners are the restriction on the physical size of a presidential library and the related requirement of an endowment for all future presidential libraries. Early presidential libraries were not required to be built to specific design and building standards. In a 1986 amendment to the Presidential Libraries Act, Congress required the National Archives to promulgate such standards for future presidential libraries. In speaking of the need of such standards, one former NARA employee remembered a particular foundation turned over a presidential library to the government without “seal[ing] the concrete floors in stack areas which...would create a lot of dust and would be inappropriate for the records” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). Although the design and building standards are very specific about NARA’s requirements for construction materials, preservation requirements, environmental requirements, some NARA officials consider them as guidelines rather than hard and fast rules. Such flexibility can be beneficial when working with a former president and his foundation representatives.

A major impetus behind the legislation was “to reduce the costs of operating Presidential libraries.” The Act calls for the creation of an endowment “for the maintenance of the land, facility, and equipment of each Presidential archival depository.” The Act restricts the use of the income generated by this endowment to “cover the cost of facility operations,” restricting it from being used for “the performance of archival functions.” The legislation set the endowment level

at 20 percent of the total cost of the land, facility, and equipment.¹³ In addition to the endowment, the act requires additional funds for the endowment if a presidential library exceeds “70,000 square feet in area” (National Archives and Records Administration, 2013c). In theory, the 70,000 square foot condition does not limit the size of a new presidential library; however, in practice it has. The minutes from a meeting held on November 17, 1988 record some of the frustration of then-Archivist of the United States Don W. Wilson with the 1986 legislation: “declaring on the one hand, that presidential records are so important they cannot leave federal custody, while on the other hand, Congress is saying that taxpayers ought not be burdened with the cost of their custody” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1988b, p. 2).

Participant #1 described the 1986 law as having “more negatives than positives” as it relates to the relationship between the National Archives and those presidential support foundations the Act affected. On the positive side, the endowment requirement has “limit[ed] the size... [of presidential libraries because there had been a] tendency for each [new] library to get bigger and bigger and more grand, and more grand [than previous libraries] (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). Participant #9, a former NARA employee, recalled the head of one foundation becoming “furious” about the endowment requirement. He elaborated: “the foundations do not like that endowment and I don’t blame them”; the endowment requirement is “100% negative...it is bad for the relationship” between NARA and the presidential foundation. The problem this participant sees with the endowment is that the foundation has “already raised millions of dollars for [the presidential library] and they put everything in it that [NARA] asked for and then [the federal government comes] along and tell[s] them, ‘oh, by the way, now you’ve got to raise money for...the endowment.’” From his

¹³ Congress raised the endowment percentage to 40% in 2003 and again to 60% in 2008. If President Obama chooses to construct a presidential library it will be the first library in the system subject to the 60% endowment requirement (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b).

perspective, the endowment requirement is “a punitive measure” that “punishes a president if he puts too much money into” the library (personal communication, September 24, 2012). Since the size of the required endowment is based on cost of the land and equipment, this can be a disincentive for a former president “to put in high quality HVAC, high quality furnishings” and other materials in a library if those additions increase the endowment burden (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

Other study participants were less willing to characterize the endowment requirement as an impediment to the relationship between the foundation and NARA. Participant #5, a former foundation representative, stated:

Well, obviously the foundations would love to get away with not doing it...less is better. For the federal government more is better. What the compromise I think the reality of it is that in tough budgetary times if people want to build presidential libraries in their hometowns or individual presidential libraries I think the endowments are a way of life. (personal communication, August 13, 2012).

One reason for this view might be that like many aspects of the relationship between NARA and a presidential support foundation, the parties negotiate the final dollar amount of the endowment. The George H.W. Bush Library and Museum was the first library in the PLS subject to the endowment requirement. Foundation representatives successfully argued that the 70,000 square foot limitation should be based on “net square feet, not gross square feet” (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). The phrase “usable square footage” (National Archives and Records Administration, 2008) is “a key element” in calculating the square footage counted toward the endowment (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

One way that foundations have maintained a larger footprint for a presidential library without establishing a larger increased endowment has been to retain control of space that previously might have been turned over to the government. Participant #6, a former NARA

employee and foundation representative, speculated the increased endowment requirement for future presidential libraries “will eventually mean that a greater portion of the building will be retained by the foundation.” A substantial endowment requirement would mean:

Foundations are going to want to take over the management of the museums and I think that’s a mistake long term from a historical perspective and I think it’s inevitable that it will happen just because of this enormous cost. A 60% endowment means you know you have to raise half again as much as you need to build the building plus the money that you need to sustain the programs in the long run. (personal communication, August 16, 2012).

Several NARA employees seemed embarrassed when asked about the endowment requirement.

Participants #6, #9, and #10 voiced concerns that the 60 % endowment requirement could fundamentally alter the PLS. Participant #10 believed the increased endowment was too much to ask of a presidential foundation and voiced concern that it “It may force a change in the [privately constructed, publicly administered] model” (personal communication, October 1, 2012).

Participant #9, a current NARA employee, acknowledged the “huge burden” the increased endowment requirement will be on future foundations, but considering “the fundraising ability of former presidents” he did not think presidential foundations would “have a problem raising” the funds. In fact, he suggested the income generated from a “gigantic endowment” could be very beneficial for future libraries (personal communication, September 24, 2012). This helps explain why during a 2011 symposium on presidential libraries, David Ferriero, the Archivist of the United States, argued that Congress needed to give NARA “more flexibility” in how the income generated from endowments is used (C-SPAN, 2011).

Role ambiguity.

Defining specific organizational roles and responsibilities in public-private partnerships can be challenging (Batley & Rose, 2011). In theory, contracts and other formal documents

between multi-organizational actors define partnership expectations; however, successful public-private partnerships often provide each organization the flexibility necessary to achieve shared goals (Mcloughlin, 2011). Although this flexibility in multi-organizational relationships can be helpful, it can also be the source of confusion and conflict regarding roles and responsibilities (Batley, 2006).

A recurring theme through the interviews and documents is the idea that the federal government has a responsibility to fund certain core functions at presidential libraries. However, the exact definition of a core function of a presidential library is less clear. In a memo dated July 15, 1982, then-Archivist of the United States Robert M. Warner expressed the need to develop clear policies “on the delineation of those more appropriately ‘private’ and those more appropriately ‘public.’” Warner’s memo distinguishes “those Presidential Library activities which are purely public and therefore appropriately supported from Federal funds” from “those that could be considered private and for which private funding could be sought” (General Service Administration, 1982).

An undated document that appears to be NARA talking points to foundation representatives states:

Presidential libraries carry out a core program which by law directs each of them to preserve, process, and make available their archival holdings. We always have presumed that the core program permits some ‘outreach’ activity by the library. We are heedful of limitations, however, since the level and breadth of public programs, particularly in the matter of government expenditures, can excite Congressional interest. We feel we must continue a prudent course in the use of trust and appropriated funds for activities not expressly delineated in legislation. (National Archives and Records Administration, Undated-a, p. 2)

The core function of National Archives in the PLS is to assure the preservation of formal presidential records. Although NARA’s mission and congressional mandate extend beyond simple archival activities, the agency must be concerned about drawing unwanted congressional

attention to library programs. In this way, many at NARA see the “civic education” activities, such as the museums exhibits and educational programs as being “nice adjunct[s]” to the archives but they do not consider them core functions of the library (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). Others at NARA, however, view civic education programs as a central part of NARA’s mission at presidential libraries. From this perspective, NARA’s core functions in a presidential library include all civic education programs: “the government will provide the basic support [for education programs] but...the government provides the Chevy but if [a former president and his foundation] want a Cadillac it’s up to them” (Participant #6, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

Former Archivist Robert M. Warner’s 1982 memo distinguishing between the public and private actions at presidential libraries acknowledges the existence of a “third category” of activities “not falling clearly into either of the first two.” Warner’s memo recognizes this third area must “be the subject of further discussion and debate” (General Service Administration, 1982). Many of the activities at presidential libraries are not clearly public or private in nature. Such undertakings cause ambiguity in the relationship, opening up questions of the responsibilities of each organizational entity. Not surprisingly, a clearly defined list of NARA’s core responsibilities at presidential libraries does not exist. Attempts to create such a universal list have been thwarted by both NARA and foundation officials. Because of the uncertainty over certain responsibilities of organizational partners, NARA’s core functions at presidential libraries are not universal throughout the system. The uncertainty about which entity is responsible for certain activities at presidential libraries can be problematic for NARA officials both in Washington, D.C. and in the individual libraries. Presidential support foundations pursue their distinct missions regardless of the intended purposes missions of the other foundations in the

system. Former presidents have little interest in conforming the relationship of their foundation with NARA to a set of norms beyond those established in law (Participant #14, November 8, 2012). The inconsistency of what presidential support foundations are willing and able to provide at a particular library impacts the activities that NARA considers part of its core functions.

In the early 1990s, NARA officials struggled to distinguish the activities at presidential libraries supported by appropriated funds from those private resources should fund. A memo dated June 12, 1992 contains four attempts to visually represent activities that are NARA's core functions, those that should be joint ventures, and those that are solely the responsibility of private presidential support foundation partners. [See Figure 5.2, Table 5.1, Figure 5.3, and Figure 5.4 (National Archives and Records Administration, 1992).] Figure 5.2 highlights certain activities that are core NARA functions, leaving only research grants as purely a private function. Other activities such as museum exhibit design and maintenance appear as joint activities that both public and private funds can or should pay for. Table 5.1, which the author of the memo preferred, more clearly delineates the activities appropriately sustained by appropriated funds compared to those suitable for private support. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 emphasize NARA's role in presidential libraries. The base of the pyramid in Figure 5.3 and the center circle in Figure 5.4 privilege NARA's function of preserving presidential records over the activities of its foundation partners and suggest a larger financial commitment from the federal government for supporting the diverse programming that takes place in presidential libraries. The attempt to prioritize certain library activities to outside audiences is generally avoided (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995d).

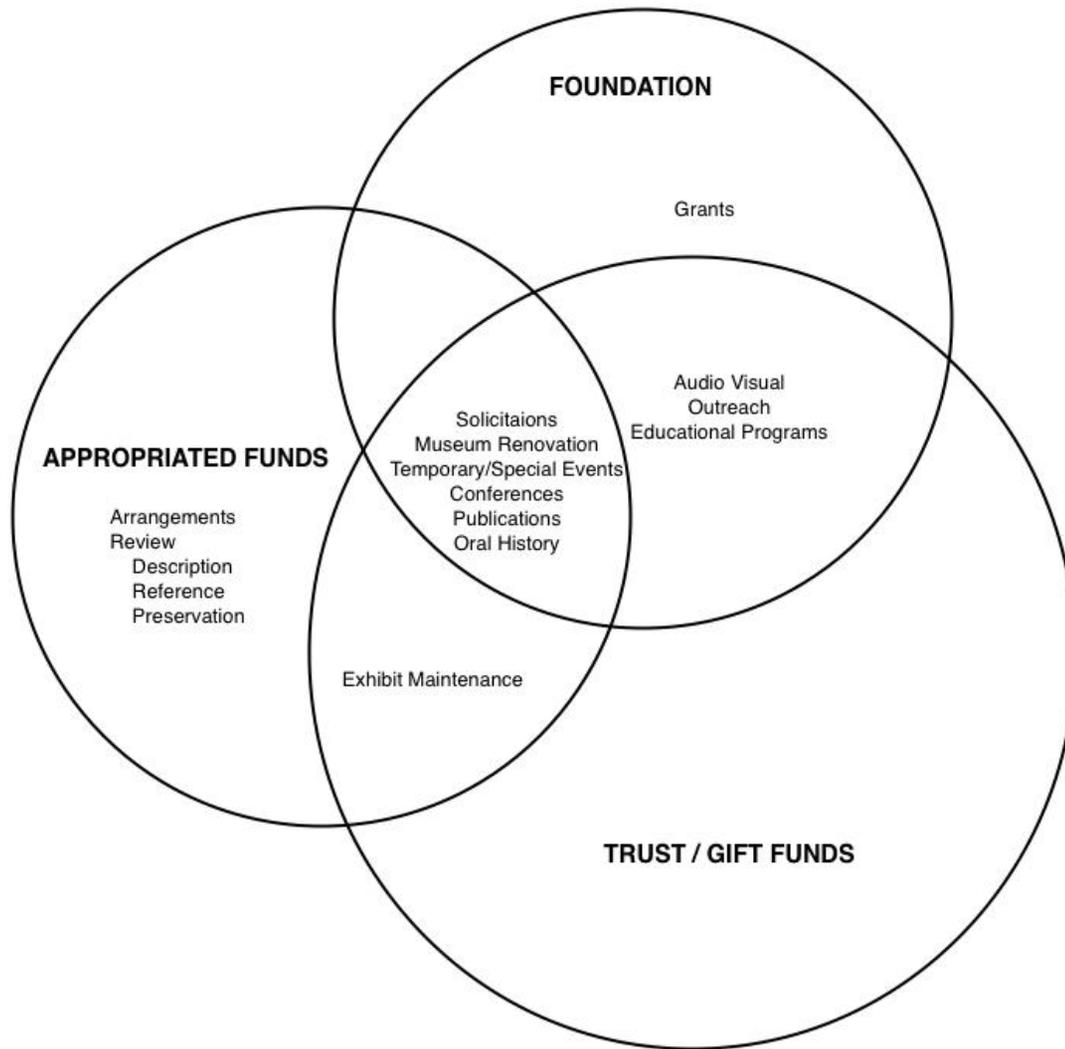
NARA employees continue to use the phrase "core functions" to describe the activities the federal government is and should be responsible for at presidential libraries (*American's*

Presidential Libraries: Their mission and their future, 2011); however, a clear list of NARA's core functions at presidential libraries does not exist. NARA has been unable to produce consistent and precise expectations about the activities each partner is responsible for in the relationship:

The fact that you have these separate entities out there makes it very challenging for NARA, because NARA obviously feels like they, there should be certain policies that are uniform, how you operate there should be some uniformity and it's difficult when you've put these [libraries] together very individually, very separately and at different point in time...It makes for a real challenge (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

The informality of certain aspects of the PPPs in the PLS is consistent with this ambiguity. Indeed, Peters (1998) suggests that ambiguity in PPPs is common and potentially beneficial allowing for organizations to adapt to changing environment and increased innovation (Fosler, 2001).

FIGURE 5.2 Conjoined Circles Diagram of the Core Functions in the Presidential Library System.



(National Archives and Records Administration, 1992)

Table 5.1 NARA’s Core Functions in the Presidential Library System.

FUNDING SOURCE*	
APPROPRIATED FUNDS	<p>Preservation: Preservation of all materials, including textual, audiovisual, electronic, and museum materials. Includes proper storage and environmental conditions, copying, information onto more stable media, removal of harmful objects from files.</p> <p>Review: Reading or viewing all materials prior to opening to assure protection of sensitive and classified materials. Submitting materials for classification review at the request of researchers.</p> <p>Arrangement: Assuring that archival materials are in logical order to facilitate reference.</p> <p>Description: Creating finding aids at various levels of detail to facilitate reference. Can include creation of folder title lists, series descriptions lists of holdings. Automation can assist this activity.</p> <p>Reference Service: Aiding the researcher through searches, finding aids, automation, and various levels of individual archival attention.</p>
APPROPRIATED FUNDS, TRUST FUND OR FOUNDATION	<p>Exhibits Maintenance: Cleaning, repairing, and upgrading of basic exhibits.</p> <p>Solicitation/Acquisition: Supplementing the core presidential materials of administration officials, friends, and family of President, records of important organizations and events.</p>

Development of temporary and special exhibits: Creation of exhibits to highlight special events, commemorate historic events and people, traveling exhibits.

Outreach/Educational Programs: Docent programs, school visits, educational packets, special tours.

FOUNDATION OR
TRUST FUNDS

Museum Renovation: Renewal and reinterpretation of permanent exhibits

Conferences: Scholarly and general public programs devoted to historical and public policy tapes.

Oral History: Interviews with former officials, president's friends and family, to supplement the official record. Includes production of transcripts.

Publications: Lists of holds, bibliographies, conference proceedings, and museum catalogs.

FOUNDATION

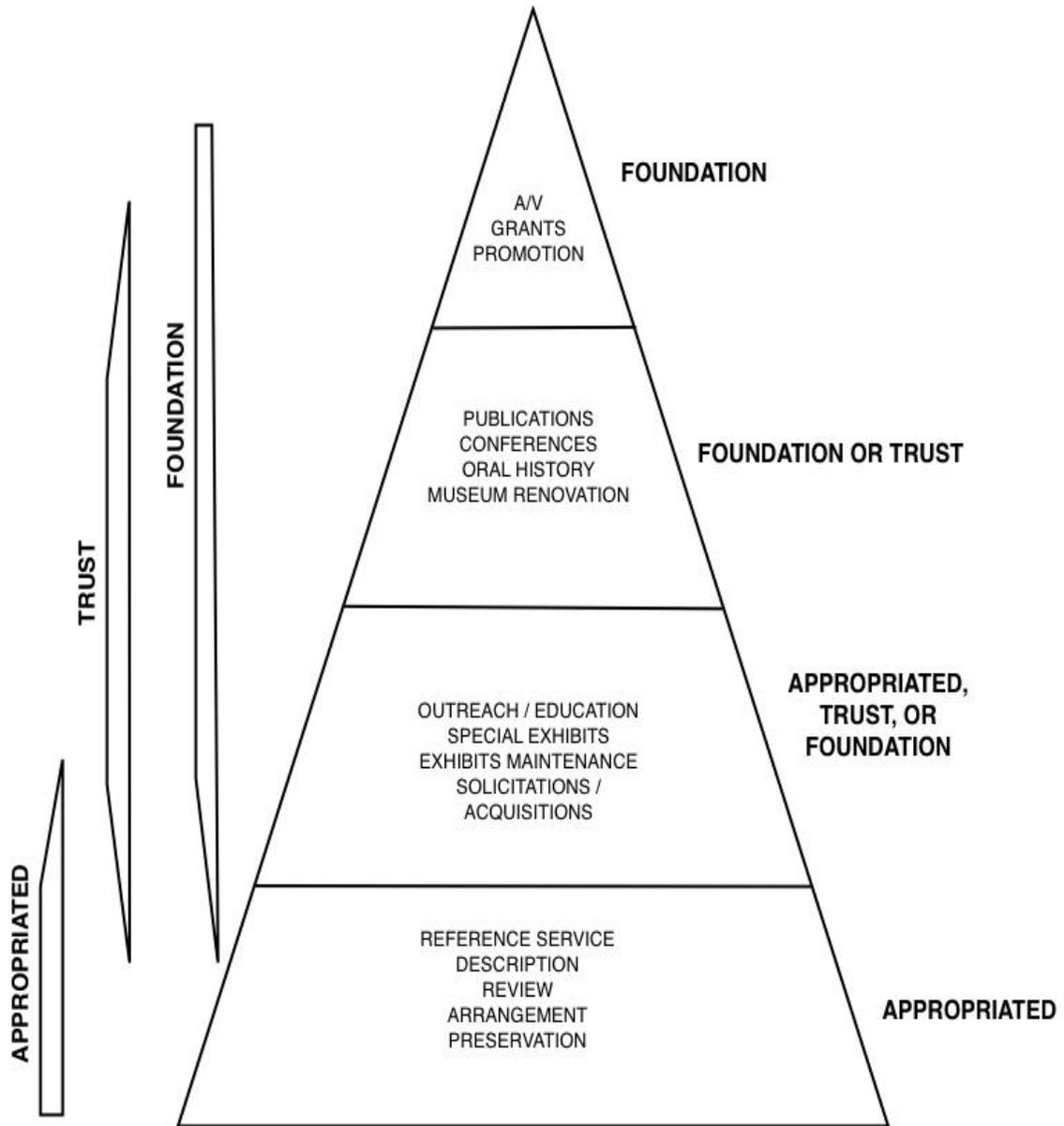
Grants

Audio Visual: Productions and facilities and staff for AV laboratories.

* Where there are multiple funding sources, they are listed in order of preference

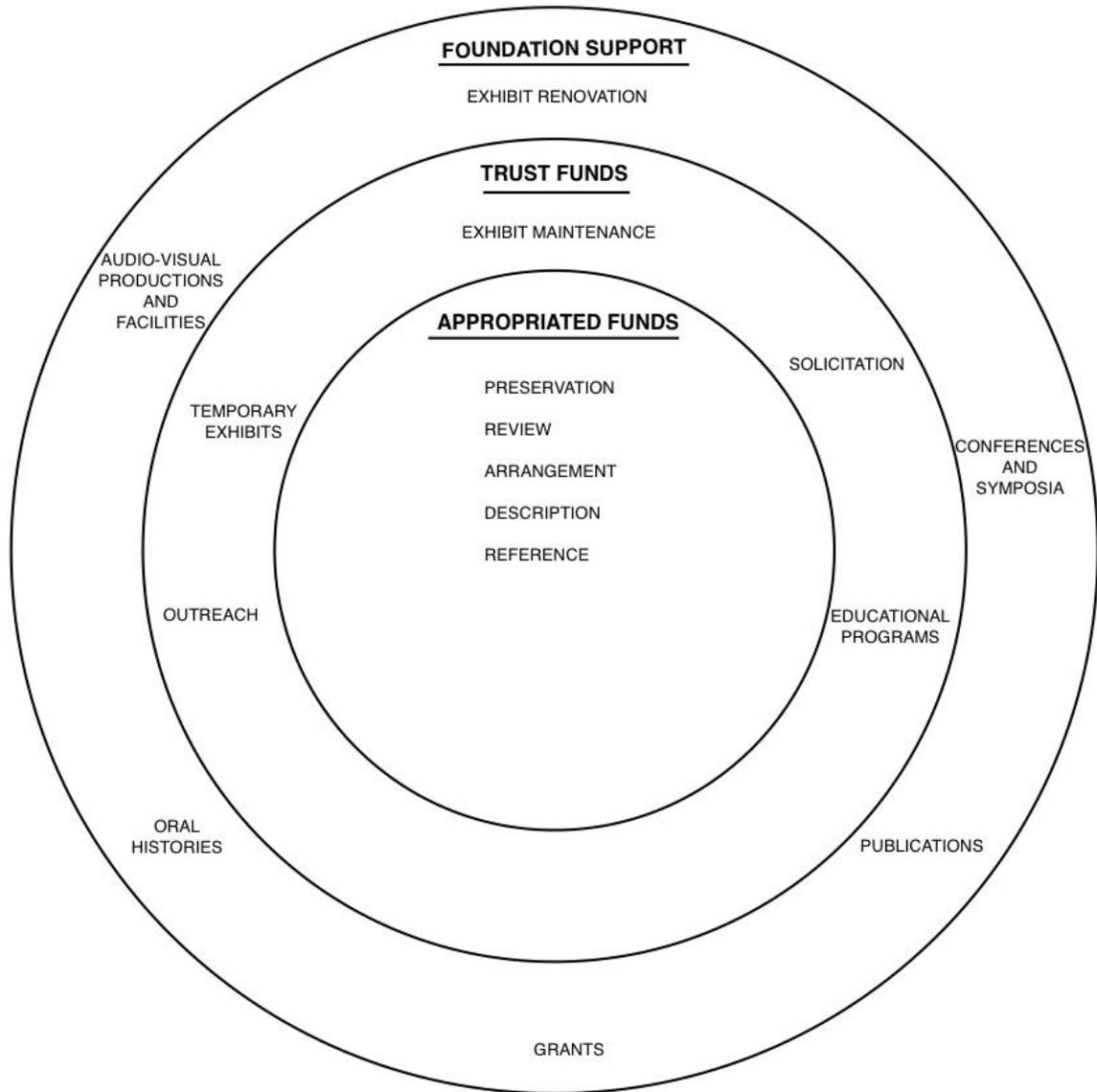
(National Archives and Records Administration, 1992)

Figure 5.3 Pyramid Diagram of the Core Functions in the Presidential Library System.



(National Archives and Records Administration, 1992)

Figure 5.4 Concentric Circles Diagram of the Core Functions in the Presidential Library System.



(National Archives and Records Administration, 1992)

At the 2011 symposium on Presidential Libraries, Alan Lowe, Director of the George W. Bush Library and Museum, stressed to the members of Congress in attendance: “the [federal] government has a certain responsibility to preserve [presidential] materials and make them accessible to researchers [and] to the general citizenries.” Lowe maintained that although foundations can help fund certain activities, “there is a core federal government role that is very important” (C-SPAN, 2011). These comments echo ideas recorded in the minutes of a Presidential Libraries Directors Conference held in November 1993. Reacting to comments from then-Acting Archivist of the United States Trudy Huskamp Peterson about the potentially expanding role of presidential support foundations at presidential libraries, Director of the Gerald Ford Library Frank Mackaman “responded that the Foundations expect the government to pay for core archival functions which include: security, bricks/mortar, presentation, and caring for acquisitions.” He suggested that “private funds should be spent on: research grants, teaching awards, publications, special events, oral histories, and helping teachers teach”(National Archives and Records Administration, 1993).

Because the governance of the PPPs in the PLS generally is informal, role ambiguity has been and continues to be a challenge in many relationships. Following an Inspectors General report released on September 2, 1994 (National Archives and Records Administration, 1994c), NARA was encouraged to form a task force to address issues related to the PPPs in the PLS. During a November 1994 meeting attended by the Acting Archivist of the United States, all of the presidential library directors, representatives from the Office of the Inspector General, and several foundation representatives, numerous questions about the goals and purposes of the task force emerged. Two major questions were addressed at this meeting: how the task force’s report would portray the “relationship between the libraries and the foundations?” and how “If the task

force finds that the libraries have strong private support, will Congress cut additional federal funding” to presidential libraries? (National Archives and Records Administration, 1994a, p. 1)

As the group turned to address the first question, one foundation representative recommended that NARA “establish consistent guidelines for determining what the agency funds and what it expects the associated foundation to pay for [at presidential libraries].” The suggestion appeared to be largely a reaction to NARA shifting a “heavier burden” to library support foundations to pay for activities thought to be the federal government responsibility. NARA officials acknowledged the increased reliance on individual support foundations as well as the real and perceived negative impact such a shift could have on the relationships between the foundations and the OPL and NARA in general (National Archives and Records Administration, 1994a, p. 2).

In the same meeting, the Inspector General echoed the need for “clear policies” relating to the roles and responsibilities of NARA and its foundation partners to “protect all interested parties, including the agency.” He called for members of the task force to develop “written guidelines” or a “norms document” concerning the PPPs in the PLS. Frank Mackaman, then director of the Ford Library, rejected the idea of such a document: “drafting a set of norms will standardize the libraries’ missions and programs when the libraries actually want to protect their diversity. The directors deal in good faith, and this proposed document would run counter to that tradition” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1994a, p. 4). Several foundation representatives agreed, arguing later that a “norms document” for the PPPs in the PLS “was not necessary and would not be prudent” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995e). Ultimately, the Task Force on Support Organization/Presidential Library Relationships did not produce a norms document. Yet it was charged to investigate “the value and variety of assistance

provided [presidential libraries] by the support organizations,” provide “justification for such support organizations to the extent it exists in law, congressional intent, tradition and practice,” and “recognize, identify and harmonize elements of the relationship that relate to issues of government ethics” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995i).

Much of the April 1995 Advisory Committee for Presidential Libraries meeting was dedicated to the Task Force’s findings. The minutes of the meeting quote one support foundation representative repeating the need for clear expectations about “what is supposed to be the government’s expense and what is supposed to be paid for at private expense” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995b, p. 5). Other foundation representatives agreed, complaining the “joint partnership” that should have existed in providing public programs had “turned out to be a one-way partnership” (p. 6). Others cautioned NARA officials in Washington “not to take the foundations for granted” (p. 7) and not to become too “reliant on the foundations for support of core activities” (p. 6).

It is not surprising that representatives from older library foundations made many of these comments. As libraries age and former presidents become more removed from public memory, some foundations have “a very difficult time raising money” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995b, p. 6). A decrease in fund raising potential is significant for both partners in the PLS because the support “foundations are voluntary” and “have no legal commitment to support the Library” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995b, p. 9).

The final report from the Task Force on Support Organization/Presidential Library Relationships does not clearly outline which activities the federal government ought to pay for and which private sources might handle. However, the report does highlight the contributions the presidential support foundations, stating that “no [presidential] library can begin to meet its

obligation to scholars or realize its public opportunities without continuing Foundation involvement” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995k, p. 3).

Negotiated relationships.

Each PPP in the PLS is formalized with a written agreement. Like the multi-organizational relationship it addresses, each agreement is distinct and covers various aspects of the relationship between NARA and a specific foundation partner. The joint use, or joint operating agreements for early libraries are often little more than letters from a foundation offering a presidential library facility to the federal government and letters from the GSA (Government Accountability Office, 2011) “committing the government to operate and maintain each Presidential library” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1982). In older libraries, a foundation might maintain possession of a small portion of a library for administrative space. In these circumstances, there are often no memorandum of understanding outlining “the role of the government, the role of the foundation and...establish[ing] some guidelines from how they were to work together.” Recent attempts by NARA officials to develop memoranda of understanding with older foundations have been unsuccessful. The largely unexpected “push back from the[se older] foundations” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012) has stymied efforts to develop such documents. It is perhaps not surprising that former presidents and their foundations would resist changes to formalize a longstanding informal organizational arrangement.

The joint use or joint operating agreements (JOA) for more recent libraries have become more formalized, even addressing some of the specific roles and expectations of each organizational partner (Government Accountability Office, 2011). Many of the JOAs are “pretty spare documents, very basic”; over time “these agreements...have gotten bigger” as NARA and

it foundation partners attempted to reduce “ambiguities and possible points of contention” in the relationship (Participant #9, personal communication, September 24, 2012). The 1986 amendments to the Presidential Libraries Act provided much of the impetus for this change in JOAs. As noted earlier, for example, the endowment requirement for new presidential libraries creates an incentive for a foundation to retain possession of a greater portion of a library facility.

In more recent libraries:

A foundation might build an auditorium but rather than turning the auditorium over to the government, the foundation would maintain the auditorium so that they would not have to pay an endowment on that portion of the building. So, as a result of these kind of spaces that the foundations were building and claiming we had to create Joint Use Agreements...even when the foundation had their own offices if we're all under one roof, then you needed joint use agreements to define how you were going to deal with security, how you were going to deal with utilities, how can [we] use what space, when can they use it, what is required to use it, etc., (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012).

Some foundations have chosen to maintain ownership of the museum gift shops.

Although this change removes NARA from the burdens and responsibilities of operating retail stores, it also eliminates a possible income stream. The JOA for the George H.W. Bush Library, for instance, provides for the foundation to “establish and operate a Library Gift Shop.”

Although the library director is to be consulted concerning the gift shop’s “merchandise and marketing practices...the foundation retain[s] all profits from the operation of the Gift Shop to be used as it deems necessary to support the ongoing operation of Library programs” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1997b).

No definitive list exists of the issues that JOAs must address. A typical agreement addresses concerns such as museum ticket pricing, foundation and library staff parking, and the use of shared space. Over the years, NARA has become more experienced in drafting JOAs and understanding how its foundation partners might interpret different agreements. Crafting a JOA

generally is an iterative process. Initially, NARA provides a foundation, with the JOAs from previous libraries serving as templates for the new JOA.

The process of drafting the JOA for a recent library began with the library director modifying the JOA from the Clinton Library to address some of the issues relevant to this PPP. Then foundation representatives had the opportunity to modify the agreement to address their specific concerns (Participant #9, personal communication, September 24, 2012). Exchanging draft copies of the JOA between the foundation and NARA allows the opportunity for each to communicate its expectations about the relationship. As the JOA “defines how [NARA will]...work with [a foundation] in the new [presidential library] building” it is important that both organizations are comfortable with the finished product (Participant #9, personal communication, September 24, 2012).

Once a drafted JOA is nearly complete, NARA and the foundation representatives meet to discuss any differences that remain that need to be resolved before signing the agreement. Prior to the transfer of a particular presidential library, the foundation was “showing cold feet” about certain provisions in the agreed upon JOA. Foundation representatives invited the Archivist of the United States, the head of OPL, and the library director to the library to discuss possible changes to the JOA. After those talks stalled, the Archivist of the United States informed the foundation that NARA would not accept the “library under [the foundation’s proposed] conditions.... [and was] prepared [to make] a public statement to announce that [the] transfer [of the library to the federal government] would not occur.” The foundation and NARA eventually came to an agreement on this particular JOA (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012). The example underscores the importance of the Archivist

of the United States in resolving differences between a foundation and a library that a library director or OPL cannot resolve (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

The JOAs for the Reagan, Clinton, and Nixon Libraries have specific language highlighting the legal independence (Garner, 2009) of each organization. The Clinton Library JOA reads in part:

This Joint Use Agreement does not constitute, and is not intended to give rise to, a partnership, joint venture, or agency relationship between the Parties, or a relationship of landlord and tenant. The relationship of the Foundation and NARA shall be and remain a purely contractual relationship between joint users of real property. Each Party will operate under the terms of this Agreement as an independent entity and not as an agent for the other (National Archives and Records Administration, 2004, p. 11)

Such contractual language not only limits the legal liabilities of each organizational partner but also promotes equality and independence between the organizations, two important characteristics of successful PPPs (Peters, 1998).

Both the Clinton and the Nixon Library JOAs include language declaring the need to avoid “in fact and appearance” the exertion of “improper influence in the exercise of the other’s governance, authority, activities, or operations” (National Archives and Records Administration, 2007, p. 8). In an attempt to avoid undue influence of one organizational partner over another that might compromise the “legal independence” of either organization, the JOAs for both libraries state specifically that foundation representatives and NARA officials will “act in the best interest” of their respective organizations (pp. 8-9). Despite language reinforcing the legal autonomy of each organization, both JOAs explicitly recognize the “strong mutual interests in working cooperatively” in an effort to provide visitors the opportunity to study and learn about “the life, times, Presidency, and legacy of” the former president (p. 8).

An important pattern in recent presidential libraries is the division of revenue from museum tickets sales. The Presidential Libraries Act of 1955 allows for NARA to collect an

admission fee for visitors wishing to view a presidential library (National Archives and Records Administration, 2013d). Prior to the Clinton Library, the National Archives retained all of the revenue generated by museum ticket sales at presidential libraries. Admission fees collected were deposited into a trust fund for that particular presidential library. Recognizing the marketing costs associated with a museum exhibit, representatives from the Clinton Foundation negotiated with NARA for “a partial return payment on [museum] ticket sales” (Participant #5, personal communication, August 13, 2012). As new foundations join the PLS (Nixon Foundation) or older foundations build new museum exhibits (Reagan Foundation), the practice of sharing revenue generated from ticket sales most likely will continue (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012).

Most, if not all, museums in the United States do not operate solely on funds generated by admission fees (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). The recent shift toward sharing admission revenue reduces the amount of non-appropriated resources available to NARA at newer presidential libraries and newer museum exhibits at older libraries. It is understandable why foundations would request and NARA would accept a model of sharing museum admissions revenue; however, such a change further limits NARA resources. In an era of limited federally appropriated resources, a decline in attendance revenue potentially increases NARA’s dependence on foundations’ resources.

Administration

Multi-organizational collaborations such as PPPs “are not self-administering enterprises” (Thomson & Perry, 2006, p. 25). The complex, and sometimes ambiguous nature of PPPs can make their administration challenging (Carzo & Yanouzas, 1989; Rodríguez, et al., 2007). This section looks at the impact of the decentralized nature of the presidential library system as well

as the importance of the library director in the administration of the PPPs in the PLS. The section concludes with an investigation of the history and impact of the Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries on the administration of presidential libraries.

Decentralized administration of presidential libraries.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's decision to build his presidential library in Hyde Park, New York created the precedent for future former presidents to construct their libraries at the locations of their choosing. The decision to have presidential libraries in geographically diverse locations has contributed to the decentralized administration of the PLS as it is unrealistic for NARA officials in Washington to attempt to manage these relationships hundreds and even thousands of miles away (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). The geographic diversity of presidential libraries and that each library in the system has been established "very individual[ly], very separately and at differ points in time" reinforce the distinctive aspects of each PPP in the PLS (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

Many of the formal policies regarding the administration of presidential libraries relate to the access, maintenance, and preservation historical records (National Archives and Records Administration, 2012a). Uniform policies regarding the PPPs in the PLS do not exist (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). For many, the distinctive nature of each PPP creates a lack of consistency through the system and makes administering presidential libraries "very challenging for NARA" (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). Others, however, view the distinctive nature of each presidential library is an important asset to the system (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). Attempts by NARA official in Washington, D.C. to centralize the administration of presidential libraries have been rejected by both library directors and foundation representatives concerned that doing so would "weed out

any kind of independence [among] the different libraries (Participant #7, personal communication, August 21, 2012).

Those interviewed for this study echoed the sentiment that even if consistent policies on the administration of the multi-organizational relationships could be developed, they would not be helpful. Such consistency would place unnecessary and unwelcome restraints on both library directors and foundations (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). Library directors need the flexibility to respond to the needs of a former president and his foundation. Efforts to centralize the administration of presidential libraries “with little or no communication or input from the former president or his family or his foundation [would] almost guarantee headaches in Congress and headaches the agency doesn’t need or want” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). Uniform policies on the administration of presidential libraries would ignore that “every president is different,” each foundation is run by “different personalities,” and each library is located in “different parts of the country” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). The Presidential Library System remains a confederated system. Despite some uniform policies regarding the administration of presidential libraries, library directors retain considerable discretion in the administration of individual libraries (Fawcett, 2006).

Role of presidential library directors.

A presidential library director “is responsible for the day to day” operation of the library which includes working with the foundation (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012) and building positive relationships with the former president, his family, and foundation representatives (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). Without uniform policies regarding the administration of the PPPs in the PLS, library directors are

encouraged to rely on the Office of Presidential Libraries and even the Archivist of the United States if needed for “straightforward” advice “on foundation relationships and foundation issues” (Participant #9, personal communication, September 24, 2012).

Historically, the OPL has served as a buffer between the foundations and the Archivist of the United States (Participant #6, personal communication, August 16, 2012); however, if library and the foundation are not “getting along very well,” foundation representatives typically will contact the Archivist of the United States seeking resolution (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). As of late 2012, the Office of Presidential Libraries at Archives II in College Park, Maryland had 18-20 employees with responsibilities related to the current presidential administration as well as overseeing the library directors (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

The relationship between a presidential library foundation and a library director is very important. At times library directors seek to preserve a positive relationship by relying on OPL officials to deny a particular foundation’s request for proposed activities in the public spaces of a library (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). The successful administration of a presidential library requires “strong support out of the central office...if [a library director has] strong support out of [OPL]...and...strong support out of the Archivist of the United States, your relationships [with a foundation] are always good” (Participant #7, personal communication, personal, August 21, 2012).

Beginning with Franklin D. Roosevelt, a president or former president has been involved in the process of selecting a presidential library director (Connor, 1940c). Several early presidential library directors “were either politically or personally connected with the former presidents or their families” (Participant #7, personal communication September 24, 2012).

Although this practice has ceased, some NARA officials have argued “that the person selected [as library director] harbors a personal commitment to the president in whose library he would serve” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1988b). Officially, the appointment of a library director is at the discretion of the Archivist of the United States (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). The library director is central to a “good working relationship” between the two organizational partners, making NARA’s first priority in the selection process to find a candidate that both NARA and the former president or his foundation representatives can “mutually agree upon” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

Even though the appointment of the library director is ultimately the Archivist’s (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012), “if the director of the library... [is] not the choice of the foundation then you’re setting yourself for failure and certainly for a lot of conflict” (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). There have been instances where “the library foundation protested the appointment of a particular person or the National Archives protested the appointment of someone proposed by a library foundation” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). Near the completion of one presidential library, a former president “through his representative made it very clear” that a certain individual should be appointed as library director. NARA officials “pushed back,” suggesting the agency should “work together” with the former president to find a qualified library director. In response, “the former president became very insistent” that the particular candidate be named the director. Although the individual was not NARA’s first choice, “at some point you need a library director” so the Archivist yielded to the wishes of the former president (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

The library director needs the approval of a former president and his foundation because “depend[ing] on a particular situation library directors are not career civil service appointees” but serve at the pleasure of the Archivist of the United States (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). Library directors who are career civil servants can present a challenge to the Archivist if a former president or his foundation wishes to have them removed from their position.

An important performance measure for library directors reflects the development and maintenance of a positive relationship with a former president, his family, and his foundation (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). When asked how these relationships can be assessed, a current NARA employee responded, “You know it when you see it.” The head of OPL maintains frequent contact with both library directors and foundations; if a particular library receives regular visits from OPL officials to address issues regarding the director’s relationship with the foundation, it is safe to assume that the library director will receive a low performance evaluation (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). Some library directors ignore this aspect of their performance appraisal; however, they do so at their own risk (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012). According to Participant #3, library directors see examples of:

Private foundation[s] in effect veto[ing] the selection, the professional selection of the Archivist of the United States and say “No, we don’t want that guy.” You better believe that most library directors who are interested in their careers in the future... get the message that if you want to stay around, and if you want to get high performance ratings,...you better get along with those organizations...OPL and the Archivist of the United States]...don’t want to hear [library directors complaining]...over and over again that [the support] organizations are unreasonable [and] unhelpful. They don’t want to get phone calls from [a former president or his foundation] saying we don’t like this director. (personal communication, August 3, 2012).

The lack of clear policies regarding the PPPs in the PLS may partly reflect the impact a former president or his foundation has on the personnel decisions at presidential libraries. As NARA has become more and more reliant on its private partners, these foundations have required more autonomy (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012).

In 2011, NARA announced a significant reorganization affecting presidential libraries and OPL (National Archives and Records Administration, 2011a). Prior to this reorganization the head of OPL, the Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries, reported directly to the Archivist of the United States. Now the Director of the Office of Presidential Libraries, reports to the Executive for Legislative Archives, Presidential Libraries, and Museum Services (National Archives and Records Administration, 2013b). The move adds a “layer of bureaucracy” between the head of OPL and the Archivist (Participant #7, personal communication, September 24, 2012), making it more difficult for library directors “to keep the Archives, [and] the Archivist particularly, informed and aware of any potential pitfalls and problems” with a former president and his foundation (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). The reorganization could have major implications for the PPPs in the PLS in the future as it removes the Archivist from many important issues “involving presidential records [and] presidential libraries” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012).

Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries.

In November 1988, then-Archivist of the United States Don W. Wilson convened the first meeting of the Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries (National Archives and Records Administration, 1988b). As originally conceived, the committee was to “meet at least annually” at “the request of the Archivist of the United States” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1988a). Some scholars interested in the administration of presidential libraries

complained that committee membership was too exclusive (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). In 2011, the name of the committee was changed to the Advisory Committee on the Presidential Library-Foundation Partnerships; the responsibilities of the committee include advising “the Archivist on matters of mutual interest arising from the collaborative activities of the Presidential Libraries and their support organizations...that affect their public-private partnership” (National Archives and Records Administration, 2011b).

Regardless of its name, an important purpose of the Advisory Committee has been “educational... [allowing foundations a venue for the] exchange of ideas...that [could] really improve that whole [system].” (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). Some archivists have utilized the Advisory Committee more than others (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). The Advisory Committee meets with:

The National Archives... [to discuss] procedures and policies [relevant to presidential libraries],... [issues regarding] federal funding...[and] various legislation...Congress [is considering] about the presidential libraries...[the Advisory Committee provides] the opportunity to share information...about issues related to what’s happening at the various libraries (Participant #5, personal communication, August 13, 2012).

Committee membership has “traditionally represented the presidential families” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995g). Like the board members of a presidential support foundation, advisory committee members generally are people “with a lot of political clout” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). The Advisory Committee has had significant impact lobbying members of Congress on behalf individual presidential libraries and the system as a whole (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

Advisory committee members have become important assets to NARA for lobbying members of Congress on behalf of the agency in general and presidential libraries specifically. Examining the 1997 Advisory Committee meeting minutes offers an opportunity to understand

more fully, how advisory committee members might lobby members of Congress. After a brief discussion about NARA's strategic plans, members of the advisory committee asked questions about the agency's "relations with the Congress." The Archivist acknowledged recent changes to "NARA's Congressional committees in both the Senate and House" and explained that the agency was "working to develop relationships with many members." NARA officials then provided committee members with "a list of the membership of NARA's appropriations committees and subcommittees." Advisory Committee members asked for additional information such as "a membership list for the NARA oversight committees, and...a history of funding for Presidential Libraries as a percentage of the NARA budget" (National Archives and Records Administration, 1997a). During a later Advisory Committee meeting, one committee member expressed concerns over the increased endowment requirement for new presidential libraries and reminded OPL of their "willing[ness] to be an advocate of presidential libraries" and to "be in the fight with [OPL]" against legislation detrimental to the PLS (National Archives and Records Administration, Undated-b).

The disparate nature of presidential support foundations can make collaboration between foundations difficult because they "are not the same in size, staffing, and the foundations vary so much depending on what the former president taped them to do" (Participant #6, personal communication, August 16, 2012). A significant goal of the Advisory Committee has been to "get the foundations talking and working with each other;" encouraging collaborations between presidential support foundations for the betterment of the PLS (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). One area where the Committee has been effective is in "helping new foundations learn what they should be doing and how to proceed" (Participant #6, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

In addition to lobbying Congress and helping newer foundations understand some of the challenges of constructing a presidential library, the Advisory Committee has provided the opportunity for presidential support foundations to lobby the National Archives (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). In essence the Advisory Committee was created by the National Archives as a means of accessing resources both for the PLS and for NARA. In 2004, a number of scholars and practitioners interested in the administration of presidential libraries meet for a conference on the campus of Princeton University (Hackman, 2004). Among the recommendations generated by conference participants to improve the administration of presidential libraries was for NARA to require all presidential library foundations to submit “mission statements and signed memos of agreement and regular reporting” to OPL (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). To this point, the presidential support foundations have successfully prevented OPL’s efforts to require foundations to report this information (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). Older foundations can be resistant to policy changes within the PLS, even if the new policies only affect future foundations for fear that “somehow [they might] impact them” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

The Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries has increased coordination between the National Archives and its private foundation partners. In 2010, the presidential library support foundations formed a separate organization to increase coordination between the individual foundations (National Archives and Records Administration, 2010). According to a former NARA employee, “the foundations [have become] a little more alike in the way they operate and think and coordinate as partners,” and the new organization is in place to “make sure that the National Archives [through the] Office of Presidential Libraries does not ask for

additional information and impose additional requirements [that might]...standardize” the system (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012).

Organizational Autonomy

A significant concern in multi-organizational collaborations is the inverse relationship between organizational interdependence and organizational autonomy (Provan, 1984). Although similar to bureaucratic efforts to establish and maintain autonomy from political actors (Carpenter, 2001; Yesilkagit, 2004), the inherent tension between the interests of an organization and those of a collaborative relationship such as a public-private partnership is especially problematic; for example, it can impact organizational identity (Thomson & Perry, 2006). Successful multi-organizational collaborations require all organizations to have the necessary resources to accomplish the agreed-upon tasks; at the same time, however, “resources must be deployed in such a way as to address the dual problem of encouraging cooperation while resisting capture” (Singleton, 2000, p. 5). This section investigates the importance of organizational autonomy in the PPPs in the PLS and examines the circumstances where this autonomy is compromised and cooptation occurs.

Separate organizations with distinct goals.

As described above, a former president or his supporters establish a presidential support foundation with its own mission independent of the National Archives. The individual organizations that make up the public-private partnership between a presidential library and a presidential support foundation are best described as “roommates in th[e same] building but...not the same person.” Each partner organization has a “real legitimate interest” in doing things a certain way, and it is important for both parties to understand and respect those needs (Participant #9, personal communication, September 24, 2012). NARA has no control over the

mission or goals of its presidential support foundation partners. In an attempt to clarify the legal autonomy each support foundation enjoys as a private nongovernmental organization, a 1972 memo from Daniel J. Reed, then head of the Office of Presidential Libraries, stated:

GSA-NARS did not establish [the presidential support foundations], does not appoint their members, does not finance their activities, does not determine their policies, and does not utilize them. They are not required to report to GSA-NARS on their policies or on the way in which they raise or spend their funds. They are responsible private groups, many of them friends or relatives of Presidents, and, though they may work cooperatively with Presidential libraries from time to time, they pursue their own goals. (General Services Administration: National Archives and Records Service, 1972).

Organizational independence is an important characteristic of PPPs, allowing for equality in the multi-organizational collaboration (Peters, 1998).

Generally, the public does not distinguish between the two separate organizations at presidential libraries; (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012), assuming the library is operated by a private foundation without federal government support (Participant #13, personal communication, November 8, 2012). In part, this is due to a general misunderstanding of the mission of the National Archives (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012) and in part because the vast majority of visitors are served by the history and education programs rather than the archival programs of a presidential library (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

Most of those interviewed considered helping the public distinguish between the public and the private actors in presidential libraries to be generally unproductive (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012) and thus not typically a priority for library directors (Participant #7, personal communication, September 24, 2012). One former NARA representative observed that many visitors are surprised to discover the National Archives is involved in presidential libraries (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012).

Former Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries Sharon Fawcett noted that shortly after NARA took over the Nixon Library, the agency received public complaints about the content of a particular exhibit featuring a statue of the former leader of China, Mao Zedong. The exhibit predated NARA's official involvement with the Nixon Library, and it was cherished by the Nixon Foundation and many of its supporters. Having inherited a private museum from the Nixon Foundation, NARA officials felt obligated to respond to public criticism of the exhibit and placed a sign near the display stating the exhibit in no way represented an official comment by the United States on the legacy of the former Chinese leader. While the sign may or may not have adequately addressed the objects to the museum display, it certainly did not help the relationship between NARA and the Nixon Foundation (C-SPAN, 2010). Perhaps this illustrates why library directors often are not interested in making clear distinctions between public and private action at presidential libraries. To do so potentially both invites public criticism and threatens the relationship with the foundation. As a result, public misunderstandings about where one organizational entity in the PLS ends and the other begins are not uncommon and have persisted throughout much of the history of the Presidential Library System. Such misunderstanding is reinforced by NARA's heavy reliance on its foundation partners for "branding" and other marketing (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

At times even library directors can find it difficult to delineate clearly the mission and goals of the National Archives from those of the support foundations (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). The geographic distance of a presidential library from Washington, D.C. can exacerbate this problem. Most library directors work hundreds of miles away from Washington. Yet they work with "the foundation people every day and you only see [NARA officials from] Washington a couple of times a year; it's a little bit harder to separate

yourself from the goals and the objectives [of]...the foundation.” At times, this can cause some library directors to “feel that they are almost subordinate to the foundations because of the foundations’ power of veto over the spending of foundation money” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012).

Libraries and financial autonomy.

The interests of many of the foundations are similar to NARA’s; however, they are not always the same (Participant #10, personal communication, September 24, 2012). The differences in mission can be a source of conflict in PPPs (Najam, 2000). NARA’s “stewardship of public history can at times be in conflict with the foundations stewardship of a president’s legacy.” (C-SPAN, 2010). When this occurs a library director has “the right and ability to go out and raise the money on their own and to do [public programming] through some other source” (Participant #10, personal communication, September 24, 2012). A federal employee’s ability to solicit and accept private gifts generally violates “a longstanding rule of federal appropriations law”; however, “Section 2112 (g) (1) of Title 44, United States Code, expressly authorizes the...Archivist [of the United States] to solicit gifts and bequests of money and other personal property ‘for the purpose of maintaining, operating, protecting, or improving’ a Presidential Library” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995a). The ability to raise funds independent of any other entity is important for NARA because Archives officials ultimately are responsible for “what happens in a NARA event or in a NARA exhibit” (Participant #10, personal communication, September 24, 2012). Nonfederal funds raised by library directors have had a significant impact on the public programs at presidential libraries (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012).

In addition to fundraising by library directors, the National Archives manages a trust fund for each presidential library (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). The value of the trust fund in helping to preserve a library's autonomy is directly proportional to the size of the fund. The robustness of a library's trust fund depends on a number of factors, including how revenue from museum ticket sales is shared, which organization runs the museum store, and if staff salaries are paid by federal appropriations or by income from the trust fund. Those libraries without the burden of paying staff salaries from the trust fund have more flexibility in providing educational and other public programming independent of a support foundation (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012).

Limits to autonomy in the Presidential Library System.

In recent years, NARA has become more and more reliant on support foundations in presidential libraries. This is significant to the public programs in presidential libraries because foundations typically do not donate money for a project and "say 'here is the money now we do not want to have anything to say about the use of it'. That is just the way of the world" (Participant #10, personal communication, September 24, 2012). A decrease in federal support for programs at presidential libraries means library directors must increasingly turn to support foundations to fund programs (Participant #7, personal communication, August 21, 2012).

Funding generated independently of a presidential support foundation, through either a library director's private fundraising or the library trust fund, does not always guarantee organizational autonomy. Participant #14 described a circumstance where a library foundation was not happy with the content of a proposed museum exhibit renovation. Initially, the foundation protested the planned renovation by withdrawing its pledged financial support from the project. Undeterred, the library director relied on federal funds appropriated to the library,

private donations, and funds generated from the trust fund. The foundation continued to protest, prompting the Archivist of the United States to form a committee to review the intended changes to the museum exhibit. The committee's recommendation was to "follow most of what the foundation wanted changed." The Archivist of the United States told the library director to ignore the committee's recommendations and continue with the project as planned (personal communication, November 8, 2012).

This illustrates that organizational autonomy in the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System is possible; however, in practice it is very difficult to achieve. The PLS as currently constituted does not guarantee the libraries organizational autonomy. In this example, the "personal leadership" of the Archivist of the United States purchased the autonomy of the presidential library (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012). Participant #7, a former NARA employee, observed that the only time library staff "ran into problems" with a foundation was when they "didn't have enough support out of Washington" (personal communication, August 21, 2012). Autonomy based on the "very top person" of an organization making "very hard political calls" (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012) arguably is no autonomy at all.

Potential for cooptation.

A lack of organizational autonomy can lead to cooptation. Philip Selznick (1980) defined cooptation as "a process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence" (p. 13). According to Najam (2000), cooptation is more likely to occur when organizations engaged in collaborative relationships seek to use "similar means for dissimilar ends" (p. 382). From this perspective, the individual organizations in the PPPs in the PLS are potentially vulnerable to

cooptation. This is because “the National Archives has a set of goals sort of core goals... [and those goals are not] exactly the same as the foundations’; they’re not always the same” (Participant 10, personal communication, September 24, 2012). Cooptation is significant because it can involve a fundamental change in “the character and role of the organization or governing body” (Selznick, 1980, p. 15).

The formal and informal structures of the public-private partnerships, so central to the Presidential Library System, may be the primary means by which this cooptation occurs. The National Archives is a “politically weak agency” with “little clout in Washington” (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012). In many respects, NARA is “frightened as hell of these organizations” (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). The fear comes from the contacts former presidents, their families, and foundation representatives have with the current administration and members of Congress (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). The National Archives “finds it difficult to challenge these organizations,” often hoping that a “good relationship” with presidential library support foundations “will [be] helpful in terms of keeping bad things from happening and maybe making good things happen...[in terms of] its own treatment on the Hill and its own budget” (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012).

The cooptation of a presidential library by a foundation is not unprecedented. Participant #8 recalled that while working at NARA headquarters in Washington, D.C., it was discovered that one of the presidential libraries was “basically [being] run by the foundation.” The foundation became “so powerful that they controlled” virtually everything that occurred in the library, “and the director... [was] basically doing whatever the foundation wanted.” Participant #8 recounted that the foundation had less control over the selection of a new director because

the former president had died, and “the wishes of the family only go so far” (personal communication, August 24, 2012).

Former presidents and their foundation representatives are not accustomed to a government employee explicitly refusing to do what they ask. Participant #7, a former NARA employee, told a story about a former president requesting the library loan a federally owned three-dimensional artifact to a museum outside the PLS. Concerned about the preservation of the item, the library director initially refused the request. The former president’s chief of staff telephoned the library director and said, “Listen to me very closely, [the former president] really wants that [piece] to go to...the [other museum]’.” Within a short period after the phone call, the item in question was released to the non-federal museum (personal communication, September 24, 2012).

For most library directors it is only a matter of time before they “get cross-ways with a foundation” (Participant #7, personal communication, August 21, 2012). At these times, library directors “interested in their careers” must be careful about the issues they are willing to engage a support foundation over (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). As mentioned above, library directors serve at the pleasure of the Archivist of the United States. Even with their initial support, a library director can quickly fall out of favor with a former president or his foundation representatives (Participant #5, personal communication, August 24, 2012). When this occurs, a change in personnel is necessary, and the library director often is the one replaced (Participant #7, personal communication, August 21, 2012).

The events surrounding the redesign of the Watergate exhibit at the Nixon Library and Museum illustrate the enormous pressures library directors are under to follow the wishes of a former president or their foundations. As part of the plans for the National Archives to take over

the Nixon Library and Museum from the Nixon Foundation, both parties agreed that the Watergate exhibit was to be redone. Timothy Naftali, the first federal library director of the Nixon Library, was tasked to oversee the assignment. The Nixon Foundation was not pleased with the revised exhibit and asked for significant revisions (Nagourney, 2011). Naftali refused. During a 2010 meeting about the exhibit Naftali, explained that he “could do [the exhibit] no other way and if [the foundation] didn’t way it this way, [he] could leave.” Several NARA employees present at the meeting argued in favor of the foundations view. David Ferriero, the Archivist of the United States, not only supported Naftali’s vision for the Watergate exhibit but provided additional funding to expand the exhibit (Gumbel, 2011).

There is an “intensity gap” at presidential libraries between National Archives officials and “presidential partisans who are intensely interested in how [a particular] presidency is depicted” in a library” (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012). Often the intense interest in the administration of presidential libraries comes less from a former president and more from his family and foundation representatives (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). Some family members and foundation representatives (frequently former aides of the president) “live and breathe the presidential library... are very protective” of a president’s legacy; many of these people “follow very closely... [and] have strong feelings about what happens and what doesn’t happen” in a presidential library (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). It is not surprising that family members and close political supporters ardently defend the legacy of a former president. It is not only the legacy of the former president that is at stake at presidential libraries; the legitimacy of countless “careers and social positions” (Bodnar, 1992, p. 15) of family members and supporters depend on the legacy of a former president. From this perspective, it would be anticipated that

presidential library directors often would be under “enormous” pressure from foundation representatives to “run shrines” to former presidents (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012). In these circumstances it is important for NARA to “pick and choose its battles” carefully because library directors “don’t want to fight” with a former president, his family, or his representatives but “the intensity doesn’t go away” (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012).

Mutuality

Consistent with resource dependency and rational choice institutionalism, the mutuality element of Thomson and Perry’s (2006) framework refers to the idea that organizational collaborations continue only as long as they are mutually beneficial. Although initially mandated, the PPPs in the PLS voluntarily persist long after a presidential library is donated to the federal government. This fact underscores the fact that these relationships are the creations of purposive actors (Moe, 1995) seeking otherwise unavailable resources.

“Mutually assured existence”.

The PPPs in the PLS create a situation of “mutually assured existence” (Participant #5, personal communication, August 13, 2012) for both the library and the foundation. Once the facility is constructed and donated to the federal government, the National Archives maintains the building, which allows a foundation to add additional programming it otherwise might not be able to without NARA’s appropriations (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). In addition to ensuring the libraries persist long after the former president and his supporters are deceased, the PPPs in the PLS allow each partner to reduce some of the financial burden of preserving and maintaining a historical site. The federal government’s responsibility on most presidential library campuses include among other things: staffing, utilities, and

security. This means a foundation is able to operate its programs at a library much more cheaply than if the partnerships did not exist (Participant #14, personal communication, November 8, 2012).

When asked about the benefits the PPPs provide to each organization, Participant #1 drew three conjoined circles [see Figure 5.5], noting that the resources each can contribute to the relationship change over time. Moreover, if unforeseen circumstances arise, each organization -- NARA, the private support foundation, (and more common in recent years) a university -- responds to the needs of the presidential library. The organizational interdependence means that if one of the organizational partners was unable to maintain a certain level of support another might take on additional responsibility. Participant #1 commented that an important thing to remember about the PPPs in the PLS is that they are “going to evolve... [and] change over time.” The level of involvement of the different organizational parties “can grow or it can expand or it can contract as much as necessary,” but NARA will preserve important presidential records, and the American public will “continue to have [their] history maintained” (personal communication, July 25, 2012).

In addition to safeguarding the future of presidential libraries, both NARA and foundation officials have used the partnerships to protect and increase the resources in the Presidential Library System. Presidential libraries have benefited greatly from Congressional earmarks (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). Individuals serving on foundation boards generally have ties to a current administration or to members of Congress and are able to lobby on behalf of NARA and presidential libraries generally or for a specific presidential library. Even after a former president has died, his family often remains a powerful

ally for NARA because first families “can carry influence on both sides of the aisle and a lot of political influence” (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

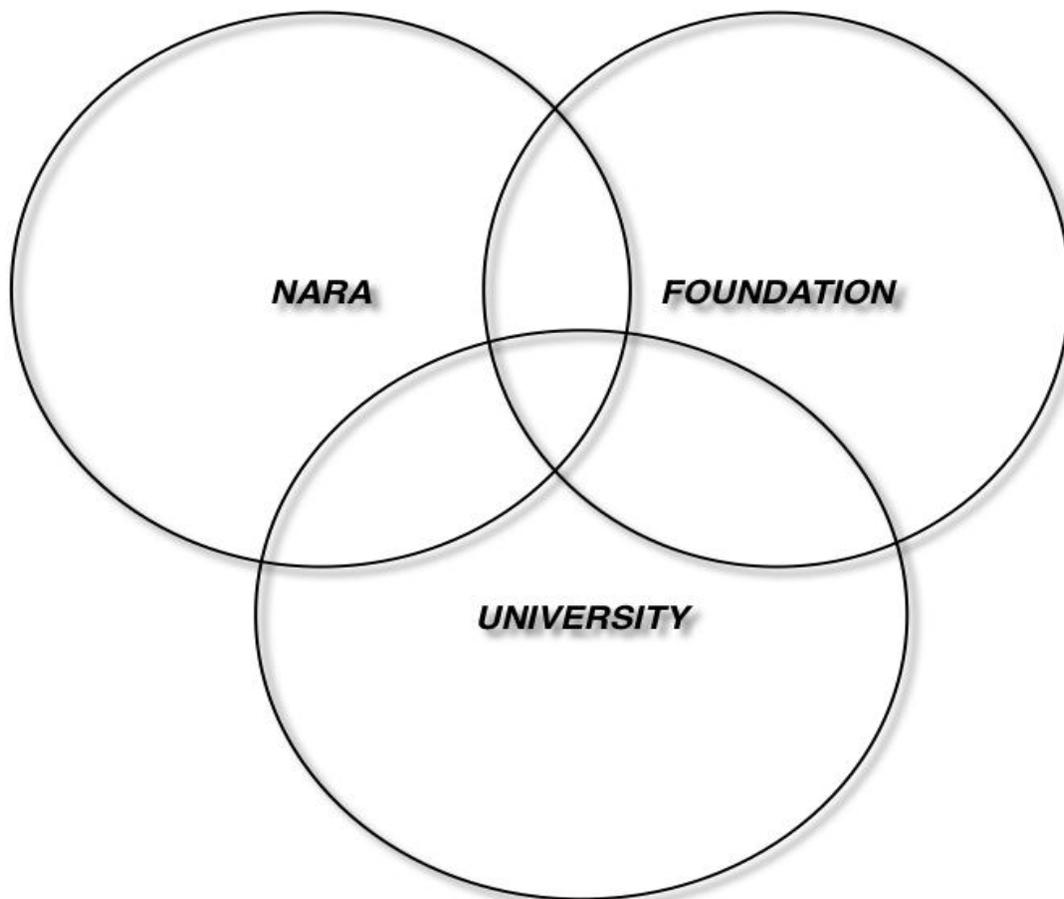
During the Clinton administration, for example, one presidential library foundation turned to Congress for funds needed to complete a planned museum renovation. This was done by a foundation board member who went directly to members of Congress, using the “backdoor around the National Archives” to get the necessary appropriation for the scheduled exhibit overhaul. The Archivist of the United States at the time complained to the library director about the actions of the foundation board member because an older library in the system was in need of a museum redo as well. Upon hearing of the Archivist’s reaction, the foundation board member simply returned to Congress for additional money to cover the costs of the second library museum renovation (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012).

In addition to helping secure additional resources for a presidential library, the PPPs can be a means of protecting current resources. Shortly after being named Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich suggested privatizing all existing and future presidential libraries (Larson, 1995). The Acting Archivist of the United States, Trudy Huskamp Peterson, wrote at least two letters in response to Speaker Gingrich’s comments, the first to Gingrich and the second to former President Gerald Ford. Peterson’s letter to Gingrich highlighted the PPPs in the PLS as “essential and integral” to the “success of the libraries,” even calling PPPs “a model of which both the Federal government and our private foundations should be justly proud” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995c). President Ford’s response indicated that he was “interested in the Speaker’s comments,” and he asked the Acting Archivist to “Please keep [him] posted” on the situation (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995f). In drafting a response to President Ford, one NARA employee suggested that Peterson “make a phone call to

Ford (even if she only talks to someone on his staff). Why not invite Gingrich to speak at the Ford Library – then Pres. Ford could help personally?” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995h).

The potential benefit of presidential support foundations to NARA as an agency has not been limited to presidential libraries. For many years, the National Archives attempted to regain the independent status it enjoyed at its inception. Presidential support foundation representatives (Warner, 2005) as well as the family members of former presidents were instrumental in lobbying members of Congress on the agency’s behalf. It is not surprising, then, that NARA officials are supportive of their presidential library foundation partners.

Figure 5.5 Mutually Assured Existence



(Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012)

PRA and a shift in resources.

The level of organizational interdependence that Participant #1 described often comes at the price of decreased autonomy (Provan, 1984). Organizations seek to gain control over critical resources as this decreases uncertainty as well as interdependence. Control over environmental resources is paramount: as an organization decreases its reliance on other entities for survival, its own autonomy increases (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Additionally, an organization that controls vital resources increases the number of organizations dependent on it for their own survival (Morgan, 2006).

The legal question regarding ownership of presidential records was answered in 1978 when Congress passed the Presidential Records Act (PRA), which made presidential records created on or after January 20, 1981 public property. The PRA marks a qualitative shift in the preservation of presidential papers. The legislation changed NARA's statutory obligation regarding presidential papers from one of custodian to that of trustee. It is true that prior to the PRA the records archived in each presidential library were public property; however, they became so through a deed of gift. The shift in ownership of presidential papers altered what resources NARA and its presidential foundation partners bring to the relationship. Following the PRA, in taking possession of a presidential library, NARA no longer accepts the personal property of a former president. Under the current law, a new presidential library is privately constructed to preserve the official property of the United States government rather than the donated property of a former president. NARA no longer needs a former president to donate his records; they already are public property.

In addition to shifting the resources within the public-private partnerships in the PLS, some saw the PRA as an opportunity to shift the preservation of presidential records away from individual presidential libraries toward a centralized presidential archive located in or around

Washington, D.C. (Elliott, 1981). Such a decision hypothetically would eliminate the need for presidential foundations and their partnerships with NARA. Although the move toward a centralized presidential archive has not materialized, the proposal continues to be considered as a possible alternative to the current administrative structure (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b).

The PRA did make official presidential records the property of the federal government; however, the official records do not tell the full story of a president and his times. As discussed above, the private records, including the political records, of a president remain the personal property of a former president. The distinction between the personal records and official records of a president can be a difficult one to make in practice. The PRA encourages a president to segregate his “personal files while he was president from his official files,” which potentially means a president could “have a whole parallel set of files that he doesn’t have to give to anybody” (Participant #7, personal communication, August 21, 2012). Generally, however, presidential and personal records become intermingled during the presidency, and it is extremely difficult to separate them at the end of a presidential term (Participant #6, personal communication, August 16, 2012).

Benjamin Hufbauer (2013) contends that the costs associated with the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System are unnecessary. The National Archives could preserve presidential records without the assistance of former presidents and their support foundations. Although the Presidential Records Act of 1978 makes official presidential records public property, these records do not tell the full story of a presidential administration. The National Archives has no rights to the personal and political records of a former president. It is not surprising then that some NARA officials are willing to accept federally administered

“presidential temples” (Hufbauer, 2005) for a more complete record. One respondent contended that the attempts by a former president, his family, and his foundation to produce museum exhibits that perpetuate a positive legacy of his presidency is “a small price to pay for... getting a first rate research institution” like a presidential library (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). Supporters of presidential libraries are not blind to the downsides of having a private partner influence the administration of the libraries. One participant called the public-private partnerships a “bargain with the Devil [but] a bargain worth making” (Participant #4, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

Personal records can become official records depending on how they are used (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012). If a record starts out as a private personal record and then it is used while the president is executing formal duties, the record can become subject to the PRA (Participant #12, personal communication, October 1, 2012). Under the PRA, a federal presidential library system prevents “some arm wrestling over what are presidential records and what are personal records of a president” (Participant #6, personal communication, August 16, 2012). In this way, NARA does not have to challenge a former president’s claim that certain records are personal and private, and thus exempt from the PRA, knowing eventually those records most likely will be donated to the library and made publicly available.

The distinctions between private and presidential papers are unnecessary in presidential libraries not covered by the PRA. A deed of gift library contains only those presidential materials a former president decided to donate to the federal government. Many of these records were personal in nature; however, the public availability of all records in the archive is subject to the deed of gift or the discretion of a former president or his appointed representatives. Several

former presidents donated private materials with stipulations that a portion of the records not be made public for a period of time (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

NARA works with former presidents to encourage the donation of personal records. Former President Reagan donated many of his personal papers to his library; however, the personal papers of Presidents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton are “on deposit” at their respective libraries; they are not accessible to the public but some day they might be donated (personal communication, October 1, 2012). The National Archives seeks to preserve as complete a set of records as possible at each presidential library. This goal provides another justification for NARA officials to be more concerned with preserving and providing access to presidential records rather than with overseeing the rhetoric of museum exhibits (Participant #4, personal communication, August 7, 2012).

Resources generated by partnership.

The impact that non-profit organizations have had on United States culture cannot be overstated (Hammack, 2006; Salamon, 1987). Many of these organizations are created to provide public goods and services that are seen as beyond the proper scope of government (Salamon, 2000). As such, in the United States private nongovernmental organizations, rather than the federal government, have often been seen as the legitimate providers of many “fundamental economic and cultural activities” (Hall, 1982, p. 1). The preservation and maintenance of historical sites is just one example of the significant cultural roles that non-profit organizations have played in the United States. Compared to many other nations, in the United States private nongovernmental organizations operate most historical sites (Bratich, et al., 2003).

Legitimacy for both library and foundations.

The partnerships are central to the existence of the PLS as it is presently constituted (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). FDR's proposal of a presidential library built and paid for with nonfederal funds was an attempt to lessen the burden on taxpayers (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2013). The federal government continues to pay for many of the activities that take place in presidential libraries; however, "the National Archives could never have built a presidential library without the support of the private foundation" (Participant #7, personal communication, August 24, 2013).

It is important to acknowledge that the federal government probably would not pay to build presidential libraries without private support (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b). The commitment by presidential support foundations to construct "first class archival facilities around the country" to hold presidential records "so they can be stored and preserved and used for the benefit of the American people" is a benefit to the National Archives as well as the citizens of the United States. It is true that in order to build a presidential library a former president through his private foundation must raise large amounts of money; however, in return "they get legitimacy through being accepted and run by the federal government, run by the National Archives." This legitimacy gives each presidential library "the sense of [being] an official... federal, national monument" (Participant #2, personal communication, July 26, 2012).

The use of nonfederal funds for constructing presidential libraries simultaneously makes them politically feasible and reinforces the idea of a limited federal government. The involvement of a nongovernmental organization in the preservation and maintenance of a site of national significance grants presidential libraries both legitimacy and sustainability. Without the

initial private support to build a presidential library, NARA would still preserve the official presidential records; however if NARA “withdrew from the partnerships... [the presidential archival depositories that would replace a presidential library] would be much smaller facilities... [and] probably [would] have [to be] a co-mingled facility... [with both] presidential records and other federal records.” Such a shift would be significant for NARA, particularly for those administrations since the advent of email and other electronic technology. The George W. Bush Library contains “more electronic records than all of the paper records in all the presidential [libraries] combined.” A dedicated facility for the records of each president allows for the archivists working in that particular library to become experts in the specific collection, allowing the agency to better “manage and process [the records] and make [them] available in a reasonable way to scholars.” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012

After viewing the pyramids in Egypt, Franklin D. Roosevelt commented that “man’s desire to be remembered is colossal” (quoted in Hufbauer, 2005, p. 6). Presidential libraries have had a significant impact on how former presidents are remembered. As an executive agency, the legitimacy of the National Archives is inseparable from the legitimacy of the institution of the presidency.¹⁴ Shortly after leaving office and while still planning his own presidential library, President Lyndon Johnson visited existing presidential libraries. Addressing the NARA staff that was working on processing his presidential records, Johnson said his visit to the Hoover Library had positively changed his perception of Herbert Hoover as a president and as a human being. He had gone to the Herbert Hoover Library, and “for the first time he began to think of Herbert Hoover as a great man.” Again addressing the staff, he said, “that’s what I want you to do for me” (C-SPAN, 2010). Presidential libraries allow for the memory of a former president to persist long after his administration and life are over.

¹⁴ I will discuss collective memory and its implications for presidential libraries in Chapter 6.

The vast majority of visitors to presidential libraries never utilize the archival facilities but rather enjoy the museum exhibits (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012).

Private donations from friends and supporters of former presidents mostly fund the exhibits (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012). NARA officials understand that:

the foundation wants to preserve the legacy of the president and to present it in the best possible light;... [NARA's] dependency on the foundations is huge in terms of the longevity and sustainability of the library so that gives them a lot of power, a lot of say about what is, goes on in their particular library (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012).

NARA officials generally assume that once a former president and his supporters have passed away, the resources of his foundation most likely will diminish, allowing NARA greater influence over the content of a particular museum (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

Norms of Trust and Reciprocity

The development of norms and expectations is an important aspect in the formation of small groups and organizations (Tuckman & Jensen, 1977). According to Thomson and Perry (2006), the establishment of norms of trust and reciprocity is a critical feature of multi-organizational collaboration. Former presidents and their foundation representatives generally have come to rely on the museum exhibits at presidential libraries as space for the development and maintenance of presidential legacies. Additionally, as touched on above, these relationships produce important benefits for both organizational partners. One such reciprocal benefit is that both NARA and its foundation partners serve as supportive allies in the defense of individual libraries and the system generally from potentially threatening outside interests.

Protecting presidential legacy.

Some critics of the PLS have argued that the private foundations have carried the commemoration aspect of these libraries too far (Cox, 2002; Hufbauer, 2005; Mitchell & Kirk, 2008). In her 2006 article in the *Public Historian*, Sharon Fawcett (2006), then-Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries, reminded those critical of presidential library museums that the initial exhibit is created with “little historical perspective to draw upon” (p. 30). Many current and former NARA officials interviewed for this project emphasized that over time the content of a presidential library museum exhibit changes and becomes more complete. NARA does not “pressure a new library” to address the most controversial topics of an administration: “the first exhibit that’s done before the government even takes responsibility for a building... [is] an artifact of history” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). This view of presidential library museum exhibits echoes Fawcett’s:

I see that first exhibit in a presidential library; it is an illustrative memoir of the presidency. It is the president’s point of view. It is completely his story. His foundation built it... he’s usually he has worked very closely with the designers of the exhibit to create this exhibit and it is the voice of the president in that exhibit and I think it’s an important thing for our visitors to see. But as the library transitions over time and as time and distance from a presidency occur, then we become a little more interpretive a little more focused on other historical viewpoints, bringing those into the exhibit along with the presidents point of view... I don’t think historical balance needs to come at the expense of the legacy of a president. No president ever assumed office intending to do a bad job. These 44 men who have been elected to the president did their very best under often harrowing circumstances. There should be celebratory exhibits at a presidential museum (C-SPAN, 2010).

Participant #10 used this same logic to defend some of the presidential library museum exhibits that are complimentary to a specific administration. “If we leave out certain elements of truth regarding a president’s [indiscretions] are we being unfair to history? I don’t think so.” From her perspective, museums at presidential libraries cannot possibly include every scandal from every presidency; if certain aspects of the historical record are missing from an exhibit, that does not

necessarily mean the picture presented at the museum is false (personal communication, October 1, 2012).

In recent years, NARA has taken a more active role in ensuring that museum displays do not overlook controversial issues or aspects of a presidency. NARA generally leaves it “to the foundation to make decisions about the exhibit with some minimal amount of oversight” to ensure government owned documents and three dimensional objects “are correctly exhibited and preserved, and we look to keep the exhibits from becoming too political.” At the same time, NARA tries “to put some stamp of authenticity on these exhibits,” knowing full well “that the foundation wants to preserve the legacy of the president and to present it in the best possible light” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012).

Others argue NARA has given too much control over the museum exhibits at presidential libraries to the foundations. Participant #2 called for the Office of Presidential Libraries to demand “genuine history” from museum exhibits rather than “a campaign commercial” (personal communication, July 26, 2012). Other respondents endorsed this view. Participant #14, for example, emphasized that for all of the support the private foundations offer to presidential libraries they are public spaces, and “public museums should try and be truthful...not spin.” For the permanent museum exhibit with which he was most familiar, “the foundation would argue that most of what they had was fact, I’m sure they got a few wrong but basically it was factual. Well OK, you can be factual but it can be spin, we see this in presidential campaigns all the time” (personal communication, November 8, 2012). Participant #2 agreed, stating “presidents and their supporters...essentially dictate to the National Archives what’s going to be inside these museums (personal communication, July 26, 2012). Several former and current NARA employees justified NARA’s passivity in determining the content of museum exhibits by noting

that private funds mostly pay for museum exhibits: “If you’re going to ask an institution for significant money are we going to ask them to include potentially embarrassing truths?”

(Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

Nonetheless, the Office of Presidential Libraries has required new museum exhibits and renovations to address controversial topics. Newer exhibits at presidential libraries do not “completely overlook controversial issues.” For example, “when the Clinton Library opened, [OPL] did insist that they had to discuss the impeachment, [and] when Reagan recently redid their library...[OPL] paid careful attention to the script on Iran Contra and even made several suggestions on including more information” (Participant #13, personal communication, October 30, 2012). Participant #14 acknowledged that some of the newer exhibits at presidential libraries do address controversial issues in presidential administrations; however, most foundations “want a shrine” to the former president (personal communication, November 8, 2012) and are not interested in being told what content should be included (Participant #2, personal communication, July 26, 2012).

From this perspective it is understandable that the first museum exhibit in a presidential library generally lionize a particular “administration because that’s why the people give the money” to build the library. NARA’s hope is that over time the museum exhibit will provide “a much more accurate portrayal of” an administration than the original exhibit; however, no museum exhibit can ever provide the “total history” of a presidential administration.

Defending partnerships.

None of the current NARA employees interviewed criticized the multi-organizational relationships in the PLS. Indeed, most current employees interviewed were unwilling to discuss any specific aspects of the relationships in the PLS or to provide explicit examples, preferring

instead to speak in generalities. When asked to describe a specific conflict between NARA and a foundation and the process by which it was resolved, Participant #9 would not provide a specific example. When pressed, he assured me that he was “not trying to be evasive” but classified most of the conflicts between NARA and the presidential foundation he was most familiar with as “a miscommunication” or a simple “misunderstanding.” He continued, “I don’t mean to say that there aren’t conflicts along the way in these relationships. Any relationship has them...we’re going to have scuffles every now and then about something. I think those will almost always result from the fact that...we’re not communicating” (personal communication, September 24, 2012). This participant’s comments are interesting for two reasons. First, he was unwilling to share a specific example of inter-organizational conflict. Second, he simply dismissed any difficulties between the two organizations as miscommunication.

Several of the current NARA employees that I spoke with talked about the importance building a harmonious relationship between the agency and the foundations, looking for ways to “work together,” to create “a common front, and ” to be “good partners” (Participant #9, personal communication, September 24, 2012). As currently structured, for the PLS to be successful it is necessary for NARA and the foundations to “strive [for] a good working relationship”; developing and maintaining such relationships, however, poses a “huge challenge, it’s not easy” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

Part of the process of developing a healthy working relationship is by recognizing the needs of the other partner and responding accordingly. According to Participant #9, the libraries in the PLS that are “excelling” are “the ones [that] didn’t have a lot of contention with their foundation...[but] were doing things together...supporting each other and...had this kind of joint, this feeling of being in this thing together.” He continued:

I think to be successful both organizations have to understand that they're going to work together but every now and then their agendas are going to be slightly different and that doesn't mean that you have to fight about it but what that means is you have to understand that and that's why you have to, kind of, put yourself in their shoes every now and then (personal communication, September 24, 2012).

The perspectives that these current NARA employees offered highlight the complementary (Najam, 2000) nature of the partnerships in the PLS. As each organization recognizes and respects the strengths of the multi-organizational relationship, both partners are able to achieve similar ends by different means. According to Participant #10, the Foundation's strengths are the preservation of legacy, fundraising, and branding and marketing; NARA's strengths are in archiving, public-programs, and the museum. The best relationships are when each organization is allowed to do what it does best, when "[NARA] let[s] them do what they do well and they let us do what we do we well, that's when we have the best partnerships" (personal communication, October 1, 2012).

Contemporary politics have caused some problems related to trust between NARA and the presidential support foundations. The idea of consolidating presidential libraries into one central presidential archive in Washington, D.C. has been proposed several times throughout the history of the PLS (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b). Such a change would drastically alter the current model for presidential libraries. When such initiatives surface, it has been important for NARA officials to reassure its foundation partners of their commitment to the partnerships. During the early years of the Clinton administration, rumors circulated throughout the PLS that the Acting Archivist of the United States sought to "centraliz[e] the control of Presidential library operations and activities back to Washington." In an effort to combat such rumors, the Acting Archivist visited several libraries and wrote a letter to each foundation reaffirming her "firm commitment to sustaining a strong and decentralized

Presidential library system” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1994b). One former NARA employee rejects efforts to change the status quo of the PPPs in the PLS, arguing the diversity of each multi-organizational relationship and by extension each library is “the whole strength of the Presidential Library System.” From this perspective, each library “reflect[s] the man and his times”; any effort to consolidate the message and control it from Washington would destroy the “character” and “identity” of the individual libraries and the system (Participant #1, personal communication, July 25, 2012).

The April 24, 1995 draft report of the Task Force on Support Organization/Presidential Library Relationships shows the extent to which NARA officials emphasize the important role of foundations in the PLS: the system boasts “among the best examples of public/private partnerships...a model of its kind...blueprint for other partnerships” (National Archives and Records Administration, 1995k, p. 4). Duke Blackwood, the Director of the Ronald Reagan Library and Museum, expressed similar sentiments at the 2011 symposium on Presidential Libraries. Addressing his comments to the members of Congress present, Director Blackwood reiterated the important role the federal government has and should continue to play in presidential libraries and emphatically endorsed the “need to fully embrace the relationship, the positive relationships that we have with the foundations.” (C-SPAN, 2011).

The PPPs in the PLS are complex relationships that begin to form in the infancy of a presidential administration; grow throughout a president’s term in office; mature as a presidential library is built, dedicated and ages; and continue long after the death of a former president. As one of the two federal agencies to maintain an official relationship with a former president (Thompson, 1995), it is not surprising NARA officials are careful in how they represent the importance of the PPPs in the PLS. Every current president knows that at some point he or she

will become a former president. In issues relating to presidential libraries former presidents “stick together...they may have very, very strong differences [in matters of politics] and policy but in a lot of ways after they are all out of office they kind of come together and work together and are more supportive of each other than you might ever dream they would be” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012).

The tradition of private ownership of presidential records and the National Archives advisory role regarding presidential records are important antecedents of the PPPs in the PLS. NARA’s relationship with a former president begins in the early days of an administration and continues beyond his death. Presidential libraries provide NARA employees the opportunity to engage indirectly and at times “directly with former Presidents of the United States...[T]hat [can] have an impact... [Some NARA employees] don’t want to say no [to a former president; they] want to make them happy” (Participant #8, personal communication, August 24, 2012). Those critical of the public-private partnerships for presidential libraries consider the PPPs in the PLS “not healthy,” suggesting “neither organization [as being] good for the other one” (Participant #7, personal communication, September 24, 2012).

Summary

This study relies on Thomson and Perry’s (2006) process model of collaboration and on scholarly literature on public-private partnerships, rational choice institutionalism, and resource dependency to understand better the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System. The Thomson/Perry process model of collaboration suggests multi-organizational collaborations, like public-private partnerships, consist of five key dimensions. The multidimensionality of these aspects of collaboration frequently is difficult to disaggregate, but

the elements are useful in exploring the complicated organizational partnerships in the Presidential Library System.

Multi-organizational collaborations are purposefully designed to achieve certain goals. The negotiated nature of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System contributes to their informal governance. The decentralized administration of presidential libraries grants library directors considerable discretion. Although NARA and its foundation partners seek to maintain organizational autonomy, there are sufficient opportunities for cooptation in the Presidential Library System. Initially, the multi-organizational relationships in the PLS are statutorily mandated; however, they generally persist voluntarily because participants see the relationships as being mutually beneficial. In defending the multi-organizational relationships to external parties, both NARA and its partner organizations develop norms of trust and reciprocity.

Multi-organizational collaborations like public-private partnerships have become important tools for government actors seeking to address complicated public problems (Bovaird, 2004; Kettl, 1993; Teamey, 2010). The relationships between the National Archives and its presidential support foundation partners are vital to the Presidential Library System as it is currently structured. In summarizing the role these partnerships play in the PLS, one former NARA employee observed:

I think it would be hard to argue that the foundations haven't been useful, even depending on how you look at it, vital to presidential libraries. But if you were going to start over its sure isn't the way I would do it. I would have organizations that are public institutions...I would not have [presidential libraries] dependent on and subject to in some of their programing decisions to nonprofit organizations. (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012)

Like all inter-organizational structures, the PPPs in the PLS are not inevitable, but rather the result of strategic decisions by governmental and nongovernmental actors. The concluding

chapter summarizes the study's findings, discusses presidential libraries and collective memory, a central outcome of the PPPs the PLS, and offers possible avenues for future research.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The chapter begins with a summary of the study's major findings. Next, I explore the implications of these results for collective memory as it relates to this project and to public administration scholarship and practice. I outline potential avenues for future research before offering some concluding thoughts about public-private partnerships.

Summary of Key Findings

In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld an 1894 law that granted the Secretary of War the authority to seize large portions of the battlefield at Gettysburg through eminent domain. The Court's decision commented that Gettysburg was "one of the great battles of the world" and that preserving the battlefield "would be a great object lesson to all who looked upon the land thus cared for, and it would show a proper recognition of the great things that were done there on those momentous days." The decision continues, the preservation of the battlefield at Gettysburg would increase citizens "love and respect" for the "institutions of his country," institutions that "ought to...be regarded with proportionate affection" (*United States v. Gettysburg Electric Railroad Company*, 1896).

In seeking to investigate the nature and extent of the public-private partnerships that exist in the Presidential Library System, this study sought to better understand why and how multi-organizational relationships form at sites of collective memory. The PPPs in the PLS are largely informal in nature. Congress has provided some guidance to both NARA and its presidential foundation partnership; however, most of this is vague enough to permit a variety of interpretations. Modern presidents may anticipate the construction of a presidential library; however, no firm rules exist for how and when such a process should begin. Although the

relationships between older presidential support foundations and NARA serve as general templates for newer foundations, there are no strict guidelines for structuring these relationships. Relevant statutes and agency policies offer little guidance about the governance and administration of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System, allowing individual presidents and their foundations great latitude in shaping these relationships.

For the most part, the foundations rather than NARA determine the extent of the relationships between NARA and its presidential library foundation partners. Former presidents are not required by law to build libraries to house their records; however, if they choose to do so, NARA is, at the very least, obligated to work with the former president and his representatives to ensure the building meets certain design and architectural requirements. Once a library was completed and turned over to the government, the relationships between NARA and many of the early presidential foundations notably attenuated. Foundations supporting newer libraries typically have access to greater political and financial resources than older foundations (Participant #7, August 21, 2012). Such resource inequality can create circumstances ripe for cooptation. Cooptation can occur when libraries individual library directors become “dependent on and subject to” the individual foundations (Participant #3, personal communication, August 1, 2012). It can be difficult for individual library directors and Office of Presidential Library officials to resist the desires of a former president.

Critics of presidential libraries have long called for a centralized repository for presidential records (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b). The Presidential Library System is not only geographically but administratively decentralized. Individual library directors enjoy considerable discretion in their dealings with their specific foundation partners. The Archivist of the United States appoints presidential library directors; however, former

presidents or their foundation representatives are involved in the process. Although a library director serves at the pleasure of the Archivist, their relationship with former president and foundation representatives can have a tremendous impact on the nature and length of their tenure (Participant #7, August 21, 2012). The library director typically manages the relationship between a foundation and a particular library (Fawcett, 2006), since “the national office [in Washington] cannot manage these relationships from hundreds of miles away” (Participant #10, personal communication, October 1, 2012).

Legitimacy is an important resource derived by the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System. The partnerships establish “a public presence” (Salamon, 1995, p. 43) in an area where nongovernmental organizations are often seen as “the preferred providers of services” (Boris, 2006, p. 18). The partnerships legitimize the construction of a facility dedicated to archiving the records of a specific presidential administration. Viewing organizations as the purposive creations (Ashby, 1966) of strategic actors (Knott & Miller, 1987) shapes the discussion of the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System. A public-private partnership was central to President Roosevelt’s proposal for the creation of a federally administered facility to archive his records. In 1938, the recently constructed National Archives building could have accepted Roosevelt’s presidential records. Conceivably, national financial concerns could have derailed the project had the proposal not included a privately funded facility; however, the incorporation of a private foundation dedicated to the construction of the Roosevelt library was for all practical purposes unnecessary. The use of a private foundation to build the Roosevelt Library legitimized FDR’s, and after his death his supporters’, involvement in the administration of the Library. This then was the genesis of and precedent for the unusual

situation of a private group of individuals having substantial influence over the management of government property (Hufbauer, 2005, p. 27).

In the United States, many consider private groups and individuals, rather than the federal government, to be the legitimate “custodian[s]” of sites of historical significance (Kammen, 1991, p. 13). Prior to Presidential Records Act of 1978, the public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System legitimized the federal government’s involvement in preserving the once private presidential records. Following passage of the 1978 law, the PPPs have been used to legitimize the private foundations’ role in influencing the public history presented at presidential libraries. As “privately built, publicly maintained” (Cochrane, 2002, p. 60) spaces, presidential libraries are important places of collective memory.

In his speech at the dedication of the George W. Bush Library and Museum, former President Bill Clinton called the Library “the latest, grandest example of the eternal struggle of former presidents to rewrite history” (C-SPAN, 2013). Presidential libraries, like other sites of collective memory are significant because they help “shape and preserve a shared past and thereby contribute to social stability and solidarity” and seek to influence “the understanding and actions” (Young, 1993, p. 13) of those who visit.

As they are currently structured, the public-private partnerships continue to be important to the Presidential Library System. Understanding the process by which these partnerships form allows for a greater awareness of why the relationships exist. Presidential libraries preserve significant government records and historical artifacts. Through their museum exhibits and educational programs, presidential libraries help shape the nation’s understanding of a particular president as well as the presidency. By affirming certain facts about a particular president and his administration, presidential libraries seek to influence the “historical conclusions” of their

visitors (Young, 1993, p. 13). The public spaces NARA control at presidential libraries have an obligation to be nonpartisan in nature (Naftali, 2013). The majority of those interviewed for this study expressed the opinion that NARA will become increasingly dependent on the private resources afforded by the PPPs in the PLS. The informal nature and extent of these relationships present distinct challenges for the National Archives and its employees, many of which relate to the public nature of presidential libraries. When governmental organizations enter into multi-organizational relationships with nongovernmental organizations they must always remember the private organization does not have the same obligation to public accountability and to the public good (Goodsell, 2006).

Future Research

Multi-organizational relationships are increasingly important means of producing and delivering public goods and services. Although nongovernmental organizations oversee many sites of collective memory in the United States (Bratich, et al., 2003), others like the PLS are jointly administered through public-private partnerships. This study specifically focused on those presidential libraries affected by the 1978 Presidential Records Act. I look forward to systematically investigating the nature, extent, and evolution of each public-private partnership in the Presidential Library System. Although much has been written about the beginning of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum (Connor, 1940b; Hufbauer, 2001; Koch & Bassanese, 2001), relatively little is known about the relationships between NARA and the organizations established to support early presidential libraries. A greater appreciation of these early relationships could prove advantageous not only in providing a richer view of the Presidential Library System but also in understanding public-private partnerships at other sites of collective memory. The PPPs in the PLS are important relationships and require additional study.

For example, in-depth longitudinal case studies of each partnership would be helpful in understanding how these relationships have formed and evolved over time. Future work also might investigate quasi-governmental organizations chartered by legislative bodies to preserve and maintain sites of historical and cultural significance such as the National Parks Foundation and the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation, Inc.

Conclusion

Presidential libraries are nationally (and sometimes internationally) important sites. Without the public-private partnerships in the PLS, presidential libraries would not exist in their current form. Without them, NARA would archive official presidential papers, either in a facility with other federal records or one dedicated to the preservation of presidential records in general (National Archives and Records Administration, 2009b).

Considering the importance of the PPPs in the PLS, it is not surprising they are considered by many to be vital. PPPs frequently are justified based on their efficiency and effectiveness (Bovaird, 2004). The questions remain, however, “effectiveness for whom?” (Provan & Kenis, 2008, p. 229) and “efficiency at achieving what?” It seems presidential libraries present an opportunity for citizens to ask, “What kind of experiences do we want in our public museums?” As public places, presidential libraries in my view should be places where thoughtful and honest debate can occur about the events and actions of a particular presidential administration. NARA’s reliance on private funds to support many of the public activities at presidential libraries is problematic. Critics of presidential libraries argue that former presidents and their foundations have too much influence over their museum exhibits (Hufbauer, 2007). It is not surprising considering the opportunity presidential libraries offer for influencing collective

memory. To address this question, we must better comprehend the intangible costs associated with private influence in public museums.

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Appendix A
IRB Approval Letter

MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 25, 2012
TO: Karen Hult, Daniel Paul Boden
FROM: Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (FWA00000572, expires May 31, 2014)
PROTOCOL TITLE: Public Private Partnerships in the Presidential Library System
IRB NUMBER: 12-636

Effective July 25, 2012, the Virginia Tech Institution Review Board (IRB) Chair, David M Moore, approved the Amendment request for the above-mentioned research protocol.

This approval provides permission to begin the human subject activities outlined in the IRB-approved protocol and supporting documents.

Plans to deviate from the approved protocol and/or supporting documents must be submitted to the IRB as an amendment request and approved by the IRB prior to the implementation of any changes, regardless of how minor, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. Report within 5 business days to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.

All investigators (listed above) are required to comply with the researcher requirements outlined at:

<http://www.irb.vt.edu/pages/responsibilities.htm>

(Please review responsibilities before the commencement of your research.)

PROTOCOL INFORMATION:

Approved As: **Expedited, under 45 CFR 46.110 category(ies) 6,7**
Protocol Approval Date: **July 13, 2012**
Protocol Expiration Date: **July 12, 2013**
Continuing Review Due Date*: **June 28, 2013**

*Date a Continuing Review application is due to the IRB office if human subject activities covered under this protocol, including data analysis, are to continue beyond the Protocol Expiration Date.

FEDERALLY FUNDED RESEARCH REQUIREMENTS:

Per federal regulations, 45 CFR 46.103(f), the IRB is required to compare all federally funded grant proposals/work statements to the IRB protocol(s) which cover the human research activities included in the proposal / work statement before funds are released. Note that this requirement does not apply to Exempt and Interim IRB protocols, or grants for which VT is not the primary awardee.

The table on the following page indicates whether grant proposals are related to this IRB protocol, and which of the listed proposals, if any, have been compared to this IRB protocol, if required.

Invent the Future

Date*	OSP Number	Sponsor	Grant Comparison Conducted?

* Date this proposal number was compared, assessed as not requiring comparison, or comparison information was revised.

If this IRB protocol is to cover any other grant proposals, please contact the IRB office (irbadmin@vt.edu) immediately.

Appendix B

IRB Renewal Approval Letter

MEMORANDUM

DATE: June 17, 2013
TO: Karen Hult, Daniel Paul Boden
FROM: Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (FWA00000572, expires April 25, 2018)
PROTOCOL TITLE: Public Private Partnerships in the Presidential Library System
IRB NUMBER: 12-636

Effective June 14, 2013, the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chair, David M Moore, approved the Continuing Review request for the above-mentioned research protocol.

This approval provides permission to begin the human subject activities outlined in the IRB-approved protocol and supporting documents.

Plans to deviate from the approved protocol and/or supporting documents must be submitted to the IRB as an amendment request and approved by the IRB prior to the implementation of any changes, regardless of how minor, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. Report within 5 business days to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.

All investigators (listed above) are required to comply with the researcher requirements outlined at:

<http://www.irb.vt.edu/pages/responsibilities.htm>

(Please review responsibilities before the commencement of your research.)

PROTOCOL INFORMATION:

Approved As: **Expedited, under 45 CFR 46.110 category(ies) 6,7**
Protocol Approval Date: **July 13, 2013**
Protocol Expiration Date: **July 12, 2014**
Continuing Review Due Date*: **June 28, 2014**

*Date a Continuing Review application is due to the IRB office if human subject activities covered under this protocol, including data analysis, are to continue beyond the Protocol Expiration Date.

FEDERALLY FUNDED RESEARCH REQUIREMENTS:

Per federal regulations, 45 CFR 46.103(f), the IRB is required to compare all federally funded grant proposals/work statements to the IRB protocol(s) which cover the human research activities included in the proposal / work statement before funds are released. Note that this requirement does not apply to Exempt and Interim IRB protocols, or grants for which VT is not the primary awardee.

The table on the following page indicates whether grant proposals are related to this IRB protocol, and which of the listed proposals, if any, have been compared to this IRB protocol, if required.

Invent the Future

Date*	OSP Number	Sponsor	Grant Comparison Conducted?

* Date this proposal number was compared, assessed as not requiring comparison, or comparison information was revised.

If this IRB protocol is to cover any other grant proposals, please contact the IRB office (irbadmin@vt.edu) immediately.

Appendix C

Email Recruitment Script

Subject: Request for Interview about Presidential Libraries

Dear :

My name is Daniel Boden; I am a doctoral student with the Center for Public Administration and Policy at Virginia Tech. I am writing to invite you to participate in a research project investigating the how and why public-private partnerships form, persist, and evolve over time. The study looks specifically at the relationships between the National Archives and the private foundations that support the Presidential Library System. [Name], provided me with your contact information and suggested that with your background and experience you would be a good person to interview.

At your convenience, I would like to schedule a 45-60 minute interview with you. The interview could be in person, by phone, or via Skype. The purpose of the interview is to gather information about the formal and informal relationships between NARA and their Presidential Support Foundation partners. Interviews will be recorded digitally unless participants request otherwise.

I will follow up this request to confirm your interest in participating in this research project. Please feel free to contact me with any questions. Thank you for considering my request, and I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Best,

Daniel Boden, MPA
Doctoral Candidate
Virginia Tech
Center for Public Administration and Policy
104 Draper Road
Blacksburg, VA 24060
540-808-3269 (C)
danboden@vt.edu

Appendix D

Phone Recruitment Script

Hello (Name):

My name is Daniel Boden; I am a doctoral student with the Center for Public Administration and Policy at Virginia Tech. I am calling to invite you to participate in a research project investigating the how and why public-private partnerships form, persist, and evolve over time. The study looks specifically at the relationships between the National Archives and the private foundations that support the Presidential Library System. [Name], provided me with your contact information and suggested that with your background and experience you would be a good person to interview.

At your convenience, I would like to schedule a 45-60 minute interview with you. The interview could be in person, by phone, or via Skype. The purpose of the interview is to gather information about the formal and informal relationships between NARA and their Presidential Support Foundation partners. Interviews will be recorded digitally unless participants request otherwise.

Appendix E
Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR SOCIAL BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH
Virginia Tech

Title of Project: Public-Private Partnerships in the Presidential Library System

I. Purpose of the Study:

The purpose of this research is to better understand how and why the public-private partnerships have emerged and evolved in the Presidential Library System. This study seeks to understand the nature and extent of the relationships between the National Archives and Records Administration and Presidential Library Support Foundations, and why and how these relationships have evolved over time.

This study relies on interviews of current and former employees of the National Archives and Records Administration, current and former representatives of Presidential Library Support Foundations, and scholars and other professionals familiar with the administration of the Presidential Library System.

II. Procedures:

Interviews will take place in a time and location convenient to the participant. Interviews will generally last one hour and will be recorded for accuracy of audio content.

Personally identifying information will be stripped during transcription as described below. As a result data will be anonymous.

III. Risks:

There are no risks in participating in this research beyond those experienced in everyday life. The interview questions involve personal opinions and expressions of personal experience.

IV. Benefits:

Based on planned publications of the research results, participants and the broader research community might have a better idea of specific public-private partnerships in the Presidential Library System and the challenges and benefits of public-private partnerships in general.

V. Extent of Confidentiality

Every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality. Interviews will be audio recorded. Your responses will be linked through a pseudonym. All data will be kept confidential and stored by pseudonym, rather than by name. As transcripts are created all personal identifiers (names) will be stripped from responses. The list linking names to pseudonyms will be kept separate from data and will be destroyed within one year. Only the principal and co-principal investigator will have access to personal identifying information of the participants. Audio recordings and original transcripts will be destroyed within one year of the projects' conclusion.

It is possible that the Institutional Review Board (IRB) may view this study's collected data for auditing purposes. The IRB is responsible for the oversight of the protection of human subjects involved in research.

VI. Compensation:

Participation in this study is voluntary. No promise or guarantee of benefits is made to encourage participation.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw:

Your decision to participate in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time or skip any question.

VIII. Participants Permission:

I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent.

Keep this form for your records and future reference.

Participant’s Permission

You must be 18 years old or older to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

Participant’s Printed Name	Participant Signature	Date
Person Obtaining Consent		Date

Should you have pertinent questions about this research, researcher conduct, or participants rights please contact:

Principle Investigator:
 Karen M. Hult, Professor
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Appendix F

Sample Interview Questions

Questions for Library Directors

Have there been any conflicts between the Library and Foundation?

If so, what types? How were/are they resolved?

How has the PRA of 1978 affected the “core” functions of Library Staff?

Describe the relationship between NARA (NL) and the Foundation.

Describe the relationship between the Library and the Foundation.

In what ways are these relationships “vital” to the success of this library?

Questions for NARA Employees in Washington, D.C.

What norms/expectations does NARA have regarding new Foundation Partners?

How are these expectations communicated to a President and his Library Support Foundation?

Does the working relationship between NARA and the Foundation change after a library is completed?

If so, in what ways?

What are NARA’s expectations about its relationship with a Foundation after a library is completed?

How (by and to whom) are these expectations communicated?

Questions for Foundation Representatives

What expectations does the Foundation have now about its relationship with NARA?

How (and by whom) are these expectations communicated?

Have these expectations changed over time?

Why and how?

Have there been conflicts between the Foundation and the Library Director and Library Staff?

If so, how were they resolved?

Has the Advisory Committee on Presidential Libraries influenced the relationships between the foundation and NARA (Washington)?

If so, how?

Describe the process by which a Library Director is hired.

How much interaction does the President/Foundation have with the Archivist during this process?

Why is this interaction necessary?

In what ways are the relationships between NARA and the private Support Foundations “vital” to the success of the Presidential Library System?

Have these relationships changed or shifted over time?

If so, why and how?

Do you see these relationships changing significantly in the future?

If so, why and how?

Are there conflicts between NARA and the Foundations?

If so, how are they resolved?

**Questions for
Scholars**