

**JENNIFER L. SELIN**  
Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law  
Arizona State University  
111 E. Taylor Street  
Phoenix, AZ 85004  
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[Jennifer.Selin@asu.edu](mailto:Jennifer.Selin@asu.edu)

## **EMPLOYMENT**

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

Associate Professor of Law, 2024-present

ADMINISTRATIVE CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Senior Attorney Advisor, 2022-2024

PENN STATE LAW

Visiting Associate Professor of Law and Political Science, 2023-2024

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL, Carl Levin Center for Oversight and Democracy

Co-Director, Washington Office, 2022

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, Harry S. Truman School of Government and Public Affairs

Kinder Institute Assistant Professor of Constitutional Democracy, 2017-2022

Major E. Garrett Faculty Fellowship, 2018-2019

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN, Department of Political Science

Assistant Professor, 2014-2017

Cline Center for Democracy Research Affiliate, 2016-2017

Nardulli Award for Research Excellence, 2016

GKRSE LAW, Washington D.C.

Associate, 2007-2008

Areas of Practice: Western Electricity Market Regulation; Alternative Energy  
Development, Licensing, and Regulation; Commodity Futures Trading  
Regulation

Organizations: Prettyman-Leventhal American Inn of Court, 2007-2008

Energy Bar Association, Renewable Energy Committee, 2007-2008

## **EDUCATION**

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, M.A., Ph.D. (Political Science, concentrations in American Politics &  
Political Methodology), 2014

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions Graduate Affiliate, 2009-2014

Dissertation: *Political Control, Bureaucratic Responsiveness, and Agency Structure*

Committee: David E. Lewis (chair); Joshua D. Clinton; Bruce I. Oppenheimer;  
Kevin M. Stack; Alan E. Wiseman  
THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS, Editorial Associate, 2008

WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY, J.D., 2007

WAKE FOREST INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY JOURNAL, Staff Member & Articles Editor,  
2005-2007

Wake Forest Moot Court Board, Member & Marshall, 2005-2007

WAKE FOREST MOOT COURT PROBLEM BOOK, Editor-in-Chief, 2007

Appellate Advocacy Clinic (with John J. Korzen and Pamela M. Buskirk), 2007

*Dexter Theatra Thomas v. United States*, 552 U.S. 1136 (2008)

Honors/Awards: Debbie Parker Moot Court Service Award, 2007

Moot Court Board Award, 2007

Merit Scholarship, 2004-2007

LEBANON VALLEY COLLEGE, B.A. (American Studies & Political Science), 2004

Varsity Field Hockey, 2000-2004

Honors/Awards:

Phi Alpha Epsilon

Outstanding Female Athlete of the Year, 2004

National Field Hockey Coaches Association Regional All-American, 2003

National Field Hockey Coaches Association Academic All-American, 2001-2003

Presidential Scholarship, 2000-2004

## ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

### BOOKS:

[SOURCEBOOK OF UNITED STATES EXECUTIVE AGENCIES](#) (2nd ed. 2018; [1st ed.](#) 2012) (with David E. Lewis).

### ARTICLES:

[Constraining the Executive Branch: Delegation, Agency Independence, and Congressional Design of Judicial Review](#), 119 NW. U. L. REV. (2025) (with Pamela J. Clouser McCann).

[Independent Justice? U.S. Attorneys as a Case Study of Political Appointments](#), U. MICH. J.L. REFORM (2025) (with Lauren Mattioli).

[How Free is Information? Transparency in State Government](#), 26 N.Y.U. J. LEGIS. & PUB. POL'Y 985 (2024) (with Jordan M. Butcher).

[The Importance of Removal Restrictions in a Schedule F World](#), 13 REG. REV. IN DEPTH 1 (2024) (with Paul R. Verkuil).

[Keeping Tabs on the Executive](#), 53 PRES. STUD. Q. 186 (2023) (with Grace Moore).

[\*Anticipated Adjudication: An Analysis of the Judicialization of Agency Staffing\*](#), 32 J. PUB. ADMIN. RSCH. & THEORY 610 (2022) (with Scott Limbocker & William G. Resh).

[\*Under Pressure: Centralizing Regulation in Response to Presidential Directives\*](#), 52 PRES. STUD. Q. 340 (2022) (with Cody Drolc, Jordan Butcher, Nicholas Brothers & Hanna Brant).

[\*The Politicization Conversation: A Call to Better Define and Measure the Concept\*](#), 53 PRES. STUD. Q. 10 (2022) (with Scott Limbocker & Mark D. Richardson).

[\*The Headless Fourth Branch: Rethinking the Assumptions of Administrative Jurisprudence\*](#), 4 PERSP. PUB. MGMT. & GOV. 170 (2021).

[\*"If Men Were Angels": The Legal Dynamics of Overseeing the Presidency\*](#), 51 PRES. STUD. Q. 426 (2021) (with Caylie Milazzo).

[\*The Best Laid Plans: How Administrative Burden Complicates Voting Rights Restoration Law and Policy\*](#), 84 MO. L. REV. 999 (2019).

[\*Don't Sweat the Details!: Enhancing Congressional Committee Capacity Through the Use of Detailees\*](#), 42 LEGIS. STUD. Q. 611 (2017) (with Russell W. Mills).

[\*Understanding Employee Turnover in the Public Sector: Insights from Research on Teacher Mobility\*](#), 76 PUB. ADMIN. REV. 241 (2016) (with Jason A. Grissom & Samantha L. Viano).

[\*What Makes an Agency Independent?\*](#), 59 AM. J. POL. SCI. 971 (2015).

[\*Political Control and the Forms of Agency Independence\*](#), 83 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 1487 (2014-2015) (with David E. Lewis).

[\*Influencing the Bureaucracy: The Irony of Congressional Oversight\*](#), 58 AM. J. POL. SCI. 387 (2014) (with Joshua D. Clinton & David E. Lewis).

[\*The House as a Stepping Stone to the Senate: Why Do So Few African-American House Members Run?\*](#), 56 AM. J. POL. SCI. 387 (2012) (with Gbemende Johnson & Bruce I. Oppenheimer).

#### GOVERNMENT REPORTS:

[\*Participation of Senate-Confirmed Officials in Administrative Adjudication\*](#) (June 13, 2024) (report to the Admin. Conf. of the U.S.) (with Matthew A. Gluth & Jeremy S. Graboyes).

[\*Improving Timeliness in Agency Adjudication\*](#) (Dec. 11, 2023) (report to the Admin. Conf. of the U.S.) (with Jeremy S. Graboyes).

#### BOOK CHAPTERS:

[\*Political Control of Regulatory Authorities\*](#), in HANDBOOK OF REGULATORY AUTHORITIES 193 (Fabrizio Di Mascio, Martino Maggetti & Alessandro Natalini eds., Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022).

*The Hollowed State: Managing Trump's State Department*, in [CONTEMPORARY CASES IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY](#) 99 (Ralph G. Carter, ed., Rowman & Littlefield, 2021).

BOOK REVIEWS:

[\*Book Review: Law & Leviathan: Redeeming the Administrative State by C. Sunstein and A. Vermuele\*](#), 52 AM. REV. PUB. ADMIN. 248 (2022).

[\*Book Review: Strategies for Governing: Reinventing Public Administration for a Dangerous Century\*](#), 18 PERSP. ON POL. 1006 (2020).

[\*Book Review: Presidential Leverage: Presidents, Approval, and the American State\*](#), 16 PERSP. ON POL. 842 (2018).

[\*Book Review: Agenda Crossover: The Influence of State Delegations in Congress\*](#), 133 POL. SCI. Q. 590 (2018).

[\*Book Review: Above Politics: Bureaucratic Discretion and Credible Commitment\*](#), 47 AM. REV. PUB. ADMIN. 496 (2017).

OTHER ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS:

[\*How Broad is Presidential Immunity in the United States?\*](#), in U.S. ELECTION ANALYSIS 2024: MEDIA, VOTERS AND THE CAMPAIGN 17 (Daniel Jackson et al. eds., Bournemouth University, 2024).

[\*Participation of Senate-Confirmed Officials in Administrative Adjudication\*](#), REG. REV. (Nov. 12, 2024) (with Matthew A. Gluth & Jeremy Graboyes).

[\*Improving Timeliness in Agency Adjudication\*](#), REG. REV. (July 4, 2024) (with Jeremy S. Graboyes & Lea Robbins).

[\*Modernizing Regulatory Review: Perspectives from ACUS\*](#), YALE J. ON REG.: NOTICE & COMMENT (May 30, 2023) (with Jeremy S. Graboyes).

[\*Reconsidering Agencies as Active Participants in Theories of Political Control\*](#), YALE J. ON REG.: Notice & Comment (Nov. 1, 2021).

[\*The Future of Election Administration: How Will States Respond?\*](#), in U.S. ELECTION ANALYSIS 2020: MEDIA, VOTERS AND THE CAMPAIGN 115 (Daniel Jackson et al. eds., Bournemouth University, 2020).

[Is the Administrative State Legitimate?](#), STARTING POINTS (Oct. 30, 2017) (with Joseph Postell).

## ACADEMIC GRANTS

*Holding the Executive to Account in the Twenty-First Century*, Political Studies Association/American Political Science Association International Engagement Scheme (2019) (with Alan Convery, Cody A. Drolc, Stephen Elstub, Marc Geddes, Pavielle Haines & David Parker).

*Brain Drain? Understanding Congressional Committee Staffers' Legislative and Oversight Capabilities*, Center for Effective Lawmaking (2018) (with Hanna K. Brant).

*Brain Drain? Understanding Congressional Committee Staffers' Legislative and Oversight Capabilities*, Dirksen Congressional Center (2018) (with Hanna K. Brant).

*Behind 'Enemy Lines?': Congressional Detailees and Executive Branch Influence over Policy Formulation*, Dirksen Congressional Center (2016) (with Russell W. Mills).

## ACTIVE WORKS IN PROGRESS

SOURCEBOOK OF UNITED STATES EXECUTIVE AGENCIES, 3d ed (with David E. Lewis) (expected publication date December 2025)

*Learning from Podium-Gate: Using State Freedom of Information Laws* (with Jordan M. Burcher).

*Improving Timeliness in Agency Adjudication* (with Jeremy S. Graboyes) (developed from report commissioned by the Administrative Conference of the United States).

*Not for You! How Delegation Invites Erroneous Deprivation of Voting Rights Restoration* (developed from Expert Declaration and Report of Jennifer L. Selin, J.D. Ph.D., Tenn. NAACP v. Lee, No. 3:20-cv-01039 (M.D. Tenn. 2022)).

*Intergovernmental Partnerships: Federal Agencies' Collaboration with State, Local, and Tribal Governments* (with Pamela J. Clouser McCann) (report commissioned by the Administrative Conference of the United States).

*All Politics is Presidential: Why U.S. Politics is Presidentializing, Not Nationalizing* (with Seth Benson, Scott Limbocker, & Luke Stoner).

## RECENT MEDIA (2017-present)

[President Trump promises to make government efficient – and he'll run into the same roadblocks as Presidents Taft, Roosevelt, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Carter, Reagan and Bush, among others](#), THE CONVERSATION (Jan. 24, 2025).

[What does the U.S. attorney general actually do?](#), GOVERNMENT EXECUTIVE (Dec. 19, 2024).

[Why does the Senate confirm Trump’s picks for key posts – and how? A legal scholar explains the confirmation process and the ‘constitutional loophole’ of recess appointments,](#) THE CONVERSATION (Nov. 19, 2024).

[A Hard Look at Project 2025: Part Two,](#) ADMIN. L. REV. (Nov. 5, 2024).

[Why FEMA’s disaster relief gets political – especially when hurricane season and election season collide,](#) THE CONVERSATION (Oct. 14, 2024).

[Presidential immunity has clear limits, special counsel filing says, and Trump should be tried for efforts to overturn 2020 election,](#) THE CONVERSATION (Oct. 3, 2024).

[Jan. 6 committee hearings show what went right, not just what went wrong,](#) THE CONVERSATION (June 17, 2022).

[What 5 previous congressional investigations can teach us about the House Jan. 6 committee hearings,](#) THE CONVERSATION (June 2, 2022).

[Enforcing unprecedented subpoenas for GOP lawmakers turns on complex legal precedent going back centuries,](#) THE CONVERSATION (May 13, 2022).

[Appeals court says Trump has given “no legal reason” to defy Congress’s demand for Jan. 6 documents, but Supreme Court may have the final say,](#) THE CONVERSATION (Dec. 9, 2021).

[Steve Bannon is held in criminal contempt of Congress, pushing key question over presidential power to the courts,](#) THE CONVERSATION (Oct. 29, 2021).

[Can Governors Ban School Mask Mandates?,](#) NAT’L CONST. CTR.: WE THE PEOPLE (Sept. 2, 2021).

[Who has the power to say kids do or don’t have to wear masks in school – the governor of the school district? It’s not clear,](#) THE CONVERSATION (Aug. 19, 2021).

[In gun debate, both sides have evidence to back them up,](#) THE CONVERSATION (April 1, 2021) (with Zach Lang).

[Implications of Homeland Agency Troops Against Protestors in Portland,](#) SCHOLARS CIRCLE (July 26, 2020).

[Mail-in voting’s potential problems only begin at the post office – an underfunded, underprepared decentralized system could be trouble,](#) THE CONVERSATION (Aug. 26, 2020).

[How the Constitution's federalist framework is being tested by COVID-19](#), FIXGOV (June 8, 2020).

[Can the president really order the military to occupy US cities and states?](#), THE CONVERSATION (June 2, 2020).

[Trump versus the states: What federalism means for the coronavirus response](#), THE CONVERSATION (April 17, 2020).

[Impeachment resolution: 3 reasons the House voted even though the Constitution doesn't require it](#), THE CONVERSATION (October 30, 2019).

[Trump, Ukraine, and a whistleblower: Ever since 1796, Congress has struggled to keep presidents in check](#), THE CONVERSATION (September 25, 2019).

[Staff have the skills to assist Congress, but they need more resources](#), LEGBRANCH (October 9, 2018) (with Hanna K. Brant).

[As DACA Winds Through Courts, A Cautionary Tale in Executive Orders](#), NEWSY.COM (June 7, 2018).

[Congressional committee staffs have shrunk. Here's one way Congress makes up the difference](#), WASH. POST (June 14, 2017) (with Russell W. Mills).

#### **RECENT PRESENTATIONS (2017-present)**

*The Future of the Federal Civil Service*, American Bar Association's 2024 Administrative Law Conference (Nov. 2024); *The Future of Agency Independence Symposium*, University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform (Nov. 2024).

*Intergovernmental Partnerships: Federal Agencies' Collaboration with State, Local, and Tribal Governments*, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Sept. 2024) (with Pamela J. Clouser McCann).

*Improving Timeliness in Agency Adjudication*, Conference on Executive-Judicial Relations (June 2024) (with Jeremy S. Graboyes).

*Learning from Podium-Gate: Using State Freedom of Information Laws*, Annual State Politics and Policy Conference (June 2024) (with Jordan M. Burcher).

*All Politics is Presidential: Why U.S. Politics is Presidentializing, Not Nationalizing*, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Apr. 2024) (with Seth Benson, Scott Limbocker, & Luke Stoner).

*How Free is Information? Government Transparency in the American States*, Eighth Annual Administrative Law New Scholarship Roundtable, University of Texas at Austin School of Law (May 2023); Democracy in the U.S. States Conference at the Center for American Political Responsiveness and McCourtney Institute for Democracy, Pennsylvania State University (Mar. 2023); Scholar-in-Residency Presentation, Quality of Governance Institute, University of Gothenburg (Feb. 2023); Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Sept. 2022); Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (Jan. 2021) (with Jordan M. Butcher).

*Collaborating in Data Collection*, Professional Development Seminar, Women in Legislative Studies (Apr. 2023).

*Keeping Tabs on the Executive*, Women in Legislative Studies Conference (Oct. 2022); Cornell University's Executive Politics in an Era of Democratic Crisis workshop (June 2022) (with Grace Moore).

*Congressional Research*, Annual Meeting of the Association of Centers for the Study of Congress (May 2022).

*Constraining the Executive Branch: Congressional Use of the Courts in the Administrative State*, Power in the Administrative State Workshop Series (Feb. 2022); Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (Jan. 2022); Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (Apr. 2021); Theoretical and Empirical Developments in Executive Politics conference at The Ohio State University (June 2019); Oppenheimer Reconsidered: Paths Forward in the Study of Congressional Politics and Representation Conference at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Vanderbilt University (Apr. 2019).

*The Consequences of Politicization and Agency Structure for Federal Employment*, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Sept. 2021) (with Scott Limbocker and Mark Richardson).

*The Headless Fourth Branch: Rethinking the Assumptions of Administrative Jurisprudence*, International Research Society for Public Management Conference (Apr. 2021).

*Summary of Challenges and Opportunities for States*, Federalism Index Project Legislator Training Academy, Center for Constitutional Studies (Apr. 2021).

*Compliance with Administrative Procedures: (Not) Providing Information under the Congressional Review Act*, American Political Science Association Executive Politics Seminar (Mar. 2021).

*Federalism in the Time of Corona: A Cautionary Tale*, Federalism on Trial: Lessons from COVID-19 Conference, Center for Constitutional Studies (Oct. 2020).



*How Politicization, Agency Structure, and Leadership Shapes Employee Tenure*, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Sept. 2020) (with Scott Limbocker and Mark Richardson).

*Policing and Criminal Justice Reform: A Conversation*, Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy (October 2020).

*Legislative and Oversight Functions of Congress*, Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Orientation, American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship Program (September 2020).

*State Budgets and Constitutional Relations*, Roundtable Discussion before the National Budget Roundtable hosted by the Brookings Institution (May 2020).

*Federalism, Intergovernmental Coordination and the COVID-19 Pandemic: Comparing Experiences*, International Seminar hosted by the MacKell Chair in Federalism, Law Faculty, McGill University and the Research Group on Plurinational Societies (May 2020).

*Insulated from Politics? An Examination of Agency Structure and Employee Tenure, 1974-2014*, Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association (January 2020) (with Scott Limbocker and Mark Richardson).

*The Road to Re-Enfranchisement: Advancing Rights Restoration*, Symposium Meeting at the Brennan Center for Justice's Voting Rights and Elections Program (September 2019).

*Through the Looking Glass: Bureaucratic Responsiveness in the States*, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (August 2019); State Politics and Policy Conference, University of Maryland, College Park (May 2019) (with Jordan M. Butcher).

*Administrative Burden and Voting Rights Restoration Law and Policy*, Missouri Symposium on Felon Disenfranchisement (April 2019).

*The Burden of Unburdening: Administrative Law and Deregulation*, Panel Discussion at the Third Annual Missouri Federalist Society Meeting at the Capitol (January 2019).

*Developing an Academic-Federal Human Capital Research Protocol*, Roundtable Discussion at the Office of Management and Budget, United States Executive Office of the President (November 2018).

## **PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND AFFILIATIONS**

Referee Service (2017-present): ADMIN & SOC'Y; AM. J. POL. SCI.; AM. POL. SCI. REV.; AM. REV. POL. ADMIN.; BRIT. J. POL. SCI.; CONG. & PRES.; GOVERNANCE; J. POL'Y ANALYSIS & MGMT.; J. POL.; J. PUB. ADMIN. RSCH. & THEORY; J. PUB. POL'Y; LEG. STUD. Q.;

PERSP. ON POL.; POL. RSCH. Q.; POL. & GENDER; PUB. ADMIN.; PUB. ADMIN. REV.; PUB. POL'Y & ADMIN; PUBLIUS; REG. & GOVERNANCE; REV. INT'L ORG.

NATIONAL BUDGET ROUNDTABLE

Member, 2022-present

AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Founders Best Paper on Executive Politics Award Committee Chair, 2022

George C. Edwards III Dissertation Award Committee Member, 2021

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

Expert Witness, 2022-present

MIDWEST PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CAUCUS

Roundtable Coordinator, 2021-2022

Herbert Simon Award Nomination Committee Member, 2018-2019

Presidential Nomination Committee Member, 2016-2017

MIDWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Program Committee Section Chair, Public Administration, 2019-2020

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

Sandra Day O'Connor College of Law

Colloquium Committee Member, 2024-2025

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

PhD Student Committees (past): Hanna Brant (co-Chair), Assistant Professor, SUNY Geneseo, *Determinants of Legislative Staff Turnover* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri)

Cody Droic (co-Chair), Assistant Professor, University of South Carolina, *Unelected Oversight: The Politics of Government Investigations and Problem Monitoring* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri)

McNair Scholars Program Mentor, 2020

Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy

Post-doctoral Search Committee Member, 2019

Felon Disenfranchisement Symposium Planning Committee Co-Chair, 2018-2019

Graduate Studies Committee Member, 2019-2020

Graduate Fellowships Committee Member, 2018-2019

Kinder Scholars

Instructor, 2018-2022

Selection Committee Member, 2018-2019

Society of Fellows

Summer Residential Conference Instructor, 2018-2021

Selection Committee Member, 2018

Working Committee on Process Member, 2018-2019

Kinder Expansion Committee Member, 2018

Harry S. Truman School of Government and Public Affairs  
Truman School Advisory Committee Member, 2020-2021  
Truman Merger Planning Committee Member, 2020  
Graduate Committee Member, 2019-2020  
Lectures Committee Chair, 2018-2019  
Undergraduate Studies Committee Member, 2017-2018

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences  
Honors Council Member, 2016-2017  
Department of Political Science  
Graduate Affairs Committee Member, 2016-2017  
Advisory Committee Member, 2016  
Instructional Programs Committee Member, 2016  
Awards Committee Member, 2014-2015

MANDELA WASHINGTON FELLOWSHIP CIVIC LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE (administered by the U.S.

Department of State and the Young African Leaders Initiative)  
Principles of Public Policy Leader, 2016

TENNESSEE INTERCOLLEGIATE STATE LEGISLATURE

Appellate Moot Court Challenge Executive Committee Member, 2011-2014

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Undergraduate Moot Court Challenge  
Coach, 2008-2014  
Undergraduate Mock Trial Program  
Judge, 2010-2014  
Political Science Graduate Student Council  
George K. Graham Symposium Series Coordinator, 2011-2012  
Co-Chair, 2009-2010  
Secretary, 2008-2009

VIRGINIA SUPREME COURT

Admitted, October 2007  
Organizations  
Virginia State Bar, 2007-Present

WAKE FOREST SCHOOL OF LAW

Admissions Tour Guide and Recruiter, 2005-2007  
Women in Law Mentor, 2005-2007