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Education

PostDoc Carnegie-Mellon University,
Graduate School of Industrial
Administration (Business School), 1986
PHD University of Texas, 1980
BA University of Texas, 1973



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Update of Recent Activities

November 2011, Aspen Institute will publish *Easing the Inquiry Burdens on Nominees*.
September 2011, Continue to advise the Colombian High Commissioner on Social Prosperity on strategies for managing his policy purview on poverty.

July 16, 2011. The US Senate passes S. 679, a bill reforming the federal appointments process. Professor Sullivan's research is quoted extensively in the Committee Report.
July 2, 2011. *The Journal of Politics* published "Congressional Bargaining in Presidential Time."

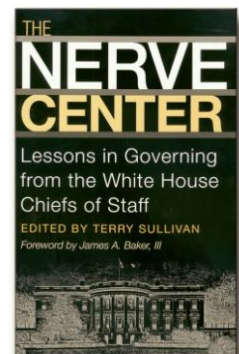
SCHOLARSHIP

Overview: All scholarship here has two characteristics: an institutional orientation, assessing how choices about decision-making shape decisions, and unique, detailed data from *within* the process. Scholarship focuses on three research programs:

- (a) Congressional Process.** Uses unique data on procedure and legislative development to understand legislative dynamics, coalition-formation, ambition, career patterns, and leadership.
- (b) Executive Decision-making.** Uses unique data on presidential operations suitably detailed to guide practitioners and theorists. Topics include work patterns, operations, executive dynamics, delegation, initiative, and organizational theory.
- (c) Presidential Leadership.** Contributes to a formal model of presidential leadership, including a new reciprocal bargaining theory, coalition-formation.

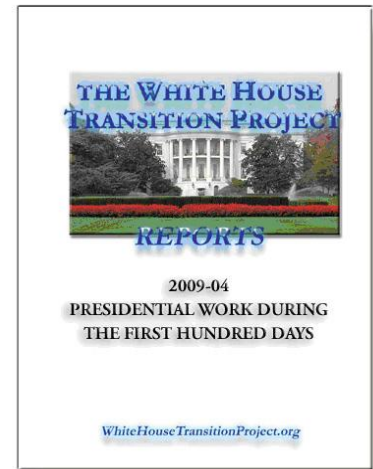
Books

- [1] *The Nerve Center: Lessons in Governing from the White House Chiefs of Staff*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004. (b)(c)
- [2] *The White House World: Transitions, Organization, and Office Operations*. with Martha Joynt Kumar; College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003. (b)(c)
- [3] *Congress: Structure and Policy*, with Mathew McCubbins. Series on Political Economy of Institutions & Decisions, #1. James Alt & Douglas North, general editors. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Reissued 2010. (a)(b)
- [4] *Procedural Structure: Success and Influence in Congress*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984. (a)



Monographs

- [5] *Easing the Inquiry Burden on Presidential Nominees*. Aspen Institute Report Series. 2012. (b)(c)
- [6] *Presidential Work During the First Hundred Days*. Reports on Institutional Anatomy Series: Study number 2009-04. Washington: White House Transition Project. 2009. (b)(c)
- [7] *Rescuing the Presidential Appointments Process*. Reports on Institutional Anatomy Series, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2009-01. Washington: White House Transition Project. 2007. (a)(b)
- [8] *In Full View – The Inquiry of Presidential Nominees*. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-15. Washington: White House Transition Project. 2002. (a)(b)
- [9] *Refining the White House Personal Data Statement*. With Jennifer Hora. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-14. Originally a report to Clay Johnson, Deputy Chief of Staff, the White House, February, 2001. Washington: White House Transition Project. 2001. (b)
- [10] *Changing the White House Personal Data Statement*. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-09. Originally a report to Clay Johnson, Director of Transition Planning, George W. Bush for President, August 2000. Washington: White House Transition Project. 2000. (b)
- [11] *Analyzing Questionnaires for Nominees*. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-08. Washington: White House Transition Project. 2000. (a)(b)
- [12] *A Guide to Inquiry – Executive Questionnaires*. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-07. Originally a report to the Brookings Institution, August 2000. Washington: White House Transition Project. 2000. (b)



Refereed Journal Articles

- [1] Congressional Bargaining in Presidential Time — Give and Take, Anticipation, and the Constitutional Rationalization of Dead Ducks. with Scott De Marchi. *The Journal of Politics*, 73,3(July 2011):748-63. (c)
- [2] Reducing the Adversarial Burden on Nominees — Feasible Strategies for Fixing the Presidential Appointments Process. *Public Administration Review*, 69,6(November|December 2009):1124-35. (b)
- [3] Presidential Persuasive Advantage, Compliance-Gaining, and Sequencing. with Gregory Petrow. *Congress and the Presidency*, 34,2(Autumn 2007):35-56. (b)(c)
- [4] Presidential Data Locator: The Case of Presidential Popularity. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32,3(September 2002): 610-14. (c)
- [5] Meeting the Freight Train Head On – Planning for the Presidential Transition. With Martha Kumar, George C. Edwards, III, and James Pfiffner. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 30,4(December 2000):754-69. (b)
- [6] Confronting the Kennedy Tapes: The May-Zelikow Transcripts and the Stern Assessments, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 30,3(September 2000):594-7. (b)(c)



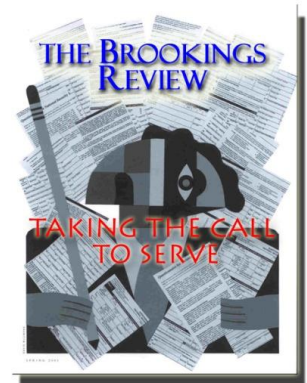
Refereed Journal Articles, *continued*

- [7] The White House Interview Program – Objectives, Resources, and Releases. With Martha Kumar. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 30,2(June 2000):382-7. (b)
- [8] Presidential Recordings as Presidential Data — Evaluating LBJ’s Recorded Conversations. with Jennifer Hora, Luke Keele, Todd McNoldy, and Gregory Pettis. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 29,4(December 1999):931-42. (b)(c)
- [9] Impeachment Practice in the Era of Lethal Conflict. *Congress and the Presidency*, 25,2(Autumn 1998):117-128. (a)(b)(c)
- [10] New Evidence Undercutting the Linkage of Prestige with Presidential Support and Influence. with Kenneth Collier. *The Journal of Politics*, 57,1(February 1995):197-209. (c)
- [11] President-Centered & Presidency-Centered Explanations of Presidential Public Activity. with Gregory L. Hager. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38,4(November 1994):1079-1103. (c)
- [12] The Bank Account Presidency: A New Measure and Evidence on the Temporal Path of Presidential Influence. *American Journal of Political Science*, 35,3(August 1991):686-723. (c)
- [13] Wrong Questions, Ø-Questions, Legitimate Questions, Reasoned Answers: Affirming the Study of Temporal Paths. *American Journal of Political Science*, 35, 3(August 1991):730-37. (c)
- [14] Bargaining with the President: A Simple Game and New Evidence. *American Political Science Review*, 84,4(December 1990):1167-96. (c)
- [15] Explaining Why Presidents Count: Signaling and Information. *The Journal of Politics*, 52,3(August 1990):939-62. (b)(c)
- [16] Headcounts, Expectations, and Presidential Coalitions in Congress. *American Journal of Political Science*, 32,3(August 1988):567-89. (c)
- [17] Constituency Influences on Legislative Policy Choice, with M. McCubbins. *Quantity and Quality*, 18(1984):299-319. (a)
- [18] Policy and Constituency: Reelection Incentives and the Choice of Policy Intervention, with G. Cox and M. McCubbins. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 1,3(October 1984):231-42. (a)
- [19] Risk and Regret for the Expected Utility Maximizer, with N. Frohlich and G. Miller. *Political Methodology*, 5(1978):109-21. (a)
- [20] Voter’s Paradox and Logrolling: An Initial Framework for Committee Behavior on Appropriations and Ways and Means. *Public Choice*, 25(1976):31-44. (a)



Other Scholarly Articles

- [21] The Nomination Forms Online Program, *PS — Political Science and Politics*, March 2002. (b)
- [22] Already Buried and Sinking Fast — Presidential Nominees and Inquiry, *PS — Political Science and Politics*, special symposium, March 2002:31-4. (b)
- [23] Fabulous Formless Darkness – Presidential Nominees and the Morass of Inquiry, *The Brookings Review*, 12,2(Spring 2001):22-27. (b)
- [24] Unique Forum Focuses on Chief of Staff Role, *Baker Institute Report*, 14(September 2000): iff. (c)
- [25] Soon They Will Walk Among Us – a beginner’s guide to understanding formal theory. *PRG Report*, 21(Fall 1998):15-21. (c)
- [26] The Power Knowledge Gives: a brief evaluation of the Bush Presidential Center. *The Bush Center Report*, (Spring 1997).

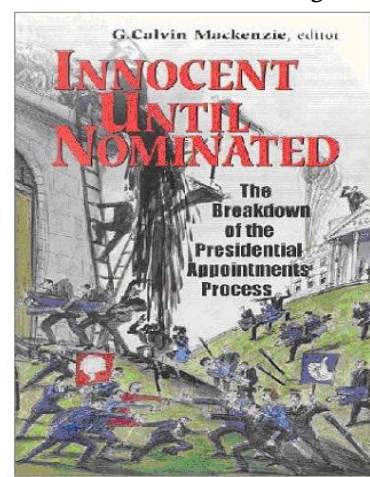


Other Scholarly Articles, *continued*

- [27] When selecting an Archivist, Mr. President, take political astuteness over pedigree. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, (March 7, 1995).
- [28] On Becoming APt: Research Using Presidential Archives. *PRG Report*, (Fall, 1992):1,4ff. (c)
- [29] Spreading APt: Research Using Presidential Archives. *PRG Report*, (Spring 1992):1,4ff. (c)
- [30] Developing APt: Archival Resources and Congressional Research, *Extensions*, Fall 1989:4-6ff. *Extensions of Remarks*, Washington: APSA Legislative Studies Group 1990. (c)
- [31] The Bargaining Approach to Presidential Leadership in Congress. *Presidential Research*, 10(1988):12-22. (c)

Book Chapters

- [32] Fidelity to Duty and Focus on Vision: Promoting Unity of Purpose in the Colombian Presidency in Carlos Caballero Argáez, editor, *El Futuro de la Presidencia del Colombia*, Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes:2012, forthcoming, 2012.
- [33] Two Operational Dilemmas, in Terry Sullivan, editor, *Nerve Center: Lessons in Governing from the White House Chiefs of Staff*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004. (b)(c)
- [34] Evaluating Transition 2001: An Epilogue in Terry Sullivan, editor, *Nerve Center: Lessons in Governing from the White House Chiefs of Staff*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004. (b)(c)
- [35] The Power Knowledge Gives: Evaluating the Bush Presidential Center. in William Levantrosser and Rosanna Perotti, editors, *A Noble Calling: Character and the George H. W. Bush Presidency*, New York: Praeger Books, 2004. Reprinted in Mena Bose, Richard Himelfarb, William L. Levantrosser, and Rosanna Perotti, editors, *The Presidency of George Bush: Leading in a New World*, vol. 1, New York: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- [36] Meeting the Freight Train Head On: Planning for the Transition to Power, with Martha J. Kumar, George C. Edwards, III, and James P. Pfiffner, in Martha J. Kumar and Terry Sullivan, editors. *The White House World*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002: 5-24. (b)
- [37] Already Buried and Sinking Fast — Presidential Nominees and Inquiry, in Martha J. Kumar and Terry Sullivan, editors. *The White House World*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002: 335-41. (b)
- [38] Repetitiveness, Redundancy, and Reform – Rationalizing the Inquiry of Presidential Nominees, in G. Calvin MacKenzie, editor, *Innocent Until Nominated: the Breakdown of the Presidential Appointments Process*, Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2001:196-230. (b)
- [39] Domestic Legislative Coalitions and Impeachment in L. Friedman and W. Levantrosser, eds. *Watergate and Afterward: The Legacy of Richard Nixon*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992. (a)(b)(c)
- [40] A Matter of Fact: The “Two Presidencies” Thesis Revitalized in Stephen Shull, ed. *The “Two Presidencies”: A Quarter Century Assessment*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1991:143-157. (b)(c)
- [41] Presidential Leadership in Congress: Securing Commitments. Mathew McCubbins and Terry Sullivan, eds. *Congress: Structure and Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987:286-308. (c)
- [42] Majority Party Leadership and Partisan Vote-Gathering: the House Democratic Whip System, with Lawrence C. Dodd in Frank MacKaman, ed., *Understanding Congressional Leadership: the State of the Art*. Washington: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1982. (a)



Reports to Congress

- [43] Reform of and Support for the Presidential Transition Process. Report to the U. S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs on consideration of S3196, May 2010. (a)(b)
- [44] Reform of the Presidential Appointments Process. Report to the U. S. House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, September 2008. (a)(b)
- [45] Analyzing Strategies for Reform in the Presidential Appointments Process. Report to the U. S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, September 2007. (a)(b)
- [46] Changing the Process of Nominee Inquiry: Analyzing Reforms Proposed to the U. S. Senate. Report to the U. S. Senate Committee on Governmental Operations. April 2001. (a)(b)

Software

- [47] **SmartForm PAS** — National Commission on Reform of the Presidential Appointments Process. SF-PAS provides a second generation, java-based and open architectural solution for presidential nominees and those who must vet them. With advanced error checking and generation of a number of useful exportable data packets, SF-PAS will reduce nominee burdens by 30%.
- [48] **Nomination Forms Online: An Integrated Application for Presidential Nominees.** Freeware available to presidential nominees. Programmed in Java. This software project identified for the first time the details of the inquiry process that presidential nominees face, the degree of redundancy and repetition, and a range of feasible reforms. It also generated a range of reforms improving the efficiency of White House inquiry process by 20%. Software used by 40% of presidential nominees in 2001.
- [49] **User's Guide to NFO**



Book Reviews

- [1] Theoretical Power without Empirical Persuasion, review of *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. William G. Howell. Princeton University Press. 2004. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34,2(June):.
- [2] Nothing Beyond Persuasion, 1992, review of *Beyond Persuasion: Organizational Efficiency and Presidential Power*, Matthew Robert Kerbel, SUNY Press, 1991. *American Political Science Review*, 86,4,(December):1062-3.
- [3] They Did Us a Favor, review of *The Elusive Executive: Discovering Statistical Patterns in the Presidency*, Gary King and Lyn Ragsdale, CQ Press, 1988. *American Political Science Review*, 83,3 (September):1023-4.

Dissertation

Regular Order in the House: On the Way to a Formal Theory of Legislative Structure. University of Texas at Austin, 1980. Committee: Lawrence C. Dodd, Thomas Schwartz, William Galston, Normal Schofield, Samuel L. Popkin, and David R. Prindle.

Honors and Awards

- * W. Glenn Campbell Fellowship, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2009-2010
- * Senator Sam Ervin Constitutional Fellow, Sam J. Ervin Library, 2004.
- * T. C. Edwards Chair in American Democracy, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University, 1999—2001.
- * Senior Fellow, Institute for the Arts and Humanities, 1991—
- * Carl Albert National Fellow, Carl Albert Center, 1989—90.
- * Post Doctoral Fellow in Political Economy, Center on Political Economy, Washington University, 1986-87 [Declined]
- * Post Doctoral Research Fellow in Political Economy, Center for the Study of Public Policy, Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Carnegie-Mellon University, 1985-86.

Honors and Awards, cont.

- * Bess Heflin Fellow in Institutional Design, University of Texas at Austin, 1979–80.
- * Congressional Fellow, American Political Science Association, 1977–78

Recent External Research Support

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) W. Glenn Campbell Fellowship, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2009–2010. \$70,000. (2) The American Enterprise Institute, 2000–01. Structuring Appointments. \$50,000. (3) The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2000–02. Smoothing the Nominations Process. \$210,000 Multiyear. (4) The Pew Charitable Trusts, 1999–2002. Smoothing the Presidential Appointments Process. \$170,000 Multiyear. (5) The Pew Charitable Trusts, 1998–2002. Preparing the Presidential Transition. \$100,000 Multiyear. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (6) The American Enterprise Institute, 2000–2001. Advising Presidential Nominees. \$122,000. (7) The Brookings Institution, 2000–2001. Building Nomination Forms Online, basic development. \$44,000. (8) James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 2000–01. Providing technical expertise to the presidential transition. \$35,000. (9) James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 1999–2000. Developing institutional memory for the presidential transition. \$35,000. |
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Other External Support

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Everett Dirksen Congressional Research Grants. 1981. Congressional Reform of Procedures. \$2,000. (2) Everett Dirksen Congressional Research Grants. 1983. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$1,500. (3) LBJ Foundation. 1983. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$2,000. (4) LBJ Foundation. 1985. Congressional Bargaining and Leadership. \$2,000. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (5) Carl Albert Research Fellowship. 1986. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$6,000. (6) LBJ Foundation. 1988. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$2,000. (7) Everett Dirksen Congressional Research Grants. 1988. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$4,000. (8) NSF Research Grant, 1985. with Peter Ordeshook and Thomas Schwartz, congressional agenda rules. \$28,000. |
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Professional Service

Current

 Editorial Board, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 1998—
 Editorial Board, *Congress and the Presidency*, 2007—

Features Editor, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 1999–2002.
 President, Presidency Research Group, American Political Science Association, 1997–9.
 Editorial Board, *Journal of Politics*, 1997–2000.
 Editorial Board, *Political Research Quarterly*, 1996–2000.
 Vice-President, Presidency Research Group, American Political Science Association, 1995–7.
 Secretary-Treasurer, Presidency Research Group, American Political Science Association, 1993–5.
 Editorial Board, *American Journal of Political Science*, 1988–91.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Books

Making a Difference: What Presidents Do with Their Time, Their Trade, and Their Ambitions. [drafting] (a)(b)(c)

Princeton: Princeton University Press [under contract].

This book length project combines formal models, confidential administration headcounts, internal memorandum, tape recordings, minute-by-minute logs of the president's activities, and a number of other archival materials, to build an analysis of the President's ability to lead. It articulates a unified motivational assumption for both members of Congress and the President, extrapolates from that motivation a set of differing leadership strategies for those in Congress and the President. It develops a new model of bargaining, a new model of delegation, a new model of agenda formation and compromise. It then uses a number of unique databases to test these theories about presidential leadership.

Articles

The Impact of WHO Growth and Structural Choice on Presidential Work (b)(c)

[drafted for submission to *American Journal of Political Science*]

Using unique minute-by-minute logs of President's Eisenhower through G.H.W. Bush, this paper considers the impact of different White House staffing arrangements on presidential work patterns, including how isolated the president becomes, the balance between administrative and legislative leadership, the overall length of the president's day, how quickly the president develops a unique "decision style," whether the president relies on large or small group interactions, and levels of engagement. The paper demonstrates that WHO growth does not entangle the president's decision making and that hierarchical staffing counteracts isolation and shifts routine towards fewer more orchestrated meetings.

Fidelity to Duty and Fealty to Vision — Administering Unity of Purpose in the Colombian Presidency (b)(c)

[drafted for inclusion in *La Furturo dela Presidencia de Colombia*, Bogota: University of the Andes Press]

This chapter explores the strategies for meshing ministerial responsibilities with legislative leadership in the presidential institution. It addresses issues raised in discussions with the President of Colombia over how to serve his duties and maintain his vision.

Distinctiveness and Continuity in the American Presidency — Evidence From the 100 Days (b)(c)

[drafted for submission to *Journal of Politics*]

Using 67,000 observations from official presidential logs of the first hundred days of presidents Eisenhower through G.H.W. Bush, this paper evaluates the Hamiltonian versus the Madisonian conception of the American presidency and its driving force. It demonstrates that what presidents do with their work time suggests the importance of institutional responsibilities over presidential preferences. It identifies two important executive dynamics — fidelity to duty and operational consistency — the former a parallel with the "electoral connection" in congressional studies as a proximate goal, the latter a conflict between internal and external management in White Houses.

A Reciprocal Bargaining Theory with Application to Presidential Leadership and Congressional Government. with John Aldrich and Scott DeMarchi. (a)(b)(c)

This paper produces a formal model of legislative bargaining as a substitute for the standard Rubenstein/Baron-Ferejohn genre model. It produces a proof of a sequential equilibrium in that bargaining which protects congressional reputations and configures conditional party government. The model establishes a competition between presidents and congressional leaders over the partisan policy agenda with implications for a number of strategies including what pundits commonly call the "vision thing."

The Organizational Dynamics of "Unity of Purpose" in the Presidential Institution. (b)(c)

[drafted for submission to *American Political Science Review*]

A formal theory of presidential delegation assessing the impact on initiative of differing authority structures, policy agendas, and staffing structures. The paper models presidential choice over authority structures as a Stackelberg duopoly problem. The paper then assesses the theory against a random dataset and a set of standards to determine how well the theory comports with a priori expectations. The theory comports well with most of the major standards.

I'll Walk Your District Barefoot: Presidential Exchanges with Members of Congress. With Jennifer Hora & Andrea McAtee. (a)(c) [drafted for submission to *Presidency Studies Quarterly*].

This paper uses confidential presidential recordings as data to evaluate various strategic appeals used in bargaining. It simultaneously tests a number of common bargaining theories in political science, economics, communications, and psychology.

A Proper Assessment of Presidential Popularity and Congressional Influence. With Jennifer Hora, Lawrence Jacobs, Andrea McAtee, & Robert Shapiro. (a)(c) [drafting for submission to *Legislative Studies Quarterly*].

This paper applies new and unique data to properly assess the perennial question of how presidential popularity affects presidential influence in Congress. The new data provide local level data on constituency opinion as well as data on behind the scenes position-taking by members of Congress. In effect, then, it serves as the first true test of this hypothesis since it was originally offered in 1960.

The Impact of Unexpected Events on Fidelity to Duty during the 100 Days (b)(c) with Sean Maxwell

[drafting]

Time series analysis of the impact of events on presidential work schedules: do unexpected events drive the president's schedule away from its standard patterns. Employs daily observations of presidents from Eisenhower through G.H.W. Bush during their first hundred days.

PROFESSIONAL

Employment History

- 2009–10. W. Glenn Campbell Fellow in National Affairs, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.
1998–2001. Director, Presidential Transition Program, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy
1998–2001. T. C. Edwards Professor in American Democracy and Public Policy, Rice University.
Senior Research Fellow, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University.
Adjunct Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, Rice University.
1991— Associate Professor, University of North Carolina
1988–91. Associate Professor without tenure, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
1986–88. Assistant Professor, University of Texas at Austin.
1985–86. John Olin Fellow, Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Carnegie-Mellon University.
1981–85. Assistant Professor, University of Texas at Austin.
1977–78. Congressional Fellow, American Political Science Association.

References

- Honorable James A. Baker, III, Senior Partner, Baker Botts LLP.
Mr. John Fawcett, Assistant Archivist of the United States (retired) for Presidential Libraries and
Principal in Fawcett Associates, Washington, D. C.
Dr. James Stimson, Ray Dawson Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel
Hill – jstimson@email.unc.edu
Dr. Gary Miller, Professor of Political Science, Washington University – gmiller@artsci.wustl.edu
Dr. Terry Moe, William Munro Professor of Political Science, Stanford University and Senior Fellow,
Hoover Institution – moe.hoover.stanford.edu
Dr. Donald Wilson, Archivist of the United States (retired), Staunton, Virginia.

Lectures and Presentations¹

2011

- ◎ Easing Burdens on Presidential Nominations: Report on Inquiry and Reform Strategies. National Commission on Reform of the Presidential Appointments Process. Washington, D. C. June 13, 2011.

2010

- Building Capacity and Focus within la Oficina del Presidente de Colombia. Conferencia en la Futuro del Presidente de Colombia, Universidad de los Andes, Bogota, Colombia. December 2, 2010.
- Fidelity to Duty versus Focus on the Agenda: Presidential Work Patterns in the First 100 Days. National Convention of American Political Science Association. Washington, DC. September 4, 2009.
- ◎ Presidential Transition Preparations and Basic Approaches. Stanford Fellowship, Stanford, CA. May 18, 2010.
- ◎ Smartforms, Redundancy, and Repetitiveness in Inquiry of Presidential Nominees. Briefing of Rockefeller Foundation National Commission on Reform of the Presidential Appointments Process. May 24, 2010.
- ◎ Reform Strategies for the Presidential Appointments Process. Brookings Institution, Washington, DC. May 25, 2010.

¹ Key: (◎) Invited lectures, (○) Conference presentations, (✦) Government presentations.

2009

- Individual Distinctiveness and Institutional Continuity — New Evidence on an On-Going Controversy. National Convention of American Political Science Association. Toronto, Ontario, Canada. September 4, 2009.
- White House Organizational Issues during the First Hundred Days, Invited Lecture, University of Texas at San Antonio School of Public Policy, April 12, 2009.
- Presentations and participation on NPR *Talk of the Nation*, Fox News Network special on 100 days, *Spectacular Magazine* radio program (North Carolina Network)
- Changing Executive Privilege and Releasing Presidential Papers — the role of political science, Wilson Library, Librarians Association of UNC Chapel Hill, February 26, 2009.
- The Transition to Governing During the Hundred Days, Constitution Hall, National Archives and White House Historical Association, January 14, 2009.
- Inheriting the Protection of Law: The Peaceful Transition of Power and the Rule of Laws, Briefing for Department of State International Leadership Program, Chapel Hill, January 28, 2009.
- The Anatomy of Presidential Work, International Affairs Council, Sienna Hotel, Chapel Hill, January 29, 2009.

2008

- Participation on NPR *Talk of the Nation*.
- Now What? The Work of Presidential Transitions, Rotary Club of Chapel Hill, November 14, 2008.
- In-Depth: the Presidential Transition, WFED-radio, Washington, November 6, 2008.
- Institutional Continuity during the First Hundred Days, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University and The Center for American Progress Action Fund. Washington, D. C. October 15, 2008.
- ✦ Details of Inquiry: Reform of the Presidential Appointments Process, Report to House Subcommittee on Government Management, Organization, and Procurement, September 24, 2008.
- Roundtable on How to Prepare the White House Transition, American Political Science Association, national convention, Boston, August 28, 2008.
- Presidential Work during the Hundred Days, American Political Science Association, national convention, Boston, August 27, 2008.

2007

- Regime, Routine, and Reliability, American Political Science Association, national convention, Chicago, September 1, 2007.
- The Organizational Dynamics of “Unity of Purpose” in the Presidential Institution, George H. W. Bush School of Government Service, Texas A&M University, October 1, 2007.

2006

- Working in Lincoln’s Place — Understanding Presidential Greatness. Carolina Political Union Lecture. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. October 25, 2006.
- Discretion, Initiative, and Presidential Authority, American Political Science Association, national convention, Philadelphia, September, 2006.
- Mastering Politics in an Age Governed by Texans. The Lucius Haggard Lecture. University of Texas at Arlington. March 28, 2006.
- Fourteen Things about Being President. Duke Political Union Annual Lecture Series. Duke University. February 15, 2006.

Professional Associations

American Political Science Association	Presidency Research Group	Public Choice Society
Mid-West Political Science Association	Legislative Studies Group	

Administrative Experience

Executive Director, White House Transition Project, 1997—

Multi-institutional, scholarly project providing technical assistance and expertise to presidential campaigns, president-elects and their staffs, and White Houses on matters associated with the organization, operation, and management of the White House, presidential appointments processes, and decision-making. WHTP also provides similar expertise to executive transitions in foreign countries. The Executive Director manages all operations, budgets and grants as well as relations with supporting institutions and partners as well as provides professional expertise on issues specific to scholarship in this area. Past budgets range from \$50,000 to \$1,200,000.

Member, Advisory Council on Management of Ibiblio.org, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997—2009.

A public/private consortium intended to promote use of the worldwide web for scholarly purposes. Ibiblio.org manages a myriad of websites, including whitehoustransitionproject.org. The advisory board lends scholarly guidance to policy-making at Ibiblio.org.

Director, Presidential Transition Program, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 1999—2008.

Director, National Competitiveness, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997-2001.

Director & Founder, Leadership Information Archives, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1992-2006.

Placement Director, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill, 1992-1995.

Organizer, James K. Polk Lecture Series, 1990—2001.

President (97-99), Vice-President (95-97) Secretary (93-95), American Political Science Association
Presidency Research Group.

Governing Board, APSA Presidency Research Group, 1991—2001.

Member, Development Board, UNC Center for American Leadership and Information Development, 1989-1993.

Organizer, Graduate Student Research Reports, UNC 1988-1995.

POLICY ACTIVITIES

Current

Senior Research Scholar, National Commission on Reforming the Presidential Appointments Process, Aspen Institute and Rockefeller Foundation, 2009—.

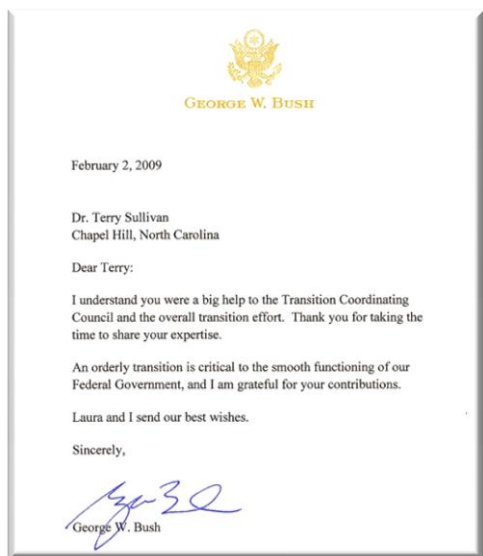
Commissioner, National Commission on Reforming the Presidential Appointments Process, Aspen Institute and Rockefeller Foundation, 2009—.

Executive Director, White House Transition Project, 1997—

Source material for reporters or quoted by national media (last year): *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Baltimore Sun*, *National Journal*, *Bloomberg News Service*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Daily Telegraph (London)*, *Atlanta Constitution*, *CNN*, *Cox News Service*, *Los Angeles Times*, *AP News*, *BBC*, *Fox News Channel*, *National Public Radio (US)*, *Canadian Broadcasting Service*

Source materials for North Carolina media in: Raleigh, Chapel Hill, Winston-Salem, Greensboro.

American Executive



Advisor, The President's Transition Coordinating Council, 2008-09.

Director, Presidential Transition Project, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 1999—2006

Consultant, Barack Obama for President
...on White House transition planning, 2008—2009.

Consultant, John McCain for President
...on White House transition planning, 2008.

Advisor, George W. Bush White House
...on transition planning, 2008—2009.
...on operations of presidential libraries, 2008—2009.
...on Executive Privilege, 2001—2009.
...on presidential appointments process, 2001—2004.
...on White House Operations. 2001—2005.

Consultant, John Kerry for President, on White House transition planning, 2004.

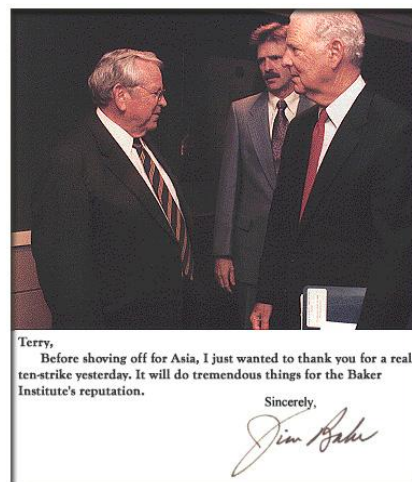
Coordinator, "The Presidency Through Time," Panel of Scholars on Presidential Transitions, James A. Baker III Institute, sponsored by *Time Magazine* and The American Century Fund, 2001.

Organizer and Coordinator, The Washington Forum on the White House Chief of Staff, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution, and The James A. Baker III Institute, 1999-2000.

Consultant, The Presidential Appointee Initiative, The Brookings Institution. 2000-2002.

Consultant, Al Gore for President
...on presidential appointments, 2000.

Advisor, George W. Bush for President
...on presidential appointments process, 1999-2000.
...on White House operations, 1999-2001.



American Executives, continued

Council Member, Advisory Council on Transition to Governing Project, American Enterprise Institute, 1999-2001.
 Director, Presidential Transition Program, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 1998-2001.
 Consultant, Archivist of the United States, Washington, on operations of the Presidential Library System. 1995-2001.
 Consultant, National Performance Review, Office of the Vice-President, 1993.
 Task Force Member, National Alliance for Redesigning Government, Information Infrastructure Task Force, 1993-1996.
 Consultant, National Archives & Records Administration, Presidential Libraries, Washington, 1988-1996

Foreign Executives

Advisor, Office of the President, Colombia, 2010—.
 Advisor, High Commissioner on Social Prosperity, Government of Colombia, 2010—.
 Consultant, UN Agency on Development, 2010—.
 Consultant, US Department of State for executives in Kenya, Congo, Tanzania, 2009.
 Consultant, Office of the President, Republic of Mexico, 2001, 2006.
 Consultant, Office of the President, Republic of Argentina, 2001.
 Consultant, Office of the President, Republic of Brazil, 2001-2002.
 Consultant, Office of the President, Republic of East Timor, 2001



President Santos of Colombia (second from left) at conference on the state of the Colombian presidency.

US Congress

Invited testimony. US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Operations on reforming the presidential appointments process, 2011.
 Consultant, US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Operations on presidential transitions process, 2010.
 Consultant, US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Operations on presidential appointments process, 2008.
 Invited testimony, US Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs on reforms to the presidential appointments process. 2002.
 Consultant, US Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs on presidential appointments process, 2001.
 Invited testimony, U. S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs on advise and consent to the nomination of the Honorable John Carlin as Archivist of the United States. 1995.
 Consultant, US House Democratic Caucus, Hon. Gillis Long, chair, congressional budget process, 1980-3.

Private Institutions

- [1] Advisor, Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Michigan, 2008.
- [2] Advisor, Structuring Academic Programs at the George W. Bush Presidential Library and Foundation. Advisory Committee for the George W. Bush Library. 2006.
- [3] Advisor, Academic Programs and Vision for the George W. Bush Presidential Library and Foundation at Baylor University. 2003-2007.

Private Institutions, continued

- [4] Advisor, Mary Baker Eddy Library, Church of Christ Scientists, Boston, Massachusetts, 2001—2002.
- [5] Consultant, Assessing Successes in Governing, the White House 2001 Project. 2002. The Pew Charitable Trusts.
- [6] Consultant, A Successful Transition to Governing — No Accident. 2001. The Pew Charitable Trusts.
- [7] Advisor, Structuring the Olympic Village Electronic Infrastructure, Atlanta Olympics Organizing Committee, 1994-95.
- [8] Advisor, Strategies for Creating a World Wide Web presence for CNN (eventually CNN.com). 1994-1995.
- [9] Advisor, Business Strategies for the World Wide Web and Turner Broadcasting. 1994-1995.
- [10] Coordinator and Advisor, Digital Strategies for the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, building a partnership: Sun Microsystems, Bell South, 3Com, Turner Broadcasting, National Archives. 1993-1995.
- [11] Advisor, Academic Programs using a Presidential Library. George H. W. Bush Foundation, Don Wilson, Director. 1993-1994



TEACHING STATEMENT

Course Abstracts

Power and Policy Making Agendas (graduate and undergraduate). Utilizing archival materials (memoranda, recordings, databases developed from presidential library holdings) this class focuses on presidential decision-making and leadership behavior, with a special focus on using documentary evidence from the Johnson administration. Topics include: agenda formation at the national party level. Primary objective: initiate research projects in presidential management and leadership, including bargaining models and the use of power in policy making. Special emphasis on understanding the course of policy agendas over time.

Institutional Dynamics (graduate, professional schools, and undergraduate). Seminar in identifying dynamics associated with legislative decision-making institutions (e.g., accommodation, reciprocity) and executive decision-making institutions (e.g., delegation, oversight). Identifies models common in business, psychology, public administration, and American institutional studies. Uses unique databases on executive and legislative decision-making processes (as opposed to outputs) to assess theories.

Power and Persuasion (undergraduate). First year research seminar on leadership models from Plutarch to Machiavelli to the Harvard Business School applied to actual patterns of interaction recorded in presidential phone conversations with members of Congress.

Formal Modeling of Politics (graduate). Basic mathematical modeling techniques and analytic themes in formal analysis of policy-making institutions. These include: informal reasoning (e.g., transaction costs), game theory (i.e., Von Neumann and Bayesian), social choice models, expected utility models, etc. Primary objective: convince non-mathematically oriented students that these modeling exercises derive from and address questions not accessible through other methods and approaches. The approach concentrates on conceptualizing rather than on skill acquisition (e.g., why model with risk rather than uncertainty as opposed to proving theorems).

American Institutional Dynamics (undergraduate and graduate). Covers theory of institutional dynamics, organizational dynamics, and basic organizational operations. Topics include the necessity of accommodation in the Legislative setting (and its incumbent specialization, expertise, reciprocity, and agenda control), unity of purpose in the Executive (and its incumbent delegation, counsel, affinity, and association) and the use of these institutional and organizational dynamics in setting the balance between constitutional actors.

Game Models of Political Behavior (graduate and undergraduate). Basics of strategic interdependence in policy choice: institutional modeling, strategic options, interdependence, outcomes, equilibrium, solutions, bargaining models. Primary objective: use of models and analytic themes in understanding political interactions (families, cooperatives, legislatures, nation-states, etc.)

Congressional Decision-Making (graduate and undergraduate). Introduction to theories of congressional behavior. Topics include: motivations, career patterns, committee structure and power, leadership and party, coalition-building, institutional development, etc. Primary objective: introductory grasp of scholarly issues and themes in congressional sub-field.

The President in the Policy-Making Process (graduate and undergraduate). Formal theory and empirical models of presidential leadership. Includes ongoing development of empirical databases on presidential daily activities and operational dynamics. Writing intensive course.

Introduction to American National Government (undergraduate). Common knowledge and standard theories of political science applied to understanding basic American government.

Teaching Honors and Awards

- ◆ Spencer-Teagle National Teaching Fellow, 2008-10
- ◆ Lilly Endowment National Teaching Fellow, 1991
- ◆ Finalist for UNC Tanner Teaching Award, 2005
- ◆ Teaching Fellow, Institute for Arts and the Humanities, 1991-92

Teaching Support

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|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) University Office for Undergraduate Research, Grants (2) to Support Instructional Strategies for Teaching Inquiry, 2009-10 (2) Spencer and Teagle Foundations National Teaching Fellowship, 2008-10 (3) Grant in Undergraduate Inquiry, 2008 (4) Lupton Endowment Teaching Grant, 1993 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (5) UNC Chancellor's Office, Pedagogical Deployment Grant, 1992 (6) Lilly Endowment Grant, Training Undergraduates to Reason, 1990 (7) Lupton Endowment Teaching Grant, 1992 (8) Grant in Undergraduate Inquiry, 2007 |
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Teaching Related Service

Board Member, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1993-95.
 Board Member, Information Service Delivery Project – Alliance for Redesigning Government, 1993-94.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

My career has developed around effective scholarship, preparing students, and affecting governing. In scholarship, I pursue the development of formal models of American policy-making institutions and practical knowledge about policy-making processes and operations. In teaching, I utilize a course of training for students based on sound research about how we learn. In the governing community, I provide useful information about decision-making and advisory processes, about delegation of authority, and about proper practices in executive leadership (within both in public and enterprise systems of authority).

Formalized Theories of American Institutions

I have pursued the development of formalized theories of American institutional behavior covering the principal American policy institutions – Congress and the Presidency. In this area, my interests have always combined new theory with the creation of unique data resources most appropriate to the subject. For example, in congressional studies, I have theory and data on the use of rules and their effects on coalition formation and on the confidential details of coalition formation. On the presidency, I have concentrated on the theory of bargaining and leadership along with developing unique data on the behind the scenes bargaining between presidents and members of the Congress and on the minute-by-minute activities of presidents from Eisenhower through George H. W. Bush. My initial groundbreaking research on congressional rules published originally in 1976, established the central idea of a “structurally induced equilibrium” and in *Procedural Structure: Success and Influence in Congress* [1984], I demonstrated how institutional controls worked and affected outcomes. These two concepts occupy the core of congressional research. I further expanded that core with my book *Congress: Structure and Policy* [1987] which demonstrated for the first time that formal models could create a coherent rational choice perspective on congressional institutions consistent with older, more traditional theories.

My research on presidential bargaining reinvigorated, with empirical theory and evidence, the moribund theoretical outlines described by Richard Neustadt in 1958. The series of articles in the early through mid-1990s have laid the groundwork for the development of a full theory of presidential persuasion and leadership, fully operationalized and tested, which will appear in my book *Making a Difference*. This new work focuses on creating a formal theory of the executive consistent with a formal theory of congressional politics. This work includes new articles on bargaining theory, persuasion and leadership, and delegation theory.

Public Policy-Making and Leadership

I have pursued the blending of institutional theories with the substantive knowledge of practitioners. For example, during my APSA Congressional Fellowship I became only the second to ever work in a party leadership office. This experience informed my first book *Procedural Structure* which emphasized developing empirical evidence on what many recognized but few had studied: procedural manipulation. That research led to advising the House leadership on congressional budget process reform.

Another prominent example of this blending of scholarship and practice, the White House Transition Project, develops scholarly information from those who have occupied the modern presidency and in turn transforms these disparate vantage points into a coherent institutional memory for those who will occupy the office. On both these counts, WHTP has paid immense dividends. For scholars, it has produced a unique, rich archive of data on organizational management. For those who govern, it has made their jobs easier, deepened their understanding of the problems facing a governing White House, and prepared them to make a wide variety of reforms. In addition, it has convinced those who govern in both parties that they can learn from scholarly research when properly conducted and carried out. Out of that and other research developed for the White House Transition Project, I have become the leading expert on the presidential

appointments process and the constitutional struggle involved therein. My series of research reports on the elements of nominee inquiry are used widely in the government, including the Office of Government Ethics, the US Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, the White House, and now a national commission on reforming the process. My recommendations have accounted for a 30% reduction in the information burden placed on presidential nominees by this process.

Active Inquiry Pedagogy

In preparing students, I employ a range of pedagogy designed to match education with what we know about the brain and how learning actually occurs. In these activities, I have applied advanced theories of educational psychology and cognitive science to the conduct of the classroom and the development of active learning techniques. For example, in my undergraduate course on presidential policy-making, I employ active learning techniques, team work, and research modeling to develop a 30-page paper on an original topic in a one-semester course. Students develop a fully formed research questions and a set of well-formed conjectures to answer the question. Using original and primary archival based research materials, data analysis and secondary source materials, students then develop a set of empirical tests of their conjectures. The course also trains students to evaluate and improve their writing using the “triage” technique developed in linguistics. The end result is a highly successful set of courses on learning about policymaking and leadership. My course book, *Presidential Policy-Making*, represents these pedagogical experiments. I employ similar techniques in training graduate students.