

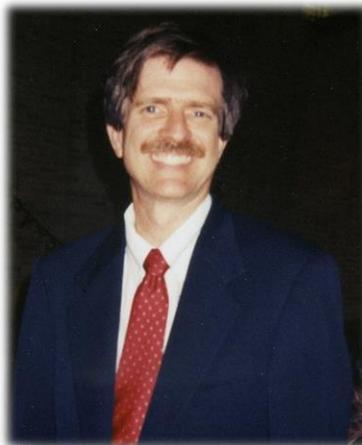
TERRY SULLIVAN

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Contact Information

Department of Political Science
CB# 3265 Hamilton Hall 324
Chapel Hill, NC ♦ 27599-3265
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White House Transition Project
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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

Recent Activities

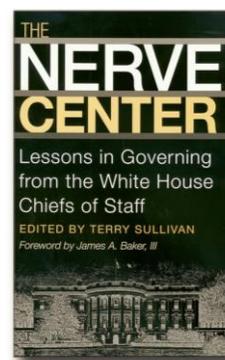
May 10, 2015, Guest of Honor, UNC Chapel Hill Commencement, Kenan Stadium.
April 2015, Guest of Honor, 2015 Chancellor's Dinner for Teaching Honorees.
January 2015, Selected to receive the UNC System *Board of Governors Award for Teaching Excellence for 2015*. (Awarded at Commencement, 2015)

August 2014, Participated in Brookings Institution conference on presidential transitions
March 2014, UNC Student Congress *Teacher of the Year for 2014*.
April 2013, Participated in panel of experts on "Core Government Strategies," Innovations for Successful Societies, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University.

SCHOLARSHIP

Books

- [1] *The Nerve Center: Lessons in Governing from the White House Chiefs of Staff*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004.
- [2] *The White House World: Transitions, Organization, and Office Operations*. with Martha Joynt Kumar; College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003.
- [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. Reprinted 2010.
- [4] *Procedural Structure: Success and Influence in Congress*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984.



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.
- [2] Reducing the Adversarial Burden on Nominees — Feasible Strategies for Fixing the Presidential Appointments Process. *Public Administration Review*, 69, 6 (Nov|Dec 2009): 1124-35.
- [3] Presidential Persuasive Advantage, Compliance-Gaining, and Sequencing. with Gregory Petrow. *Congress and the Presidency*, 34,2 (Special Issue 2007):35-56.
- [4] Presidential Data Locator: The Case of Presidential Popularity. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 32,3(September 2002): 610-14.
- [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. Reprinted in Martha J. Kumar and Terry Sullivan, editors. *The White House World*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002: 5-24.
- [6] Confronting the Kennedy Tapes: The May-Zelikow Transcripts and the Stern Assessments, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 30,3(September 2000):594-7.
- [7] The White House Interview Program – Objectives, Resources, and Releases. With Martha Kumar. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 30,2(June 2000):382-7.
- [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.
- [9] Impeachment Practice in the Era of Lethal Conflict. *Congress and the Presidency*, 25,2(Autumn 1998):117-128.
- [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.
- [11] President-Centered ψ Presidency-Centered Explanations of Presidential Public Activity. with Gregory L. Hager. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38,4(November 1994):1079-1103.
- [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.
- [13] Wrong Questions, \emptyset -Questions, Legitimate Questions, Reasoned Answers: Affirming the Study of Temporal Paths. *American Journal of Political Science*, 35, 3(August 1991):730-7.
- [14] Bargaining with the President: A Simple Game and New Evidence. *American Political Science Review*, 84,4(December 1990):1167-96.
- [15] Explaining Why Presidents Count: Signaling and Information. *The Journal of Politics*, 52,3(August 1990):939-62.
- [16] Headcounts, Expectations, and Presidential Coalitions in Congress. *American Journal of Political Science*, 32,3(August 1988):567-89.
- [17] Constituency Influences on Legislative Policy Choice, with M. McCubbins. *Quantity and Quality*, 18(1984):299-319.
- [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.

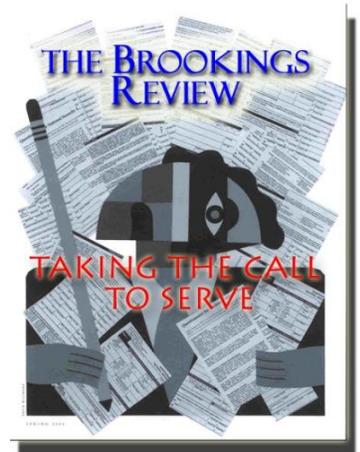


Refereed Journal Articles, *continued*

- [19] Risk and Regret for the Expected Utility Maximizer, with N. Frohlich and G. Miller. *Political Methodology*, 5(1978):109-21.
- [20] Voter's Paradox and Logrolling: An Initial Framework for Committee Behavior on Appropriations and Ways and Means. *Public Choice*, 25(1976):31-44.

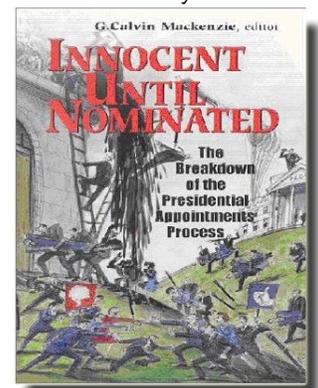
Published Articles

- [21] The White House 2001 Project, with Martha Kumar, *PS — Political Science and Politics*, (March 2002):8.
- [22] The Nomination Forms Online Program, *PS — Political Science and Politics*, (March 2002):13-5.
- [23] Already Buried and Sinking Fast — Presidential Nominees and Inquiry, *PS — Political Science and Politics*, special symposium, (March 2002):31-4.
- [24] Fabulous Formless Darkness – Presidential Nominees and the Morass of Inquiry, *The Brookings Review*, 12,2(Spring 2001):22-27.
- [25] Unique Forum Focuses on Chief of Staff Role, *Baker Institute Report*, 14(September 2000): 1ff.
- [26] Soon They Will Walk Among Us – a beginner's guide to understanding formal theory. *PRG Report*, 21(Fall 1998):15-21.
- [27] The Power Knowledge Gives: a brief evaluation of the Bush Presidential Center. *The Bush Center Report*, (Spring 1997).
Reprinted 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.
- [28] Political Astuteness vs. Scholarly Pedigree at the National Archives. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, (March 10, 1995), Section 2, p1-2.
- [29] On Becoming APt: Research Using Presidential Archives. *PRG Report*, (Fall, 1992):1,4ff.
- [30] Spreading APt: Research Using Presidential Archives. *PRG Report*, (Spring 1992):1,4ff.
- [31] Developing APt: Archival Resources and Congressional Research, *Extensions*, Fall 1989:4-6ff.
Extensions of Remarks, Washington: APSA Legislative Studies Group 1990.
- [32] The Bargaining Approach to Presidential Leadership in Congress. *Presidential Research*, 10(1988):12-22.



Book Chapters

- [33] 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, forthcoming, 2013.
- [34] 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.
- [35] 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.
- [36] 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.

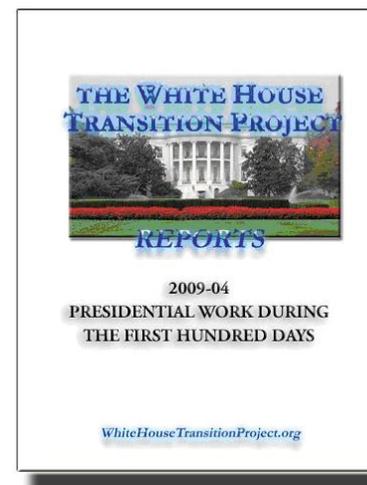


Book Chapters, *continued*

- [37] 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.
- [38] 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.
- [39] 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.
- [40] Presidential Leadership in Congress: Securing Commitments. Mathew McCubbins and Terry Sullivan, eds. *Congress: Structure and Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987:286-308.
- [41] 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.

Published Reports

- [1] *Easing the Inquiry Burden on Presidential Nominees*. Institutional Analysis Series: Study number 2010-01. For the National Commission on Reform of the Federal Appointments Process. Washington: White House Transition Project and Aspen Institute, 2010.
- [2] *Presidential Work During the First 100 Days*. Institutional Analysis Series: Study number 2009-04. Washington: White House Transition Project, 2009.
- [3] *Rescuing the Presidential Appointments Process*. Institutional Analysis Series, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2009-01. Washington: White House Transition Project, 2007.
- [4] *In Full View – The Inquiry of Presidential Nominees*. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-15 for the Brookings Institution. Washington: White House Transition Project, 2002.
- [5] *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, for the American Enterprise Institute. Originally a report to Clay Johnson, Deputy Chief of Staff, the White House, February, 2001. Washington: White House Transition Project, 2001.
- [6] *Changing the White House Personal Data Statement*. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-09 for the American Enterprise Institute. (Originally a report to Clay Johnson, Director of Transition Planning, George W. Bush for President, August 2000.) Washington: White House Transition Project, 2000.
- [7] *Analyzing Questionnaires for Nominees*. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-08 for the Brookings Institution. Washington: White House Transition Project, 2000.
- [8] *A Guide to Inquiry – The Executive Questionnaires*. Reports from the White House 2001 Project, Nomination Forms Online Program: Study number 2001-07 for the Brookings Institution. Originally a report to the Brookings Institution, August 2000. Washington: White House Transition Project, 2000.



Congressional Reports

- [1] 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 S.679, May 2010.
- [2] Reform of the Presidential Appointments Process. Report to the U. S. House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, September 2008.
- [3] Analyzing Strategies for Reform in the Presidential Appointments Process. Report to the U. S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, September 2007.
- [4] 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.

Software

- [5] *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.
- [6] *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. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34,2(June 2004):459-61.
- [2] Nothing Beyond Persuasion, 1992, review of *Beyond Persuasion: Organizational Efficiency and Presidential Power*, Matthew Robert Kerbel, SUNY Press. *American Political Science Review*, 86,4,(December 1991):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. *American Political Science Review*, 83,3 (September 1988):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.

Scholarly Honors and Awards

- * Senior Fellow, UNC Institute for the Arts and Humanities, 1991— .
- * W. Glenn Campbell Fellow, 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.
- * Carl Albert National Fellow (inaugural fellowship), Carl Albert Center, 1989—90.
- * Post-Doctoral Fellow in Political Economy, Center on Political Economy, Washington University, 1986-87
- * John Olin Post-Doctoral Research Fellow in Political Economy, Center for the Study of Public Policy, Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Carnegie-Mellon University, 1985—86.
- * Bess Heflin Fellow in Institutional Design, University of Texas at Austin, 1979—80.
- * APSA Congressional Fellow, American Political Science Association, 1977-78

Recent External Research Support

Total for 1991-Present: \$973,000; Career Total: \$1,078,500.

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| <p>(1) W. Glenn Campbell Fellowship, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2009-2010. \$70,000.</p> <p>(2) The Aspen Institute and The Rockefeller Foundation. 2011. Building an Appointments Database. \$17,000.</p> <p>(3) The American Enterprise Institute, 2000-01. Structuring Appointments. \$50,000.</p> <p>(4) The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2000-02. Smoothing the Nominations Process. \$210,000 Multiyear.</p> <p>(5) The Pew Charitable Trusts, 1999-2002. Smoothing the Presidential Appointments Process. \$170,000 Multiyear. (included full stipends for two graduate students)</p> <p>(6) The Pew Charitable Trusts, 1998-2002. Preparing the Presidential Transition. \$100,000 Multiyear.</p> | <p>(7) The American Enterprise Institute, 2000-2001. Advising Presidential Nominees. \$122,000.</p> <p>(8) The Brookings Institution, 2000-2001. Building Nomination Forms Online, basic development. \$44,000. (including wages for graduate students)</p> <p>(9) James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 2000-01. Providing technical expertise to the presidential transition. \$35,000.</p> <p>(10) James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 2000-2001. Additional Support for technical expertise to presidential transitions. \$60,000.</p> <p>(11) James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 1999-2000. Developing institutional memory for the presidential transition. \$35,000.</p> <p>(12) James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, 1999-2000. Additional Support for technical expertise to presidential transitions. \$60,000.</p> |
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Other External Support

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(13) Everett Dirksen Congressional Research Grants. 1981. Congressional Reform of Procedures. \$2,000.</p> <p>(14) Everett Dirksen Congressional Research Grants. 1983. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$1,500.</p> <p>(15) LBJ Foundation. 1983. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$2,000.</p> <p>(16) LBJ Foundation. 1985. Congressional Bargaining and Leadership. \$2,000.</p> <p>(17) Carl Albert Research Fellowship. 1986. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$6,000.</p> | <p>(18) LBJ Foundation. 1988. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$2,000.</p> <p>(19) Everett Dirksen Congressional Research Grants. 1988. Congressional Leadership Strategy. \$4,000.</p> <p>(20) The Eisenhower World Affairs Institute Research Fund. 1987. Presidential Influence. \$4,000.</p> <p>(21) NSF Research Grant, 1985. with Peter Ordeshook and Thomas Schwartz, Congressional Agenda Rules. \$28,000</p> |
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Research in Progress

Books

Making a Difference: LBJ and the Political Tradecraft in Presidential Leadership. [drafting]

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

Expertise, Control, and Appreciating Ignorance in the Singular Presidency

[under review *American Journal of Political Science*]

This paper assesses how organizational choices affect presidential governance. It articulates a new, Structured Control Theory (SCT) of the singular presidency, its derivative authorities, and its unity of purpose. The theory emphasizes the importance of asymmetries between subordinates and their presidents and concludes that presidential control of reputations counterbalances the expertise effects found in the standard literature. SCT concludes subordinates become buffers (rather than distractions) for their presidents, shifting engagement to core responsibilities. It concludes a strictly hierarchical staff organization broadens (rather than restricts) access to the president's councils. The paper also argues for and employs a compositional methodology along with data recording the activities, during the 100 days, of Presidents Eisenhower through George H.W. Bush. Evidence supports the Structured Control Theory's expectations while contradicting the standard literature. Results highlight two new organizational dynamics: the role of pivoting and the personal costs of governing.

Fame, Fidelity, & the Effects of Learning in the Singular Presidency

[under review at *American Journal of Political Science*]

This paper considers whether presidents control their routine or react to institutional burdens, a dynamic embedded in the constitutional choice of a singular presidency. It develops a theory of ambition (fame), constrained by duty (fidelity), producing seven empirical results about presidential engagement. It tests these utilizing logs of presidential daily activity during the first 100 days of Presidents Dwight Eisenhower through George H. W. Bush. The paper concludes that the patterns to their work suggest the influence of fidelity. The paper also tests whether learning can counter fidelity and discovers that in practice presidential learning leads to increased fidelity. These results suggest fidelity represents a "proximate" goal, mirroring in the presidency what reelection does in the Congress. These findings suggest the importance of faster completion of appointments, concentration on pivoting, and more emphasis on strategy.

Dynamics of the Singular Presidency: Modeling Initiative and Unity of Purpose

[redrafting to respond to reviewers]

This paper develops a theory of presidential initiative. It emphasizes three elements: constitutional regime, organizational routine, and authority. In this model, the president and a single subordinate make choices about how much effort to invest in pursuing a policy outcome. The president has control over whether the Executive engages and who takes the leadership. The theory comports with the data from a large simulation used to assess the consistency of six operational results: a limited presidential agenda, a lack of interest in exclusive powers, the centrality of delegation, and a persistent subordinate disappointment with delegation, generating an organizational crisis. It estimates the potential for presidential unity of purpose as a defense against congressional power. It also proposes an operational solution to a form of agency costs and suggests a routine designed to bolster organizational continuity, a routine that clarifies the often cited notion of a presidential "vision thing."

Passing Through the Maelstrom: The Inquiry of Presidential Nominees and Reform, 2001-2012.

[redrafting]

This paper details the inquiry of presidential nominees during their vetting process. It demonstrates how the early Obama administration drastically increased the burdens on nominees, doubling the amount of information they must provide. That increase in inquiry alone contributes to one-third of the lengthening of the appointments process identified by others since the G.H.W. Bush administration. The paper also details two significant steps to reduce the process, one by the Senate reducing scrutiny of nominees by 20% and one the White House reducing inquiry of nominees by another 20%. The paper then considers two additional reforms of inquiry, each relying on proposals innovated by the scholarly community and each reducing nominees burdens by between 20% and 34%. The total alterations in inquiry could reverse the lengthening appointments process by nearly 30% over those differences since 1989.

PROFESSIONAL

Employment History

- 1991— Associate Professor, University of North Carolina
- 2009—2010. W. Glenn Campbell Fellow in National Affairs, Hoover Institution, Stanford University.
2010. Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University.
2004. Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Baylor 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.
1997. Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin.
- 1988–1991. Associate Professor without tenure, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- 1986–1988. Assistant Professor, University of Texas at Austin.
- 1985–1986. John Olin Fellow, Graduate School of Industrial Administration, Carnegie-Mellon University.
- 1981–1985. Assistant Professor, University of Texas at Austin.
- 1977–1978. 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 (919) 962-0428
- Dr. Gary Miller, Professor of Political Science, Washington University – gmler@artsci.wustl.edu (314)935-5874
- Dr. Terry Moe, William Munro Professor of Political Science, Stanford University and Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution – moe@hoover.stanford.edu (650) 725-8212
- Dr. Donald Wilson, Archivist of the United States (retired), Staunton, Virginia.

Professional Associations

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

Lectures and Presentations

(●) Invited lectures; (○) Conference presentations; (†) Government presentations

2014

- Modeling Initiative and Unity of Purpose in the Singular Presidency. University of Houston Colloquium on Institutional Design. Houston, TX. September 12, 2014.
- Regime, Routine, and Delegation in the Singular American Presidency. National Convention of the American Political Science Association. Washington, DC. August 31, 2014.

2013

- A Theory of Derivative Authority in the American Presidency. National Convention of the American Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. September 1, 2013.

Lectures and Presentations, *continued*

2012

- ⊙ A Theory of Constitutional Regime, Operational Routine, and Subordinate Initiative in the Managed Presidency. Seminar Series, University of Wisconsin, Madison. October 8, 2012.
- ✦ Strategies for Reform of Inquiry Process, Briefing to the President's Working Group on Reform of the Presidential Appointments Process, September 7, 2012.
- ⊙ Easing Burdens on Nominees: Update on Reform Agenda. National Commission on Reform of the Federal Appointments Process, Washington, DC. August 12, 2012.
- ⊙ The Commission Agenda on Nominee Inquiry: Proposing a "Common Ground" for Reducing Conflict on Appointments. Aspen Institute, Washington, D. C., February 21, 2012.
- ⊙ The Impact of Organizational Choices on Presidential Work. University Symposium in Ideas, Southern Methodist University. Dallas, Texas, February 9, 2012.

2011

- ⊙ The Impact of WHO Growth and Hierarchy on Presidential Engagement. National Convention of the American Political Science Association. Seattle, WA. September 2, 2011.
- ⊙ Easing Burdens on Presidential Nominations: Report on Inquiry and Reform Strategies. National Commission on Reform of the Federal 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.
- ⊙ 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.

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.

Administrative Experience

Current

Executive Director, White House Transition Project 1997—

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. Several briefing books provided based on substantial oral interviews with Assistants to the President from Nixon through Clinton administrations. Specialized studies requested by candidates, president-elect, and outgoing president on a number of topics, including studies on appointments process. 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.

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

Cooperating institutional partner supporting the White House Transition Project for the 2001 and 2008 transitions. The Director organizes research functions at the Institute in support of its partnership, orchestrated events at the Institute (including media strategies), and coordinated transition events with other partners (including the Smithsonian). Administered annual budgets ranging from \$60,000 to \$200,000.

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.

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.

University Service

Current

Member, Political Science Committee on Undergraduate Studies, 2009—

Library Representative, General Libraries, 2004—

Member, Task Force on Learning Outcomes, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2010.

The task force (3 members) designed a strategy and survey instrument for documenting learning outcomes over undergraduate career in political science. The task force implemented its strategy and deployed its instrument among capstone classes. It then developed a report with recommendations on learning strategies and outcomes.

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

Revival of earlier advisory group for Sunsite resources for the university. Advised on the public/private consortium to promote use of the worldwide web for scholarly purposes. Ibiblio.org manages a myriad of websites, including whitehousetransitionproject.org. The advisory board lends scholarly guidance to policy-making and orchestrates grant applications for core functions.

Director of Development, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997–2001.

Innovated alumnae outreach and fund raising, including coordinating plans with University Development Office for major giving in political science. Developed the first alumnae mailing list and annual alumnae newsletter.

University Service, continued

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

Took moribund program and innovated several features now considered permanent part of placement: semi-annual orientation meetings, career path planning and scheduling, checklists for preparing packets, packet management by department. Placement manual with advice on maximizing opportunities, practice sessions, network development, annual studies of placement statistics fitting applicants to departments and programs, and use of UNC alumnus at target institutions, alert network for alumnus to participate in promoting UNC applicants.

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

Innovated and developed an annual presentation on American politics combining academics with practitioners. Lectures included Hon. David Price (MC-NC); William Galston, Special Assistant to the President; Martha Kumar, Brookings Fellow; etc.

Member, Board, UNC Sunsite Consortium and Information Development, 1989-1993.

Provided advice to the Federal Government on deploying and employing the internet for departmental policy goals. Organized three multi-million dollar grant applications to NIIAA in Commerce for UNC including programs from three professional schools and several departments and research institutes. Developed and advised major alumnae groups at Turner Broadcasting, Bell South, and the 1996 Atlanta Olympics Organizing Committee on use of the world wide web and integration of their programs (including the creation of CNN.com) into the global internet community. Provided outreach to corporate sponsors and national government actors, like the National Archives, to support improvements in UNC computing capacity.

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

Innovated program of presentations in preparation for job market and integrated these into the overall program for placement.

POLICY ACTIVITIES

These activities result directly from scholarly expertise and play an integral role in understanding the subject of my scholarship — focused on understanding the interactions of institutions and political tradecraft.

Current

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

Senior Research Scholar, National Commission to Reform the Federal Appointments Process, funded by the Aspen Institute and Rockefeller Foundation, 2009—2014.

Commissioner, National Commission to Reform the Federal Appointments Process, funded by the Aspen Institute and Rockefeller Foundation, 2009—2014.



Advisor, Presidential Working Group on Reforming the Appointments Vetting Process, 2012.

Advisor, George W. Bush Presidential Foundation 2012.

Advisor, Mitt Romney for President on White House transition planning, 2012.

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

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

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.

Advisor, John Kerry for President

...on White House transition planning, 2004

...on presidential appointments, 2004.

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

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

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.

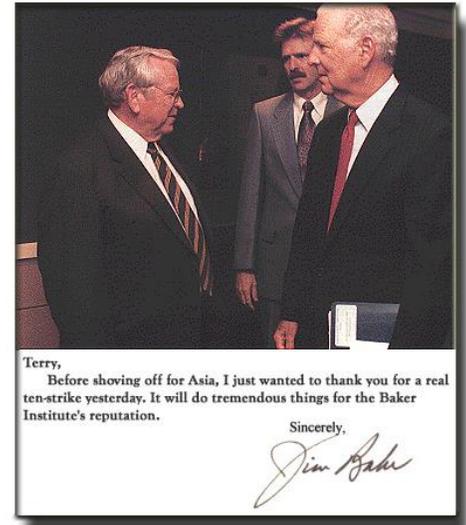
Advisor, Al Gore for President

...on White House transition planning, 2000

...on presidential appointments, 2000.

American Executives, continued

Advisor, George W. Bush for President
 ...on presidential appointments process, 1999-2000.
 ...on White House operations, 1999-2001.
 Council Member, Advisory Council of Transition to Governing Project, American Enterprise Institute, 1999-2002.
 Director, Presidential Transition Program, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University, 1998-2001.
 Advisor, Archivist of the United States, Washington, on operations of the Presidential Library System. 1995-2001.
 Advisor, National Performance Review, Office of the Vice-President, 1993.
 Task Force Member, National Alliance for Redesigning Government, Information Infrastructure Task Force, 1993-1996.
 Advisor, National Archives & Records Administration, Presidential Libraries, Washington, 1988-1996



Foreign Executives

Consultant, Office of the President, Colombia, 2010—2012.
 Consultant, High Commissioner on Social Prosperity (war on poverty), Government of Colombia, 2010—2012.
 Consultant, UN Agency on Development, 2010—2011.
 Advisor, 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 Juan Santos of Colombia (second from left) joins Professor Sullivan at a retreat of the Colombian Executive Branch.

US Congress

Invited testimony. US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Operations on reforming the presidential appointments process, 2011.
 Advisor, US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Operations on presidential transitions process, 2010.
 Advisor, 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.
 Advisor, 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] Author, *Putting the W in Waco*. Proposal by Baylor University to the George W. Bush Foundation as Finalist in site selection for the George W. Bush Presidential Library. 2006-2007.
- [3] Advisor, Academic Programs and Vision for the George W. Bush Presidential Library and Foundation at Baylor University. 2003-2007.
- [4] Consultant, 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] Consultant, *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

At both the graduate and undergraduate levels, my teaching employs the latest research on brain-based learning strategies and project based techniques to train students to develop their own sophisticated understanding of the topics of presidential leadership, influence, strategy, and power. A number of national foundations have recognized and supported this teaching.

All elements of the university community have recognized my teaching. In 2014, on the basis of student nominations, the UNC Student Congress recognized me as “Undergraduate Teacher of the Year.” In fall 2014, a faculty/student committee in the Chancellor’s Office nominated and the UNC System Board of Governors recognized me as the 2015 recipient of the 2015 Board of Governors Award for Teaching Excellence. On my nomination, UNC Chapel Hill Chancellor Carol Folt said, “Terry Sullivan’s commitment to excellence in the classroom exemplifies Carolina’s leadership in research, scholarship and creativity. Students and faculty consider him a great story teller, provocateur, and a breath of fresh air. I agree and congratulate him on bringing this recognition to Chapel Hill.”

In nominating me, one student wrote: “Professor Sullivan creates a dynamic, intellectual environment, which allows his students to think critically about politics.”

My approach has seven basic elements:

1. *Project Based Learning*. Students learn a subject best by using the material to complete a project that highlights and then exercises skills. Typically, the project involves writing a large (20-25 single-spaced pages) research paper built up through smaller projects (typically three one-page papers) and the skills include accurate descriptions (the process of discovery), structured reasoning (explanation) and effective communications (“triage” writing).
2. *Politicians at Work*. Students learn best when their learning mirrors their subject. Students consider topics with a great deal of theoretical and empirical complexity (e.g., bargaining and persuasion), comparing traditional theories of the subject with direct observation of politicians at work. The latter they obtain through materials archived by the US National Archives and its presidential libraries. These include a range of materials from secretly recorded conversations between national politicians trying to get other national politicians to do what they would not otherwise do or confidential strategy memoranda we know the president saw. As an advantage of this approach, students’ research has direct applications to the real work of leaders.
3. *The Columbo Model*. Students learn better when they have a model of reasoning to emulate. Students employ the process of reasoning typically associated with explanation and mirrored by the TV detective Columbo: they use prior theories to develop research questions (a fact to account for), identify potential conjectures (suspects), and then from those conjectures they develop research expectations.
4. *Teamship*. Students learn best through analogies more easily articulated by peers. All of the research projects in my class have a great deal of complexity. Students work in teams to overcome this complexity and in doing so, they teach each other. To test their expectations, for example, students work in their teams to develop useful, direct evidence from thousands of pages of archival materials I provide.
5. *Sounding Smart*. Students perform best when they have a simple expository writing style to mimic. My writing requirements rely on the “triage method” developed at UCLA by mathematical linguist Richard Lanham, who has used controlled experiments to parse out those indicators in writing most closely associated by readers with “sounding smart.”
6. *Evaluation not Grading*. Students learn most efficiently when they get useful feedback on how they have done and an opportunity to revise their performance, not when they get a flat grade. So, my evaluations of their work focus on meeting a series of goals well outlined *beforehand* and modelled by exemplars and evaluation rubrics. All my classes have exemplary papers for students to look at and use. No one produces science any more without standing on someone’s shoulders.
7. *Model What You Want Learned*. Students need to see models around them in everything that they encounter in learning. The subject matter you convey equals the subject matter you model in how you teach and research.

Teaching Honors & Awards

- * Recipient, UNC System Board of Governors Award for Excellence in Teaching for 2015
- * Finalist, Chapman Family Fellowship in Teaching Research, Fall 2014
- * Recipient, UNC Chapel Hill Student Congress Undergraduate Teacher of the Year for 2014
- * Spencer Foundation National Teaching Fellow, 2008-10
- * Teagle Foundation National Teaching Fellow, 2008-10
- * Finalist, UNC Tanner Teaching Award, 2005
- * Lilly Endowment Teaching Fellow, 1991-93.
- * Teaching Fellow, Institute for Arts and the Humanities, 1991-92.

Teaching Support

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Spencer Foundation, National Teaching Fellowship, 2008-11. (2) Teagle Foundation, National Teaching Fellowship, 2008-11. (3) University Office for Undergraduate Research, Grants to Support Instructional Strategies for Teaching Inquiry, 2009. (4) University Office for Undergraduate Research, Grants to Support Instructional Strategies for Teaching Inquiry, 2008. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (5) Office of the UNC Provost, Grant in Undergraduate Inquiry, 2008. (6) Office of the UNC Provost, Grant in Undergraduate Inquiry, 2007. (7) Lupton Endowment, Teaching Grant, 1993. (8) UNC Chancellor's Office, Pedagogical Deployment Grant, 1992. (9) Lupton Endowment, Teaching Grant, 1992. (10) Lilly Endowment, Grant entitled "Training Undergraduates to Reason," 1990-91. |
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Teaching Related Service

Board Member, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1993-95.

Course Abstracts

Power and Policy Making Agendas (graduate and undergraduate). This class focuses on presidential decision-making and leadership behavior. 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 and professional schools). 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.

The Theory of Leadership and its Application to National Leaders (undergraduate). First year research seminar considers models of leadership from Plutarch to Machiavelli to the Harvard Business School and applies these to actual patterns of interaction between presidents and members of Congress secretly recorded. Considers how persuasive appeals made by presidents and members comport or don't with these standard theories.

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).

Assessing Political Tradecraft (undergraduate and graduate). Develops and assesses theories of the interactions between national leaders: theories associated with leadership, persuasion, influence, agenda manipulation, initiative, control and agency, and delegation. Also covers theories of operational and organization routines necessary to support tradecraft.

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. Develops models for use by students in understanding commonly observed phenomena.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Research. Since beginning a tenure appointment, my research has focused on four research areas, all elements of the political tradecraft of leadership: bargaining, persuasion, operational routines, and managing subordinates. In each area, I have created new theory and brought these analytics closer to the actual practices of those who govern. I have also created innovative data resources on these core processes. This research moves the discipline closer to understanding political decision-making, innovates new theory, generates new data from “behind the scenes,” and focuses on the nature of politics. Because these activities reflect much more closely the actual practices of political leaders, contemporary leaders, both in the national government and abroad, find my scholarship useful and informative.

Pedagogy. Teaching plays an important part of my professional agenda. Following developments in brain-based research and in educational psychology, I have created a number of pedagogical improvements to the political science curriculum, among them the first writing intensive course and the first first year seminar in political science at UNC and the first large course in explanation-based civics at the University of Texas at Austin. These innovative approaches have earned me repeated recognition both by national foundations and the university units interested in advancing teaching in R1 universities. My most recent national fellowships in teaching demonstrate my continued involvement in recognized, innovative teaching.

Useful Scholarship. In service, I have taken the opportunity provided by tenure to combine scholarship with first hand exposure to my subject, political tradecraft in national governance. Useful scholarship combines theoretical and analytical sophistication and an interaction with the subject matter. In my service both inside and outside the confines of the university and department, I have always created new avenues for meeting scholarly and community obligations. My research and its applications in national governance has afforded me several opportunities for affecting an agenda important to scholarship and national affairs. My most recent stints as Campbell Fellow in National Affairs at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, as scholar member of the President’s Transition Coordinating Council (for the 2009 transition), and as Commissioner of the National Commission on Reform of the Federal Appointments Process attest to the usefulness of my scholarship in affecting national governance and bringing national recognition to the University’s mission as a public university.