

## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

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Director, Program on Education Policy and Governance (PEPG), Harvard University  
Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution

### **EDUCATION**

- B.A. Political Science, 1962, Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota (summa cum laude)
- M.A. Political Science, 1964, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
- Ph.D. Political Science, 1967, University of Chicago, Dissertation: “City Politics and Community Action: The Implementation of the Community Action Program in Three American Cities”

### **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

- 2019 – Participant, Hoover Education Success Initiative
- 2016 – 2024 Senior Editor, *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research*
- 2016 Member, Leadership Advisory Board of Modern States Education Alliance
- 2008 President Bush nominates Paul E. Peterson to the Board of Directors of the National Board of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education
- 2006 Named to Head Florida Education Transition Team by Florida Governor-Elect Charlie Crist
- 2005 Member, Education Research and Development Center Grants Peer Review Panel, U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences
- 2003 – Member, Title I Independent Review Committee, Department of Education
- 2001 – 2016 Editor-in-Chief, *Education Next: A Journal of Opinion and Research*

2000 – 2013 Member, Koret Task Force on K-12 Education, Hoover Institution

2000 – Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution

1996 – 1997 Fellow, Center for Advanced Study in the Center for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Stanford

1995 – Director, Program on Education Policy and Governance (PEPG), Harvard University

1989 – Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government, Department of Government, Harvard University

1988 – 2000 Director, Center for American Political Studies, Harvard University

1988 – 1989 Professor of Government, Department of Government, Harvard University

1987 – 1988 Benjamin H. Griswold III Professor of Public Policy and Director of Center for Study of American Government, Department of Political Science, The Johns Hopkins University

1983 – 1987 Director, Governmental Studies, The Brookings Institution

1981 – 1983 Chairman, Committee on Public Policy Studies, University of Chicago

1967 – 1983 Assistant Professor, Associate Professor and Professor, Departments of Political Science and Education and the College, University of Chicago

1978 – 1983 Research Associate, National Opinion Research Center

1979 – 1983 Member, Committee on Public Policy Studies, University of Chicago

1980 – 1981 Visiting Professor, School of Education and Department of Political Science, Stanford University

1977 – 1978 Academic Visitor, Department of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science

1973 – 1974 Visiting Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Washington

1971 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois

1964 Research Assistant, National Opinion Research Center

### **SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS AND HONORS**

2016 Walton Family Foundation Prize for Best Academic Paper on School Choice and Reform, Association for Education Finance and Policy

2015 The Star Family Prize for Excellence in Advising

- 2010 Martha Derthick Best Book Award for *The Price of Federalism*, American Political Science Association
- 2003 The Thomas B. Fordham Prize for Distinguished Scholarship
- 1996 – 1997 Fellow, Center for the Advanced Study of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California
- 1996 Aaron Wildavsky Award for best book in public policy, Policy Studies Section, American Political Science Association
- 1996 Norton Long Career Achievement Award, Urban Politics Section, American Political Science Association
- 1996 Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences
- 1994 Stephen Bailey Award for Outstanding Contributions to Politics of Education, American Educational Research Association
- 1990 Donald Stone Award for Lifetime Contribution to the Study of Federalism, American Public Administration Association
- 1984 Elected to National Academy of Education
- 1982 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award, American Political Science Association Award for best book published in 1981 in politics, government or international relations
- 1977 – 1978 John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship
- 1977 – 1978 German Marshall Fund of the United States Fellowship
- 1977 Gladys Kammerer Award, American Political Science Association Award for best book published in 1976 on United States national policy
- 1968 – 1969 North Atlantic Treaty Organization Postdoctoral Fellowship
- 1966 Woodrow Wilson Dissertation Fellowship
- 1965 Russell Sage Foundation Fellowship for the Study of Urban Politics
- 1963 – 1965 National Opinion Research Center Training Fellowship
- 1962 – 1963 Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship
- 1958 – 1962 National Merit Scholarship

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### BOOKS

#### *Author*

1. *Teachers versus the Public: What Americans Think about Schools and How to Fix Them*, with Michael Henderson and Martin R. West, Brookings Institution Press, 2014.
2. *Endangering Prosperity: A Global View of the American School*, Brookings Institution Press, 2013.
3. *The New American Democracy*, with Morris P. Fiorina, Bertram Johnson and William G. Mayer, Pearson Publishers, 7<sup>th</sup> edition, 2011 and earlier editions.
4. *America's New Democracy*, with Morris P. Fiorina, Bertram Johnson and William G. Mayer, Penguin Academics, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, 2010 and earlier editions.
5. *Saving Schools: From Horace Mann to Virtual Learning*, Harvard University Press, 2010.
6. *The Education Gap: Vouchers and Urban Schools, Revised Edition*, co-author William G. Howell, with Patrick J. Wolf and David E. Campbell, Brookings Institution Press, 2006.
7. *The Education Gap: Vouchers and Urban Schools*, with William G. Howell, with Patrick J. Wolf and David E. Campbell, Brookings Institution Press, 2002.
8. *The Price of Federalism*, Brookings Institutional Press, 1995. Winner of the Martha Derthick Best Book Award. Award given to the best book on federalism and intergovernmental relations. Winner of the Aaron Wildavsky Award. Award given to the best book in public policy, Policy Studies Section, American Political Science Association.
9. *Welfare Magnets: A Case for a National Welfare Standard*, with Mark C. Rom, Brookings Institution Press, 1990.
10. *When Federalism Works*, with Barry Rabe and Kenneth Wong, Brookings Institution Press, 1986.
11. *The Politics of School Reform, 1870-1940*, University of Chicago Press, 1985.
12. *Making the Grade: Federal Policy and American Education*, Twentieth Century Fund, 1983.
13. *City Limits*, University of Chicago Press, 1981. Winner of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award. Award given to the best book published in 1981 in politics, government or international relations, American Political Science Association.
14. *School Politics Chicago Style*, University of Chicago Press, 1976, pb 1981. Winner of the Gladys Kammerer Award, American Political Science Association. Award given to the best book on American politics.
15. *Race and Authority in Urban Politics: Community Participation and the War on Poverty*, with J. David Greenstone, Russell Sage, 1973, pb with new intro, University of Chicago Press, 1976.

## BOOKS

### *Editor*

1. *Scalia's Constitution: Essays on Law and Education*, with Michael W. McConnell, eds., Palgrave Macmillan, 2017
2. *The Global Debt Crisis: Haunting U.S. and European Federalism*, with Daniel Nadler, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 2014.
3. *School Choice International*, with Rajashri Chakrabarti, eds., The MIT Press, 2008.
4. *Schools and the Equal Opportunity Problem*, with Ludger Woessmann, eds., The MIT Press, 2007.
5. *School Money Trials: The Legal Pursuit of Education Adequacy*, with Martin R. West, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 2007.
6. *Reforming Education in Florida – A Study Prepared by the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education*, ed., Hoover Institution Press, 2006.
7. *Reforming Education in Florida – Recommendations from the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education*, ed., Hoover Institution Press, 2006.
8. *Generational Change: Closing the Test Score Gap*, ed., Roman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.
9. *Choice and Competition in American Education*, ed., Roman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.
10. *The Future of School Choice*, ed., Hoover Institution Press, 2003.
11. *No Child Left Behind? The Politics and Practice of School Accountability*, with Martin R. West, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 2003.
12. *Our Schools & Our Future...Are We Still at Risk?*, ed., Hoover Institution Press, 2003.
13. *Charters, Vouchers, and Public Education*, with David Campbell, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
14. *Earning and Learning: How Schools Matter*, with Susan Mayer, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 1999.
15. *Learning from School Choice* with Bryan Hassel, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 1998.
16. *Classifying by Race*, ed., University of Princeton Press, 1995.
17. *The President, the Congress and the Making of Foreign Policy*, ed., Oklahoma University Press, 1994.
18. *The Urban Underclass*, with Christopher Jencks, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 1991.
19. *Can the Government Govern?*, with John E. Chubb, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 1989.
20. *The New Direction in American Politics*, with John Chubb, eds., Brookings Institution Press, 1985.

21. *The New Urban Reality*, ed., Brookings Institution Press, 1985.
22. *Urban Politics and Public Policy: The City in Crisis*, with S.M. David, eds., Praeger, 1973; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Praeger, 1976.

## ARTICLES

### *Academic*

1. Peterson, Paul E., Shakeel, M. Danish. “The Nation’s Charter Report Card: A New Ranking of States by Charter Student Performance,” *Journal of School Choice*, 18, no. 1 (2024): 30-66  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15582159.2023.2273607>
2. “Is the United States Still a Competitive Federal System?” with Carlos X. Lastra-Anadón, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, September 2024.  
[https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/16-Boskin\\_Federalism\\_ch11.pdf](https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/research/docs/16-Boskin_Federalism_ch11.pdf)
3. “Are School Reforms Liberal, Conservative, or Populist? Populism and Education Policy Opinions in the United States,” with M. Danish Shakeel, *Journal of School Choice*, 17, no. 4 (2023): 465–496  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2023.2211799>
4. “The Nation’s Charter Report Card: A New Ranking of States by Charter Student Performance,” with M. Danish Shakeel, *Journal of School Choice*, November 13, 2023  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2023.2273607>
5. The Efficiency-Equity Trade-off in a Federal System: Local Financing of Schools and Student Achievement,” with Carlos X. Lastra-Anadón, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, September 29, 2022. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/publius/pjac034>
6. “Public Opinion, Attitude Stability, and Education Policy,” with David M. Houston, Michael Henderson, and Martin R. West, *Teachers College Record*, July 2022.
7. “Long-run Trends in the U.S. SES-Achievement Gap,” with Eric A. Hanushek, Jacob D. Light, Laura M. Talpey, and Ludger Woessmann, *Education Finance and Policy*, 17, no. 4 (October 1, 2022): 608–640. DOI: 10.1162/edfp\_a\_00383
8. “A Half Century of Progress in U.S. Student Achievement: Agency and Flynn Effects, Ethnic and SES Differences,” with M. Danish Shakeel, *Educational Psychology Review*, March 3, 2022. DOI: 10.1007/s10648-021-09657-y.
9. “Status, Growth, and Perceptions of School Quality,” with David M. Houston, Michael Henderson, and Martin R. West. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, August 2, 2021. DOI: 10.3102/01623737211030505.
10. “Experimentally Estimated Impacts of School Vouchers on Educational Attainments of Moderately and Severely Disadvantaged Students,” with Albert Cheng (forthcoming). *Sociology of Education* 94, no. 2 (April 1, 2021): 159–174.

11. “Cost-Benefit Information Closes Aspiration Gaps—If Parents Think Their Child is Ready for College,” with Albert Cheng, Michael B. Henderson, and Martin R. West. *Education Economics* 29, no. 3, (January 20, 2021): 233–251.
12. “Is Seeing Believing? How Americans and Germans Think about Their Schools,” with Michael B. Henderson, Philipp Lergetporer, Katharina Werner, Martin R. West, and Ludger Woessmann, in M. R. West and L. Woessmann, eds., *Public Opinion and the Political Economy of Education around the World*, MIT Press, Ch. 3 (pp. 55–96).
13. “Ten-Year Trends in Public Opinion of U.S. Schools,” with Samuel Barrows, Michael B. Henderson, Martin R. West, in M. R. West and L. Woessmann, eds., *Public Opinion and the Political Economy of Education around the World*, MIT Press, Ch. 5 (pp. 175–203).
14. “Changes in the Performance of Students in Charter and District Sectors of U.S. Education: An Analysis of Nationwide Trends,” with M. Danish Shakeel. *Journal of School Choice*, 14:4, pp. 604–632. DOI: 10.1080/15582159.2020.1811467
15. “Do Charter Schools Pose a Threat to Private Schools? Evidence from Nationally Representative Surveys of U.S. Parents,” with Samuel Barrows, Albert Cheng, and Martin R. West. *The Journal of School Choice: International Research and Reform*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 10–32 (2019).
16. “Experimental Estimates of Impacts of Cost-Earnings Information on Adult Aspirations for Children's Postsecondary Education,” with Albert Cheng. *The Journal of Higher Education* (2018).
17. “Relative Performance Information and Perceptions of Public Service Quality: Evidence from American School Districts,” with Samuel Barrows, Michael Henderson and Martin R. West. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 10(1093) 2016.
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19. “The Education Iron Triangle,” with Martin R. West and Michael Henderson. *The Forum*, Vol. 10: Issue 1, Article 5 (2012).
20. “It’s Easier to Pick a Good Teacher than to Train One: Familiar and new results on the correlates of teacher effectiveness,” with Matthew M. Chingos. *Economics of Education Review*, 30(1) p.449–465 (2011).
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26. “The New Politics of Federalism,” in Scott Greer, ed., *Territory, Democracy and Justice: Regionalism and Federalism in Western Democracies*, Macmillan Ltd, New York, NY, 2006.
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28. “Efficiency, Bias, and Classification Schemes: A Response to Alan B. Krueger and Pei Zhu,” with William G. Howell. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(5): 699–718 (2004).
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31. “The President’s Dominance in Foreign Policy Making,” in Cohen, Jeffrey and David Nice, eds., *The Presidency: Classic and Contemporary Readings*. McGraw-Hill: New York, 2003. This article is a revised version of “The International System and Foreign Policy” in *The President, the Congress, and the Making of Foreign Policy* (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), pp. 3–22.
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33. “School Vouchers and Academic Performance: Results from Three Randomized Field Trials,” with William G. Howell, Patrick J. Wolf and David E. Campbell. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 21(2): 191–217 (2002).
34. “Interstate Competition and Welfare Policy,” with Mark Carl Rom and Kenneth F. Scheve, Jr., in *Welfare Reform, A Race to the Bottom?* eds., Sanford F. Schram and Samuel H. Beer, October 1999, pp. 21–41.
35. “Effectiveness of School Choice: The Milwaukee Experiment,” *Education and Urban Society*, 31(2): 190–213 (1999).
36. “School Choice in New York City,” with David Myers, William Howell and Daniel Mayer, in Paul E. Peterson and Susan Mayer, eds., *Earning and Learning: How Schools Matter*, Brookings Institution Press, 1999.
37. “School Reforms: How Much Do They Matter?” in Paul E. Peterson and Susan Mayer, eds., *Earning and Learning: How Schools Matter*, Brookings Institution Press, 1999.

38. “Do Hard Courses and Good Grades Enhance Cognitive Skills?” with Jay R. Giroto, in Paul E. Peterson and Susan Mayer, eds., *Earning and Learning: How Schools Matter*, Brookings Institution Press, 1999.
39. “School Choice: A Report Card,” *The Virginia Journal of Social Policy and the Law*, 6(1): 47–80 (1998).
40. “Interstate Competition and Welfare Policy,” with Mark Carl Rom and Kenneth F. Scheve, Jr. *Publius, The Journal of Federalism*, 28(3): 17–37 (1998).
41. “The Effectiveness of School Choice in Milwaukee: A Secondary Analysis of Data from the Programs Evaluation,” with Jay P. Green and Jiangtao Du, in Paul E. Peterson and Bryan C. Hassel, eds., *Learning from School Choice*, Brookings Institution Press, 1998, pp. 335–356.
42. “Devolution's Price,” *Yale Law & Policy Review/Yale Journal on Regulation. Symposium: Constructing a New Federalism*, 1996, pp. 111–121.
43. “Questioning by the Foreign Policy Committees,” with Jay Greene in Paul E. Peterson, ed., *The Congress, The Presidency and the Making of Foreign Policy*, Oklahoma 1995. pp. 74–100.
44. “A Politically Correct Solution to Racial Classification,” introductory essay in Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Classifying by Race*, Princeton, 1995.
45. “Urban Policies,” in Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995.
46. “Why Presidential-Congressional Conflict is Dwindling,” *British Journal of Political Science*, January, 1994.
47. “The President's Dominance in Foreign Policy Making,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 109(2): 215–34. Reprinted in Jeffrey Cohen and David Nice, eds., *The Presidency: Classic and Contemporary Readings*, Boston: McGraw Hill Higher Education, 2002.
48. “Are Big City Schools Holding their Own?” in John Rury, ed., *Seeds of Crisis*, University of Wisconsin, 1993.
49. “The Fiscal Place of Big Cities in the Federal System,” in Henry G. Cisneros, ed., *Intervoven Destinies: The Cities and the Nation*, W. W. Norton, 1993.
50. “The Politics of Social Policy in the 1990s,” in Joseph A. Pechman and Michael S. McPherson, *Fulfilling America's Promise: Social Policies for the 1990*, Cornell University Press, 1992.
51. “Political Institutions and the American Economy,” in Samuel Kernell, ed., *Parallel Politics: Economic Policymaking in Japan and the United States*, with John Chubb, Brookings, 1991.
52. “The Urban Underclass and the Poverty Paradox,” in Christopher Jencks and Paul E. Peterson, eds., *The Urban Underclass*, Brookings, 1991. Reprinted in *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter, 1991–92, pp. 617–38.
53. “The Rise and Fall of Special Interest Politics,” in Mark Petracca, ed., *The Transformation of Interest Group Politics*, Westview, 1991.

54. “Monopoly and Competition in American Education,” in William H. Clune and John F. Witte, eds., *Choice and Control in American Education*, Palmer, 1990, pp. 47–78.
55. “American Political Institutions and the Problem of Governance”, with John E. Chubb in Paul E. Peterson and John Chubb, eds., *Can the Government Govern?* Brookings, 1989.
56. “American Federalism, Welfare Policy and Residential Choices,” with Mark C. Rom. *American Political Science Review*, September 1989.
57. “Macro-Economic Policy: Who's in Control?” with Mark C. Rom, in Paul E. Peterson and John E. Chubb, eds. *Can the Government Govern?* Brookings, 1989.
58. “Administering Federal Policy” in Norman J. Boyan, ed., *The Handbook of Research on Educational Administration*, New York: Longman, 1988, pp. 467–486.
59. “Economic and Political Trends Affecting Education,” in Ron Haskins and Duncan MacRae, eds., *Policies for America's Public Schools*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1988, pp. 25–54.

## ARTICLES

### *General Audience*

1. “Private Schools Stay on Course,” *Hoover Digest*, No. 1, pp. 107–110 (Winter 2023)
2. “Partisan Rifts Widen, Perceptions of School Quality Decline,” with David M. Houston and Martin R. West, *Education Next*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 8–19 (2023)
3. “Parental Anxieties over Student Learning Dissipate as Schools Relax Anti-Covid Measures,” with David M. Houston and Martin R. West, *Education Next*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 20–27 (2023)
4. “A Pessimistic View of Public-School Reform,” a review of *Confessions of a School Reformer*, by Larry Cuban. *Education Next*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 82–83 (2023)
5. “To win, Republicans must embrace the new election rules,” *The Hill*, January 13, 2023.
6. “Opinion: How to stop Trump from becoming the GOP Nominee again,” *CNN.com*, January 5, 2023.
7. “In New book, Education Secretary Betsy DeVos Emerges as a Modern Alyosha,” a review of *Hostages No More: The Fight for Education Freedom and the Future of the American Child*, by Betsy DeVos. *Education Next*, Vol. 22, No 4, pp. 72–74 (2022)
8. “Private schools are rebounding—but can it last?” with John Schoof and Jay Greene, *The Hill*, September 7, 2022.
9. “You’re not imagining it. Kids today really are smarter than we were. Test scores prove it,” with M. Danish Shakeel, *USA Today*, September 3, 2022.
10. “Homeschooling Skyrocketed During the Pandemic, but What Does the Future Hold,” with Daniel Hamlin. *Education Next*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 18–24 (2022)

11. “During COVID, the more prestigious the college, the lower the quality of education,” with John Schoof and Jay Greene, *The Hill*, March 21, 2022.
12. “Teaching Patriotism,” *Education Next*, March 17, 2022.
13. “Hunger for Stability Quells Appetite for Change: Results from the 2021 *Education Next* Survey of Public Opinion,” with Michael B. Henderson, David M. Houston, and Martin R. West. *Education Next*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 8–24 (2022).
14. “Parent Poll Reveals Support for School Covid-Safety Measures Despite Vaccine Hesitancy, Partisan Polarization,” with Michael B. Henderson, David M. Houston, and Martin R. West. *Education Next*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 26–36 (2022).
15. “Post-New Year School Closures Defy Common Sense,” *Education Next*, January 3, 2022.
16. “Mom’s rules for a happy ‘new normal’ school year.” *The Hill*, December 21, 2021
17. “Expand School Choice and Provide Fiscal Relief to Districts,” *How to Improve Our Schools in the Post-COVID Era*, An Anthology from the Hoover Education Success Initiative, ed. Margaret Raymond, April 29, 2021, <https://www.hoover.org/research/expand-school-choice-and-provide-fiscal-relief-districts>
18. “Post-Pandemic Portfolio Schools,” *How to Improve Our Schools in the Post-COVID Era*, An Anthology from the Hoover Education Success Initiative, ed. Margaret Raymond, April 28, 2021, <https://www.hoover.org/research/post-pandemic-portfolio-schools>
19. “Lockdowns Give School Choice a Boost.” *Wall Street Journal*, April 28, 2021
20. “To Critics of The Beautiful Tree, a Pearl of a Reply”, a review of *Really Good Schools: Global Lessons for High-Caliber, Low-Cost Education*, by James N. Tooley. *Education Next*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 78–79 (2021)
21. “Vaccination by Age Is the Way to Go.” *Wall Street Journal*, January 12, 2021
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23. “Charter Schools Show Steeper Upward Trend in Student Achievement than District Schools,” with M. Danish Shakeel. *Education Next*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 40–47 (2021)
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26. “Toward Equitable School Choice,” A Policy Analysis from the Hoover Education Success Initiative, December 1, 2020. <https://www.hoover.org/research/toward-equitable-school-choice>
27. “The Charter School Advantage,” with M. Danish Shakeel. *The Wall Street Journal*, September 8, 2020.

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30. “Cuban Schools: Too Good to Be True.” *Education Next*, March 17, 2020. <https://www.educationnext.org/cuban-schools-too-good-to-be-true-what-explains-castro-educational-excellence/>
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36. “Shuttering Schools in Chicago: A Review of *Ghosts in the Schoobyard* by Eve Ewing.” *Education Next*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 75, 77.
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233. “Inquiry and Social Function: Two Views of Educational Practice and Policy” with David J. Greenstone in Lee S. Schulman and Gary Sykes, eds. *A Handbook of Teaching and Policy*, New York: Longman, Inc., 1983.
234. “Effects of Credentials, Connections and Competence on Income” in William H. Kruskal ed. *The Social Sciences: Their Nature and Uses*, University of Chicago Press, 1982.
235. “Schooling in Democratic America: The Effects of Class Background, Education and Ability on Income” with Susan Sherman Karplus, in John P. Crecine, ed. *Research in Public Policy Analysis and Management II*, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1981, pp. 195–212.
236. “City Limits and the Interests of Cities” in L.J. Sharpe, ed. *Decentralist Trends in Western Democracies*, Sage Publication, 1980.
237. “A Unitary Model of Taxation and Expenditure Policy in the United States” *British Journal of Political Science*, July, 1979, pp. 281–314. Reprinted in a collection of essays on urban public policy edited by Dale Marshall, ed. Sage Publication, 1979 and translated in *Problemi Di Amministrazione Pubblica* V, 1980, pp. 81–140.
238. “Organizational Imperatives and Ideological Change: The Case of Black Power” *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 14, June, 1979, pp. 465–484.

239. "Federalism and the Great Society" in Vincent Covello, ed. *Poverty and Public Policy*, G. K. Hall & Co., 1979. A revised version of this essay appears in J. David Greenstone, ed. *Public Values and Private Power in American Democracy*, University of Chicago Press, 1981.
240. "Institutionalizing a Social Movement: Problems in the Governance of Teacher Centers" in Sharon Feinman, ed. *Teacher Centers: What Place in Education?* University of Chicago: Center for Policy Study, 1978.
241. "Citizen Participation and Political Parties in English Local Politics" with Paul Kantor in *Comparative Politics* 9, January, 1977, pp. 197–218.
242. "Citizen Participation and Racial Change: The Mobilization of Low-Income Communities Through Community Action" with J. David Greenstone in Robert Haveman ed, *A Decade of Federal Anti-Poverty Policy*, New York: Academic Press, 1977.
243. "School Desegregation and Racial Stabilization" in Stephen M. David and Paul E. Peterson, *Urban Politics and Public Policy*, 2nd ed., New York: Praeger, 1976, pp. 248–258.
244. "Afterword: The Politics of Decentralization" *Education and Urban Society* 7, August 1976, pp. 464–79.
245. "The Community Action Controversy as an Empirical Test of Two Competing Models of the Policy-making Process" with J. David Greenstone in Michael Lipsky and Willis Hawley, *Theoretical Perspectives on Urban Politics*, Garden City, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
246. "The Death of Maximum Feasible Participation" in Herrington J. Bryce ed. *Urban Governance and Minorities*, New York: Praeger, 1976.
247. "The Politics of Educational Reform in England and the United States" *Comparative Education Review* 27, June 1973, pp. 160–79. Reprinted in Frederick Wirt, ed. *The Policy of the School: Political Perspectives on Education*, Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath & Co., 1975.
248. "The Politics of American Education" in John Carroll, ed. *Review of Research in Education II*, Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1974, pp. 259–74.
249. "Community Representation and the 'Free Rider' Question" in *Citizenry and the Hospital*, Durham, N.C.: Department of Health Administration, Duke University, 1974, pp. 31–38. A revised version published in *Administrator's Notebook* 22, (8) June, 1974.
250. "Models of Decision-Making" with Thomas L. Williams in Michael W. Kirst, ed. *State, School and Politics*, Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath & Co., 1972, pp.149–68.
251. "The School Busing Controversy: Redistributive or Pluralistic Politics?" *Administrator's Notebook*, Vol 20, No. 9, May, 1972.
252. "British Interest Group Theory Re-examined: The Politics of Comprehensive Education in Three British Cities" *Comparative Politics* 3, April 1971, pp. 381–402. Reprinted in Richard Rose, ed. *Studies in British Politics*, 3rd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976, pp. 397–419.
253. "Chicago Turns Down an Elected School Board" *Education at Chicago*, Autumn 1971.

254. “Forms of Representation: Participation of the Poor in the Community Action Program” *American Political Science Review*, 64, June 1970, pp. 491–507. Reprinted in Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series, PS-531.
255. “The Politics of Educational Reform” in Frank Lutz, ed. *Toward Improved Urban Education*, Columbus, Ohio: Charles Jones, 1970, pp. 209–232.
256. “Machines, Reformers, and the War on Poverty” with J. David Greenstone in James Q. Wilson, ed. *City Politics and Policy Outputs*, Wiley, 1968, pp. 267–92. Reprinted in Bryan T. Downs ed. *Cities and Suburbs*, Wadsworth, 1970, pp. 377–99; Also reprinted in Duane Lockard, ed. *Governing the States and Localities*, New York: Macmillan, 1969, pp. 212–26. Also reprinted in Irving A. Spergel, ed. *Community Organizations*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972, pp. 21–46.
257. “Historical Particularities and Concept Formation: Comments on Burnett and Palmer” *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 6, Fall 1967, pp. 407–22.
258. “Presidential Assassination: The Dynamics of Political Socialization” with Karen Orren, *Journal of Politics* 29, May 1967. Reprinted in Roberta Sigel ed. *Political Socialization*, Random House, 1970.
259. “Federalism and Civil Rights” *Discourse* 7, Summer 1964, pp. 219–29.

#### WORKING PAPERS

1. “Are Connections the Way to Get Ahead? Social Capital, Student Achievement, and Social Mobility,” Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 23-01 (May 19, 2023)
2. “Public Opinion, Attitude Stability, and Education Policy,” with David M. Houston, Michael B. Henderson, and Martin R. West. Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 21-04 (June 30, 2021)
3. “The Populist-Burkean Dimension in U.S. Public Opinion,” with M. Danish Shakeel. Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 21-02 (April 20, 2021)
4. “A Half Century of Progress in U.S. Student Achievement: Ethnic and SES Differences; Agency and Flynn Effects,” with M. Danish Shakeel. Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 21-01 (December 3, 2021)
5. “Changes in the Performance of Students in Charter and District Sectors of U.S. Education: An Analysis of Nationwide Trends,” with M. Danish Shakeel. Annenberg EdWorking Papers Series, Brown University (March 2020). Also available at Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 20-04
6. “Status, Growth, and Perceptions of School Quality,” with David M. Houston, Michael B. Henderson, and Martin R. West. Annenberg EdWorking Papers Series, Brown University (June 2020)
7. “Who Benefits from Local Financing of Public Services? A Causal Analysis,” with Carlos X. Lastra-Anadón. Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 20-03
8. “Experimentally Estimated Impacts of School Voucher on Educational Attainments of Moderately and Severely Disadvantaged Students,” with Albert Cheng and Matthew M. Chingos. Annenberg

- EdWorking Papers Series, Brown University (May 2019). Also available at Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 20-02
9. “Long-Run Trends in the U.S. SES-Achievement Gap,” with Eric Hanushek, Laura M. Talpey, and Ludger Woessmann. National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series (February 2020) Also available at Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 20-01
  10. “Can Information Widen Socioeconomic Gaps in Postsecondary Aspirations? How College Costs and Returns Affect Parents’ Preferences for Their Children,” with Albert Cheng, Michael Henderson, and Martin West. University of Arkansas Department of Education Reform Research Paper Series (October 18, 2019)
  11. “The Unwavering SES Achievement Gap: Trends in U.S. Student Performance,” Eric Hanushek, Laura M. Talpey, and Ludger Woessmann. National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series (March 2019). Also available at Program on Education Policy and Governance Working Paper Series: PEPG 19-01
  12. “Experimental Estimates of Impacts of Cost-Earnings Information on Adult Aspirations for Children’s Postsecondary Education”, with Albert Cheng. Program on Education Policy and Governance Research Paper Series: PEPG 18-01
  13. “Parental Perceptions of Charter Schools: Evidence from Two Nationally Representative Surveys of U.S. Parents,” with Samuel Barrows, Albert Cheng, and Martin R. West. Program on Education Policy and Governance Research Paper Series: PEPG 17-01.
  14. “Is Seeing Believing? How Americans and Germans Think about their Schools” with Michael B. Henderson, Phillip Lergetporer, Katharina Werner, Martin R. West and Ludger Woessmann. Program on Education Policy and Governance Research Paper Series: PEPG 15-02.
  15. “Not Just the Problems of Other People’s Children: U.S. Student Performance in Global Perspective” with Eric A. Hanushek and Ludger Woessmann. Harvard University Program on Education Policy and Governance Research Paper Series: PEPG 14-01 (2014).
  16. “The Effects of School Vouchers on College Enrollment: Experimental Evidence from New York City” with Matthew Chingos. Program on Education Policy and Governance Research Paper Series: PEPG 12-10.
  17. “School Reform in Philadelphia: A Comparison of Student Achievement at Privately-Managed Schools with Student Achievement in Other District Schools” Program on Education Policy and Governance Research Papers Series: PEPG 07-03.
  18. “On the Public-Private Achievement Debate,” co-authored with Elena Llaudet, paper presented at the 2002 American Political Science Association annual meetings, New York, August 29 – September 1, 2006.
  19. “The Efficacy of Choice Threats Within School Accountability Systems: Results from Legislative Induced Experiments” co-authored with Martin R. West. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Royal Economic Society, University of Nottingham, March 2005, and Program on Education Policy and Governance Research Paper Series: PEPG 05-01.

20. "Participation in National School Voucher Program," co-author with David Campbell and Martin West, paper presented at the 2003 Fall meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington DC, November 2003.
21. "Latest Results from the New York City Voucher Experiment," co-author with William G. Howell, paper presented at the 2003 Fall meetings of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington DC, November 2003.
22. "The Changing Politics of Federalism," Paper prepared for presentation at an International Seminar Series: 'Devolution and Democracy: Reconciling democracy, equity, and decentralization,' The Constitution Unit - School of Public Policy University College London, September 26, 2003.
23. "School Vouchers: Results from Randomized Experiments," with William G. Howell, Patrick J. Wolf, and David E. Campbell, paper presented at the 2002 American Political Science Association annual meetings, Boston, August 29 - September 1, 2002.
24. "Impacts of Vouchers on African-Americans," co-author with William Howell, Conference on 'Closing the Gap: Promising Strategies for Narrowing the Achievement Gap Between White and Minority Students,' Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
25. "Randomized Experiments in Education: The Case of Vouchers," papers prepared for Conference on "the Economics of School Choice," Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, February 2001.
26. "Implications of School Choice Experiments for Urban Education," prepared for Conference on "Education in Cities: What Works and What Does Not," Wingspread, Racine, Wisconsin, sponsored by Temple University Center for Research in Human Development and Education and the Johnson Foundation, November 1998.
27. "Devolution's Price," Paper presented before Symposium on Prospects for a New Federalism: Jurisdictional Competition and Competence sponsored by the Yale Law and Policy Review and Yale Journal on Regulation, New Haven, March 1996.
28. "American Federalism: A Test of Dual Sovereign Theory," paper presented before the Conference on Hyper-Federalism: Russian Decentralization in a Comparative Context, Center for International Studies, Princeton University, February 1996.
29. "Unemployment Compensation Policies in a Federal System," paper prepared for the Advisory Council on Unemployment Compensation. Washington, D. C., 1995.
30. "Vulnerable Politicians and Deficit Politics," paper presented before the meetings of the American Political Science Association, September 1995.
31. Block Grants: Intensifying the Race to the Bottom, presented before the National Academy on Aging, National Press Club, Washington, D.C., July 1995.
32. "The Milwaukee School Choice Plan: Ten Comments on the Witte Reply," Center for American Political Studies Occasional Paper, No. 95-3, March 1995.

33. "A Critique of the Witte Evaluation of Milwaukee's School Choice Plan," Center for American Political Studies Occasional Paper, No. 95-2, February 1995.
34. "Modernization and Metropolitan Governance," paper presented as Keynote Speech delivered before the World Conference on Metropolitan Governance, Tokyo, Japan, April 1993.
35. "Purposes of the National Assessment for Educational Progress," prepared for the Study Group on National Assessment, Department of Education, September 1986.
36. "Exit, Voice and Equity in Education," prepared for the Educational Policy and Organization section of the National Institute of Education, November 1980.
37. "Incentive Theory and Group Influence: James Wilson's Political Organization and the End of the Group Theory," APSA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, 1975.
38. "An Overview of the Politics of Education in Post-War Europe and the United States," presented at the seminar on the changing European secondary school, Kent, Ohio, August 1969. This seminar was held by the Comparative Education Society under the sponsorship of the Office of Education.

### **MAJOR PROJECTS AND STUDIES**

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|-------------|--|
| 2019 –      | Co-principal Investigator, Hoover Education Success Initiative (HESI), with Hoover senior scholars Chester Finn, Jr., Eric Hanushek, and Margaret Raymond        |
| 2011        | Principal Investigator, The Impact of FLVS courses on student achievement  |
| 2010 –      | Principal Investigator, U.S. Student Performance in Global Perspective Series  |
| 2007 –      | Principal Investigator, Education Next-PEPG Public Opinion Survey  |
| 2006        | "Reforming Education in Florida," a report prepared by the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education Policy for the state of Florida and commissioned by Governor Bush. |
| 2005        | "Reforming Education in Arkansas," a report prepared by the Koret Task Force on K-12 Education for the state of Arkansas and commissioned by Governor Huckabee.  |
| 2004 –      | Co Principal Investigator, "Center on School Choice, Competition, and Achievement" funded by the Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education   |
| 2001 – 2016 | Editor-in-Chief of <i>Education Next</i>   |
| 2000 – 2001 | Principal Investigator, Evaluation of the Children's Scholarship Program   |
| 2000 – 2001 | Principal Investigator, Basic Fund Scholarship Program in the San Francisco Bay Area, California   |
| 1998 –      | Principal Investigator, Evaluation of CEO-Horizon Program, San Antonio, Texas  |

- 1998 – Principal Investigator, Evaluation of Washington Scholarship Fund Program
- 1998 – Principal Investigator, Evaluation of PACE Scholarship Program, Dayton, Ohio
- 1997 – Principal Investigator, Evaluation of New York School Choice Scholarships Foundation Program
- 1995 – 1997 Principal Investigator, “Cognitive Skills and Public Policy,” funded by the Russell Sage and Rockefeller Foundations
- 1996 – 1997 Principal Investigator, “Reanalysis of School Choice Evaluation,” funded by Smith-Richardson Foundation
- 1994 – 1995 “A Study of the Milwaukee Choice Plan,” funded by the Anne Casey and John Olin Foundations
- 1993 – 1995 “The Price of Federalism,” a study prepared for the Twentieth Century Fund
- 1992 – 1994 Principal Investigator, Workshop on Race, Ethnicity Participation and Governance, Center for American Political Studies, sponsored by Ford Foundation
- 1989 – 1994 Principal Investigator, “Congress and the Making of Foreign Policy,” study by the Center for American Political Studies, Harvard University, funded by the Olin and Bradley Foundations
- 1986 – 1987 Director, “Toward More Effective Government,” Brookings Study funded by grants from the Ford and Dillon Foundations
- 1984 – 1986 Director, “When Federalism Works,” Brookings Study funded by grants from the Ford and Exxon Foundations
- 1981 – 1982 Chairman, Conference on “The Future of Our City” sponsored jointly by the Committee on Public Policy Studies and the Law School, University of Chicago, funded by a grant from Mayer, Brown & Platt law firm
- 1981 – 1983 Rapporteur and Background Paper Author, Twentieth Century Task Force on the Future of Federal Education Policy
- 1980 – 1983 Director, “Federalism, Equity and Education Policy,” funded by the National Institute of Education
- 1980 – 1982 Co-principal Investigator, “The Role of Diffuse and Specialized Interests in Education and Health Policy,” funded by the National Institute of Education
- 1978 – 1981 Director, “Urban School Organizations and the American Working Class,” funded by the National Institute of Education
- 1979 – 1980 Director, “Efficiency and Equality in Education,” funded by the Spencer Research Committee, University of Chicago
- 1967 – 1972 Director, “School Board Decision-Making in Chicago,” funded by the Danforth Foundation

1967 – 1971 Associate Director, “Citizen Participation in the War on Poverty,” funded by the Russell Sage Foundation

### **ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES**

1995 – Director, Program on Education Policy and Governance, Sponsored by the Center for American Political Studies, Department of Government and by the Taubman Center on State and Local Government, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

1988 – 2000 Director, Center for American Political Studies, Department of Government, Harvard University

1989 – 1993 Director of Graduate Studies, Department of Government, Harvard University

1979 – 1980 Member, Council of the University Senate, University of Chicago

1979 – 1980 Chair, Board of Pre-Collegiate Education, University of Chicago

1970 – 1973 Chair, Undergraduate Program in Political Science, University of Chicago

### **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

2010 – Member, Advisory Council, Rossier School of Education, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

2009 – Member, Advisory Board, Center for School Reform, Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research

2009 – Member, Interdisciplinary Advisory Board, University of Munich

2009 – Member, Center for American Political Studies’ Executive Committee, Harvard University

2009 – Member, Steering Committee, Center for Education Policy Research at Harvard University

2006 Member, Visiting Committee, External Review for the School of Education, Boston University

2003 – 2004 Member, E. E. Schattschneider Award Committee, American Political Science Association

- 1996 – Member, Committee on Improving the Future of U. S. Cities Through Improved Metropolitan Area Governance, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences
- 1993 – 1995 Chair, Committee on Highway Capacity and Air Quality, National Transportation Board, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences
- 1992 – 1994 Member, Committee on Transportation Congestion Pricing, National Transportation Board, National Research Council, National Academy of Sciences
- 1992 Presenter, Conference on Social Policy, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris
- 1988 – 1992 Chair, Committee on Urban Underclass, Social Science Research Council
- 1985 – 1991 Member, Committee on Urban Underclass, Social Science Research Council
- 1985 – 1995 Member, Advisory Committee, Program Evaluation and Methodology Division, United State General Accounting Office
- 1990 Chair, American Political Science Association Committee on the Ralph J. Bunche Award for Best Book in the Study of Ethic and Racial Pluralism
- 1990 Panel Chair, The Urban Underclass, American Political Science Association
- 1989 Chair, American Political Science Association Committee on the William Anderson Award for Best Dissertation in Federalism
- 1990 Co-chair, Conference on the Urban Underclass, jointly sponsored by Social Science Research Committee and Center for Urban Studies, Northwestern University
- 1989 Panel Chair, The Political Dimensions of Urban Economic Development, American Political Science Association
- 1985 – 1988 Council Member, National Capital Area Political Science Association
- 1987 Panel Chair, The Local Politics of Federal Policy, American Political Science Association
- 1987 Participant, Roundtable Discussion of City Limits: A Critique in the Mid-Eighties, American Political Science Association
- 1986 Member, Local Government Research Advisory Board, U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Regulations
- 1976 – 1986 Chairman, Users Task Force on Undergraduate Education, American Political Science Association
- 1975 – 1986 Member, Steering Committee on Undergraduate Education, American Political Science Association

- 1985 Guest Lecturer, Meiji University, Tokyo and Office of Management and Budget, Japan
- 1985 Member, Workshop on Demographic Change and the Well-Being of Children and the Elderly, National Research Council, National Academy of Education
- 1985 Section Chairman, Public Policy Analysis, American Political Science Association
- 1983 – 1985 Member, Committee on Mathematics, Science and Technology, National Academy of Science.
- 1982 – 1985 Member, Committee on Youth Unemployment, National Research Council, National Academy of Science
- 1982 – 1985 Member, Policy Council, Association of Public Policy and Management
- 1983 Chairman, Panel on Federalism and Educational Policy, American Educational Research Association, Montreal
- 1983 Member, Study Group on Law and Governance in Education, National Institute of Education
- 1983 Participant, Panel on the Pre-War Study of Urban Politics, Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago
- 1981 – 1983 Member, Committee on Vocational Education in Distressed Areas, National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences.
- 1981 Chairman, Panel on Urban Service Delivery, American Political Science Association, September
- 1980 Chairman, Panel on Learning Analysis in Political and Social Science, Midwest Political Science Association
- 1980 Discussant, Unionism in Education: Its Implications for Political and Organizational Theory, American Education Research Association
- 1980 Member, Committee to Award Gladys Kammerer Award for Best Book in American National Policy, American Political Science Association
- 1980 Participant, Democracy and Opportunity: The Effects of Education and Ability on Economic Success, American Educational Research Association
- 1980 Participant, Elite Reform and Working Class Responses in Urban Education, American Educational Research Association
- 1978 – 1980 Member, Board of Editors, American Journal of Education
- 1979 Discussant, Panel of Politics of Education, American Educational Research Association
- 1979 Participant, Conference on Community Studies, Columbia Teachers College, New York City

- 1978 Participant, Workshop on Policy Studies, Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham
- 1978 Participant, Workshop on Citizen Participation, European Consortium for Political Research, Grenoble, France
- 1977 Participant, Panel on Models of Decision-making in Education, American Educational Research Association
- 1976 Panel Chairman, State and Urban Politics, Illinois Political Science Association
- 1976 Section Chairman, Urban Politics, Midwest Political Science Association Convention
- 1975 Panel Chairman, Community Organizations, American Political Science Association Convention
- 1974 Panel Discussant on Decentralization and Community Control, American Educational Research Association Convention
- 1974 Panel Discussant on Comparative Educational Policy-Making, American Political Science Association
- 1974 Section Chairman, Urban Community Processes Panels, American Political Science Association Convention
- 1972 Panel Chairman, Interpretations of Urban Educational Politics, American Educational Research Association Convention