

March 7, 2012

## **ISABEL V. SAWHILL**

Isabel V. Sawhill is a senior fellow in Economic Studies at the Brookings Institution. She serves as director of the Budgeting for National Priorities project and co-director of the Center on Children and Families. She holds the Cabot Family Chair. She served as Vice President and Director of the Economic Studies program from 2003 to 2006. Prior to joining Brookings, Dr. Sawhill was a senior fellow at The Urban Institute. She also served as an associate director at the Office of Management and Budget from 1993 to 1995, where her responsibilities included all of the human resource programs of the federal government, accounting for one third of the federal budget.

In addition, she has authored or edited numerous books and articles including *Creating an Opportunity Society*, with Ron Haskins; *Restoring Fiscal Sanity 2005: Meeting the Long-Run Challenge* and *Restoring Fiscal Sanity: How to Balance the Budget*, both with Alice Rivlin; *One Percent for the Kids: New Policies, Brighter Futures for America's Children*; *Welfare Reform and Beyond: The Future of the Safety Net*; *Updating America's Social Contract: Economic Growth and Opportunity in the New Century*; *Getting Ahead: Economic and Social Mobility in America*; and *Challenge to Leadership: Economic and Social Issues for the Next Decade*. Her research has spanned a wide array of economic and social issues, including fiscal policy, economic growth, poverty and inequality, welfare reform, the well-being of children, and changes in the family.

Dr. Sawhill helped to found, and now serves as President of the board of, The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy. She has been a Visiting Professor at Georgetown Law School, Director of the National Commission for Employment Policy, and President of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management. She also serves on a number of boards. She attended Wellesley College and received her Ph.D. from New York University in 1968.

### **PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND**

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 2007-     | Director, Budgeting for National Priorities Project, The Brookings Institution |
| 2006-     | Co-Director, The Center on Children & Families, The Brookings Institution      |
| 2003-2006 | Vice President & Director of Economic Studies, The Brookings Institution       |
| 2003-     | Cabot Family Chair, The Brookings Institution                                  |
| 1997-     | Senior Fellow, Economic Studies, The Brookings Institution                     |
| 1995-1997 | Senior Fellow, Arjay Miller Chair, The Urban Institute                         |
| 1993-1995 | Program Associate Director, Human Resources, Office of Management and Budget   |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| 1991-1992            | Senior Fellow, The Urban Institute  |
| 1990-1991            | Visiting Professor, Georgetown University Law Center  |
| 1981-1990            | Senior Fellow and Director or Co-Director, Changing Domestic Priorities Project, The Urban Institute  |
| 1980-1981            | Senior Research Associate and Program Director, Employment and Labor Policy, The Urban Institute  |
| 1977-1979            | Director, National Commission for Employment Policy   |
| 1973-1977            | Senior Research Associate, The Urban Institute  |
| 1970-1973<br>College | Assistant Professor and Chairman, Department of Economics, Goucher College  |
| 1968-1969            | Policy Analyst, the Office of Management and Budget and U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation |

## **EDUCATION**

|           |                            |
|-----------|----------------------------|
| 1968      | Ph.D., New York University |
| 1962      | B.A., New York University  |
| 1955-1958 | Wellesley College          |

## **BOOKS AND MAJOR REPORTS OR JOURNAL ISSUES**

Creating an Opportunity Society (with Ron Haskins). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2009.

Getting Ahead or Losing Ground? Mobility in America (with Julia Isaacs and Ron Haskins). Washington, D.C.: Pew Charitable Trust, 2008.

The Next Generation of Anti-Poverty Policies, Future of Children (*co-editor with Ron Haskins*). Brookings Institution and Princeton University 17(2), 2007.

Opportunity in America, The Future of Children (editor). Brookings Institution and Princeton University, 2006.

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One Percent for the Kids: New Policies, Brighter Futures for America's Children (editor). Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2003.

Welfare Reform and Beyond: The Future of the Safety Net (co-editor with R. Kent Weaver, Ron Haskins and Andrea Kane). Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 2002.

Updating America's Social Contract: Economic Growth and Opportunity in the New Century (with Rudolph Penner and Timothy Taylor). Washington, DC: The American Assembly, The Brookings Institution, The Urban Institute, W.W. Norton & Company, 2000.

Getting Ahead: Economic and Social Mobility in America (with Daniel McMurrer). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1998.

Welfare Reform: An Analysis of the Issues (editor). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1995.

Challenge to Leadership: Economic and Social Issues for the Next Decade (editor). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1988.

The Legacy of Reaganomics: Prospects for Long-Term Growth (co-editor with Charles R. Hulten). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1984.

Economic Policy in the Reagan Years (co-author with Charles F. Stone). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1984.

The Reagan Record: An Assessment of America's Changing Domestic Priorities (co-editor with John L. Palmer). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1984.

The Reagan Experiment: An Examination of Economic and Social Policies Under the Reagan Administration (co-editor with John L. Palmer). Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1982.

Youth Employment and Public Policy (co-editor with Bernard Anderson). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980.

Time of Transition: The Growth of Families Headed by Women (with Heather L. Ross). Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1975.

## **ARTICLES, CHAPTERS AND POLICY BRIEFS**

“Do We Face a Permanently Divided Society?” by Isabel Sawhill, *The Economics of Inequality, Poverty, and Discrimination in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Robert S. Rycroft (ed.). The University of Maryland Washington: forthcoming 2012.

- “An Ounce of Prevention: Policy Prescriptions for Reducing the Prevalence of Fragile Families,” (with Adam Thomas and Emily Monea). *Future of Children*, Volume on Fragile Families, September 2010.
- “Federal Programs for Youth: More of the Same Won’t Work,” (with Jon Baron). *Youth Today*, April 1, 2010.
- “We Need a New Start for Head Start,” (with Jon Baron). *Education Week*, March 1, 2010.
- “Simulating the Effect of the ‘Great Recession’ on Poverty,” (with Emily Monea). *Brookings*, September 10, 2009.
- “The Potential Role of Entitlement or Budget Commissions in Addressing Long-term Budget Problems,” (with Fiscal Seminar Group). *Brookings*, June 2, 2009.
- “New Approaches to Addressing Long-Term Fiscal Responsibility,” (with Joe Antos, Robert Bixby, Stuart Butler, Alison Fraser, William Galston, Ron Haskins, Julia Isaacs, Will Marshall, Pietro Nivola, Rudolph Penner, Robert Reischauer, Alice M. Rivlin, and C. Eugene Steuerle). *Brookings*, February 17, 2009.
- “Keep Politics Away from Family Planning,” (with Adam Thomas). *Brookings*, February 5, 2009.
- “A Budget We Can Believe In,” (with Robert Bixby, William Galston, Ron Haskins, Julia Isaacs, Maya MacGuineas, Will Marshall, Pietro Nivola, Rudolph Penner, Robert Reischauer, Alice M. Rivlin, and C. Eugene Steuerle). *Brookings*, January 27, 2009.
- “Success by Ten: Intervening Early, Often, and Effectively in the Education of Young Children” (with Jens Ludwig). Path to Prosperity. November 2008.
- “Paying for Investments in Children,” *First Focus*, September 2008.
- “Reaching for the Prize: The Limits of Economic Mobility” (with Julia Isaacs). The Milken Institute Review: Fourth Quarter. October 2008.
- “Old News: Revising the Intergenerational Contract” (with Emily Monea). Democracy. June 2008.
- “Taking Back Our Fiscal Future,” (with Antos et al.). The Brookings-Heritage Fiscal Seminar, March 31, 2008.
- “Taming the Deficit,” DNC Ideas Primary, November 1, 2007.
- “The Intergenerational Balancing Act: Where Children Fit in an Aging Society,” Child Trends First Annual Kristin Moore Lecture, October 17, 2007.
- “Fathers Day Lessons,” Opportunity 08 paper, June 2007.

- “Economic Mobility: Is the American Dream Alive and Well?” (with John Morton) Pew Charitable Trusts Report, May 2007.
- “Ending Poverty in America: Using Carrots and Sticks,” (with Ron Haskins) The American Prospect. May 2007.
- “Attacking Poverty and Inequality: Reinvigorate the Fight for Greater Opportunity,” (with Ron Haskins) Opportunity 08. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, February 2007.
- “Taming the Deficit: Forge a Grand Compromise for the Sustainable Future,” (with William Frenzel, Charles Stenholm, and William Hoagland) Opportunity 08. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, February 2007.
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- “New Frontiers in Poverty Research and Policy: A Summit on Poverty,” Employee Rights and Employment Policy Journal, 2006.
- “Introducing the Issue” (with Sara McLanahan) The Future of Children, Fall 2006.
- “Opportunity in America: The Role of Education,” Future of Children Brief, Fall 2006.
- “The Effects of Investing in Early Education on Economic Growth” (with William T. Dickens and Jeffrey Tebbs) Brookings Policy Brief, No. 153. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, April 2006.
- “The Effects of Investing in Early Education on Economic Growth” (with William T. Dickens and Jeffrey Tebbs) Brookings Paper. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, April 2006.
- “The Decline of the Underclass” (with Paul A. Jargowsky) Center on Children and Families Brief, No. 36. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, January 2006.
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- “For Love *and* Money? The Impact of Family Structure on Family Income” (with Adam Thomas) The Future of Children, Fall 2005.
- “Progressive Family Policy in the 21st Century” (with Will Marshall) in Daniel P. Moynihan, Timothy M. Smeeding, and Lee Rainwater, eds. The Future of the Family. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2004.

- “How to Balance the Budget” (with Alice Rivlin) Brookings Policy Brief, No. 130. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, March 2004.
- “Waive of the Future? Federalism and the Next Phase of Welfare Reform” (with Pietro S. Nivola and Jennifer L. Noyes) Welfare Reform & Beyond Policy Brief, No. 29. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, March 2004.
- “The Behavioral Aspects of Poverty,” The Public Interest, Fall 2003.
- “Work and Marriage: The Way to End Poverty and Welfare” (with Ron Haskins) Welfare Reform & Beyond Policy Brief, No. 28. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, September 2003.
- “The Future of Head Start” (with Ron Haskins) Welfare Reform & Beyond Policy Brief, No. 27. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, July 2003.
- “Sharing the Burdens of War,” The Responsive Community, Spring 2003.
- “Teenage Sex, Pregnancy, and Nonmarital Births,” in Douglas J. Besharov, ed. Family and Child Well-Being After Welfare Reform. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2003.
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- “Vouchers for Elementary and Secondary Education,” (with Shannon Smith) in C. Eugene Steuerle, Van Doorn Ooms, George Paterson, and Robert D. Reischauer, eds. Vouchers and the Provision of Public Services, The Brookings Press, 2000.
- “Fixing the Marriage Penalty in the EITC” (with David Ellwood) Brookings Children’s Roundtable Working Paper. June 2000.
- “Many Strategies, One Goal: Helping the Americans Left Behind,” The Brookings Review, Spring 2000.
- “The Effects of Economic Growth and Inequality on Opportunity” (with Daniel P. McMurrer) in Ray Marshall, ed. Back to Shared Prosperity: The Growing Inequality of Wealth and Income in America, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.
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- “Families at Risk,” in Henry J. Aaron and Robert D. Reischauer, eds. Setting National Priorities: The 2000 Election and Beyond, Washington, DC: The Brookings Press, 1999.
- “From Welfare to Work: Toward a New Antipoverty Agenda,” The Brookings Review, Fall 1999.
- “Kids Need An Early Start,” The New Democrat Blueprint: Ideas for a New Century, Fall 1999.
- “Investing in Children,” Brookings Children’s Roundtable Report, No. 1. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, April 1999.
- “Still the Land of Opportunity?,” The Public Interest, No. 135. Washington, DC: Spring 1999.

“Teen Pregnancy Prevention: Welfare Reform’s Missing Component,” Brookings Policy Brief, Number 38, November 1998.

Review of “Improving America’s Schools,” Journal of Policy Analysis & Management, Winter 1998.

“Welfare Reform and Opportunity in the Low-Wage Labor Market” (with Daniel P. McMurrer & Robert I. Lerman) Opportunity in America Briefs, The Urban Institute, July 1997.

“Intergenerational Mobility in the United States” (with Daniel P. McMurrer) The Urban Institute, May 1997.

“The Declining Importance of Class” (with Daniel P. McMurrer) Opportunity in America Briefs, The Urban Institute, April 1997.

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“How Much Do Americans Move Up and Down the Economic Ladder?” (with Daniel P. McMurrer) Opportunity in America Briefs, The Urban Institute, November 1996.

“Are Justice and Inequality Compatible?” (with Daniel P. McMurrer) Opportunity in America Briefs, The Urban Institute, October 1996.

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“Declining Economic Opportunity for Less Skilled Workers” (with Daniel P. McMurrer) Economic Times, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1996.

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“Opportunity in America” in Opportunity in the United States: Social and Individual Responsibility (Report of the Domestic Strategy Group Meeting), Washington, DC: Aspen Institute, August 1995.

“The Economist vs. Madmen in Authority,” The Journal of Economic Perspectives, Summer 1995.

“Assessing the Personal Responsibility Act,” (with Sheila Zedlewski) Welfare Reform Briefs, No. 5. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, May, 1995.

“Poverty and Welfare in the United States,” The Senior Economist, Vol. 10, No. 1, September 1994.

- "Income Inequality and the Underclass," in Aspects of Distribution of Wealth and Income, ed. Dimitri B. Papadimitiou, St. Martin's Press, 1994.
- "The New Covenant," Policy Bites, No. 16. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, December 1992.
- "Young Children and Families," in Henry J. Aaron and Charles L. Schultze, eds., Setting Domestic Priorities: What Can Government Do? Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1992.
- "Is U.S. Income Inequality Really Growing?: Sorting Out the Fairness Question," Policy Bites, No. 13. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, June 1992.
- "Income Mobility and Permanent Income Inequality" (with Mark Condon) Research Paper 6723. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, June 5, 1992.
- "The New Paternalism," The Responsive Community, Spring 1992.
- "Putting Excellence Back into Education" (with Jason Juffras), Policy Bites, No. 10. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, January 1992.
- "Social Welfare Policy: Building a Consensus" (with Robert H. Finch). New York: The American Assembly, Columbia University, 1991.
- "Financing Human Capital" (with Jason Juffras), in David W. Hornbeck and Lester M. Salamon, eds. Human Capital and America's Future: An Economic Strategy for the Nineties. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- "The New Paradigm: Choice and Empowerment as Social Policy Tools" (with Raymond J. Struyk, and Steven M. Sachs), Policy Bites, No. 5. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, February 1991.
- "Distributional Impact of the 1991 Budget and Changing Interest Rates" (with Steven Sachs), Challenge January/February 1991.
- "Where Have All the Fathers Gone?" Policy Bites. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, August 1990.
- "Escaping the Fiscal Trap," The American Prospect, Spring 1990.
- "The Underclass: Definition and Measurement" (with Ronald B. Mincy and Douglas A. Wolf) Science, April 27, 1990.
- "Tapping the Government's Hidden Subsidies," Policy and Research Report. Washington, DC: Urban Institute, Winter/Spring 1990.

"The Underclass: An Overview," Public Interest, Summer 1989.

"Strengthening the Three-Legged Stool of Policy Analysis, Organization, and Leadership," Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Summer 1989.

"Reaganomics in Retrospect: Lessons for a New Administration," Challenge 32(3):57-59, May/June 1989.

"The Issue of the Underclass," a discussion featuring Christopher Jencks, Lawrence M. Mead and Isabel Sawhill, in The GAO Journal, 5:15-22, Spring 1989.

"Comment on 'Concentrated Deviance and the Underclass Hypothesis,'" Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Spring 1989.

"Stalemate or Statesmanship?" in Research Bulletin No. 230: U.S. Economic Outlook, 1989. New York: The Conference Board, 1989.

"Rethinking Employment Policies for the 1980s," in D. Lee Bawden, ed. Rethinking Employment Policy, Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1989.

"Poverty and the Underclass," in Report to the 41st President of the United States. Washington, DC: The American Agenda, November 1988.

"Poverty in the U.S.: Why Is It So Persistent?" Journal of Economic Literature, September 1988.

"What About America's Underclass," Challenge, May-June 1988.

"Defining and Measuring the Underclass," (with Erol Ricketts), Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Winter 1988.

"Anti-Poverty Strategies for the 1980s," in Work and Welfare: The Case for New Directions in National Policy, Alternatives for the 1980s, No. 22. Washington, DC: Center for National Policy, 1987.

"Trade's Impact on U.S. Jobs," with Charles F. Stone, Challenge, September/October 1987.

"Reaganomics in Retrospect," in John L. Palmer, (ed.) Perspectives on the Reagan Years. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1986.

"Are We Better Off in 1984?" (with Richard C. Michel, Frank S. Levy, Marilyn L. Moon) in Challenge, September-October 1984.

"Can We Salvage the 1980s?" interview, Challenge, September-October 1984.

"Reaganomics is Working--Temporarily" National Forum, 1984.

"Human Resource Policies for the 1980s," in G. William Miller, ed. The Regrowing of the American Economy. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1983.

"Developing Normative Standards for Child-Support Payments," in Judith Cassetty, ed. The Parental Child Support Obligation: Research, Practice, and Social Policy. Lexington, MA: DC Heath and Company, 1983.

"Perspectives on the Reagan Experiment" (with John L. Palmer) in John L. Palmer and Isabel V. Sawhill, eds. The Reagan Experiment: An Examination of Economic and Social Policies Under the Reagan Administration. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1982.

"Economic Policy," in John L. Palmer and Isabel V. Sawhill, eds. The Reagan Experiment: An Examination of Economic and Social Policies Under the Reagan Administration. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1982.

"Developing Normative Standards for Child Support Payments," in Judith Cassetty, ed. The Parental Child Support Obligation: Research and Public Policy. Lexington, MA: DC Heath and Company, 1982.

"Workforce Trends in the Future," in Working: Changes and Choices. New York: Human Sciences Press, Inc., 1981.

"Restructuring Employment and Training Programs to Improve Economic Performance," in Garth L. Mangum, ed. CETA: Results and Redesign, National Council on Employment Policy, 1981.

"Labor Market Policies and Inflation," in Richard Cornwall and Michael Claudon, eds. An Incomes Policy for the United States: New Approaches. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishing, 1981.

"The Challenge of Full Employment" (with Laurie Bassi), in Eli Ginzberg, ed. Employing the Unemployed. New York: Basic Books, 1980.

"Welfare Policy and the Family" (with Maurice MacDonald), Public Policy, Winter 1978.

"On the Way to Full Equality," in American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy. Joint Economic Committee, September 15, 1977.

"Economic Perspectives on the Family," Daedalus, Spring 1977.

"The Family as an Economic Unit" (with Heather L. Ross), The Wilson Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 2, Winter, 1977.

"Implications of Women's Employment for Home and Family Life," (with Kristin A. Moore), in Juanita M. Kreps, ed. Women and the American Economy: A Look to the 1980's. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

"Women and Children on Their Own," Challenge, September/October, 1976.

"Discrimination and Poverty Among Women Who Head Families," in Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan, eds. Women and the Workplace. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

"Perspectives on Women and Work in America," in James O'Toole, ed. Work and the Quality of Life. M.I.T. Press, 1974.

"Social Indicators, Social Accounting, and the Study of the Future," in Albert Somit, ed. Political Science and the Study of the Future. Dryden Press, 1974.

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"The Role of Social Indicators and Social Reporting in Public Expenditure Decisions," The Analysis and Evaluation of Public Expenditures: The PPB System. Joint Economic Committee, 1969.

#### **U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS (co-author or editor)**

Fifth Annual Report to the President and Congress of the National Commission for Employment Policy: Expanding Employment Opportunities for Disadvantaged Youth, Report No. 9, December 1979.

Fourth Annual Report to the President and the Congress of the National Commission for Manpower Policy: An Enlarged Role for the Private Sector in Federal Government Employment and Training Programs, Report No. 8, December 1978.

Third Annual Report to the President and the Congress of the National Commission for Manpower Policy: An Assessment of CETA, Report No. 7, May 1978.

An Interim Report to the Congress of the National Commission for Manpower Policy: Job Creation Through Public Service Employment, Report No. 6, March 1978.

Women's Changing Roles at Home and on the Job, Proceedings of a Conference on the National Longitudinal Surveys of Mature Women, National Commission for Manpower Policy in Cooperation with the Employment and Training Administration, Department of Labor, Special Report No. 26, September 1978.

CETA: An Analysis of the Issues, National Commission for Manpower Policy, Special Report No. 23, May 1978.

Work in America, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1972  
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Toward a Social Report, U.S. Department of HEW, 1969, (co-author).

### **CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY**

“Solutions to Poverty,” Subcommittee on Income Security and Family Support, Ways and Means Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, April 26, 2007.

“Domestic Entitlements and the Federal Budget,” Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, February 15, 2006.

“Building Stronger Families,” Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, May 16, 2002.

“Strategies for Reducing Early Childbearing and the Growth of Single Parent Families,” Subcommittee on Human Resources, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, April 11, 2002.

“Non-Marital Births and Child Poverty in the United States,” Subcommittee on Human Resources, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, June 29, 1999.

“Poverty in the U.S.: Trends, Sources, and Policy Implications,” Subcommittee on Human Resources, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, September 10, 1992.

“Uses and Misuses of the Peace Dividend,” Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, January 16, 1992.

“The Economy and Middle-Class Tax Relief,” Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, December 18, 1991.

“Reinvesting the Peace Dividend,” Legislation and National Security Subcommittee, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. House of Representatives, November 6, 1991.

“Toward More Integrated Services for Children: Issues and Options,” Subcommittee on Children, Family, Drugs, and Alcoholism, Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, May 7, 1991.

“Fiscal Policy for a Recession,” Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, January 31, 1991.

"The Federal Budget and Economic Growth," Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, February 28, 1990.

"Treatment of the Social Security Trust Fund in the Budget," Legislation and National Security Subcommittee, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. House of Representatives, October 12, 1989.

"The Social Security Surplus: An Opportunity to Invest in the Future," Joint Economic Committee, June 15, 1989.

"Assisting the Working Poor," Subcommittee on Human Resources, Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, March 21, 1989.

"The Impact of Shifts in Fiscal Policy in the 1980s on Individuals and Institutions," Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, Issues Seminar, Gatlinburg, TN, April 22-24, 1988.

"Poverty and the Underclass," Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, November 10, 1987.

Briefing for Ways and Means Committee on employment issues, Williamsburg, April 1987.

Briefing for joint delegation of Members of U.S. Congress and German Bundestag on U.S. economy policy, Canderabbia, Italy, April 1987

Briefing for new Members of Congress on deficits, Williamsburg, January 1987.

"The Challenge of Achieving 'Economic Justice for All'," Joint Economic Committee, December 22, 1986.

"Does Welfare Undermine the Family," Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation, House Ways and Means Committee, May 22, 1986

"Labor Market Implications of the Monetary/Fiscal Policy Mix" (with Charles F. Stone), joint hearing, Economic Policy and Human Resources Task Forces, Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, November 20, 1985.

"Taxes and Economic Growth," Joint Economic Committee, September 17, 1985.

"The President's Tax Proposals: Impacts on Fairness, Families, Federalism, and Future Growth," House Ways and Means Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, June 20, 1985.

- "Unemployment and Poverty: Can We Do Better?" Subcommittee on Economic Stabilization, Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, March 19, 1985.
- "Social Programs and Fiscal Choices for the 1980s," Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, March 5, 1985.
- "Employment and Family Income," Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, U.S. House of Representatives, July 18, 1983.
- "Creating Jobs: Options for the 98th Congress," Committee of the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, February 8, 1983.
- "Urban Policy and Urban Unemployment," Joint Economic Committee, July 14, 1982.
- "Federal Support for Employment and Training," Committee of the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, March 15, 1982.
- "The Employment Implications of 'The Program for Economic Recovery,'" Joint Economic Committee, May 8, 1981.
- "Affirmative Action in the 1980's: Dismantling the Process of Discrimination," U.S. Civil Rights Commission, March 10, 1981.
- "Budgetary Prospects for Employment and Training Programs in the Early 1980's," Task Force on Human and Community Resources, Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, April 25, 1980.
- "Prospects for Minorities in the Labor Market," Joint Economic Committee, October 9, 1979.
- "Youth Employment Policies," Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, July 12 and October 24, 1979.
- "The Ability of Employment and Training Programs to Reduce Structural Unemployment," Joint Economic Committee, February 21, 1979.
- "Women and Human Resource Policies," Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, February 1, 1979.
- "Women in the Labor Market - Prospects and Policy," Select Committee on Population, U.S. House of Representatives, June 2, 1978.
- "Public Service Employment," Committee on the Budget, U.S. House of Representatives, February 8, 1978.

"On the Way to Full Equality: American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy," Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization, Joint Economic Committee, September 15, 1977.

"Changing Patterns of Work in America" (with Ralph Smith), Subcommittee on Employment, Poverty and Migratory Labor, U.S. Senate, April 8, 1976.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

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## **NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND BLOG POSTS**

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"The Payroll Tax Cut Agreement: What Does it Mean for Partisan Gridlock?" *Brookings Up Front*, February 16, 2012.

"Mapping the Obama Administration's Priorities," *Brookings Up Front*, February 13, 2012.

"A Perspective on the Budget Deficit and Job Creation," The Brookings Institution, January 19, 2012.

"The Disadvantages Start at Conception," The New York Times, January 8, 2012.

"2011: The Year that Income Inequality Captured the Public's Attention," *Brookings Up Front*, December 19, 2011.

"The President on Opportunity in America," *Brookings Up Front*, December 13, 2011.

"What Happens if the Super Committee Fails?" *Brookings Up Front*, November 16, 2011.

"It's Time to Put Opportunity on the National Agenda," *Brookings Up Front*, November 3, 2011.

"OWS and the Demise of the American Dream," Democracy, October 20, 2011.

“Class Warfare? Not really.” *Brookings Up Front*, September 19, 2011.

“The President Speaks on Jobs, but Will Anyone Listen?” *The American Square*, September 13, 2011.

“An Update to “Simulating the Effect of the ‘Great Recession’ on Poverty,” The Brookings Institution, September 13, 2011.

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“Should Social Security Be Untouchable?” *Brookings Up Front*, May 13, 2011.

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“Help Wanted: A Left-of-Obama Voice on the Federal Budget,” *Brookings Up Front*, April 13, 2011.

“Family Planning Subsidies: Much Ado about Something,” (with Adam Thomas), *Brookings Up Front*, April 12, 2011.

“The Ryan Budget: Voodoo Economics Redux,” Democracy, April 6, 2011.

“Budget Cuts in All the Wrong Places: Too Much from Too Little Too Soon,” *Brookings Up Front*, February 10, 2011.

“The Economic State of the Nation Is Not Good,” *Brookings Up Front*, January 24, 2011.

“Tax Cut Woulda, Coulda, Shoulda's,” POLITICO, December 7, 2010.

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“Is an Obama-GOP Compromise Possible?” POLITICO, November 30, 2010.

“Is Freezing Federal Workers' Salaries a Good Idea?” POLITICO, November 29, 2010.

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“Are Cuts to Social Security and Defense Politically Viable?” POLITICO, November 10, 2010.

“Why Deficit Reduction Is Necessary and Need Not Hurt the Poor,” Spotlight on Poverty and Opportunity, October 18, 2010.

“Current Deficits Are Not the Problem,” *Brookings Up Front*, October 15, 2010.

“A Compromise for the Tax Cut Debate,” POLITICO, October 6, 2010.

“Quantitative Easing Is Only Tool Left,” National Journal, October 4, 2010.

“We Should Strengthen the Safety Net as the Recession Swells the Ranks of the Poor,” *Brookings Up Front*, September 16, 2010.

“An Update to “Simulating the Effect of the ‘Great Recession’ on Poverty,” (with Emily Monea), *Brookings Up Front*, September 16, 2010.

“Attention: Deficit,” (with Greg Anrig), Democracy, September 8, 2010.

“Don't Leave it to the Fed,” National Journal, August 30, 2010.

“On Social Security and Medicare, Parties Must Compromise to Avoid Fiscal Train Wreck,” *Brookings Up Front*, August 6, 2010.

“Federal Programs for Youth: More of the Same Won't Work,” (with Jon Baron), Youth Today, May 1, 2010.

“VAT or Not?” National Journal, April 26, 2010.

“The VAT is Almost Inescapable,” (with Henry Aaron), AOL News, April 14, 2010.

“Consider a Value-Added Tax,” *Brookings Up Front*, April 07, 2010.

“America Needs More Economic Mobility,” (with Ron Haskins,) Huffington Post, March 29, 2010.

“Around the Halls: Would Republican Control of the House be Better for the Obama Administration?” (with Jonathan Rauch, Thomas E. Mann, and Henry J. Aaron). *Brookings Up Front*, March 25, 2010

“Do Bankers Pay the Rent?” National Journal, March 22, 2010.

“Let's Get Real on Tax Cuts,” Washington Post, February 12, 2010.

- “Defining Deficits Down,” *Brookings Up Front*, January 29, 2010.
- “Around the Halls: Not One but Three Deficits,” *Brookings Up Front*, January 28, 2010.
- “Obama and Biden’s Dreams for the Middle Class,” *Brookings Up Front*, January 25, 2010.
- “The Status Report: Obama’s Commitment to Creating Opportunity.” *Brookings*, January 6, 2010.
- “High Rates of Joblessness and the Deficit.” *Brookings Up Front*, December 9, 2009.
- “Obama and the Deficit.” National Journal. December 1, 2009.
- “Bipartisan Budget Solution.” National Journal. November 3, 2009.
- “5 Myths About Our Land of Opportunity,” (with Ron Haskins). The Washington Post. November 1, 2009.
- “Bend the Revenue Curve: Health Reform Alone Won't End Deficits,” (with Henry Aaron). The Washington Post. October 13, 2009.
- “What Role Can Health Care Reform Play in Restoring Middle Class Prosperity?” *Brookings*, September 30, 2009.
- “Bad News on Poverty, Worse to Come,” *Brookings*, September 16, 2009.
- “Professor Krugman's Opus.” National Journal, September 8, 2009
- “The Recovery And The Deficit.” National Journal, August 17, 2009
- “Savings, Stimulus And Recovery.” National Journal, August 3, 2009
- “Soak The Rich.” National Journal, July 20, 2009
- “Stop Kicking the Fiscal Can Down the Road.” McClatchy Tribune. June 11, 2009.
- “Predictions and Hard Numbers.” National Journal, May 18, 2009.
- “Obama’s Budget Battle.” The Guardian, February 26, 2009.
- “Don’t Forget the Human Infrastructure,” *Brookings*, December 22, 2008.
- “Rebuild Economic Confidence by Reforming Entitlements,” (with Robert Bixby and Stuart Butler). The Washington Times, November 17, 2008.
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“Ignoring Debt Makes It Get Worse,” Philadelphia Inquirer, April 30, 2006.

“Debt is Cheating our Children’s Future,” Kansas City Star, April 23, 2006.

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“Chump-Change Budget Cuts” (with Andrew L. Yarrow), Los Angeles Times,  
November 12, 2005.

“Children: Public spending neglects them in favor of the needs of an aging  
population,” Minneapolis Star-Tribune, October 16, 2005.

“The Dangers of Deficits,” USA Today, August 16, 2005.

“The Right Thing is Not Permanent Tax Cuts” (with Michael O’Hanlon), Japan Times  
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“A Deficit of Political Will,” Akron Beacon Journal (Ohio), July 12, 2004. Reprint:  
“The Money Pit,” The Albany Times-Union, July 25, 2004. Reprint: “Reducing  
Deficit is Difficult but Doable,” The Wichita Eagle, July 30, 2004. Reprint:  
“The Candidates and the Deficit,” Lewiston Sun Journal (Maine), August 22,  
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“U.S. on Road to Bad Economic Health” (with Lael Brainard and Michael O’Hanlon),  
The Albany Times-Union, February 23, 2004.

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“Will More Marriage Really Solve the Welfare Problem?,” Sacramento Bee, April 7,  
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- “Tax Cut Proposals: Chapter and Verse of a Prudent Compromise” (with Adam Thomas), Houston Chronicle, February 11, 2001.
- “Gore’s Plan Protects the Bottom Third” (with Adam Thomas), Los Angeles Times, September 21, 2000.
- “More Teens Just Say, ‘No’” (with Tom Kean), Washington Post, September 5, 2000.
- “How Congress Can Save Marriage: Reworking Tax Credits can Help Nurture Two-Parent Families in Poor Areas” (with Wade F. Horn), Knight Ridder, April 5, 1999.
- “The Best Return on the Surplus” (with William G. Gale), Washington Post, February 17, 1999.
- “Planning For the Best Of Times” (with Daniel P. McMurrer), Washington Post, August 18, 1997.
- “Counting Our Blessings,” Slate Magazine, November 22, 1996.
- “A Million More Poor Children,” (with Sheila Zedlewski), Washington Post, July 26, 1996.
- “Real Reform or a Shift of Responsibilities,” (with Demetra Nightingale), Washington Post, February 20, 1995.
- "The New Covenant and the Deficit," Wall Street Journal, November 20, 1992.
- "Bidding War -- Or Growth" (with Mark Condon), Washington Post, February 27, 1992.
- "Middle Class Needs Wages, Not Tax Cuts," Atlanta Journal, November 17, 1991.
- "Taxes, Benefits, Choices," Washington Post, November 5, 1990.
- "Don't Mess with Gramm-Rudman," New York Times, October 22, 1989.
- "This Rising Tide Could Sink All Boats," interview, New York Newsday, October 5, 1989.
- "The House Mortgage Reduction Subsidizes the Rich: We Should Reduce It," Scripps Howard News Service, March 6, 1989.
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Assistant Secretary of HUD and Ray Marshall, President of the National Policy  
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"Taking Reagan's Route, or Not" (with John L. Palmer) New York Times, September  
25, 1982.

"Reagan's Experiment with America" (with John L. Palmer), Newsday, September 15,  
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"Actually, This Article Is About Taxation" (with John C. Sawhill) New York Times,  
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## **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

|  |  |
|--|--|
| America's Promise  | Alliance Research Council (2005- )<br>Alliance Trustee (2005- )  |
| American Academy of Political and<br>Social Science  | Frances Perkins Fellow (2002)  |
| American Assembly  | Member, Board of Trustees (1976-1993)  |
| American Economic Association  | Member, Executive Committee (1988-1990)<br>Member, Budget Committee (1988-1990)<br>Member, Committee on the Status of Women in the<br>Economics Profession (1975-1977) |
| American Youth Policy Forum<br>Compendium: Supporting College-<br>and Career-Readiness for All Youth | Member of Advisory Group (2008 - )   |
| Aspen Institute, Domestic Strategies Group   | Member (1998-2001)   |
| Association for Public Policy<br>Analysis and Management   | President (1988)   |
| Brown Center on Education<br>Brookings Institution   | Member of Advisory Committee (1995-1997)   |
| CALDER Center  | Member, Advisory Board (2006- )  |

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| Center for Economic Policy Research<br>Stanford University         | Member, Advisory Board (1987-1993)  |
| Center for Research on Child Well-Being                            | Member, Advisory Board (2001-2005)  |
| Center for Strategic and<br>International Studies                  | Member, Commission on Strengthening of America<br>(1991-1993)                             |
| Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy                                | Member, Advisory Board (2002 - )  |
| Comeback America Initiative  | Member, Advisory Council (2010 - )  |
| Committee for Economic Development                                 | Chair, Research Advisory Board (1995-1999)<br>Member, Research Advisory Board (1985-1988) |
| Communitarian Network  | Council Member (1995- )   |
| Council for Excellence in Government                               | Member, Board of Trustees (1996-2007)   |
| Democracy  | Member, Editorial Committee (2006- )  |
| DOL Commission on Workforce Quality<br>and Labor Market Efficiency | Commissioner (1988-1989)  |
| Family Impact Seminar  | Member, Board of Directors (1995-1999)  |
| Future of Children   | Senior Editor (2005-2008, 2009- )   |
| German Marshall Fund   | Member, Board of Trustees (1991-1993)   |
| Greenhill & Co., Inc.  | Member, Board of Directors (2004- 2009)   |
| Institute for American Values                                      | Member, Academic Advisory Committee (2001- )  |
| Institute for Research on Poverty,<br>University of Wisconsin      | Member, National Advisory Committee (1987-1990)   |
| Issues & Images Television Trust                                   | Honorary Co-chair (1999)  |
| Journal of Economic Literature and<br>Policy Analysis              | Member, Editorial Board (1980-1983)   |
| Journal of Economic Perspectives<br>Watch"                         | Member, Editorial Board and Editor, "Policy<br>(regular column, 1989-1993)                |

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| Manpower Demonstration Research Corp.                     | Member, Board of Directors (1986-93 and 1998- )  |
| Milken Institute Review                                   | Advisory Board (1999- )  |
| National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy | Board President (1996 - )  |
| National Marriage Project                                 | Member, Research Advisory Board (1997- )   |
| National Planning Association                             | Member of Policy Advisory Group on New Directions: African Americans in a Diversifying Nation (1995) |
| National Poverty Center                                   | Senior Research Affiliate (2003- )   |
| National Research Council                                 | Member, Board on Science, Technology, and Economic Policy (1991-1993)                                |
| Population Action International                           | Member, Board of Trustees (1996-2005)  |
| Population Reference Bureau, Inc.                         | Member, Board of Trustees (1989-1992)  |
| Public Interest   | Member, Publications Committee (1990-1993 and 1996-2005)   |
| Resources for the Future                                  | Member, Board of Trustees (Vice Chair, 1989-1992)  |
| Smith Richardson Foundation Advisory                      | Member, Children and Families at Risk Grants Committee (1995-2003)                                   |
| Urban Institute   | Co-chair, Advisory Board, Assessing the New Federalism (1996-2000)                                   |