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Georgetown University

Senior Fellow, Governance Studies Program
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PERSONAL DATA

Place of Birth: California, USA
Citizenship: U.S.A.

EDUCATION

Ph.D. Harvard University - Political Science - 1982
M.A. Harvard University - Political Science - 1978
B.A. Haverford College - Political Science - 1975

ACADEMIC POSITIONS HELD

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| 9/02 to present | Professor of Public Policy and Government, Georgetown University |
| 9/87 to present | Senior Fellow, Governance Studies Program, The Brookings Institution |
| 7/83 to 8/87 | Research Associate, Governmental Studies Program, The Brookings Institution |
| 9/81 to 6/83 | Instructor, Department of Political Science, The Ohio State University |

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS HELD

- 1/04 to 6/06 Associate Dean, Georgetown Public Policy Institute, Georgetown University.
- 9/00 to 11/02 Co-Director, Welfare Reform and Beyond Initiative, The Brookings Institution

VISITING POSITIONS HELD

- 4/14 to 7/15 Olof Palme Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, Stockholm University (Funded by the Swedish Research Council)
- 1/14 to 2/15 Eminent Visiting Professor, Institute of Policy Studies, Universiti Brunei Darussalam
- 1/11 to 5/11 and 1/12 to 5/12 Visiting Fellow, European University Institute, Florence
- 2/08 to 5/10 Visiting Professor, Masters of Public Affairs Program, Sciences Po, Paris (Gregory Flynn Memorial Visiting Professor in 2008 and 2010)
- 7/10 to 8/10 Visiting Scholar, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
- 8/94 to 5/02 Professorial Lecturer, Center of Canadian Studies, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University
- 8/90 to 5/97 Adjunct Professor, Graduate Public Policy Program, Georgetown University
- 1/91 to 5/91 Visiting Associate Professor, The Johns Hopkins University (Homewood Campus)
- 9/84 to 12/84 Adjunct Professor, Center of Canadian Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS - BOOKS

Currently completing a book-length research project on *Reforming Social Security: Lessons from Abroad*, for the Brookings Institution.

The Government Taketh Away: The Politics of Pain in the United States and Canada (co-editor with Leslie Pal). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003.

Welfare Reform and Beyond (co-editor with Ron Haskins, Andrea Kane and Isabel Sawhill). Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, April 2002.

Guidance for Governance: Alternative Sources of Policy Advice (Co-editor with Paul Stares), Tokyo and New York: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2001.

Ending Welfare As We Know It, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2000.

Think Tanks and Civil Societies (co-editor with James McGann), New Brunswick: TransAction Publishers, 2000.

Looking Before We Leap: Social Science and Welfare Reform, (co-edited with William Dickens), Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995.

Do Institutions Matter?: Government Capabilities in the U.S. and Abroad (co-edited with Bert Rockman), Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1993.

The Collapse of Canada?, (edited), Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992.

Automatic Government: The Politics of Indexation, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1988.

The Politics of Industrial Change: Railway Policy in North America Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS - ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS

“Blame Generating in Policy and Politics,” forthcoming in *Political Science Quarterly*.

“Federalism and the Welfare State in Canada and the United States,” forthcoming in Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant, Richard Johnston, Will Kymlicka, and John Myles, eds. *New Frontiers in Public Policy: Federalism and the Welfare State in a Multicultural World*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2017.

“Martha Derthick on Federalism and Policymaking,” forthcoming in *Publius*, 2017.

“Encouraging Longer Working Lives: A Behavioral Perspective,” forthcoming in Silke Beck and Holger Strassheim, eds., *Handbook of Behavioural Change and Public Policy*, Edward Elgar Publishers.

“Privileging Policy Change?: Sustaining Automatic Stabilizing Mechanisms in Public Pension Systems” *Social Policy and Administration*, 50, 2 (March 2016): 148-162.

“Getting People to Behave: Research Lessons for Policymakers,” *Public Administration Review*, 75, 6 (December 2015): 806–816.

“When Policies Undo Themselves: Self-Undermining Feedback as a Source of Policy Change” (with Alan Jacobs), *Governance*, 28, 4 (October 2015): 441–457.

“Unraveling from Within?: The Affordable Care Act and Self-Undermining Policy Feedbacks” (with Jonathan Oberlander), *The Forum*, vol 13, no. 1 (2015).

“Policy Feedbacks and Pension Policy Change,” pp. 61-82 in Cornelius Torp, ed. *Challenges of Aging: Retirement, Pensions and Intergenerational Justice*, Houndsmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.

“Comparative Policy Process,” *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 17, 1 (2015): 83-91.

“Lessons from the Swedish Pension System After 15 Years,” (with Alexander Willén), *OECD Journal on Budgeting*, 13, (2014): 1-26.

"Compliance Regimes and Barriers to Behavioral Change", *Governance*, 27, 2 (April 2014): 243-265.

“Trans-Atlantic Lesson-Drawing: Utopia, Road To Ruin, or Source of Practical Advice?,” pp. 187-209 in R. Daniel Kelemen, ed., *Lessons from Europe? What America Can Learn from European Public Policies*, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2014.

“Temporary Assistance to Needy Families,” in Daniel Beland, Christopher Howard and Kimberley Morgan, eds., *Oxford Handbook of the American Welfare State*, Oxford University Press, 2014.

“Trans-Atlantic Lesson-Drawing: Utopia, Road To Ruin, or Source of Practical Advice?,” pp. 187-209 in R. Daniel Kelemen, ed., *Lessons from Europe? What America Can Learn from European Public Policies*, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2014.

“Embracing the Third Rail: Social Security Reform and Coalition Management in the United States,” pp. 119-149 in Martin A. Levin, Daniel DiSalvo, and Martin Shapiro, eds., *Building Coalitions, Making Policy: The Politics of the Clinton, Bush and Obama Presidencies*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

“The Political Economy of Retirement Income Policy: New Zealand in International Perspective,” in Judith Davey, Geoff Rashbrooke and Robert Stephens, eds., *Retirement Income Policy and Intergenerational Equity*, Wellington, NZ: Institute for Policy Studies, 2010.

“Paths and Forks or Chutes and Ladders?: Negative Feedbacks and Policy Regime Change,” *Journal of Public Policy*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2010) pp. 136-162.

“The Politics of Policy Toward Low Income Families,” pp. 292-338 in John Karl Scholz and Carolyn Heinrich, eds., *Making the Work-Based Safety Net Work Better*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009.

“Political Institutions and Policy Cartels,” Ian Schapiro and Steven Skowronek, eds., *Crafting and Operating Political Institutions*, New York: New York University Press, 2006.

“Lashed to the Mast?: The Politics of NDC Pension Reform” (with Sarah Brooks), pp. 345-385 in Robert Holzmann and Edward Palmer, eds., *Pension Reform: Issues and Prospects for Non-Defined Contribution Pension Schemes*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2005.

“Design and Implementation Issues in Swedish Individual Pension Accounts,” *Social Security Bulletin*, Vol. 65 No. 4, May 2005, pp. 38-56.

“Public Pension Policy in the United States,” in Giuliano Bonoli and Toshimatsu Shinkawa, pp. 230-251 in *Ageing and Pension Reform Around the World: Evidence from Eleven Countries*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2005.

“Public Pension Reform in an Age of Austerity,” pp. 64-99 in Martin Levin and Martin Shapiro, eds. *Trans-Atlantic Policymaking*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2005.

“Pension Reform in Canada: Lessons for the United States,” *Ohio State Law Journal*, vol 65, no. 1 2004, pp. 45-74.

“Electoral Rules and Party Systems in Federations,” in Nancy Bermeo and Ugo Amoretti, eds., *Does Federalism Matter?*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

“Whose Money Is It Anyway? Governance and Social Investment in Collective

Investment Funds,” pp. 294-316 in Martin Rein and Winfried Schmähl eds., *Rethinking the Welfare State: The Political Economy of Pension Reform*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2004.

“The Politics of Pain,” (with Leslie Pal) pp. 1-40, “Cutting Old-Age Pensions,” pp. 41-70, and “Conclusions,” (with Leslie Pal) pp. 293-328, in Pal and Weaver, *The Government Taketh Away: The Politics of Pain in the United States and Canada*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003.

“Polls, Priming and the Politics of Welfare Reform,” pp. 106-123 in Fay Cook, Jeffrey Manza and Benjamin Page, eds., *Navigating Public Opinion*, Oxford University Press, 2002.

“Electoral Rules and the Governability of Federations,” *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 2, April 2002, pp. 111-125.

“Guidance for Governance: An Overview,” (with Paul Stares) in Weaver and Stares, eds., *Guidance for Governance: Alternative Sources of Policy Advice*, Tokyo and New York: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2001, pp. 1-30

“Think Tanks in the National Media,” (with Andrew Rich) *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 5,4 (2000) pp. 81-103.

“The Politics of Institutional Reform in the United States and Canada,” in Rainer-Olaf Schultze and Roland Sturm (eds.), *The Politics of Constitutional Reform in North America. Coping with New Challenges*, Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2000, pp. 47-81.

“Electoral Rules and Electoral Reform in Canada,” pp. 542-569 in Matthew Soberg Shugart and Martin P Wattenberg, eds. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: the Best of Both Worlds?*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

“Think Tanks and Civil Societies in a Time of Change,” (with James McGann) in McGann and Weaver, eds., *Think Tanks and Civil Societies*, New Brunswick: TransAction Publishers, 2000, pp. 1-40

“The Politics of Pension Reform: Lessons from Abroad,” in R. Douglas Arnold, Michael Graetz, and Alicia Munnell, eds., *Framing the Social Security Debate: Values, Politics and Economics*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1998, pp. 183-229.

"Advocates and Analysts: Think Tanks and the Politicization of Expertise in Washington," (with Andrew Rich) in Allan Cigler and Burdett Loomis, eds. *Interest Group Politics* [fifth edition], Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1998, pp. 235-253.

“MMP Is Too Much of Some Good Things,” *Inroads*, 7 (1998) pp. 59-64, reprinted in revised form in Henry Milner, ed., *Making Every Vote Count: Reassessing Canada's*

Electoral System, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999.

"Ending Welfare As We Know It," in Margaret Weir, ed., *The Social Divide: Political Parties and the Future of Activist Government*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1998, pp. 361-416.

"A Hybrid Electoral System for Canada," *Policy Options*, 18,9 (November 1997) pp. 3-5

"Electoral Reform for the Canadian House of Commons," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 33,3 (September 1997), pp. 473-512.

"El manejo de una interdependencia compleja: los efectos transfronterizos de las estructuras políticas internas de Canadá y Estados Unidos," pp. 97-127 in Gustavo Vega Cánovas and Francisco Alba, eds., *México Estados Unidos Canadá 1995-1996*, Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1997.

"Reinventing Welfare...Again," (with Gary Burtless) *Brookings Review*, vol 13, no. 1 (Winter 1997) pp. 26-29

"The Future of the Social Safety Net," (with Gary Burtless and Joshua Wiener) in Robert D. Reischauer, ed., *Setting National Priorities: Budget Choices for the Next Century*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1997, pp. 75-122.

"Deficits and Devolution in the 104th Congress," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, (Summer 1996) pp. 45-87.

"The Stalled Devolution Revolution in the U.S.," *Policy Options/Options Politiques*, vol. 17, no. 5 (Summer 1996) pp. 31-35

"Rethinking Federal and State Roles in Unemployment Insurance," *Advisory Council on Unemployment Compensation: Background Papers*, vol. 4, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, January 1996, pp. 1-50.

"Reinventing Government or Rearranging the Deck Chairs?: the Politics of Institutional Change in the 1990s," pp. 263-282 in Patrick Weller and Glyn Davis, eds., *New Ideas, Better Government*, Sydney, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 1996.

"The Polls-- Trends: Welfare," (with Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs), *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 59,4 (December 1995) pp. 606-627.

Three co-authored and one single-authored chapter: "Looking Before We Leap: An Introduction," (with William T. Dickens) pp. 1-12, "Financing Welfare: Are Block Grants the Answer?," (with Robert D. Reischauer), pp. 13-26, "The Politics of Welfare Reform," pp.

91-108, and "Public Opinion on Welfare Reform: A Mandate for What?," (with Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs) pp. 109-128, in Weaver and Dickens, eds., *Looking Before We Leap: Social Science and Welfare Reform*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995.

"Social Insurance and the Welfare State," pp. 85-116 in Richard Silburn, ed., *Social Insurance: The Way Forward*, Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 1995

"Political Institutions and Conflict Management in Canada," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 533 (March 1995) pp. 54-68.

"Solitudes, Hierarchies and Continentalism: Recruitment of Political Science Faculties in Canada and the United States," *Canadian Political Science Association Bulletin*, vol. 23, no.2 (November 1994) pp. 88-95.

"Old Traps, New Twists: Why Welfare Is So Hard to Reform in 1994," *Brookings Review*, Summer, 1994, pp. 18-21.

Six co-authored chapters: "Assessing the Effects of Institutions" (pp. 1-41), "When and How Do Institutions Matter?" (pp. 445-461) and "Institutional Reform and Constitutional Design" (pp. 462-481), all with Bert Rockman; "Innovation, Coordination and Implementation in Energy Policy" (pp. 42-109), with Harvey Feigenbaum and Richard Samuels; "Imposing Losses in Pension Policy" (pp. 110-150), with Paul Pierson; and "Separation of Powers and Cleavage Management" (pp. 302-344), with Arend Lijphart and Ronald Rogowski), in Weaver and Rockman, eds., *Do Institutions Matter?: Government Capabilities in the U.S. and Abroad*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1993.

"Managing a Multiauthor Research Project in Comparative Politics" (with co-authors), *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 26,4 (Winter 1993) pp. 784-789.

Editor of a symposium on "Canada's Constitutional Discontents," in the spring 1993 issue of *PS: Political Science and Politics*.

"Canada's Recurrent Constitutional Crisis," pp. 1-6 and "Political Institutions and Canada's Constitutional Crisis," pp. 7-75 in Weaver, ed., *The Collapse of Canada?*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1992.

"The Governance Agenda in the United States," pp. 133-143 in Keith Banting, Michael Hawes, Richard Simeon and Elaine Willis, eds., *Policy Choices: Political Agendas in Canada and the United States*, Kingston, Ontario: Queens University School of Policy Studies, 1991.

"Setting and Firing Policy Triggers," *Journal of Public Policy*, 9,3 (1989) pp. 307-336.

"The Changing World of Think Tanks," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 22,3 (Fall 1989) pp. 563-578.

"Die Politik der Entwicklung der Sozialversicherung in den Vereinigten Staaten," pp. 25-58 in Dieter Döring and Richard Hauser, eds., *Politische Kultur und Sozial politik*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 1989.

"Who's in Charge Here?: Congress and the Nation's Capital" (with Charles W. Harris), *The Brookings Review*, 7,3 (Summer 1989) pp. 39-46.

"Social Policy in the Reagan Era," in B. B. Kymlicka and Jean Matthews, eds., *The Reagan Revolution*, Chicago: Dorsey Press (1987) pp. 146-161.

"The Politics of Blame Avoidance," *Journal of Public Policy*, 6,4 (1986) pp. 371-398.

"The Politics of Blame," *The Brookings Review*, 5, 2 (Spring 1987), pp. 43-47.

"Political Foundations of Swedish Economic Policy," pp. 289-317 in Barry Bosworth and Alice Rivlin, eds., *The Swedish Economy*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1987. Revised and abridged Swedish version published as "Det politiskt möjliga- ramarna för ekonomisk-politiska beslut I Sverige," *Företag och Samhälle*, 1987/1 (March) pp. 3-15.

"Are Parliamentary Systems Better?," *The Brookings Review*, 3, 4 (Summer 1985), pp. 16-25.

"Controlling Entitlements," pp. 307-341 in John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, eds., *The New Direction in American Politics*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1985. Reprinted in Ray C. Rist, ed., *Policy Studies Review Annual*, vol 8., New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1987, pp. 287-306.

"Government Enterprise in Competitive Markets," pp. 246-281 in Economic Council of Canada, ed., *Government Enterprise: Roles and Rationales*, Ottawa: The Council, 1984.

"Review Essay: Governments in Business," *Policy Studies Review*, 4, 1 (August 1984) pp. 166-169.

POLICY BRIEFS, WORKING PAPERS AND SIMILAR PUBLICATIONS

Retirement Security and Financial Literacy in New Zealand: Policy Lessons from Abroad, report commissioned for the New Zealand Commission for Financial Literacy and Retirement Income's triennial review of retirement income policy, 2013.

Policy Leadership and the Blame Trap: Seven Strategies for Avoiding Policy Stalemate, Paper published on March 29, 2013 as part of the Brookings Institution's Governance Studies Management and Leadership Initiative.

The Politics of Automatic Stabilization Mechanisms in Public Pension Programs, WZB Working Paper SP I 2011 – 201, Social Science Center Berlin, January 2011

“But Will It Work? Implementation Analysis to Improve Government Performance,” Brookings Institution Issues in Governance Studies No. 32, February 2010

Target Compliance: The Final Frontier in Policy Implementation, Brookings Institution Issues in Governance Studies No. 27, September 2009

Social Security Reform: Lessons from Abroad. Brookings Institution Policy Brief, June 2008

Social Security Smorgasbord? Lessons from Sweden's Individual Pension Accounts, Brookings Institution Policy Brief No. 140, June 2005

The Structure of the TANF Block Grant, Brookings Welfare Reform and Beyond Policy Brief No. 22, April 2002

State Policy Choices (with Tom Gais), Brookings Welfare Reform and Beyond Policy Brief No. 21, April 2002.

Welfare Reform: An Overview of Effects to Date, (with Ron Haskins and Isabel Sawhill), Brookings Welfare Reform and Beyond Policy Brief No. 1, January 2001.

Welfare Reform Reauthorization: An Overview of Problems and Issues, (with Ron Haskins and Isabel Sawhill), Brookings Welfare Reform and Beyond Policy Brief No. 2, January 2001.

BRIEF OPINION PIECES

“Note to Congress: Compromise,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 17, 2002.

“Neediest Families in Texas Deserve a Fairer Deal,” *Houston Chronicle*, February 22, 2002.

“For Social Security, Opt-outs Don't Add Up,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 24, 2001

“Social Security's False Alarm,” (co-authored with Alicia Munnell), *Christian Science Monitor*, July 19, 2001, p. 11.

“How to Privatize Social Security,” (co-authored with Alicia Munnell), *Washington*

Post, July 9, 2001, p. A17. Also published in *Newsday*, July 11, 2001, and the *Houston Chronicle*, July 20, 2001.

“Are Canadian and U.S. Social Policies Converging?,” *Canada Watch*, fall 2001

“Time to Stop the Perennial Bidding Wars Over Super,” *The New Zealand Herald*, May 3, 2000

“It Ought to Be Easier To Change Presidents,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 28, 1998

"How Preston Manning Missed the Wave," *Toronto Globe and Mail*, December 7, 1996.

“Is the Congress Abdicating Power to Commissions?,” *Roll Call*, February 12, 1989.

TESTIMONY AND RELATED

Co-organizer of and speaker at Welfare Reform & Beyond briefing for 100 congressional staff, February 1, 2002.

Co-organizer of and speaker at Welfare Reform & Beyond retreat for Members of Congress, Scottsdale, AZ., January 10-11, 2002.

Testimony before the President’s Commission on Strengthening Social Security, San Diego hearing, September 6, 2001.

GRANTS, HONORS AND AWARDS

Awarded the Olof Palme Visiting Professorship by the Swedish Research Council for 2014-2015

Grant from the W.T. Grant Foundation to examine evidence-based policy initiatives in the United States (with Ron Haskins), 2011-2013

Grants from the Social Security Administration for research on automatic stabilizing mechanisms in public pension systems, 2010-2011.

Grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation for research on implementation of the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program, 2000-2004

Grants from the Annie E. Casey Foundation, Ford Foundation, Foundation for Child Development, Joyce Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Mott Foundation, Packard Foundation, and for research and public education on the implementation and

forthcoming reauthorization of the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families program (with Isabel Sawhill and Ron Haskins), 2000-2003.

Grants from the Social Security Administration for research on public pension reform in advanced industrial countries, 1998-2002.

Grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation for research on public pension reform in advanced industrial countries, 1998

Grant from the Russell Sage Foundation for research on welfare reform policymaking, 1996

Grant from the Annie E. Casey Foundation for research on welfare reform, 1995

1990 Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the best paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association ("Subcommittee Government and the House Ways and Means Committee," co-authored with Randall Strahan).

Research grant from the Dillon Fund for study of the consequences of differences between parliamentary and checks-and-balances political systems, 1989-1990.

Grant from the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation for study of the budgetary implications of indexation, 1986-1988.

German Marshall Fund Fellowship for study of the budgetary politics of entitlement programs in Britain, Canada and Sweden, 1985-1986 (postponed to 1986-1987).

Grant from the Smith Richardson Foundation for study of the budgetary politics of entitlement programs in the United States, 1984-1986.

Brookings Institution Research Fellow in Governmental Studies Program, 1979-1980.

Grant from the University Consortium for Research on North America for research in Canada, summer 1980.

Grant from the Harvard University Government Department for research in Canada, summer 1979.

Danforth Graduate Fellow, 1975-1979.

B.A. magna cum laude, Haverford College, 1975 (High honors in Political Science).

Election to Phi Beta Kappa Society, 1974.