

VITA

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CURRENT POSITIONS

William Bennett Munro Professor
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PERSONAL INFORMATION

Home Address: 650 Gerona Rd.
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EDUCATION

B.A., 1971, University of California, San Diego (Economics)
Ph.D., 1976, University of Minnesota (Political Science)

POSITIONS HELD

2003-present, William Bennett Munro Professor of Political Science, Stanford University
2004-2007, Chair, Department of Political Science
1992-present, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution
1990-present, Professor, Political Science, Stanford University
1986-1990, Associate Professor, Stanford University
1984-86, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, and Associate Professor (on leave),
Stanford University
1981-84, Assistant Professor, Stanford University
1976-81, Assistant Professor, Michigan State University

TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

American Political Institutions
The Presidency
Politics of the Administrative State
Politics of Education

PUBLICATIONS -- BOOKS

The Organization of Interests. 1980. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Politics, Markets, and America's Schools. 1990. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution. With John E. Chubb.

A Lesson in School Reform from Great Britain. 1992. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution. With John E. Chubb.

Private Vouchers. 1995. Stanford, CA: Hoover Press. Edited.

A Primer on America's Schools. 2001. Stanford, CA: Hoover Press. Edited.

Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public. 2001. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Liberating Learning: Technology, Politics, and the Future of American Education. 2009. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. With John E. Chubb.

Special Interest: Teachers Unions and America's Public Schools. 2011. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Relic: How Our Constitution Undermines Effective Government--And Why We Need a More Powerful Presidency. 2016. New York: Basic Books. With William G. Howell.

The Comparative Politics of Education: Teachers Unions and Education Systems Around the World. 2017. New York: Cambridge University Press. Edited with Susanne Wiborg.

The Politics of Institutional Reform: Katrina, Education, and the Second Face of Power. 2019. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Presidents, Populism, and the Crisis of Democracy. 2020. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. With William G. Howell.

PUBLICATIONS -- ARTICLES

"On the Scientific Status of Rational Models." 1979. American Journal of Political Science 23 (February): pp. 215-43.

"A Calculus of Group Membership." 1980. American Journal of Political Science 24 (November): 593-632.

"Toward a Broader View of Interest Groups." 1981. Journal of Politics 43 (May): pp. 531-43.

"Regulatory Performance and Presidential Administration." 1982. American Journal of Political Science 26 (May): 197-224.

"Bureaucrats, Legislators, and the Size of Government." 1983. American Political Science Review 77 (June): 297-332. With Gary J. Miller. Reprinted in Andrew Levine, ed., The State and Its Critics. 1992. Hants, England: Edward Elgar. Also reprinted in Dennis C. Mueller, ed., The Economics of Politics (The International Library of Critical Writings in Economics Series). 2001. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

"The New Economics of Organization." 1984. American Journal of Political Science 28 (November): 739-777. Reprinted in Problemi Di Amministrazione Pubblica. 1989. Quadreno N.13. Also Reprinted in Jun Ma, Bin Xiao, and Yaping Liu, A Selected Collection of Transaction Cost Politics (Renmin University of China, 2007).

"The Politicized Presidency." 1985. In John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, eds., The New Direction in American Politics. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, pp. 235-71. Reprinted in James P. Pfiffner, ed., The Managerial Presidency. 1991. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks-Cole.

"The Positive Theory of Hierarchies." 1985. In Herbert F. Weisberg, ed., Political Science: The Science of Politics. Agathon Press, 1985. With Gary J. Miller.

"An Adaptive Model of Bureaucratic Politics." 1985. American Political Science Review 79 (September): 755-774. With Jonathan Bendor.

"Control and Feedback in Economic Regulation: The Case of the NLRB." 1985. American Political Science Review 79 (December): 1094-1116.

"No School Is an Island." 1986. The Brookings Review 4 (Fall): 21-28. With John E. Chubb.

"Agenda Control, Capture, and the Dynamics of Institutional Politics." 1986. American Political Science Review 80 (December): 1187-1207. With Jonathan Bendor.

"An Assessment of the Positive Theory of 'Congressional Dominance'." 1987. Legislative Studies Quarterly (November, 1987): 475-520. Reprinted in Charles K. Rowley, ed., Public

Choice Theory, Volume II. 1993. Hants, England: Edward Elgar. Also in Robert B. Ekelund, Jr., ed., The Foundations of Regulatory Economics. 1998. Chilterham, England: Edward Elgar.

"Interests, Institutions, and Positive Theory: The Politics of the NLRB." 1987. Studies in American Political Development 2: 236-299.

"Public, Private, and Effective Schools: An Organizational Perspective." 1988. In Patricia Bauch, ed., Private Schools and Public Concerns. Greenwood Press. With John E. Chubb.

"Politics, Markets, and the Organization of Schools." 1988. American Political Science Review 82 (December): 1065-1087. With John E. Chubb. Reprinted in Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, and Amy Stuart Wells, eds., Education, Culture, Economy, and Society. New York: Oxford University Press.

"Effective Schools and Equal Opportunity." 1989. In Neal Devins, ed., Public Values, Private Schools. London: The Falmer Press). With John E. Chubb.

"The Politics of Bureaucratic Structure." 1989. In John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, eds., Can the Government Govern? Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution: 267-329.

"Give Choice a Chance." 1989. Florida Policy Review Vol. 5 no. 4 (Summer): 17-24. With John E. Chubb. Reprinted with modifications in David Boaz, ed., Liberating Schools: Education in the Inner City. 1991. Washington, D.C.: The Cato Institute; Tex Lezar, Making Government Work. 1992. San Antonio: Texas Public Policy Foundation.

"The Politics of Structural Choice: Toward a Theory of Public Bureaucracy." 1990. In Oliver E. Williamson, ed., Organization Theory: From Chester Barnard to the Present and Beyond. Oxford University Press. Reprinted in Charles K. Rowley, ed., Public Choice Theory. 1993. Hants, England: Edward Elgar.

"Controversies: Should Market Forces Control Educational Decision-Making?" 1990. American Political Science Review 84 (June): 558-567. With John E. Chubb.

"America's Public Schools: Choice Is a Panacea." 1990. The Brookings Review (Summer): 1-8. With John E. Chubb.

"Political Institutions: The Neglected Side of the Story." 1990. Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization 6: 213-254. Reprinted in Charles K. Rowley, ed., Public Choice Theory. 1993. Hant, England: Edward Elgar.

"Political Pollyannas." 1991. In "Politics, Markets, and America's Schools: A Symposium." Teachers College Record 93 (Fall): 161-165. With John E. Chubb.

"Politics and the Theory of Organization." 1991. Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization 7: 106-129.

"Why Markets Are Good for Education." 1992. In Pearl Rock Kane, ed., Independent Schools, Independent Thinkers. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. With John E. Chubb.

"Bureaucracy and Subgovernments: A Simulation Model." 1992. In Michael Masuch and Massimo Warglieu, eds., Artificial Intelligence in Organization and Management Theory. Amsterdam: North Holland. With Jonathan Bendor.

"Presidents, Institutions, and Theory." 1993. In George C. Edwards III, John H. Kessel, and Bert A. Rockman, eds., Researching the Presidency: Vital Questions, New Approaches Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Reprinted in Martin Alessandro and Andres Gilio, eds., La Dinamica Del Poder Ejecutivo en America (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de la Administracion Publica / INAP, 2013)

"The Forest and the Trees: A Response to Our Critics." 1993. In Edith Rosell and Richard Rothstein, eds., School Choice: What Role in American Education? Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute. With John E. Chubb.

"The British Battle for Choice." 1993. In K. L. Billingsley, ed., Voices on Choice. San Francisco: Pacific Research Institute.

"Presidents and the Politics of Structure." 1994. Law and Contemporary Problems 57 (Spring): 1-44. With Scott A. Wilson.

"The Institutional Foundations of Democratic Government: A Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Systems." 1994. Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics 150/1: 171-195. With Michael Caldwell. Reprinted in Susan Rose-Ackerman, ed., Economics of Administrative Law (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2007).

"Integrating Politics and Organization: Positive Theory and Public Administration." 1994. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory.

"School Choice and the Creaming Problem." 1995. In Thomas A. Downs and William A. Testa, eds., Midwest Approaches to School Reform. Chicago: Federal Reserve of Chicago.

"The Presidency and the Bureaucracy: The Presidential Advantage." 1994. In Michael Nelson, ed., The Presidency and the Political System, 4th edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. Reprinted in 5th edition (1998) and 6th edition (2000).

"Private Vouchers." 1995. In Terry M. Moe, ed., Private Vouchers. Stanford, CA: Hoover Press, 1995).

"Computer Models of Educational Institutions: The Case of Vouchers and Social Equity." 1996. Journal of Educational Policy. Also appearing in William L. Boyd, Robert L.

Crowson, and Hanne B. Mawhinney, eds., The Politics of Education and the New Institutionalism (London: Falmer Press, 1996). With Kenneth Shotts.

"The Positive Theory of Public Bureaucracy." 1997. In Dennis Mueller, ed., Handbook of Public Choice. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Reprinted in Sebastian Saiegh and Mariano Tommasi, ed., La Nueva Economia Politica (EUDEBA, 1998); and in Carlos Acuna, ed., Lectures on the State and Public Policies (Argentine State Modernization Project, 2007).

"Politics, Markets, and Equality in Schools." 1997. In Michael R. Darby, ed., Reducing Poverty in America: Views and Approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

"Democracy and the Challenge of Education Reform." 1997. In Gary D. Libecap, ed., Advances in the Study of Entrepreneurship, Innovation, and Economic Growth. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

"The Presidential Power of Unilateral Action." 1999. Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization 15 no. 1 (April): 132-179. With William Howell. Reprinted in Daniel A. Farber, ed., Public Choice and Public Law. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2007.

"Unilateral Action and Presidential Power: A Theory." 1999. Presidential Studies Quarterly 29 no.4 (December). With William Howell.

"The Two Democratic Purposes of Public Education." 2000. In Lorraine M. McDonnell, P. Michael Timpane, and Roger Benjamin, eds., Rediscovering the Democratic Purposes of Education. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press.

"Hidden Demand." 2001. Education Matters (now Education Next) Vol. 1 no.1 (Spring): 48-56.

"Recycling the Garbage Can: An Assessment of the Research Program." 2001. American Political Science Review 95 no.1 (March): 169-190. With Jonathan Bendor and Kenneth Shotts.

"The Future of School Choice." 2001. In John C. Goodman and Fritz F. Steiger, eds., An Education Agenda: Let Parents Choose Their Children's School. Dallas: National Center for Policy Analysis.

"Private Vouchers: Politics and Evidence." 2001. In Margaret C. Wang and Herbert J. Walberg, School Choice or Best Systems: What Improves Education? Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

"Teachers Unions and the Public Schools." 2001. In Terry M. Moe, ed., A Primer on America's Schools. Stanford, CA: Hoover Press.

“A Union By Any Other Name.” 2001. Education Next Vol. 1 no. 3 (Fall): 40-45. Reprinted in Paul E. Peterson, ed., Choice and Competition in American Education. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006.

“Going Private.” 2001. In Paul E. Peterson and David E. Campbell, eds., Charters, Vouchers, and Public Education. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

“Cooking the Questions?” 2002. Education Next Vol. 2 no. 1 (Spring): 71-77.

“Cynicism and Political Theory.” 2002. Cornell Law Review 87 no. 2: 362-374.

“The Structure of School Choice.” 2002. In Paul T. Hill, ed., Choice with Equity (Stanford, CA: Hoover Press).

“Dodging the Questions.” 2002. Education Next Vol. 2 no. 3 (Fall): 77-81.

“Politics, Control, and the Future of School Accountability.” 2003. In Paul E. Peterson and Martin West, eds., Leave No Child Behind? The Politics and Practices of School Accountability (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution).

“The Politics of the Status Quo.” 2003. In Paul E. Peterson, ed., Our Schools and Our Future: Are We Still at Risk? (Stanford, CA: Hoover Press).

“Reform Blockers.” 2003. (An abridged version of the above.) Education Next Vol. 3 no. 2 (Spring).

“Beyond Zelman: An Essay on the Future of Vouchers.” 2003. In Paul E. Peterson, ed., The Future of School Choice (Stanford, CA: Hoover Press).

“Presidential Power and the Power of Theory.” 2004. In Edward Mansfield and Richard Sisson, eds., The Evolution of Political Knowledge: Theory and Inquiry in American Politics (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press).

“Teachers Unions and School Board Elections.” 2005. In William G. Howell, ed., *Beseiged: School Boards and the Future of Education Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution).

“Power and Political Institutions.” 2005. Perspectives on Politics. Vol. 3, No. 2 (June): 215-33. Reprinted in Ian Shapiro, Stephen Skowronek, and Daniel Galvin, eds., *Rethinking Political Institutions: The Art of the State* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

“A High Quality Teacher in Every Classroom.” 2005. In John E. Chubb, ed., *Within Our Reach* (New York?: Rowman and Littlefield)

“Political Control and the Power of the Agent.” 2006. *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*. Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spring): 1-29.

“Union Power and the Education of Children.” 2006. In Jane Hannaway and Andrew Rotherham, eds., *Collective Bargaining in Education: Negotiating Change in Today’s Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press). Reprinted under same title as monograph by Hoover Press, Stanford, CA, 2006.

“The Union Label on the Ballot Box.” 2006. *Education Next*_Vol.6 no.3 (Summer): 58-66.

“Putting Children First: The Problem of Teacher Power.” 2007. *Journal of Educational Change* Vol.8, No.1 (March).

“Beyond the Free Market: The Structure of School Choice.” 2008. *Brigham Young University Law Review*. Vol. 2008, Issue no. 1, pp. 557-592.

“Collective Bargaining and the Performance of the Public Schools.” 2009. *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 53 No. 1 (January): 156-174.

“Virtual Schools: Will Education Technology Change the Nature of Learning?” 2009. *Education Next* (Winter). With John E. Chubb.

“The Revolution in Presidential Studies.” 2009. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 39 No. 3 (December):701-724. [This is the centerpiece article of a symposium, with seven articles written in response by other authors.] Reprinted in Martin Alessandro and Andres Gilio, eds., *La Dinamica Del Poder Ejecutivo en America* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de la Administracion Publica / INAP, 2013).

“The Presidency and the Bureaucracy: The Levers of Presidential Control.” 2009. In Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 8th edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press (with David E. Lewis).

“A New Politics of Education.” 2010. In *American Education in 2030. An Assessment of the Hoover Institution’s Task Force on K-12 Education*. Published online at <http://www.hoover.org/taskforces/education/AE2030>.

“Teachers Unions and American Education Reform: The Politics of Blocking” 2012. *The Forum* Vol. 10 No. 1 (April).

“Delegation, Control, and the Study of Public Bureaucracy.” 2013. In Robert Gibbons and John Roberts, eds. *Handbook of Organizational Economics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press). Also published in *The Forum* Vol. 10 No. 2 (July, 2012).

- “Moving to the Institutional Center.” 2013. In Jal Mehta, Robert Schwartz, and Frederick M. Hess, *The Futures of School Reform* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press). With Paul T. Hill.
- “Facing the Union Challenge.” 2014. In Chester E. Finn and Richard Sousa, eds., *What Lies Ahead for America’s Children and Their Schools?* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Press).
- “Collective Bargaining, Transfer Rights, and Disadvantaged Schools.” 2014. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*. Vol. 36 No. 1 (March): 83 – 111. With Sarah F. Anzia.
- “Focusing on Fundamentals: A Reply to Koski and Horng.” 2014. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*. Vol. 36 No. 1 (March): 120-123. With Sarah F. Anzia.
- “Congress Should Be Required to Vote Up or Down on Legislation Proposed by the President.” 2014. In Richard J. Ellis and Michael Nelson, eds., *Debating the Presidency: Conflicting Perspectives on the American Executive* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press). With William G. Howell.
- “Teachers Unions and American Education Reform: The Power of Vested Interests.” 2014. In Jeffrey A. Jenkins and Sidney Milkis, eds., *The Politics of Major Policy Reform* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 129-156.
- “Public Sector Unions and the Costs of Government.” 2015. *Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 114-127. With Sarah F. Anzia.
- “Vested Interests and Political Institutions.” 2015. *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 130 No. 2 (Summer): 277-318.
- “Do Politicians Use Policy to Make Politics? The Case of Public Sector Labor Laws.” 2016. *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 110 No.4 (November): 763-777. With Sarah F. Anzia.
- “Teachers Unions in the United States: The Politics of Blocking.” 2017. In Terry M. Moe and Susanne Wiborg, eds., *The Comparative Politics of Education: Teacher Unions and Education Systems Around the World*: 24-55. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- “Introduction.” 2017. In Terry M. Moe and Susanne Wiborg, eds., *The Comparative Politics of Education: Teacher Unions and Education Systems Around the World*: 1-23. New York: Cambridge University Press. With Susanne Wiborg.
- “The Comparative Politics of Education: Teachers Unions and Education Systems Around the World.” 2017. In Terry M. Moe and Susanne Wiborg, eds., *The Comparative Politics of Education: Teacher Unions and Education Systems Around the World*: 269-324. New York: Cambridge University Press.

“Polarization and Policy: The Politics of Public Sector Pensions.” 2017. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 42 (1): 33-62. With Sarah F. Anzia.

“Response.” 2017. Book Review Symposium on Howell & Moe, *Relic: How Our Constitution Undermines Effective Government—And Why We Need a More Powerful Presidency*. *Journal of Politics* 79 (4): xxxx. With William G. Howell.

“Resolved: Congress Should Be Required to Vote Up or Down on Legislation Proposed by the President.” 2018. In Richard J. Ellis and Michael Nelson, eds., *Debating the Presidency: Conflicting Perspectives on the American Executive* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press). With William G. Howell.

“Why the President Needs More Power.” 2018. *Boston Review* (July 2). With William G. Howell.

“Interest Groups on the Inside: The Governance of Public Pension Funds.” 2019. *Perspectives on Politics* 17 (4): 1059-1078. With Sarah F. Anzia.

“Resolved: Congress Should Be Required to Vote Up or Down on Legislation Proposed by the President.” 2020, forthcoming. In Richard J. Ellis and Michael Nelson, eds., *Debating the Presidency: Conflicting Perspectives on the American Executive* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press). With William G. Howell.

“The Presidency and the Bureaucracy.” 2020, forthcoming. In Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 12th edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press. With David E. Lewis.

“Presidents and the Populist Threat to American Democracy.” 2021, forthcoming. *Political Science Quarterly*. With William G. Howell.

“Why Fixing Bad Institutions Is So Difficult, Even During a Crisis.” 2021, forthcoming. *National Affairs*.

OTHER RESEARCH

“Bottom-Up Structure: Collective Bargaining, Transfer Rules, and the Education of Disadvantaged Children” (Unpublished paper, 2005, later revised.) Basic findings are presented in “Collective Bargaining, Transfer Rights, and Disadvantaged Schools” (with Sarah F. Anzia).

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Review of Drezner, *The Toddler-in-Chief* (and exchange with the author, who has reviewed the Howell-Moe book, *Presidents, Populism, and the Crisis of Democracy*), in *Perspectives on Politics* (2021, forthcoming).

Review of Bauer and Goldsmith, *After Trump*, in *Juridicature* (2020, forthcoming).

Review of Lindsey and Teles, *The Captured Economy*, in *Governance* (June 19, 2019): 587-589.

“Trump’s ‘Presidential Tone’ Is Meaningless.” *Prospect Magazine* online, first appearing March 2, 2017. <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/world/trumps-presidential-tone-is-meaningless-speech-congress>.

“America’s Antiquated Constitution.” *Prospect Magazine* online, first appearing Feb. 2, 2017. <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/world/americas-antiquated-constitution-united-states-constitution-donald-trump-electoral-college>.

“Conservatives and Constitutional Change.” *Defining Ideas*, June 23, 2016.

“An Outdated Constitution.” *Defining Ideas*, June 2, 2016.

“Fix the Broken US Government with ‘Fast Track.’” CNN.com, May 24, 2016.

Book Review of Peter Schuck, *Why Government Fails So Often*. Political Science Quarterly Vol. 130 No. 2 (Summer, 2015): 368-370.

Book Review of Jeffrey R. Henig, *The End of Exceptionalism in American Education*. Political Science Quarterly (Fall, 2014): 509-512.

Book Review of Jesse H. Rhodes, *An Education in Politics: The Origins and Evolution of No Child Left Behind*. Political Science Quarterly (Summer, 2014): 333-6.

Book Review: Ben W. Ansell, *From the Ballot to the Blackboard*. 2012. Perspectives on Politics Vol. 10, No. 3 (September), pp. 846-847.

“Chicago Teachers’ Strike Hurts Our Kids.” cnn.com (Sept. 11, 2012).

“Higher Education’s Online Revolution,” Wall Street Journal (May 30, 2012). With John E. Chubb.

“The Internet Will Reduce Teachers Union Power,” Wall Street Journal (July 18, 2011).

“Government, Markets, and the Mixed Model of American Education Reform,” Education Week (April 18, 2011). With Paul T. Hill.

“Change Our Public Schools Need.” Wall Street Journal (Nov. 24, 2008).

“Management 101 for Our Public Schools.” Wall Street Journal (Oct. 31, 2006)

“Thriving on Failure.” Stanford Magazine (July / August, 2006).

“Packing a Punch.” Wall Street Journal (August 25, 2005).

“No Teacher Left Behind.” Wall Street Journal (Jan. 13, 2005).

“How Vouchers Will Enrich the Public Schools,” New York Times (Jan. 24, 2004).

“Pay Attention to the Framing of the Question.” Education Week (Oct. 2000).

“Teachers Unions and the Prospects for Better Schools.” The Weekly Standard (Sept. 11, 2000).

[Forgot the title--a long op-ed piece on the newly launched Children’s Scholarship Fund], Washington Post Sunday Education Supplement (April, 1999).

“Theory and the Future of Presidential Studies.” Presidential Research Newsletter (Fall 1997).

"School Choice: Will State-Supported Educational Alternatives Help or Hinder Private Schools?" Journal of Research on Christian Education 3 no. 2 (Autumn 1994).

"What Were the Findings of the Education Summit? Political Control is the Central Problem," L.A. Daily News (February 20, 1994). With John O'Leary.

"Reviving the System." Review of Myron Lieberman, Public Education: An Autopsy in the Washington Post (October 31, 1993).

"Private versus Public, Research versus Rhetoric." Education Week (April, 1992).

"Choice in Education: Incentives for Reform." The Senior Economist 7 (September 1991): 3-5. With John E. Chubb.

"Reform Can't Be Left to the Education Establishment." New York Times (August 26, 1990). With John E. Chubb.

"Letting Schools Work." NY: The City Journal Vol. 1 no. 1 (Autumn 1990): 41-53. With John E. Chubb.

"An Open Market Proposal for America's Schools." The Washington Post Education Review (August 5, 1990): 19-20. With John E. Chubb.

"Only Radical Reform Can Rescue American Education." San Diego Union (July 8, 1990). With John E. Chubb.

"Education Still Failing: Why a Decade of 'Reform' Has Not Worked." San Diego Union (June 24, 1990). With John E. Chubb.

"A Blueprint for Public Education." The Wall Street Journal (June 6, 1990). With John E. Chubb.

"Higher Teacher Pay Doesn't Make the Grade." The Wall Street Journal (June 24, 1986). With John E. Chubb.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

2020 Legacy Award from the APSA's Presidency and Executive Politics Sector. The award is "given to a living author for a book, essay, or article, published at least 10 years prior to the award year, that has made a continuing contribution to the intellectual development of the fields of presidency and executive politics." The award was for my article, "The Politicized Presidency."

2018 Jewell-Loewenberg Award from the APSA's Legislative Studies Section for best article in *Legislative Studies Quarterly* in 2017 for "Polarization and Policy: The Politics of Public Sector Pensions," with Sarah F. Anzia.

Thomas B. Fordham Prize for Distinguished Scholarship, 2005 (\$25,000 prize)

Elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, forgot the year!

Children First America Award for Research, 2002 (a continuing annual award to bear my name from this point on)

Herbert Simon Award for contributions to the scientific study of bureaucracy, Midwest Public Administration Caucus (of the Midwest Political Science Association), April 2001.

Grant: through the Brookings Institution, funded by a private donor, some \$400,000 (give or take) for a study of teachers unions. Begun fall, 1999.

Grants: for national public opinion survey on school choice, \$95,000 from two private foundations. 1994.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Study, Stanford CA, 1992-3.

Pi Sigma Alpha Award for best paper at the 1983 APSA convention: "The Positive Theory of Hierarchies" (with Gary J. Miller).

Grants: for "The Organization and Performance of Public and Private Schools." With John E. Chubb:

1989-90, Olin Foundation Conference Grant, \$50,000.

1986-87, Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement Grant, \$90,000.

1986-87, Bradley Foundation Research Grant, \$75,000.

1985-86, Smith Richardson Foundation Research Grant, \$75,000.

1983-84, National Institute of Education Grant, \$160,000.

NSF Grant, 1980-84, "Longitudinal Analysis of the Independent Regulatory Commissions," \$68,000.