



What Next for School Vouchers?

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Participant Biographies

Jeanne Allen is one of the nation's most influential education experts. As president of the Center for Education Reform (CER), an organization she founded in 1993, Allen is consulted regularly by lawmakers and national leaders in efforts to improve America's schools. An advocate of bringing the power of ordinary people to bear on policy decisions - believing that reform best begins in the neighborhoods and communities of America - she is the author of *The School Reform Handbook: How to Improve Your Schools*. Allen's two decades of education experience and expertise places her at the forefront of the drive to bring substantive change to education. She is a frequent commentator in print and broadcast media having appeared on shows ranging from *Good Morning America*, *Nightline*, and the *Today Show* to *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* and *The O'Reilly Factor*. Her commentaries and thoughts appear in the more than 200 publications yearly, including *The Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *Investor's Business Daily*, *The Dallas Morning News*, and *Newsday*. Leading family magazines such as *Good Housekeeping*, *Parents*, and *Reader's Digest* frequently rely on Allen's expertise on parent and education issues. Allen received her bachelor's in political science from Dickinson College and went on to work on Capitol Hill and the U.S. Department of Education in senior posts. She founded the Center for Education Reform to fill the void that existed in the nation for sound leadership on education reform. CER, an independent non-profit advocacy organization, is the nation's leading authority on education reform and provides important tools for those seeking to create reform-oriented change, and bring together diverse forces dedicated to making schools better.

Alan Altshuler is Director of the A. Alfred Taubman Center for State and Local Government. He holds a joint appointment at the Kennedy School and Harvard's Graduate School of Design as the Ruth and Frank Stanton Professor of Urban Policy and Planning. Altshuler has previously served as academic dean of the Kennedy School, dean of NYU's Graduate School of Public Administration, as professor of political science and urban planning at MIT, and as Massachusetts Secretary of Transportation and Construction. He has written or co-authored several books, including *The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis in Large American Cities*; *Community Control*; *The Black Demand for Participation in Large American Cities*; *The Urban Transportation System* (with James P. Womack, John R. Pucher); and *Regulation for Revenue: The Political Economy of Land Use Exactions* (with José Gómez-Ibáñez). He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago.

Peter Berkowitz, Associate Professor of Law at George Mason University, came to the law school from the Harvard Government Department, where he taught for nine years. He is the author of two highly acclaimed books, *Nietzsche: The Ethics of an Immoralist* (Harvard, 1995) and *Virtue and the*

Making of Modern Liberalism (Princeton, 1999). The Nietzsche book, a close analysis of *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, seeks to reclaim the German philosopher from postmodern writers who celebrate him as a founder of moral relativism. The book won a prize as the best first book published by Harvard University Press in 1995. The virtue book examines the important role that virtue plays in the writings of hard-headed political philosophers such as Hobbes and rationalists such as Kant. Professor Berkowitz has also published articles in the *Yale Law Journal*, the *Philosophical Review*, and the *American Political Science Review*. He writes regularly for *The New Republic* and has been published as well in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *First Things*, *The London Review of Books*, the *Public Interest*, the *TLS*, and the *Weekly Standard*.

Clint Bolick serves as vice president and national director of state chapters at the Institute for Justice, which he co-founded in 1991 to engage in constitutional litigation protecting individual liberty and challenging the regulatory welfare state. For the past 12 years, he has led the nationwide effort to defend school choice programs, with victories in the Wisconsin, Ohio, and Arizona Supreme Courts and culminating in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* in the U.S. Supreme Court. In the 1980s and '90s, he helped lead the effort to increase judicial scrutiny of racial classifications in such areas as public employment and inter-racial adoptions. He designed a legal strategy to restore judicial protection of economic liberty, which has produced several landmark rulings invalidating regulatory barriers to enterprise. Bolick received his law degree from the University of California at Davis in 1982 and his undergraduate degree from Drew University in 1979.

Cory Booker, in four years as Newark's Central Ward Councilman, has introduced over 100 new laws and resolutions affecting housing, youth, safety, jobs, and better government. Booker has earned a reputation as a leader with innovative ideas and bold actions. Cory Booker's legislative accomplishments include resolutions to enforce housing codes and laws making the streets around schools safer. In 2000, his efforts resulted in increased police presence and improved long-term security for residents. For five months, Booker took to the streets: he lived in a motor home, parked it on the worst corners in the city, and inspired residents and businesses to fight against drug dealing and crime. When everyone said it couldn't be done, Cory Booker upset a 16-year incumbent to become the Central Ward councilman in 1997 by knocking on over 40,000 doors. Cory Booker's passion for politics and justice was instilled at an early age by a family committed to change. Booker is inspired by his parents who successfully fought against racial discrimination and shattered corporate ceilings. Booker worked with troubled youth in East Palo Alto, California while an All-American football player and Student Body President at Stanford University. He then founded and ran a mentoring program for lower-income youth in Oxford, England while studying sociology and philosophy as a graduate student and Rhodes Scholar. Booker then fought for low-income tenants' rights in Newark while earning a law degree at Yale University.

John Brandl is Professor and former Dean of the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota. In addition to his professorship at the Humphrey Institute, Mr. Brandl has held faculty appointments in economics at Boston College, Harvard University, St. John's University (Minnesota), the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the University of the Philippines, and the Warsaw School of Economics. He has also held a number of government positions. For his work as a systems analyst in the Office of the Secretary of Defense he was awarded the Joint Service Commendation Medal. Later he was Deputy Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare where he was responsible for planning, budgeting and evaluation of the Department's efforts in the field of education. For twelve years he

was on partial leave of absence from the University to serve first as a member of the Minnesota House of Representatives and then as a member of the Minnesota Senate. He is a past president of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management and of the Citizens League of the Twin Cities. He has received the American Evaluation Association's President's Award for Outstanding Career Contributions to the Understanding of Evaluation and Politics. He is an elected Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration and a recipient of the National Governors Association Award for Distinguished Service to State Government. Mr. Brandl has published widely on public policy and economic subjects and for several years he wrote a regular column for the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*. His book, *Money and Good Intentions are Not Enough*, was published in 1998 by the Brookings Institution. Mr. Brandl holds a B.A. degree in economics with honors from St. John's University, and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in economics from Harvard University.

Louis R. Cohen is a partner of Wilmer, Cutler & Pickering, specializing in U.S. Supreme Court and other appellate litigation. He filed a brief in *Zelman* on behalf of American Education Reform Council, and he has lectured on Establishment Clause issues. From 1986-88, Mr. Cohen served as Deputy Solicitor General of the United States. He has taught Corporate Finance at both Stanford and Harvard Law Schools. He is a member of the American Law Institute and the American Academy of Appellate Lawyers.

Chester E. Finn, Jr., scholar, educator and public servant, has devoted most of his career to improving education in the United States. As John M. Olin Fellow at the Manhattan Institute and President of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, his primary focus is the reform of primary and secondary schooling. Finn is also a Fellow of the International Academy of Education, a Distinguished Visiting Fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution, and an Adjunct Fellow at the Hudson Institute, where he worked from 1995 through 1998. From 1992 through 1994, he served as founding partner and senior scholar with the Edison Project. He has been Professor of Education and Public Policy at Vanderbilt University since 1981. (He is currently on leave.) From 1985 to 1988, he served as Assistant Secretary for Research and Improvement at the U.S. Department of Education. Earlier positions include Staff Assistant to the President of the United States; Special Assistant to the Governor of Massachusetts; Counsel to the U.S. Ambassador to India; Research Associate at the Brookings Institution; and Legislative Director for Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Charles L. Glenn is professor and Chairman of Administration, Training and Policy Studies, and Fellow of the University Professors Program, at Boston University. From 1970 to 1991 (including all three Dukakis administrations) he was director of urban education and equity efforts for the Massachusetts Department of Education, including administration of over \$500 million in state funds for magnet schools and desegregation, and initial responsibility for the nation's first state bilingual education mandates. Glenn is author of a number of studies in educational history and comparative policy, including *The Myth of the Common School* (1988), *Choice of Schools in Six Nations* (1989), *Educational Freedom in Eastern Europe* (1994, 1995), *Educating Immigrant Children: Schools and Language Minorities in Twelve Nations* (1996), and *The Ambiguous Embrace: Government and Faith-based Schools and Social Agencies* (Princeton University Press, 2000) as well as the article on school choice in the *International Encyclopedia of Education* (2nd edition) and several hundred articles, book chapters, and monographs. He has just completed, with Professor Jan De Groof of Ghent, *Finding the Right Balance: Freedom, Autonomy and Accountability in Education*, a study of the arrangements in 26 countries for balancing educational freedom with common standards and accountability, pupil and teacher

rights with the integrity of the school's mission, and is currently writing *The Long Tug-of-War: Schools Between State and Civil Society*, a history of schooling in the West. Glenn is active in educational policy debates in the United States and Europe, is vice president of OIDEL (the Geneva-based international organization promoting educational freedom), a charter member of the European Association for Education Law and Policy, and has served as a consultant to the Russian and Chinese education authorities, and to states and major cities across the United States. He has served as an expert witness in federal court cases on school finance, desegregation, and bilingual education. Glenn's BA and EdD degrees are from Harvard, and his PhD from Boston University.

C. Boyden Gray's practice focuses on a range of regulatory matters with emphasis on environmental issues, including those relating to biotechnology, trade, clean air, and the management of risk. Mr. Gray advises clients on all aspects of air pollution and was one of the principal architects of the 1991 Clean Air Act Amendments. He also represents software developers in the Microsoft case and has had extensive experience with legislative struggles over antitrust and other matters at the federal level. Mr. Gray is a graduate of Harvard University (1964) and the University of North Carolina (J.D. 1968), where he served as Editor-in-Chief of the *UNC Law Review*. Following graduation from law school, he clerked for Chief Justice Earl Warren of the U.S. Supreme Court for a year. Mr. Gray joined WCP in 1969 and became a partner in 1976. In 1981, he left the firm to serve as Legal Counsel to Vice President George Bush. Mr. Gray later served as Director of the Office of Transition Counsel for the Bush transition team, and as Counsel to President Bush from 1989-1993. He returned to WCP in 1993. Mr. Gray currently serves as Chairman of Citizens for a Sound Economy. In addition, he is a member of Harvard University's Committee on University Development, the Board of Trustees of the Washington Scholarship Fund, St. Mark's School, and National Cathedral School. He recently served on the Bush-Cheney Transition Department of Justice Advisory Committee. Mr. Gray is the recipient of the Presidential Citizens Medal and the Distinguished Alumnus Award of the University of North Carolina Law School. He also served as a sergeant in the United States Marine Corps Reserve from 1965-1970.

Steven K. Green is an Associate Professor of Law at Willamette University and has served for nine years as Counsel and Director of Policy for Americans United for Separation of Church and State, a national public interest organization that concentrates on First Amendment law issues in Washington, D.C. He has extensive litigation and appellate experience in First Amendment law and has participated several cases at the U.S. Supreme Court. He also has significant legislative experience, having testified in Congress and in several state legislatures. Prior to moving to Washington, Green taught for four years at Vermont Law School and previously served as a misdemeanor court judge and legal services attorney in Alaska. He served as Executive Editor of the *Urban Law Review* while at the University of Texas, where he earned his J.D. He also holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in American Constitutional and Religious History from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Jay P. Greene is a Senior Fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research where he conducts research and writes about education policy. He has conducted evaluations of school choice and accountability programs in Florida, Charlotte, Milwaukee, Cleveland, and San Antonio. He has also investigated the effects of school choice on civic values and integration. His research was cited four times in the Supreme Court's opinions in the landmark *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* case on school vouchers. His articles have appeared in policy journals, such as *The Public Interest*, *City*

Journal, and *Education Next*, in academic journals, such as *The Georgetown Public Policy Review*, *Education and Urban Society*, and *The British Journal of Political Science*, as well as in major newspapers, such as the *Wall Street Journal* and *Christian Science Monitor*. Most recently he published a piece on vouchers and school integration in the *Wall Street Journal*, analyses of problems with special education in *Education Week*, *National Review Online* and *The Education Gadfly*, and a defense of high stakes testing in *Education Next*. Greene has been a professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Houston. He received his B.A. in history from Tufts University in 1988 and his Ph.D. from the Government Department at Harvard University in 1995.

Bryan C. Hassel is Co-Director of Public Impact, an education policy and management consulting firm based in Charlotte, North Carolina. He consults nationally on charter schools and the comprehensive reform of existing public schools. His recent work with charter schools has included a leading role in the development of the North Carolina Charter School Resource Center; extensive research and technical assistance on issues of charter school facilities finance for the Charter Friends National Network; and the design of programs and publications for charter-granting agencies, including *The Charter School Review Process: A Guide for Chartering Entities*. In the area of comprehensive school reform, he is the author of the North Central Regional Education Laboratory's *Making Good Choices*, a guide to selecting an appropriate school design, and the co-author of forthcoming publications on the district role in comprehensive reform and working productively with school design organizations. He is the author of *The Charter School Challenge: Avoiding the Pitfalls, Fulfilling the Promise* and co-editor of *Learning from School Choice*, published by the Brookings Institution Press in 1999 and 1998. Dr. Hassel received his doctorate in public policy from Harvard University and his masters in politics from Oxford University, which he attended as a Rhodes Scholar.

William G. Howell will be an assistant professor of government at Harvard University beginning July 1, 2002. He is currently an assistant professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. William is the author, with Paul Peterson, of the *The Education Gap: Vouchers and Urban Schools* (Brookings Press, 2002); and *Power without Persuasion: A Theory of Presidential Action* (Princeton University Press, 2003). William received his Ph.D. from Stanford University in 2000.

Lisa Graham Keegan recently took the helm of the Education Leaders Council as its Chief Executive Officer. Prior to this position she was Arizona's Superintendent of Public Instruction. In addition, she served on the state boards for universities, colleges and charter schools. Ms. Keegan is known for her focus on educational improvement and reform, including efforts for student centered funding, charter schools, expanded school choice and an emphasis on marketplace incentives. She originally developed her policies during her service in Arizona's House of Representatives, where she chaired the Education Committee, and authored much of the reform legislation she would later oversee. Ms. Keegan is a founding member of the Education Leaders Council, a group of reform-minded education chiefs from seven states. In March of 1999, Ms. Keegan was presented with the Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation Award for Leadership in Educational Choice. In May of 1999, she was honored by the Republican Women Leaders Forum as Educator of the Year. She graduated from Stanford University with a Bachelor of Arts in human language in 1981, and from Arizona State University with a Master of Science in communications disorders in 1983.

Bruno Manno is Senior Program Associate for Education with the Annie E. Casey Foundation in Baltimore, Maryland. His responsibilities include assessing and managing the Foundation's

investments in education projects. Prior to his work at the Casey Foundation, Manno was Senior Fellow in the Education Policy Studies Program at the Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C. Manno is a former Assistant Secretary of Education for Policy and Planning in the United States Department of Education. While at the U.S. Department of Education, he directed the work of the team that created AMERICA 2000, President Bush's strategy to achieve the Nation's six education goals. He served as Special Assistant to Secretary Lamar Alexander before becoming U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education for Policy and Planning. Manno first came to the U.S. Department of Education in 1986 as Director of Planning for the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI). He held several senior policy and management positions in that Office, including Chief of Staff and Acting Assistant Secretary. A graduate of the University of Dayton (B.A., 1970; M.A., 1972), Manno received his Ph.D. from Boston College in 1975.

Terry M. Moe is a professor of political science at Stanford University as well as a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. His current research is concerned with teachers' unions, school choice, and the education system more generally. A major force in the choice movement, he has authored two influential books in the area, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* (1990, with John Chubb), and *Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public* (2001). He has also edited and contributed articles to two important volumes, *Private Vouchers* (1995) and *A Primer on America's Schools* (2001). Along with his work on education, Moe has written extensively on public bureaucracy and the presidency, and is considered a leading figure in both fields.

Michael Leo Owens (Ph.D., State University of New York at Albany) is Assistant Professor of Political Science and African and African-American Studies at the Pennsylvania State University. He specializes in American politics, with an emphasis on urban politics, African-American politics, public policy, and religion and politics. On leave at Emory University (2002-2003), where he is Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science, Dr. Owens is completing a book on the changing politics of urban black churches. Formerly a lead researcher for the national Urban Neighborhoods and Community Capacity Building Study of the Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, Dr. Owens has held staff positions with the New York State Temporary Commission on Constitutional Revision and the New York State Senate.

Paul E. Peterson is the Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government and Director of the Program on Education Policy and Governance at Harvard University, a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, and Editor-In-Chief of *Education Next*, a journal of opinion and research on education policy. He is a former director of the Center for American Political Studies at Harvard University and of the Governmental Studies program at the Brookings Institution. Peterson is the author or editor of over one hundred articles and twenty-two books, including *The Education Gap: Vouchers and Urban Schools*; *Charters, Vouchers, and Public Education*; *Earning and Learning: How Schools Matter*; *Learning From School Choice*; *The Politics of School Reform: 1870-1940*; *School Politics Chicago Style*; and *City Limits*. Three of his books have received major awards from the American Political Science Association. After receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, he was a professor for many years at Chicago in the Departments of Political Science and Education. Peterson chaired the Social Science Research Council's Committee on the Urban Underclass and has served on many committees of the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National Academy of Education. He has received fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the German Marshall Foundation, and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

David M. Steiner, Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Administration, Training, and Policy Studies at Boston University's School of Education, is a scholar in the dual fields of the philosophy of education and American K-12 education reform. His books, articles, public talks, grants, and university teaching are focused on bringing these concerns together around the concept of Paideia; the public responsibility to provide an ethical, intellectual, and political education to the next generation. Towards this end, Professor Steiner has designed and constructed assessment, accountability and curricula materials, consulted with major education reform organizations, and served on national education task forces focused on the improved delivery of education. He has also worked with public officials, academics, and public school teachers in the United States, Europe, and Asia, to implement new education programs. He received his BA and MA from Balliol College, Oxford University, and his PhD from Harvard University.

Joseph P. Viteritti is a Research Professor of Public Policy in the Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service at New York University, where he is Director of the Program on Education and Civil Society. He is the author of *Choosing Equality: School Choice, the Constitution, and Civil Society* (Brookings, 1999) and articles on school choice in the *NYU Annual Survey of American Law* (2000); *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* (1998); and *Yale Law & Policy Review* (1996). He has co-edited *Making Good Citizens: Education and Civil Society* (Yale, 2001); *City Schools: Lessons From New York* (Johns Hopkins, 2000); and *New Schools For a New Century: The Redesign of Urban Education* (Yale, 1997); and is also the author of *Across the River: Politics and Education in the City* (Holmes & Meier, 1983); and *Bureaucracy and Social Justice* (Kennikat, 1979).

Martin R. West is a Ph.D. candidate in Government and Social Policy at Harvard University and a Research Associate at Harvard's Program on Education Policy and Governance. He is also a Doctoral Fellow in the Kennedy School of Government's Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy and the research editor of the journal *Education Next*. His primary areas of interest involve educational policy and politics, especially questions related to accountability policies, school choice, and the allocation of resources. Before coming to Harvard, he received an M.Phil. in Economic and Social History from the University of Oxford and a B.A. in History from Williams College.

Patrick Wolf is Assistant Professor of Public Policy at the Georgetown University Public Policy Institute. He also is a member of the National Working Commission on Choice in K-12 Education and the Book Review Editor of the *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. Professor Wolf received his Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University in 1995. He is a contributing author to *The Education Gap: Vouchers and Urban Schools*, and author or co-author of more than a dozen articles and book chapters on school vouchers, special education, and public management. In 1998 he received the "Best Article of the Year" Award from the Academy of Management, Public and Nonprofit Division, for his publication, "Why Must We Reinvent the Federal Government?" Dr. Wolf has testified before a congressional committee regarding the reform of special education and has advised officials of the governments of Great Britain, Japan, and the District of Columbia about education policy and management.