*Robert P. Stoker*

*(updated April 2020)*

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**Education**

# Ph.D. University of Maryland, College Park 1983

M.A. University of Maryland, College Park 1979

# B.A. The Ohio State University 1976

**Present Position**

I am Professor of Political Science and a founding member of the faculty of the Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration at the George Washington University. My teaching and research interests are in the fields of policy analysis, policy implementation, social welfare policy, and urban policy.

**Publications**

## *Books and Monographs*

*Urban Neighborhoods in a New Era: Revitalization Politics in the Post-Industrial City*, Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2015, with Clarence Stone, John Betancur, Susan Clarke, Marilyn Dantico, Martin Horak, Karen Mossberger, Juliet Musso, Jeffrey Sellers, Ellen Shiau, Harold Wolman, and Donn Worgs.

*Collaborative Governance for Urban Revitalization: Lessons from Empowerment Zones*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2014, with Michael J. Rich.

*When Work is Not Enough: State and Federal Policies to Support Needy Workers*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2006, with Laura A. Wilson.

*Reluctant Partners: Implementing Federal Policy*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991.

"Evaluation of Foreign Policy." *Monograph Series on World Affairs*, Vol. 18, Book 3, 1981, with Davis Bobrow.

## *Book Chapters*

"Convergence, Fiscal Federalism, and Modes of Governance: The Evolution of Welfare and Work Supports in the American States," with Neal Toomey and Sarah Cordes. In *Social Policy in the United States and the European Union*. Under contract to Cambridge University Press.

“Managing Partners: Performance Based Contracting in Baltimore’s Empowerment Zone.” In *Participatory Governance: Planning, Conflict Mediation and Public Decision-Making in Civil Society*, edited by W. Robert Lovan, Michael Murray, and Ron Shaffer. (Hampshire, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2004).

“Who is Empowered? Innovative Governance in Baltimore’s Empowerment Zone.” In *Innovation and Entrepreneurship in State and Local Government*, edited by Michael Harris and Rhonda Kinney. (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2003).

“Is Federal Welfare Reform Helping or Hurting Poor Families?” In *Feuds about Families: Conservative, Centrist, Liberal, and Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Nijole V. Benokraitis. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000), with Laura Wilson.

"Baltimore: The Self‑Evaluating City?" In *The Politics of Urban Development*, edited by Clarence Stone and Heywood Sanders (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1987).

## *Referred Journal Articles*

"Obama's Urban Legacy: The Limits of Braiding and Local Policy Coordination." *Urban Affairs Review* (forthcoming), with Michael Rich.

"Weathering the Storm: Social Policy and the Great Recession." *Policy Studies Journal* (published online April 2019), with Cory Maks-Solomon. This paper is also being published as a contribution to a Special Issue of the *Policy Studies Journal*.

"The Effects of Beneficiary Targeting on Support for Social Policies." *Policy Studies Journal,* Vol. 41, Number 2, 2013,with Eric Lawrence and Harold Wolman.

“Rethinking Empowerment: Evidence from Local Empowerment Zone Programs.” *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 45, Number 6, July 2010, with Michael Rich.

“Crafting Urban Policy: The Conditions of Public Support for Urban Policy Initiatives.” *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 45, Number 3, January 2010, with Eric Lawrence and Harold Wolman.

“Welfare Bureaus as Moral Tutors: What Do Clients Learn from Paternalistic Welfare Reforms?” *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 80, Number 3, September 1999, with Laura Wilson and Dennis McGrath.

“Verifying Compliance: Social Regulation and Welfare Reform.” *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 58, Number 5, September/October 1998, with Laura Wilson.

“Paternalistic Welfare Reform: Behavioral Models and Client Perceptions.” *Journal of Health and Human Services Administration*, Vol. 20, Number 1, Summer 1997, with Laura Wilson‑Gentry, Larry Thomas, and Grace Clark.

“Policy Design and Implementation Effectiveness: Structural Change in a County Court System.” *Policy Studies Journal*, vol. 20, No. 3, 1992, with Ronald Lippincott.

“A Regime Framework for Implementation Analysis: Cooperation and Reconciliation of Federalist Imperatives.” *Policy Studies Review*, vol. 9, No. 1, 1989.

“Employee Inefficacy in Selected Client Serving Bureaucracies.” *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Summer 1984, with Clarence Stone.

“Economic Issues and National Security.” *The Journal of International Studies*. Issue No. 12, January 1984, with Davis Bobrow.

“Work Autonomy and Job Dissatisfaction Among Urban Service Employees.” *Urban Interest*. Vol. 3, No. 2, Fall 1981, with Clarence Stone.

“Accountability Initiatives and Accountability Constraints: Bargaining Between the U.S. and the N.I.E.0.” *The Jerusalem Journal of International Relations*. Vol. 5, No. 1, 1980, with Davis Bobrow and Robert Kudrle.

## *Other Publications*

"Old Policies and New Presidents: Promise Zones and the Trump Administration." *Urban Affairs Forum*, February 2020, with Michael Rich.

"Urban or Downtown Renaissance." In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, edited by Anthony Orum and published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd., April 2019.

"Significant Political Change." *Urban Affairs Forum*, February 2018, with Clarence Stone.

"Acknowledging New Configurations." *Urban Affairs Forum*, February 2018, with Clarence Stone.

"The Third Lie: Why Government Programs Don’t Work – and a Blueprint for Change by Richard J. Gelles." (book review), *Political Science Quarterly*, 128, 1: 204-205.

“Mark Bevir, Key Concepts in Governance.”(book review) *Public Organization Review: A Global Journal,* Vol. 11, No. 1: 93-94.

“Reforms at Risk: What Happens After Major Policy Changes Are Enactedby Eric M. Patashnik.”(book review) *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 2: 578-580.

“Pilot Project for the Democracy Workshop.” Working Paper 037, George Washington Institute for Public Policy: Washington D.C., January 2009, with Eric Lawrence, Wilhelmine Miller, Lori Brainard, and John Dryzek.

“Lessons and Limits: The Limits of Tax Incentives for Rebuilding the Gulf Coast after Katrina,” with Michael Rich. *Brookings Policy Brief,* August 2006, Metropolitan Politics Program, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

“The Politics of Quasi-Government: Hybrid Organizations and the Dynamics of Bureaucratic Control by Jonathan G.S. Koppell.” (book review) *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 3, September 2004.

“Racing Up to the Bottom: Work and Welfare in the U.S.” Working Paper 001, George Washington Institute of Public Policy: Washington D.C., March 2003, with Laura Wilson.

"Representative Sampling and Welfare Reform Experiments." Proceedings of the 1995 Annual Conference of the National Association of Welfare Research and Statistics, with Dennis McGrath.

'The Budget‑Maximizing Bureaucrat: Appraisals and Evidence by Andre Blais and Stephane Dion, eds." (book review) *Governance*. April 1993.

"An Ounce of Prevention: Child Health Politics under Medicaid by Anne‑Marie Foltz," (book review) *The Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Summer 1984.

**Honors and Awards**

Policy Research Scholar, George Washington Institute for Public Policy, (a competitive award for research support), George Washington University, 2001.

Dilthey Award, (a competitive award for summer support for inter-disciplinary research), George Washington University, 2000.

Summer Fellow in Public Policy, (a competitive award for summer support for policy oriented research), Graduate Institute for Public Policy Research, George Washington University.

Junior Scholar Incentive Award, Columbian College, George Washington University.

Graduate Assistantship, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, 1976‑1980.

Outstanding Graduating Senior (one of ten), 1976, The Ohio State University.

President of Senior Honorary Society, 1975‑76, The Ohio State University.

University Honorary Society Membership, 1973‑1976, The Ohio State University.

**Professional Activities**

I participated in a round table discussion of Opportunity Zones at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research, Washington, DC (June 2019).

I participated in a round table discussion of my co-authored book, *Urban Neighborhoods in a New Era,* at the Wilson Center, Urban Sustainability Laboratory, Washington, DC (May 2016).

My paper, with Michael Rich, "Rethinking Federal Urban Policy in an Age of Austerity," was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, California (September 2015).

My paper, with Clarence Stone, “Policy, Polity, and Political Ecosystems,” was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, California (September 2015).

My paper, with Clarence Stone and Donn Worgs, “The New Neighborhood Politics in Baltimore,” was presented at the 2013 Urban Affairs Association convention in San Francisco, California (April 2013).

My paper, with Clarence Stone and Donn Worgs, “Disarming David: The Subterranean Politics of Neighborhood Regeneration in Baltimore,” was presented at the Southern Political Science Association 2011 Annual Convention (New Orleans, Louisiana).

My paper, with Clarence Stone and Donn Worgs, “The Politics of Neighborhood Regeneration in Baltimore,” was presented at the Midwest Political Science Association 2010 Annual Convention (Chicago, Illinois).

I presented a paper, co-authored with Clarence Stone and Donn Worgs, at the American Political Science Association annual meeting (Toronto, September 2009): “Policy Subsystems and the Politics of Neighborhood Revitalization in Baltimore.”

I presented a paper, co-authored with Clarence Stone and Donn Worgs, at the Urban Affairs Association annual meeting (Chicago, March 2009): “The Politics of Neighborhood Regeneration in Baltimore: Toward a Theoretical Framework for Comparative Analysis.”

I presented a paper, co-authored with Clarence Stone and Donn Worgs, at the American Political Science Association annual meeting (Boston, August 2008): “Neighborhood Inequality and Revitalization: An Exploration of Five Themes through the Baltimore Case.”

I presented a paper, co-authored with Michael Rich, and participated in a roundtable discussion about the urban empowerment zone initiative: “Empowerment Zones and Urban Revitalization: Lessons Learned from Baltimore” at the Urban Affairs Association annual meeting (Baltimore, April 2008).

I presented a paper, co-authored with Clarence Stone, “Baltimore: Crosscurrents in a Policy Transition” at the Urban Affairs Association annual meeting (Baltimore, April 2008).

I co-authored a paper with Eric Lawrence and Harold Wolman titled “Target Groups and Public Support for Public Policies: An Experimental Test,” that was presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Conference, (Chicago, Illinois, April 2007).

I presented a paper titled “Governance and Urban Revitalization: Lessons from the Urban Empowerment Zone Initiative,” co-authored with Michael Rich at the Conference on A Global Look at Urban and Regional Governance: The State-Market-Civil Nexus, at Emory University, (Atlanta, Georgia, January 2007).

I presented a paper titled “Breaking the Rules: Can State and Federal Programs Help People Recover from a Bad Start?” co-authored with Laura Wilson at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (Philadelphia, August-September 2006).

I gave a presentation to the George Washington Institute for Public Policy titled “Coming Up Short: It’s Not What You Think,” Washington, D.C., February 2005.

I presented a paper titled “Social Federalism and the Governance of Welfare and In-Work Benefits in the American States” (co-authored with Neal Toomey) at the Washington Workshop of the Conference on Welfare State Reform in the United States and European Union, Washington, D.C., November 2004.

I presented a paper titled “From Empowerment to Renewal” (co-authored with Mike Rich) at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2004.

I presented a paper titled “Rethinking Corporate Governance: Strong Democracy in Baltimore’s Empowerment Zone?” at the International Political Science Association, Structure of Government Conference, Washington, D.C., May 2003.

I participated in a roundtable titled “The War on Terror and the Transformation of American Democracy,” as part of the conference titled “Is There a Crisis in U.S. Foreign Relations,” George Washington University, Washington, D.C., September 26, 2002.

I participated in a roundtable discussion on government contracting at the “Policy Tools and Government Performance” conference in Washington D.C., spring 2002.

I presented the results of the HUD sponsored interim evaluation of the Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community initiative to the Board of Directors of the Empower Baltimore Management Corporation, March 2002.

I presented a paper entitled “Empower Baltimore? $100 Million Is Not A Lot of Money” at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management in Washington, D.C.

I participated in a roundtable discussion on the “State Implementation Theory” at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association held in Seattle, Washington, March 1999.

I presented a paper titled “Redefining Dependency: How Welfare Reform has Changed the Welfare System” at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association held in Seattle, Washington, March 1999 with Laura Wilson.

I participated in a conference on "New Governance at the Millennium: Transforming Public Sector Decision‑Making" held in Baltimore, Maryland, August 1998.

I participated in a panel discussion on "Empowerment Zones" at the 1997 meeting of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management in Washington, D.C. I reported my field research related to implementation issues in Baltimore, Maryland's Empowerment Zone.

I presented a paper to the 1997 meeting of the Southwest Political Science Association titled "Understanding Behaviorally‑Based Welfare Reform: A Comparison of Case Histories and Survey," with Laura Wilson and Dennis McGrath.

I presented a paper to a symposium on welfare policy sponsored by The George Washington University's Women's Studies Program titled "The Goals of Welfare Reform and How They are Displaced," with Laura Wilson.

I presented a paper to the 1995 Annual Conference of the National Association of Welfare Research and Statistics titled "Representative Sampling and Welfare Reform Experiments," with Dennis McGrath.

I presented a paper to the 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association titled, "Variation in State Responses to Federal Political Controls: An Examination of the National School Lunch Program," with Susan Wiley.

I presented a paper to the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association titled: "State Responses to Changing Federal Priorities: An Examination of the National School Lunch Program," with Susan Wiley.

I participated in a roundtable discussion of the implementation of the Americans with Disability Act at the1993 annual meeting of the Association for Policy Analysis and Management.

I organized a panel for the 1987 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association titled "New Ideas for Implementation Analysis."

I presented a paper to the 1987 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association titled "Macro‑Implementation Revisited: Case Study of the Implementation Regime, an Agenda for Third Generation Research."

I presented a paper with Ron Lippincott at the 1986 Annual Meeting of Law and Society titled “Implementing Structural Reform: A Regime Interpretation of Reform in the Criminal Courts of Hudson County New Jersey."

I presented a paper to the 1984 meeting of the American Society for Public Administration, Region IV, titled "Conflict and the Analysis of Intergovernmental Policy Failure."

I presented a paper to the 1984 Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association titled "Public Administration in the Implementation Process: The Requisites of Effective Administration."

I presented a paper to the 1983 Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association titled "Policy Management During Implementation: The Limits of Overhead Control in an Interdependent Environment."

**Employment History**

1985 to present: I am a member of the faculty of the Political Science Department, The George Washington University. I have been a member of the faculty of the Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration since its inception.

2014: I served as an external program reviewer for the Metropolitan Politics Program, Towson University; Towson, Maryland. I conducted a program review, read documents, visited campus, and conducted interviews.

2010: I was a consultant to the Herman Deleeck Centre for Social Policy at the University of Antwerp, Antwerp, Belgium. I participated in a research project titled: “The evolution of minimum income protection in the EU.” I estimated income and benefit totals for a variety of family and work scenarios over time for people living in the U.S. I also provided background information to link these estimates to policy changes.

2006: I was a consultant to The Brookings Institution, Metropolitan Politics Program. As a consultant, I performed research and co-authored a policy brief on the history of federal policies to assist distressed communities and the federal response to Hurricane Katrina.

1993-2002: I served as Associate Director of the Graduate Program in Public Policy, George Washington University.

1997-2001: I was a Local Research Affiliate for the HUD-sponsored evaluation of Baltimore's Empowerment Zone. As a consultant to Abt Associates, Inc., I planned and implemented the local research design to evaluate Baltimore's Empowerment Zone initiatives for HUD’s Interim Outcome Evaluation.

1998-1999: I was Acting Director of the Graduate Program in Public Policy, George Washington University. As Acting Director I was responsible for a graduate education program that served more then fifty Ph.D. and Masters students in public policy.

1996-1997: I was a Field Associate for the Rockefeller Center for Public Policy Research, State University of New York, Albany. In that capacity, I planned and executed fieldwork for an evaluation of urban re‑development policy in Baltimore’s Empowerment Zone.

1993-1997: I was Senior Research Associate, Schaefer Center for Public Policy Research, University of Baltimore. I participated in the evaluation of Maryland's Primary Prevention Initiative, a welfare waiver program. I designed, supervised, and conducted evaluation research.

1992-1993: I served as Director of the Undergraduate Program, Political Science Department, George Washington University.

1985-1986: I was a Research Associate at the Institute for Economic and Policy Studies, Alexandria, Virginia. As a consultant to the New Jersey Judicial Structure Project, funded by the National Institute for Justice, I organized, supervised, and conducted field research and co‑authored research reports.

1985: I was a consultant to the Department of Fiscal Services, State of Maryland. I provided instruction to fiscal analysts and staff of legislative committees regarding methods and techniques of policy analysis and supervised the development of research projects presented to the Maryland General Assembly.

1982-1985: I was Assistant Professor, Department of Government and Public Administration, University of Baltimore.

1981-1982: I was Instructor, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland.

1980: I was a Consultant to the National Conference of State Legislatures, Indian Education Project. I prepared research reports on staff cost adjustments and regional cost differences used to develop regulations for disbursement of funds to federally operated and sponsored Indian schools.

1979-1980: I was a Management Assistant in the Executive Office of the President of the United States. As assistant to Amitai Etzioni, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of Administration, I prepared research reports on domestic policy issues and information management.