Concept Paper: The Human Services Research Initiative Prize

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<u>Summary</u>. We propose establishing a prize for exceptional government effort to incorporate research in the management of human services. The prize is awarded to local and state government agencies for well-developed plans for undertaking rigorous evaluations of alternative strategies for carrying out common public functions. The intent of the program is to draw public attention to and thus encourage inexpensive yet serious impact analyses closely connected to the routine operations of public agencies. We believe that such analyses are essential for improving the evidence base for government innovation. The program is designed as well to enhance the capacity of state agencies for conducting experiments and engaging with local experts and peers in other states in investigation of matters of common interest.

This proposal is a work in progress. We solicit and will be pleased to acknowledge and utilize comments and suggestions.

Background

Over the past decade interest improving the connection between research and policy has grown across a wide range of government activity. "Evidence-based policy" has become a watch-word for serious public management. But before policy can be based on evidence, evidence must exist. Evidence is generated by rigorous research, but for many reasons the incentives for investing in and capacity for doing research are weak, especially at lower levels of government. Yet it is at lower levels, where policy takes form in program and public interface, that research on alternative strategies and tactics is most needed.

One factor discouraging greater interest in research effort is the perception that rigorous research is financially costly, time-consuming, politically challenging, and difficult to manage in the context of day-to-day government operations. This is especially true of the "gold standard," evaluations in which random assignment is used to establish the counterfactual against which the effect of some innovation is judged. These are called "randomized control trials," or RCTs. There are obvious reasons for the perception that RCTs are challenging. Many of the social policy evaluations that have attracted attention in recent years were indeed costly and required substantial time for both implementation and getting results.

Sometimes the nature of issues makes a long horizon and substantial investment essential. However, various organizations and individuals have recently drawn attention to the importance of and potential gains from using RCTs to assess the impact of modest changes in the tactics and strategy of government activity. It is argued that such changes can often be done relatively quickly at comparatively low cost (Baron 2013). A "Research Academy" held as part of the

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joint meetings of the National Association for Welfare Research and Statistics (NAWRS) and the National Association of State TANF Administrators in Baltimore in August 2012 and September 2013 reviewed both examples of small-scale research initiatives in state and local government and the growing role of RCT evaluations in business. Such examples and the attention given rigorous evaluation in popular works, such as Manzi's *Uncontrolled: The Surprising Payoff of Trial-and-Error for Business, Politics, and Society* (2012), have created an opportunity for promotion of more research.

Proposal

The problem is that while examples exist of good RCT efforts in government, there are not a lot of them, and most administrators are uncertain about the benefits and costs as well as how to design, implement, and learn from such studies. At this point what is needed is a way to promote such efforts and build a body of evidence that demonstrates their feasibility and value for management as well as policymaking. We believe a system of publicized awards, "Human Services Research Initiative Prizes" (HSRIP), is an ideal way to do this. Key features of the program include:

- 1. Emphasis on innovations designed and tested as part of the routine functions of some level of state or local government human services provision.
- 2. Focus on plans judged in light of criteria established by a working group of practitioners, academics, and evaluation professionals.
- 3. Preference for tests of well-defined changes in common human services functions with outcomes applicable beyond the experimenting jurisdiction.
- 4. Preference for experiments that will increase agency capacity for policy analysis using both regular government personnel and services of outside individuals and organizations with appropriate expertise.
- 5. Preference for short (i.e., less than three year) horizons, other things equal.
- 6. Evidence that the plan has been implemented or has reasonable chance of being implemented.

Note that the prize is for the *plan*, not the outcome. There are several reasons why our focus is on the plan:

- 1. To strengthen the incentives for evaluation, we want to minimize the time between public officials' decisions to go forward with the effort—even if those decisions are tentative—and the public recognition and other rewards received from winning a prize.
- 2. To make it easier to plan rigorous, high-quality evaluations, we want to build evaluations into policy or management changes from the beginning, not as an afterthought.
- 3. To help overcome political obstacles, we want to reward a commitment to evaluation before a program or management change becomes too ingrained to end or modify if it is found to be ineffective—or before a program becomes too politically established even to permit rigorous assessment. That is, we want to encourage evaluation when administrators find it most useful and least threatening to their agencies and missions.

4. To ensure much is learned from these activities, we want to honor and publicize good ideas even if they are eventually nixed in the political process. Delivery of awards for plans means that more examples will be available for publicity purposes, and earlier on.

The size of the prize may not matter as much as making sure that there is much publicity. While the prize proposed here is akin to the Harvard Kennedy School's Innovations in American Government Awards Program, the intention is a program that focuses not on identifying successful innovations after the fact (although we hope valuable innovations will be a product of the effort) but on promoting the expanded use of randomized trials as a common, integral part of public management and policy implementation. We believe that making experimentation in the small more common in government will contribute to building an evaluation-oriented management culture and lead to a more positive response by governments to invitations to participate in needed large-scale experiments if opportunities arise in the future.

This is a particularly opportune time for this project. Most state and local governments—especially human service agencies—do not have the resources to conduct large-scale evaluations.* Yet many elected leaders and top public administrators want more accountability for "results." Usually they look at changes in "performance" or "outcome" measures to assess programs and agencies. But performance measures fail to estimate impacts, i.e., the difference in key outcomes produced by a program, an agency's activities, or a new management approach. Our goal is to promote a true accountability for results—one that estimates real impacts, yet that recognizes the limited resources of public agencies. By publicizing examples of realistic plans for rigorous impact evaluations, we intend not only to reward such efforts but also to make clear to public officials that "achieving performance goals" is not same thing as "making a difference," that is, increasing an agency's impact.

We also hope that contestants take advantage of a growing resource, the expanding range of administrative and other data available on an ongoing basis for many programs and individuals, data that may in some circumstances be used in impact analyses. And we expect that some government agencies will find still other ways of reducing the costs of evaluations, such as working with university faculty researchers and students.

We do not believe the small-scale, management-oriented evaluations we promote are substitutes for all large-scale efforts. Many questions require large multi-site experiments for satisfactory investigation. But we hypothesize that greater involvement of managers and policy-makers in productive small-scale experiments and promotion of lessons learned from them will increase political and management enthusiasm for participation in major efforts that may not produce immediate payoff to the agencies involved. Our aim is to make rigorous evaluations a commonplace instrument for public management as well as an occasional mechanism for judging major policy interventions.

^{*} The scarcity of staff is particularly true now, as state and local human service agencies have cut their workforce in recent years. For instance, the U.S. Census of Governments found a 9.2 percent drop in full-time equivalent employment in the "public welfare" function among state and local governments between 2001 and 2011. Although we don't have the data to confirm the point, our discussions with state and local officials suggest that cuts in analytical staff within this programmatic area are even greater.

Supporting Institutions

We see this as a joint effort of the Nelson A. Rockefeller of Government in Albany, New York, and the Trachtenberg School of Public Policy and Public Administration at the George Washington University in Washington, D.C. Both institutions have close connections with government and organizations of human services administrators, notably the American Society for Public Administration and the American Public Human Services Association. Both principal investigators are members of the NAWRS Board of Directors; Wiseman is a member of the Program Committee for the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM), potentially an important forum for drawing attention to this initiative. The administering secretariat would be at the Rockefeller Institute. Development of the HSRIP proposal has been supported by the Office of Policy, Research and Evaluation (OPRE) of the Administration for Children and Families of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the annual OPRE Welfare Research and Evaluation Conference is also a potential forum for HSRIP promotion and discussion of HSRIP evaluation criteria.

Timeline and Strategy

We propose a three-year project to pilot the HSRIP and conduct one additional competition. We of course hope that the results generate enthusiasm for sustaining the effort over a long time period, but such commitment would be inappropriate without the evidence that a pilot demonstration will bring. The summary of activities below is, of course, subject to change as commentary and suggestions accrue. We have chosen "Human Services" to create a big tent for discussion; it is likely we will narrow the field based on sponsor interests and our own expertise. We assume this narrowing will occur before the project begins.

Year One

Promotion

Publicity is essential to the success of this effort. Year one will begin with outreach to management-oriented organizations and systematic contact with state administrators. We will outline the project, begin discussion of prize criteria, offer hypothetical examples, and encourage the organization of prize teams within agencies for entry development. We will encourage partnerships with technical consultants likely to be engaged long-term. A project website will be established and social media networks initiated.

Selection of Advisory Council

The administrative and scholarly credentials of the effort will be enhanced by active involvement of an Advisory Council composed of experts in management evaluation and distinguished state administrators. This Council will appointed from a list of suggestions solicited from sponsors and authorities. A modest honorarium will be paid.

• Criteria development

We will publish and invite responses to hypothetical criteria lists proposed by Advisory Council members. Wherever possible, we will sponsor discussions of criteria and examples in relevant meetings, including both scholars (American Evaluation Association, Association for Public

Policy Analysis and Management) and administrators meetings, including the various groups within the American Public Human Services Association. Our outreach to academic professionals is intended to encourage their participation in project teams developed by agencies intending to compete.

• Evaluation planning

Given the importance of promoting evaluation in this project, we intend to couple development of criteria for proposal evaluation to development of an evaluation scheme for the HSRIP program itself. We recognize that a randomized controlled trial is inappropriate, both because we do not have enough states for adequate power and our publicity effort would, by intent, reach across boundaries. Nevertheless, this project rests on a number of hypotheses about the motivations, capacity, and opportunities of state human services agency that should be investigated in the course of implementation. The intention is to increase agency interest in and political support for evaluation, improve agency capacity for experimentation, and deliver useful ideas for evidence development. Procedures for measuring these changes should be developed. While our methodological orientation and motivation comes from the literature on randomized experiments, we are schooled also in methods of impact evaluation based on systematic argumentation guided by theories of change, and we expect such methods to play a role in developing the HSRIP evaluation strategy. We do see some opportunity for randomized trials of methods of agency contact and other publicity strategies.

Consortium construction

This competition will harvest ideas. Its ultimate impact will depend on how many ideas are actually trialed, and that, in turn, will depend on funding. We will inform in the first year both philanthropies and state-oriented groups such as the National Governors Association and the National Conference of State Legislators and invite active engagement. We will pay particular attention to state- and region-oriented philanthropies who might be interested in follow-on funding.

• Example identification

The intention of this competition will be most effectively communicated with reference to examples of the sorts of initiatives we seek. In the first year we will develop a set of small case studies of agency evaluations, working with the National Association for Welfare Research and Statistics (NAWRS). NAWRS developed a first set of examples for its "Welfare Academy" session with the National Association of State TANF Administrators last fall (a session we helped organize). We will contact evaluation organizations, management consultants, and management services firms to identify other possible exemplars. The examples or case studies will be disseminated through the Rockefeller Institute's website and social media, in collaboration with members of the consortium.

• Request for letters of inquiry

A key step in the current plan is to issue an announcement of the competition and to invite state human services agencies to submit preliminary proposals, short summaries of the problem and sketches of the strategies to be developed. These letters must come from agencies, but we expect that scholars and other interested parties from outside the agency will in some, perhaps many,

instances serve as catalysts for agency action. We will encourage the development of project teams that include such people. We will review these letters and invite full proposals. We will promise a small honorarium for each invited proposal upon actual submission. The honorarium will allow agencies to solicit help from evaluators and to encourage evaluators to approach agencies to compete for the prize.

Proposal submission

Given the advance publicity, the time horizon from announcement to deadline will be no more than six months, and possibly less.

Year Two

• Pilot awards

Early in year two we will announce the first-round awards, post the proposals on our website, and distribute prizes. Making this a signal event is, we believe, critical to the success of the project. The awards will be announced and an event held discussing them at a site either in Washington, DC, or at the SUNY Global Center in New York City (where the Rockefeller Institute has additional offices and access to facilities). An account of the competition and brief descriptions of the winning proposals will be disseminated by the Rockefeller Institute, George Washington University, and collaborating organizations.

• Promotion of funding

We will immediately distribute those proposals viewed as promising (a group that may include more than prizewinners) to potential government and philanthropic funders. Where needed and the necessary resources can be found, we will provide technical assistance.

• Pilot review with stakeholders

The results of the pilot in hand, we will meet or otherwise communicate with project stakeholders and review comments and suggestions received over the first year. Our examples collection, criteria for prize awards, and the proposals themselves will we think provide material for a book to be published by the Rockefeller Institute and distributed via SUNY Press.

• Criteria review and adjustment

The purpose of the pilot is to learn, and we expect that the first-round experience will lead us (via the formative aspects of our evaluation strategy) to adjust various aspects of the program. These will be publicized, along with details of the experience that led to the adjustment. Again, we believe that informing our network of stakeholders and potential participants of these deliberations will serve to raise a general sense of ownership in the effort.

• Second round of requests

Pending actual pilot experience, we assume the second round will be conducted as the first. It will be initiated with a request for letters of inquiry. Full development will be requested for those ideas that meet screening criteria.

Year 3

Year 3 will begin with the second awards round announcements. We will highlight the awards at the various meetings, including the ACF Welfare Research and Evaluation conference. Again, we anticipate assisting in discovery of funding of the most promising of the proposals. Ideally at this point core funding for winning ideas would come from state resources, but external funders could be attracted to support of the additional research effort that would genuinely contribute to the knowledge base for human services policy.

General program review is central to our plan for the third year. If we are successful in both harvesting ideas and regenerating enthusiasm for rigorous evaluation at the state level, it may be appropriate to continue, possibly with a new funding base and altered focus. Time would tell.

Budget

Our working budget estimate is \$1.5 million for the three years outlined above. This budget assumes 12 prizes of \$25,000 each, 5 for the pilot, 7 for the second running. We include \$40,000 for the solicitation payments. The major share of money goes for promotion, through web, social media, conference presentation, and other means and salary for Principal Investigators and supporting staff time. This is core philanthropic funding.

In addition to core funding, we may seek support for three additions. These are:

- (1) Example development for the pilot phase (see year one).
- (2) Provision of more detailed technical review and support for all submissions.
- (3) A third round (possibly within year three, if demand develops and schedule compression appears possible).

Item (1) is included because of the difficulty we have encountered in finding complete reports on the kinds of projects we seek. Virtually no small-scale, management-oriented examples are available in common databases on social policy; the few that are available tend to be oriented to tax policy (cf. Coleman 1996) or motivated by interests external to the operating agency (cf. Jakobsen and Anderson 2013). In part, this is because thorough documentation is a "public good" for which agencies may lack incentives. We see support for development of examples as useful adjunct to criteria development and competition promotion. It is interesting that some of the best examples of small-scale evaluations currently available come from the United Kingdom (see in particular the celebrated *Test*, *Learn*, *Adapt* report of the Cabinet Office Behavioural Insights Team); there are some advantages to a highly centralized human services administration that can immediately gain general benefit from the conduct of such experiments (Haines et al. 2012).

We have included additional item (2) as an opportunity to engage major evaluation organizations—Abt, MDRC, Mathematica, etc.—with state staff. This level of technical support does not come cheaply, but larger national interests might be served by subsidizing systematic engagement in the project of one or more of these organizations. We see such engagement not as replacing the local agency/ academic partnerships we wish to encourage but rather supporting

them and assisting in exchange across sites and projects. More detail on budget construction and options for enhancement is available from the (aspiring) principal investigators.

Hypothetical Criteria

We think it best to develop criteria for the prizes in partnership with state administrators and their potential collaborators in initiative development. This helps to ensure a sense of ownership in the competition; it helps, we hypothesize, to make the contestants stakeholders in the effort. However, it is likely that the criteria for prize-giving will encompass most of the following. The elements are expressed here for the case in which the proposal calls for an innovation. But it should not be forgotten that in some cases the innovation can be closing a program instead of modifying or initiating one.

• Logic of the intervention

Does the theory underlying the intervention, the change to be evaluated make sense? Is the causal model supported by other assessments?

Potential

Is there good reason to believe the benefits of the evaluation will exceed the costs? Note that we refer here to the perceived net benefits of the evaluation; these may be positive even if the alteration trialed proves itself not to be cost-effective.

• Support

Does the agency have both political and staff support for the proposed experiment, including its evaluation?

Evaluation Methodology

Is the plan feasible? Will the results have internal validity? Is the forecast for outcomes in the absence of the innovation credible?

Process analysis

Does the evaluation plan include comparison of what the innovation produces both to the intervention "model" and to process as experienced for the control?

Capacity

Does the agency have managerial and other resources adequate to implement the experiment successfully? Will conduct of the experiment increase the agency's capability for future experiments?

• External utility

The final consideration should be external utility: Will what a project promises to deliver indeed be useful?

It is difficult to assign weights to these elements because they are not independent. For example, "potential" is dependent up both the quality of methodology and the external utility of the knowledge the evaluation is expected to produce. The list does, however, suggest an order for review, and it is a place to begin discussion.

The Link to Challenge

The HSRIP is connected to two major recent developments in American public affairs. One is the growing emphasis on "evidence-based policy." Policy is evidence-based when a plan for public action is selected from alternatives in light of best available information on comparative benefits and costs. What is "best" is of course a matter of controversy, but consensus grows that, when experimentation is possible, the best evidence is derived from randomized controlled trials of policy alternatives. The problem in many areas of public policymaking, and especially in social policy, is that the evidence base for choice-making is scarce or nonexistent. As a result, promotion of evidence-based policy must include effort to increase evidence supply.

The second development concerns use of prizes as incentives for addressing significant scientific, management, and social challenges. Prizes are central to the Obama Administration's "Strategy for American Innovation" and heralded at its *Challenge* website, which as of mid-March 2013 listed 464 prizes fielded by 55 agencies. Many of these initiatives have as target a specific technical problem or award technical achievement. As was intended, virtually all address activities of federal agencies. However, the development and evolution of the Challenge initiative has produced many insights regarding design and deployment of prize initiatives, and the design of our proposal reflects what we have learned from discussions with personnel from the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP).

In a 2009 report funded by the John Templeton Foundation and widely cited in the prizes literature, the consulting firm McKinsey & Company identified six prize archetypes (McKinsey 2009, 67). The HSRIP fits two—what McKinsey terms "exposition prizes" and "participation prizes." Exposition prizes "are designed to highlight a broad range of promising ideas practices, attract attention, and mobilize capital to further develop the winning innovations." Participation prizes "create value during and after the competition – not through conferral of the prize award itself but through their role in encouraging contestants to change their behavior or develop new skills that may have beneficial effects during and beyond the competition." We are designing the HSRIP to have both exposition and participation effects. While this challenge will operate outside of the White House initiatives, it is obviously important to sustain close communication with OSTP and to see this effort as part of a larger philanthropic and governmental effort to, in the words of the McKinsey report, "use prizes to drive innovation and engagement to produce societal benefit."

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Appendix: The HSRIP Logic Model

This appendix reframes our proposal using popular theory-of-change or logic-model language.

There are two logics to this project. The basic logic concerns the theory behind the HSRIP program. A second logic concerns the case for investing in the proposed strategy for bringing the HSRIP about. Here we focus on the former; the whole proposal addresses the latter.

The standard logic model traces presumed connections between circumstances, actions, and effects. Elaborated, this is the link from the situation in which a program is initiated and the priorities that motivate it through actual activities (inputs), the consequences (outputs), and the outcomes or impacts the program is expected to have. The expected impact is based on assumptions about success in implementation and the response of those

individuals and organizations the program targets.

The **situation** the HSRIP addresses is a national social policy landscape in which much policymaking and most operations are the province of state and local governments, needs are great, and resources are scarce. There is a growing national policy movement to emphasize choice of policies on the basis of predictions of impact based on evaluation. The evaluations most commonly cited are the products of large-scale experimentation conducted with sponsorship of national agencies or philanthropies. They typically (but not always) are administratively exceptional in the sense that they are not embedded within normal agency operations. Such experiments contribute to the "evidence base" for policymaking, but the reliability of such evidence as basis for prediction of the consequences widespread adoption—external validity—is often questionable. Moreover, the focus of such efforts is often upon substantial change in policy with prospects for implementation that are distant at best. In the meantime the day-to-day operation of programs continues, largely unaffected. State and local program administrators

Priorities

Inputs

Outputs

Outcomes

commonly lack the technical resources needed to evaluate the pertinence of available evidence to their own decisions, which generally involve marginal changes in program operation and strategy. The emphasis of national policy discussions on major policy re-direction can be an impediment to modest reform and can also contribute to public devaluation of the efforts of responsible administrators to improve the programs that currently engage and provide for people in need.

The **priorities** of the HSRIP are increasing the evidence base for social policy, building the capacity of state and local operating agencies for evidence appreciation, development, and utilization, increasing resources for program-focused evaluation, and generally enhancing the public's perception of the quality of public management.

The **inputs** are a system of program development, active publicity, and, ultimately prizes for plans. The system of program development features identification of examples of good evaluations of program innovation, construction of the prizes criteria by state administrators with support from experts, and provision for engagement of local academics and/or other stakeholders in program development. The examples communicate program intent; engagement of

administrators in developing criteria enhances both participation in and a sense of "ownership" of the initiative; and encouraging partnerships with local expertise is expected to build networks of supporting technical assistance needed by administrators. The publicity campaign is planned both to encourage participation and promote more general appreciation of the efforts of administrators to improve operations. Coming from outside the usual Washington-State Capital links, this initiative is intended to emphasize the importance of state-to-state administrative exchange in the process of evidence development and utilization.

The **outputs** are a collection of example projects, a set of evaluation criteria clearly linked to input from the target community of administrators as well as experts, a competition cast to ensure benefits to all participants meeting minimum standards, and a process for using the results of pilots to modify the initiative and the strategy for deployment in a second round.

Outcomes differ by time period. During implementation a key outcome is that pertinent state administrators are aware of the initiative and have at least basic understanding of its motivation, the kinds of innovations sought, the collective nature of criteria development, the provisions for outreach to resources beyond immediate staff, and the timetable. Key intermediate outcomes are the collection of proposals for innovations and evaluation plans judged by our experts and prizes team as worthy of pursuit, new links between agency staff and program stakeholders, strategy revisions derived from pilot program experience, and publicity the prize-winning receives. The long-term outcome is the number of innovations for which support is found, the intervention is achieved, and a credible evaluation is produced.

Appendix: Summary Principal Investigator Biographies

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Thomas L. Gais is Director of the Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government, the public policy research arm of the State University of New York. Gais' own research and writing has covered social policy, federalism, fiscal policy, performance management, program evaluation, the role of public higher education in economic development, and other issues relating to the roles of state and local governments in implementing, assessing, and adapting public policies. He has also managed collaborations with New York State government and has advised state and local agencies on program evaluation issues. His recent publications include "The Social Safety Net, Health Care, and the Great Recession" (with Don Boyd and Lucy Dadayan), in *The Oxford Handbook of State and Local Government Finance* (Oxford University Press, 2012); "The Diversity of University Economic Development Activities" (with David Wright), in *Colleges and Universities as Economic Drivers* (SUNY Press, 2012); "Children, Southwestern States, and the Federalism Problem," in *Big Ideas: Children in the Southwest* (First Focus, 2012); and "Welfare Policy in New York State" (with Cathy Johnson), in *Governing New York State* (SUNY Press, 2012).

Michael Wiseman

Michael Wiseman is Research Professor of Public Policy, Public Administration, and Economics at The George Washington University (GWU) in Washington, DC. He previously held tenured appointments in economics at the University of California at Berkeley and in Public Policy at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The three-department span of Professor Wiseman's GWU appointment reflects his interest, as an economist, in both the development of public policy and its management, including evaluation. In recent years he has served as a consultant on evaluation for several states, the US Social Security Administration's Office of Retirement and Disability Policy, the Office of Family Assistance in the Administration for Children and Families of the US Department of Health and Human Services, the Economic Research Service of the US Department of Agriculture, the European Commission, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the UK Department for Work and Pensions, and various nongovernmental organizations engaged in evaluation work. In spring 2013 the European Commission's Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion published *The* Design and Commissioning of Counterfactual Impact Evaluations: A Practical Guidance for ESF Managing Authorities, written by Professor Wiseman and co-authors Stephen Morris and Herta Schönhofer.

The Rockefeller Institute of Government

The Rockefeller Institute of Government was established in 1982 to improve state governance, drawing on its own staff as well as the expertise of researchers in the 64 campus system of the State University of New York. The Institute is known internationally for its neutral, empirically rich, credible, and accessible research and reports on state government implementation of national initiatives, public management, state and local fiscal issues, and federalism. (For more information, see www.rockinst.org.) One particularly relevant thread of work at the Institute has addressed the role of information in government efforts to assess policies and their performance. This work has included collaboration with the U.S. GAO and other federal agencies on the use of IT in managing and evaluating social programs, a series of books and reports on performance measurement and management, recent work with New York State's SAGE Commission, and an evaluation of New York City's Center for Economic Opportunity.