For 33 years, the Murray Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy has helped shape some of the most important public policy issues facing America. It serves as a bridge between policymakers and academics by conducting scholarly research, public affairs programs, and other exchanges at the intersection of government and business. It continues to educate business leaders, policymakers, journalists, and the general public through its multifaceted program of conferences, meetings and lectures, retreats, publications, and online resources. Programs and activities have focused on an array of political, economic, and international issues. Likewise, the media coverage received and speaking engagements of its faculty help further the discourse on important public policy concerns.

Also of great importance is the Center’s continual focus on regulation. For 31 years, the Center has released an annual report that examines the expenditures and staffing of federal regulatory agencies of the U.S. budget. This regulatory tracking tool is extensively referenced in textbooks, government papers, and prominent newspapers. In addition, its monthly regulatory report, “Studies in Regulation,” outlines important studies produced by the Weidenbaum Center and other organizations. This widely distributed report summarizes studies and provides links to reports produced elsewhere, helping to keep supporters informed of important regulatory issues.

The Center plays a vital role at Washington University by helping to sponsor cutting-edge faculty research. It assists faculty, primarily in the Departments of Economics and Political Science, by providing grants for research and support for public outreach programs.

The Center sponsors two programs of special importance to the University, the Media Retreat and the Summer Institute on the Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM). The annual media program brings writers, reporters, editors, and producers together with academic experts for an intense, interactive seminar that examines the role that numbers, statistics, and data analysis play in media coverage of business, the economy, public policy, and politics. The EITM program, funded by the National Science Foundation, brings top faculty and graduate students from across the nation to study ways to better test theories of political and economic processes.

The Center brings together many in our community to better understand public policy issues. It works and collaborates with numerous departments, centers, schools, and student organizations on campus. I thank all of those involved in its programs and those who continue to support its efforts.

Mark S. Wrighton
Chancellor
Washington University in St. Louis
I have some exciting news to share going into fiscal year 2008–2009. While Paul Rothstein has chosen to leave the Center and Washington University (see Page 6), we are most fortunate to have Economist Steven Fazzari join the Center as its new Associate Director.

The Center has completed another very productive year of research and public affairs programs. We continue to pursue a vigorous program that addresses major public policy issues through research and reports, public debates, conferences (both public forums and scholarly workshops), public policy discussions and meetings, and other special programs. While this report will give you information on all of the programs, I would like to point out a few specific activities.

The Center continues to play a key role in enhancing the research efforts of economists, political scientists, and other faculty at Washington University. In doing so, we strive to offer unique research opportunities to University undergraduate and graduate students. We support research and training in several ways: providing grants for cutting-edge, faculty-initiated research projects; supporting efforts to locate outside-funding sources; submitting proposals and administering grant awards; working with faculty on major program areas that combine research and public affairs events; and sponsoring scholarly workshops and conferences.

Three major program initiatives conducted with University faculty continue to be our Program on Citizenship, Civil Society, and Democratic Values, which I co-direct with Professor James Gibson, our Program on Multinational Enterprises and the Global Political Economy, led by Professor Nathan Jensen, and our Program on Politics, which I co-direct with Professor Melanie Springer. We provide more information about these programs in this report.

The economic and political challenges of our time promote the wide range of public affairs programs that we sponsor. Many of these problems cannot be addressed effectively without an informed public. Our outreach programs reflect the value we place on public education. I speak at many functions on campus, in the community, and in national, international, and mass media forums. An important subject of the last year has been the causes and consequences of the partisan polarization of American politics.

The Center sponsors a wide variety of speakers and conferences, many of which are noted in this report. During the past year, a number of our programs focused on the financial, mortgage, and credit crisis. The Director of the Federal Housing Finance Board led a discussion of the sub-prime mortgage crisis and the future role of government. The retiring chairman of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank also gave a talk on the current economic climate, as well as the housing market (both a local and national perspective). And finally, the chairman of Commerce Bank spoke on the banking industry.

I am grateful for the support of Chancellor Mark Wrighton, Executive Vice Chancellor Edward Macias, and the Board of Trustees. I look forward to many more years of collaboration with them and the gifted faculty and students at Washington University.

Steven S. Smith
Director
Murray Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy
The Weidenbaum Center is now located in Seigle Hall, the new Arts and Sciences Building. The building is named after Washington University alumnus and philanthropist Harry Seigle and his wife Susan. This is the first academic building on the Danforth Campus to be named for an alumnus living outside of St. Louis. Seigle Hall was designed as a green structure, making it eligible for LEED certification. LEED, an acronym for Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design, is a nationally accepted rating system for the design, construction, and operation of buildings that use methods for achieving higher environmental sustainability.

Harry & Susan Seigle Hall

David and Carol Gast, longtime Eliot Society members and active volunteers at Washington University, have generously named the Center’s Conference Room — Gast Family Meeting Room — in Seigle Hall. Carol and David are both graduates of Washington University (David three times over). David is retired from the Carl F. Gast Company, an industrial instruments and equipment company.

Dick and Bevie Straub, long-time supporters and volunteers at Washington University, have generously named the Director’s office in memory of Dick’s parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Straub. Dick and Bevie are both graduates of Washington University. They have a long legacy at the University where Dick’s parents and brother also graduated. Dick is a former partner at Lewis, Rice & Fingersh and Bevie owns her own interior decorating business. Their grandson is a current student at the WU Law School.
Honorary Chairman Murray Weidenbaum

Murray Weidenbaum, founder and Honorary Chairman of the Weidenbaum Center, remains an integral part of the Center. In 2007 and 2008, Professor Weidenbaum played an active role in the Center’s public policy programs as well as its annual media conference. He also gave a number of important speeches in St. Louis.

Publications

Professor Weidenbaum’s major effort during the year was the completion of a book on Washington think tanks, *The Competition of Ideas* (forthcoming, Transaction Press, September 2008). He presented a preview at the Center’s Media Retreat in June.


Lectures and Public Speaking

Professor Weidenbaum’s main teaching assignment was a senior course on business and government. He also did preliminary work with Professor Itai Sened of the Political Science Department on a graduate seminar to be offered throughout the 2008-2009 academic year to encourage students to write and complete their doctoral dissertations.

During the 2007-2008 academic year, he lectured to a variety of Washington University groups, including the Center on Ethics and Human Values, the Center for the New Institutional Social Sciences (CNISS), and the Olin Graduate School of Business. In addition, he gave talks on various economic topics at Lindenwood University and the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank.

Other Service and Appointments

During the year he served on the panel of judges for the First Annual Olin School Award to recognize research that transforms business. He was also appointed a member of the International Advisory Council of the International Center for Corporate Accountability.
Steven Smith is a professor in the Political Science Department, Director of the Weidenbaum Center, and the Kate M. Gregg Professor of Social Sciences at Washington University. As the Center’s director, Professor Smith is responsible for sponsored research, public outreach programs, university programs such as the Center’s EITM Summer Institute, and the general direction and administration of the Center. He also pursues his own research, does public speaking across the country, and often comments on American and Russian politics for the press and electronic media.

Lectures and Public Speaking

Professor Smith is a popular observer of modern American politics. He responds to reporters’ questions about campaign and congressional politics on a daily basis. In the last year, he frequently spoke to local groups about the partisan polarization of American politics.

Student Advising and Mentoring

Professor Smith continued to teach, train, and mentor political science students. Three Ph.D. students work closely with Professor Smith, assist him in his research, and pursue research projects of their own with his guidance. During the spring term, he offered a seminar on the American presidency for Ph.D. students. Professor Smith worked with several undergraduates on independent study courses and senior papers. In addition, several undergraduate students have worked with him on his research projects.

Publications

Professor Smith published two books in recent months. Party Influence in Congress (Cambridge University Press) evaluates the influence of legislative parties on the behavior of individual legislators and policy outcomes. The fifth edition of The American Congress (Cambridge University Press) was published in fall of 2007.

In the spring of 2008, Steven Smith and Melanie Springer completed a draft of Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process. This edited volume brings together pieces about presidential nomination politics and campaigns, written by top thinkers in the field. The collection of essays addresses the newest developments in the presidential nomination process, evaluates the effects of the sequested process of primaries and caucuses, the changing character of nomination campaigns, the legal issues at stake, and the major proposals for reform. Professor Smith and Springer hope to appeal to three audiences with this book: college classrooms, the politically attentive public, and the audience for reform in the policy community. This book will be released in late 2008.

Professor Smith also continued work on two of his own book projects. Steering the Senate explains the development of parties and leadership in the U.S. Senate, where formal floor leadership posts did not emerge until the 20th century. Law Making and Decree Making in the Russian Federation describes and explains the development of presidential-parliamentary relations in Russia since the early 1990s.
For 31 years, the Weidenbaum Center has released an annual report examining the expenditures and staffing of U.S. federal regulatory agencies. Melinda Warren, Director of the Weidenbaum Center Forum, and Veronique de Rugy of the Mercatus Center at George Mason University, coauthored the 2008 report.

Tracking the expenditures of federal regulatory agencies and the trends in regulatory spending over time has helped analysts monitor one aspect of the cost of regulations: the direct cost to regulate the economy and taxpayers’ lives. If the Regulators’ Budget increases, it means that the direct cost of running regulatory agencies increases, and when it goes down, the cost is reduced.

The 2008 study, *Growth of Regulators’ Budget Continues: An Analysis of the U.S. Budget for Fiscal Years 2008 and 2009*, reports an estimated $51.1 billion budget will be needed to fund federal regulatory agencies in 2009, an increase of over $3 billion over the 2008 budget. The number of people necessary to administer these agencies will grow over 3 percent, to 263,949 in 2009.

**Annual Report on Regulatory Budgets and Staffing**

After 20 years in academia (all but one at Washington University), I decided that the time was right to explore new opportunities. In late July, I began work as an economist at the U.S. Federal Trade Commission in the Bureau of Economics, Division of Consumer Protection. It has been a pleasure to work with Steven Smith and the entire staff of the Center, to learn from Murray and get to know him so much better than I would have otherwise, and to have so many great conversations on economics and policy topics with the Center’s supporters. The Center is a tremendous asset to both the University and to St. Louis and it was an honor to have been part of it. I wish my friend and colleague Steve Fazzari the very best of luck as Associate Director. I do not think he knows just yet how rewarding it will be.

**Monthly Regulatory Update Newsletter**

Each month, as a service to its members, the Center sends a letter and an email outlining important studies of regulation produced by the Weidenbaum Center and other organizations.

Issues such as social insurance, tax cuts, tax incentives, health-care reform, financial regulatory structure, environmental concerns, the standard of living for American workers, international trade and NATO, and FEMA are just a few of the reports that were brought to the attention of donors and friends in the past year.

This report summarizes the studies and provides links to these reports to make it easy for Weidenbaum Center members to keep up with regulatory issues.
Weidenbaum Center Forum Series

In its seventh year, the Weidenbaum Center Forum continued to have a major impact on public policy education. Three major forums on topics of national and international importance were held. Politics, the global economy, and policy toward health-care emergencies were the topics of this year’s large public policy conferences. Below are short descriptions of each of these forums.

An Impending Pandemic? What Has Been Learned from the 1918 Influenza

In the fall, the Weidenbaum Center and the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis co-hosted a conference that examined lessons learned from the 1918 Spanish influenza outbreak and how this knowledge can be applied to possible future pandemics.

A pandemic, a global disease outbreak, occurs when a new influenza virus emerges for which people have little or no immunity, and for which there is no vaccine. The disease spreads easily from person-to-person, causing serious illness. It can sweep across the country and around the world in a very short time.

Thomas Garrett of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis began the conference with a talk on the economic effects of the 1918 influenza pandemic. William Stanhope of Saint Louis University analyzed the differences between St. Louis and Philadelphia in responding to influenza in 1918.

Discussion then turned to public awareness and preparedness. Because it is difficult to predict when the next influenza pandemic will occur or how severe it will be, a group of health professionals, including a representative from the Centers for Disease Control, addressed public education and preparedness plans in the event of a future pandemic. Experts on the economics of pandemics and a group of city, county, and national health directors also discussed preparedness and public education issues.
Negative Campaign Advertising

In the midst of the presidential primary season, the Center held a forum focusing on the attack ads commonly broadcasted during election years. Negative Campaign Advertising focused on how politicians have utilized attack ads to sway voters. This forum explored whether or not negative campaigning works and the consequences for the quality of our elections and our political system.

Matthew Slaughter spoke on the benefits that negative campaign ads bring to voters and the larger political system. Thomas Patterson of Harvard University took the opposite position; focusing on the destructive impact negative campaign advertising has on some citizens and how this effect has eroded trust and interest in politics.

A New Deal for Globalization?

In March 2008, the Center hosted its second major public forum under the Center’s Multinational Enterprises and the Global Political Economy program, A New Deal for Globalization?

Matthew Slaughter, Associate Dean and Professor of International Economics at the Tuck School of Business at Dartmouth and former member of the President’s Council of Economic Advisers, examined the rising protectionist drift in business policy both in the United States and around the world. He discussed explanations for this drift, what business and policy leaders can do about it, and whether a new deal for globalization is required.
American Politics

Innovations in Public Opinion Polling and the Polling Business

Dr. Gordon Black, founder of Harris Black International, gave key insights into the ways technology has shaped polling. He pointed out that with the high costs and inefficiency of telephone polling, the Internet has become an increasingly popular platform to conduct polling. He summed up his talk by stating his belief that online polling will be able to provide cheap and accurate information on voters.

Polarization in American Politics

Dr. Steven Smith, political scientist and director of the Weidenbaum Center, spoke on polarization in American politics. Professor Smith discussed how polarized both the House and the Senate have become and pointed out that member adaptation accounts for one-third of the total party polarization in both. He added that member replacement accounts for the other two-thirds – primarily the replacement of moderate southern Democrats by conservative Repub-
licans. He also examined historical information on political polarization.

Business and Banking

The Volatile Housing Market and the Financial Challenges of Housing

Dr. Allan Mendelowitz, Director of the Federal Housing Finance Board, discussed the housing market crisis. He explored the severe economic consequences of this crisis, which include rising default rates on loans and the credit crunch currently underway. Dr. Mendelowitz stressed that the problem is structural and cannot be solved with macroeconomic policies. To conclude, he stated that the federal government must, first, reduce growth in supply of excess housing for sale by reducing “avoidable foreclosures” and, second, increase demand for housing.

The Link Between Role and Reputation at the Federal Reserve

Dr. Michael Orlando, Vice President for Research at Evolve 24 and former economist with the Federal Reserve System, spoke about his experience with regional economic research, policy advising, and public communication at the Federal Reserve.

Corporate Reputation and Ethics

Mr. Robert Dilenschneider of the Dilenschneider Group discussed how leadership is the cornerstone of corporate reputation and ethics. He believes there is a leadership crisis: there are not enough leaders to provide guidance for the future. He argued that this crisis of leadership has manifested itself in many of the questions we face today: human rights abuses in Darfur, financial uncertainty, and the upcoming 2008 elections. He explained how this crisis of leadership has directly contributed to the neglect and corruption running rampant today. In conclusion, he challenged each of us to step up and become leaders.

Public Policy Issues in the Post Subprime Era

Mr. David Kemper, Chairman, President and CEO of Commerce Bancshares, Inc., discussed the future of the banking industry in today’s economy and how it evolved into the present system. Mr. Kemper said that the nation has been in situations like this in the recent past but there are new major issues like the dislocations in the financial markets, huge problems in residential real estate, and weakened credit terms. He concluded with his predictions for political reform that will come out of this situation.

Science and Bioethics

Science and Technology in Agriculture

Dr. Roger Beachy of the Donald Danforth Plant Science Center provided insights on the benefits of genetically modified crops. He discussed the opportunities made available by these crops: drought tolerance, disease resistance, and increased nutritional content. He also spoke on how genetically modified plants have been responsible for reducing the application of pesticides by 289,000 metric tons per year, eliminating 14.8 million metric tons of greenhouse gases, and increasing the net income of American farmers by $34 billion. He summarized by discussing the challenges facing this industry.

Bioethics and the Stem Cell Research Debate

Professor Rebecca Dresser of the Washington University Law School discussed the stem cell controversy, specifically focusing on the moral question. She articulated all of the various stances associated with this controversial question, citing Senator Orrin Hatch and Professor Rob-
show him to be at once an idealist and a pragmatist.

Russia

Dr. Thomas Remington of Emory University gave a talk on Russia’s attempt to rebuild its external and internal power. Dr. Remington explained that Vladimir Putin tried to consolidate his internal power by eliminating opposition and by increasing economic growth. Putin, he argued, used Russia’s large oil reserves to exert political pressure and to enhance Russia’s international image. He concluded by examining the near future of Russia.
Public Policy Luncheon Meetings

In the fall of 2007 and spring of 2008, the Center hosted luncheons that brought together Weidenbaum Center Eliot Society members with experts in a free exchange of ideas about critical issues in public policy. After a few comments from a facilitator, three or four topics were discussed — topics such as politics, the 2008 Presidential race, the economy, energy policy, the federal budget, regulatory reform, environmental policy, health-care policy, international affairs, the housing crisis, terrorism, and national security.

Public Policy Dinner Meetings

The Center held several small dinner meetings so its Eliot Society members could interact more closely with outside experts. Members joined John Geer (Vanderbilt University) and Thomas Patterson (Harvard University) for a candid discussion (prior to the public forum) of campaign advertising.

Members also joined William Poole (retiring President of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis) to discuss the economic impact of community development and the Federal Reserve’s role in gathering and disseminating information. Dr. Poole spoke candidly about the size and cyclicality of the real estate sector of the U.S. economy.

Discussion surrounded weak underwriting practices that put too many borrowers into unsuitable mortgages, the consequences of foreclosures and loss of equity, substantial investor losses, and the risks involved in financing long-term assets with short-term liabilities.

2008 Annual Dinner

This year’s speaker was Alejandro D. Wolff, Deputy U. S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Mr. Wolff spoke on “The United States and the United Nations: In Pursuit of Effective Multilateralism.”

He spoke candidly on his role at the United Nations, the challenges that it has faced, and future endeavors.

Ambassador Wolff joined the State Department in 1979. His assignments in Washington have included the Office of Soviet Union Affairs, the Office of the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Deputy Executive Secretary of the Department, and Executive Assistant to Secretaries of State Madeleine Albright and Colin Powell. Overseas, Ambassador Wolff had assignments in Algeria, Morocco, Chile, Cyprus, the U.S. Mission to the European Union in Brussels, and Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Paris, France. He is the recipient of the Department of State’s Distinguished, Superior, and Meritorious Honor Awards.
In June 2008, the Center hosted its seventh Media Retreat. Dr. Russell Roberts, Director of the Weidenbaum Center’s Media Retreat, and Richard J. Mahoney, the Center’s Distinguished Executive-in-Residence, led this program.

The program brought writers, reporters, editors, and producers together with academic experts for an interactive seminar that examined the role numbers, statistics, and data analysis play in the news, public policy, and politics. In every field of reporting, from health policy to the environment, from the latest income numbers to the trade deficit, measurement and analysis of numbers play a central role. This seminar explored the origin of these numbers, how activists across the political spectrum misuse data and analysis to advance their agendas, and how to tell when a number is reliable and when not.


Seminar leaders were Steven Smith, Steven Fazzari, Richard Mahoney, and Murray Weidenbaum (Weidenbaum Center), Russell Roberts (Weidenbaum Center and George Mason University), Professor Don Coursey (University of Chicago), and Professor Donald Cox (Boston College).

Participants’ feedback included the following comments:

“It provided new ways of thinking about numbers that can improve our reporting and better inform our audience.”

“[The Media Retreat] provides a wide range of information on a vast array of topics—that provides a great education for any journalist.”

“It’s an all-around great learning opportunity on subjects I think are generally quite challenging for many reporters.”

“Not only [was it] a chance to learn new concepts and meet fellow journalists, but, as Russ Roberts said about himself at one session, challenge your own ideas and way of thinking.”
Center Sponsored Research Programs

The Weidenbaum Center continued its efforts to build more comprehensive research programs in public policy areas that complement the expertise of University faculty. Three programs were active in 2007–2008.

Multinational Enterprises and the Global Political Economy

The program on Multinational Enterprises and the Global Political Economy continues to sponsor research and public outreach programs on the study of multinational corporations and their relationship with domestic governance. Extensive research is conducted in three broad areas of research by Washington University faculty: (1) Political Risk and Development, (2) Multinationals and Domestic Society, and (3) Competition for Multinational Investment.

Academic workshops, graduate student training, as well as a variety of community outreach programs such as public policy conferences, lectures, and debates are held on an ongoing basis. In March, the second major public policy forum under this research program entitled “A New Deal for Globalization?” featured a talk by former Council of Economic Adviser member Dr. Matthew Slaughter (see Weidenbaum Center Forum on Page 9.)

Citizenship, Civil Society & Democratic Values Program

This program sponsors research and programs on the social foundation of democratic processes in the United States and abroad. Its aim is to broaden and deepen democracy by understanding its cultural roots, the social impediments to majority rule, and the respect for minority rights. Issues such as trends in civic engagement and political participation, the development of democratic norms, evolving forms of political organization and social networks, and the causes and consequences of globalization are examined.

“The Politicization of State Judicial Elections: The Effects of New Style Campaigns on State Court Legitimacy” is a three-year project which investigates whether change in attitudes towards law and court is a function of exposure to politicized judicial campaign advertisements. An analysis of data from a three-tier survey of a broad sample of the American public’s view of campaign ads is nearing completion.

The program once again provided support for Professor Gibson’s annual Political Tolerance and Freedom Survey. This project is an assessment of the levels of political tolerance and perceived political freedom in the United States, as well as attitudes toward various issues of law and politics. On the basis of the data collected in this survey, Professor Gibson has prepared two research papers (see Page 17).

Program in American Politics

The Program in American Politics sponsors major studies of important aspects of American politics. Its focus in 2007-2008 is on the presidential primary process. Political science professors James Gibson and Melanie Springer prepared a national survey of public attitudes toward the process and reform proposals.

Director Steven Smith and Professor Melanie Springer recently completed a draft of Reforming the Presidential Nomination Process, a volume of essays about the strengths and weaknesses of the current process and the proposals for reform.

Management of Other WU Centers

The Weidenbaum Center also assisted the University by continuing to manage two other small centers – the Center in Political Economy (CPE) and the Center for New Institutional Social Sciences (CNISS) in 2007-2008.

Weidenbaum Center staff met with CNISS and CPE staff, attended budget and board meetings, prepared and disseminated financial reports and managed human resource appointments and payroll. In addition, staff also prepared NSF grant applications. Awarded projects were then administered by Weidenbaum Center staff — which included budgeting, accounting, and filing reports. The staff also worked closely with the University’s research office and sponsored project accounting to make sure NSF rules and regulations were followed — keeping the University and the faculty in compliance at all times.
Center Sponsored Faculty Research

A major goal of the Weidenbaum Center is to help sponsor and support research by Washington University faculty primarily in the Departments of Economics and Political Science. One of the ways the Center does this is by providing grants to initiate faculty projects and encourage research and development. The following projects are just a few of those currently underway.

James Gibson
Professor James Gibson, Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government, Professor of African and African-American Studies, and Director of the Weidenbaum Center’s Program on Citizenship and Democratic Values, worked on three research papers during 2007-2008. His first paper “The Political Consequences of Religiosity: Does Religion Always Cause Political Intolerance?” explores how religious traditionalism is an important contributor to political intolerance even within a model that includes numerous other predictors of intolerance. His second paper, “‘New-Style’ Judicial Campaigns and the Legitimacy of State High Courts: Results from a National Survey,” will be published by The Journal of Politics. This article explores the growing politicization of judicial elections and the fear that the impartiality of judicial candidates and officials could be compromised. He argues that campaign activity can indeed detract from institutional legitimacy, but the culprit seems to be campaign contributions, not policy talk or even attack ads. His third paper, “Public Opinion and Systems for Nominating Presidential Candidates,” was a collaboration with Melanie Springer. This paper argues that the general public considers primary reform important, contrary to conventional wisdom. Specifically, the public wants the primary system to be more inclusive.

Nathan Jensen
With help from the Weidenbaum Center, Professor Nathan Jensen was able to present his work at a number of institutions during 2007 and 2008: the Stanford Graduate School of Business, University of Wisconsin, Ohio State University, and the World Bank. He was also able to attend a number of conferences, including the International Political Economy Society, European Consortium for Political Research, and the International Society for New Institutional Economics Conference. Support from the Weidenbaum Center has also allowed him to begin work on several papers centering on corporations and their interactions with current political and economic frameworks.

Andrew Mertha
After completing his book, China’s Water Warriors: Citizen Action and Policy Change (March 2008), Professor Mertha, with the aid of a Weidenbaum Center small grant, began work on a project that seeks to analyze institutional durability in China by tracing political “rectification” campaigns in China from the 1950s to 2000. His hunch is

“After seven years, I am leaving Washington University for a tenured position at Cornell University – which offers many more opportunities for my work. I will miss the senior colleagues in political science that I have worked with for so many years as well as my friends at the Weidenbaum Center. I should say that insofar as I have been able to engage in scholarship and publish both qualitatively and quantitatively, it is in no small part due to the fact that I never felt any anxiety that there might not be financial or personal support for the field research so essential to my work. For that, I owe the Weidenbaum Center an extraordinary debt of gratitude.

— Andrew Mertha
that there are more continuities in these nontransparent processes than previously thought, given the preoccupation with how much China is changing.

The second aim of this project is to put these processes in comparative perspective by looking at similar "rectification" mechanisms in one-party-dominant systems like Japan and Sweden, states that regularly "flush out" what are seen as "undesirable elements" within their parties such as in Turkey and Austria, and in post-communist countries in Central Europe. He is looking at 2011 as the publication date. The data on China is based on internal documents and party files as well as on interviews with high-ranking Chinese officials.

Gary Miller and Itai Sened
Over the past year, Political Science Professors Gary Miller and Itai Sened gathered information on amendments, agendas, and dimensions of conflict on approximately a dozen pieces of major legislation. Three were in the area of civil rights; in addition, they looked closely at five or six bills each in education and immigration.

In collaboration, Itai Sened and Gary Miller have completed and submitted for publication their paper "Estimation of Ideal Points and Bill Locations." In this paper, they demonstrated that amendments discussed for the 1964 Civil Rights and 1965 Voting Rights legislation were concerned with the scope of the legislation and the mechanisms for enforcement; the ideal points of the senators were estimated in those two dimensions, the uncovered set was calculated, and the status quo and the final forms of the bills were located. Comparing the location of the uncovered set and the final forms of the bills allowed for novel interpretation regarding the multilateral negotiations, the compromise nature of the final outcome, and the relative success of various negotiating factions. The paper has been sent to the American Political Science Review.

In addition, their summary papers on education and immigration are near completion, showing once again the key importance of the uncovered set as indicator of the range of feasible outcomes and a yardstick about relative influence.

The research assistants who were essential for the research of the above papers were funded by the Weidenbaum Center. Camilla Schofield was hired to provide perspective on immigration bills. A rising senior, Charis Fischer, gathered information on education this summer and several undergraduates provided information that was essential for case selection. Of key importance on all three papers was Gyung-Ho Jeong, who is now a faculty member at Claremont Graduate University.

Melanie Springer
Melanie Springer, Assistant Professor in the Political Science Department, primarily used her Center small grant to employ research assistants for her project “See Jane Run (for Congress): Exploring Voter Bias 1992-2006.” It is a collaborative project with Delia Bailey (Washington University’s Center for Empirical Research in the Law). Biographical data is being collected on all of the candidates who ran for the U.S. House and Senate from 1992-2006 in order to assess larger questions of voter bias.

This research seeks to explain why women are so vastly underrepresented in Congress. In the past, scholars have argued that few women achieve positions of power in Congress because of a breakdown in the chain of representation. Furthermore, numerous studies have found either no voter bias against women who run for legislative office, or a small bias in their favor. Professor Springer argues instead that these previous studies have failed to take into account the possibility that female candidates are simply of a different caliber than their male counterparts—handpicked and groomed for success by party leaders. So, voter bias may, in fact, still exist despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary.
National Science Foundation & Other Federal Grant Applications

From July 1, 2007 through June 30, 2008, the Weidenbaum Center worked with several Arts and Sciences departments to prepare grant applications and submissions. Below is a list of these submissions.

Department of Economics

Collaborative Research: Business Cycle Measurement and Implications for Forecasting, Policy, and Theory; James Morley, Submission to NSF — August 2007

Department of Political Science

The Mental Health Effects of the Khmer Rouge Trials in Cambodia; James Gibson, Submission as an NIH Subcontract — August 2007

Competition and Collusion: The Politics of Taxing Multinationals; Nathan Jensen, Submission to NSF — January 2008

Creating a Federal Government 1789-1829; Peter Kastor, Submission to NSF — January 2008

Closing the Deal: Negotiating Major Legislation; Itai Sened, Submission to NSF — January 2008

Department of Education

The Outcomes of Negative Developmental Behaviors in Male Youth: Pathways into the Juvenile Justice System; Carol Camp Yeakey, Submission to the Department of Education — August 2007

Department of Anthropology

Metabolic Cost of Chimpanzees and Human Foragers (Resubmission); Herman Pontzer, Submission to NSF — July 2007

Paleontology and Primate Evolution in the Late Oligocene of Kenya; David Rasmussen, Submission to NSF — July 2007

Life Projects and Anti-Retroviral: Therapy Comparative Ethnographic Research (Resubmission); Shanti Parikh, Submission as an NIH Subcontract — September 2007

Metabolic Cost of Living in Chimpanzees and Human Foragers; Herman Pontzer, Resubmission to NSF — January 2008

The Center in Political Economy

Empirical and Theoretical Analysis of the Influence of Activists on Elections and Leadership Turnover in Canada, Latin America and Turkey; Norman Schofield, Submission to NSF — January 2008
Current Grant Administration

The Center continues to administer faculty NSF grants. Staff worked with faculty on budgeting, accounting, and filing reports. The staff also worked closely with the University’s research office and sponsored project accounting to make sure that NSF rules and regulations were followed – keeping the University and the faculty involved in compliance at all times. The following is a list of current grants.


**Haluk Ergin**, Department of Economics, “Models of Unawareness and Ambiguity.”

**Michael Frachetti**, Department of Anthropology, “Dzhuungar Mountains Arch Projects: Intensive Studies of Settlement of Landuse of Bronze Age Mobile Pastoralists.”

**James Gibson**, Department of Political Science, “The Politicization of State Judicial Elections: The Effects of New-Style Campaigns on State Court Legitimacy.”

**James Gibson**, Department of Political Science, “Assessing the Consequences of Politicized Committee Processes.”

**David Rasmussen**, Department of Anthropology, “Paleontology and Primate Evolution in the Late Oligocene of Kenya.”


**James Spriggs**, Department of Political Science, “The Establishment of Stare Decisis in the American Legal System.”

**Charles Trombold**, Department of Anthropology, “Late Epiclassic Transitional Dynamics at La Quemada, Zacatecas, Mexico: View from Hinterland and Agricultural Terraces.”

Workshop/Seminar Support

Each year the Weidenbaum Center provides support to the Department of Economics for both its departmental and macroeconomic seminars. Seminars are listed below.

**Macroeconomics Seminars**

*Accounting for the Rise in Consumer Bankruptcies — Igor Livshits, University of Western Ontario*

*The Effects of Labor Market Conditions on Working Time: the US-EU Experience — Josep Pijoan-Mas, CEMFI*

*Micro and Macro Elasticities in a Life Cycle Model With Taxes — Richard Rogerson, Arizona State University*

*Financial Innovation and the Transactions Demand for Cash — Fernando Alvarez, University of Chicago*

*Politically Sustainable Social Insurance — Christopher Sleet, Carnegie Mellon University*

*Testing Efficient Risk Sharing with Heterogeneous Risk Preferences — Maurizio Mazzocco, University of California–Los Angeles*

*Search and Rest Unemployment — Robert Shimer, University of Chicago*

*Exchange Rates and Fundamentals: A Generalization — James M. Nason, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta*

*A Multiplier Approach to Understanding the Macroeconomic Implications of Household Finance — Hanno Lustig, University of California – Los Angeles*

*Learning from Prices: Central Bank Communication and Welfare — Manuel Amador, Stanford University*

*Self-Enforcing Stochastic Monitoring, Misreporting, and the Existence of Debt and Equity Claims — Harold Cole, University of Pennsylvania*
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<td>Prices and Market Shares in a Menu Cost Model</td>
<td>Christian Hellwig, University of California–Los Angeles</td>
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<td>A New Model of Central Bank Intervention: An Example</td>
<td>Neil Wallace, Pennsylvania State University</td>
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<td>Complements versus Substitutes and Trends in Fertility Choice in Dyn...</td>
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<td>Fabrizio Perri, University of Minnesota</td>
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<td>How Important is Human Capital? A Quantitative Theory Assessment of ...</td>
<td>Andres Erosa, University of Toronto</td>
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<td>Mark Bils, University of Rochester</td>
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<td>Petra Todd, University of Pennsylvania</td>
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<td>Can Higher Prices Stimulate Product Use? Evidence from a Field Exper...</td>
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<td>Explaining International Fertility Differences</td>
<td>Rodolfo Manuelli, University of Wisconsin–Madison</td>
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<td>Neoclassical Miracles</td>
<td>Ananth Seshadri, University of Wisconsin–Madison</td>
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<td>Technology Capital and the U.S. Current Accounts</td>
<td>Edward Prescott, Arizona State University</td>
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<td>Paying for Confidence: An Experimental Study of the Demand for Non-Instr...</td>
<td>Kfir Eliaz, Brown University</td>
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<td>The Costs of Regulation: Evidence From Regulation of the U.S. Sugar ...</td>
<td>Jim Schmitz, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis</td>
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<td>Human Capital Risk in Life Cycle Economies</td>
<td>Aarti Singh, Washington University in St. Louis</td>
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<td>An Empirical Model of Growth Through Product Innovation</td>
<td>Rasmus Lentz, University of Wisconsin-Madison</td>
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<td>Technology Sharing in Open Source</td>
<td>Gaston Llanes, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid</td>
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<td>The Bidder’s Curse</td>
<td>Ulrike Malmendier, University of California-Berkeley</td>
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<td>Confusion in Choosing Medicare Drug Plans</td>
<td>Jeffrey Kling, The Brookings Institution</td>
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<td>Financial Frictions and the Persistence of History</td>
<td>Yongseok Shin, University of Wisconsin-Madison</td>
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<td>The Role of Labor and Marriage Markets, Preference Heterogeneity and ...</td>
<td>Kenneth I. Wolpin, University of Pennsylvania</td>
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<td>Income Effects, Wealth Effects and Multiple Equilibria in Trade Models...</td>
<td>Eric Bond, Vanderbilt University</td>
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<td>Organization of Vertically Integrated Firms and Globalization</td>
<td>Ping Wang, Washington University in St. Louis</td>
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<td>The Interest Group Theory of Financial Development: Evidence from Regu...</td>
<td>Alessandro Prati, International Monetary Fund</td>
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The Weidenbaum Center and Washington University’s Political Science Department jointly hosted the sixth EITM Summer Institute series, funded by the National Science Foundation. The three-week program consisted of training seminars concentrating on the methodological challenges posed by mathematical models of the strategic aspects of politics. The institutes are designed for advanced graduate students and junior faculty whose research and teaching would benefit from training seminars on the link between methods of empirical analysis and theoretical models. Seminars combine both theory and method and several seminars address major substantive fields of application. Faculty are drawn from universities around the country.
Theoretical and Methodological Foundations
Randall Calvert and Andrew Martin (both of Washington University in St. Louis)

This seminar presented important varieties of rational choice models in a form that emphasized the techniques by which these models can be used to generate testable implications through comparative statics analysis. The analysis — a key component of the seminar — provided tools with which students developed their own statistical models to test predictions derived from formal theories.

Random Utility Models and Strategic Choice
Mark Fey (University of Rochester)

This seminar examined methods for explicitly linking theory and statistical analysis, especially in a strategic context. Topics covered in this section included random utility models (RUM), selection models, quantal response equilibrium (QRE), and structural econometric models of strategic interaction.

Operationalizing the Spatial Model
Simon Jackman (Stanford University)

In this course, cutting-edge methodological tools were taught that allowed students to (1) operationalize the spatial model in their own research; (2) use the spatial model in other statistical models of behavior; and (3) use computational approaches to compute equilibrium predictions of various sorts of formal models.

Experimental Applications
Rick Wilson (Rice University) and Catherine Eckel (University of Texas-Dallas)

In this course topics included voting experiments, public good experiments, tests of non-cooperative bargaining theory, experiments on information, and recent innovations in political science experimentation. Links between theory and experiment, experimental design, the role of pilot experiments, experimental technique, data gathering, and data analysis were discussed.

Issues in Testing Positive Theories of Legislative Politics
Keith Krehbiel (Stanford University)

This seminar was designed to give intensive consideration of several problems at the intersection of theory and method.

Theoretical advances concerning legislative institutions, legislative parties, and the individual behavior of legislators have generated many methodological challenges. A central concern of the field is the development of appropriate tests of theories about the choice of formal and informal institutions. Closely related are theories of individual behavior in a strategic context.

International Relations Applications
Robert Walker (Washington University in St. Louis)

This seminar covered the unique challenges posed by data that are observed across both space and time through the lens of political economy models in international trade, finance, and conflict. The class constructed, examined, and/or replicated dynamic models and models of transitions, measurement models, multiple imputation and other advanced techniques in cutting-edge applications of cross-national research using R.

For more information on the EITM, program, please visit the website at http://wc.wustl.edu/eitm.
Weidenbaum Center Grants At Work

The following list of publications is the product of research the Weidenbaum Center helped support from mid 2007 through spring 2008.

James Gibson


Overcoming Historical Land Injustices: Land Reconciliation in Contemporary South Africa. Forthcoming.


“Knowing the Supreme Court? A Reconsideration of Public Ignorance of the High Court,” The Journal of Politics. Forthcoming.


Nathan Jensen


Mona Lena Krook
Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide. 2009.


Gary Miller


Mona Lena Krook
Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide. 2009.


Gary Miller


the U.S.,” with Norman Schofield, Perspectives on Politics. Forthcoming.

James Morley


James Morley


Itai Sened and Gary Miller


Robert Walker


Weidenbaum Center Student Support

The Weidenbaum Center supports undergraduate and graduate research assistants for faculty. This support creates a unique opportunity, particularly for undergraduates, to work and collaborate with University faculty on research projects related to the economy, politics and, public policy.

Furthermore, the Center provides support to graduate students who are nominated as Weidenbaum Center Fellows. Fellows work closely with university faculty on projects involving valuable research, writing, and publishing opportunities.

Special Student Opportunities

The Center looked for opportunities to engage both undergraduate and graduate students in its programs as well as allowing these students to meet and interact with government officials and business leaders in 2007 and 2008. The Center also supported the Department of Economics seminar series which is primarily designed for graduate students.

Graduate students in both the departments of Economics and Political Science were invited to attend the Center’s monthly Public Policy Breakfast Meetings and the Weidenbaum Center Forums. Occasionally, when space permits, they were invited to be part of the Center’s Public Policy Luncheon Series.

The Center also arranged for some of the guest speakers to interact with small groups of undergraduate and graduate students in an informal seminar. During this period, students had an opportunity to meet and interact with Gordon Black, founder of Harris Black International, and gain insights into the Harris Poll and the ways technology is shaping polling. Harold Rosen, director of the International Finance Corporation’s Grassroots Business Initiative (IFC/GBI), spoke to a small group of students about opportunities to work with the poor in the emerging field of social enterprise and building grassroots businesses.

The Center also arranged for Alejandro D. Wolff, Deputy U. S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, to speak to students in Professor Andrew Mertha’s political science class. Allan Mendelowitz, Director of the Federal Housing Finance Board, spoke to both undergraduate and graduate students in Professor Murray Weidenbaum’s Business and Government class.

Bob Colvin

Bob Colvin (junior from Seattle, Washington) has worked as a research assistant for Political Scientists Steven Smith and Andrew Sobel as well as other Center staff. His duties have included editing, proofreading, writing, coding, data gathering, and other research
Chelsey Erway  
Chelsey Erway (sophomore from Madison, Alabama) has worked as a research assistant for Steven Smith and other Center staff since Spring 2007. Ms. Erway has organized data, provided editing and proofreading assistance, and assisted with many aspects of the Center’s public policy programs. She is pursuing a degree in economics and is interested in the physical sciences and foreign languages. After graduation she intends to continue her studies in a graduate program.

Mohammad Darwaz  
Mohammad Darwaz graduated from Washington University in May 2008 with a major in Economics and Political Science and a minor in Institutional Social Analysis. While at the Weidenbaum Center, he assisted Melinda Warren by gathering data and statistics for the regulatory report. Since June he has been working in Cairo, Egypt with HSBC Securities as an analyst. Mr. Darwaz is employed in the equity research department, which is responsible for covering companies, sectors, and economies, as a whole, in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa.

Stephen Haptonstahl  
Stephen Haptonstahl (doctoral candidate) was given special funding to further his work in the area of bargaining and negotiation. This funding enabled him to attend two conferences and meet with other scholars as well as present collaborative work with Hong Min Park, a fellow Washington University graduate student.

The first conference was the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (2007). During this conference he met and collaborated with Dr. Thomas Remington, of Emory University, to discuss patterns of voting in the Russian Duma. The second conference, the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association (2008), provided him an opportunity to present his collaborative research paper on the structure of congressional committees.

Mr. Haptonstahl also worked as graduate teaching assistant for the Center’s EITM (Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models) summer institute. This program tapped his years of experience in mathematics, computer programming, and teaching. He worked with advanced graduate student attendees from across the nation and around the world with the goal of fostering a continuing dialogue between theoretical and applied approaches to political science. He was also responsible for coordinating faculty, arranging facilities, and conducting lab sessions which gave the participants hands-on experience using the tools described in the seminars. (For more information on this program see page 21-22.)

Jessica Karlow  
Jessica Karlow (senior from St. Louis, Missouri) has worked as a research assistant for faculty and staff at the Weidenbaum Center since April of 2007. She has assisted with coding, editing, proofreading, gathering data, and the preparation for many of the Center’s public policy programs. She also researched and prepared many of the Center’s monthly regulatory update newsletters. In June, Ms. Karlow returned from a semester abroad in Kunming, China where she spent time researching rural schools in Yunnan Province. She will be writing her thesis on Chinese ethnic groups and separatist movements. This year she will complete a double major in International and Area Studies and Political Science, with a minor in Psychology.

Thomas Zeitzoff  
With Center support, Thomas Zeitzoff (then a senior from Austin, Texas) worked as a research assistant for Professor Nathan Jensen, Political Science Department. Professor Jensen had discovered a coding mistake in several seminal papers that dealt with corporate income taxes in developed countries. His part in the project was to find the dates for legislative tax changes in the OECD countries. This research involved going through old tax journals and some old fashioned detective work. After a month and a half of research, he put together a complete data set for Professor Jensen. The resultant paper reversed many of the previous results and will be an important contribution to the field of comparative political economy.
Weidenbaum Center Fellows
Ji Yan

John M. Olin Prize for Excellence in Economics
Ariella Kahn-Lang

Graduate and Undergraduate Research Assistants
The Center supported a number of undergraduate and graduate students in 2007/2008. Support primarily came in the form of research assistant experience. Below is the list of students supported:

- Daniel Alexander
- Miriam Ben Abdallah
- Rachel P. Berland
- Gabriel Solomon Braitberg
- Shaun Broeker
- Pornsak Chandanabhumma
- Balakrish Chandrasekaran
- Christopher Claassen
- Bob Colvin
- Mohamad Darwazah
- Pamela Ann Dixon
- Amanda Maureen Driscoll
- Mark R. Dudley
- Chelsey S. Erway
- Jonathan Fieman
- Max E. Frankel
- Charles Joseph Franklin
- Stephen R. Haptonstahl
- Gyung-Ho Jeong
- Jessica Karlow
- Hyung-Jin Kim
- Melissa R. Loeb
- Michael S. Lynch
- Christina C. Ma
- Sivaraj Palaniswamy
- Hong Min Park
- Cole Randle
- Ying-Chia Shih
- Mark R. Sobin
- Brian Daniel Stone
- Jia Tao

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Director, Weidenbaum Center Forum

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Christine Moseley
Administrative Coordinator

Chérie Moore
Administrative Assistant
Weidenbaum Center Support

The Center is grateful to the volunteers who have worked so hard over the years to help it reach its annual financial needs. Special recognition goes to James E. Schiele who chairs both the Center’s Eliot Society Volunteer Committee (individual giving) and the Center’s Corporate Volunteer Committee.

Expansion of current programs and the creation of new programs require additional funding on a continual basis. Every dollar helps. Anyone wishing to support the Center’s efforts should contact Gloria Lucy at 314-935-5689 (glolucy@wustl.edu) or Melinda Warren at 314-935-5652 (warren@wustl.edu).

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Mr. Stephen & Dr. Carolynn Wolff

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