Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs Speakers contact list (partial) (2 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. list	The Policymakers' Program Advisory Board 1994-1995 contact list (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Gaynor McCown (Printed Materials)
OA/Box Number: 7324

FOLDER TITLE:
[Improving Results for Children - Designing Strategies for System Change] [1]

2011-0255-S
rc242

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

IMPROVING RESULTS FOR CHILDREN:
Designing Strategies for System Change

January 19-22, 1995
Clearwater, Florida

CHANGING GOVERNANCE TO ACHIEVE BETTER RESULTS FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

A Working Paper

(This paper is a working draft, developed to start discussion at the meeting of six states that are implementing or planning new forms of governance at the local level.)

NOT FOR DISTRIBUTION

The Center for the Study of Social Policy
1250 Eye Street, NW, Suite 503
Washington, DC 20005

October, 1994

CHANGING GOVERNANCE TO ACHIEVE BETTER RESULTS FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHANGING GOVERNANCE TO ACHIEVE BETTER RESULTS FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

INTRODUCTION

Most state governments, and many local communities, are seeking ways to improve results for children and families.

The reasons are not hard to find. By most measures, the conditions of many children and families are deteriorating. The National KIDS COUNT report highlights these trends: over the past decade, six of the ten indices measuring the well-being of children and youth have been getting worse, not better. Recent data indicating a rise in child poverty (to almost 23% of all children) suggest that these downward trends will continue.

As states and communities try to reverse this decline, many are deciding that this effort requires a thorough redesign of the ways in which we assist children and families. Changes are being made in the way that health, education, and social services are being organized, financed, and delivered. In order to achieve better results for families and children, states and localities are seeking to:

- Provide services that are more responsive to individual need more preventive, and more supportive of families:

- Finance services in a way that supports a more flexible, individualized approach; and

- Organize and govern services so that they are more effective and more coherent in carrying out a community's agenda on behalf of children, and more rooted within local communities.

These three types of changes are of course intertwined. Typically, one set triggers activities in the other two. This paper focuses on the third of these changes: new forms of governance.

The paper first examines new governance roles that are being assumed by entities at the local level, and then focuses on governance changes that are being developed jointly by state agencies and local communities. Although some cities and towns are working indigently to implement new forms of governance, the emerging "partnerships" between state government and localities are of particular interest. These efforts must address issues of scale, equity, resource allocation, legitimacy, and representation that may not surface when a community creates a new governance body without state level involvement.

This working draft is organized in four sections:

- Section I reviews the rationale for new forms of governance. Why is change necessary?

- Section II defines what is meant by governance at the local level. What are the key characteristics of the new entities that are taking on this role?

- Section III outlines a framework that several states and communities are using as they establish new forms of governance. What is the nature of this new partnership? What are its implications for other major stakeholders, such as local government or school boards?

- Section IV (to be developed following the six states' meeting on governance) will describe alternative strategies for implementing new governance structures.

The paper concludes with brief observations about some of the larger purposes behind the movement toward improved governance.

I. WHY ARE NEW FORMS OF GOVERNANCE NEEDED?

The case for new forms of governance grows from the conviction that, in many communities, our current education, health, and social service systems are not achieving good results for children and families, despite effective individual programs and many committed professionals.

Part of the reason for this is chronic underinvestment in these systems. School systems and health and human service programs lack the funds they need to fully do their jobs. Before that situation improves, however, it is likely that we must address another problem that is what governance is all about: the fundamental mismatch between what are known to be the ingredients of successful community strategies for children and families, and the way that our health, education, and social service systems currently operate.

Community Needs

In the ideal world, a community seeking to improve the lives of its families and children would be able to move forward on a unified agenda designed around a clear set of results. The community's agenda for families and children would be broadly understood and embraced, and a wide variety of resources would be mobilized to do "whatever it takes" to accomplish these results. Strategies would be tailored for different neighborhoods, and ultimately, for individual families. Actions would be based on an understanding of problems that was grounded in facts as well as residents' perceptions, and community members could track progress toward the results they seek.

Communities would view their actions on behalf of children and families as part of a broader commitment to create and maintain safe and economically viable places to live. Social supports for children and families would be linked with actions to ensure safe streets, adequate housing, and secure and accessible jobs. Underlying all of these activities would be a strong commitment to "leave no child behind", and to assure equitable and culturally sensitive responses to all children and families.

In reality, communities trying to improve results for families and children in this way confront existing public systems whose very structures often block this approach, rather than support it.

The fundamental problem is the *fragmented and categorical nature of most forms of assistance and support* for families and children. Federal, state, and local programs are the result of specific mandates to address particular problems (whether directed toward health, child welfare, education, mental health, criminal justice, substance abuse, employment and training, or other needs).

Programs have proliferated with little relationship to one another, and with no design for creating a coherent system of supports at the local level. Any family seeking help is fared with a complicated web of eligibility and service restrictions. Any community -- whether a neighborhood, town, or city -- trying to organize an effective network of supports for families and children has no focal point for doing so. Nowhere is there responsibility for coordinating or managing the human service and education system as a whole. No entity is envisioned in current federal, state, or local policy as the place where diverse programs fit within a unified community strategy that could accomplish clearly defined results.

Equally difficult for local communities is the fact that current *service mandates mostly aim to redress problems, rather than promote healthy development*. With the exception of general education mandates, there is no base of federal, state, and local policy that charges state agencies or local communities to promote the healthy development of children or the stability and strength of families. Instead, help is triggered after problems become severe. Recent emphasis on "preventive" strategies in social service, mental health, and health care systems is token, at best. Barely a tiny fraction of total investment is being devoted to earlier interventions, yet significant (and in many instances, growing) expenditures are made once families are close to collapse. Any community seeking to mobilize resources in the manner described above, and aiming to put together a range of family supports so that all families have access to resources that help them to raise their children well, will find few dollars available for this purpose.

A third problem confounding communities' efforts is the *intergovernmental complexity of current financing and governance structures*. The key policy and budget decisions for education, health, and social service systems are made at different governmental levels and by different governing structures. Governance for education is primarily local (by elected or appointed school boards). Education policy as well as management decisions are being moved into schools themselves. Governance for social services is much more centralized. Decision-making for child welfare and juvenile justice services, for example, are more likely to be made at the state level (except in states which retain strong county administration of these systems). Mental health systems reflect still a third division of state/local responsibilities: freestanding local boards govern much of their operations.

This hodge podge of governance structures means that *basic decision-making is cumbersome, and better suited for "maintenance" rather than change*. The systems are rule-bound, using much of their energies to assure compliance with standardized procedures. With decision-making spread diffusely "across" categorical agencies and "up and down" levels of government, there is a constant need for checking and rechecking decisions. Implementing new courses of action requires approval from several governmental layers, and from multiple categorical systems. By the time significant efforts are mobilized, the compelling problem may have changed or worsened.

Because decision-making that could be directed at genuinely improving the situation of children and families is so difficult, *current human service agencies as well as schools tend to focus more on managing resources rather than on achieving results*. No single system can control or influence the "cross system" dollars and staff that are required to improve the most important outcomes for families and children. Thus, each system -- whether schools, social services, or health -- can claim (with some justification) that it cannot be held accountable for achieving better results.

As an example, many school personnel today argue that they cannot succeed because so many children have problems at home that prevent their learning. Schools do not control the community resources that could address these problems. Simultaneously, human service agencies have little ability or opportunity to orchestrate their resources in combinations with one another or with the schools. Thus, each system continues to be criticized for failures, while all lack authority to achieve many of the necessary changes.

For all of the reasons cited above, we are perpetuating what exists rather than replacing ineffective activities with better strategies. Because there is no one vantage point from which the impact of multiple systems can be assessed, there is little opportunity to respond to local need by increasing investments in one area while reducing them in another. All of the systems tend to perpetuate the status quo. Change occurs by adding new programs or new funds to existing programs, but rarely by fundamentally restructuring the way all services are organized or financed, so that the results are more of the same.

The development of new forms of governance aims at addressing these structural problems and at improving the way that decisions are made, resources are deployed, and strategies are implemented at the local level. By establishing or designating entities at the local level that will assume a new, broad-based responsibility for improving results for families and children, local communities (and, increasingly, states) are creating:

- focal points for developing coherent community strategies, not just new programs;
- forums through which diverse and scattered resources (money and staff) can be pulled together and deployed in a more effective way;
- mechanisms for beginning to shift energies and investment from piecemeal remedial services to more proactive approaches; and
- entities which can begin establishing accountability for overall improvements in the well-being of a community's families and children.

Although new forms of governance make sense solely as a matter of structural coherence, ultimately they address more profound goals. They represent a new and intense community commitment on behalf of families and children. They must be fueled by a passion to make things better for all of a community's children, or they are likely to run out of steam. Overcoming the barriers inherent in current education and human service structures is a daunting task. Implementing major changes will require years of painstaking and difficult work. Communities willing to pursue this task must be motivated by their dedication to make things better for families and children.

Ultimately, the "governance job" is about more than better decision-making or systems change. It is about delivering on the hopes that all parents and all communities have for their children: that children will grow up in families that help them become healthy, happy, productive adults.

II. THE PURPOSE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE

When talking about local governance, it is helpful to reach a common understanding of what is meant by the term. In the context of this paper, local governance is **the decision-making process by which a community improves the operations of its human service and education programs in order to advance broadly supported strategies that achieve desired results for families and children.**

To accomplish this goal, communities are establishing or designating entities that are willing to begin assuming responsibilities for the well-being of children and families. These entities may be known as community collaboratives, community partnerships, local planning entities, and so forth[1]. This paper refers generically to **local governance entities**, and means by that term *groups made up of public and private sector constituencies and community residents that take on the governance role described above.*

Experience suggests that there are several characteristics that are crucial to these entities' ability to exercise a role that can be described as "governance." These entities must:

- *Take sustained responsibility for designing and implementing strategies to achieve clearly defined results for families and children;*
- *Operate according to a set of principles concerning service delivery and a community's commitment to its families and children;*
- *Have legitimacy and credibility to adequately represent local residents, communities, and state and local government;*
- *Influence the allocation of resources across systems as necessary to accomplish the desired results; and*

---

[1] The term governance is rarely used in local efforts because it connotes hierarchy and a strong governmental influence.

- *Maintain standards of accountability for individual systems, as well as for the community as a whole, concerning the agreed upon outcomes for children and families.*

Each of these represents a change from current patterns of decision-making on behalf of children and families, and warrants further explanation.

Achieve Broadly Defined Outcomes

First, local governing entities take sustained responsibility for designing and implementing strategies to achieve broadly defined outcomes for families and children. Several issues are key here.

Local governance entities are oriented to producing outcomes, rather than to just promoting a certain type of service or vaguely "making things better" for children. Some of the early local governance efforts focused on a limited range of outcomes for a defined target population of children. Savannah's Youth Futures Authority aimed to improve high school graduation rates and reduce teen pregnancy, among other goals. More recently established entities often focus on a broader set of outcomes. Rochester, NY's CHANGE strategy targets the list of desired outcomes shown in Figure I.

Defining a broad scope of outcomes does not preclude setting priorities. Communities usually find that they cannot work equally intensely on all outcomes at once. By establishing far reaching goals at the start, the governance entity clarifies two points: (1) its intent to eventually improve a broad range of conditions for the community's families and children, and (2) the fact that narrow categorical approaches rarely succeed, since progress in one set of outcomes (e.g., early childhood outcomes) is linked to others (e.g., youth outcomes).

Whether a governance entity's desired outcomes are more narrowly or broadly conceived, they must represent an agenda that engages and motivates their community. A primary difference between local groups that view their role as governance (rather than just planning), is that they frame their agendas in terms that community residents and citizens can understand and support.

FIGURE I

Outcomes Adopted
by Rochester NY CHANGE Process

COMMUNITY OUTCOMES & INDICATORS

☐ **HEALTHY BIRTHS evidenced by lower rates of:**

- ✓ low birth weight babies
- ✓ late or no prenatal care
- ✓ births to school-age females

☐ **CHILDREN READY FOR SCHOOL evidenced by:**

- ✓ completed immunizations
- ✓ no uncorrected vision or hearing defects
- ✓ no preventable or untreated health problems
- ✓ living in own family or stable foster care
- ✓ school readiness traits as observed by teacher

☐ **CHILDREN SUCCEEDING IN SCHOOL evidenced by:**

- ✓ academic achievement measures
- ✓ attendance / truancy
- ✓ placement in special education
- ✓ retention in grade
- ✓ suspensions

☐ **YOUNG PEOPLE AVOIDING:**

- ✓ school age pregnancy
- ✓ substance abuse
- ✓ involvement in violence (victim or perpetrator, and including ***child abuse, suicide, homicide and arrests for violent crimes***)

☐ **FAMILIES LIVING ABOVE POVERTY:**

- ✓ economic stability
- ✓ safe and supportive living environment
- ✓ mobility

This is a further reason for the focus on outcomes and results, rather than more abstract notions of "improved services" or "systems change." Increasingly, governance entities strive to define their goals in simple, declarative, understandable terms, so that they can marshall maximum degrees of community support.

Operate According to Principles

The second distinguishing feature of local governance entities is that their actions are driven by **a set of principles concerning service delivery and the community's commitment to is families and children.** The specific principles vary, but generally they emphasize that a community's response to children's and families' needs should be respectful of families' autonomy and diversity, should be comprehensive and individualized, should be directed toward increasing independence, and so forth. Although these values are by now commonplace in the national rhetoric of reform, their continued emphasis by local governance entities indicates that they cannot be taken for granted.

Regardless of which specific principles are adopted by a governance entity, the key point is that how services, supports, and educational opportunities are made available is often as important to local governing entities as what is provided.

Have Legitimacy and Credibility

A third characteristic is that local governance entities **must have legitimacy and credibility to adequately represent residents, communities, and state and local government.** Two concepts are important here.

"Legitimacy" connotes that local governance entities have been formally recognized by key constituencies as playing a role on their behalf. These constituencies can include state agencies, local government, and other governing units (such as a school board), as well as private sector interests, parents, business, and other sectors of the community. To achieve legitimacy, some local governing entities negotiate written agreements with key constituencies, spelling out roles and responsibilities (as with the Local Investment Commission (LINC) in Kansas City, MO.

in its relationship to the school board). In other instances, legitimacy is formally conveyed by means of statute or executive order (e.g., Prince George's County, MD, Commission on Families). In some examples, an entity's legitimacy is negotiated with several of the key constituencies at once, so that mutual expectations are clear. (Albuquerque's Human Needs Strategic Planning Council is engaged in this process now.) In all cases, the intent is to formally recognize the local governing entity's role in the planning and implementation of human services or education.

"Credibility" addresses the less formal trust and recognition that a local governing entity must have in a community. Credibility has to be earned, rather than assigned. All of the local entities that have been playing some form of governance role emphasize the importance of "earning their stripes" and gaining a community's confidence. Without it, much of the formal authority and recognition referred to above means little. Once they gain credibility, local entities often make significant accomplishments even without formally delegated powers.

Whether the focus is legitimacy or credibility, local entities involved in governance have to achieve both with each of their major constituencies. Building legitimacy and credibility requires different steps depending on whether the constituency is local or state government, parents, the local business community, or another important stakeholder. Given the complicated nature of this task, legitimacy and credibility are achieved over an extended period of time, not suddenly bestowed.

Key to both legitimacy and credibility is a governance entity's leadership. The right leadership "around the table" established credibility early-on. Ongoing demonstrations of leadership by a governance group earns community trust, and usually translates directly into greater influence in all aspects of the community's educational and human service systems.

<u>Influence Over Dollars</u>

Closely related to the concept of legitimacy is the notion that local entities involved in governance must **influence the allocation of resources across systems as necessary to accomplish the desired results**. Over the long haul, unless local governing entities can affect how dollars are spent and how staff are deployed, they are unlikely to make much of a difference in the provision of human services and education. More importantly, they will have little effect in improving outcomes for families and children.

Influence over dollars and staff of the major systems in a community (i.e., schools, human service agencies, the private sector) can come in different forms. Some jurisdictions are considering giving local governing entities direct control over funds that are now controlled by public sector agencies. In these models, dollars would flow through local governing entities in order to assure that all relevant agencies direct their actions to a common community agenda. The aim is to give local communities direct decision-making authority over how funds are spent.

In other instances, local entities involved in governance do not have direct financial control, but instead influence allocation of resources through the priorities they set and the plans they develop. The idea behind this approach is that, once all the parties involved in a local entity agree to a course of action, each of the parties will deploy all possible resources in a way which supports this direction. In some communities, their work on assessing needs, developing plans and setting priorities is seen as a necessary first step toward actual control of resources.

Whichever approach is taken, a common principle underlies this aspect of local governance: without gaining influence over funding, a local entity cannot achieve its aims in the long run. Ability to focus dollars and staff in support of a community's agenda is one thing that distinguishes local governance from many other interagency efforts whose impact is uncertain.

Move Toward Greater Accountability

The final critical aspect of local governance is that these entities are envisioned as **maintaining standards of accountability for individual systems and their agencies and constituencies, as well as for the community as a whole.** In keeping with governance entities' focus on results, they must be able to measure baselines, document progress, and ensure that all the parties who commit themselves to take action on an agenda actually do so. Two levels of accountability are sought: (1) holding individual systems participating with the governance entity accountable for specific outcomes, and (2) holding the governance entity itself accountable for how it operates, uses its dollars, and accomplishes its desired outcomes.

A local governance entity's emphasis on accountability can have significant effect in a local service system, even before the entity gains significant authority in other areas. Simply documenting and making publicly available the data about how children and families are faring, and about how well current systems are able to assist them, is an important spur to action. For example, Savannah's Youth Futures Authority has had considerable impact on the educational system simply by systematically gathering, analyzing, and publicizing data about educational performance for the first time in that community.

In the long run, the aim is that governance entities will develop data systems and performance measurement systems that allow on-going learning about "what works," so that a community's responses to children's and families' needs can be continually adjusted and improved. The "self-evaluation" system used by Prince George's County's Commission for Families to assess its family preservation services is a prototype of this approach. This goal must be achieved incrementally and over time, since it depends on data systems that can assess progress across multiple systems.

As all of these characteristics operate together, local governance entities speak for, and to, a broadly-based constituency to: (1) determine what results are most important to the community; (2) determine the patterns of education and human service delivery, and other community supports that can contribute toward those results; (3) decide how state and local funds along with other resources will be used in the community to serve children and families; (4) track progress against the desired results; and (5) remain accountable to the community for those results.

While communities on their own can make progress in establishing new forms of local governance, it is clear from this definition that real "local governance" requires the participating, cooperation, and support of a number of current governmental entities. A number of state governments are considering how they can promote and contribute to these changes. In the next section of this paper, we examine how concepts of local governance, as described above, are being considered as part of broader state-local partnerships to improve results for families and children.

III. AN EMERGING FRAMEWORK OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE

A basic framework for envisioning new forms of community governance and their relationship to state agencies and other key stakeholders is shown in Figure II. It involves new entities at both the state and local level. More importantly, it involves new relationships among a variety of partners: between state government and local communities; between and among state government, local government, and other governance entities such as school boards; and perhaps most importantly, between agents of government and residents of neighborhoods and communities.

This section provides an overview of this framework, sketching its basic components and the new roles and relationship that are envisioned among them.

A State-Local Framework

The core element is a new entity at the local level with responsibility for mobilizing community resources on behalf of specific outcomes for families and children. The key characteristics of this entity have been described in the previous section.

The makeup of this entity can vary widely, but in most instances it combines parents and citizens with representatives of schools, health and human service agencies, local government, and business and civic leadership. Its priorities will also vary, depending on the needs of the local community.

As Figure II indicates, in many jurisdictions this local entity may actually be a network of more localized entities that ensure that planning and service delivery are individualized to smaller geographic areas (neighborhoods or other sub-city or sub-county areas). Unless a local governance entity can extend itself in this way, it is unlikely to generate strategies and activities which are individualized enough to meet people's needs.

In order for these local entities to thrive, state agencies need to establish a policy, fiscal, legal, and operating environment that supports these new entities. This involves creating opportunities for these entities to develop; supporting their evolution; giving them access to resources as they assume progressively greater responsibilities; and establishing a reasonable system of accountability. This is no simple task. It requires change in the ways in which state agencies structure their decision-making, as well as in what roles they play in relation to local communities.

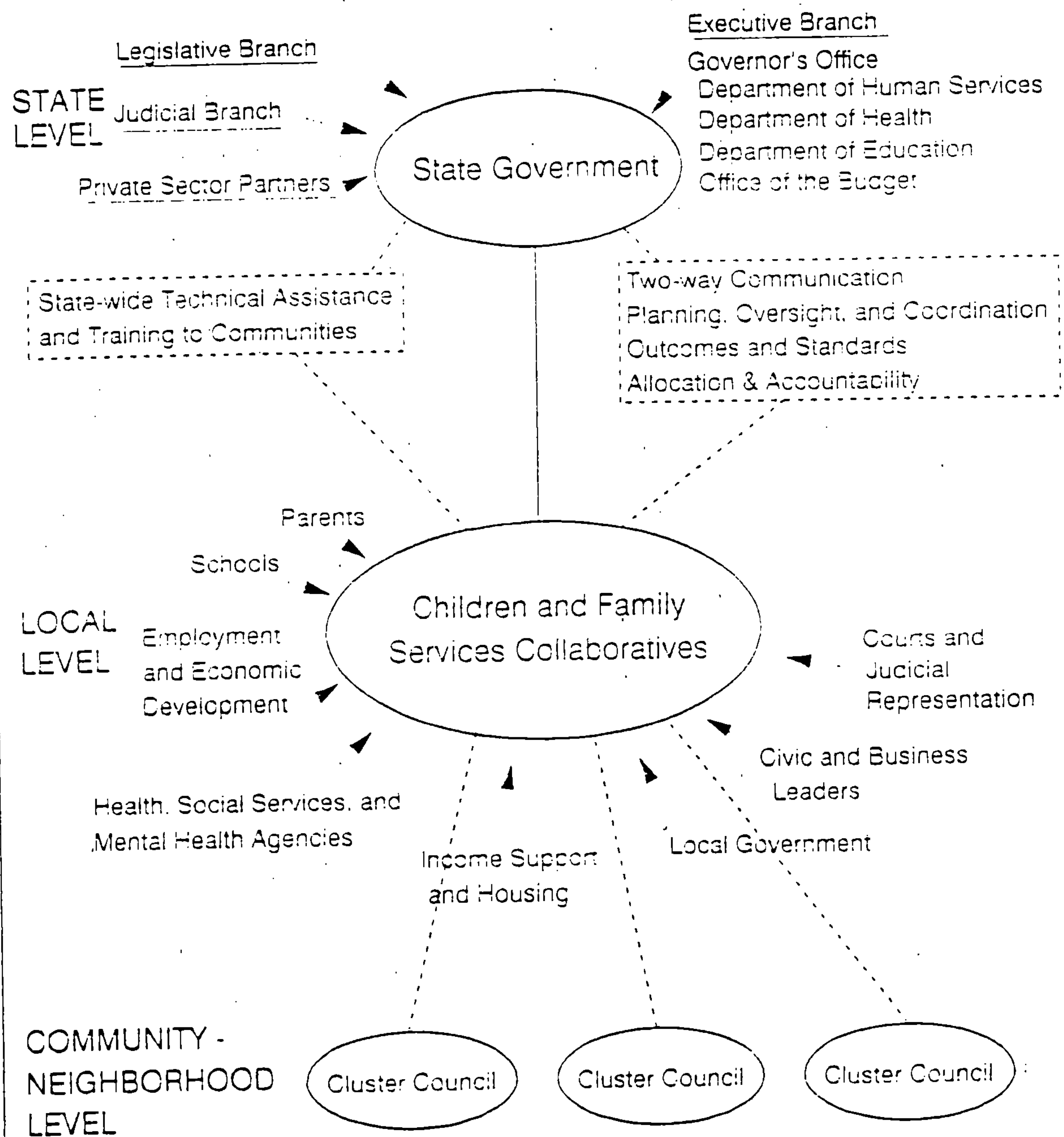
Structurally, states are forming new interagency mechanisms to coordinate budget and policy decisions. Interagency cabinets are established for this purpose (as in Maryland). Other states use less formal Interagency Committees (New Mexico). A third approach is the creation of a public/private intermediary that expands ownership of change beyond the public sector (as in Missouri's Family Investment Trust). Whichever approach is used, the aim is a decision point where policy and budget decisions that affect local children and family and human service, education systems (and, increasingly, employment and training services as well) can be made by state agencies in a unified fashion.

Beyond new structures, states are trying to create policy climates that support local governance entities by establishing new relationships between agencies and local communities. This involves shifting roles and responsibilities so that state agencies are responsible for:

- agreeing on broad policy directions;
- establishing standards for service delivery;
- providing resources in an equitable fashion to localities;
- creating incentives for good performance (and eventually sanctions for poor performance); and
- establishing accountability and measurement systems for local efforts.

CSSP
Oct 1994

Figure II
Governance for a Comprehensive Community Services System



Collaboratives' Evolving Responsibilities

- Sharing Information
- Assessing Community Programs
- Disseminating Outcome Measures
- Developing Strategies
- Advising Agencies
- Developing Creative Financing
- Allocating Discretionary Funds
- Holding Agencies Accountable
- Administering Common Services

Other functions that state agencies have often performed are being shared with local jurisdictions. Thus, (at least in theory) the following functions are being more consistently delegated to local levels:

- detailed decisions about service delivery;
- choices among competing priority services;
- some allocation decisions for major funding sources; and
- other decisions which must closely mirror local conditions.

A summary of the types of changes envisioned for state agencies is shown in Figure III which is part of Missouri's Family Investment Trust's communication to local communities about what state agencies will do differently.

Implementation Issues

States' experiences with new forms of local governance are relatively limited. Maryland, Iowa, and a few other states have been implementing versions of the approach outlined in Figure II for several years, but many more states (Missouri, Washington, Oregon, Vermont, Kansas, and others) are just beginning to develop their approaches.

The limited experience to date, however, suggests several critical implementation issues.

Needed techniques and technologies. Developing new governance structures in uncharted territory and requires new techniques for both management and accountability. One of the most important of these is the need to learn how to develop, manage by, and be accountable for outcomes or results. A focus on outcomes strikes a responsible political chord, and thus can help build public and political support for communities strategies. However, there is a real danger of over-promising unless state systems develop techniques for identifying interim benchmarks that help gauge progress toward long term goals. State agencies will need (and are in the process of developing) processes for (1) reaching consensus on desired outcomes, (2) linking community strategies to outcomes, (3) developing fiscal strategies tied to outcomes, and (4) establishing new accountability systems.

FIGURE III

IMPLICATIONS OF GOVERNANCE CHANGES FOR STATE AGENCIES' ROLES

FROM	TO
• Responsibility for detailed local program design	• Defining desired results with communities
• Emphasis on detailed procedural requirements	• Greater reliance on results and outcomes
• Prescriptive, line item budgeting	• Flexible funding arrangements, tied to performance expectations
• Direct service provision	• Community decisions about direct services
• Single agency focus in policy-making and budgeting	• Multi-system planning and budgeting
• Unilateral decision by state-level agencies	• Decision-making with community partnership

While these techniques are being developed, states must be cautious in their claims for this direction, to avoid "setting themselves up" -- to say nothing of local communities -- for unreasonable judgements about success and failure.

New capacities at all levels of the system. The most frequent need expressed by local groups assuming governance roles is the need for training and skill building so that they feel more comfortable with their responsibilities. The tasks associated with local governance -- use of data to understand local needs, development of comprehensive strategies to achieve results, juggling of political agendas -- cannot be done offhandedly. They require preparation and capacity-building over time.

The same need exists at the state level, however, for the managers and administrators who will shortly find themselves responsible for providing technical assistance rather than program directives, for measuring results rather than procedural compliance, and for attempting to set parameters that promote local initiative rather than circumscribe it.

Building the necessary capacities will require states to invest in training, team-building, and learning opportunities beyond current levels. One of the recognized costs of change must be helping the people who administer these systems to retool skills. Without this investment, other essential elements of the changes envisioned by states cannot occur.

Bolder program reform. Attention to governance issues should not obscure the need for continued and even accelerated attention to programmatic changes and improvements. Getting the structural relationships "right" across categorical systems and between levels of government has little impact unless the various programmatic streams -- whether aimed at educating children, preserving families, addressing employment and training needs, or other goals -- embody effective strategies for this purpose. In-school reform must proceed simultaneously with schools' development of new ties with community agencies. Child welfare agencies must reinvent outmoded services (such as most foster care systems) while helping to create more unified and preventive community support systems.

These "two tracks" of change must be valued and promoted by state governments as they test new forms of governance. Assembling the elements of a strong community system to achieve results for children and families cannot work unless each of the elements is effective in its own right.

Fiscal strategies that mirror desired changes. Financing strategies can and should help drive many of the changes discussed above. If, as states and communities undertake these changes, dollars are not flowing in different ways, it is a sure sign that nothing is really different.

States and localities are developing financing strategies that in many ways parallel and reinforce the types of changes that are being made in governance systems. The goal is for funds to be available more flexibly, linked more closely to outcomes, and attached to a different type of accountability measures. Examples of these approaches include the decategorization efforts that some states are implementing (Iowa, Maryland, and others), performance-based funding with local jurisdictions (Michigan, in its child welfare programs), and a few state's efforts at outcomes-based budgeting.

Eventually, changes in governance should generate more than small-scale changes in the way dollars are allocated throughout the system. However, it is likely that these financing and budgeting changes will have to be implemented gradually, as the systems to support them are developed.

Rewards, incentives, and sanctions. This aspect of governance has received little focus among states and localities considering new governance approaches. Some attention is given to creating incentives for local performance -- for example, through fiscal incentives (such as the opportunity that Maryland provides for counties to retain funds "saved" as jurisdictions reduce their out-of-home care expenditures and expand home-based services) or some other type of recognition. Sanctions have received less attention. (The education system has grappled more extensively with these issues than has human services. For example, as state education agencies give autonomy to local schools, there is usually an understanding that persistent poor performance may lead to actions as drastic as state takeover.)

The lack of emphasis on rewards and penalties is probably appropriate at this early stage of governance changes. What states and communities are trying to achieve must be determined before its consequences are fully sorted out. However, over the longer run, this dimension of governance must be more central. Most of the anticipated shifts require new accountability mechanisms, and accountability means little if it is not accompanied by consequences.

Protections and support for unpopular causes. In the movement toward greater local involvement and control in education and human services, states and localities must attend to issues such as equity in resource distribution, the rights of minority populations, and the need for special consideration for low-incidence/high-need groups. The prevalence of the "not in my backyard" syndromes is just one indication of the difficulties that greater local authority over dollars and decisions can create.

Assuring that important safeguards for people's rights are not lost emphasizes the need to distinguish carefully among the types of decisions that will be redistributed among state and local levels. The movement toward greater local involvement in human service and education governance is not served well by broadbrush rhetoric about "shifting authority to the local level." A more careful sifting-through of precisely what types of responsibility, authority, and resource control will be altered, and how this will be done, is required.

Given these implementation issues, an important implementation principle underlying states' and localities' development of local governance mechanisms is that these changes are evolutionary in nature. Structural changes should proceed as techniques and technologies are developed. Changes in financial control should occur as capacities are built. New responsibilities should be added when previous responsibilities are mastered. And accountability for outcomes should be phased in as resources and skills to accomplish these outcomes as they are developed.

The sequence of this evolution will vary by state, but its pace need not be glacial. Some states will want to jump start their process by first changing statewide statutory mandates, and then hoping that capacities and technologies can develop. Others are letting new collaborative entities evolve from the ground up, letting communities take the lead in assembling the necessary capacity before sweeping statewide changes are made. Still others are combining both strategies. The principle underlying all of these approaches is that the desired changes are by definition long-term in nature, and will require leadership as well as public commitment that is willing to stay the course of their evolution.

IV. IMPLEMENTING NEW FORMS OF GOVERNANCE (To be completed after the six state meeting)

V. CONCLUSION

Changes that communities and states are making in the governance of education and human services have many dimensions. At one level, they involve the most basic elements of public policy and government. They address issues such as "who should decide what?", "whose priorities should be given precedence?" and "at what level of government can decisions best be made?" For state agency leaders and legislators, this is often the dimension that receives most focus.

For people in local communities (towns, neighborhoods, and cities), the stakes are even higher. The opportunities presented by "opening up" the governance process park more fundamental questions such as "what do we want for our families and children?", and "what are the essential ingredients of a community that cares about children?". Discussions about governance become one strand of a boarder conversation about envisioning a better, safer, healthier, more supportive environment for children and families.

At times, these two perspectives on governance can seem at odds. Several of the earliest attempts at governance resulted in meeting after meeting, where state agency representatives focused on how state agency responsibilities could be "delegated" to communities, while local people wanted to address only how the community could generate new preventive initiatives.

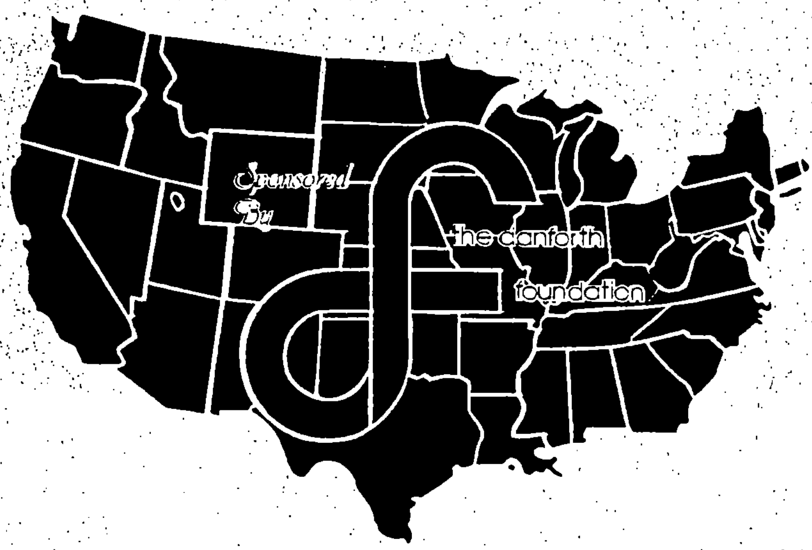
Ultimately, however, shifts in governance are about both of these issues. They involve redistribution of state/local, county/state, and cross-sector authorities. Perhaps more importantly, however, they represent an attempt to create in local jurisdictions the capacities, resources, and tools for local residents to achieve more for their families and children. Redirection of state resources and authority are just one tool -- a powerful one -- to do so. The ultimate aim is one that local community representatives and state administrators and policymakers can agree on: helping communities to help families to raise healthy, happy, safe, and well-educated children.

THE POLICYMAKERS' PROGRAM
WINTER MEETING

THE SHERATON SAND KEY HOTEL
CLEARWATER, FLORIDA

JANUARY 19-22, 1995

CONFERENCE BRIEFING BOOK



IN COLLABORATION WITH

The Education Commission of the States
The National Conference of State Legislatures
The National Governors' Association

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Friedman, Mark. "Financing Reform of Family and Children's Services: An Approach to the Systematic Consideration of Financing Options (Or "The Cosmology of Financing"). The Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1994.

C. Mark Pitsch

Pitsch, Mark. "Congress Likely To Ponder Federal Role in Education." Education Week. November 16, 1994.

Pitsch, Mark and Harp, Lonnie. "Elections Are Likely To Spur Shift in Power." Education Week. December 14, 1994.

D. The Rainmakers

Parents as 'Rainmakers': Healthy Learners' Project. Family Resource Coalition Report. 1993-94.

E. Harold A. Richman

"Changing Governance To Achieve Better Results for Children and Families." Center for the Study of Social Policy. October, 1994

Chaskin, Robert and Garg, Sunil. "The Issue of Governance in Neighborhood Based Initiatives." Chapin Hall Center for Children. 1994.

Chaskin, Robert and Richman, Harold. "Concerns About School-Linked Services: Institution-based Versus Community-based models." The Future of Children. Spring, 1992.

F. Deborah Wadsworth

"First Things First: What Americans Expect from the Public Schools--Executive Summary." The Public Agenda Foundation, New York, N.Y.

"The Broken Contract: Connecticut Citizens Look At Public Education--Executive Summary." The Public Agenda Foundation, New York, N.Y.

Wadsworth, Deborah. "Bridging the Divide: What the Public Is Telling Educators Could Help Resuscitate School Reform." Education Week. November 30, 1994.

Tab 8 Additional Readings/Resources

"A Strike for Independence: How a Missouri School District Generated Two Million Dollars to Improve the Lives of Children." The Center for the Study of Social Policy, Washington, D.C.

"Ten Ground Rules for Reinventing State Education and Human Services." Highlights of the Meeting of Legislative Chairs and Governors' Aides of the Policymakers' Program January, 1994.

Carter, Judy Langford. "Moving From Principles To Practice: Implementing a Family-Focused Approach in Schools and Community Services. <u>The Family Resource Coalition Report</u>. 1993-94.

Farrow, Frank, Watson, Sara, and Schorr, Lisbeth. "Improving Outcomes for Children and Families. <u>Family Resource Coalition Report</u>. 1993-94.

Gardner, Sidney L. "Key Issues in Developing School-Linked, Integrated Services." <u>The Future of Children</u>. Spring, 1992.

Levy, Janet E. And Shepardson, William. "A Look at Current School-Linked Service Efforts. <u>The Future of Children</u>. Spring, 1992.

Morrill, William A. "Overview of Service Delivery to Children." <u>The Future of Children</u>. Spring, 1992.

Trujillo, Lucy. "Learning from Denver Family Resource Schools: The Model and the Process." <u>Family Resource Coalition Report</u>. 1993-94.

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **1**

CONFERENCE AGENDA

IMPROVING RESULTS FOR CHILDREN:
DESIGNING STRATEGIES FOR SYSTEM CHANGE

January 19-22, 1995
Sheraton Hotel, Sand Key Island
Clearwater Beach, Florida

SPONSORED BY:
The National Conference of State Legislatures
The National Governors' Association
The Education Commission of the States
The Danforth Foundation

AGENDA

The overall goal of the Policymakers Program is to help policymakers design state policy that will ensure that all children and youth succeed as healthy, productive citizens and learners -- in school and beyond.

The goals of this seminar are:

To stimulate dialogue between education and human service policymakers and governors about changing systems that serve children.

To move our discussion from exploring the need for collaboration, to a discussion about using collaboration for systems change.

To explore new developments in the research and practice of comprehensive services to support all children.

To bring together governors/governors' staff and state legislators chairing education and human service committees to discuss their roles in implementing a statewide strategy for improved results for all children..

To provide opportunities for states to share experiences, difficulties, and accomplishments in implementing system reform.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19

3:00 PM - 6:00 PM — REGISTRATION
Lobby - 1

3:00 PM - 6:00 PM — HOSPITALITY
Starfish Room - 7

4:00 PM - 5:30 PM — ORIENTATION SESSION
Palm Room

This session is an overview of the Policymakers' Program for participants who are new to the Program and/or new to this meeting.

6:00 PM - 7:00 PM
Island - 1

RECEPTION

7:00 PM
Island - 1

DINNER

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: IMPROVING RESULTS FOR CHILDREN

The speaker will overview the "state of the art" of efforts to improve public policy to better serve all children. What have we accomplished and what is still to be done? We will detail successes in redesigning education and human service systems, and discuss current challenges, identify pressing political and public policy issues.

Speaker: *Sharon Lynn Kagan, Yale University*

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20

8:00 AM - 9:00 AM
Gulf Room

CONTINENTAL BREAKFAST

9:00 AM - 10:00 AM
Palm Room

INTRODUCTIONS
DISCUSSION OF MEETING AND AGENDA
DISCUSSION OF POLICYMAKERS PROGRAM

During this time we will review the agenda for the days ahead and discuss the goals and structure of the Policymakers Program. Three individuals who coordinated state teams participating in previous Policymakers Institute will share information and experiences.

Speakers: *Senator Jeb Spaulding, Vermont*
Sen. Elaine Szymoniak, Iowa
Rep. Ron Cowell, Pennsylvania

10:00 AM - 10:15 AM BREAK
Palm Room

10:15 AM - 11:45 AM
Palm Room

WHAT AMERICANS EXPECT FROM THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Education reform has encountered serious setbacks from an active and organized public. Recently, the Public Agenda Foundation has examined the attitudes not just of the vocal minority, but of the public as a whole. During this session we will examine changing attitudes about education and schools and explore the implications of these views for public policy.

Speaker: *Deborah Wadsworth, The Public Agenda Foundation*

Discussant: *Bob Sexton, Executive Director, Pritchard Committee for Academic Excellence*

NOON - 1:00 PM
Rusty's

LUNCH

1:00 PM - 2:15 PM
Palm Room

DEVELOPING AND GOVERNING COLLABORATIVE PROGRAMS

As state are redesigning education and human services, they will need to develop new strategies and systems of services and new approaches to governance. In this session we will examine issues related to developing and managing new initiatives and involving the community in reform efforts.

Speakers:
Harold Richman, Chapin Hall Center for Children, University of Chicago
Ralph Smith, Annie E. Casey Foundation

2:30 PM - 4:00 PM

INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS OF EDUCATION CHAIRS, HUMAN SERVICE CHAIRS, AND GOVERNORS/GOVERNORS STAFF

During these informal roundtable meetings, participants will discuss current issues in the states. The dominant issues confronting each group will be reported to the full group during this evening's dinner.

Palm Room - Governors Staff
Gulf Room - Human Service Chairs
Beach Room - Education Chairs

4:00 PM - 6:30 PM

FREE TIME

6:30 PM - 9:00
Island - 1

DINNER AND WORKING SESSION

We will continue our discussion of the impact of public opinion on designing political strategies for system change. We will analyze the recent elections and discuss implications of those results for education policy and services to children and families.

Speakers: *Celinda Lake, Mellman, Lazarus, and Lake*
Vince Breglio, R/S/M and Company

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21

7:30 AM - 8:30 AM
Island - 1

BUFFET BREAKFAST

8:30 AM - 9:45 AM
Island - 2

CREATING BETTER SYSTEMS: EXPERIENCES FROM THE FIELD

During this session we will highlight an innovative and exciting program operating in Miami that employs a "bottom-up" philosophy to engage people in *reform. The RAINMAKERS Program focuses on empowering parents to become involved in school and community affairs.*

Moderator: *Rep. Wilhelmina Delco, Texas*
Speakers:
Tania Alameda, Director, Bureau of Children's Affairs, Miami Beach
Grace Nebb, Principal, Fienberg Fisher Elementary School, Miami Beach
Juanita Sosa, Parent
Rosario Gutierrez, Parent
Discussant: *Hedy Chang, California Tomorrow*

10:00 AM - 11:15 AM
Island - 2

CREATING BETTER SYSTEMS: DESIGNING AND IMPLEMENTING POLICIES FOR COLLABORATION

There are many exciting programs such as RAINMAKERS scattered throughout the country. One of the major challenges for state and local policymakers is the "scaling up" of such pilot programs to district and/or state-wide levels. This session will feature a discussion of these issues with local policymakers currently engaged in implementing broad scale reform.

Moderator: *Hedy Chang, California Tomorrow*
Speakers:
Gerry House, Superintendent, Memphis City School District
Roland Chevalier, Superintendent, St. Martin Parish School District
Thelma Jackson, Washington School Boards Association

11:30 AM - 12:30 PM

SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS

States will be combined into several small groups to identify implementation barriers and strategies for scaling up reform.

Group 1: Cordita - 5
Group 2: Coquina - 3
Group 3: Scallop - 2
Group 4: Sun Dial - 4
Group 5: Palm - 1

12:30 PM - 1:45 PM
Island - 1

LUNCH

OBSERVATIONS FROM WASHINGTON

During lunch we will talk with a Washington DC-based education reporter about the new federal environment (congressional leadership, committee structure, etc) and potential impacts on education and childrens policy.

Speaker: *Mark Pitsch, Washington Editor, Education Week*

2:00 PM - 3:15 PM
Island - 2

FUNDING COLLABORATIVE PROGRAMS AND SYSTEM CHANGE

Many states have found the most difficult piece of system reform to be in *designing new funding schemes. During this session we will discuss new ways of thinking about funding in education and human service reform, including budget and appropriation strategies, financial planning, and linking funding and outcomes.*

Speaker: *Mark Friedman, Center for the Study of Social Policy*

3:30 PM - 5:00 PM STATE TEAMS MEET

Participants will meet with others from their state to begin to identify specific state strategies for moving reform forward. Speakers and special guests will be available to work with state teams.

Gulf Room: Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Pennsylvania, Utah
Palm Room: Kentucky, Missouri, New Hampshire, South Dakota
Island - 2: New Jersey, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon

6:00 PM - 7:00 PM RECEPTION
Lobby - 3

7:00 PM DINNER
Island - 1

SUNDAY, JANUARY 22

8:00 AM - 9:00 AM BRUNCH
Island - 1

9:00 AM - 10:30 AM STATE REPORTS AND NEXT STEPS
Island - 2

During this session we will identify the next steps in the Policymakers Program, including application to the summer Institute, and the availability of technical assistance and mini-grants. Teams will also hear from each other about strategies that have been identified during the past few days for moving state reform forward.

10:30 AM - 11:00 AM EVALUATION
Island - 2

11:00 AM ADJOURN

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: 2

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Colorado

John Calhoon
Governor's Office
136 State Capitol Building
Denver Colorado 80203
(303) 866-2120

Sally Vogler
Governors Office
State of Colorado
136 State Capitol
Denver Colorado 80203
(303) 866-3123

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Delaware

Patricia Blevins
Delaware State Senate
209 Linden Avenue
Wilmington Delaware 19805
(302) 994-4843

Pascal Forgione
Superintendent of Public Instruction
Delaware Department of Public Instruction
Post Office Box 1402, Townsend Bldg #279
Federal and Lockerman Street
Dover Delaware 19903
(302) 739-4601

Lynn Howard
Office of the Governor
State of Delaware
12 Floor, Carvel State Office Building
820 N. French Street
Wilmington Delaware 19801
(302) 577-3299

Jane Maroney
Delaware State House of Representatives
4605 Concord Pike
Wilmington Delaware 19803
(302) 478-2672

Bruce Reynolds
Representative
Delaware House of Representatives
Legislative Hall
Dover Delaware 19903
(302) 323-2815

David Sokola
State Senator
State of Delaware
Legislative Hall
Dover Delaware 19903
(302) 739-4139

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Idaho

John Hansen
State Senator
Idaho State Senate
2840 Westmoreland Drive
Idaho Falls Idaho 83402-4603
(208) 529-9732

Dorothy Reynolds
Health Chair
Idaho House of Representatives
1920 Howard
Caldwell Idaho 83605
(208) 459-2553

Jeffrey Shinn
Office of the Governor
Division of Financial Management
Room 122, Statehouse
Boise Idaho 83720
(208) 334-3138

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Kentucky

Tom Burch
State Representative
State of Kentucky
4074 Somoa Way
Louisville Kentucky 40218
(502) 564-8100

Freed Curd
Kentucky State Legislature
1607 Sycamore Street
Murray Kentucky 42071
(502) 753-5841

Policymakers Educ. H n Svs. Chairs
Missouri

Pat Dougherty
Missouri State Legislature
State Capitol Building
Jefferson City Missouri 65101
(314) 751-3599

Jill Friedman
Governors Office
State Capitol, Room 216
Jefferson City Missouri 65101
(314) 751-3283

Sheila Lumpe
Missouri Legislature
Room 311
Capitol Building
Jefferson City Missouri 65101
(314) 751-4265

Annette Morgan
State Representative
Missouri House of Representatives
District 41
Capitol Building, Room 235
Jefferson City Missouri 65101
(314) 751-4485

Sue Shear
State Representative
State of Missouri
Capitol Building
Room 302
Jefferson City Missouri 65101
(314) 751-4163

Beth Wheeler
Director of Legislative Affairs
Office of the Governor
Post Office Box 720
Jefferson City Missouri 65120
(314) 751-6575

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
New Hampshire

Robert Foster
Chairman
Health, Human Services & Elderly
State House (LOB Annex)
Concord New Hampshire 03301
(603) 271-3580

Nils Larson
Chair, House Education Committee
Legislative Office Building 202
Concord New Hampshire 03301
(603) 271-3334

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
New Jersey

Barbara Anderson
New Jersey Department of Education
240 W. State Street, 15th Floor
Trenton New Jersey 08625
(609) 292-9899

C. Louis Bassano
Senate Human Services Committee
324 Chestnut Street
Union New Jersey 07083
(908) 687-4127

John Ewing
New Jersey State Senate
59 Winebrook Road
Bernardsville New Jersey 07924
(908) 766-7757

John Rocco
New Jersey General Assembly
District 6
532 W. Route 70
Cherry Hill New Jersey 08002
(609) 428-8077

Edward Tetelman
New Jersey Department of Human Services
CN700
Trenton New Jersey 08625-0700
(609) 202-1617

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
New Mexico

Carlos R. Cisneros
State Senator
New Mexico State Senate
Post Office Box 1129
Questa New Mexico 87556
(505) 586-0873

J. Paul Taylor
New Mexico

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Ohio

Grace Drake
Ohio Senate
Senate Building, Room 221
Columbus Ohio 43215
(614) 465-7505

Mike Fox
Ohio House of Representatives
77 S. High Street, 10th Floor
Columbus Ohio 43215
(614) 644-6721

Joan Lawrence
State of Ohio
77 S. High - Vern Riffe Center
Columbus Ohio 43266-0603
(614) 644-6711

Cooper Snyder
State Senator
Ohio State Senate
Senate Office Building
Columbus Ohio 43215-4276
(614) 466-8082

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Oklahoma

Bernest Cain, Jr.
State Senator
Oklahoma State Senate
2300 N. Lincoln
#413 State Senate
Oklahoma City Oklahoma 73105-4808
(405) 425-0126

John Cox
Director of Cabinet Constituent Affairs
Governor's Office
212 State Capitol
Oklahoma City Oklahoma 73105
(405) 523-4235

James Hager
House of Representatives
Room 305-A
State Capitol
Oklahoma City Oklahoma 73105-4885
(405) 521-2711

Jason Logan
Cabinet Liaison
Governor's Office
212 State Capitol
Oklahoma City Oklahoma 73105
(405) 523-4235

Ed Long
State Capitol Senate
2300 N. Lincoln
Oklahoma City Oklahoma 73105
(405) 521-5630

Mark Seikel
Chairman, Human Services Committee
Oklahoma House of Representatives
State Capitol - Room 330
Oklahoma City Oklahoma 73105
(405) 557-7400

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Oregon

Tom Hartung
Oregon State Senate
% 13975 N.W. Burton Street
Portland Oregon 97229
(503) 986-1950

Carolyn Oakley
State Representative/Chairman House
Education Committee
3197 Crest Loop, NW
Albany Oregon 97321
(503) 928-7745

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Pennsylvania

Michael Breslin
Executive Deputy Secretary
Public Welfare
332 Health & Welfare Building
P.O. Box 2675
Harrisburg Pennsylvania 17110
(717) 783-4284

Ronald R. Cowell
State Representative
Chair, House Education Commission
Pennsylvania House of Representatives
Post Office Box 117 - Main Capitol
Harrisburg Pennsylvania 17120
(717) 783-1914

Leonard Gruppo
Pennsylvania House of Representatives
P.O. Box 193 - Main Capitol
Harrisburg Pennsylvania 17120
(717) 783-6437

David Richardson
Chair
House Health and Welfare Committee
House of Representatives
319 South Office Building
Harrisburg Pennsylvania 17120
(717) 787-3181

Allyson Schwartz
State Senator
Pennsylvania State Senate
Senate Box 204004
Harrisburg Pennsylvania 17120
(717) 787-1427

Jess Stairs
Pennsylvania House of Representatives
P.O. Box 193 - Main Capitol
Harrisburg Pennsylvania 17120
(717) 783-9311

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
South Dakota

Kris Graham
Governor's Office
State Capitol Building
Pierre South Dakota 57501
(605) 773-3661

David Munson
South Dakota Legislature
South Dakota State Capitol
Pierre South Dakota 57501
(605) 773-3251

Richard Negstad
State Senator
State of South Dakota
Capitol Mailroom
Capitol Building
500 East Capitol Avenue
Pierre South Dakota 57501-5070
(605) 773-3821

Roger Porch
South Dakota State Senate
HC1, Box 25
Wanblee South Dakota 57577
(605) 462-6489

Lola Schreiber
South Dakota State Legislature
HCR 2 - Box 39
Gettysburg South Dakota 57442
(605) 258-2103

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
West Virginia

Mary Compton
Chair
Health and Human Resources
Charleston West Virginia 25305

Barbara Harmon-Schamberger
Secretary of Education and the Arts
State of West Virginia
Charleston West Virginia 25305

Lloyd Jackson
Chair
Senate Education Committee
Charleston West Virginia 25305

David Miller
Charleston West Virginia 25305

Roman Previoso
Chair
House Education Committee
Charleston West Virginia 25305

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Utah

Beverly Evans
House of Representatives
State Capitol - Room 318
Salt Lake City Utah 84114
(801) 538-1029

Lloyd Frandsen
Utah House of Representatives
State Capitol
Salt Lake City Utah 84114
(801) 538-1029

Corrine Hill
Principal
Wasatch Elementary School
30 R Street
Salt Lake City Utah 84103

Howard Stephenson
Education Commission Chair
Utah State Senate
1038 E. 13590 S
Draper Utah 84020
(801) 972-8814

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs Speakers contact list (partial) (2 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Gaynor McCown (Printed Materials)
OA/Box Number: 7324

FOLDER TITLE:
[Improving Results for Children - Designing Strategies for System Change] [1]

2011-0255-S
rc242

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Speakers

[001]

Tania Alameda
P6/(b)(6)

Bryna Berman
% Tania Alameda
P6/(b)(6)

Vince Breglio
R/S/M and Company
9344 Lanham-Severn
Suite 102
Lanham Maryland 20706
(301) 306-0844

Hedy Chang
California Tomorrow
Fort Mason Center
Building B
San Francisco California 94123
(415) 441-7631

Roland Chevalier
Superintendent
St. Martin Parish School District
Post Office 3ox 859
St. Martinville Louisiana 70582
(318) 394-6261

Alice Collins
% Tania Alameda
P6/(b)(6)

Wilhelmina Delco
P6/(b)(6)

Mark Friedman
Center for the Study of Scoial Policy
1250 I Street, N.W., Suite 503
Washington DC 20005
(202) 371-1565

Rosaria Gutierrez
City of Miami Beach
Attn: Tania Alameda
1700 Convention Center Drive
Miami Beach Florida 33139

Gerry House
Superintendent
Memphis City School District
2597 Avery Avenue
Memphis Tennessee 38112
(901) 325-5300

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Speakers

Thelma Jackson
P6/(b)(6)

Sharon Lynn Kagan
The Bush Center for Child Development
Social Policy, Yale University
310 Prospect Avenue
New Haven Connecticut 06511
(203) 432-9931

Celinda Lake
Mellman, Lazarus, & Lake
1054 31st Street, NW
Washington DC 20007
(202) 625-0370

Grace Nebb
Principal
Fienberg/Fisher School
1420 Washington
Miami Beach Florida 33139
(305) 531-0419

Mark Pitsch
Education Week
Suite 250
4301 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20008
(202) 364-4114

Harold Richman
Chapin Hall Center for Children
University of Chicago
1155 East 60th Street
Chicago Illinois 60637
(312) 753-5958

Robert Sexton
Executive Director
The Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence
Post Office Box 1658
Lexington Kentucky 40592

Ralph R. Smith
The Annie E. Casey Foundation
701 St. Paul Street
Baltimore Maryland 21202
(410) 547-6600

Juanita Sosa
City of Miami Beach
Attn: Tania Alameda
1700 Convention Center Drive
Miami Beach Florida 33139

Elaine Szymoniak
Chair, Human Resources Committee
2116 44th Street
Des Moines Iowa 50310
(515) 279-3115

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Speakers

Deborah Wadsworth
Executive Director
Public Agenda Foundation
6 East 39th Street
New York New York 10016
(212) 686-6610

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Guest

J. Lawrence Aber
Director
National Center for Children in Poverty
154 Haven Avenue
New York New York 10032
(212) 927-8793

Cynthia Brown
Director, Resource Center on Educational Equity
Council of Chief State School Officers
One Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest
Suite 700
Washington DC 20001-1431
(202) 336-7007

Michael Casserly
Executive Director
Council of Great City Schools
1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest
Suite 702
Washington DC 20004
(202) 393-2427

Ellen Galinsky
Co-President
Families and Work Institute
330 Seventh Avenue
New York New York 10001
(212) 465-2044

Stacie Goffin
Senior Specialist
Early Childhood Care and Education
Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation
4900 Oak
Kansas City Missouri 64112-2776
(816) 932-1129

Michael Levine
Program Officer
Carnegie Corporation of New York
437 Madison Avenue
New York New York 10022
(212) 371-3200

Gaynor McGowan
Domestic Policy Council
Old Executive Office Building, Room 217
The White House
Washington DC 20500
(202) 456-5575

Barbara Reisman
Executive Director
Child Care Action Campaign
330 Seventh Avenue, 17th Floor
New York New York 10001-5010
(212) 239-0138

Gail Richardson
Child Care Action Campaign
330 Seventh Avenue, 17th Floor
New York New York 10001-5010
(212) 239-0138

Shelly Smith
National Conference of State Legislatures
1560 Broadway, Suite 700
Denver Colorado 80262
(303) 830-2200

Policy kers Educ. H n Svs. Chairs
Progr Staff

Beverly L. Anderson-Parsons
InSites
419 Canyon Avenue, Suite 300
Fort Collins Colorado 80521
(303) 484-7116

Louise Bauer
National Conference of State Legislators
1560 Broadway, Suite 700
Denver Colorado 80202
(303) 830-2200

Julie Bell
Education Program Director
National Conference of State
Legislatures
1560 Broadway #700
Denver Colorado 80202
(303) 830-2200

Patricia Brown
Senior Policy Analyst
National Governors Association
Hall of the States Building
444 N. Capitol Street, #267
Washington DC 20001
(202) 624-7705

Sharon Brumbaugh
Board Development Specialist
Pennsylvania School Board Association
774 Limeklin Road
New Cumberland Pennsylvania 17070
(717) 774-2331

Paul Goren
Program Director, Education
Center for Policy Research
National Governors Association
Hall of the States Building
444 N. Capitol Street - #267
Washington DC 20001
(202) 624-5309

James Harvey
James Harvey and Associates
1129 20th Street, Northwest
Suite 400
Washington DC 20036
(202) 659-4670

Brenda Hostetler
Danforth Foundation
231 S. Bemiston - Suite 1080
St. Louis Missouri 63105
(314) 862-6200

Robert H. Koff
Program Director
Danforth Foundation
231 S. Bemiston - Suite 1080
St. Louis Missouri 63105
(314) 862-6200

Linda McCart
National Governors Association
444 North Capitol Street
Washington DC 20001
(202) 624-5336

Policymakers Educ. Human Svs. Chairs
Program Staff

Alex Medler
Education Commission of the States
707 17th Street
Denver Colorado 80202
(303) 299-3635

Jeb Spaulding
State Senator
Chair Senate Education Commission
State of Vermont
% Post Office Box 222
Montpelier Vermont 05602
(802) 223-1118

Sherry Tomczak
Danforth Foundation
231 S. Bemiston - Suite 1080
St. Louis Missouri 63105
(314) 862-6200

Gerrit Westervelt
Director, State Relations
Education Commission of the States
707 Seventeenth Street
Denver Colorado 80202
(303) 299-3612

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: 3

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Tania Alameda is a doctoral student of Social Welfare Policy in the School of Social Work at Florida International University (FIU), Miami, Florida. She had the opportunity to be involved in the Healthy Learners Project as project coordinator for four years. The Healthy Learners Project, A Danforth Foundation Funded-FIU directed initiative, is a family empowerment school-based services project housed at Fienberg/Fisher Elementary School, Miami Beach, Florida. Ms. Alameda is currently the Director of the Bureau of Children's Affairs for the City of Miami Beach. She has served as consultant and trainer to many local and national organizations about family empowerment and school and community-based services integration. Ms. Alameda has also given presentations in a variety of meetings and conferences. Most recently she was a participant in a White House Meeting entitled "Comprehensive Strategies for Children and Families: The Role of the Schools and Community-Based Organizations."

Vincent Breglio is a co-founder of Research/Strategy/Management, Inc. (R/S/M), a Washington-based consulting and opinion survey research firm formed in January 1983. Mr. Breglio has more than twenty-five years of experience in strategic consulting and survey research. He served as Director of Polling for the 1988 Bush-Quale campaign and Deputy Director of Strategy and Senior Consultant for the 1980 and 1984 Regan-Bush campaigns. Mr. Breglio has been a counselor to Presidents, Senators, Governors, news organizations, Fortune 500 corporations, foundations, associations, and educational institutions.

Hedy Chang is the Co-Director of California Tomorrow, a nonprofit policy research and advocacy organization working statewide on issues affecting the state's future as a multiethnic and multiracial society. Ms. Chang directs two projects within the organization. The first is a two-year project dedicated to investigating the implications of cultural and linguistic diversity for program design, policy, staff training and recruitment about early care and education. The second, Collaborative Services for Diverse Communities, helps communities develop comprehensive integrated programs and policies for ethnically and linguistically diverse children, youth and families by providing technical assistance to selected communities, developing a network of technical assistance providers, producing relevant resource materials and seeking needed statewide and local policy changes. Ms Change has written many articles and reports including Affirming Children's Roots: Cultural and Linguistic Diversity in Early Care and Education. Ms. Chang currently is the Secretary, Board of Director's of the National Coalition of Advocates for Children, a member of the oversite board for the National Center for Service Integration, a member of the California Healthy Start Advisory Committee and serves on the Executive Committee of the Greater Bay Area Family Resource Network.

Roland Chevalier is the Superintendent of the St. Martin Parish School District in St. Martinville, Louisiana, a post he has held for four years. Mr. Chevalier has worked in the St. Martin Parish District for nearly twenty years. Before his appointment as Superintendent, Mr. Chevalier was Director of Personnel, Director of Curriculum and Instruction, Principal, Assistant Principal and a Chemistry and Physics Teacher.

Wilhelmina Delco served in the Texas house of representatives for twenty years (1974-1994). Ms. Delco did not stand for reelection November 1994. For her last two terms she served as Majority Leader Pro Tempore. Ms. Delco served as Chair of the Higher Education Committee from 1979-1991. She began her career in politics by serving six years as a member of the city of Austin, Texas Board of Education. Ms. Delco has held offices in almost every major education organization including the National Conference of State Legislatures and the Education Commission of the States. She is a member of the Policymakers' Advisory Board. She continues to serve on corporate boards and as a consultant to a variety of groups and organizations. She currently chairs the Committee on Integrity and Quality in Education for the U.S. Department of Education.

Mark Friedman is currently a senior associate at the Center for the Study of Social Policy, Washington, D.C., working on financial technical assistance to states and local governments, in support of family and children's services reform. Before joining the Center, Mr. Friedman served for nearly twenty years in the Maryland Department of Human Resources, including six years as the Department's chief financial officer. During this time Mr. Friedman played a key role in financing and implementing family preservation and other children's services, and was responsible for major revenue initiatives under Titles IV-A, IV-E, Child Support, Medicaid and SSI. Mr. Friedman has spoken extensively on the subject of financing human services reform, and has contributed to several recent Center publications on family and children's services.

Rosario Gutierrez is a Rainmaker parent at the Feinberg-Fisher Elementary School, Miami Beach, Florida.

Gerry House is Superintendent of the Memphis City Schools, the 15th largest school system in the nation. She has served in this position since July 1, 1992. She came to Memphis from Chapel Hill, North Carolina where she was Superintendent of the Chapel Hill-Carrboro School system for seven years. Before that, she was a teacher, junior and senior high guidance counselor, principal, a director, and assistant superintendent. Ms. House has won many awards and recognitions, including being twice named in the Executive Educator magazine's as one of the nation's top 10 Executive Educators in education.

Thelma Jackson is now serving her third term as President of the North Thurston School Board in Washington state. She is the Past President of the Washington State School Directors Association, Past President of the Pacific Region Conference of the National School Boards Association, and is currently Vice Chairperson of the Ashington State African-American Affairs Commission. She has served as a consultant to Governors Gardner and Lowry on education issues. She has been a member of The Board of Education since 1977. Ms. Jackson also serves as Senior vice-president for Management Services for Nat Jackson and Associates, Inc., a diversified services and telecommunications company she and her husband founded in 1977.

Sharon Lynn Kagan is a Senior Associate at Yale University's Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy. She is recognized nationally and internationally for her work related to the care and education of young children and their families. Ms. Kagan plays a leadership role in the early childhood field. Formerly Chairperson of the Family Resource Coalition's Board of Directors and a board member of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, she is currently Chairperson of the National Education Goals Panel Readiness Technical Committee and a member of more than thirty international and national commissions, panels, advisory groups, and editorial boards. She was a member of President Clinton's education transition team, and many National Commissions on Head Start and Chapter 1. Ms. Kagan's writings explore the preparation and assessment of young children for school, the facilitation of home-school transitions for children and families, and the readiness of both children and schools for learning. Ms. Kagan has served as a Head Start teacher and director, an administrator in the public schools, a fellow in the U.S. Senate and, while on leave from Yale, Director of the New York City Mayor's Office of Early Childhood Education.

Celinda Lake is a partner in the firm of Mellman, Lazarus and Lake, Inc., the researched based strategy firm. Ms. Lake is one of the Democratic Party's leading political strategists, serving as a tactician and senior advisor to the national Party Committees, dozens of Democratic incumbents and challengers at all levels of the electoral process, and democratic parties in several Eastern European countries. During the 1992 election cycle, Lake oversaw focus group research for the Clinton/Gore Campaign and served as a general consultant throughout the campaign. Ms. Lake is also one of the nation's foremost experts on electing women candidates and on framing issues to women voters. Her most recent areas of concentration have been the changing politics of the Western stats, health care in the 1990's children as a political issue, and the environmental movement today. Lake has also recently become pollster to U.S. News & World Report.

Grace Nebb is the principal of a dynamic full service school, the Fienberg-Fisher Elementary School, in Miami Beach, Florida. She has been an elementary teacher, an assistant principal, and a college professor. Ms. Nebb has received many honors and awards among them, the 1982-83 Teacher of the Year and the 1994-95 Miami Beach Senior High School Feeder Pattern Principal of the Year. Fienberg-Fisher Elementary School has a grade pattern of PK-6 and an enrollment of approximately 1,100 students. She started the Full Service School initiative at Fienberg-Fisher with a grant received from the Danforth Foundation. Ms. Nebb is very involved in community activities and professional organizations and associations.

Mark Pitsch is the Washington Editor for Education Week, the only independent, national newspaper devoted to federal, state and local policy developments in education. He has been with Education Week since 1990, and has been Washington Editor since August 1993. As Washington Editor, Mr. Pitsch oversees Education Week's coverage of the White House, U.S. Department of Education, and Congress. He also serves as the newspapers' lead political and federal education policy reporter. In addition, Mr. Pitsch is responsible for monitoring Washington news developments in areas other than education that are of interest to educators--for example, welfare and health-care reform.

Harold A. Richman is Director, Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago a post he has held since 1985. Chapin Hall Center for Children is an independent center dedicated to bringing sound information, rigorous analysis, and an independent perspective to the ongoing public debate about the needs of children and the ways in which those needs can best be met. Mr. Richman is the Hermon Dunlap Smith Professor of Social Welfare Policy in the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago. He is a former White House Fellow and Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Writz. From 1992-94 he served as Co-Chair, Roundtable on Community Initiatives for Children and Families for the National Academy of Sciences. Mr. Richman is engaged in work associated with three current projects (a) Exploring the Uses of Available Data for Monitoring and Improving the Condition of Children; (b) Understanding and Improving Services for Troubled Children and Families; and (c) Developing and Evaluating Community-Based Service Systems and Supports for All Children and Families.

Robert F. Sexton has been the Executive Director of the Prichard Committee for Academic Excellence since its creation in 1983. A Louisville native, he also has been the Deputy Director of the Kentucky Council on Higher Education, an administrator at the University of Kentucky, a teacher, and an advisor to many states, universities and foundations. Mr. Sexton was a founder of Kentucky's Governor's Scholar Program and the Commonwealth Institute for Teachers. His volunteer work has been extensive and includes being the founder and president of the Kentucky Center for Public Issues, publisher of The Kentucky Journal, and co-chair of the Carnegie Center for Literacy and Learning in Lexington.

Ralph Smith is a program officer, Annie E. Casey Foundation, Baltimore, Maryland. He joined the foundation fall, 1994. Mr. Smith is the Founding President and past Executive Director of the Philadelphia Children's Network. He has served on the faculty of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Smith has written many articles and papers with particular emphasis on civil rights. During 1990 and 1991, he served as an Executive Assistant to the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, where his portfolio included development and management of programs related to children. From 1983-1989, he was affiliated with the School District of Philadelphia, first as Consultant to the Superintendent and then as Chief of Staff and Chief Operating Officer. As Consultant, he was the architect of the District's nationally recognized voluntary desegregation program. As Chief of Staff, he had line responsibility for the key non finance operating departments.

Jeb Spaulding is serving his sixth term in the Vermont State Senate. He is Chairperson of the Senate Education Committee, Chair of the Joint Administrative Rules Committee and is a member of the Senate Government Operations Committee and the Senate and Joint Rules Committee. During his tenure in the legislature, Mr. Spaulding has served on and/or chaired blue ribbon committees to revise the State's state aid, special education and vocational education funding formulas. He played influential roles in establishing Vermont's challenge grant program for high performance schools, statewide assessment program, including portfolios, and the State's early education initiative. Mr. Spaulding serves on the Executive and National Steering Committees of the Education Commission of the States, served as Vice Chair of the Education Committee of the National Conference of State Legislatures, and is a board member of the New England Board of Higher Education. He also serves as a member of the Policymakers' Program Advisory Board.

Juanita Sosa is a Rainmaker parent at the Feinberg-Fisher Elementary School, Miami Beach, Florida.

Elaine Szymoniak is a State Senator representing Des Moines, Iowa. She was first elected to the Iowa Senate in November 1988. Senator Szymoniak currently serves as Chair of the Senate Human Resources Committee. She also has sat on the Education, Ways and Means, Local Government, and Judiciary Committees. Senator Szymoniak also served on the Des Moines City Council form 1977-1985. She is retired from the Iowa Department of Education, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation and is a licensed speech-language pathologist audiologist.

Deborah Wadsworth is Vice President and Executive Director of the Public Agenda Foundation, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that works to enhance citizen understanding of complex public policy issues. A former college administrator, Ms. Wadsworth was part of a group of educators brought together in the late sixties by then Governor of New York, Nelson Rockefeller, to plan and develop a new college within the State University of New York, the College at Purchase. She served the college through the seventies as its Dean of Admissions. More recently, she served as a program officers of the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation with special responsibility for projects that focused on the impact of mass communications on the political process. Immediately before joining the Public Agenda Foundation, Ms. Wadsworth was the Executive Director of the Smart Family Foundation.

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **4**

POLICYMAKERS' PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

The Policymakers' Program

A Program of
The Danforth Foundation

The Danforth Foundation, in cooperation with the Education Commission of the States, the National Conference of State Legislatures, and the National Governors' Association, is expanding efforts to support systemic education reform and promote dialogue among Policymakers and practitioners concerned with education, health, and other human services. A five-year initiative, the Policymakers' Program, was launched in 1992 to help state legislators and their staffs, governors and their education and human service program advisors, and educational leaders improve the process by which policy affecting children and youth is developed, integrated, implemented, and evaluated. The program seeks to improve the development of young people by attending to the broader needs of children and families as well as their education.

Context, Assumptions, and Goals

Over the years, most state Policymakers have created a fragmented set of policies to address the needs of children and families. This fragmentation, and the confusion attending it, as well as conflicting resource allocation schemes dilute state efforts to provide efficient and effective services. Paradoxically, the very policies which should ensure that children and youth succeed often work at cross purposes. For example, education, health, human services, and early childhood education programs at the federal, state and local levels are budgeted separately, administered independently, and provided to different clients through different delivery systems. Efforts to get these systems to work together in the best interests of children (i.e., to offer the combination of services needed by children when they most need them) frequently flounder because of the ways these systems are organized, financed, and held accountable.

Further, the education reform movement that began more than a decade ago is at a critical juncture. Governments at all levels have implemented important reforms, and the number of schools that have improved student performance has increased dramatically. Collaboration between education and human service systems has expanded as well, with many innovative programs thriving. But reform that affects all schools in a district, for example, is still the exception rather than the norm, and many policies and practices hinder progress rather than support change. The vision of *all* children succeeding as healthy, productive citizens will remain just a vision unless policymakers demonstrate the political will and energy to spread what works throughout the system.

The Danforth Foundation 231 South Bemiston Avenue Suite 1080 St. Louis, Missouri 63105-1906 314-862-6200

Although the obstacles to change are present at all levels, real solutions must emerge from an artful balance of "top-down" and "bottom-up" reforms as well as cooperative efforts between and among state and local policymakers and frontline service providers. Although national and state leadership on these issues is required, policies should build local capacity to deal with problems and arrive at comprehensive solutions.

Because families have the primary responsibility for nurturing their children, neither schools nor social services agencies can accept full responsibility for the development of young people and effective education for all. Consequently, policy development and implementation must include multiple units and levels of government, policymakers, parents, health and human service personnel, community leaders, those who receive services, and those who prepare service providers.

It is the expectation of the sponsoring organizations that state leaders will use the Policymakers' Program to strengthen their vision for children and families and define a process for achieving that vision that is appropriate for their state and local community circumstances. The program is designed to help policymakers determine why our education and human services systems so often flounder--and develop strategies to get them back on track. Because of the fragmentation of the present policy and service delivery systems, state leaders have expressed a desire to improve them. This interest has served as a catalyst for exploring and developing new types of policy leadership.

Given this context, the overall goal of the Policymakers' Program is to help policymakers create strong leaders and state policy that will ensure that all children and youth succeed as healthy, productive citizens and learners --in school and beyond. The program complements and reinforces ongoing state efforts to improve the education, health, and human services systems which serve children and families. Drawing on this vision, the program seeks to help policymakers examine and challenge beliefs and assumptions about present systems and to consider policies and practices that will lead to more effective and efficient delivery of services.

The Policymakers' Program, guided by a National Advisory Board (see attached roster), is focused on achieving the following objectives:

- Develop new ways to focus the attention of policymakers and practitioners on supporting successful delivery of education, health and human services to children and families.

- Develop a comprehensive approach to improving children's readiness for school and their performance in school.

- Reinforce cooperation among the education, health, labor, legal, and human service systems by providing opportunities to bring policymakers and practitioners together.

- Rethink funding streams and finance systems in the support of effective programs and services.

Participants in the Policymakers' Program will:

- Access valid information about the condition of children, the services they need, and effective strategies to promote the well-being of children and families.

- Develop skills to build coalitions in support of systemic education/human service policy initiatives aimed at improving the level of learning for all children.

- Learn about successful programs and models and ways to document success.

- Consider strategies to engage citizens in public discourse concerning issues such as appropriate expectations for children, performance standards, ways to encourage high quality performance of teachers and other service providers, ways to decentralize decision-making and responsibility, and ways to reward risk taking and challenging initiatives.

To accomplish these objectives, state teams of policymakers, practitioners, and parents are assembled and supported. Team members must be committed to developing and carrying out state and local initiatives that advance learning and the well-being of children, youth, and families. Each year, a Policymakers' Summer Institute is held for selected state teams. To participate in the Summer Institute, appropriate members of state teams must take part in the Legislative Chairs' and Governors' Forum and the Technical Assistance program components outlined below. Applications to each program component are reviewed by staff and staff recommendations, in turn, are reviewed by the National Advisory Board.

Program Components

Two meetings and related support activities provide the foundation for the Program's support to state teams.

- **Legislative Chairs' and Governors' Forum (January)**

  This Forum provides support to legislative chairs, governors or their advisors to promote cross sector/cross committee bipartisan approaches to systemic reform, including collaborations between education and human services. Each state that attends the Forum must be represented by at least one Education and one Human Service Legislative Committee Chairperson.

  Representatives from about 20 states will attend the January 1995 Forum. The Danforth Foundation covers participant travel and lodging expenses. A variety of areas are examined, including the effectiveness of present state education and human service systems to improve outcomes for children, common state objectives, the design and implementation of major changes in school finance, governance, and assessment of results, investment in prevention programs that promote early childhood development, and development of skills needed to design and launch an action agenda for state and local education reform.

- **Technical Assistance**

  All states participating in the Forum are eligible to apply for the Policymakers' Summer Institute. Three teams are selected through a competitive process by the Program staff. Each state team receives assistance from ECS, NCSL, NGA and Danforth staff to help members prepare for the Institute.

  Program staff work with state teams in their states between February and July to prepare individuals for the Policymakers' Institute meeting. At least two on-site team meetings are held to lay the groundwork and refine the team's agenda for the summer institute.

  States not selected for the Summer Institute meeting may be eligible for technical assistance support from ECS, NCSL and NGA through the support of the Danforth Foundation. States wishing to build on and continue their work begun at the Forum are welcome to apply for assistance in meeting facilitation, tapping the expertise of national experts, or other activities that support the goals of the Program.

- **Policymakers' Summer Institute (August)**

  Three state teams participate in a week-long summer institute to help them develop an action plan to improve education for all children.

  The Policymakers' Summer Institute provides a series of activities designed to challenge current thinking about policies that affect the delivery of education and human services. Participants will have an opportunity to work with nationally known individuals who have different views of how educational and human service systems should function. During the Institute, each state team will develop its own action agenda for continuing its work.

  The Danforth Foundation covers the travel and lodging expenses for *three* state teams of approximately 12 members who represent various levels of education and human service policymaking and service provision.

  Outcomes for the Institute include a written state action plan that:

  a. Defines the problem(s) the team will address;

  b. State a long-term vision;

  c. Identifies specific goals, action steps and strategies that the team is committed to undertaking; and

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. list	The Policymakers' Program Advisory Board 1994-1995 contact list (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Gaynor McCown (Printed Materials)
OA/Box Number: 7324

FOLDER TITLE:

[Improving Results for Children - Designing Strategies for System Change] [1]

2011-0255-S
rc242

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE POLICYMAKERS' PROGRAM ADVISORY BOARD 1994-1995
William Purcell, Chairperson

Bernice Bloom
Executive Assistant to the Governor
Office of the Governor
State of Illinois Center, Floor 16-100
Chicago, IL 60601

Christopher Cross
Executive Dir.
Council for Basic Education
1319 F Street N.W., Suite 900
Washington, DC 20004-1152

Hon Wilhelmina Delco
P6/(b)(6) [002]

Robert Koff
Program Director
Danforth Foundation
231 S. Bemiston Ave. Suite 1080
St. Louis, MO 63105

Hon William Purcell
Office of the House Majority Leader
Tennessee State Legislature
18A Legislative Plaza
Nashville, TN 37243-0152

Ted Sanders
Supt. of Public Instruction
State Department of Education
65 S. Front Street. Room 808
Columbus, OH 43266-0308

Gary Stangler
Director
Missouri Department of Social Services
PO Box 1527, Broadway State Office Bldg.
Jefferson City, MO 65102

Hon Ronald Cowell
State Representative
Pennsylvania House of Representatives
1601 Pennsylvania Avenue, Suite 606
Pittsburgh, PA 15221-5002

Thomas Davis
President
Septagon Industries, Inc.
113 E. Third Street
Sedalia, MO 65301

Susan Fuhrman
Director, The Natl. Research Center on
Education Policy and Student Learning
Rutgers Univ., Woodlawn Neilson Campus
New Brunswick, NJ 08901-0270

Anne Mitchell
Early Childhood Policy Research
HC #1 Box 77
Climax, NY 12042

Hon David Richardson
State Representative
Pennsylvania House of Representatives
Room 319, South Building
Harrisburg, PA 17120

Hon Jeb Spaulding
State Senator
Chair, Senate Education Committee
Vermont State Senate
State House, #28

Susan Traiman
Director, Education Initiative
The Business Roundtable
1615 L Street, N.W. Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20036-5610

d. Articulates short and long-term results expected from the teams' efforts.

Effectiveness of state action plans and subsequent team activity over a fifteen-month period is assessed against stated goals, and short and long-term expectations.

- **Technical Support to Alumni States**

  States that complete the Institute may apply for additional technical assistance from the Foundation and the sponsoring organizations (for example, a minigrant from the Danforth Foundation). In addition, graduates of the Institute are invited to provide technical assistance to other state policymakers through presentations at meetings of the sponsoring organizations and program activities, including serving as faculty at the Summer Institute. As of August 1994, state teams from Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Iowa, Nebraska and Georgia have participated in Summer Institutes.

The Foundation and the cooperating organizations hope this Program will serve as a national model of leadership development in education and human services policymaking.

THE POLICYMAKERS' PROGRAM STAFF 1994-95

Julie Bell or Louise Bauer
National Conference of State Legislatures
1560 Broadway, Suite 700
Denver, CO 80202
Phone: (303) 830-2200

Paul Goren, Patricia Brown, or Linda McCart
National Governors' Association
444 N. Capitol Street N.W., Suite 267
Washington, D.C. 20001
Phone: (202) 624-5383 or 624-5336

Gerrit Westervelt
Education Commission of the States
707 17th Street, Suite 2700
Denver, CO 80202
Phone: (303) 299-3612

Robert Koff
Program Director
The Danforth Foundation
231 South Bemiston Avenue, Suite 1080
St. Louis, MO 63112
Phone: (314) 862-6200

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **5**

APPLICATION TO THE POLICYMAKERS' PROGRAM SUMMER INSTITUTE, August 12-17 1995

The Policymakers' Program

co-sponsored by:

The Danforth Foundation
Education Commission of the States
National Conference of State Legislators
National Governors' Association

REQUEST FOR APPLICATIONS TO THE POLICYMAKERS' INSTITUTE

The Policymakers' Program is a five-year effort of the Danforth Foundation in cooperation with the Education Commission of the States, the National Conference of State Legislatures, and the National Governors' Association. The purpose is to stimulate and support fundamental reform in education and human services and to promote collaboration among education, health and other human service providers. The goal of the program is to enable policymakers to use their leadership skills and the policymaking process to implement change that will enhance the well-being of all children. Attachment A provides a complete description of the program and a list of contact people.

The Policymakers' Institute

The purpose of Policymakers' Institute is to provide a forum for three state teams to develop an action plan to improve the education and well-being for all children within that state. The 1995 Institute will be held in St. Louis, Missouri on August 12-17, 1995.

The Institute is an intensive five-day work and decision-making process to create an action agenda for change. It provides a series of activities designed to challenge current thinking about policies that affect the delivery of education and human services. Participants will have an opportunity to work with nationally known individuals who have different views of how educational and human service systems should function. During the Institute, each state team will develop its own action agenda for continuing its work. An agenda from the 1994 Institute is enclosed as Attachment B.

The Danforth Foundation covers the travel and lodging expenses for <u>three state teams of approximately 12 members each</u> who represent various levels of education and human service policymaking and service provision.

The major outcome for the Institute is a written state action plan that the team is committed to implement. The plan is expected to:

1) Define the problem(s) the team will address;
2) State a long-term vision;
3) Identify specific goals, action steps and strategies that the team is committed to undertaking; and
4) Articulate short and long-term results expected from the team's efforts.

Effectiveness of state action plans and subsequent team activity over a fifteen-month period is assessed against goals, and short and long-term expectations.

Competitive Selection Process

Three state teams will be selected from among those applying to participate in the Policymakers' Institute. Only those states whose representatives participated in the Legislative Chairs/Governors Meeting in January 1995 or those states who applied but were not selected for the 1994 Institute are eligible to apply. Completed applications must be submitted by the state team leader and received by Robert Koff at the Danforth Foundation by the close of business on Tuesday, February 28, 1995. States will be notified of their acceptance by Friday, March 3, 1995.

How to Apply

States interested in applying for the Institute must submit the following materials to Robert Koff at the Danforth Foundation.

1. **Statement of Interest, Commitment and Capacity.** Provide an overview of the state's interest in and commitment to participating in the Institute by addressing as many of the following items as are appropriate for the state. (The overall response to the items in this section of the application should be no longer than four (4) pages.)

- ***State Goals for the Institute.*** What does the state hope to accomplish by participating in the Institute? How will the Institute build on current state reform efforts?

- ***Status of State Education and Human Services Policy.*** What are the state's current education and human services priorities? How have they been established? How have they been reflected in recent budgets? Are these priorities consistent across agencies? Are the priorities aligned to address current conditions? What agencies are currently working together to improve outcomes for all children and youth? Describe how the state coordinates children's services. Does this coordination process include education reform initiatives?

- *Barriers.* What are the major impediments to systemic reform in education and human services? How and by whom are these barriers currently being addressed?

- *Accountability Mechanisms.* How will the state assess its progress on systemic reform in education and human services? What accountability mechanisms are in place to determine, measure, and report on outcomes? How will progress toward the improvement of children's services be measured?

- *Public Involvement.* How will the state involve the public -- parents, community members, business representatives, local government -- and the education and human services practitioners in its systemic reform agenda?

- *Team Strengths.* What are the skills, strengths, and experience which the state team believes it could offer other teams in the Institute?

- *Follow-Through.* What specific steps will be taken to follow through on the team's work at the Institute? What specific steps will be taken to involve legislative and executive branch leadership? In the event your state is not selected for the Institute, what plans do you have for continuing the work initiated during your participation in the Policymakers' Program?

2. **Team Composition.** The application must propose a team leader who will coordinate assembly of the Institute team and be responsible for follow-through on the state's action plan. The application must describe the qualifications of the team leader and provide a description of the proposed team membership. It is not necessary to include names of all team members at this time -- just the stakeholder groups that will be represented on the team and a brief rationale for why they were selected. However, at least half of the team members' names should be included (meaning they have made a commitment to attend).

At a minimum, the teams must include at least two legislative committee chairs, one each from education and human services; the Governor's education and/or human services policy advisor(s); a representative from the state departments of education and human services; and a local service provider, e.g., a teacher, principal, social worker or school counselor. Other team members should include representatives of local governments; business; consumers, e.g., parents and students; and other appropriate state department representatives such as health, mental health, justice or corrections. Team members should have the positional authority to get things done and/or the ability to influence others in their peer groups. The team members should reflect the cultural, racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of the state.

Each of the three state teams selected for the Institute may bring a maximum of fifteen (15) members. (The Danforth Foundation will cover the expenses of twelve (12) of the team members.) It is recommended that a larger number of people be recruited for the "home team." This will help the state begin to build a greater base of support at the outset, and it will ensure that a sufficient number of people have been adequately prepared for the Institute in the event of last-minute cancellations.

Upon acceptance to the Institute, each state team will be assigned a facilitator from the Policymakers' Program staff, who will help the team leader determine the final composition of the state team. The team composition must be determined by March 31, 1995, and a complete list of those who plan to attend the Institute, including names, titles, addresses, telephone and facsimile numbers, should be submitted to the state team's facilitator. Alternates for team members should also be specified in case a designated team member cannot attend due to unforeseen circumstances.

3. **Preparation for the Institute.** Each state team must make a commitment to assemble their entire team for at least two team meetings in their respective states during the period of March-July, 1995. States applying to the Institute must agree to hold the dates of May 26, June 2, and June 9 for one of their pre-Institute meetings. Each of three states selected may indicate their preference of those three dates. The state team's facilitator and other appropriate staff from the Policymakers' Program will assist the team leader in preparing for and conducting these meetings. The purpose is to ensure that all members of the team are adequately prepared for the work the team will be engaged in at the Institute.

4. **Application Contact Person.** Provide the name, title, address, telephone and facsimile numbers of the contact person for this application.

Selection Criteria

Each application will be reviewed for demonstration of the state's commitment to systemic reform in education and human services across all levels, i.e., between the legislative and executive branch; between education and other services to support children and families; and between state and local government.

Applications will also be evaluated based on clearly stated reasons for participation, including:

- how the Institute will help the state move forward in improving out comes for children and youth;

- team composition, i.e., have the appropriate stakeholders been included to ensure that decisions and recommendations can be implemented;

- team commitment to adequate preparation for the Institute through at least two in-state meetings between March and July; and

- the state's ability and commitment to following through with the plan developed at the Institute.

The Policymakers' Program staff will try to select states that will provide a mix of regional, demographic, and political characteristics, as well as different levels of policy development on systemic reform in education and human services.

Completed applications should be mailed to:

Robert Koff
Program Director
The Danforth Foundation
231 South Bemiston Avenue, Suite 1080
St. Louis, Missouri 63105-1996

Applications must be received no later than 5:00 p.m., February 28, 1995, in order to be considered.

APPENDIX B

THE POLICYMAKERS' INSTITUTE

August 14-19 , 1994

AGENDA

Sunday

3:00-5:00	Registration
6:00-7:00	Reception
7:00-10:00	Welcome Dinner • Ice breaker • Group activity (State of your state)

Monday

7:00-8:00	Buffet Breakfast
8:00-8:30	Confronting the Challenge • Why we're here.. • What we expect..
8:30-11:00	Team Work Time • Where is our state?
11:00-12:30	Lessons from the Field • Ohio group
12:30-1:30	Lunch
1:30-3:30	Collaborative Development • Martin Gerry
3:30-4:15	Step Into Action/ Prep. for Presen-taions
4:00-6:00	Group Pictures Flex Team Time
5:00-5:45	Conveners/Faculty Meeting
6:00	Buses leave for Dinner/Bot. Garden

Tuesday

7:00-8:00	Buffet Breakfast
8:00-9:30	How to Hold Gov't. Accountable for Decision Making • Ralph Smith
9:30-12:30	Team Work Time • Presenters available to teams.
11:45-12:30	Buffet Lunch • Working lunch
1:00-2:30	Joining Forces • Janet Levy
2:30-4:00	Team Work Time • J. Levy available to teams.
3:30-6:00	Flex Team Time
5:30-6:00	Conveners/Faculty Meeting
6:45	Social
7:15	Barbecue at Pool

THE POLICYMAKERS' INSTITUTE
August 14-19 , 1994

AGENDA

Wednesday

7:00-8:00	Buffet Breakfast
8:00-9:00	Presentation One • Community Forum
9:00-11:00	Strategies for Action Building Support in Community • Stafford, Swenson, Sexton, Purefoy
11:00-3:00	Team Time • Buffet lunch available • Presenters available to teams.
3:00-4:00	Cross-team Reflections/Consultations
4:00-6:00	Flex Team Time
5:00-5:30	Conveners/Faculty Meeting
6:00	Buses Leave for Dinner at Bob Koff's

Thursday

7:00-8:00	Buffet Breakfast
8:00-9:00	Presentation Two • Meeting w/Agency Staff & Front-line Providers
9:00-10:00	Presentation Three • Meeting w/Governor & Legislative leaders
10:00-2:00	Team Work Time • Buffet lunch available
2:00-3:00	Cross-team Reflections/Consultations
3:00-6:00	Flex Team Time
5:30-6:00	Conveners/Faculty Meeting
6:00	Social
6:30-7:30	Buffet Dinner at Hotel

Friday

7:00-8:00	Buffet Breakfast • Receive Institute Questionnaires
8:00-9:00	Team Work Time
9:00-10:30	Present Action Plans
10:30-11:00	Awards & Recognition
11:00-1:00	Brunch/Focus Groups/Adjourn

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **6**

POLICYMAKERS' PROGRAM YEARLY CALENDAR

POLICYMAKERS' PROGRAM

Yearly Planner for 1995

January

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

February

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28				

March

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

April

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

May

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

June

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

January

19 Policymakers' Winter Meeting (Leg. Chairs & Gov. Aides) Clearwater, Florida

20 Policymakers' Winter Meeting (Leg. Chairs & Gov. Aides) Clearwater, Florida

21 Policymakers' Winter Meeting (Leg. Chairs & Gov. Aides) Clearwater, Florida

22 Policymakers' Winter Meeting (Leg. Chairs & Gov. Aides) Clearwater, Florida

27 NGA Winter Meeting, Washington, D.C.

28 NGA Winter Meeting, Washington, D.C.

29 NGA Winter Meeting, Washington, D.C.

February

3 NGA Meeting, Washington, D.C.

4 NGA Meeting, Washington, D.C.

5 NGA Meeting, Washington, D.C.

6 NGA Meeting, Washington, D.C.

24 NCSL Conference: Funding Education in the 1990s, Santa Fe, NM

25 NCSL Conference: Funding Education in the 1990s, Santa Fe, NM

26 NCSL Conference: Funding Education in the 1990s, Santa Fe, NM

March

2 Policymakers' Program Staff Meeting in St. Louis
Program Staff Review Institute Applications

3 Notification to States of Acceptance of Application
Policymakers' Program Staff

March

3 Meeting in St. Louis
Schedule Participating State Site Visits/Technical Assistance
Three States Selected to Attend Policymakers' Institute

31 State Team Membership Finalized. Schedule for State Technical Assistance Finalized

April

18 ECS, Steering Committee, Denver, CO

19 ECS, Steering Committee, Denver, CO

20 ECS, Steering Committee, Denver, CO

May

26 State Team Meeting Reserved Date

June

2 State Team Meeting Reserved Date

9 State Team Meeting Reserved Date

15 Policymakers' Staff Meeting in St. Louis

16 Policymakers' Staff Meeting in St. Louis

July

11 ECS Annual Meeting, Denver

12 ECS Annual Meeting, Denver

13 ECS Annual Meeting, Denver

14 ECS Annual Meeting, Denver

16 NCSL, Annual Meeting, Milwaukee, WI

17 NCSL, Annual Meeting, Milwaukee, WI

18 NCSL, Annual Meeting, Milwaukee, WI

July

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

August

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

September

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

October

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

November

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

December

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

A Program of the Danforth Foundation offered n cooperation with the Education Commssion of the States, The National Conference of State Legislatures, and the National Governors' Association: Printed 1/5/95

POLICYMAKERS' PROGRAM

Yearly Planner for 1995

January						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

February						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28				

March						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

April						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

May						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

June						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

July

19 NCSL, Annual Meeting, Milwaukee, WI

20 NCSL, Annual Meeting, Milwaukee, WI

29 NGA Annual Meeting, Burlington, VT

30 NGA Annual Meeting, Burlington, VT

31 All State Site Visits Completed
NGA Annual Meeting, Burlington, VT

August

1 NGA Annual Meeting, Burlington, VT

12 Policymakers' Summer Institute in St. Louis

13 Policymakers' Summer Institute in St. Louis

14 Policymakers' Summer Institute in St. Louis

15 Policymakers' Summer Institute in St. Louis

16 Policymakers' Summer Institute in St. Louis

17 Policymakers' Summer Institute in St. Louis

December

14 Policymakers' Advisory Board Meeting, St. Louis

15 Policymakers' Advisory Board Meeting, St. Louis

July						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

August						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

September						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

October						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

November						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

December						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

A Program of the Danforth Foundation offered n cooperation with the Education Commssion of the States, The National Conference of State Legislatures, and the National Governors' Association: Printed 1/5/95

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: 7

ARTICLES/REPORTS/PAPERS BY SPEAKERS

Sharon Lynn Kagan

Readying Schools For Young Children

Polemics and Priorities

As the nation increasingly focuses on making young children ready for school, attention must be given to making schools and communities ready for children. To do so, Ms. Kagan suggests, means confronting the polemics raised by past and present reform efforts, shedding ambivalence regarding the role of schooling in American society, and dealing head-on with action priorities.

Illustration by Kay Salem

By Sharon L. Kagan

SOMETIMES things work. During the past five years, calls to increase support for young children and their families have reverberated through the White House, state houses, and houses on Main Street, USA. Presidents, politicians, and parents have been alerted to the importance of the early years. And folks seem to be catching on: there is hardly a legislator on Capitol Hill who doesn't know that, for every dollar invested in early intervention, "x" times the amount is saved later on; there are few parents who do not recognize the importance of the early years to their children's later development; and the first of our national goals for education focuses on young children: by the year 2000, all children will start school ready to learn.

SHARON L. KAGAN is a senior associate at the Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy at Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

More than simple recognition, however, real action on behalf of young children is taking place. In the public arena there have been significant (though not necessarily sufficient) increases in the number of children's services funded at federal and state levels.[1] Schools and school districts throughout America have modified their programs to accommodate young children and their families.[2] In the private arena, families are seeking more information and better services for their children. Even in the for-profit sector, bookstores teem with volumes on "how to parent," toy stores feature scores of items dubbed "developmentally appropriate," and, in late summer, gift shops stock "So you're going to kindergarten" greeting cards to mark children's entry to school. Efforts to meet the needs of young children have taken hold: the early care and education movement is on the march.

As attention to young children intensifies and as calls to do more on their behalf mount, America has become concerned with school readiness. Most of the attention has focused on what readiness means and on how to identify children deemed "ready" for school.[3] However, other perspectives on readiness warrant equally serious consideration, including the pivotal roles that schools and communities play in creating contexts that are ready for young children.

To that end, my purpose in this article is to focus on the "ready school" — and on the polemics and priorities that need to be considered as schools and their communities ready themselves for young children and their families. I suggest that a nascent early care and education movement exists and that, by harnessing that movement along with other current social movements and the lessons from the long history of school reform, we can create "ready schools."

In doing so, I acknowledge that the pressures being brought to bear by today's various social and education reform movements — including the early care and education movement — create formidable and often competing demands for scarce school resources: time, money, personnel. And I tackle the serious question of how America can make its schools truly ready for young children in light of the multiple responsibilities placed on schools. I focus first on the nature of the early care and education movement and on several allied movements. Second, I place these reform movements within the historical context of efforts to change the schools. Third, I discuss the pros and cons of enhanced school involvement in meeting the diverse needs of children and families — offering priorities for thinking and action regarding how schools might reasonably accommodate society's challenges and, in so doing, ready themselves for young children.

Current Reform Movements And the Polemics They Present

A nascent early care and education movement. In an ideal world a movement focusing on young children would be built on principles of child development, taking the diverse needs of families and communities into consideration. It would allow for universal access and would yield services and supports of high quality. Funding would be robust, teachers and caregivers would be adequately compensated, and the necessary elements of a system — e.g., planning, financing, training, advocacy, and data collection and use — would be in place. The movement would call for continuity of services, and expected outcomes would routinely be achieved.

Currently, this picture does not match the reality of the nascent early care and education movement. To the contrary, today's early care and education efforts represent a collection of comparatively isolated events, taking hold idiosyncratically throughout the nation in schools, child-care centers, resource and referral agencies, and Head Start programs. In some places the movement is characterized by its emphasis on quality, as shown by dramatic increases in the number of programs being accredited and by emergent efforts to establish effective accreditation and certification processes.[4] In other places the movement is characterized by a focus on continuity of services, on collaboration, and on coordinated planning across agencies and sectors. This emphasis is apparent in diverse efforts to effect transitions between Head Start and the schools and in state and local planning efforts.[5] Other reforms center on coordinated training and "articulation" among the various systems that prepare early childhood educators.[6] In still other places early childhood reform involves the mobilization of early childhood advocates to bring discordant state regulations into alignment. Finally, in certain cases the movement seeks to focus on "outcomes" for children.[7]

However disparate such efforts, however uncoordinated they may appear, however strongly they reflect the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom," they are nevertheless occurring. Five years ago, efforts like these were dreams. There was little talk of an early care and education system; there were few who dared to look beyond individual programs and to discern common needs of the field.

Today, though not officially dubbed a movement, early care and education efforts look remarkably like one. These efforts are capturing increased media attention, they are occupying more space on education conference agendas and in professional periodicals, and they are increasingly involving corporate leaders.[8] Perhaps even more important, today's early care and education efforts are fostering change in the way such services are conceptualized. Like other incipient movements, early care and education efforts are challenging assumptions that have prevailed for decades, and they are raising tough issues.

For example, in simply considering which young children should be served under public auspices, America's universal educational entitlement for children aged 5 and older is stunningly (and sadly) juxtaposed to the categorical and deficit-driven approaches that pertain to children just a year younger. Indeed, advocates and parents are beginning to ask what makes age 5 so magical, and why the children who are deemed to benefit most from early education — notably those who are poor — have only limited access to such services.[9]

Pedagogically, the early care and education movement is challenging policy makers and consumers to overcome distinctions between care and education, suggesting that there is actually little difference. High-quality experiences for young children necessarily involve both care *and* education. The movement is defining elements of early learning and development and characteristics of high-quality practices that transcend settings.[10] It is also raising tough questions regarding how these elements can be incorporated into a system that acknowledges the importance of many institutions, including schools. Finally, in seeking collaboratively to create better outcomes for children, the movement is raising fundamental questions about who — families, schools, intermediaries, communities — is responsible for creating and implementing an integrated early care and education system.[11] In short, like any movement for change, the early care and education movement is seeking to reform what is — converting it over the long haul into what might be.

As dramatic as the emergence of an early care and education movement may appear, it is important to note that it comes at a time when social reformers are engaged in a host of other movements aimed at reconfiguring the nature and structural alignment of mainstream institutions. It is not mere coincidence that America is simultaneously engaged in the reform of early care and education, of family support, of school-linked integration of services, of welfare, of health care, of education generally, and of community development, to name a few. The nation is dissatisfied with the way its government and its institutions (some include the family in this category) are functioning, and the nation is serious about change. Moreover, it is not mere coincidence that the tough issues — governance, financing, training, outcomes, equity, excellence/quality, and diversity — transcend individual reform movements.[12] Clearly, these reform movements — and the early care and education movement — need to learn from one another and to be understood and acted on in relation to one another. Given this need, I now turn to a brief discussion of allied reform movements, paying special attention to their implications for "ready schools."

Family support movement. Little known and understood just two decades ago, the family support movement has grown remarkably and now holds a prominent position on the American social agenda. Emanating from fields as diverse as health, education, welfare, prison reform, community development, parent education, social work, and organizational theory, the movement is reforming the ways in which human services are thought about and delivered. Family support is rooted in commitments to building on family strengths, to prevention, to diversity, to peer support, and to family integrity. Begun originally by program providers who were eager to learn and to share family support strategies, the movement has always accorded prominence to egalitarian relationships among and between families and program staff.[13] It has worked to ensure that programs are embedded in and contribute to communities while they simultaneously alter mainstream bureaucracies.

Through the years, as family support has adhered to these tenets, it has been particularly effective as a catalyst for change in diverse institutions. Institutions may

> *Inherent in the concept of school-linked service-integration efforts is the need to streamline services to maximize access and efficiency.*

adopt the principles of family support, infusing their normal operations with a family support perspective. In addition, large agencies may create special family support programs. Sometimes these programs are operated under the aegis of the sponsoring institution, and sometimes another agency will simply make use of the sponsoring institution's facilities. It is not unusual for a health center, for example, to have adopted a family support orientation that affects its basic institutional policies (such as visiting provisions) and also to have established a family support program, either independently or in conjunction with a hospital. Similarly, schools have been particularly influenced by the family support movement, with many using the movement's principles to reshape basic policies (for example, report card conferences). In addition, many schools have created family support centers or family resource rooms in their buildings.[14]

The commitment of educational institutions to family support centers has been so strong that some states have passed legislation establishing centers as components of education reform (e.g., Kentucky, Connecticut, and Florida). Other states, such as Colorado, have adopted a mixed delivery system for family support, including schools and other community-based organizations in the provision of services through family centers. Beyond the establishment of family support *centers* in schools, many state education departments and school districts have fostered the establishment of additional school-based family support *programs*, along with outreach programs that extend into the children's homes (e.g., Missouri and Minnesota).

Fueled by a combination of federal, state, and local support, the school-based family support movement is burgeoning, and it promises cutting-edge reform in the ways schools and families interact and in the ways in which all families are supported in their multiple roles as parents and providers.

School-linked service-integration movement. Closely aligned with the family support movement, the school-linked service-integration movement also seeks strong ties with the community in its efforts to make comprehensive services more readily available to students and their families. The goal of these efforts is to improve "the educational performance and well-being of at-risk, school-age children by addressing their multiple needs in a coordinated manner."[15] It should be noted that, in this definition, such school-linked services are envisioned primarily for at-risk, school-age children. In addition, there are school-linked efforts that attend to the needs of children in general — for example, by creating links with community-based organizations for after-school care. There are also efforts that link children younger than school age with child care and other services.

Inherent in the concept of school-linked service-integration efforts is the need to streamline services so that access and efficiency will be maximized.[16] To meet this need, services may be collocated on school grounds or in school facilities, administered either by the school itself or by other agencies or organizations. Joy Dryfoos notes that only a small percentage of such arrangements are actually administered by the schools.[17] In most cases, services are linked to the schools via contractual agreements, established systems of referral, and sometimes mechanisms that enable staff members of various community agencies to be "outposted" or shared. While the approaches are diverse, each reflects the intention of ensuring access to and continuity of services.

In 1993 the school-linked service-integration movement involved more than 200 districts and at least eight states, which delivered a variety of health, social, and educational services at or near schools.[18] Dramatically appealing in concept, these school-linked service-integration efforts are rapidly growing and posing new challenges for educational institutions. Recalling the community schools movement of eras past but extending the concept further, school-linked service-integration demands more than opening (practically and metaphorically) the schoolhouse doors and making school facilities and governance structures more accessible to the community. It also demands a fundamental reconsideration of how schools are financed in light of other services for children and how schools carry out their functions in light of the responsibilities of other community institutions.

Health and welfare reform movements. With federal legislation currently under consideration, some kind of health and welfare reform appears imminent. Speculation on the implications for schools is rampant, with some suggesting that such reforms will have massive impact on schooling and others suggesting that the effects will be less far-reaching. Whatever the precise legislative outcomes, the lives of poor children and their families are likely to be altered. Mothers with very young children may be provided with supports that enable them to engage in or continue their education or employment training; poor children may be afforded necessary inoculations. The participation of schools in the delivery of such services is not unthinkable, nor is it unreasonable to consider the inventive use of potential funding to meet the needs of children and families. Thus reforms in the areas of health and welfare offer opportunities, though still unclear, to employ potent mechanisms for making schools more ready for children and their families.

The school reform movement. While more established than the early care and education reform movement, the school reform movement is similar in that it is composed of a variety of largely uncoordinated efforts. Furthermore, like the early care and education movement, the school reform movement has asked individuals and institutions to take on new responsibilities — to do more, to do it better, and to do it in new ways. Internal reforms include school-based decision making, incentive-based or outcome-based instruction, total quality management, and new standards; external reforms focus on vouchers, tax credits, and other fiscal instruments that attempt to realign power. Whatever the strategy, the school reform agenda reflects a clear dissatisfaction with business as usual and a ubiquitous press for change.

Beyond altering old practice, the school reform movement seeks to replace old aims of education, shifting emphasis from equity and experimentation to excellence. Since 1983 excellence has become the currency of the school reform realm, galvanizing new systems of and approaches to standards and accountability. With the advent of the national education goals, excellence has become the standard for all students, not simply for some.

> *The history of American education may be regarded as the assimilation of episodic efforts to stretch the boundaries of its institutions.*

Assessing the movements. Several general comments may be made about the movements described above. First, each represents a symptom of a broader problem — an overall national ambiguity regarding the appropriate role of government in the lives of children and families. Second, each has been conceptualized separately, and, while making sense on its own, each typically reflects only tangential understanding of the other movements. Third, each demands formidable change if its aims are to be successfully met.

Perhaps only one important thing needs to be said about the movements collectively: while they propose necessary changes and present untold opportunities, taken together they present a herculean agenda — for the nation as a whole and for educators in particular. Under the aegis of reform, educators are being asked to take on responsibilities related to each of the movements.

For example, education is deemed essential to good health, an antidote to welfare dependency, and important to effective parenting. Schools are being asked to reconsider their course offerings, requirements, and curriculum content and to infuse more into the school day.[19] Moreover, in part because of their centrality and universality, schools are being legitimately called upon to serve as repositories for a range of child, adult, and community services — e.g., employment training and counseling, substance abuse intervention, health inoculations, and midnight basketball. School leaders are being asked to collaborate with others as community renewal and systemic reform efforts take hold. Schools are being given the responsibility for producing students who meet world-class standards and for readying our young people for a global economy. In short, schools and school personnel — already struggling to discern what constitutes pedagogical excellence and improvement — are also being placed at the vortex of broader social reforms.[20]

Reforms of the Past

As challenging as these trends appear, it is important to note that this is not the first period in our nation's history when seemingly independent reform efforts have collided, nor is it the first time that schools have been asked to act as instruments of social change by taking on more and different responsibilities.[21] Indeed, the history of America may be chronicled as the accommodation of successive reforms, and the history of American education may be regarded as the assimilation of episodic efforts to stretch the boundaries of its institutions.

Lawrence Cremin, raising the issue of why schools have been consistently embroiled in such controversies, notes that historically American education has tried to be responsive to the social, political, and economic problems of our society.[22] From Aristotle to Arendt, Cremin notes that education has always served profoundly political functions, functions that inextricably link the social responsibilities of schools with their intellectual responsibilities. Indeed, noted reformers — Thomas Jefferson, Horace Mann, John Dewey — have amplified such purposes, viewing schooling as the process of creating an embryonic community life in which children's intellectual, personal, emotional, and social development should be nourished.

Translating these purposes into education reform movements followed with regularity. With the economic depression of 1893 and the onslaught of new immigrants, poverty became a social problem of magnitude. The schools — not unexpectedly — were charged with broader social mandates of feeding poor children and acculturating new Americans. Typically fueled by forces outside the conventional bureaucracy, the causes that school reformers promoted included school lunches, kindergartens, medical and dental inspections, home visits, vocational guidance and counseling programs, services for wayward youth, and summer programs, to name but a few.[23] Community schools took root in the 1930s and rose to prominence in the 1950s. Devoting its annual yearbook for 1952-53 to community education, the National Society for the Study of Education reported that schools had two emphases: to serve the entire community, not merely the school-age population, and to develop the resources of the community as a part of the educational enterprise.[24]

Such commitment to expanding the definition of and services associated with schools was reaffirmed in the 1960s when education reformers focused on supporting families, not simply the children in them. In reality, then, today's efforts to serve children in the context of families and communities represents a deep-seated legacy of the American education system — one that emphasizes fulfillment of diverse individual and family needs as an essential factor in children's intellectual growth.

Despite the regularity and intensity of these efforts, it should be noted that they have always been couched as "reforms." Such efforts did not necessarily reflect educational thought and training or the intentions of the education establishment. Indeed, many educators shied away from broadening the responsibilities of educational institutions. Perhaps they did so because of a latent recognition that it is precisely these millennial hopes and this "political utopianism" that create illusions and expectations of schooling — expectations that perpetually disappoint the American public and result in a loss of faith in the capacity of schools to perform and reform.[25]

Nevertheless, recent analyses suggest that, despite the politicization of American education and our utopian ambitions, we have made headway in meeting children's and society's needs more comprehensively. David Tyack notes that, despite intentions to "restore an imagined golden age of academic rigor" to schools, schools actually have opened their doors to a broadened agenda.[26] He notes that administrators have become managers of schools that deliver social and health services as well as instructional services, verifying this observation with the somewhat startling fact that in 1950 teachers constituted 70% of all school employees, while in 1986 they constituted just 52%. Moreover, in that same period, the ratio of pupils to support staff members fell from 83:1 to 30:1.

Schools have quietly edged forward in their efforts to meet a broader social agenda. Patricia Graham notes the accomplishments of schools in this area and suggests that American schools have long been involved in carrying out a social mission, indicating that education has always delivered what society wanted.[27] Americans wanted greater access for all students and more sustained attendance, and we got it. Rather than be chided as a failure, American education should be (and once was) praised for its accomplishments.

"I don't have time to help my parents with the housework. Helping them with the computer is a full-time job."

Directions for the Future

The central question we must ask ourselves today is, If American education has directly and indirectly effected significant social change in the past, why not now? Why shouldn't schools reach out to families and support them in addressing the challenges of the next century? Why shouldn't social services be integrated and linked to schools? Why shouldn't schools play a role in meeting the needs of younger and younger children? Why shouldn't schools be realigned so that they are ready for children entering the formal education system?

The schools' role: the cons. Three different reasons are routinely offered for not involving the schools in such social reform. First, there is the incompetence rationale: schools don't do a good enough job with the challenges and children they now have, so what evidence is there that giving schools more responsibility will improve outcomes for all youngsters?

Second, there is the mismatch rationale: schools are not social service agencies, so they should be relieved of the social agenda, as the Committee for Economic Development (CED) has recommended.[28] According to this view, the success or failure of schools to meet a more comprehensive social agenda is not primarily a matter of competence. Instead, by bogging the schools down with too many diverse missions, reformers derail them from their primary focus and make them less effective in meeting both academic and social goals. The CED argues that community problems should be addressed by community-driven services and institutions. Such services "may be *placed* in the schools, they may be *delivered* through the schools, but they should not be made the *responsibility* of the schools."[29]

The third rationale for relieving the schools of broadened social responsibilities is the exclusivity rationale. It is related to the mismatch rationale and suggests that it is a mistake to link children's services too closely with *any* single institution. When such linking occurs, services tend to conform to the requirements, priorities, and world view of that particular institution. Installing such authority and responsibility in the schools underplays the need to reform the nature of social service delivery generally. Moreover, such a move has the potential to alienate the community it seeks to empower, undermining the development of community leadership.[30] To redress these issues, Joan Wynn and her colleagues have suggested that a system of primary services be enriched, that such primary services be linked to the organized infrastructure of child services, and that planning for such shared responsibility take place at the community level.[31]

The schools' role: the cans. Careful reading of the rationales for the "cons" is revealing. Nowhere is it suggested that the schools should be *completely* absolved of concerns with the comprehensive needs of children or families. Rather, each rationale offers cautions and suggests boundaries for school roles within the context of other community institutions. The question today is not whether schools have any role with regard to family support and comprehensive services: it is what that role should be and how it should be carried out in light of the many demands schools face. How do we reconcile our concerns about giving the schools too much responsibility with our legitimate demands to use schools to achieve broader social aims?

While these questions are germane to the education of students of all ages, they seem particularly important as we consider the case of young children. Because services for the young have traditionally been lodged as close to home and kin as possible, most early care and education programs regard themselves as part of the community infrastructure. While far from perfect, such programs do offer a reservoir of knowledge of family support and comprehensive services from which schools can draw. Moreover, in grappling with the questions of creating a systemic infrastructure, the nascent early care and education movement must confront many of the fundamental questions being considered by schools as they entertain the expansion of their agendas: How do we define education? Where does it take place and what constitutes a school? What are the purposes of education and what do we consider to be appropriate outcomes for children? How we answer these questions with regard to young children may set the stage for how they will be answered for American schooling in general.

In readying schools for young children, we need to consider our strategies and priorities with care. I discuss two approaches below. The first involves "think" strategies, the mental precursors to action. I offer them as a set, to be taken and considered together. The second approach involves "action" steps that can be undertaken in total or in part. Though not discrete steps, I present them as such and order them roughly in terms of priority. I do this partly because schools and districts differ in their intentions and capacities and partly because I believe that some ordering might be helpful.

Think Strategies

Conceptualize ready schools within the context of broader school and social reform. School-based reforms for young children need to be designed and implemented within the context of the major reform movements that are affecting education generally. Piecemeal application of reforms — some at the preschool level, some at the elementary level; some evoking one educational orientation, some another — makes little sense if we agree that children's growth is continuous and that children benefit from continuity of experiences and philosophies. If they are too numerous or if they are contradictory, reform strategies have little chance

> Families, child-care centers, Head Start programs, schools, and communities are seen as partners in meeting a children's agenda.

of being implemented well or of achieving their stated goals.

2. *Recognize that the needs of young children and their families will be diverse and may differ from those of older children and their families.* The individualization of instruction has long been a fundamental tenet of educational philosophy, and it is now fairly routine to acknowledge the implications of individualization for developmental curriculum. Such individualization regarding families is also gaining currency and needs to be nurtured. However, while it is important to recognize individual differences in children and families, it is also critical to recognize that most families with young children face common tasks and challenges that need to be met by a ready school. For example, the pressures of parental separation will demand greater sensitivity and a different level of educational engagement for younger children than for older children. Moreover, many families come to school directly from a preschool experience in which they have been heavily involved; consequently, they may seek continued involvement and have much to offer the schools.

3. *Recognize that ready schools need to exist within "ready communities."* Given the nature of the needs of today's young children and their families and the diversity of the reforms being proffered by the society, it seems both necessary and wise to envision ready schools as a part of ready communities. When this viewpoint is adopted, responsibilities for children are dispersed across the community, with families engaged in community planning and decision making. Families, child-care centers, Head Start programs, schools, and communities are seen as partners in meeting a children's agenda. Examples of comprehensive planning that is rooted in the community exist — as does a strong commitment to community building on the part of Gov. Howard Dean of Vermont, current chair of the National Governors' Association.[12]

Action Strategies

1. *Create the most pedagogically robust, developmentally appropriate environments for learning that are feasible.* The foremost responsibility of the ready school is to create environments that nurture children's development and learning. Drawing on ongoing work in the early care and education movement, such environments must take account of children's family settings and prior learning situations and make explicit links to families and to preschool and child-care programs. Such environments should incorporate children's home language and home culture; they should capitalize on developmental strengths and address developmental needs. Understanding and providing opportunities for optimal physical, social, emotional, and cognitive development within the context of predisciplinary domains is the challenge of early education.

Such positive climates for instruction are not solely influenced by classroom pedagogy; they are strongly influenced by the practices of schools. Ready schools need to examine the ways in which children enter and are screened for entry into schools; they need to examine how information about children's progress is conveyed to families; they need to examine patterns of grade-to-grade transition and the optimal use of noninstructional personnel. In short, ready schools demand new actions that are predicated on the developmental needs of children.

2. *Create and ensure ongoing linkages with and supports to and from families.* More than at other ages, the need for family engagement is critical during the early years. Such engagement can take different forms, ranging from the development of formal outreach and/or home-visiting programs, to the creation of family support centers, to the realignment of staffing patterns. One extremely successful early childhood program, for example, included a family worker in each of its preschool classrooms to ensure continuity between home and the program.[13] Building on experiences from the family support movement, opportunities for parents to be supported in their parenting and provider roles are becoming increasingly common through the provision of child care, school-age child care, and family support services. Finally, by augmenting their normal policies, schools can create family-friendly environments that provide options for parent engagement.

3. *Create linkages with community services.* Beyond extracting lessons from the movements for early care and education and family support, schools need to build on lessons being learned by the school-linked service-integration movement. Though not always easy to build, many such linkages have resulted in the delivery of support services to children and families either directly or indirectly through the schools. In these cases, schools become permanent or temporary locales for service delivery; they may also create linkages that result in an elaborated system of case management or in an integrated approach to referrals. Such linkages may involve the creation of new uses of data, inventive funding arrangements, altered school schedules, shared staffing, and public/private partnerships.

4. *Commit to community building.* Finally, as I have suggested above, schools are but one of the child-serving institutions of the community. Being *of* the community suggests that schools have roles not only in taking from the community, but in building the community. Helping other institutions — libraries, departments of parks and recreation, community action agencies — stretch their normal efforts to take on new educational roles is critical, as is the building of collaboration for honest community planning and development. In short, schools must take a seat at the community table.

Like myriad other reform movements, the early care and education movement cannot thrive amidst a culture that refuses to accept social responsibility for its children and continues to tolerate ambiguity regarding the function of schooling in American society. Schools that are ready to serve young children and their families *are* schools that are ready to serve the nation, as educators — in concert with families and communities — work to make American education truly world class.

---

1. Martin Gerry, "Financing Children's Services: Exploring the Options," paper prepared for the Finance Project/Quality 2000 Conference, Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 1994.

2. Among the successful programs from which districts can choose are James Comer and the School Development Program, Robert Slavin and Success for All, Khatib Waheed and Caring Communities, Edward Zigler and the Schools of the 21st Century, and the National Head Start Transition Project.

3. Keith A. Crnic, guest editor, "Special Edition on School Readiness — Scientific Issues," *Early Education and Development*, April 1994; and Goal 1 Technical Planning Group, *Reconsidering Children's Early Development and Learning: Toward Shared Beliefs and Vocabulary* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Goals Panel, 1993).

4. Sue Bredekamp, "Lessons on Quality from National Accreditation," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, 1993; *Standards for Quality Programs for Young Children: Early Childhood Education and the Elementary School Principal* (Alexandria, Va.: National Association of Elementary School Principals, 1990); and Louise Stoney and Andrea Genser, *Establishing Effective Certificate Programs: Issues for States* (Rochester, Minn.: National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies, 1992).

5. Sharon L. Kagan, *United We Stand: Collaboration for Child Care and Early Education Services* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1991).

6. Gwen Morgan et al., *Making a Career of It: The State of the States Report on Career Development in Early Care and Education* (Boston: Wheelock College Center for Career Development in Early Care and Education, 1993).

7. Improved Outcomes for Children Project, *A Framework for Improving Outcomes for Children and Families* (Washington, D.C.: Center for the Study of Social Policy, Harvard Project on Effective Services, National Center for Education and the Economy/National Alliance for Restructuring Education, 1993).

8. Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development, *Why Child Care Matters: Preparing Young Children for a More Productive America* (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1993); and The Business Roundtable, *Business Roundtable Participation Guide: A Primer for Business on Education* (New York: National Alliance of Business, 1991).

9. *Poor Preschool-Aged Children: Numbers Increase but Most Not in Preschool* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1993).

10. Bettye Caldwell, *What Is Quality Child Care?* (Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1985).

11. Sharon L. Kagan and the Quality 2000 Essential Functions Task Force, *The Essential Functions of an Early Care and Education System* (New Haven, Conn.: Quality 2000, Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy, Yale University, 1994); and Jule Sugarman, *Building Early Childhood Systems: A Resource Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: Child Welfare League of America, 1991).

12. *FRC Report: African-American Families* (Chicago: Family Resource Coalition), Spring 1993; Sid Gardner, *Reform Options for the Intergovernmental Funding System: Decategorization Policy Issues* (Washington, D.C.: Roundtable on Effective Services, 1993); Martin Gerry, *A Joint Enterprise with America's Families to Ensure Student Success* (Washington, D.C.: Council of Chief State School Officers, 1993); and Carolyn Marzke and Deborah Both, *Getting Started: Planning a Comprehensive Services Initiative* (Falls Church, Va.: National Center for Service Integration, 1994).

13. Sharon L. Kagan and Bernice Weissbourd, eds., *Putting Families First: America's Family Support Movement and the Challenge of Change* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994).

14. *FRC Report: Family Support and School-Linked Services* (Chicago: Family Resource Coalition), Fall/Winter 1993; and Sharon L. Kagan, "Home-School Linkages: History's Legacy and the Family Support Movement," in Sharon L. Kagan et al., eds., *America's Family Support Programs* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 161-81.

15. *School-Linked Human Services: A Comprehensive Strategy for Aiding Students at Risk of School Failure* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1994), p. 1. For a discussion that distinguishes between family support and school-linked services, see Sharon L. Kagan and Peter Neville, "Family Support Services and School-Linked Services: Variations on a Theme," *FRC Report: Family Support and School-Linked Services* (Chicago: Family Resource Coalition), Fall/Winter 1993.

16. Richard E. Behrman, ed., *The Future of Children: School-Linked Services* (Los Altos, Calif.: Center for the Future of Children, David and Lucille Packard Foundation, 1992).

17. Joy G. Dryfoos, *Full-Service Schools* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994).

18. *School-Linked Human Services*, p. 1.

19. *Prisoners of Time* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education, April 1994).

20. Behrman, op. cit.

21. Lawrence Cremin, *Public Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); and idem, *Traditions of American Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

22. Lawrence Cremin, *Popular Education and Its Discontents* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989).

23. David Tyack, "Health and Social Services in Public Schools: Historical Perspectives," in Behrman, pp. 19-31.

24. *Community Education: 52nd NSSE Yearbook, Part II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

25. Cremin, *Popular Education*.

26. Tyack, p. 27.

27. Patricia A. Graham, "What America Has Expected of Its Schools Over the Past Century," *American Journal of Education*, February 1993, pp. 83-98.

28. *Putting Learning First: Governing and Managing the Schools for High Achievement* (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1994).

29. Ibid., p. 5.

30. Robert Chaskin and Harold Richman, "Concerns About School-Linked Services: Institution-Based Versus Community-Based Models," in Behrman, pp. 107-17.

31. Joan Wynn et al., *Children, Families, and Communities: A New Approach to Social Services* (Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children, University of Chicago, 1994).

32. *The Texas IAF Vision for Public Schools: Communities of Learners* (Austin: Texas Interfaith Education Fund, 1990); and *Chair's Agenda, 1994-1995* (Washington, D.C.: National Governors' Association, 1994).

33. Jean Layzer, Barbara Goodson, and Judith Layzer, *Evaluation of Project Giant Step: Year Two Report — The Study of Program Effects* (Cambridge, Mass.: ABT Associates, n.d.). **K**

Families and Children: Who is Responsible?

Sharon L. Kagan

Sharon L. Kagan is Senior Associate at Yale University's Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy, New Haven, Connecticut. This article is based on her keynote address at the ACEI Study Conference in New Orleans, Louisiana, March 30, 1994.

To people outside the United States, the title of this article must seem unusual. In many other nations, this question was solved long ago. Other nations do not allow national politics to obscure issues of child allowances, paid maternity and paternity leave, voluntary home visitation, quality child care and school age care. Family and child advocates do not have to compete with transportation and defense interests for federal funds. Many countries have established services to children and families as a national priority. Thus, in many nations of the world it is quite clear who is responsible for children and families.

Such commitment to children and families is, however, hardly universal. Furthermore, the increasing needs of youngsters, coupled with global competition and government deficits, make even stronger and broader commitment necessary. We must begin to consider issues of responsibility on an international scale in order to recognize the increasingly complex lifestyles of children and families throughout the world. The United Nations underscored this need by declaring 1994 to be the Year of the Family.

Organization

While no country has perfectly solved the "responsibility" question, this article recognizes that nations have much to teach and learn from each other. Each nation's choices in allocating responsibility for children and families have deep roots in specific cultural values and norms that have developed over time. This article focuses on the United States as a case study, exploring the following issues: the deep roots underlying the nature of responsibility for children and families in America; the deep results, both intended and unintended, of American attitudes toward responsibility for children and families; the deep issues that need to be considered by the United States and all nations when shaping responsibility for children and families; and the deep change that might be possible if we adopt certain concrete strategies for improving services to children and families.

Deep Roots: The American Experience

Historians and social anthropologists note that America developed its notion of social responsibility for children and families from a heritage of English traditions (Cremin, 1987; Lynn, 1980). When the colonists flocked to America, they brought with them a social configuration that separated the household, the church and the school. Each entity "stood in time honored relation to the others, with the nuclear family (an idea transported from England) carrying *by far* the greatest burden" (Cremin, 1987). The family was responsible for framing children's ideas about the world and how they ought to behave in it. The church carried the lesser responsibility of imparting moral teachings and conducting community ceremonials that united individual families. Schools' responsibility was limited mostly to teaching reading and writing.

Framing this tripartite division of responsibility, the colonists reinstituted precedents established in the Poor Laws of 1601 under which families were the line of first provision. The communities (schools and churches) intervened only when families failed and then provided help only for local residents, setting the stage for local and state control of human services and for the stigmatization of troubled families. From the outset, people regarded a family's need for community support or governmental intervention as a sign of weakness. Colonists attributed poverty to moral indecency and human ineptitude. The colonists did, however, view education as an entitlement for all, presumably to prepare citizens for participation in the great experiment of democracy.

As increasing numbers of immigrants came to the shores of America, social and education services grew. Although funding, professionalization and regulations in these fields increased, the basic nature of human services throughout the nation stayed the same. Social services remained for those who could not provide for themselves; education was for all.

These patterns etched the current nature of responsibility for children and families. Given the history of primarily familial responsibility for child and family well-being and localized community or government intervention only in the case of "failure," federal commitment to families and children in the United States was limited.

Only in the face of national crises have "beneficent" federal legislators accorded temporary support to children and families. The Great Depression, World War II and the War on Poverty inspired federal child care services and Head Start as a means of staving off national disaster. In short, the U.S. government has accepted responsibility for the well-being of children and families only during times of compelling social need. Overall, responsibility for children and families remained with parents and kin and a stigma was attached to government or community help.

Deep Results: What Are the Consequences of America's Deep Roots?

When America's notions of responsibility to children and families were being developed, it was surely difficult to foresee how they would play out over time. Today, however, we can pinpoint several important consequences of America's ethos of privatized responsibility and deficit-oriented government involvement in child and family issues.

First, services for children and families are not and never have been as abundant as they should be. State and federal child care dollars do not begin to support the need for assistance. A recent Children's Defense Fund report (1994) notes that 31 states and the District of Columbia had waiting lists for child care, with up to 30,000 names and projected waiting periods of over a year. Estimates of homelessness in our nation range from 1.7 million to 3 million per year; families with children account for 43 percent of that population (Children's Defense Fund, 1994). Furthermore, about 45 percent of the nation's children under two are not fully immunized (Children's Defense Fund, 1994). In short, basic needs—child care, housing, immunizations—are not available to all Americans who need them.

A second consequence of America's limited national commitment to children is the severe inequity in who receives the services that exist. Approximately one fourth of America's young children live in poverty. These children need services the most and yet receive them the least. Forty-nine percent of poor children do not have access to preschool programs (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1993).

A third consequence of limited federal responsibility for children and families in the United States is inefficiency, inconsistency and fragmentation of services. The National Academy of Sciences (1990) demonstrated that while scores of disconnected federal supports for child care exist, they are so fragmented that the exact number of these supports has not been formally identified. Some studies (Stephan & Schillmoeller, 1987) identify 22 federal child care programs, while others (U.S. Department of Labor, 1988) cite 31 programs in 11 federal agencies.

Each program comes with its own unique federal regulations, funding sources and funding patterns, with few incentives for streamlining or collaboration (Kagan, 1991; Sugarman, 1991). Consequently, practitioners compete for children, services, staff and space (Goodman & Brady, 1988). Parents are often forced to piece together services in order to provide full care for their children. Consequently, children are juggled from program to program, rarely experiencing programmatic or philosophic continuity.

Finally, the service system has few quality safeguards. The necessity for quality programming is not adequately recognized by many of those who allocate funds, nor is it supported by state statute. Workers in the child and family service field are unable to command wages much above those of babysitters, and unrestricted access to the field creates an unlimited supply of workers. Therefore, the quality of providers is seriously compromised.

When government has intervened, the resulting child and family services are of high quality. Bereft of federal investments and universal commitments, the quality of child and family services will continue to suffer (Kagan & Newton, 1989; Whitebook, Howes & Phillips, 1989).

In short, the historically rooted national ethos of limited federal responsibility for children and families results in services that are ranked low on every important variable: quantity, equity, continuity and quality. Families do their best to serve their children, but often face untenable odds. They are then forced to turn to an inadequate service system.

Deep Issues: The Who, What and How of Responsibility for Children and Families

Every nation must consider transcendent issues in discerning responsibility for children and families: 1) Who should be targeted for government support and commitment? Should government support mostly children, mostly families or both? 2) Nations must develop a precise focus for government commitment. Should responsibility and support be cultivated for program development only, or for both programs and infrastructure? 3) Nations must discern how different parties should be responsible to children and families. Who should provide direct services and who should determine policy or generate funds? Each of these issues is explored below, using the United States as a case example.

Responsibility for Whom? For centuries, nations have divided their services to children and families. Sometimes the services provided for children are in competition with those provided for families. The early childhood field in the United States has not fallen prey to such dichotomous thinking because of a shared belief that young children cannot be served in isolation from their families. Such beliefs have found expression historically in parenting cooperatives, Head Start and hosts of other programs, including Even Start and the Comprehensive Child Development Program. The growth and expansion of such programs has helped disseminate the notion of public responsibility for both children and families.

But the question of *which* children and *which* families are the nation's responsibility remains largely unanswered in the United States. Despite increased recognition that children and families of all racial and economic backgrounds need supports, public commitment in the United States has been largely limited to poor and minority populations. Indeed, the first National Education Goal—to ready all children for school by the year 2000—may mark the first time that the nation has expressed the clear intention of advancing the health, education and well-being of *all* children.

It is becoming clearer philosophically that nations should be serving families and children together and should be concerned about children and families of all backgrounds. Serving all children, however, requires enormous financial outlays or tax incentives, which in turn depend upon significant changes in political thinking. At the direct service level, working with families and children together also requires change. Staff trained to work primarily with children or with adults question their capacity to deliver high quality programs to both populations simultaneously. In short, the question of whom to support expands the universe of those to be served, bringing with it still unanswered questions of what such expanded responsibility should entail and how it can be achieved.

What Should Be the Focus of Responsibility? Not surprisingly, given the pressing need, responsibility for children and families in the United States has centered on sustaining direct services to children and families rather than focusing on the development of infrastructure—training, regulations, resources and referrals—to support those services. Throughout the 1980s, the policy emphasis on direct services was so strong that lobbying for anything else was considered akin to taking food from the mouths of starving children.

Recently, however, a growing segment of the early childhood field has recognized that direct services to children and families will always be compromised unless the proper supports exist to shore up the service system. We need training mechanisms, an advocacy capacity and data collection. Child and family service providers have come to realize that they must develop a vision extending beyond direct services in order for the field to advance.

This work has begun through the national *Quality 2000* initiative. The leaders have identified not only the characteristics of quality child and family service programs, but also a quality service infrastructure that includes: 1) cross-system collaboration, 2) consumer and public involvement, 3) quality control, 4) adequate levels of financing and 5) the development of the work force (Kagan & *Quality 2000* Essential Functions Task Force, 1993). Therefore, many have recognized that responsibility for children and families must be diversified in focus so that both direct services and service systems can be strengthened.

How Should Responsibility Be Distributed? Apart from issues of who should be covered and what the focus should be, we need to address questions of how responsibility for children and families should be distributed. Osborne and Gaebler (1992), in their work on reinventing government, share the view that the functions of government have been confounded in the United States. The authors contend that government is a blunt instrument for service delivery and therefore should not be in the business of providing direct services to children and families. Rather, government should guide service delivery through policy decisions. Such guidance requires people in government positions who see the universe of options and can balance competing demands for resources.

Direct service, on the other hand, relies on people who are closer to individual consumers and can focus on service missions and perform them well. Theorists have begun to define roles and responsibilities for different parties serving children and families, indicating that without such definition commitment to children and families will have fewer positive effects.

Deep Change—Strategies for Optimal Responsibility

Consideration of these deep issues surrounding responsibility for children and families—the who, the

The recent national legislation reflects government's willingness to carve a role for itself that is more supportive of families than we have ever before seen.

what and the how—leads to the difficult question of who is really responsible for children and families in America. Given the nation's ideological history, coupled with what we know from research, there is no reason to question that the primary responsibility for child rearing in the United States currently resides first with parents, next with family and kin and then with neighborhood and community. Responsibility for children and families is not shifted wholesale in different stages from one of these groups to another; rather, it is shared among them.

Inherent in this definition of "sharing" is the reality that those closest to the child share more of the responsibility, accompanied by the growing recognition that families need support. Indeed, throughout the nation, an entire new breed of services, called family support programs, are taking root to assist individuals in their parenting roles. Family support programs are designed to serve not just parents in need, but all parents. Such supports are taking the form of parenting education, home visits, center-based services and services that function in mainstream institutions such as schools and hospitals.

Just as important, institutions, including corporations, are adopting family orientations predicated on the belief that in order to secure a better future for children, all of society's institutions must pull together. This family focus will not emerge from installing simple add-on programs that remain separate from mainstream institutions. The adoption of a family focus increasingly results in a reorientation of the very fabric—the institutional culture and beliefs—of an organization. A family-focused institution does not view its employees as workers only; rather, they are workers, parents, community members and partners whose multiple needs and concerns are incorporated into the institution's operating procedures.

Despite these rather robust movements outside of government, the federal government remained quite remote from family support efforts until 1993. Recently, however, the Family Support and Family Preservation Act, the Family Medical Leave Act, new provisions in Head Start and Chapter I, and Secretary of Education Richard Riley's stated commitment to families, demonstrate that the federal government is recognizing the value of family support and family engagement as prevention and promotion strategies.

This shift in government thinking, however subtle, is important. The recent national legislation reflects government's willingness to carve a role for itself that is more supportive of families than we have ever before seen. Much of the legislation delineates explicit roles for communities, in which communities are considered planning and decision-making entities guided by general frameworks outlined by the federal government. Some call this the top-down/bottom-up approach to shared responsibility.

It is clear that the government perceives itself as the steerer, rather than the rower, in supporting children and families. We should take heart, however, and realize that this perception is an advancement in and of itself. Recognizing this shift in governmental commitment is important. Equally important to Americans and citizens of other nations is recognizing how the shift came about. Such understanding can guide us in fashioning additional reform. Richmond and Kotelchuck (1984) noted that three things are needed for social reform: 1) a knowledge base, 2) a social strategy and 3) public will.

Fortunately, the knowledge base for family support and for shared commitment to children and families in the United States has been documented in literature and fortified by hundreds of demonstration programs. A social strategy for supporting children and families, however, has been missing in the United States. But as advocates have increasingly come together to pass key legislation, the seeds for a social strategy seem to have been put in place. Indeed, a coalition of multiple organizations participated in framing the ideas for the Family Support and Family Preservation Act.

What seemed to be missing most in that effort was the third necessity for social reform—public will. The strength of public will in the U.S., however, has recently changed. In reviewing polls about child care and family issues, the Child Care Action Campaign and the Communications Consortium Media Center (1994) found that 69 percent of Americans rated child care as either an extremely or a very important priority. In 1993, 55 percent of all Americans stated that government should play a greater role in providing child care assistance to families. This growing concern may be due to the pressure of daily living and to the need for child care and family supports to transcend poverty. In addition, data are unequivocal about the relationship between voter concern and news coverage. Over 200 studies clearly demonstrate that voters' opinions reflect the overall coverage of the preceding week's news. In short, using the media is one way to pique voter support for child and family issues.

Another recently successful strategy has been the forging of coalitions to address specific issues. This approach has been used at the national level to advocate for family support and preservation legislation, and it is also becoming prevalent in states. In Indiana, teams within and outside of government came together to pool resources so that a Healthy Families initiative could be launched. Colorado implemented a similar initiative through the work of advocates outside of government and a combination of public funding streams. Increasingly, strong coalitions of people inside and outside of government are forming to frame action agendas and share responsibility for children and families.

Learning from this deep change taking place in the nation, we can begin to define optimal responsibility. Ideally, who is responsible for children and families? The answer is both simple and complex. We *all* are. Parents, professionals, residents of communities and neighborhoods and taxpayers are all responsible in different ways. The once-prevalent refrain, "Parents first; government when they fail" is slowly being replaced by "Parents are primary; society is willingly supportive."

In a system of shared responsibility, government is responsible for providing incentives and vehicles to empower families in caring for themselves and their children. Government's role includes regulation and the promulgation of new knowledge and information. Government in the United States should not be responsible for actually providing every child with quality early care and education; rather, it must ensure that every child has access to such service.

If government functions in this manner, and if responsibility for and support of children and families is truly shared throughout the nation, significant changes in child and family services may occur by 2010. While child care will still need quality enhancements, it will be available to all children. It is probable that family support as we know it will become institutionalized and that corporations will adopt more family supportive policies. Children may well be fully immunized, and all families will be likely to have a better understanding of child and human development. Overall, the signs indicate that America will become a more caring society, one that is more conducive to children and youth's optimal development.

This change will happen because we will learn from states and other nations, because we will have the knowledge to support the new reality that parenting must be shared, and because we will have energized public will. It will happen because people throughout the nation will see to it that what John Dewey said becomes true: "What every man wants for his own children, a just society has the obligation to deliver for all its children." A poem by Shel Silverstein (Children's Defense Fund, 1991, p. 20) summarizes well where we are with respect to sharing responsibility for children and families:

Listen to the mustn't, child.
Listen to the don'ts
Listen to the shouldn'ts
The impossible, the won'ts
Listen to the never haves
Then listen to me—
Anything can happen, child
ANYTHING can be.

References

Child Care Action Campaign, & Communications Consortium Media Center. (1994). *Polling analysis of child care issues. 1988-1993*. New York: Author.

Children's Defense Fund. (1991). *The state of America's children yearbook, 1991*. Washington, DC: Author.

Children's Defense Fund. (1994). *The state of America's children yearbook, 1994*. Washington, DC: Author.

Cremin, L. (1987). *Traditions of American education*. New York: Basic Books.

Goodman, I. F., & Brady, J. P. (1988). *The challenge of coordination*. Newton, MA: Education Development Center.

Kagan, S. L. (1991). *United we stand: Collaboration for child care and early education services*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Kagan, S. L., & Newton, J. (1989). For-profit and non-profit child care: Similarities and differences. *Young Children*, 45(1), 4-10.

Kagan, S. L., & *Quality 2000* Essential Functions Task Force. (1993). *The essential functions of the early child care and education system: Rationale and definition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Bush Center.

Lynn, L. (1980). *The state and human services: Organizational change in a political context*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

National Academy of Sciences. (1990). *Who cares for America's children? Child care policy for the 1990's*. Washington, DC: Author.

Osborne, D., & Gaebler, T. (1992). *Reinventing government: How the entrepreneurial spirit is transforming the public sector*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Richmond, J. B., & Kotelchuck, M. (1984). Commentary on changed lives. In J. R. Berrueta-Clement, L. Schweinharrt, S. Barnett, A. Epstein, & D. Weikart (Eds.), *Changed lives: The effects of the Perry Preschool Program on youths through age 19*. Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press.

Stephan, S., & Schillmoeller, S. (1987). *Child day care: Selected federal programs*. Washington, DC: Division of Education and Public Welfare, Congressional Research Services, Library of Congress.

Sugarman, J. M. (1991). *Building early childhood systems: A resource handbook*. Washington, DC: Child Welfare League of America.

U. S. Department of Labor. (1988). *Child care: A workforce issue*. Washington, DC: Author.

U. S. General Accounting Office. (1993). *Poor preschool-aged children*. Washington, DC: Author (GAO/HRD93-111BR).

Whitebook, M., Howes, C., & Phillips, D. (1989). *Who cares? Child care teachers and the quality of care in America* (Executive Summary, National Child Care Staffing Study). Oakland, CA: Child Care Employee Project.

FAMILY SUPPORT AND SCHOOL-LINKED SERVICES: Variations on a Theme

by Sharon L. Kagan and
Peter R. Neville

In the five years since the last *FRC Report* on school-related child and family services, we have witnessed a proliferation of programs, an expanding interest at the legislative level, and an increasingly widespread public acknowledgment of the need for comprehensive family services. Indeed, the movement to provide an integrated and comprehensive array of supports for children and families is reaching a critical stage. We have established promising program models, which swiftly gained broad-based commitment, and we have made some inroads into established systems. We now face the challenge of institutionalizing these reforms on a system-wide basis—what Bruner has called "moving from marginal to mainstream."

Having arrived at the brink of major reform, we need to come to some degree of consensus on the definitions and terminology we apply to our efforts. Specifically, we have not yet clarified the meaning and relationship of two terms—family support and school-linked services. Their many strategic similarities often lead people to use these terms interchangeably, but equating them obscures subtle but critical differences in the origins and priorities of the school-linked service and family support movements. Acknowledging the similarities and differences can not only help us refine our understanding of these approaches, but also can help us clarify the rich and unique lessons each movement has to contribute to fundamental change in education and human service delivery.

Similarities

The confusion over terminology is not without good reason, given that family support and school-linked services share many of the same philosophies, strategies, and goals. Both recognize the need to improve the health, education, and social welfare of children and families if children are to develop and grow successfully. Both strive to create flexible and nonhierarchical staffing structures, to be responsive to their communities, and to involve parents collaboratively as both planners and consumers of services. School-linked services and family support also attempt to tailor services to meet the multifaceted needs of individuals, transcending the narrowly defined boundaries established by conventional categorical programs. Further, their shared commitment to universal service shuns the traditional deficit orientation of human services, which stresses the weaknesses of the neediest, and replaces it with the philosophy that *all* children and families can benefit from support. All together, these similarities demonstrate the very close parallels between the two movements. They help explain why people frequently overlook differences between them and why individual programs may seem to reflect both approaches simultaneously.

Differences

When programs are not viewed in isolation, however, but from a broader perspective as elements of growing national movements, it becomes clear that despite their multiple similarities family support and school-linked services have developed from different origins and often place different priorities on the goals of their services.

Origins

The school-linked service and family support movements emanate from two very different histories and environments, each having unique opportunities for and barriers to action. School-linked service efforts have conventionally grown up in the context of rigid school and human service bureaucracies. In order to implement their reform philosophies and goals, even in isolated programs, school-linked efforts have faced the challenge of altering entrenched modes of service delivery and bringing together traditionally independent agencies—each with its own orientation, agenda, philosophy, and professional standards—into collaborative partnerships.

Drawing heavily on the concepts and techniques of service integration efforts to effect such change, the school-linked service movement since its inception has had to contend directly with the legacy of power relationships—how the control over service planning and delivery has been allocated—that have long characterized schools and human service systems. In essence, school-linked services have needed to reshape the distribution of power and authority along four dimensions, in each case working to eliminate competition and increase power-sharing.

First and fundamentally, bringing together a comprehensive array of services has required restructuring the relationships among agencies that have traditionally operated independently of each other. Before school-linked services can devise strategies for bringing all service providers to the table and, as Gardner notes, prevent any single agency from dominating the collaborative effort and alienating other participants[2], they must address long histories of competition for resources and influence, deep-seated professional biases and animosity, and regulations that hinder working across categorical lines.

Second, school-linked service efforts have had to grapple with established hierarchies among staff members. Multi-tier structures of decisionmakers and subordinates have had to be reconsidered in order to create power-sharing, flexibility, and responsiveness among staff in school-linked service programs. Staff have had to reexamine their own roles and authority, in some cases learning to relinquish control, and in others becoming accustomed to a new sense of ownership and recognition on planning and governance issues.[3]

Third, substantive parent and community influence in school operations has long been a point of controversy and confrontation.[4] Although the goals of school-linked services include working closely with parents and their communities as equal allies in governing comprehensive service efforts, achieving and sustaining such equity and interaction has frequently been hindered by schools' and other service agencies' historical reluctance to share their decision-making authority with parents.

Related to the restructuring of parent-school relations, the fourth institutional legacy of power-sharing (or its lack thereof) that school-linked services have faced has been the traditional hierarchical relationship between program staff and service consumers. Breaking down such legacies and establishing a voice for families in determining their needs and how services are provided has been a considerable challenge for proponents of school-linked services.

The family support movement, on the other hand, originated outside mainstream institutions and systems. Though family support has made recent forays into system bureaucracies, historically it has not had to contend with traditions of inflexibility and institutionalized cultures of competition to the degree that school-linked services have. As a result of this freedom, family support has been able to explore and develop the types of power-sharing relationships among individuals (e.g., among staff and between staff and families) that have come to characterize the principles and practices of the movement. Indeed, family support has made considerable advances in the areas of community ownership, voluntary participation, and flexible responsiveness to need. Moreover, when launched, family support programs did not have institutional *change* of mainstream bureaucracies as their goal. They could contour their agenda to *create* programs that were designed precisely to mitigate the conventions associated with complex social service institutions.

Priorities of Service

In addition to differences in origin, and perhaps in part because of them, family support and school-linked services often prioritize their service goals differently. We do not suggest that family support and school-linked services focus on two entirely different types of service, but we believe that an examination of the emphases these two movements place on the services they provide reveals a slight divergence in approach.

Based in the child-serving context of the schools, school-linked services tend to focus primarily on meeting the comprehensive needs of the child: they concentrate on broadening the spectrum of services, focusing on children's physical and social as well as cognitive development. Such programs also recognize the benefit of supports provided to the family (e.g., parent education, job training), although in reality they tend to see family services within the context of forging comprehensive services for children, not as its primary raison d'être. In contrast, family support places primary importance on serving the family as a unit, contributing to the growth and well-being of all members. Such an approach does not imply the neglect of services for children; rather, enabling the family to operate successfully as a unit and to fulfill its own tasks and responsibilities is viewed as the most effective and efficient means of supporting the child's healthy development.[5] In family support, then, the needs of the family as a unit are primary.

Further, although both movements express the importance of comprehensiveness, perhaps school-linked efforts can bring together a wide range of services because they are located within established service systems and close to major funding streams. As family support moves into schools and other mainstream institutions, it is recognizing that systemic reform is critical and that there is a growing need for truly comprehensive services. As family support begins to concentrate on incorporating more services, it faces the challenges of maintaining the movement's philosophy and traditions of cooperation and power-sharing—many of the same issues of systemic change with which school-linked service efforts have long grappled.

Sharing the Knowledge

Recognizing both the similarities and the subtle differences between family support and school-linked services effectively serves a dual purpose. In addition to helping clarify our shared definitions of the terms, this analysis enables us to outline the knowledge and expertise that each movement has accumulated in the course of its development. As both family support and school-linked services work toward further expansion and systemic reform, each has something to teach and something to learn.

Much in the same way that children's early experiences shape their

"As both family support and school-linked services work toward further expansion and systemic reform, each has something to teach and something to learn."

personalities and strengths, the unique origins of family support and school-linked services have strongly marked the characteristics and areas of expertise of the two movements. In working toward many of the goals it shares with family support, the school-linked service movement has faced numerous entrenched barriers as a result of its position within established institutions. As a result, it has developed a degree of expertise in integrating services and reshaping ossified structures and power relationships, skills that are critical in bringing these sorts of efforts into mainstream systems on a larger scale. Less restricted by hierarchical *institutional* cultures, family support has traditionally been able to focus more on restructuring the relationships among *individuals*, helping to elaborate the characteristics and delivery mechanisms that define the reformed approach to education and human services. Consequently, though growing from somewhat different roots, family support and school-linked services can each provide critical knowledge and skills to inform the systemic reform of child and family services.

Reviewing their differences in priorities, we again find that family support and school-linked services contribute complementary elements to a reformed service system. Whether highlighting the importance of addressing the family as a unit or stressing the need for a truly comprehensive range of services, each contributes important lessons that future reform efforts, be they school-linked, family support, or other, would do well to heed.

Notes

BRUNER, C. (in press). State government and family support: moving from margins to mainstream. In Putting [illegible]

GARDNER, S.L. (1992). [illegible]

CARREON, [illegible] and JAMESON, [illegible] (199?). School-Linked [illegible] Integration in Action: Lessons Drawn from Seven California Communities. San Francisco: California Research Institute, San Francisco State University.

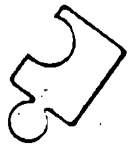
FRUCHTER, N., GALLETTA, A., and WHITE, J.L. (1992). New Directions in Parent Involvement. Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development, Inc.

KAGAN, S.L. (1987). Home-school linkages: History's legacy and the family support movement. In America's Family Support Programs: Perspectives and Prospects. S.L. Kagan, D.R. Powell, B. Weissbourd, & E.F. Zigler (eds.). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

BRONFENBRENNER, U. and NEVILLE, P. (in press). America's children and families: An international perspective. Challenge and response. In Putting Families First: America's Family Support Movement and the Challenge of Change. S.L. Kagan & B. Weissbourd (eds.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Sharon L. Kagan, Ed.D. is senior associate at the Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy at Yale University. A frequent consultant to the White House, Congress, the U.S. Departments of Education and Health and Human Services, and numerous foundations and professional associations, Lynn is chair of the Family Resource Coalition's board of directors, chairperson of the National Education Goals Panel Readiness Technical Committee, and a former governing board member of the National Association for the Education of Young Children. Author of numerous publications, she has edited or co-edited nine books, including America's Family Support Programs *and* Putting Families First.

Peter R. Neville is a research assistant at the Bush Center in Child Development and Social Policy at Yale University. His work has focused on family support, service integration, early care and education, and job training and family education for Head Start families.



RESOLVING TURF ISSUES

When a multiagency collaboration effort has progressed to the stage where potential partners are at the table, try the following group activity to cast turf issues in a new light:

Divide participants into small groups making sure that each group has at least one representative from each partner agency. Pose several hypothetical problems to the groups and ask each person in the small group to indicate what services s/he can contribute to the solution. Reconvene the large group and have each small group report.

This activity sparks discussion, reinforces the collaborative spirit, and clarifies strengths of particular partners. It also is a constructive way for collaborative partners to find out about each other and the services other organizations provide.

Mark Friedman

FINANCING REFORM

As In

HOW TO PAY FOR REFORM

OF FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES

The Center for the Study of Social Policy
1250 Eye Street, NW
Washington, DC

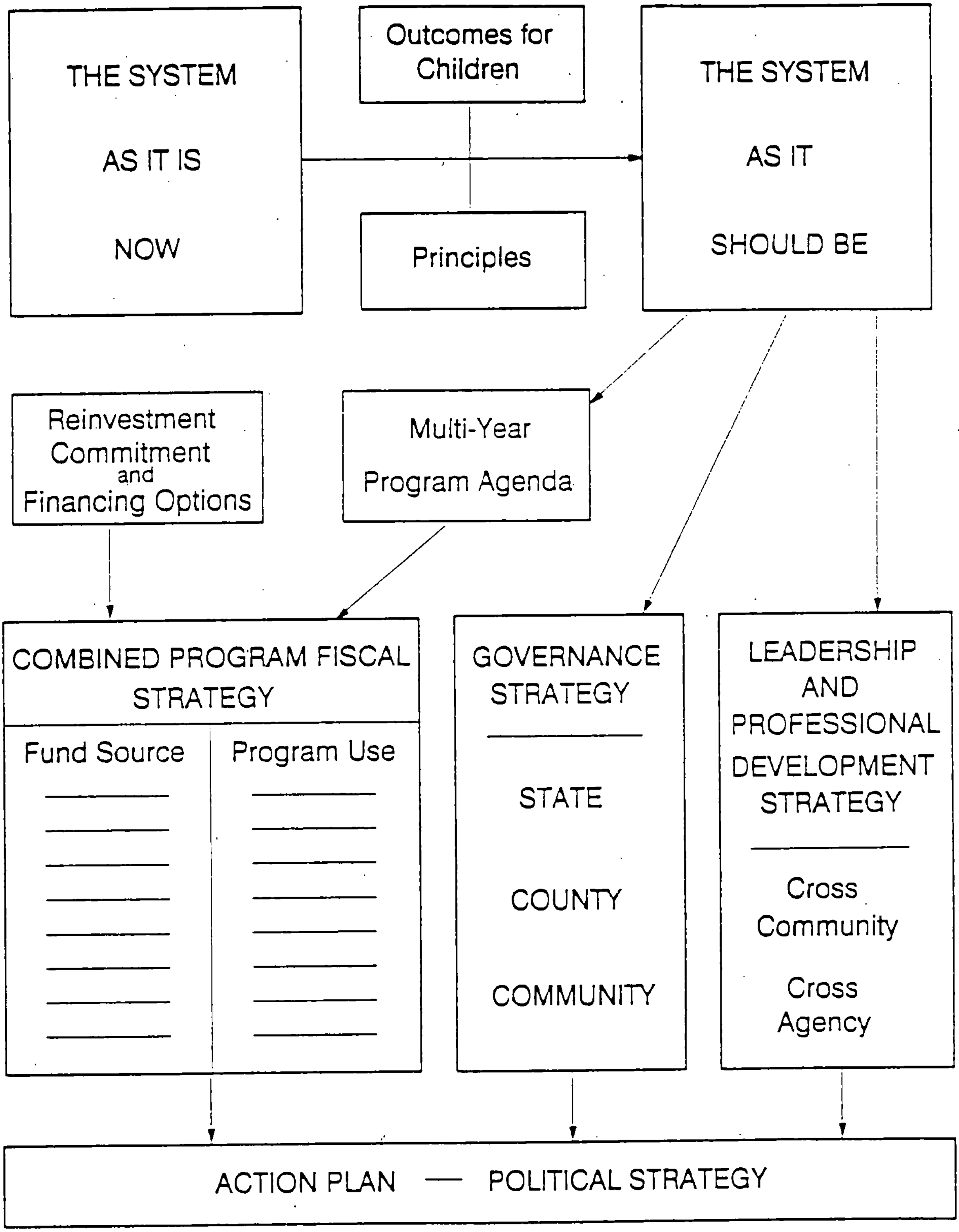
HOW ARE AMERICAN CHILDREN DOING?

KIDS COUNT BENCHMARK	NATIONAL TRENDS 1985 to 1991	STATE TREN… 1985 to 1991
Percent low birth-weight babies	5% worse	37 states worse*
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	16% better	47 states better
Child death rate Ages 1-14 (per 100,000 children)	9% better	35 states better
Percent of all births that are to single teens	20% worse	47 states worse*
Juvenile violent crime arrest rates Ages 10-17 (per 100,000 youths)	50% worse	49 states worse*
Percent graduating from high school	4% worse	39 states worse*
Percent teens not in school and not in labor force Ages 16-19	7% better	34 states better
Teen violent death rate Ages 15-19 (per 100,000 teens)	13% worse	34 states worse*
Percent children in poverty	4% better	33 states better*
Percent children in single-parent families	11% worse	45 states worse*

*Includes the District of Columbia

KIDS COUNT …
The Annie E. Casey Foundat…
The Center for the Study of Social Pol…

A PLANNING PROCESS
FOR FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICE REFORM



Center for the Study of Social Policy

DEFINITIONS

OUTCOME or RESULT

A condition of well-being
for families, children or communities

For example: Healthy Births

INDICATOR

A measure, for which data is available, which helps quantify the achievement of outcomes

For example: Rates of low birth weight babies

PERFORMANCE MEASURE

A measure of the effectiveness of agency or program service delivery

For example: Percent of teen parents keeping clinic appointments

Outcomes Adopted
by Rochester NY CHANGE Process

COMMUNITY OUTCOMES & INDICATORS

☐ **HEALTHY BIRTHS evidenced by lower rates of:**

- ✓ low birth weight babies
- ✓ late or no prenatal care
- ✓ births to school-age females

☐ **CHILDREN READY FOR SCHOOL evidenced by:**

- ✓ completed immunizations
- ✓ no uncorrected vision or hearing defects
- ✓ no preventable or untreated health problems
- ✓ living in own family or stable foster care
- ✓ school readiness traits as observed by teacher

☐ **CHILDREN SUCCEEDING IN SCHOOL evidenced by:**

- ✓ academic achievement measures
- ✓ attendance / truancy
- ✓ placement in special education
- ✓ retention in grade
- ✓ suspensions

☐ **YOUNG PEOPLE AVOIDING:**

- ✓ school age pregnancy
- ✓ substance abuse
- ✓ involvement in violence (victim or perpetrator, and including ***child abuse, suicide, homicide and arrests for violent crimes***)

☐ **FAMILIES LIVING ABOVE POVERTY:**

- ✓ economic stability
- ✓ safe and supportive living environment
- ✓ mobility

ATTRIBUTES OF EFFECTIVE SERVICES

Geographically and psychologically accessible

Minimal barriers to participation (simple eligibility process)

Comprehensive and responsive (usually implies collaboration across systems and disciplines)

Personalized responses (implies flexibility and front-line worker discretion)

Family-centered services and supports

Partnerships between parents and professionals

Responsive to neighborhood and community

Outcome-oriented accountability

Preventive orientation

Mission driven, shaped by client needs

Unbureaucratic climate

Relentless problem-solving capacity

Emphasis on relationships of mutual trust evolving

Product of the Improved Outcomes Project

The Center for the Study of Social Poli
The Harvard Project on Effective Services
The National Center for Education and the Economy

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER
COMBINED PROGRAM AND FISCAL STRATEGY

Source of Funds	Use of Funds
<u>Redeployment</u>	<u>Off the Top Cost</u>
	<u>School-Linked Community Services</u>
<u>Refinancing</u>	
• Medicaid	<u>Prevention of Out of Home Care</u>
• IV-E	
• IV-A	<u>Continuum of Out of Home Care</u>
<u>Other</u>	<u>Training</u>
	<u>Governance</u>

*we need to do the best we can w/resources we have as a way of making a case for what we want/need.

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER
A COMBINED PROGRAM AND FISCAL STRATEGY

SOURCE OF FUNDS	USE OF FUNDS

SOURCE OF FUNDS

<u>Redeployment Strategies</u>

- Out of State to In-State Care
- Out of Home Care to Family Preservation
- Out of Home Care to Reunification

<u>Refinancing Strategies</u>

Medicaid

• Education	• Service Claims
• Child Welfare	- EPSDT
• Juvenile Justice	- Case Management
• Public Health	- Rehab. Option
• Mental Health	• Admin. Claims

Title IV-E

• Child Welfare	• Eligibility
• Juvenile Justice	• Admin. Costs
	• Training

Title IV-A (Emergency Assistance)

• Child Welfare	• Family Pres. Services
• Juvenile Justice	• 180 Days Foster Care
• Mental Health	• Protective Services Eligibility

<u>Other Possibilities</u>

- JOBS (Program IV-F)
- Child Support (IV-D)
- Donations/Grants/Fees/Loans etc.

USE OF FUNDS

<u>School-Linked Community Services</u>

- Family Support Network
- Screening, Outreach, Case Management
- Parent Support and Education
- Home Visiting
- Health Services
- Mental Health Services
- Teen Pregnancy Prevention Services
- Drop-out Prevention Services
- Substance Abuse Services
- Recreation Services
- Child Care
- Employment Services

<u>Prevention of Out of Home Care: Family Preservation Services (FPS)</u>

- Statewide Full Access
- Cross Systems Gatekeeping

<u>Continuum of Out of Home Care</u>

- Day Treatment
- Family Foster Care and Support Services
- Therapeutic Foster Care and Support Services
- Group Care and Support Services
- Adoption and Post Adoption Services
- Reunification Services

<u>Training</u>

- University Center
- Cross-Agency Training

<u>Governance</u>

- Costs of Local Collaboratives
- State and County Children's Cabinet

<u>"Off the Top Costs"</u>

- Agency Staff (eligibility and administrative costs)
- Systems development
- Technical Assistance
- Reinvestment Tracking

FINANCING REFORM
OF FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICE
"THE COSMOLOGY OF FINANCING"

REDEPLOYMENT

- INVESTMENT BASED
- CAPITATION BASED
- CUT BASED
- MATERIAL

REFINANCING

- TITLE IV-E
- TITLE IV-A
- TITLE XIX

RAISING REVENUE

- FEDERAL FUNDING
- STATE AND LOCAL FUNDING
- PRIVATE FUNDING

RESTRUCTURING

- SEAMLESS SERVICES
- FUNDING POOLS
- FLEXIBLE DOLLARS
- TRUST FUNDS
- INCENTIVES
- OUTCOME BASED BUDGETING

REDEPLOYMENT

State, Local and Capped Federal Funds

INVESTMENT-BASED REDEPLOYMENT

Using return on investment concepts

SHIFT OUT-OF-HOME CARE FUNDS TO:
- FAMILY PRESERVATION SERVICES
- REUNIFICATION SERVICES
- POST ADOPTION SERVICES

STEP DOWN LEVELS OF CARE:
- OUT-OF-STATE TO IN-STATE
- INSTITUTIONAL CARE TO COMMUNITY CARE

CAPITATION-BASED REDEPLOYMENT

Moving money within a cap "umbrella"

MEDICAID CAPITATION:
- FOR "HIGH-END" CHILDREN
- FOR MEDICAID IN SPECIAL EDUCATION

CUT-BASED REDEPLOYMENT

Setting priorities and moving money

MATERIAL REDEPLOYMENT

Moving staff and other resources

TITLE IV-E
POTENTIAL FOR INCREASING STATE CLAIMS

MAINTENANCE (50% TO 80% FFP)

- COVERED SERVICES:
  - -- FAMILY FOSTER CARE (CW/JJ/MH)
  - -- GROUP CARE
  - -- INSTITUTIONAL FOSTER CARE
  - -- NON-SECURE DETENTION

- ALLOWABLE COSTS:
  - -- IN ALLOWABLE PLACEMENTS
  - -- FOOD, CLOTHING, SHELTER, DAILY SUPERVISION, TRAVEL

- ELIGIBLE CHILD:
  - -- AFDC ELIGIBLE (OR WOULD BE IN SIX MONTHS BEFORE REMOVAL)
  - -- VOLUNTARY PLACEMENT WITH COURT REVIEW
  - -- COURT DETERMINATION OF BEST INTERESTS AND REASONABLE EFFORTS

ADMINISTRATION - ALLOWABLE ACTIVITIES (50% FFP)

- -- ELIGIBILITY DETERMINATION
- -- REFERRAL TO SERVICES
- -- PREPARATION/PARTICIPATION IN JUDICIAL PROCESS
- -- CHILD PLACEMENT
- -- CASE PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT
- -- SUPERVISORY CONFERENCES

-- RECRUITMENT AND LICENSING OF FOSTER HOMES
-- RATE SETTING
-- EXCLUDES: FACE-TO-FACE THERAPY

TRAINING (75% FFP)

-- FOR WORKERS, STAFF, FOSTER PARENTS
-- IV-E ELIGIBILITY PROCEDURES
-- CHILD WELFARE PROTECTIONS

METHOD OF CLAIMING

-- DIRECT CHARGE
-- COST ALLOCATION (TIME STUDY/COST POOL/IV-E ELIGIBILITY RATE)
-- RETROACTIVE CLAIMS (2 YEAR LIMIT)

TITLE IV-A
POTENTIAL FOR FAMILY PRESERVATION SERVICES AND RELATED SERVICES

DEFINITION OF EMERGENCY (STATE PLAN)

- AT RISK OF ABUSE OR NEGLECT
- AT RISK OF OUT-OF-HOME PLACEMENT

ELIGIBILITY

- FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN AT ANY INCOME LEVEL SET BY THE STATE
- ONE EMERGENCY IN A 12 MONTH PERIOD
- STATEWIDE COVERAGE
- ENTITLEMENT/ACCESS

ALLOWABLE SERVICES/ACTIVITIES

- PROVIDED OVER 6 TO 12 MONTHS
- FPS AND RELATED SERVICES (I&R, COUNSELING, ASSISTANCE IN SECURING SHELTER, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, CHILD CARE, ETC.)
- FC PLACEMENT COSTS FOR 6 TO 12 MONTHS
- INVESTIGATION WORK OF PS STAFF AS IV-A ADMINISTRATION

METHOD OF CLAIMING (50% FFP)

- DIRECT CHARGE (MUST AVOID DOUBLE BILLING)
- COST ALLOCATION FOR ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS

MEDICAID POTENTIAL FOR CHILDREN'S SERVICES

SERVICE AREAS

- PRIMARY HEALTH CARE
- SCHOOLS
  - -- IEP-RELATED SERVICES
  - -- SCHOOL HEALTH AND RELATED SERVICES
- CHILD WELFARE/JUVENILE JUSTICE
  - -- FAMILY PRESERVATION AND RELATED SERVICES
  - -- OUT-OF-HOME CARE
- PUBLIC HEALTH
- MENTAL HEALTH
- MR/DD
- OTHER

AUTHORIZATION AND CONTROL OPTIONS

- MEDICAID OPTIONS:
  - -- EPSDT
  - -- REHABILITATION
  - -- MODEL WAIVER
  - -- 1915(a)
  - -- TARGETED CASE MANAGEMENT

- AUTHORIZATION THROUGH:
  - -- EPSDT SCREEN
  - -- LICENSED PRACTITIONER (REHAB)
  - -- OTHER

- RATE SETTING:
  - -- TIME BILLING vs. MONTHLY RATE
  - -- FLAT RATE vs. FULL COST

- MANAGED CARE
  - -- HMO
  - -- PRIMARY CARE PHYSICIAN

- ADMINISTRATION
  - -- TCM ADMINISTRATION
  - -- EPSDT ADMINISTRATION

<u>METHOD OF CLAIMING</u>

- DIRECT CHARGE: (50% TO 80% FFP)
  - -- ELIGIBLE CHILD
  - -- ELIGIBLE SERVICE
  - -- PLAN OF SERVICE
  - -- RECORD OF SERVICE

- COST ALLOCATION: (50% FFP)
  - -- HEALTH RELATED SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

- BILLING:
  - -- DIRECT TO MEDICAID
  - -- THROUGH OTHER STATE AGENCY
  - -- CERTIFICATION OF MATCH TO MEDICAID AGENCY

AN APPROACH TO REFINANCING SCHOOL SERVICES UNDER MEDICAID

MEDICAID
CLINIC\EPSDT\REHAB\TARGETED CASE MANAGEMENT

ADMINISTRATION (EPSDT)

- Outreach
- Assisting with Medicaid eligibility
- Coordination of health screening, examinations and assessments
- Case planning, coordination and follow-up
- Coordinating prenatal care services
- Coordinating nutrition services
- Health education and health guidance
- Interagency coordination

Billing based on agency agreement, federal reimbursement @ 50% of eligible claim (75% for skilled medical professionals)

SERVICES CLINIC\EPSDT\REHAB\TCM

IEP RELATED SERVICES

- Speech Pathology
- Occupational Therapy
- Physical Therapy
- Psychological Services
- School Health Services
- Social Work Services
- Assessment, Screening, and Diagnostic Services
- Transition Services
- Other

OTHER TREATMENT SERVICES

- EPSDT Screens
- Student Support Team Screens
- Day Treatment Services
- Mental Health Services
- After School Services
- Parent "Interventions"
- Targeted Case Management
- Other

Billing based on service provision to eligible child; and federal reimbursement at states Medicaid matching rate (50-80%)

The Center for the Study of Social Policy

MEDICAID ISSUES
(and some ideas about how to deal with them)

Reinvestment	• Money back to Family and Children Services • Money back to Prevention: Double benefit. • Rematch Funds: Triple benefit.
Control of Use	• Scope and Duration Definitions • Provider Qualifications • Medical Necessity Definition • EPSDT case plans vs. new services in state plan • Gate Keeper Service Authorizations • Prior Authorization if Necessary • 1915(a) Pilot • 1115 Demo
Excessive Billing Complexity	• Capitated Rates • Daily or Monthly Rates • Event vs. time billing • Use of Administrative Cost Time Study
Cost Neutrality	• Consider Uncompensated Care in Rates • Consider 100% state and local expenditures for health care • Certification of Match (i.e. existing funds)
Coordination	• EPSDT Plan (IEP, IFSP, and Student Assistance Team) • School Linked Services Structure (EPSDT admin) • Local Child Council ◦ HMO (be careful not to put too much in the contract) • PCCP networks
Eligibility	• Ribicoff Children • Family of One (children in out-of-home care) • SSI/1634 states/Zebley • OBRA 90 - 133%-185% • 1902(r)(2) Special Populations
In Home Services	• Model 50/200 - TEFRA • 2176 Home and Community Based Waiver • Rehab or EPSDT (Not Clinic) Options
Out of Home Care	• Therapeutic Components of Day Treatment, Therapeutic Foster Care. Group and Institutional Care • Blended Rates – IV-A Emergency – IV-E Maintenance – XIX Rehab & PC
Statewideness	• Medicaid Administrative Cost Agreements • 1915(a)
Freedom of Choice	• Managed Care HMO 1915(b) (Freedom of Choice Waiver) • 1915(a)
Third Party Reimbursement and Fees	• Skip claim for MA Children Without insurance • Title V Maternal & Child Health Special Medicaid Provisions

THE PITFALLS AND THE PROMISE

1. <u>BE POLITIC</u>
   - Start with a conspiracy
   - End with a Love-In

2. <u>PROGRAM MUST DRIVE FISCAL</u>
   - Joint program fiscal strategy
   - Get recycling commitment first

3. <u>MUST INVEST</u> - no free lunch

4. <u>MUST USE EXPERTISE</u>
   - Other states' experience
   - Consultants where necessary (<u>not</u> contingency fee)

5. <u>REMEMBER ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY</u>
   - Do no do everything at once
   - Remember the workers

6. <u>REMEMBER ENTROPY</u>
   - Plan for decay or be prepared to pay

7. <u>GIVE PEOPLE INCENTIVES</u>

8. <u>GIVE PEOPLE CREDIT</u>

9. <u>CHALLENGE THE FEDS</u> where necessary

10. <u>POLITICAL AND MANAGEMENT PRIORITY</u>
    - Create it
    - Communicate it
    - Maintain it

THE ETHICS OF REFINANCING

RESPONSIBLE REFINANCING

- A commitment to reinvest in family and children services.
- Financing options crafted to support client and service needs
- Willingness to be creative and take reasonable risks in th interest of children.
- Investment in infrastructure.
- Staged implementation over time.
- Care and attention to good accounting practice.

IRRESPONSIBLE REFINANCING

- Money is the object.
- Choose the options without regard to service implications.
- Layer on new work without new staff.
- Move on all fronts at once.
- Reduce the budgets of agencies dollar for dollar
  - -- Use dollars to offset current costs
  - -- Use dollars for purposes unrelated to families or children
  - -- Use dollars to cover normal growth
  - -- Use dollars to cover the agency's share of cuts.
- Use high cost contingency fee contracts.
- Worry about disallowances later.

FINANCING REFORM

As In

HOW TO REFORM FINANCING

OF FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES

The Center for the Study of Social Policy
1250 Eye Street, NW
Washington, DC

CHANGE THE WAY WE THINK

- **OUTCOMES**

  -- The Bottom Line Well Being of Families and Children (not agency process/production/performance)

  -- Working Backward from Outcomes to Budgets

  -- Whatever it Takes: Formal and Informal Services and Supports

- **BASELINES**

  -- Historical Data

  -- Cost of Failure - Cost of Bad Outcomes Forecast

- **INVESTMENTS**

  -- Multi-Year Perspective

  -- Disciplined Cost Benefit Analysis

  -- Bridge Financing

CHANGE THE WAY WE ACT

- ## CREATE NEW WAYS TO BUDGET

  -- A Multi-year (5 year +) Family and Children's Budget
  -- An Annual (Legislatively mandated) Cost of Bad Outcomes Baseline Forecast
  -- A New Approach to Building Budgets and Budget Agendas
  -- A Family and Children's Investment Board
  -- A Cost Benefit Research Agenda

- ## RENEGOTIATE THE DEAL WITH COMMUNITIES

  -- Trade Outcomes Accountability for Fund Flexibility
  -- Simplify Federal and State Funding Structures

- ## CHANGE THE FRONT LINE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROGRAMS AND FINANCE

  -- Seamless Services with Backroom Financing
  -- Flexible Dollars
  -- Incentives

FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S BUDGETS

STAGE I (INVENTORY)

- Simple inventory of spending by agency
- Summary of current outcome indicators for families and children

STAGE II (FUNCTIONAL) Above Plus

- Summary of spending by function across agency and categorical lines

STAGE III (OUTCOME BASED) Above Plus

- Summary of spending by outcome
- Across agencies, across sectors, across levels of government
- Historical data on outcomes and cost
- Baseline forecasts of outcomes and cost
- Analysis of investment options and financing alternatives

Center for the Study of Social Policy

INITIATIVE-BASED vs OUTCOME-BASED BUDGETING

INITIATIVE-BASED BUDGETING

POSSIBILITIES
What's possible?
- Wish list
- Problem list
- Political list

PROPOSALS
What should we seriously consider?

PRIORITIES
What can we afford?
What is most saleable?

PACKAGING
How can we package our initiatives?

ONE-YEAR BUDGET AGENDA
What is our plan for for next year?

OUTCOME-BASED BUDGETING

OUTCOMES
What results do we want for famiies and children?

INDICATORS
How do we measure those results?

WHAT WORKS
What works to produce those results?

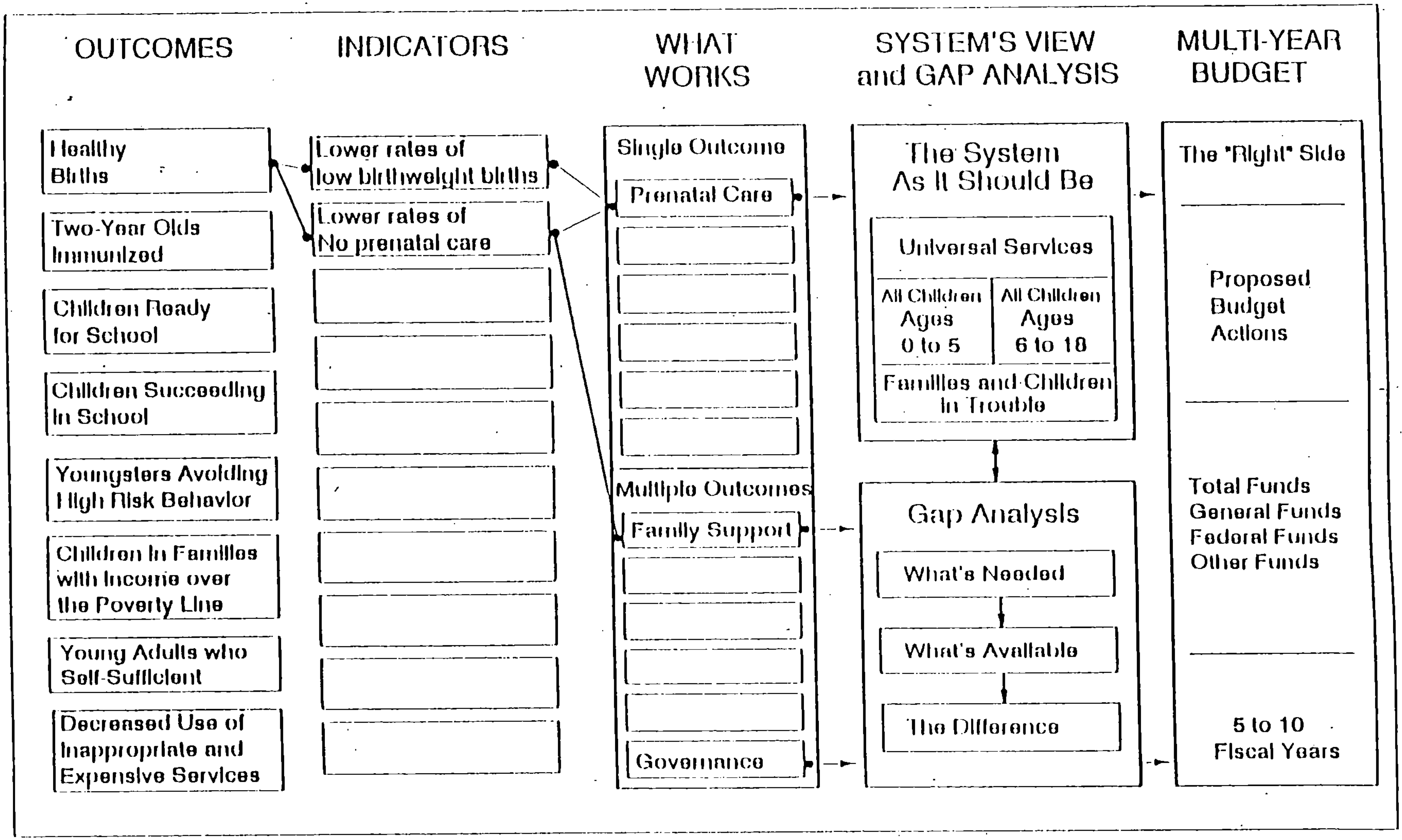
GAP ANALYSIS
What do we have and need of what works?

MULTI-YEAR BUDGET AGENDA
What is our plan for the next 5 - 10 years?

FROM OUTCOMES TO BUDGETS

THE IMPROVED OUTCOMES PROJECT APPROACH

Version B



TRADING FUND FLEXIBILITY FOR OUTCOME ACCOUNTABILITY
THE 6 BALANCING ACTS

1. CREATING AN OUTCOMES FRAMEWORK

- Reaching agreement on a reasonable set of core outcomes
- Reaching agreement on how local outcomes can and will be chosen

2. CREATING A FRAMEWORK FOR CROSS SYSTEMS GOVERNANCE

- Finding a strategy which can grow as trust builds
- Defining partnerships between state agencies, between state and the counties, between county agencies, between the county and the education community, between the county/education partnership and the cities and local communities

3. CREATING INCENTIVES FOR PREVENTION

- Packaging funding for prevention and remediation
- Providing financial and other incentives for investment in long term prevention
- Providing access to investment capital inside and outside current resource streams

4. CREATING INCENTIVES FOR DIVERSITY

- Cultural competence
- Diversity of participation
- Diversity of approaches to services and supports including non-traditional services and service delivery

5. CREATING STANDARDS

- Reaching agreement on performance (and coverage) minimums
- Reaching agreement on the outlines of a vision and how to begin to describe what optimal performance might look like

6. CREATING SAFEGUARDS

- Reaching agreement on "traditional" block grant safeguards, like (projected and actual) inflation, caseload and other economic adjustments.
- Reaching agreement on "non-traditional" safeguards, like equalization and stabilization safeguards related to tax base, service carve-outs, and insurance and reinsurance protections.

D R A F T
Revised 6/28/94

FINANCING REFORM OF FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES

An Approach to the
Systematic Consideration of Financing Options
Or
"The Cosmology of Financing"

The Center for the Study of Social Policy
1250 Eye Street, NW
Washington, DC 20005

June 14, 1994

This paper was supported by grants from the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Foundation Consortium for School-Linked Services.

This paper was also supported in part by the Improved Outcomes for Children Project, which is funded by the New American Schools Development Corporation, Lilly Endowment, Carnegie Corporation, Danforth Foundation, and the Pew Charitable Trusts.

FINANCING REFORM
OF FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES

An Approach to the Systematic Consideration of Financing Options
Or
"The Cosmology of Financing"

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FINANCING REFORM OF FAMILY AND CHILDREN'S SERVICES

An Approach to the Systematic Consideration of Financing Options
Or
"The Cosmology of Financing"

INTRODUCTION

There is a broad and growing consensus that the current systems of services for families and children must change and that it is both imperative and possible to better support families and achieve positive outcomes for families and children. This is one in a series of papers intended to assist states, counties, cities and communities in advancing that process of change. It is designed to help jurisdictions build a financial strategy to support a reform agenda for families and children by identifying several ways in which funds can be made available to pay for new, improved or transformed services and supports for families and children. This paper will be most useful to those who have already begun the work of developing a reform agenda and have begun thinking about the requisite fiscal and political strategies to put that agenda in place.

States and localities throughout the country are engaged in a variety of efforts to improve the way they administer, finance and deliver services to vulnerable families and children in order that more children grow up in stable, nurturing families and become healthy, productive adults. Many of these reform efforts share the following principles including:

- Services and supports should be rooted in the community, easily accessible to families, and delivered in a manner that respects cultural and community differences;
- Services and supports should be focussed on the whole family, with professionals working in partnership with families to identify their strengths and needs as well as to secure assistance;
- Services and supports should be established as part of a comprehensive array of community services rather than narrowly drawn as discrete, isolated services;
- Services and supports should be offered to families early in order to avoid crises or at least lessen their intensity; and

- There should be agreement on the desired outcomes to be achieved for children and families and on the ways that progress will be measured.

Although these principles are enunciated by many state and local reform efforts today, different jurisdictions have chosen different programmatic entry points for change. Some states such as Missouri and Maryland are emphasizing the needs of children in the deepest parts of the service system - those in out-of-home care and especially out-of-state care. Reforms are being advanced to move these children back into families in their home communities. Iowa is similarly addressing children who would previously have been placed in out-of-home care through their "decategorization" initiative in which out-of-home funds are pooled and used to support children closer to home. Other jurisdictions are starting with early identification of high risk populations and trying to bring together new, improved services to head off negative outcomes for children. The New Futures initiative in five cities is an example of this type of reform effort which seeks to reduce dropout and teen pregnancy rates in disadvantaged communities. The Healthy Start Program in California is supporting cross system partnerships at the school and school district level to meet the needs of low-income children, youth, and their families through school-linked services. Still other jurisdictions have chosen to launch neighborhood-based prevention programs targeted on residents in low-income communities. Vermont's Success by Six initiative and Kentucky's Family Resource Centers located in or near schools are examples of this type of reform venture.

Regardless of the specific programmatic agenda chosen, all of these initiatives involve readjusting relationships between local, state, and federal governments. Localities find themselves working much more closely with their state counterparts who in turn must often develop new partnerships with the federal government. The financing strategies that are developed to support the site's programmatic agenda also involve shifts among the various levels of government and between governmental agencies, as will be shown later in this paper.

In all cases, states and localities are seeking new funding sources to help support their programmatic reform initiatives. Especially in times of tight budgets, most jurisdictions have few if any new dollars to invest in systemwide reform. This means they must create political and financial strategies that use current and future resources in new ways and that maximize all available sources of revenue. This paper explores some of the major financing strategies that states and localities can use as they restructure the ways services are delivered to needy children and families.

Several essential points should be kept in mind as states and localities embark on major human service reform efforts. First is the central principle of all good financial planning, that **programs drive financing,** not the other way around. Financial strategies must be used to support improved outcomes for families and children. And financing strategies which cannot be adequately adapted to program ends should not be used, even if they happen to generate more money than other approaches.

Second, **no single financing approach will serve to support an ambitious agenda** for change. Financing packages should be developed by drawing from the widest possible array of resources. Many individuals or organizations are stuck on one approach to financing (usually the one that involves asking for more state or local general funds). Yet there are many alternatives. Financing is an art not a science, and creativity is the order of the day. In the end, more general funds may be necessary to support system changes, but these will only be forthcoming and deserved if states first make the best use of existing resources and use other approaches at their disposal.

Finally, this technical assistance guide for considering financing options is a work in progress, not a finished set of answers. It is not possible to describe all financing strategies or options in a single document. This paper cannot, in its current form, fully present or justify the examples used to illustrate financing strategies. In some cases there are small libraries devoted to these program approaches. And the circumstances of federal, state, and local funding are constantly changing. The paper is set up in the form of a four part check list of financing strategies, with examples of how such strategies can be applied to finance a program reform agenda. We think the four part framework (Redeployment, Refinancing, Revenue Raising, and Restructuring) presented here is one which can provide a home for new approaches and new opportunities as they develop.

I. REDEPLOYMENT: USING THE MONEY WE ALREADY HAVE

Redeployment means using the monetary and non-monetary resources already available in the service system. Redeployment should always be the financing option of first choice for two reasons. First, the use of existing resources for new purposes involves changing the way we do business, the essence of reform itself. The second reason has to do with accountability. Before asking for new funds - and new funds may be necessary for any ambitious agenda - there is a programmatic and political imperative to make the best use of existing resources.

Redeployment applies not just to state and local general funds, but also to the large array of capped federal fund sources which are used to finance health, education, and social services (including such diverse fund sources as the Social Services Block Grant, Maternal and Child Health funds, and Chapter I funds).

There are at least four different forms of redeployment to consider:

A. Investment Based Redeployment

This is redeployment based on the concept of return on investment common to all business financing. In the world of human services, investment based redeployment depends on an understanding of the cause and effect relationship between a service intervention (investment) and some future reduction in the demand for service and cost of entitlement spending (return). If properly structured, investment based redeployment can pay for itself in combined cost savings and cost avoidance over a period of one or more fiscal years.

Under this approach, investments in prevention measures are financed by using the prevention savings generated in other parts of the budget, most importantly entitlement line items. For example, investments in routine preventive health care for low income families have been financed in part from reduced use of emergency and in patient care. Employment training and transitional wage supplementation have been financed from reduced or avoided AFDC costs. In some few cases, these kinds of transfers can be accomplished in a single budget year. In most cases, savings take longer to accrue and a multi-year approach is required. Unfortunately, multi-year investment financing is uncommon in most public budgeting systems, outside of capital budgets (e.g., bonds for bridge construction secured with toll revenue). And multi-year investment based redeployment requires strong executive and legislative leadership support, and a working partnership between those with program responsibility and those with financial responsibility.

Investment based redeployment also requires agreement on the baseline forecasts of entitlement expenditures which will occur without change in policy. (Such forecasts are sometimes known as "cost of failure" analyses, or "cost of bad outcome" analyses.) A baseline forecast is necessary so that parties to the investment can quantify the benefits of prevention investments and agree on how cost savings and cost avoidance will be calculated and credited. Baseline forecasts allow the consideration of expected increases in cost, and the potential redeployment of funds which are, or will be, dedicated to cover those costs. For example, funds included in a proposed (balanced) budget to cover foster care caseload increases, can be considered a source of investment funds for measures which might prevent or diminish the expected caseload growth. For some program components, such as AFDC or Foster Care caseloads, baseline forecasts for one or two fiscal years may be produced as part of the annual budget process. Forecasting, however, is a complex and often controversial process, and forecasts are rarely produced for more than a handful of programs. Forecasting requires a good base of historical information, and an understanding of the controllable and uncontrollable factors which influence future cost. The best forecasting processes involve building consensus among stakeholders (i.e., executive and legislative budget offices) about high, medium, and low estimates. An investment of time in such consensus building can sometimes serve to shift the discussion from short term stop-gap measures to longer term solutions.

Finally, investment based redeployment requires a base of research or experience which links investments to savings. Reliable research on cost/benefit relationships is rare, but should be among the highest priorities for researchers in the human services field as well as those, in the public and private sectors, who fund research.

At the bottom line, the layman's version of investment based redeployment is based on the simple question: "If we are going to spend all this money anyway, can't we do better?" As a general rule, it should be possible to create an investment based redeployment strategy which finances prevention of any expensive entitlement service.

Some important examples of investment based redeployment include:

1. Out-of-Home Care Entitlements

Out-of-home care for children is one of the largest entitlement expenditures of state and local government. The full cost of such care averages over $10,000 per year per child, and can exceed $100,000 for children in the most expensive forms of care. Total government expenditures for out-of-home care costs exceed $3 billion per year, and involve all major child serving systems, including Child Welfare (CW), Juvenile Justice (JJ), Public Health (PH), Mental Health (MH) and Education (ED). There are at least two investment based redeployment strategies which utilize savings in the out-of-home care budget:

a. Preventing out-of-home care and reducing length of stay. Services which prevent or lessen stays in out-of-home care can produce savings in the cost baseline for out-of-home care. If services are targeted to children who would otherwise enter care, or who are already in care, it may be possible to save (or avoid) out-of-home care costs in excess of service cost. It is important to note that such services can be difficult and costly to implement, and require careful planning and oversight. There is also some controversy over the extent to which various program models actually save or avoid cost. And efforts to reduce entry into foster care must not serve to diminish the clear first priority given to child safety. Nevertheless, some jurisdictions such as Prince George's County, Maryland and Michigan have implemented programs based on established service models that have helped change the pattern of caseload growth. At least three out-of-home care redeployment approaches can be considered:

- Family Preservation Services: services designed to prevent unnecessary foster care, group home or other out-of-home care placement.

- Reunification Services: services designed to return children safely to their homes.

- Post Adoption Services: services designed to preserve high-risk adoptions and prevent return to out-of-home care as a result of disrupted adoptions.

b. Stepping Down Levels of Care. It is not uncommon for children to be placed in more expensive care (e.g., residential treatment, emergency facilities) for longer periods than necessary. The causes for this phenomenon are complex, but a major factor is often the lack of available community-based alternatives. Development of less expensive community-based care can sometimes be financed by systematic efforts to "step down" levels of placement where this is appropriate for individual children. Out-of-home care funds can be used to finance the start-up and continuing costs of newer forms of care. In some cases this form of financing can be applied on a child by child basis using a "wrap around" approach to tailor an individual plan of care for a child with funds currently devoted to his or her care. Implementing these changes requires the system-wide commitment of those involved in the placement system, including judges, front-line workers, and private agencies. And careful planning is required to assure that newly vacated beds are not simply refilled. As discussed in Section II below, Medicaid funding can sometimes be used to help finance the therapeutic components of services in the placement continuum.

At least three step down approaches can be considered:

- Out-of-state to in-state: Where children are placed in expensive out-of-state facilities, it may be possible to return children to less expensive, newly developed or specially tailored in-state care.

- Institutional care to therapeutic foster care: Therapeutic foster care can be used to replace or shorten stays in more expensive institutional care.

- Group care to supported family foster care: Neighborhood based family foster care, connected to services which support the foster family and meet the special needs of the child, may be used to replace or shorten stays in more expensive group care.

2. <u>Health Care Entitlements</u>

The health care system provides some of the best examples of the relationship between preventive and remedial costs. Using high cost entitlement expenditures as the signal of redeployment potential, it may be possible to disaggregate publicly supported health costs, build strategies which reduce the need for each high cost component of care, and redeploy saved and avoided costs to fund preventive services. Approaches which are often cited to illustrate this strategy include:

- <u>Prenatal care and teen pregnancy prevention</u>: It may be possible to shift saved or avoided health care funds for intensive care for premature births to targeted low birth weight prevention efforts and teen pregnancy prevention.

- <u>Immunization</u>: The cost associated with treating preventable illness could be shifted to support expanded immunization efforts. Since the benefits of immunizations take several years to materialize, this may require some form of multi-year bridge financing. (See the discussion of loans and bond financing in Section IV below.)

The following idea illustrates the possibility of a more experimental approach to investment based redeployment.

- <u>Violence prevention</u>: Violence is increasingly viewed as a priority public health problem. There is, at best, conflicting evidence on what approaches to violence prevention work. If successful strategies can be identified, it may be possible to package saved or avoided violence related costs (including such things as direct emergency room costs, costs of incarceration, and indirect savings in public and private insurance costs) and use these savings to support violence prevention efforts.

B. Capitation Based Redeployment

A second approach to redeployment involves the use of capitation strategies. Capitation means packaging services (ideally the related elements of prevention and treatment costs) into a single fixed per person payment for a class of individuals. This structure creates a fiscal mechanism and a fiscal incentive which encourages controlling costs and shifting fund use toward preventive services.

The basic questions to be answered in capitation approaches involve what service costs to include in the package, how to set rates fairly, and what provider or service structure to use. There is a growing body of experience with capitation approaches. The best known include the emerging forms of managed health care, including health maintenance organizations and other provider networks. Capitation approaches are also being used for the treatment costs of special populations, such as children in out-of-state out-of-home care (as in Maryland), or children in high cost out-of-home placements (as in Arizona, California, New Mexico, Ohio, and others). These are often implemented within the Medicaid program in conjunction with one or more refinancing strategies described in Section II. They typically involve packaging all costs of care for a defined group of children, with the state agency or provider then given wide flexibility in crafting a plan of community-based care. Savings from these approaches can be used for preventive services both for children inside and outside the capitation plan. Another example of capitated services is the use of a capitation rate for Medicaid reimbursement of special education ancillary services in the Boston education system.

Section 1915(a) of the Medicaid program provides a particularly useful tool to implement capitation models. This section of the Social Security Act provides states the option to establish capitated contracts for service for specified populations and designated geographic areas. While rate setting methods and other components of the contracts may require federal approval, use of 1915(a) is a state option under Medicaid and does not require a state plan waiver. The option provides a useful means to test capitation approaches under Medicaid in one or several jurisdictions before committing to statewide implementation.

C. Cut Based Redeployment

This is the traditional method of moving money - cutting one thing to fund another. Most often there is little relationship between the program cut and the program funded. Savings from cuts are often used to fill budget gaps or add to the funds available for discretionary spending by the Governor or Legislature. It is, of course, possible to be more deliberate about the business of identifying cuts and using those funds for new purposes. This more deliberate process involves setting priorities, reducing low priority expenditures and using freed funds to support an agenda of program and system change.

Many systems have now been through so many rounds of budget cuts that the choice of priorities is stark. Where efficiencies or cuts are still possible, administrators often hoard these actions to offer up in the inevitable next round. But in spite of these strains, there is broad agreement that money currently in the human services system is not being used very well, that inefficiencies do exist and that spending patterns are often out of synch with current needs. This view applies not just to state and local general funds, but to the wide array of federal block grants and capped federal funding sources as well. The Social Services Block Grant (SSBG), for example, has been part of the Social Security Act for over 20 years, and fund allocation in most states reflects a 20 year accumulation of budget and political compromise. Members of the education community will admit privately, if not publicly, that some Chapter I and Drug Free Schools funding could be put to better use. Many are skeptical that historical patterns of fund use can be reconsidered, but this should not deter consideration of new choices.

The most important issue in cut-based redeployment is establishing the set of principles used to set priorities. One approach is to sort expenditures into "mandatory" and "non-mandatory" categories and then further subdivide programs in terms of low, medium, and high impact on life, health, and safety. Most cut processes quickly focus on the non-mandatory - low life/health/safety set of services. These are often the prevention expenditures where increased investments are necessary. A better approach is to look at the system's use of funds through a very particular lens: How does each expenditure contribute to achieving the outcomes we want for families and children? Where does each expenditure fit in our overall strategy to improve outcomes? Low impact strategies can be cut in favor of those more likely to succeed. Funding for similar functions across systems can be combined. Waivers can be obtained for mandated expenditures or service delivery patterns which are inefficient or unnecessary. Where expenditures are reviewed against common goals which are articulated and applied to multiple systems of care, it is less likely that individual agencies will see the process as unfair or unproductive. Funding pool structures discussed below can provide a framework within which to pursue this kind of redeployment.

D. Material Redeployment

This type of redeployment involves the transfer or reuse of existing positions or other tangible resources: This approach becomes more important for administrators closer to the front line, who may not have the discretion to shift dollars but can shift staff. It is possible, for example, to outstation workers in schools or other community settings, or combine resources across systems to create common intake and assessment capacity. These types of changes may be possible without any new expenditure of funds.

The most ancient form of financing is a form of material redeployment called bartering. The application of bartering to human services is illustrated by a case in Chicago where local program directors arranged a trade of day care services for drug treatment services. Young mothers in the drug treatment program gained access to day care. And day care parents gained access to drug treatment. The trade was mutually beneficial, as all good trades are. No money changed hands. Other trades are of course possible: space for services (as in Florida's rebuilding of schools destroyed by Hurricane Andrew where space for community service providers is part of the new building design); equipment for services; or land for services (as in the case of an agreement exchanging a day care center for a 99 year lease on Native American land).

Bartering is possible even at the state or federal level. But at the local level it can be a simple answer to a complex problem. Organizational deals which could take years to hammer out in budget or legislative processes can be done in practice with a minimum of bureaucracy. Such actions can also be the first step to other forms of working together for mutual benefit. In fact, some of the best forms of collaboration resemble simple markets where organizations bring resources to the table and trade those resources for the benefit of their clients and organizations.

II. REFINANCING: FREEING FUNDS FOR REINVESTMENT

By refinancing we mean claiming open ended (i.e., not limited by federal appropriation) federal funds to pay for services now financed entirely with state and local funds, freeing those funds for reinvestment. Freed state and local funds can be rematched with federal funds when used for federally eligible expenditures.[1] Refinancing efforts generally make use of the remaining open ended federal titles of the Social Security Act. The most important of these titles include: Title IV-E Foster Care; Title IV-A Emergency Assistance and Child Care; Title XIX Medicaid (in states without voluntary caps adopted as part of waiver programs); Title IV-D Child Support Enforcement; and Title XVI SSI benefits. In many cases, services or activities can be funded under more than one Title. It is important to consider the best mix of federal claiming, and, most importantly, the claiming approach which best supports service goals.

One of the great dangers of refinancing work is the risk that money produced by such efforts will not be used to advance the reform agenda for families and children. Refinancing proceeds usually take the form of state or local general fund revenue, which can be used for many different purposes, not necessarily those related to reform. Refinancing work should result in funds available for reinvestment in improved or expanded family and children's services. Decisions about reinvestment must be made before work on refinancing begins. Without some way to protect the freed up money, it is likely that refinancing funds will return to the general treasury to be used for whatever priorities appear on the state or local political agenda at the time. The best way to help assure that the proceeds of refinancing go to good use is to recognize the political nature of the budget process and use that process effectively. **The single best way to be effective in these processes is to have a compelling vision of change which attracts**

[1]Some state and local accounting systems permit federal fund reimbursement to be received directly as general fund revenue, in much the same way that fee payments or debt collection amounts are treated. These amounts may then be rematched with federal funds when they are used for federally eligible purposes. Alternatively, state and local accounting systems may require that federal reimbursement be credited to the specific accounts which generated the claim. In this case, an equal general fund amount can be freed, and these freed funds can be rematched with federal funds when used for federally eligible purposes. In cases where the funds freed by refinancing are federal block grant funds, it may be necessary to, first, exchange these funds for general funds by transfer between program budgets.

political support and makes reinvestment in families and children a winning political act. In some states and communities, political leaders have established commitments, by executive order or legislation, to reinvest funds generated by refinancing. Some of the best examples of formal reinvestment structures include the trust fund established by legislation in Colorado for reinvestment of Title IV-A refinancing funds and the community reinvestment process for federal administrative claims established in North Dakota. In other states, reinvestment commitments have been established in the budget process itself (as in Iowa, Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee), or by contract (as in the case of school Medicaid contracts in Missouri and New Mexico).

The second essential refinancing caveat concerns the need for up-front investment in administrative capacity to assure that federal funds are properly claimed and not subject to later audit disallowance. Federal program requirements and claiming procedures can be complex and can create significant new workload. Some of the anticipated new revenue should be advanced to build staff and systems capacity to adequately cover this workload. Where direct service staff are required to perform new administrative work, additional service positions should be created at least to maintain existing service capacity. As a rule of thumb, five to ten percent of newly anticipated revenues should be invested in this kind of infrastructure support.

Following are the major refinancing options under Titles IV-E, IV-A and XIX which can be used to provide funding for reinvestment in family and children's services.

A. Title IV-E Foster Care and Subsidized Adoption

Title IV-E is the title of the Social Security Act which provides funding for foster care and subsidized adoption. Title IV-E provides reimbursement for foster care maintenance costs (i.e., room and board and related costs) at the state's Medicaid matching rate, which varies between 50 percent and 80 percent based on the state's per capita income. Administrative costs are reimbursed by the Federal government for all states at 50 percent. Training claims are reimbursed at 75 percent.

There are six basic strategies for increasing IV-E claims:

1) Increase the IV-E eligibility rate. The most important element of IV-E claiming is the percentage of children in out-of-home care who are IV-E eligible. Foster care maintenance costs are reimbursed only for eligible children. And the IV-E eligibility rate is also used to calculate the federal share of IV-E administrative claims. A description of IV-E eligibility requirements is beyond the scope of this paper. The most important requirements specify that the child must have received AFDC (or been eligible to receive AFDC) at the time of placement or during the preceding six months; and placement court orders must specify that placement is in the best interest of the child, and that reasonable efforts have been made to prevent placement. Most states have made significant progress in improving Title IV-E eligibility rates. Achievable rates for most states exceed 60 percent. And in high poverty areas, achievable rates may exceed 75 percent.

2) Increase IV-E administrative claims through better time study coverage, better claiming definitions, and improved cost allocation methodology. Title IV-E administration covers a wide range of activities including eligibility determination, foster home recruitment, child placement and judicial processes, and case management. In effect, IV-E administration covers all activities in support of the out-of-home placement system except face-to-face therapy. Time studies typically find that 80 percent of child welfare worker activities can be classified as administration under IV-E. Random statistical studies of worker time are used to capture these costs, and there are there are often ways to improve the functioning of these systems and the way in which the resultant data is used to increase the size of the claim.

3) Expand IV-E coverage to the Juvenile Justice and Mental Health system, including both service and administrative claims. Many children in out-of-home care in the Juvenile Justice and Mental Health systems are potentially eligible for Title IV-E. Establishing coverage for these children involves the same rules and protections required for children in the Child Welfare system. However, IV-E claims in these systems are limited by prohibitions on payment for placement in public institutions, secure detention, and for-profit facilities.

4) Expand coverage of group and residential costs using a blended rate approach which coordinates rate setting and cost coverage with Medicaid. Many of the costs of group and residential care are potentially reimbursable under Title IV-E, Title XIX, or both. It is possible to create a rate structure which takes advantage of the optimum mix of these funding streams, and increases net federal reimbursement.

5) Improve use of IV-E training funds (at 75% FFP) through university based training or direct contracting for training services. Public universities may use approved overhead and indirect costs as match.

6) Use enhanced matching rate funds for information systems development and implementation. Seventy-five (75) percent matching funds are available for three years (Federal Fiscal Years 1994 to 1996) for planning, development and implementation of child welfare information systems. Subsequent operating costs will be reimbursed at 50 percent. A number of states are using these funds to help develop cross agency information systems which can provide the data and management support needed for family and children's service reform.

B. Title IV-A Emergency Assistance

Title IV-A of the Social Security Act provides states the option to establish an emergency assistance program for families with children. Federal reimbursement is provided for all states at 50 percent. A growing number of states (including Alabama, Arkansas, California, Florida, Michigan, Missouri, North Dakota, Tennessee, and others) have received approval for state plans which define the emergency as "risk of out-of-home care." Using this definition of emergency, it is possible to receive reimbursement for many services provided over a 6 to 12 month period to families and children in the Child Welfare, Juvenile Justice, and Mental Health systems. There are important restrictions on the use of Title IV-A funds which must be carefully considered in any planned use of this fund source. Most importantly, emergency assistance may be provided to a family only once in any 12 month period. States with pre-existing IV-A emergency assistance programs must establish systems to avoid duplicate claims. (Michigan has lead the way in solving this problem by using a computer match to identify multiple claims for the same family and submitting the higher service expense for IV-A reimbursement.) Title IV-A is an individual entitlement benefit, and the state must have a clear audit trail back showing what services are provided to specific eligible individuals. Title IV-A requires an income test, but many states have used simplified procedures which test whether the family has sufficient cash resources to pay for the emergency response. With family preservation services, for example, averaging about $4,000 per family, most families can be made eligible. Another important provision of Title IV-A is the requirement that benefits be available statewide. IV-A funding, therefore, may not be suitable for sub-state pilots or demonstrations.

The three most important groups of programs which can be refinanced through Title IV-A are:

1) Family Preservation and related services. When family crises place children at risk of out-of-home placement, it is possible to receive Title IV-A reimbursement for a wide range of service responses to this emergency. Many states have used Title IV-A to support family preservation services designed to keep children safely in their own homes and avoid placement where possible. Other services which could be financed as part of the emergency response include assessment and diagnostic services, domestic violence services, respite care, and cash assistance such as transitional housing assistance. Title IV-A can be used in conjunction with Medicaid and redeployment strategies to finance common prevention services across systems. The best example of this is North Dakota which is using its higher federal matching rate under Medicaid to pay for family preservation services for Medicaid eligible families, and charges Title IV-A for family preservation costs for all other families. Savings from the out-of-home care budget have been redeployed to help cover the non-federal share.

2) Protective Services Investigation activity. If the definition of emergency is "risk of out-of-home placement," then the process of determining whether such a risk exists becomes part of the eligibility process for Title IV-A. In most cases, this determination is made by protective services workers, and a portion of this worker time may be claimed as IV-A administration. Other administrative claims are also possible in any child serving system providing services under Title IV-A.

3) The first 6 to 12 months of foster care or shelter care placement. When placement in out-of-home care cannot be prevented, the cost of the initial placement may be partially financed with Title IV-A funds. Funding for such placements are not subject to the same restrictions which limit placement reimbursement under Titles IV-E and XIX. Where Title IV-A is used to fund out-of-home care placements, there will usually be some offsetting reductions in claims under Title IV-E.

At the time of this writing, a cap on Title IV-A emergency assistance is under consideration as part of the financing plan for welfare reform. While such a cap will produce relatively little savings for the federal government it will, if enacted, serve to shut down what has become the single most important source of federal support for family preservation services, at a time when the federal government is touting its (much smaller) support for family preservation under the family preservation and support provisions of OBRA 93.

C. Medicaid: An Overview

The Title XIX (Medicaid) program provides federal support for states' health and rehabilitative services for low-income families and individuals. Although Title XIX is best known as a primary health care program, it actually permits considerable discretion in the structure and coverage of state programs. Federal reimbursement is provided for direct service costs at rates which vary by state from 50 percent to 80 percent based on state per capita income. Administrative costs (including training) are reimbursed for all states at 50 percent.[2] One of the most important components of Title XIX is the Early Periodic Screening Diagnosis and Treatment (EPSDT) program. This program was significantly strengthened in 1989 when states were required to bring their screening rates up to 80 percent and provide needed services identified in the screening process, whether or not such services were otherwise provided to Medicaid recipients under the state's plan. This change in federal law served to establish EPSDT as the single most important health entitlement for poor children and created a powerful framework for covering therapeutic services provided inside and outside the traditional health system. Medicaid is a complex program, and it is beyond the scope of this paper to summarize its provisions. The best source of such information is the Medicaid Source Book published in January 1993 by the Congressional Research Service.

The following sections outline some of the most important refinancing applications of Title XIX.

[2]Administrative activities which require the skills of a medical professional (e.g., public health nurse) are reimbursed at 75 percent.

D. Medicaid in Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice

Many services in child welfare have definable therapeutic components which can be made eligible for Medicaid reimbursement. In addition, many activities within the Child Welfare and Juvenile Justice systems qualify as Medicaid administrative activities. Major options include:

1) Case management claims using Targeted Case Management (as a service) or EPSDT/Administrative case management as an administrative claim. These are two, generally mutually exclusive, ways to capture funds for case management activities under Medicaid. For states with FFP rates above 60 percent (28 states), the higher reimbursement rate under the service claim approach may offset the relatively easier implementation requirements for administrative claims, which are reimbursed at 50 percent.

2) Continuum of Care claims: It is possible to use EPSDT or the Rehabilitation option under Title XIX to claim for costs of the therapeutic components of care, across the community-based care and out-of-home care service continuum, including:

    a) Home and community-based services including such services as day treatment and respite care services,

    b) Therapeutic foster care,

    c) Non-secure group care, and

    d) Residential treatment.

E. Medicaid in Health, Mental Health, Mental Retardation, and Developmental Disability Services

These are the service systems in which Medicaid claiming strategies have been most thoroughly developed by the states. In many cases, state and local governments have used existing Medicaid service definitions and claiming procedures to generate federal claims for traditional health services provided in these systems. Federal waivers for home and community-based care have been widely used for other services necessary to prevent institutionalization or allow return to less expensive home and community care. Administrative claims have, generally been less well developed in these service areas, and represent an untapped refinancing potential in many states. Under Medicaid administration, it is possible to claim for a wide range of health related activities including outreach, public education, case management, and coordination functions in addition to normal administrative overhead. Random time studies can be used to capture these costs, at both the state and local level, in the same way that such processes are used in the Child Welfare system.

Medicaid claiming potential should be reviewed in the following service areas:

1) Public health services, including services provided in public health clinics and through other direct and contract public health programs.

2) Mental health services, including both direct and contract services, and the costs of out-of-home care for Medicaid eligible clients in non-institutional settings.

3) Mental Retardation and Developmental Disability services, including such services as respite care, and the costs of out-of-home care in non-institutional settings.

4) Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) Part H services for infants and toddlers, including services identified in the Individualized Family Service Plans for Medicaid eligible children.

F. Medicaid in the Schools

Medicaid can be used to refinance some existing costs of the education system, and provide significant new resources for reinvestment in family and children's services. Significant claims are possible for therapeutic services provided by schools to Medicaid eligible children. Claims are also possible for EPSDT services and administrative activities when schools become partners in the EPSDT program. There are a wide range of approaches to setting up Medicaid claiming for schools. The best approaches use service definitions which are tailored to school settings (under EPSDT or the Rehabilitation option), use capitated approaches wherever possible, and generate full cost reimbursement. There are four primary areas for Medicaid claiming. The first three involve services provided to Medicaid eligible children. The last covers administrative activities in support of the EPSDT program.

1) Special Education Individualized Education Plan (IEP) related services. This includes the most common of IEP services (such as occupational therapy, physical therapy, and speech therapy) as well as the less common services (psychological services, social work, transition services, etc.) Plans developed under an EPSDT umbrella may allow any medically necessary service to be claimed.

2) EPSDT screening services. Schools can directly perform full or partial screens or serve as sites for such screenings.

3) Other School based health services (such as health clinic services) or services targeted to special populations (such as day treatment services or services for pregnant and parenting teens).

4) EPSDT Administration. A wide range of health education and support activities can be claimed as Medicaid administration using a time study to capture costs. Activities include outreach, case planning and coordination and health education.

III. RAISING REVENUE: GENERATING NEW FUNDING TO SUPPORT FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

The refinancing section above presents a very particular kind of revenue raising strategy: the use of open-ended federal revenue to free up existing state and local funds. This is only one of many revenue strategies which may be harnessed to support a reform agenda. Revenue strategies range from the traditional, though always dangerous, use of taxes to the non-traditional and still experimental use of bond authority for human services capital investment. In addition to some of the major revenue approaches discussed below, the grantsmanship marketplace provides thousands of smaller public and private sources of funding for worthy and not so worthy ideas. The following sections present three broad sets of revenue strategies which should be considered as part of any effort to develop a comprehensive program and financial plan.

A. New Federal Funding

We have already discussed new uses of existing block grant funds under redeployment, and the creative use of existing open-ended federal titles under refinancing. It does not happen often, but there are occasionally new federal fund sources to consider. Two such sources are available as a result of the passage of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act (OBRA) of 1993:

1) Family Preservation and Family Support funds: For the first time, federal funds are provided for the specific purpose of supporting family preservation and family support services. The funds are a state entitlement, included in a new section of Title IV-B. Total funding under this section increases over five years from $60 million in Federal Fiscal Year (FFY) 1994 to $255 million in FFY 1998. In the first year, states are required to conduct a broadly based planning process which sets out five year goals for family preservation and family support, and identifies how state and federal resources will be used to improve the overall system of services for families and children.

2) Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities: These new funds present a major opportunity to combine human service reform and economic development work in local communities. Funds are provided to support 6 urban and 3 rural Empowerment Zones and 65 urban and 30 rural Enterprise Communities.

Empowerment Zone awards will provide $100 million over two years to urban sites and $40 million to rural sites. The smaller Enterprise Community awards will provide grants of about $3 million plus a wide array of tax and other benefits.

B. State and Local Funding

Several approaches to increasing state and local revenue should be considered in any comprehensive multi-year financing plan.

1) Fair Share of Revenue Growth. Family and children's services arguably have a claim to total revenue growth at least equal to the state or local growth rate in general fund revenue. While the argument only works in years of revenue increase, it can be argued that new spending for families and children should be equal to revenue growth net of inflation. These are complex positions to articulate but may represent the largest block of resources available for reform agendas over the long term.

2) Taxes. There are, of course, a wide range of tax strategies, all of which are politically risky. But taxes (particularly special purpose taxes) should not be left out of the arsenal. Special purpose taxing districts for children have operated in some Florida counties since the 1940's. There has been more mixed success with special purpose lotteries (the only known form of popular tax), with revenues sometimes used to offset education formula funds or other base funding. Tax check-offs are used in many states allowing taxpayers to designate a portion of their taxes for special purposes. They can produce a small but useful revenue stream. If the agenda is sufficiently important and politically compelling, it may even be possible to consider mainstream tax strategies. The point is that, while tax approaches must be handled with care, they should not be ignored as part of a potential financing plan.

C. Private Funding

Private funding sources are often ignored in putting together public financing packages, but a wide range of private sources can and should be considered. By private funding we mean any funds which derive from a non-governmental source. As with other funding strategies, it is essential that private funding approaches support and not drive program goals. Following are some of the more important categories of private financial support:

1) Third Party Collections: This includes everything from child support collections to collections of health and other insurance benefits. If properly planned, revenue will almost always exceed collection costs and the net profit from such efforts can be reinvested.

2) Fees: Where appropriate, fees can be charged to recover some or all of the cost of service. Fees are commonly used in services for which there is a private market, such as child care or personal care services. Fee revenue can be obtained by increasing traditional fees (including indexing to inflation), or by considering non-traditional use of fees.

3) Donations: Foundations and businesses can provide important flexible funding particularly for leveraging other funding or gap filling purposes.

4) Volunteers: Volunteerism constitutes a form of non monetary donation which can be an important financing tool. Volunteers can be used to directly supplement the workforce, as in the case of outreach and education, or can provide services and supports, not part of the paid service system such as mentoring, recreation or peer counseling.

5) Loans: If a sound case can be made for a return on investment, then bond financing or other forms of borrowing are theoretically possible. These are, of course, fundamental approaches in business, and widely used in community and economic development but relatively new to human services. It may be possible to apply loan based financing to some of the out-of-home care or health service investments discussed in the redeployment section above. It is also possible to use revolving loan funds within the government budget structure to support the start up costs of service enterprises (such as child care), or to test the concepts of human service investment before seeking private financing.

IV. RESTRUCTURING FINANCIAL SYSTEMS: USING FINANCIAL STRUCTURES TO EFFECT CHANGE

Even the best reform strategies may ultimately fail if financial systems and financial incentives work against reform goals. An essential part of any reform strategy is reform of the financial system itself. Following is a basic list of structural changes which may be considered as part of this process:

1) Seamless Services Design: Service structures should make financing (and federal fund claiming) invisible to families and children to the greatest extent possible. Service systems should be designed to operate with a "front room," where families are treated with respect, the needs of all members considered, and services provided regardless of federal or state service categories. In the "back room," the service agency should do everything possible to qualify families and children for different funding streams, and collect as much reimbursement as possible to support the services for all families.

2) Funding Pools: Funding pools can provide the flexibility necessary for communities to produce better results for less money; but only if the funding pool provides new forms of accountability to replace the old categorical accountability structures. At the bottom line, funding pools involve structuring a new "contract" between the agencies providing funds and the communities using those funds. In its best form, such a contract should represent a trade of new authority and flexibility in the use of funds for new accountability for outcomes for families and children.

3) Flexible dollars: Even without changing the whole system, it is possible to create pockets of flexible funding which can be used to fill gaps in services. Such funds are often an inexpensive way to make a categorical system more effective. As such, they remove the barriers to meeting families' unique needs.

4) Incentives: Incentive promote change by rewarding good practice. There are a wide range of incentive structures possible from the casework level (making it easier to prevent foster care than it is to remove and place children outside the home) to the systemic level (allowing local collaboratives to keep savings from reduced placements). Ultimately systems must shift to providing incentives for improving results for families and children.

5) Trust Funds for families and children: Trust funds can provide a financial sanctuary for an investment pool for families and children. Redeployment investment schemes might actually be structured to repay trust fund "loans."

6) Outcome (or Result) Based Budgeting: Major changes are needed in the budgeting and decision making structures which frame the long term investment decisions for families and children, and help hold us all accountable for outcomes for families and children. Major elements of an outcome based budgeting structure include a **Family and Children' Budget**; a periodic **consensus forecast of the cost of continuing current policy**; an analysis of **prevention and non prevention expenditures** and a systematic **assessment of investment options**; a **multi-year budget process** which derives spending priorities from an orderly review of outcomes, indicators of outcome achievement, effective strategies which change outcomes, and the resources necessary to put effective services and supports in place.

CONCLUSION

This broad inventory of financing strategies is intended to support a systematic approach to thinking about ways to pay for family and children's services reform. Using the document involves taking each element of an ambitious plan for change, and considering how each of the four financing strategies discussed above may be used or adapted. By working systematically through these options, and using the process to explore non-traditional approaches, it may be possible to craft a financing plan to support an ambitious programmatic agenda. Together, these financing approaches could produce a significant portion of the investment funds necessary to produce better outcomes for our families and children. And in the long run, improving outcomes for families and children, by investing in prevention and support, and lowering the cost of treating problems after they occur, may be the most important financing strategy of all.

Mark Pitsch

EDUCATION WEEK

American Education's Newspaper of Record · Volume XIV, Number 11 · November 16, 1994 · *© 1994 Editorial Projects in Education / $3.00*

Fighting Back

John Vitelli

Cheryl Mullen was so disturbed by the actions of the Lake County, Fla., school board that she ran for the board herself. Other parents sought their own ways to counter a school board taken over by the religious right. ***See Story, Page 32.***

Approval of Prop 187 Spurs Suits, Protests

Most Education Groups In Calif. Assail Measure

By Lynn Schnaiberg

Proposition 187, a controversial ballot measure that California voters made law last week, has sparked a flurry of lawsuits in state and federal courts and sent students into the streets in protest.

Lawsuits have triggered court orders that bar implementation of the new law, which denies most social services to illegal immigrants, including education in the public schools.

Passage of the measure, dubbed "Save Our State" by proponents, was denounced immediately by nearly every state educa-

Continued on Page 25

ELECTION '94

2 New Volumes Of Standards for History Unveiled

By Karen Diegmueller

Two new volumes of national standards for history were unveiled last week, presenting a sweeping view of the world that few precollegiate students have likely encountered before.

With intentionally little fanfare, the National Center for History in the Schools at the University of California at Los Angeles released voluntary benchmarks in the study of history for K-4 students and world-history standards for middle and high school students.

Until recently, the content-standards developers had planned to present their work in Washington to Sheldon Hackney, the chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, one of the major benefactors of the project.

But criticism of the U.S. history standards for grades 5-12, which were released month, and the ensuing flurry of media coverage, led them to forfeit a celebration. The arts and geography standards were released with fanfare earlier this year, and a [illegible]bration is planned this week when ci[illegible] standards are released. (*See Education Week, Nov. 2, 1994.*)

The quiet release of the world-history ment did not allow it to avoid crit-

Continued on Page 14

Even as Whittle Falls on Hard Times, Edison Model Leaves Wichita Hopeful

Second in an occasional series.

By Mark Walsh

Wichita, Kan.

Even as controversy swirls around the Edison Project like tumbleweed in a Kansas tornado, educational leaders here

Scaling UP

are eager to give the private, for-profit school-reform effort a shot.

"It will be unfair to public education if we don't get a chance to try it," said Larry R. Vaughn, the superintendent of the 48,000-pupil Wichita school district.

The district made headlines last spring when it became one of the first in the nation to sign a letter of intent to have the Edison Project take over a few of its schools, beginning in the fall of 1995.

The Edison Project is one of several education-reform efforts that hope to create innovative schools that can be replicated on a much larger scale. Many educators view the "scaling up" of effective reform strategies as one of the fundamental challenges in improving the nation's schools. (*See Education Week, Nov. 2, 1994.*)

Wichita residents interviewed recently said the community remains committed to bringing in the Edison Project, but many wonder whether it will actually happen.

The Edison Project, launched three years ago by the media entrepreneur Christopher Whittle, is now straining to distance itself from the business troubles of its founder. The project is seeking a major infusion of capital, perhaps as much as

Continued on Page 12

Congress Likely To Ponder Federal Role in Education

By Mark Pitsch

Washington

The 104th Congress will convene in January with Republican majorities in both chambers for the first time in 40 years.

The historic realignment will radically alter the prospects for education legislation and may curtail the federal role in setting education policy, which has taken on new importance under the Clinton Administration.

Indeed, Rep. Bill Goodling, R-Pa., who is in line to become the chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, said last week that he will embark on a comprehensive analysis of the federal role and federal programs.

"There will be a major rethinking of what our role should be, but I think the first thing we should do is find out where we are and what we have done," said Mr. Goodling, a 20-year veteran of the House who has been the ranking Republican on the education panel since 1989.

"There certainly will be less involvement from the federal government" under a Republican-controlled Congress, said Sen. James M. Jeffords, R-Vt., who will likely chair the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities.

Come January, Republicans will have 53

Continued on Page 31

Officials Signal Interest in Rethinking the Balance of Power

Continued from Page 1

block grants or to limits on federal regulation of schools.

But the transformation in Washington could go considerably further than that, according to Patty Sullivan, an education-pol-

THE NEW MAJORITY
EDUCATION AND THE G.O.P.

icy analyst at the National Governors' Association.

She said state and federal lawmakers are discussing "devolu- " or turning over to the states services that federal programs now provide, as well as the possibility of swapping or splitting responsibilities.

Under such schemes, states could assume burdens now carried by some federal programs while the federal government assumes full responsibility in other a or they could agree that the f l government would finance higher-education programs while states pay for elementary and secondary schools.

"If you talk about total devolution, that means no more Goals 2000," Ms. Sullivan said, referring to the federal education-reform law that President Clinton won approval of last spring. "That's going to be very much a part of the discussion."

"I don't know who's going to de- [federal education] programs if states are offered a much better " she added.

Decentralization

Congressional Republicans have already promised to shrink the size of the federal government, consolidate some social-service programs, and turn others over to the states. They have enlisted such Washington research and political organizations as the Heritage Foundation and Empower America to develop proposals related to education. *(See Education Dec. 7, 1994.)*

Rep. Bill Goodling, R-Pa., who is slated to become the chairman of the House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee—formerly the Education and Labor Committee—has pledged to embark on a comprehensive review of the federal role in education. His Senate counterpart, Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., is likely to do the same.

And at a recent conference, the Republican Governors' Association, now 30 members strong, called on the incoming 104th Congress to lift federal mandates, federal regulation, and enact constitutional changes to enable "states to become full partners again in a dynamic federal system premised on dual sovereignty."

"Restoring balance in state-federal relations," reads a document the G.O.P. governors approved, "is perhaps the most important national reform that could be undertaken by the 104th Congress."

While their Democratic counterparts have not formally echoed e recommendations, they generally seem comfortable with the idea of greater decentralization.

Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, a Democrat, hosted a daylong hearing last week on how to streamline programs to improve services for children and families.

"The relationship [between state and federal governments] was already changing, and the Congress appears ready to push it farther," said a spokesman for the Democratic Governors' Association. "I think most governors would go along with that."

Clinton's 'Reinvention'

In fact, the Clinton Administration—headed by a former Governor—has already made attempts to change state-federal relations, most notably through its "reinventing government" effort. In addition to improving efficiency, the effort is designed to trim the federal bureaucracy, free states and localities from regulatory burdens, and harmonize the workings of the federal government with states and localities.

And last week, Administration officials reached an agreement with the state of Oregon to waive federal regulations related to some child-welfare programs. *(See story, page 22.)*

President Clinton, in a speech to the Democratic Leadership Council last week, said he was open to reducing the powers of the federal government.

"The Republicans say they want to give more power back to the states, more power back to the cities," he said. "Let's do it together. But don't you walk away from the fact that we started it, and we intend to finish it, and we want them to go with us."

But while the "reinvention" drive has gotten high marks from some observers, they say Administration officials have failed to win any from voters.

"The Administration, from the very beginning, has had a peculiar way of trampling on their own applause lines," said Mr. Kettl, who has studied the federal streamlining program, known as the National Performance Review.

In education, the newly reauthorized Elementary and Secondary Education Act gives the Secretary of Education broad authority to waive certain regulations, and allows grant-recipients to consolidate administrative funds and program applications.

The Administration's Goals 2000: Educate America Act, moreover, is seen by some observers as a federal program that provides tremendous state-level authority. The law includes a demonstration program in which up to six states are eligible to waive regulations in several federal programs in exchange for greater accountability from school districts.

Yet, in some states, policymakers view the Administration's program as an effort to give Washington a heavier hand in running schools, citing provisions that call on states to set content and performance standards and set up a process for developing model national standards.

State Mandates

The trend toward granting school districts waivers from state regulations only emphasizes how restrictive and overly bureaucratic states have become, argues Governor-elect George W. Bush of Texas, who has listed deregulating schools as his top priority.

"Schools spend too much time justifying what they are doing and not enough time doing it," said Karen Hughes, Mr. Bush's communications director.

Mr. Bush has championed "home-rule schools," an idea that would allow local voters and school boards to put together their own management plans and curricula if they agreed to abide by state and federal laws and to meet performance standards.

"The students' needs, the textbooks, the hours, the class sizes might be far different in the Rio Grande Valley than in rural west Texas or Dallas or Houston," said Ms. Hughes. "This was the point that got the most emotional response from voters—they know that a one-size-fits-all education system has not worked."

Most readings of November's state-election results suggest that the role of state education departments may move more toward monitoring district performance and away from drawing up marching orders on how schools will operate, according to Chris Pipho, a state-policy expert for the Education Commission of the States in Denver.

"This is coming, and it is coming from so many different sides," Mr. Pipho said, noting the prominence of educational deregulation on the agendas of new state school chiefs, governors, state-board members, and federal lawmakers.

This trend is also evidenced in the growing popularity of charter-school laws, which allow local groups to set up publicly financed schools free of most regulations. *(See related story, page 14.)*

"People want to get the central government out of their backyard, and they think they have the ability to make decisions if they are given the chance," said Justin King, the executive director of the Michigan Association of School Boards.

The promise of "home-rule schools" helped elect George W. Bush, left, but Gordon M. Ambach warns "there are a lot of reasons why campaign strategies don't get translated into reality."

While many school board members may not be prepared to lead a discussion ranging from staffing to textbooks to teaching methods, handing them more authority and autonomy would spur better decisionmaking, Mr. King suggested.

"I think they can be brought up to it," Mr. King said.

Seeing Is Believing

Still, many observers are skeptical about shifting significant new authority to the local level.

They point out that few districts have used existing opportunities to assume greater control. Districts have not extensively tapped waivers from state rules, they say, and many educators appear content to follow state prescriptions.

"Prior to the beginning of education reform, you would hear a lot of superintendents and teachers saying that one of the reasons things were so bad was that their hands were tied," remarked Terry N. Whitney, a senior policy specialist for the National Conference of State Legislatures in Denver. "But that is a lot of hot air."

But some officials who have watched as local districts have resisted offers of greater leeway note that the political dynamic has changed in recent years.

The National Association of State Boards of Education, for instance, is advising its members to become more aggressive in setting policy directions for districts.

"This may really be when the rubber meets the road," said Brenda Welburn, the executive director of NASBE. "In this environment, governors and legislatures are going to do this if the education departments or state boards don't."

Other observers say the political currency of streamlining programs and devolving authority has outstripped the likelihood of achieving these goals. Now that the Republicans have won power based on such themes, some argue, they will find it a harder job to make the ideas work.

"Restructuring sounds good because it doesn't cost anything, it assumes more efficiency, and promises a focus on results, but there are a lot of reasons why campaign strategies don't get translated into reality," said Gordon M. Ambach, the executive director of the Council of Chief State School Officers.

In addition, he said, shifting state education departments to an advisory function would likely require more employees and would not diminish their importance, as monitoring performance and advising local decisionmakers are more demanding than checking paperwork. And even if states vastly expand the number of charter schools, which enjoy the maximum amount of freedom, they will remain a tiny slice of the nation's school system, Mr. Ambach said.

"The rhetoric around decentralization, devolution, and reinventing is intensifying, but the reality is not there," argued James W. Guthrie, the director of the Peabody Education Policy Center at Vanderbilt University in Nashville. "When you punch into legislators and state board members, you find they don't like to give up decisionmaking and they like micromanaging."

In short, many observers say they will believe the latest crusade for federalism and local control is real when it is in place.

"It's like seeing a play for the third time and you know the plot," said John F. Jennings, the chief education counsel to the House Education and Labor Committee, who is retiring this month after a long career on Capitol Hill. "We've gone through this two times before with [Presidents] Nixon and Reagan, and the governors start out very avidly for it."

"But by the time the details of the legislation are written, they see there is less money with the freedom," he said.

"The American political system is remarkably moderating," Mr. Guthrie said. "This is going to be a lot less drastic than its opponents fear and a lot less successful than its proponents hope."

Donald F. Kettl believes the shift to less government involvement "is going to accelerate." James W. Guthrie hears "the rhetoric around decentralization," but says "the reality is not there."

EDUCATION WEEK

American Education's Newspaper of Record · Volume XIV, Number 15 · December 14, 1994 · © 1994 Editorial Projects in Education / $3.00

Elections Are Likely To Spur Shift in Power

Officials Seek To Rethink The Roles of Government

By Mark Pitsch and Lonnie Harp

As the reconfigured Congress and state legislatures prepare to convene next month, many lawmakers and governors are signaling an interest in rethinking the roles of federal, state, and local governments. That sentiment could launch the most dramatic power shift in decades.

THE NEW MAJORITY
EDUCATION AND THE G.O.P.

Observers say the Republican victories in the midterm elections have laid the groundwork for a transformation that would curtail federal powers in favor of state decisionmaking in a host of policy areas, including education. At the same time, state G.O.P. leaders may speed up experiments in transferring authority from state capitals to local governments.

The elections, in which the G.O.P. captured majorities in the House and the Senate, took a majority of the governorships, and made big gains in state legislatures, "certainly accentuated a trend that has been, perhaps, already under way," said Donald F. Kettl, a visiting scholar with the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank. "The feeling of having less government and less federal involvement is going to accelerate."

On Capitol Hill, Mr. Kettl suggested, such changes could lead to the consolidation of some education programs into

Continued on Page 12

- Vouchers a hot state topic, *page 14.*
- Welfare tops federal agenda, *page 18.*
- The new Congress organizes, *page 20.*

Voices From The City

Tatyana and Tony Hearns live with their mother, Eneida, in Trenton, N.J. Like the parents of thousands of other children in the city, Ms. Hearns hopes her youngsters can beat the odds against them and make something of their lives. But she knows that to do so, they need a good education. Four families reflect on their lives and their involvement with the city's schools. *See Story, Page 25.*

Annenberg Set To Announce Round of Gifts

L.A., Chicago To Get Up To $50 Million

By Lynn Olson and Meg Sommerfeld

Nearly a year after he pledged to provide $500 million to the nation's public schools, the philanthropist Walter H. Annenberg is getting ready to announce where a big portion of that money will go.

Mr. Annenberg is expected to announce in the next two weeks that he will provide up to $50 million each to the Los Angeles and Chicago metropolitan areas. He may also provide as much as $50 million for rural schools.

In a White House ceremony last December, the retired publisher and diplomat announced the first $115 million in gifts to three national organizations—the Education Commission of the States, the New American Schools Development Corporation, and the Annenberg Institute for School Reform, a group created a few months earlier at Brown University. *(See Education Week, Jan. 12, 1994.)*

"I think it's slower than one might hope, but given the complexity of it, all of us are very encouraged by how this is moving," Theodore R. Sizer, the president of the Annenberg Institute, said last week.

In September, the Annenberg Founda-

Continued on Page 10

Charter Revoked
The Los Angeles school board has decided to pull the plug on one of the district's 10 charter schools because of mounting debts and mismanagement. **3**

Spreading the Word
A growing number of foundations, which traditionally have sought to create innovative pilots, now see the need to play a more active role in "scaling up" successful models. **6**

Kan. System Upheld
The Kansas Supreme Court has given lawmakers its stamp of approval for a 1992 state law designed to make the state's school-finance system more equitable. **15**

Effort To Do the Right Thing Upsets Ga. County

By Robert C. Johnston

Morgan, Ga.

After Corkin Cherubini was elected the superintendent of schools in Calhoun County, Ga., two years ago, he set out to dismantle a series of district practices that he says amount to "education apartheid."

They include a longstanding practice of grouping kindergartners in a way that maintains some white-majority classrooms in the black-majority district, tracking by ability beginning in the 3rd grade, and segregating cheerleading squads.

Mr. Cherubini, who taught high school English in the 1,200-student district for 22 years, says he is doing the right thing. And federal civil-rights officials whom he invited to visit the district say that some of the practices he is ending are not only unfair, but also illegal.

But reactions to his reforms have reached emotional extremes in this rural farming area, where white residents particularly resent his invitation to the civil-rights investigators and the media attention that followed them to Calhoun County.

"I don't think anyone is more disliked here than Dr. Cherubini," said Richard West, a white businessman and a former member of the local school board. "At the rate we're going, we'll be back to the 60's with whites in private schools."

A current school board member, Julian Holder, who is black, countered: "Something had to be done, and [Mr. Cherubini] took action." Mr. Holder said the tracking system consigned black students to less challenging classes and low expectations.

Black and white residents do agree on one thing: The recent developments have strained relations between the groups, which had been largely genteel but distant.

Continued on Page 13

Faces on Education Committees To Remain Much the Same

Continued from Page 26

Democratic incumbents, many of whom were financially backed by

ELECTION '94

education groups, several lawmakers who have traditionally supported education will return for the 104th Congress.

Most notably, Massachusetts voters extended the 32-year Capitol Hill career of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, a Democrat who had trailed in early polls.

Republican W. Mitt Romney argued in part that the 62-year-old liberal incumbent had been in Washington too long. But Massachusetts, a liberal stronghold, retained Senator Kennedy by a 17-point margin.

"Senator Kennedy really performed well in his debates; that was probably the turning point," said Howard J. Gold, a professor of government at Smith College in Northampton, Mass.

Senator Kennedy will lose his chairmanship of the Labor and Human Resources Committee, probably to Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan. Still, Mr. Gold said his status within party ranks may be enhanced by the loss of so many Democrats.

Kildee Wins a Squeaker

Sen. James M. Jeffords, R-Vt., also faced a tight race, but will return—and will probably be the chairman of the Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee.

Other races that had been watched carefully by education advocates were those of two senior members of the House Labor and Education Committee who were considered vulnerable.

Returns from Michigan's 9th Congressional District see-sawed for hours before Rep. Dale E. Kildee, a Democrat, was pronounced a four-percentage-point winner over Republican Meagan O'Neil.

Mr. Kildee was the chairman of the House Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education Subcommittee and will likely return as its ranking minority member.

Rep. Pat Williams, D-Mont., won his statewide seat by seven percentage points over Republican challenger Cy Jamison, and may take the ranking-Democrat slot on the Postsecondary Education Subcommittee.

Two more junior members who were considered vulnerable won re-election by large margins: Rep. Lynn Woolsey, D-Calif., and Eliot L. Engel, D-N.Y.

Realigned Congress Likely To Rethink Federal Role in Restructuring Schools

Continued from Page 1

members in the Senate and at least 228 members in the House. A few House seats were undecided late last week.

In other power shifts on committees, Sen. Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan., is slated to chair the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee; Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa., will likely become the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education; and Rep. John Porter, R-Ill., will probably become the chairman of the counterpart House appropriations panel.

Such assignments are subject to votes when the House and Senate G.O.P. caucuses meet next month.

Prognosticators had long foreseen G.O.P. gains in last week's midterm elections, but few had expected the breadth of the Republican victory. In the 103rd Congress, Democrats controlled both chambers, with 56 members in the 100-member Senate and 256 members in the 435-member House.

"We've re-created politics in Washington with this election," said Charles O. Jones, a visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank.

Most notably, he said, the examination of federal programs that Mr. Goodling suggested is likely to occur in many areas.

Tied to that, Mr. Jones said, will be internal reforms—revamping the committee structure and applying federal laws to Congress itself, for example—that some Republicans campaigned on.

President Clinton also was elected on such a theme, he said, but failed to carry through.

"That's a really big message from this election," Mr. Jones said.

Most policy implications, however, are unclear, he said.

"Following an election like this, you can't automatically say what's going to happen," Mr. Jones said. "All the connectors in policymaking between the executive and Congress have come loose, and they need to be plugged in again."

Pledges of Cooperation

President Clinton took partial blame for his party's losses; and pledged to work with Republicans

"What I think they [the voters] said is they still don't like what they see when they watch us working here," the President said at a news conference. "They still haven't felt the positive results of things that have been done here that they agree with when they hear about them."

Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., who is expected to be the next Speaker of the House, and Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., the likely Senate majority leader, also pledged cooperation.

So did Administration officials, who noted that the spate of education bills passed over the last two years all received some measure of bipartisan support.

In addition, the Republicans who are in line to chair education panels are considered moderates. *(See related story, this page.)*

But observers say Republicans will likely attempt to advance such controversial proposals as programs allowing parents to use public funding to pay private school tuition and efforts to support privatization in schools.

Moreover, the social issues that caused so much controversy during consideration of education bills this year—such as school prayer and sex education—will likely surface again with more force.

"The social issues are high-profile things," said Edward R. Kealy, the director of federal relations for the National School Boards Association, adding that Republicans "may want to move them" early in the session.

Indeed, *The Washington Post* reported last week that Mr. Gingrich had pledged a House vote by next July on a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in public schools.

Shifting Tactics

While Democrats have for years used the powers of the majority party to stifle such proposals procedurally, the new political climate could turn the tables and force them to turn to weapons of the minority, such as Senate filibusters. The Republicans may also force Mr. Clinton to veto education bills.

Many education advocates also fear the realignment's implications for the budget process, as Republicans have historically favored a high level of defense funding and

cuts in domestic spending.

However, Mr. Jeffords, who has proposed adding 1 percent of the federal budget annually to education programs, said he would continue to push for increased education spending—as long as the programs withstand scrutiny.

"The question is: Are we serious about Goals 2000? And if we're serious about it," the school-reform strategy should receive sufficient financial support, he said.

Mr. Goodling's effort to raise that sort of question would come just months after the enactment of a series of bills—chiefly the Goals 2000: Educate America Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which reauthorizes most K-12 programs—that were designed as catalysts for standards-driven school reforms at the state and local levels.

The Clinton Administration and other proponents see the bills as bipartisan efforts to make the federal government a partner in reform. But opponents—as well as some Republicans who supported the bills—say the measures could lead to the federal government's usurping local control.

Mr. Goodling said he plans to review education laws to insure that state and local governments have flexibility in how they spend federal money, that the laws do not impose excessive federal mandates, and that they support high-quality programs.

"You can be assured that we will make very, very sure that [standards-setting provisions] are not mandates," said Mr. Goodling.

Mr. Goodling said he would also like to revisit the Administration's direct-lending program, under which the government makes college loans directly to students rather than through private lenders, and Title I of the E.S.E.A., which includes a funding formula Mr. Goodling is unhappy with.

"There's going to be a heck of a lot to do, and if we can improve any of the laws in any major ways, that will be great," said Undersecretary of Education Marshall S. Smith.

But if Congress seeks to make changes to the E.S.E.A. so soon after reauthorization, Mr. Smith said, "you end up jerking around a lot of local schools and states."

Likely Committee Leaders

With the Republican takeover of the Senate and House in last week's midterm elections, education-related committees and subcommittees will have new chairmen and ranking minority members in the 104th Congress. Though the positions will be determined when party caucuses meet next month, the list below shows the lawmakers with the most seniority and thus the most likely chance of assuming a chairmanship or ranking membership. New rules for House Republicans will prevent them from chairing more than one committee or subcommittee.

Senate Panels

Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education
Chairman: Arlen Specter, R-Pa.
Ranking member: Tom Harkin, D-Iowa

Budget Committee
Chairman: Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M.
Ranking member: Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C.

Labor and Human Resources Committee
Chairman: Nancy Landon Kassebaum, R-Kan.
Ranking member: Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.

Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Children, Families, Drugs, and Alcoholism
Chairman: Daniel R. Coats, R-Ind.
Ranking member: Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn.

Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities
Chairman: James M. Jeffords, R-Vt.
Ranking member: Claiborne Pell, D-R.I.

Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Employment and Productivity
Chairman: Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.
Ranking member: Paul Simon, D-Ill.

Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Disability Policy
Chairman: Orrin Hatch, R-Utah
Ranking member: Tom Harkin, D-Iowa

House Panels

Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Ser and Education
Chairman: John Porter, R-Ill.
Ranking member: David R. Obey, D-Wis.

Budget Committee
Chairman: John R. Kasich, R-Ohio
Ranking member: Martin Olav Sabo, D-Minn.

Education and Labor Committee
Chairman: Bill Goodling, R-Pa.
Ranking member: William L. Clay, D-Mo.

Education and Labor Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education
Chairman: Mr. Goodling has seniority, but rules require a different chairman.
Ranking member: Dale E. Kildee, D-Mich.

Education and Labor Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education and Training
Chairman: Tom Petri, R-Wis.
Ranking member: Pat Williams, D-Mont.

Education and Labor Subcommittee on Select Education and Civil Rights
Chairman: Cass Ballenger, R-N.C.
Ranking member: Major R. Owens, D-N.Y.

The Rainmakers

parents for assistance. Families access to medical services has improved. And, the project has been instrumental in addressing community problems such as poverty, discrimination, housing displacement, hunger, and homelessness.

The Referral and Information Network (R.A.I.N.) is a central component of the Fisher-Fienberg program. Parents who become part of the network receive 40 hours of training: 20 hours learning how to work with the various service agencies, and 20 visiting families in the community to provide assistance and learn about concerns. The RAINMAKERS earn a small stipend of $40 weekly for eight hours of work per week; most volunteer additional hours. Many have gotten jobs in the school as teacher's aides.

A core group of 40 of these parents has also established a significant presence in the community, working against the displacement of poor families and gaining support from housing officials and philanthropists to establish more low-rent housing. They have arranged for an on-site office for Legal Services of Greater Miami to advise families on immigration, housing and other legal issues. And, they've taken on projects such as: earning child-care credentials and identifying sites for daycare facilities; setting up clothing and food pantries; and establishing a job bank.

The Healthy Learners' consortium, which meets monthly, brings parents, program, school, and community representatives together. Even parents with limited English feel increasingly empowered to voice their concerns. At a meeting earlier this year, for example, the agenda included a personal statement by the city's mayor on the city's commitment to family values and community care issues, and a reassurance that the efforts being made by the project and the parent RAINMAKERS were not going unnoticed by the city. A school counselor reported on the efforts to find space in the community to locate portable classrooms for daycare purposes; representatives from the Absenteeism Home Intervention team reported that they were still making home visits based on school referrals and asked the principal to make sure faculty referred children to them as soon as they had three consecutive absences; and there was an update on the progress being made to have a traffic light installed on a busy street that the students cross each day.

Improved lines of communication and sensitivity to the needs of parents have continued to bring about changes in the ways services are provided. Tania Alameda points out that the idea of services being "consumer-driven" was not initially familiar to many of the service agencies. She cites an example of one service agency that had proven to be less sensitive to parental needs than initially anticipated. Appointments were often scheduled in a manner that required parents to spend most of the day at the agency, and staff members' anonymity and lack of cultural awareness created barriers for the parents. "When the issue was raised at one of our public meetings of the consortium, the agency was able to hear it. As a result, they provided cultural training for their employees, changed their appointments system and gave their staff members nametags."

RAINMAKERS: The Parents' Perspective

Denise Gomez and Teresa Martiato have been active participants in the Healthy Learners' Project and the RAINMAKERS program from its inception. Both have taken the required preparatory courses that allow them to work both inside the school and in outreach capacities throughout the community on behalf of other families.

Denise Gomez, a single mother of two girls, once coped with a school system that provided no coordinated educational or therapeutic help for one of her daughters, who has special needs. Now, through the Healthy Learners' Project, her daughter gets all the necessary therapy and special education she requires. And Gomez serves as the coordinator for the R.A.I.N. Room, which parent volunteers use as homebase for linking with social service agencies in town.

Teresa Martiato began volunteering at Fienberg-Fisher Elementary School when the oldest of her three children was in kindergarten; she wanted to be close to him. Today, she's an active community leader on housing issues. She is president of the RAINMAKER Board, and has been appointed to the board of directors of the Miami Beach Development Corporation and a community health clinic. Martiato is employed full-time as a parent aide at the Fienberg-Fisher Elementary School.

Upon moving to Miami Beach, Gomez realized that she would have to learn about the schools in order to ensure that her daughter's needs would be met. She got involved with the Healthy Learners' Project, "almost at the ground level," soon after Fienberg-Fisher received the initial program grant. She remembers the initial meetings where parents voiced their fears and concerns. She was part of the core group of RAINMAKER parents who received the required 40 hours of training.

Gomez says that of her first tasks was to go door-to-door throughout the neighborhood with a

Teresa Martiato, a RAINMAKER parent says, "This project has given power to the Latino community. Before, if a landlord gave them an eviction notice, the parents didn't know their legal rights. Now they don't get mistreated. The authorities hear us when we speak."

questionnaire, getting parents' opinions on how the community could be improved. "Knowing what I went through as a parent, I felt that if I could help just one other parent, that would be enough," she says now, in explaining why she decided to get involved in the project.

In her referral capacity, Gomez does all the footwork to link families with the area's social services, including visiting the agencies and letting them know the families' needs. She and the other parents who volunteer in the R.A.I.N. Room do intake interviews, make initial assessments, help parents set goals and make appropriate referrals for families, based on their needs. She believes that the Healthy Learners' Project has been instrumental in breaking down some of the barriers that exist for families in the community. "So many of the parents in the area have no legal status; they don't know the language; they're afraid to get help for their children. This program helps them realize that they're not alone."

She's aware that the illegal status of many families poses challenges for them, and for the schools as well. "They're the ones whose children don't come to school, whose children don't get to the doctor or have shoes. They may be living at the poverty level, even with both parents working. So they have to leave their children alone; they think there's no one to help them, or even to help their children with homework. We try to help them understand that what we're doing has nothing to do with immigration. If we can get them [connected] to the agencies that provide assistance, it can alleviate stress and frustration for many of them."

The word "empowerment" crops up frequently when Gomez and Martiato speak about the benefits of the Healthy Learners' Project. Martiato points out that the project addresses parents' desires to be involved in their children's schools and to have some say about what happens in their community. "I always felt that they needed a voice—with the legislature, with the Board of Education—but the authorities weren't paying attention. This is a poor community, and when you have no money, authorities don't listen. This project has given power to the Latino community. Before, if a landlord gave them an eviction notice, the parents didn't know their legal rights. Now they don't get mistreated. The authorities hear us when we speak."

Martiato says that the change in attitudes has resulted in better treatment of parents and in the creation of new programs to meet their needs. She names the HeadStart program at Fienberg-Fisher and the project's Homework Club as just two of the benefits that have been realized since the Healthy Learners' Project began. Her own involvement in the community and as a RAINMAKER parent makes the Homework Club especially advantageous. "I don't always have time to check my own kids' homework, so they go there for help; about 130 kids participate and the parents work closely with the teachers."

Gomez says that being involved as a RAINMAKER has boosted her self-esteem. "I know I count and can do something to control my own life," she says. She believes the community has become friendlier, because parents now have the opportunity to get to know one another. They also realize there's a place they can go where they won't feel belittled or fearful of the authorities. "It's like they know that there's support for them."

In describing her own sense of empowerment, Martiato mentions her interest in housing issues. Once threatened with eviction from her apartment, she was encouraged to file a lawsuit against the city to highlight the crisis in availability of affordable housing. Today, she is a recognized community leader, with a great deal of knowledge on the problems of the schools, parks, and housing developments. Until she began working full-time at the school, she was being considered for an internship in the Mayor's office. Martiato is currently involved in discussions with the Housing Authority to develop more low-income housing in the area. "It may take time," she says, "but they're beginning to pay attention."

"One of Denise Gomez' first tasks was to go door-to-door throughout the neighborhood with a questionnaire getting parents' opinions on how the community could be improved."

When asked what advice she would give to people planning a new school-linked community program, Denise Gomez says she'd stress the importance of creating an environment that minimizes the awe parents feel for the schools. That awe often prevents them from approaching the schools with questions or concerns about their children. An on-site program like the Healthy Learners' Project can let parents know they're welcome and make the schools feel more accessible. Gomez also recognizes that schools may initially feel threatened by a program that encourages parental involvement; programs must make sure to keep lines of communication open at every step in the process, in order to reassure the school that the program and the parents who get involved are there to serve the needs of the school and its teachers.

Teresa Martiato, asked the same question, says that she'd encourage a program to focus initially on engaging the interest and participation of those parents who are already actively volunteering in the schools. She suggests a low-key approach that doesn't insist on parental involvement because even if you reassure them that they have nothing to fear from the authorities, some parents will be initially reluctant. "Let them stay where they are," says Martiato, "because eventually more parents are going to want to be involved than you anticipated."

Both women are convinced of the value of Healthy Learners'. In fact, Denise Gomez says that if she has to move to a new area when her daughter enters middle school, she'll "implement a [parent involvement] program myself." And Teresa Martiato says that a supportive program like this can help preserve families by alleviating some of the stress of being poor. That, she says, is a "stress that can break families apart."

Harold A. Richman

DRAFT DRAFT

The Issue of Governance in Neighborhood-Based Initiatives

by

Robert J. Chaskin
and
Sunil Garg

December 1994

THE CHAPIN HALL CENTER FOR CHILDREN
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1155 East Sixtieth Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

INTRODUCTION

The current, renewed interest in community-based approaches to social reform has spawned a significant number of initiatives in recent years. While their programmatic focus varies--ranging from service provision and coordination to housing and economic development to "comprehensive" development and attempts at broad "systems reform"--they share some central assumptions about the possibilities for promoting social change, the failure of categorical approaches to problem solving, and the nature of local communities and their potential role in driving change.

Although in many cases government agencies and finances play a role in supporting these initiatives, much of the activity is being spearheaded by private philanthropies and acted on by private and nonprofit organizations and agencies. Often, it has been private foundations that have driven the conceptual development and initial organization of these initiatives, including pulling together the participants at the local level to guide program development and implementation. These participants, most often professionals representing agencies and organizations in the private sector, tend to be organized in some way as a formal governing mechanism for each initiative. Frequently, participants in this governing structure will also include residents of the target area as well as some representatives of local government.

The purpose of this paper is to consider the nature of these emerging neighborhood governance structures and to highlight some issues that we believe would benefit from further investigation. First, we will briefly explore the assumptions and rationale for neighborhood governance that seem, in part, to drive these initiatives. Second, we will outline some central issues of concern regarding the relationship of neighborhood governance to existing governmental structures and mechanisms. Third, we will explore the intent, structure, and operation of an illustrative set of current initiatives' neighborhood governance entities in light of these issues. Finally, we will review the issues that we believe require further attention and make some recommendations for further action.

ASSUMPTIONS AND RATIONALE FOR NEIGHBORHOOD GOVERNANCE

The rationale for promoting social change through local governance seems to stem from two, usually connected, convictions. The first concerns a belief in the centrality of the democratic process. While this conviction is often expressed as an ethical imperative, arguments supporting it invariably stress its ultimate pragmatism as well as its essential morality. At the center of this belief is the notion that the design and implementation of fair and effective policies and programs must be informed by and developed with reference to the concerns, needs, and priorities of the individuals and families they will affect. This conviction stresses the need for the devolution of authority to the local level and the importance of the role of citizens in an active democratic process.

The second conviction is essentially pragmatic. It is the belief that centralized, categorical approaches to social change and service provision have failed, and that a more connected, coordinated, and responsive approach is needed to promote long-term, sustainable change.

Democracy and local governance

Arguments for promoting social change through democratic, participatory means incorporate both ethical and practical dimensions. Ethically, to incorporate citizen participation in policymaking and program

DRAFT

delivery is to take seriously the rights and responsibilities of citizens to have some control over policies that will have an impact on their lives (Barber 1984). Practically, involving citizens in planning and implementing practices that affect them promotes better (i.e., more connected, directed, and appreciated) policies. By better calibrating policies and programs to the needs and priorities of citizens, such activity produces both more competent programming and greater public confidence in the designers and providers of such programs (Valelly 1993).

Such involvement is seen as most useful at the *neighborhood level* because of the immediacy and accessibility of the local community in people's lives. The neighborhood is seen as both the primary context (beyond the household) for family life and a focus of many informal relationships and activities. In addition, it often serves as the place of provision for many goods and services, and as the reference point from which access to others is defined. The neighborhood can thus be seen as a "mediating institution," operating between individuals and the structures and institutions of the larger society. Because of its ubiquity and proximity to many of the activities of daily life, the neighborhood as mediating institution is the place "within the formal framework of democratic polity. . . that most people have, in the most exact sense, a political will" (Berger and Neuhaus 1977, 42).

Within this neighborhood focus, then, the ethical dimension of the argument concerns a belief in *local rights*; the practical dimension includes convictions regarding *local knowledge* and *local power*.

Local rights. That individuals have the right to a meaningful voice regarding issues that affect them is a basic tenet of American democracy. Although the achievement of equality and freedom are often frustrated, "democracy is the only political system which permits constant change and the freedom of individual political action which it requires. . . . Hence it is the potential for freedom, equality, justice, security, risk-sharing, and self-esteem, etcetera, rather than the actuality which legitimates American democracy"

(Binder 1986, 7). This potential can only be realized through respect for and support of individuals' ability to make choices and take control of their own lives, and it is this belief that forms the basis for accepting local rights as a prerequisite for social action.

Local knowledge. The focus on local knowledge stems from the belief that local people understand the needs, opportunities, priorities, and special dynamics at work in their neighborhood in ways that professional nonresidents attempting to implement planned change do not. Even if the identification of needs does not differ (service providers and employed mothers both recognizing the need for accessible child care, for example), residents' knowledge may provide important insight into how the provision of services should be carried out, or where a certain facility should be placed. For example, Linda Burton (1991) describes the link between drug-trafficking schedules and child care strategies in one urban neighborhood. Three distinct shifts of drug activity directly determine the availability of public space to neighborhood families at different times of day, and govern to this extent how children are cared for. Knowledge of such dynamics could substantially influence the planning and provision of services in the neighborhood.

Local power. The issue of local power has at least two dimensions. The first concerns *political power*. In this dimension the notions of knowledge and rights are organized into meaningful political channels. Through the vote, through lobbying, through protest, through advisory councils, through operational partnership, power-sharing, or outright control of the programs or institutions that influence neighborhood life, representatives from the local citizenry press for action based on their knowledge, perspectives, and priorities.

The second dimension is one of *capacity*. By engaging in policy planning, local citizens further develop the skills, experience, connections, and will to both plan and implement local policies, projects, and programs. Under this assumption, local leadership is developed and the structure of opportunity is changed such that both local institutions and individuals are better able to perform on their own behalf. In this way, local participatory structures can operate like Tocqueville's schools of democracy: "they put [liberty] within the people's reach; they teach people to appreciate its peaceful enjoyment and accustom them to make use of it" (Tocqueville 1988 [1966], 63).

Improving service delivery: coordination and connection

The second rationale for promoting social change through local governance concerns the limitations of a centralized system of categorical responses to individual needs and the inability of such a system to respond adequately to the interrelated sets of needs and circumstances of individuals and families.

Arguments regarding the shortcomings of a deficit-driven, problem-oriented, categorical system of service delivery are legion (see, e.g., Schorr 1988; Gardner 1989; Levitan, Mangum and Pines 1989; Edelman and Radin 1990; Bruner 1991; Committee for Economic Development 1991). In essence, these arguments suggest that an atomistic approach to discrete problems has focused on symptoms rather than causes, and has therefore been unable to promote sustainable change. The complexity, inaccessibility, and lack of coordination among services has led to frustration on the part of individuals in need, and to the perpetuation of a client-provider system in which those seeking help are moved powerlessly through a labyrinth of bureaucratic prerequisites and protocols. This is particularly true for families with multiple needs and limited resources, circumstances that are often associated.[1] By failing to address the interrelationships among needs

[1] For example, one report suggests that while nearly 93 percent of middle class families face one or fewer "obstacles to self-sufficiency" (joblessness, poor education, poor housing, ill health, etc.), 81 percent of families in poverty face two or more such obstacles, and over half face three or more (Levitan, Mangum, and Pines 1989).

and circumstances, categorical approaches have failed to address *systemic* inadequacies or build the capacity among individuals for addressing related needs and achieving broader goals.

Attempts to address such fragmentation are not new, though there has been an ongoing tension between periodic efforts at coordination and a *de facto* trend toward specialization (Halpern 1991). Often, reform attempts that seek to increase coordination of strategies focus on the local community--usually defined as a town, village, or neighborhood within a larger city--as the unit of action. Since the late nineteenth century, for example, settlement houses provided a range of services under a single roof in a number of urban neighborhoods; the early twentieth century saw the rise of the community center movement (in which public schools were targeted for development as neighborhood centers) and the "social unit" experiments (in which neighborhoods were organized--block by block--to define needs and coordinate solutions); the 1960s supported such community-based service coordination initiatives as the Gray Areas projects of the Ford Foundation and the Johnson administration's War on Poverty programs; and many Community Development Corporations (CDCs) seek to provide housing, social services, and economic development activities within geographically defined neighborhoods (Miller 1981; Melvin 1987; Fisher 1981; Ford Foundation 1964; Marris and Rein 1982 [1967]; Ford Foundation 1973).

One reason the local community (often, in particular, the *neighborhood*) is chosen as the unit of action for service coordination and other "comprehensive" strategies is because it is seen as the place where the needs and circumstances of individual residents and families most clearly come together. In programmatic terms, the neighborhood is therefore viewed as the right locus for the confluence of categorical programs and funding streams; the place where categorical programs and problems fit together (Chaskin 1994).

If the neighborhood or local community is, in fact, an appropriate unit of analysis and action for coordinating services or focusing activities toward "comprehensive" reform, the structure of any given neighborhood does not necessarily provide a clear mechanism for promoting such activities. For the most part, although neighborhoods may, through unofficial arrangements and the activities of discrete organizations, carry on a number of political functions (including the production of collective or public goods), neighborhoods are not administrative units: they are "neither politically nor administratively independent" (Crenson 1983; Taub 1990). It is for this reason that many of the current initiatives seeking to promote the coordination of services or the fostering of comprehensive change at the neighborhood level tend to seek out or (more often) create a formal structure of governance at the local level. Governance, in this way, is meant to provide a mechanism to promote and facilitate citizen participation in planning and decisionmaking, to connect such planning to the systems and institutions that develop policy and provide services, and to bring to bear in a more cohesive way the various categorical funding streams necessary to fund social programs and development activities. Governance structures are thus created to link "communication, information sharing, and planning functions . . . with more authoritative efforts to redirect financing and assess system performance" (Center for the Study of Social Policy 1991).

GOVERNANCE AND GOVERNMENT: ISSUES OF CONCERN

While the philosophical underpinnings and practical rationale for the development of neighborhood governance entities are clear, several issues regarding their potential structure and operation within the context of local government are worth examining. Three issues seem particularly important: (1) the nature of the relationship between neighborhood governance structures and local government; (2) the nature of representation and issues of legitimacy and connection; and (3) the question of long-term viability.

Neighborhood initiatives and neighborhood governance: roles and relationships

Part of the impetus behind the development of private, localized approaches to problem solving and the development of neighborhood governance structures has been the perceived inability of government to resolve particular problems. Thus, grassroots movements at the local level are said to have emerged "because of the failures of both representative democracy and governmentally mandated citizen participation to reflect the needs of low- and moderate-income people" (Perlman 1978), and formal approaches to coordinating service delivery at the local level is propelled both by the often insignificant role municipal governments play in service delivery and by the lack of governmental authority at the municipal level to bring categorical funding streams together (Center for the Study of Social Policy 1991).

In fact, the roles that local governments play in the provision of public goods and services differ tremendously across cities and regions. Although municipal governments are generally responsible for basic "housekeeping functions" such as sanitation, police and fire protection, and mass transportation, some may also play a role in the delivery of a broader array of services, including the management of health, welfare, and educational systems (Peterson 1981). Differences in the division of labor and responsibility between states, counties, and cities are further complicated by an increasing tendency for governments to foster the privatization of such activities through contracting with nonprofit service organizations. In addition to the increased fragmentation such practices may cause, contracting may have serious implications for the accountability of government to its citizens with regard to program delivery, and for the ability of private nonprofits to play a constructive advocacy role. Thus, because responsibility for service delivery is increasingly based with private agencies, the link of accountability between citizens and government for the delivery of such services is diffused. Further, as contracting arrangements increase, nonprofits become more and more a part of the government's social service system--dependent on it for revenue, destabilized by cutbacks, with an increasing exchange of personnel between the public and private sectors--and are less able to play a role as political advocates for change in government policy and practice (Rathgeb Smith 1993).

Neighborhood governance structures can thus be seen as attempting to address these ambiguities and discontinuities by providing additional or alternative mechanisms to guide planning and promote the coordination and delivery of services and the implementation of other strategies at the local level. Yet the nature of these structures and their relationship to formal government may be unclear.

At least four distinct possibilities present themselves. First, neighborhood governance entities may be developed as *parallel* institutions to local government, seeking to provide an alternative mechanism for the development and provision of public goods and services currently the responsibility of local government. Second, neighborhood governance entities may be developed as *separate but complementary* institutions to local government, operating independently but with the intent to plan for and provide goods and services that are beyond the purview of local government. Third, they might be developed as entities *incorporated into* local government as formal extensions of municipal mechanisms of representation and action. Fourth, neighborhood governance may be developed *in opposition* to local government, as an advocacy mechanism to influence policymaking, resource allocation, and service delivery. Each of these general approaches has implications for the likely effectiveness, legitimacy, and long term viability of the governance entity being developed.

Participation, legitimacy, and connection

Neighborhood governance is attractive from one point of view because of its proximity to the people to be affected by policy; the neighborhood offers the "possibility of face-to-face interaction, which lies at the heart of the theory of participatory democracy" (Berry, Portney and Thomson 1993). How this participation is structured, however, will make a substantial difference in the degree to which such structures can be seen as connected to and acting on behalf of the interests of "the community."

Issues of legitimacy and citizen participation have long been central to the development and implementation of community- and neighborhood-based initiatives. In the early part of the twentieth century, for example, the social unit experiment in Cincinnati established representative councils in neighborhoods of approximately 12,000 people. A Citizens Council, made up of one representative from each block in the neighborhood, determined policy for the social unit. These representatives were elected by the block-level organization (the "Council of Neighbors"), thus providing representation on a block-by-block basis (Betten and Austin 1977; Melvin 1987).

In the 1960s, the Community Action Program (CAP), which began with a central focus on the coordination of services at the local level, quickly became focused on the issue of citizen participation, losing sight of its original intent almost entirely (Peterson and Greenstone, 1977). Participation in CAP took several forms. Citizens sometimes acted as voting members of the local policymaking group, as advisors to such a group, through direct social action (ranging from self-help to participation in community corporations to advocacy and protest), or through use of and employment in Program projects (Kramer 1969). These modes of participation provided for a range of representational efficacy and degrees of power sharing, from essential nonparticipation or "tokenism" (e.g., by informing citizens of their rights and options without providing channels for feedback) to modes of participation that lead to degrees of genuine citizen power through partnership on joint policy boards, by delegating power, or through outright citizen control (Arnstein 1969). Recruitment strategies under the Community Action Program, however, while providing access and political legitimacy to at least some previously unempowered target area residents, often "screened out the hard-core poor and resulted in a 'creaming' process whereby previously affiliated residents with a strong ethnic identification prevailed in a pseudodemocratic system with very low accountability to an amorphous electorate" (Kramer 1969, 261).

But the issue of legitimacy includes both the question of adequate representation *and its auspice*. Municipalities, after all, are representational democracies that govern by mandate determined through electoral processes. Although representation of interests may well be uneven (lower income people and minorities often voting less frequently and being underrepresented in government) and different parts of the system may have distinctive methods for decisionmaking and conflict resolution (from city council elections to school board caucuses to executive appointment in departments of parks and sanitation, for example), municipal government may insist on its status as the formally legitimized mechanism for citizen representation. Thus, when Community Action Agencies were organized by federal mandate without the inclusion or cooperation of local government (eliding the issue of local jurisdiction), CAP met with tremendous resistance from city governments (as well as the "hostility of existing agencies"), eventually forcing a redefinition of the governance structure to diminish the role of citizens and yield to the authority of local government (Kravitz and Kolodner 1969; Kramer 1969; Morone 1990).

Recently, several cities have promoted neighborhood-based governance structures through variously constructed systems of neighborhood organizations connected to each other and to city hall. Neighborhood representatives are elected and serve principally to advise and negotiate on the allocation of funds and the delivery of services, and in many cases seem to have increased the influence of neighborhood associations in informing the cities' agendas (Berry, Portney, and Thomson 1993). Similarly, a planned project in Austin, Texas will build a two-tiered governance structure in which neighborhood residents are to be elected by their neighbors to serve on Neighborhood Development Committees, each of which will have jurisdiction over resource allocation for its neighborhood. These residents can select representatives from the city, school, or service sectors to serve with them, and will in addition serve on a Coordinating Council along with public sector officials to set policy and allocate resources for projects that cross individual neighborhood interests. At both levels, residents will maintain a majority of the seats (Strategic Partnerships for Urban Revitalization [n.d.]).

In other instances, where citizen participation was sought in an advisory (rather than a governing) capacity, citizen panels have been formed by drawing a stratified, random sample of residents to advise policymakers on the viability of proposed projects (Crosby, Kelly and Schaefer 1986; Kathlene and Martin 1991).

Often, however, governance structures created at the neighborhood level address the need for neighborhood representation neither through electoral processes nor statistical sampling. Instead, they rely a great deal on existing community-based and community-representing organizations (CBOs and CROs), which are believed to be embedded institutions with mechanisms for inclusion and communication that can streamline the representation of neighborhood interests. While this may be the case, sometimes the establishment of these organizations, rather than emerging as grassroots responses to local needs, were fostered or stimulated by outside organizations (such as government and corporations) in need of information, support, or legitimation in the neighborhood (Taub et al. 1977). And regardless of their origins, in operation they often, over time, succumb to the "iron law of oligarchy" (Michels 1949 [1915]); they are led by "local elites" who are rarely elected and operate with few mechanisms of communication with or accountability to the residents at large (Cnaan 1991; Bolduc 1980). When seeking to include resident representation unaffiliated with these more formal indigenous structures ("grassroots" or "nontraditional" leaders), neighborhood governance structures may rely more on self-selection, or on "descriptive representation" than on democratic means.[2]

Long-term viability

The issue of the viability of neighborhood governance entities over the long term stems both from questions about the nature of the relationship between such structures and local government and from concerns regarding the nature of their representation, legitimacy, and connection to the neighborhood. It seems clear that, depending on how these relationships are developed, the establishment of neighborhood governance structures may engender conflict or cooperation (or both, or neither) with the government entities within whose jurisdiction an initiative falls, with organizations currently operating independently in the neighborhood, and with the residents themselves. Over the long term, the ultimate success of such structures may rely on the extent to which they (or what they leave behind) can foster cooperation with other organizations and the municipal, county, and state governmental units from which they ultimately must draw both jurisdiction and funds.

While many neighborhood-based initiatives are clearly conceived as long-term endeavors seeking sustainable, systemic change, the precise nature of this change and appropriate mechanisms to be put in place to ensure sustainability are often initially unspecified, underconsidered, or meant to be tested over time, developmentally. Again, several possibilities present themselves. Governance structures may, for example,

---

[2] Descriptive representation is described by Jenkins (1987) as a principle of leadership selection whereby "leaders proportionately correspond to certain demographic characteristics" of the neighborhood. Although he discusses models of representation within nonprofit organizational structures and not within neighborhood governance structures that may incorporate the participation of several such organizations, the notion of descriptive representation may hold true both for the leadership of formal neighborhood organizations (cf. Cnaan 1991) and for unaffiliated residents recruited to serve on neighborhood governance entities.

be temporary tools to foster and improve institutional collaboration among CBOs, service providers, and governmental agencies, and to promote responsiveness between these entities and the neighborhoods in which they work. Where this is the case, the outcome may be the creation of a set of strengthened institutions and sustainable relationships rather than a new local institution with formal responsibility for such coordination. Where successful, the long-term viability in this model will likely be vested in a strong voluntary sector working collaboratively and now better connected to (and therefore more influential with) the formal structures of power.

Neighborhood governance structures might also be conceived as pilot structures, ultimately to be incorporated into the formal structure of local government. Here the goal may be to create a layer of accountability below that currently provided by the structure of representative government in a given city, and to connect that layer of governance permanently to the processes of policy definition and resource allocation. Long-term viability in this model is based on the direct incorporation of local governance to the formal processes of governmental decisionmaking.

A third possibility is for neighborhood governance entities to stand as separate, formal structures of representation and action. Such structures may operate as complementary or in opposition to local government. In either case, the long-term viability of such structures (again, where successful) will most likely be vested in their perceived legitimacy as representatives of a constituency, which may include both neighborhood residents and neighborhood serving organizations, and/or in their proven capacity to effect change.

To better understand these issues, we turn now to a brief examination of the field.

NEIGHBORHOOD GOVERNANCE IN PRACTICE

Many current, community-based initiatives share the belief that neither grassroots approaches nor government and private sector "systems reform" will, in isolation of the other, adequately enhance the social, economic, and physical development of communities. Instead, these initiatives seek to strengthen neighborhoods by linking "top down" and "bottom up" approaches; they attempt to build on neighborhood strengths and participation through the establishment of neighborhood governance entities while simultaneously attempting to make government more responsive to these entities. This desire to converge bottom up and top down approaches influences both the *intent* of the neighborhood governance entities (i.e., their mission, roles, and responsibilities) and their *structure* (i.e., who will participate and how they are selected). The different structures and intents of these governance entities, in turn, result in varying relations with local government, including the extent to which government "transfers" certain responsibilities to these governance entities.

We selected for review five "comprehensive" initiatives that have been operating for at least three years. While no five initiatives can be strictly representative of the field as a whole, we believe those chosen to be particularly illustrative of the strategies and issues we seek to explore. Because they are comprehensive--seeking to address social, economic, and physical conditions together in a neighborhood--they will likely encounter the issues concerning governance, participation, and systems reform that might be encountered in programs more narrowly defined. In addition, these initiatives, taken together, represent a broad range in the nature, breadth, and continuance of government involvement with the neighborhood governance entities--from government sponsorship of these entities, to partnership with them, to maintaining some form of representation on them, to no formal involvement at all.

At one end of the spectrum of government involvement is the Neighborhood-Based Alliance (NBA), which is a product of state government legislation. NBA operates in 27 sites throughout the State of New York. At the other end of the spectrum is the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI), a single-site initiative operating in Roxbury, Massachusetts. Currently, DSNI has no formal government involvement in their operations. Between these two initiatives rest three others with varying levels of government responsibility. Community Building in Partnership, Inc. (CBP), a single-site initiative in Maryland, results from a partnership between the Enterprise Foundation, the Baltimore City government, and representatives from the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood who were initially selected by the Mayor of Baltimore. Agenda for Children Tomorrow (ACT), with five sites in New York City, encourages but does not require the participation of local government agencies on the neighborhood governance entities. In addition to the financial support ACT receives from the Tides Foundation, it receives in-kind support from the New York City Mayor's office, and high-level city officials sit on ACT's Oversight Committee. Finally, the Neighborhood Family Initiative (NFI), sponsored by the Ford Foundation and administered through the community foundations in Detroit, Hartford, Memphis and Milwaukee, involves local government representatives on each of the neighborhood collaboratives, but does not specify the nature of their role nor the level of their involvement.

Our review of these initiatives' neighborhood governance entities focused on three elements: (1) their mission, roles, and responsibilities; (2) their organizational structure, membership, and operations; and (3) their projected long-term development.

Mission, roles, and responsibilities of neighborhood governance entities

While the governance structures created under all these initiatives have been conceived of as mechanisms to promote sustainable, systemic change, the intent and responsibilities of the neighborhood governance entities differ somewhat across initiatives. Much of the difference results from the nature of the relationship between the governance entities and government anticipated by the initiatives, both in the short- and long-term.

Planning. The principal responsibility of most neighborhood governance entities has been to develop a focused plan that defines strategic approaches to meeting the needs of the neighborhood and attempts to overcome the barriers of fragmented and categorical funding streams and service delivery practices. Planning generally has involved two tasks: (1) a needs assessment, identifying and prioritizing the issues and concerns most immediate to the neighborhood, and (2) a capacity assessment, identifying available strengths and resources. Under some initiatives, the sponsor has established certain particular requirements of the plan. For example, the Neighborhood Advisory Councils under NBA must ensure, as an initial step, the provision of one of two "core services" in the neighborhood, either crisis intervention or case management.

Once developed, the plans serve as guiding documents, in essence laying out the primary objectives of the neighborhood governance entity and its supporting strategies. The plans (generally covering a one- to five-year time-period) have consumed the majority of the neighborhood governance entities' energy and time during its first couple of years of operation, and will continue to be revised beyond the defined "planning stage."

Coordinating. To facilitate the realization of its plan's primary objectives, neighborhood governance entities typically are charged with the responsibility to coordinate the efforts of appropriate service institutions and organizations. Many times this involves identifying opportunities for cooperation and collaboration among participating members of the governance entity itself, as well as catalyzing important organizations and institutions, both within and outside the community, who may not be direct participants. The responsibility of coordination does not necessarily involve the allocation of funds by the neighborhood governance entities to implementing organizations; for the most part, they serve as a brokers for organizations and institutions to more effectively and efficiently access existing funding.

Implementing projects and programs. Generally, the neighborhood governance entities are not intended to become direct providers of services or producers of goods to neighborhood residents through the implementing of projects and/or programs. More commonly, they "incubate" projects and programs, developing and often managing their initial implementation. In the long-term, however, this responsibility is often transferred to an existing or a newly created organization formally structured to continue the implementation and operation over time. Community Building in Partnership, for example, initiated a corporation to manage the neighborhoods' housing and physical development, but this corporation now operates independently, with its own board of directors, staff, and funding. In the Neighborhood and Family Initiative, three models are developing across sites. The first model posits the neighborhood collaborative as both a generator and (at least in the short term) coordinator of development strategies, but not as an implementing body directly. Here, the collaborative spins off particular sets of implementation activities to newly formed organizations and coalitions of organizations, on the boards of which the collaborative maintains a significant voting presence. In the second model, the collaborative itself is to implement projects under its own aegis (one has incorporated as a nonprofit CBO to accomplish this), though often acting in partnership with other institutions and organizations. The third model sees the collaborative as a facilitator and grantmaker, funding existing organizations to implement collaborative-designed or approved projects and encouraging cooperation among them.

Allocating Resources. Whereas planning and coordinating by neighborhood governance entities may serve to better utilize and leverage the allocation of funds from private philanthropies and government, giving them the power to allocate such resources transfers an important responsibility of these institutions to the neighborhood level. Typically among the initiatives reviewed, funding received by the neighborhood governance entities from private foundations was non-categorical and could be allocated in support of programs and projects determined by the governance entity. However, funding from government for allocation by the neighborhood governance entities remained categorical. For example, under the Neighborhood-Based Alliance, twenty-four state agencies channel categorical funds to the state's Department of Social Services, who signs a contract with and transfers the money to the lead agency representing the Neighborhood Advisory Councils. The contract details the purposes of the funding and establishes performance standards. The NAC, in consultation with the lead agency, then subcontracts to other organizations and institutions in the neighborhood to conduct the needed programs and projects. The NACs role then is to use its understanding and knowledge of the neighborhood to better direct and coordinate categorical state agency funding. In the absence of the NACs, state agencies would have individually continued to fund organizations within the neighborhood through the standard request for proposal process.

Organizing. Initiatives reviewed generally desired to be inclusive and most therefore encouraged neighborhood governance entities to implement some form of organizing, particularly in relation to involving neighborhood residents. Some neighborhood governance entities employ formal organizing tactics. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, for example, has a staff member whose responsibility it is to organize, and Agenda for Children Tomorrow has begun working with institutions whose mission it is to organize, such as ACORN. For the most part, however, organizing neighborhood residents is not a principal responsibility of governance entities, and neighborhood outreach is often limited to mobilizing residents to attend meetings or activities, or sharing information through newsletters or flyers.

Advising and advocacy. Because of the involvement of government at some level under all but one of the initiatives reviewed, the neighborhood governance entities tend to maintain more of an advisory than an advocacy stance toward government. For example, the neighborhood governance entities under Agenda for Children Tomorrow work closely with ACT staff, who are housed in the Mayor's office. Through these interactions, ACT staff become informed of neighborhood concerns and needs, and they in turn attempt to work with city agencies to promote change within government. The neighborhood governance entities, however, do not advocate for this change. Among the initiatives reviewed, only DSNI, in which local government has no formal role in the initiative, plays a more traditional advocacy role in relation to local government.

The Structure of the Neighborhood Organizations

The universe of participants involved in these initiatives includes some combination of neighborhood residents, representatives of neighborhood organizations and institutions, funders, and representatives of local government. Initiatives have sought to structure the neighborhood governance entities to bring together, around the same table, a range of these participants in the hope of using their different experiences, fields of expertise, and access to resources to break down categorical thinking and bring to bear assets within and beyond the neighborhood. The nature of the representation and participation of these various participants, however, differs across (and sometimes within) initiatives, as does their influence on the operations of the governance entities.

Representation and Participation. To understand the nature of representation and participation of various participants in the initiatives reviewed, two components of the neighborhood governance entities were examined: (1) the composition of membership; and (2) the process of selection.

Membership. In defining the composition of the neighborhood governance entity, some initiatives have pursued a more formal approach than others. For example, the three partners involved in the development of Community Building in Partnership (the Enterprise Foundation, the Baltimore City government, and representatives of the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood) agreed to an eleven-member board with neighborhood representatives occupying six of those seats, local government representatives occupying four seats, and with one seat reserved for the Enterprise Foundation. Similarly, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative has defined the membership to its board of directors. The Riley Foundation, the principal sponsor of DSNI, initially recommended the composition of the board, but residents approved an alternative board with greater resident participation. Currently, the board consists of 12 community residents (with equal representation from the neighborhoods' four ethnic/racial groups) and representatives from the following organizations and institutions: five nonprofit agencies from health and human services fields; two community development corporations; two small businesses; two members from the broader business community; two religious community members; and two other members determined by the board. The board has allocated a seat each for a local government and a state government representative, but they have remained unoccupied.

Other initiatives have exercised less control in defining the composition of the neighborhood governance entities, offering general principles instead of blueprints. The composition of the neighborhood collaboratives under the Neighborhood and Family Initiative, for example, is guided by the Ford Foundation's charge to "bring together low-income neighborhood leaders and representatives of the public and private sectors." Membership for the collaboratives was guided by a simple matrix outlining three representational categories: (1) low-income residents ("grassroots leaders"); (2) neighborhood professionals and entrepreneurs ("bridge people"); and (3) representatives from public- and private-sector organizations beyond the neighborhood ("movers and shakers"). Similarly, the neighborhood governance entities under Agenda for Children Tomorrow are encouraged to include residents, nonprofits, business, and local government representatives, but the composition remains open for neighborhood interpretation. Finally, while NBA requires that *all* members of Neighborhood Advisory Councils be "from the neighborhood," it does not define the details of that composition nor the criteria for neighborhood membership.

Process. The process of selecting participants for the neighborhood governance entities also has differed across initiatives, with some initiatives choosing to implement a more formal process than others. The initial eleven member board of CBP, for example, was appointed by the mayor of Baltimore. This board has been charged with selecting up to ten additional members with two stipulations: (1) residents must maintain a majority on the board, and (2) the majority of the board must be mayoral appointees. In NFI, each local community foundation was granted the authority to select the membership of the neighborhood governance entities in accordance with the guiding principles regarding composition. Membership recruitment was performed initially through an iterative interviewing process, with individuals interviewed referring other possible members to NFI staff. Ongoing membership recruitment is now the responsibility of the collaboratives themselves, but much the same methods are used. DSNI, on the other hand, has adopted a more democratic process to its governance formation: board members are elected to two-year terms by the membership, with membership being open to any neighborhood resident for an annual fee of one dollar.

Other initiatives have been inclined to "allow the neighborhoods" to determine the form of their governance entities. The Neighborhood-Based Alliance, for example, circulates a request for proposals and asks neighborhoods to form their own coalitions in response.. These coalitions either build on existing relations between neighborhood agencies or are new agency alliances developed around the initiative. NBA's oversight committee of representatives from twenty-four state agencies must approve the proposed coalition, which then decides how to form the governing entity, the Neighborhood Advisory Council (NAC). Some have chosen to have lead agencies appoint or select members, while others have members elect representatives to the NAC.. Similar to NBA, ACT asks coalitions within neighborhoods to respond to the initiative. It does not, however, require the formation of an official governance entity.

Operations. Whether or not they are recognized as such, the neighborhood governance entities under the initiatives reviewed typically functioned like boards of directors. The full membership meets approximately once a month to set policy, and committees established to develop and guide particular policies meet more often. Committees generally involve the participation of governance members, and often include other neighborhood representatives (e.g., residents, business owners) and representatives from outside the neighborhood (e.g., service providers, government agencies) that do not sit on the formal governance board. In this way, committees become a mechanism for expanding involvement in the activities of the neighborhood governance entity to many different participants, and to increase access to differing resources.

Because members of the neighborhood governance entities and their respective committees are for the most part volunteers, staff hired by the initiatives tend to be the principal agents dedicated to carrying out the governance entities' plans. The size and roles of the paid staff varies across the initiatives. CBP, for example, has a staff of approximately thirty-five people, while DSNI has one consisting of about seven. Under NFI, NBA, and ACT, much of the responsibility in directing and implementing plans rests with a single person identified as the project director, local consultant, or local planner, respectively. This person may in some instances be supported by minimal additional staff, such as an administrative assistant or outreach coordinator, or with paid consultants. Where possible, staff hiring occurs from within the neighborhood, but in most instances staff are professionals from outside the neighborhood who need to operate as a bridge between the neighborhood, the professionals from the private sector, and local government.

The Long-Term Development of Neighborhood Governance Entities

The planned, long-term development of the neighborhood governance entities under the five initiatives reviewed differs significantly. Community Building in Partnership and the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, the two single-site initiatives, have formalized their governance entities as 501(c)(3) organizations, and authorized them to take an active, ongoing role in developing the neighborhood capacity to provide for the necessary services. Under both initiatives, the neighborhood governance entity has been charged with planning, coordinating, implementing, and allocating resources, with DSNI placing a greater emphasis on organizing and advocating as well. In the long term, CBP sees the partnership reflected in the neighborhood governance entity continuing. As capacity is built within the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood, the governance entity's principal responsibility would become one of coordinating the activities of neighborhood organizations. DSNI's governing entity, in which local government has no formal role, receives major technical and financial support from the City of Boston to support its redevelopment agenda. It sees itself as remaining separate from local government and continuing over the long term as the principal developer in the Roxbury neighborhood.

Under Agenda for Children Tomorrow, the neighborhood governance entities serve primarily as brokers. They do not implement programs and/or projects, nor do they allocate funding. ACT intends for these responsibilities to remain unchanged. Instead, ACT is focusing on providing more support to the governance entities and advocating for reform in local government bureaucracy on behalf of the governance entities. To better support the governance entities, ACT staff is planning to add two new positions in its central office, to update its community profiles by conducting a socioeconomic survey of each, and to provide training primarily to the local planners. In the arena of systems reform, ACT staff are working to have the City label all contracts by locality, thereby enabling policymakers and communities to determine whether human service resources are available and accessible. In addition, ACT is trying to secure funding for the local planners from city agencies instead of private foundations. For example, one local planner is currently being funded through a grant from the City's Community Development Agency.

The funding granted for allocation by Neighborhood Advisory Councils under the Neighborhood-Based Alliance has been to date categorical funding. NBA staff are currently working to increase the NAC's access to more funding. For instance, it has secured preferential status for collaborating organizations who, through the brokering by the NAC, answer a state agency's request for proposals. NBA also hopes to persuade local governments to contract with the NACs and funnel money through their lead agency. Because all of the five current sites under Agenda for Children Tomorrow overlap with NBA neighborhoods, NBA staff, as well as ACT staff, are working to develop ways for their governance entities to better complement and possibly integrate with each others. Funding to the NACs, either from state or local government, however, is envisioned by NBA staff to remain categorical.

In NFI, the ongoing existence and role of the neighborhood collaboratives is unclear. Some collaboratives have started independent nonprofits to implement particular pieces of their agenda and one has incorporated as a 501(c)(3) organization. The collaborative itself may continue as a coordinating body or may devolve its authority over time to the organizations it has spawned. Although representatives of local government sit on each collaborative, they sit as one of many "stakeholders," broadly representative of a set of interests, perspectives, and (at least in theory) access to resources. They tend, however, not to provide a direct connection to governmental decisionmaking authority (over the allocation of resources, for example), and their long-term connection to any neighborhood governance structure that may be left behind remains unclear. The role of local government is likely to remain fluid, with each site deciding the nature of its own relationship with local government.

CONCLUSIONS

The initiatives reviewed share the desire to develop greater capacity at the neighborhood level while simultaneously working to make local government more responsive to the concerns and needs of these neighborhoods. Yet the creation of neighborhood governance entities to serve as mechanisms for planned community change takes many forms, with governance entities maintaining varying responsibilities and addressing the issues of representation, participation, structure, and operations differently. An examination of the ideas driving their creation and the approaches taken to operationalize them raises a number of questions. In particular, three central, interrelated issues (slightly reformulated) remain problematic: (1) legitimacy and connection; (2) organizational structure; and (3) auspice and viability.

Legitimacy and connection

One central issue regarding neighborhood governance concerns the relationship of a neighborhood governance entity to the neighborhood it is constructed to represent and its connection to the broader community. There are at least two issues here: (1) the nature of representation of its members and (2) the source of their legitimacy.

Determining the nature of representation of governance members requires answering a number of questions. For whom are individual members presumed to speak (and with what authority)? What they are expected to bring to the table? What they can expect to take from it? Are members *formal* representatives of particular constituencies and partners, empowered to make decisions on behalf of those partners and bring resources to bear to transform those decisions into actions? Or are they seen as more generally representative of a set of interests and perspectives, drawn together to inform debate and foster possibilities for cooperation rather than serve as the mechanism for its immediate realization?

In either case (though particularly in the former) the source of members' legitimacy as representatives of such interests or constituencies is an important consideration. This is particularly true regarding representatives of "the neighborhood." While representatives from formal organizations may be appointed with the clear and formal approbation of their boards, and representatives from government can be similarly appointed through appropriate administrative channels, there is no such simple mechanism for appointing *neighborhood* representatives. In the absence of a concerted neighborhood organizing effort leading to elections of resident representatives, initiatives often rely on informal networking approaches to identifying possible participants, processes of resident self-selection, and reliance on members of "embedded" neighborhood organizations to act as neighborhood representatives in addition to being representatives of their own institutional interests and perspectives. Are these appropriate criteria for addressing the issue of representation and connection? How can they be improved? What impact do different models of representation and connection have on program development and delivery?

Organizational structure

The question of organizational structure concerns, in part, defining and operationalizing the possible and appropriate roles of individual citizens, voluntary organizations, local institutions, and local government within (or connected to) a governance mechanism. Many of the current initiatives attempt to bring together representatives from each of these groups to work side by side, presumably on equal footing. The rationale for this model is clear: it represents an attempt to bring to bear different perspectives, bases of knowledge, bodies of expertise, access to resources and, through their interaction, break down the barriers of categorical thinking and connect professional planning with grassroots intent. Yet there are a number of tensions at play within this model, deriving from the unequal distribution of power among members of the group, the disjunction between modes of communication and decisionmaking, and differences in the ways immediate needs and long-term goals are addressed. Such tensions are particularly clear concerning the roles, relationships, and dynamics between non-professional residents and professionals that work within and beyond the target neighborhood (see, e.g., Chaskin and Ogletree 1993). How can such organizations be structured to minimize such tensions and maximize the possibility for consensus? What ought to be the nature and extent of resident participation in the planning and governance of such initiatives? Are threshold numbers for such involvement necessary to ensure a meaningful resident voice? How should resident participation be structured, and how should it relate to the formal involvement of local organizations (CBO's, service providers, businesses, schools)? How should a neighborhood governance structure relate to the formal structures of representation and service provision furnished by local government?

Auspice and viability

Finally, there endures the question of long-term viability and the appropriate auspice under which neighborhood governance structures should exist. In part, this question presents a tension between the benefits of promoting strong voluntary action and driving change from the private sector on the one hand, and, on the other, the advantages of connecting neighborhood governance to the governmental systems from which jurisdiction and funding must ultimately (at least in large part) be drawn. The possibility for the long-term viability of neighborhood governance theoretically exists in either case, but there are limits and potential problems in each. While a strong, recognized neighborhood organization (or unified coalition of organizations representing, in the aggregate, the neighborhood as a whole) may be able to promote a certain level of change and successfully advocate to government for particular policies and practices, it must still ultimately rely on government for significant funding, jurisdictional approval, and the provision of basic services. Conversely, directly connecting such governance structures to government presents the possibility of cooptation, in which the fates of neighborhood organizations and governance structures are so tied to the structure of authority that they are unable to effectively advocate a minority position.

This tension may argue for the development of a particular kind of partnership, but how that partnership is best structured remains an open question. One study of participatory neighborhood governance structures promoted by five city governments suggests that there are four factors associated with success. The first factor is a strong motivation to make participation work, deriving from three sources: (1) demand from citizen groups; (2) vision of government leaders; and (3) participation mandates. The second factor is a design that begins with the intent of creating a citywide system based on small "natural" neighborhoods (those reviewed were mainly between 2,000 and 5,000, but up to about 14,000 residents) in which the necessary political innovations (neighborhood outreach, communication, planning, budgeting) were in place at the outset. The third factor is described as a "sophisticated political balance," in which partisan politics is excluded from the participation system (e.g., neighborhood organizations and neighborhood media cannot support one political candidate over another). The fourth factor involves the "ability to reach a plateau of participation before encountering financial or political reversals" (Berry, Portney, and Thomson 1993). Are these findings useful to other initiatives? Do other attempts to promote neighborhood governance support these findings? What are the relative benefits of each approach? Can the necessary conditions be developed where they aren't immediately apparent?

Conclusion

Our examination has raised some persistent questions without enabling us, at this stage, to provide clear answers to them. While we can outline the issues, we don't know very much about the relative benefits of different ways of structuring neighborhood governance, the effects of different structures on (and expectations for) representation, or the relative benefits of different roles for government in neighborhood governance. Consequently, an agenda for further exploration emerges more clearly than an obvious policy agenda. This agenda might, in the first instance, clarify the theoretical framework in which to understand current intitiatives, and begin to build a consciously defined knowledge base on which to draw lessons and refine policy approaches. A principal task might be to more rigorously explore and synthesize lessons across initiatives promoting neighborhood governance toward a better understanding of the relative benefits of different structures and relationships. In addition, it might be profitable to work toward the development of a more definite taxonomy of roles and responsibilities, in which we can tease out, given a particular set of goals, which decisions are best made at which level of involvement and through which vehicles (e.g., neighborhood organizations, some form of neighborhood governance, a broader voluntary sector).

Related to this agenda is the need to further explore the issue of *capacity*, both as it exists and is developing, within initiative neighborhoods. What, exactly, lies behind the notion of "capacity building" that seems to inform so many of these initiatives? Often, the goal of resident "empowerment" (to plan and implement their vision) is conflated with a concern for the development of a more technical capacity to deliver goods and services (a "technical/production paradigm" in Bill Traynor's [1993] terms). To what extent are these goals compatible; to what extent is there tension between them? Is a principal focus on one likely to be more effective or efficient (for what ends?) than the other? What are the relative benefits to different approaches to capacity building?

In considering neighborhood capacity, there are at least three possible levels of intervention: the individual level, the collective level, and the institutional level. Capacity-building at the first level is likely to focus on developing "human capital"--knowledge, skills, leadership, and employment possibilities for individual residents. At the second level, the concern is on building "social capital"--promoting instrumental ties (and affective connections?) among citizens to foster valuable networks of communication, collective action, and mutual aid. At the third level, capacity-building may focus on strengthening the ability of organizations and institutions to function effectively and efficiently. Given this range of possible foci, how should we consider interventions that focus on building particular capacities of individuals (in themselves, as a strategic point of intervention, and relative to other approaches)? How essential (for what ends?) is a strong focus on traditional organizing techniques, i.e., organizing citizens around a given issue or set of concerns? Can one expect to build "neighborhood capacity" without it? How should the development of capacity of local organizations--to deliver services, produce goods, promote neighborhood interests, connect with resident priorities as well as connect residents to resources in the broader community and the broader community to the neighborhood--be related to action at the level of individual residents? What roles might an intermediary organization (such as the Urban Strategies Council or the Center for Community Change) play in facilitating such efforts. To what extent should the construction of particular approaches to capacity building be grounded in a set of objectives (e.g., addressing the needs of children in poverty) or a kind of instrumentality (e.g., a neighborhood governance entity)?

DRAFT

Finally, there is an additional perspective on these issues that is critical, not just to inform a knowledge-building agenda, but for strategic purposes. For while we have examined the governance of neighborhood-based initiatives from the perspective of those initiatives, we have *not* looked at the phenomenon from the perspective of local government. Do local governments see the initiatives as the full realization of the democratic ethic, or as threatening the representative function of democratic government? Do they feel the initiatives are performing functions that are more properly left to local government? Do they see the initiatives as long term partners or as first steps toward sub-city government? Do they think the initiatives are well intentioned but unlikely to last, and so to be ignored or tolerated? Do they see the initiatives as an incipient form of special-purpose government, like school boards or health services districts?

The pursuit of these questions from the perspective of local government is of strategic importance because it is necessary to stimulate constructive debate about the long-term implications of the current generation of neighborhood-based initiatives for the democratic process, for sustained neighborhood development, and for the role of local government in neighborhood affairs. We believe this debate is essential to the interests of neighborhood development and to the vitality of local government.

REFERENCES

Arnstein, Sherry R. 1969. "A ladder of citizen participation." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35:pp. 216-224.

Barber, Benjamin R. 1984. *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Berger, Peter and Richard John Neuhaus 1977. *To Empower People: The Roles of Mediating Structures in Public Policy.* Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Berry, Jeffrey, Kent E. Portney, and Ken Thomson 1993. *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy.* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Betten, Neil, and Michael J. Austin. 1977. "The unwanted helping hand." *Environment* 19 (1):pp. 13-22.

Binder, Leonard 1986. The natural history of development theory. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28(1):pp. 3-33.

Bolduc, Vincent L. 1980. "Representation and Legitimacy in Neighborhood Organizations: A Case Study." *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 9(1-4):pp. 165-178.

Bruner, Charles. 1991. *Thinking Collaboratively: Ten Questions and Answers to Help Policy Makers Improve Children's Services.* Washington, D.C.: The Education and Human Services Consortium.

Burton, Linda M. 1991. "Drug Shifts and Their Impact on Families." *The American Enterprise* May/June 1991:pp. 34-37.

Center for the Study of Social Policy. 1991. *Building a Community Agenda: Developing Local Governing Entities.* Washington, D.C.: The Center for the Study of Social Policy.

Chaskin, Robert J. 1994. *Defining Neighborhood.* Chicago: The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago.

Chaskin, Robert J. and Renae Ogletree. 1993. *The Ford Foundation's Neighborhood and Family Initiative: Building Collaboration: An Interim Report.* Chicago: The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago.

Cnaan, Ram A. 1991. "Neighborhood-Representing Organizations: How Democratic Are They?" *Social Service Review* 65:pp. 614-634.

Committee for Economic Development. 1991. *The Unfinished Agenda: A New Vision for Child Development and Education.* New York: Author.

Crenson, Matthew A. 1983. *Neighborhood Politics.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Crosby, Ned, Janet M. Kelly, and Paul Schaefer. 1986. "Citizens Panels: A New Approach to Citizen Participation. *Public Administration Review*, 46, 170-179.

Edelman, Peter B. and Beryl A. Radin. 1990. "Effective Services for Children and Families: What do We Know and What Do We Do Now as a Consequence?" Paper presented to the Workshop on Effective Services for Young Children. Washington, D.C.

Fisher, Robert. 1981. "From Grass-Roots Organizing to Community Service: Community Organization Practice in the Community Center Movement, 1907-1930." Pp. 33-58 in *Community Organization for Social Change: A Historical Perspective*, (ed.) R. Fisher and P. Romanofsky. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Ford Foundation. 1964. "Public Affairs: Gray Areas Program." Review paper. New York: Ford Foundation Archives. Report no. 002845.

Ford Foundation. 1973. "Community Development Corporations: A Strategy for Depressed Urban and Rural Areas. A Ford Foundation Policy Paper. New York: Ford Foundation.

Gardner, Sid. 1989. "Failure by Fragmentation." *California Tomorrow*. Pp. 18-25.

Halpern, Robert. 1991. "Supportive services for families in poverty: Dilemmas of reform." *Social Service Review* 65:pp. 343-364.

Jenkins, J. Craig. 1987. "Nonprofit Organizations and Policy Advocacy." Pp. 296-320 in *The Nonprofit Sector*, (ed.) Walter W. Powell. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kathlene, Lyn., and John A. Martin. 1991. "Enhancing Citizen Participation: Panel Designs, Perspectives, and Policy Formation. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 10(1): 46-63.

Kramer, Ralph 1969. *Participation of the Poor: Comparative Community Case Studies in the War on Poverty*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall

Kravitz, Sanford, and Ferne K. Kolodner. 1969. "Community Action: Where Has It Been, Where Will It Go?" *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* 385:30-40.

Levitan, Sar A., Garth L. Mangum, and Marion W. Pines. 1989. *A ProperInheritance: Investing in the Self-Sufficiency of Poor Families.* Washington, D.C.: Center for Social Policy Studies, George Washington University.

Marris, Peter, and Martin Rein. [1967] 1982. *Dilemmas of Social Reform: Poverty and Community Action in the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Melvin, Patricia Mooney. 1987. *The Organic City: Urban Definition and Community Organization 1880-1920.* Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky.

Michels, Robert 1949 [1915]. *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchic Tendencies of Modern Democracy.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Miller, Z. L. 1981. "The Role and Concept of Neighborhood in American Cities." Pp. 3-32 in *Community Organization for Urban Social Change: A Historical Perspective.* (ed.) R. Fisher and P. Romanofsky. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press.

Morone, James A. 1990. *The Democratic Wish: Popular Participation and the Limits of American Government.* New York: Basic Books.

Perlman, Janice 1978. "Grassroots Participation from Neighborhood to Nation." *Citizen Participation in America.* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books. pp. 65-80.

Peterson, Paul E. 1981. *City Limits.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Peterson, Paul and J. David Greenstone 1977. "Racial Change and Citizen Participation: The Mobilization of Low-Income Communities through Community Action." Pp. 241-284 in *A Decade of Federal Antipoverty Programs: Achievements, Failures, and Lessons.* New York: Academic Press.

Schorr, Lisbeth B. 1988. *Within Our Reach.* New York: Anchor Press.

Smith, Steven Rathgeb 1993. "The New Politics of Contracting: Citizenship and the Nonprofit Role." *Public Policy for Democracy.* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute Press. pp. 119-135.

Strategic Partnerships for Urban Revitalization [n.d.] Austin: City of Austin Children & Youth Services.

Taub, Richard P. 1990. *Nuance and Meaning in Community Development: Finding Community and Development.* New York: Community Development Research Center, New School for Social Research.

Taub, Richard P., George P. Surgeon, Sara Lindholm, Phyllis Betts Otti and Amy Bridges. 1977. "Urban Voluntary Associations, Locality Based and Externally Induced." *American Journal of Sociology* 83(2):pp. 425- 442.

Tocqueville, Alexis de 1988 [1966]. *Democracy in America.* (ed.) J. P. Mayer, (trans.) George Lawrence. New York: Harper & Row.

Traynor, Bill 1993. "Reflections: Shifting the Paradigm in Community Development." *Economic Development & Law Center Report*. December 1993:pp. 10-13.

Valelly, Richard 1993. "Public Policy for Reconnected Citizenship." Pp. 241-266 in *Public Policy for Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute Press.

Concerns About School-linked Services: Institution-based Versus Community-based Models

Robert J. Chaskin
Harold A. Richman

Abstract

The systems that serve families and children should address the basic developmental needs of children. Those needs can best be met within a broadly defined service system that offers both services to promote general development as well as services to respond to the specific problems of individual children in trouble. The question the authors address is whether the model of school-linked, integrated services that places the school in the central position to facilitate access to the range of necessary services is the best approach. Although the school may seem like the logical choice as the lead institution, the authors cite arguments against building a governance structure that favors any single institution. They contend that multiple access points are essential for serving all children in a community and that citizens should participate in defining their community's needs and the strategies for meeting them.

Chaskin and Richman present an alternative to the school-based model: they describe the community-based model, in which a diversity of service providers, administrative contexts, and institutions work under collaborative governance in a system of linked services. A community-based system involves the major public and private entities in the community, including schools, social services, churches, health providers, and other community organizations which collaborate within a consortium of existing agencies or a newly created entity.

Robert J. Chaskin is a research associate at The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago.

Harold A. Richman, Ph.D., is the Harmon Dunlap Smith professor at the University of Chicago and director of The Chapin Hall Center for Children.

The impetus behind the movement supporting school-linked, integrated services derives from a very real concern about the failure of the current fragmentary approach to social services delivery. The shortcomings of the fractured, categorical structure under which we operate are by now quite clear, and the case for comprehensive, coordinated services has been well made.[1] Rather than seeking to address the needs of the whole person or the whole family, we now engage in an atomistic approach to discrete problems. Rather than addressing the root causes of problems experienced by families and children, we attack their symptoms and leave the systems that serve children and families intact. Lack of coordination among service providers leads to waste and frustration and to the perpetuation of a client-provider system in which those seeking help are moved powerlessly through a labyrinth of bureaucratic prerequisites and protocols. This is particularly true for families and children with multiple needs—the families who have limited skills for seeking out and making use of what help might be available.

This lack of coordination and poor service are stimulating reform in many child-serving systems: education, health, and social services. According to one report, "The convergence of reform in all of the people-serving systems presents a moment of unique opportunity in which to pursue a collaborative agenda."[2]

Concerns About the School-linked Service Model

Linking services to schools is one frequently discussed model of collaborating to provide services for children and youth. In this model, health and social services (potentially including tutoring; employment training and placement; counseling for children, youth, and families; family planning; health services; day care facilities; classes in parenting skills; and so forth) are within or near the school building used by the target population, and the staff of the school facilitates access to these services. Several models of this sort of service coordination are in existence, some for quite a long time, and have evidenced genuine success along several dimensions.[3] The possibilities of such strategies have become, in fact, front-page news.[4]

In the flush of excitement about these possibilities, we believe certain potential problems have not been given sufficient attention. Our examination of these problems does not represent an outright rejection of school-linked services; this article is designed to bring forward some fundamental concerns raised by this approach to service delivery.

Although we understand a variety of definitions are possible, for the purposes of this discussion, we define a school-linked service model as one where the school is the primary site for the provision of social and health services or where the school controls or dominates the planning and governance of such services. Our reservations reflect our concerns about linking any model of children's services primarily or exclusively to any single institution.

We recognize that many of the authors for this journal agree that neither the schools nor any other institution should be allowed to control or dominate the planning or governance of school-linked services. In practice, however, the tendency for this to happen is great. As a result, school-linked services grow to reflect, primarily, the operational desires and needs of the school. It is this tendency that causes our concern, which focuses on several key elements.

First, the variability of children's and families' needs requires access to services and strategies that are various and variable—that is, both *different* and *open to change*. Second, services and strategies should grow from an understanding of the needs of children and families and the contexts in which they live and act—not from the organizational advantages of an established institution. Third, we are concerned that embedding the administration of a range of services within an established institution runs the risk of bureaucratic rigidity and the diminution of pluralist, citizen-based planning. We believe that mechanisms must be developed to support direct citizen participation in

Our reservations reflect our concerns about linking any model of children's services primarily or exclusively to any single institution.

the assessment of needs and the delivery of services to meet them.

The Needs of Children

The purpose behind school-linked, integrated services, as with any other model of service delivery, is ostensibly to better serve the needs of a target population, in this case school-age children and their families. It seems reasonable, therefore, to begin our discussion of the comparative benefits and problems of such a model with an examination of the needs of those it is supposed to serve, the range of responses appropriate to those needs, and the successes and failures of those responses.

All children and youth have certain basic developmental needs that must be met through their cumulative involvement in several social contexts (family, school, church, job, neighborhood) and that inform and are informed by the needs of connected actors (parents, peers, teachers, employers, neighbors). In seeking to define youth development, Karen Pittman has reviewed the literature and synthesized a list of basic developmental needs. These include a sense of safety and structure, of belonging and membership, of self-worth, of independence and control over one's life, of closeness and participation in relationships, and of competency. In normal development, these needs are addressed by the acquisition of health and physical competency, personal and social

© Kathy Sloane

mastery, cognitive and creative ability, vocational accomplishment, and engagement in the work of citizenship (including adherence to ethics and access to social and political participation).[5]

Children have these needs met and gain these competencies within their families, if they have supportive families, and through opportunities beyond the family, if such opportunities are available. These opportunities include participation in group activities; association with peers; moral and practical guidance; access to role models; activities that help cultivate knowledge, skills, and physical, emotional, and intellectual growth; and situations that develop the ability to act autonomously and with others. Some children have particular needs beyond this array because they are ill or have physical or mental disabilities, learning disorders, or behavioral problems—special needs that require special responses. To meet children's general and special needs, a complex of opportunities and services should be made available.[6] These should range from the primary services—that array of activities, facilities, and events that make up the fabric of children's organized social world[7]—to the specialized services designed to treat specific children's specific problems through a specially designed and often individually administered intervention. Our definition of *children's services,* therefore, encompasses those opportunities and services that promote general development *and* those opportunities and services that are designed to respond to the specific problems of individual children in trouble.

We believe that children, as they are growing up, benefit simultaneously from help with normal developmental tasks as well as from help with specific problems. And we believe such benefit is more likely if opportunities and services directed at both normal development and problem remediation are developed and operated as part of a single, broadly defined service system. Therefore, we believe our inclusive definition of *children's services* is more useful than the usual, more restrictive definition, which stresses only service responses to categorically defined children's problems.

A broad system of children's services can evolve through several steps. First, the quality and quantity of primary services can be enhanced within communities to better address the diversity of children's interests and needs. Next, the provision of specialized services can be coordinated so that access to various services is facilitated for children and families, especially for those with multiple problems. Finally, the provision of both primary and specialized services can be organized into a system of interrelated activities and affiliations that addresses the developmental needs of all children as well as responds to certain children's special problems.

Through these stages a system of activity and services can develop to address both the universal and specialized needs of children. The question then becomes where and with whose participation should such a system be developed?

The School as the Primary Context

The model of school-linked, integrated services places the school in the central position to facilitate access to the range of necessary services. To some extent, this is a logical extension of the role schools have traditionally played in providing certain health and social services, such as counseling and guidance, limited health care, and vocational training.

Accept for a moment the desirability of having a single institution play the lead role in providing or facilitating access to a range of social and health services for children, youth, and families (though this is a notion we will argue against). How appropriate a choice is the school as that institution? Other possible focal institutions—such as churches and synagogues, settlement houses, libraries, or community centers—may, in some cases, play more central roles in the lives of the community's children.

In certain respects, however, the school does seem like the logical choice as a lead institution. First, the school has direct access to more children than any other institution in the community. Law requires children to be in school for hundreds of days each year and a substantial number of hours each day. No other institution has a legal mandate that provides such general access. For children and youth who are not in school because of extenuating personal circumstances, providing social services on school grounds can still make sense. For example, on-campus child care for the children of teenage women supports the young mothers in their parenting roles while allowing them to continue their educations.

Other arguments in favor of the school-centered model include the notion that the school has traditionally played a central role in the community. The established role of the school, combined with the space and facilities it provides, makes it a logical place to concentrate services. Further, because the school is a well-established institution, with ties not only to the local community, but also carrying funding and an operational mandate from the larger municipality and the state, it offers an existing administrative structure for the provision and coordination of social and health services for children and youth.

Too strong an institutional bias runs the risk of missing a substantial number of children in need.

These arguments have merit, particularly when weighed against a similar model whose focal point is a different institution, such as a church or community center. Clearly, certain services—such as child care, as previously discussed—should be governed, if not by the school entirely, then in collaboration with the school. The best location for these services is on school grounds.

But other conclusions are not so clear. In addition to difficulties attached specifically to the school as an institution, questions arise about building a service delivery strategy around any single institution.

Arguments Against the School-centered Model

We argue against building a governance structure that too strongly favors any single institution and against rooting points of access to social services in any one of these institutions. Too strong an institutional bias runs the risk of missing a substantial number of children in need; to serve all children, multiple access points are essential. This access must include not only physical or eligibility access to existing services, but also the opportunity for citizens to participate in the process of defining community needs and the strategies for meeting them.

Institutional Rigidity

In terms of delivering services to children, we believe there are dangers to overempowering a single institution; the school is no exception. Overempowerment could cause services to conform primarily to the institutional requirements, priorities, and world view of the school. When the self-protection and self-perpetuation of the organization become a more motivating force for the bureaucracy than its original raison d'être, structures can ossify. In such cases, the participatory involvement of community members is in danger of being closed off.

The current debate over the appropriate location and administrative context of preschool education (that is, the daytime care and education of 3- and 4-year-olds) provides an example of our concern. In its simplest form the question revolves around where control of preschool education should lie: in the public schools, in the hands of traditional child care providers, in Head Start programs, and/or in other community groups.

The argument for public school sponsorship and control of preschool programs is strong. Schools are universal institutions, a fact that facilitates universal provision of services. Schools have established, professional personnel and standards that can be adapted to the tasks of preschool education more easily than having to develop personnel and program standards from scratch in different contexts. Going with schools may be easier and safer: easier because so much is already in place; safer in terms of avoiding potentially formidable opposition by school administrators and unions to any other alternative.

For the disenfranchised, school may be the last place they would turn for help.

But is it better? That is the question posed by those who favor preschool opportunities that are diverse in content, governance, and philosophy. These proponents believe that the public schools, because of their bureaucratic structure and the rigidities that inevitably accompany it, are less likely to value or implement such diversity. The fear that schools will not be able to change their way of doing business leads those who promote substantial parental involvement in preschools to oppose public school control of preschool education. Our purpose here is not to take a side in this complex debate about preschools. It is, rather, to cite the debate as an example of both principled and strategic opposition to centralizing programs and services in the schools.

The Disenfranchised

A second issue that raises questions about the suitability of the school as the central context for service provision and/or access is the relationship some children and their parents have with school. For the disenfranchised, school may be the last place they would turn for help. A substantial percentage of students (perhaps those most in need of the services the school-linked model hopes to make available) may be loath to take advantage of such services when offered through the aegis of what is to them (and often to their parents as well) an unfriendly institution or an institution they associate with failure and trouble. A possible indication of this is the estimated 25% of high school students who will not graduate this year.[2] In poor and urban areas, that figure is likely to be substantially higher: The 1980 census estimated a 40% dropout rate from 1970 through 1980 in Detroit, for example.[8]

Reasonableness of Expectations

Third, where the schools are struggling to remain open and perform their basic educational functions, the reasonableness and wisdom of their taking on nonacademic tasks must be questioned. In these situations, particular schools may be unable to fulfill the responsibilities of the school-linked model. Therefore, other organizations must be available. In Camden, New Jersey, for example, a recent study examined the roots and development of caring attitudes and the commitment of poor inner-city adolescents to helping others. The results of the study suggested that guidance to these young people is coming not from schools, but from involvement with outside groups and activities.[9] The value of these nonschool voluntary programs, groups, and activities, both as an alternative to what the school can offer and as a complement to the school's roles, has been attested elsewhere as well.[10]

Schools and the Larger Community

The fourth difficulty with the school-centered model is that it assumes a correlation between the school's catchment area and

© Kathy Sloane

resident communities. The "community" assumed by the school-centered model may not necessarily correspond to the larger social sphere in which children live.

Several factors may militate against a true correlation between the school and the residential, familial, religious, and informal spheres of activity and belonging that define each child's communal existence. Such factors include attendance at magnet schools rather than schools that draw their students from a geographically circumscribed area; schools that serve a large, low-density geographic area that might be attended by students from several communities; and busing practices and other district-wide procedures that use a unit larger than the local community to accomplish an administratively or politically imposed agenda. In these cases, children may identify more strongly with the circumscribed locality in which family, friends, clubs, and out-of-school activities provide the most important contexts for social life. Children may look to these nonschool sources for the services and supports they need. In such cases, services provided through a school-linked system of service delivery may be more difficult to access than those for which access is provided through an institution or organization within the primary communal context.

In addition, because the school must often serve a more diverse (ethnically, racially, and religiously) group of children than some other community institutions that have the freedom to be culturally specialized, it is difficult for a school to create support networks and approaches that are tailored to the particular needs of cultural and ethnic subgroups. Thus, for example, the African-American church may in certain instances provide its constituency a much more accessible and congenial source of services and referral than the school can hope to provide. Similarly, community-based organizations serving a cultural subset of a school's population may be particularly well situated to provide for and guide some students in need. An example is Las Madrinas, a mentoring program that expands on the cultural convention of *compadrazgo* and adapts it to the urban American setting. Las Madrinas brings together Hispanic junior high school girls with successful, young Hispanic women—"godmothers"—who act as role models, confidants, and advisors.[10] This is not to suggest that the school cannot or should not attempt to address the needs of minority or special populations or that such needs should be dealt with separately and only within the realm of a given subculture. Our goal, simply, is to point out the difficulty of addressing this diversity sufficiently by channeling access primarily through the school.

From all these considerations, it is clear that we cannot take for granted the notion that the "[s]chool is the natural emotional, political and cultural center of the neighborhood."[11] The nature of community life is too diverse and the array of services and opportunities required for children is far too broad for the school, or any single institution, to plan or provide. To constrain points of access to a school-based system would be to lose the richness and diversity required in such an array of services.

What, then, is an alternative?

The Community-based Model

We believe it is possible to construct an alternative model for delivering services to children—a model that incorporates a diversity of services, governances, and institutions and facilitates their working in a collaborative, integrated way without centralizing everything in one institution, such as the school. The structural context of this model is the community. The model functions through a joint governance structure that includes the school as one of a range of institutional players working in concert to provide and facilitate access to services in the community. We believe this model offers the best possibility to reach the goals of service diversity and access, as long as the structure is inclusive enough.

Since our purpose here is to voice reservations about the school-linked model, this is not the place to develop this alternative fully. We believe, however, that it is important to establish the viability of the alternative by expanding a bit on the significance of the central focus, the community, and on the major operational feature, collaborative governance.

The Community

Children learn, grow, and develop in several interrelated contexts. Their experiences in each of these contexts are transformed into skills, knowledge, beliefs, expectations, and behaviors. Also, these experiences inform goals, aspirations, and the ways in which children and youth will act and respond in other contexts. Family, school, neighborhood, religious organizations, work, sports teams, clubs, and informal associations are all potential contexts in which cognitive, social, and affective development occur.

Probably, membership in these contexts overlap. Therefore, consider one person's memberships as forming a set of interactive spheres. One can construct such spheres of activity and influence for each child, but one can also speak of a collective sphere in which some commonality exists among the associations, experiences, and activities of a larger group. Looked at in this way, the broadest local context in which these different spheres are likely to coexist is the community.

We believe that the community is the appropriate context for providing and facilitating access to the necessary array of services and opportunities. The local community can serve as the locus for a system of linked services and can provide the relevant context in which individual organizations and institutions function.

The concept of community is a particularly difficult one, but it is important to clarify its meaning when planning community-based strategies. Though *community* is a term broadly used, it has accrued so many meanings—both denotative and connotative—that it needs to be defined with reference to the issue at hand.

Broadly conceived, *community* refers here to the local context in which people live. It is referred to by its geographic identity, but its place on the map is only one of its attributes. It is a place of reference and belonging, and the community includes dimensions of space, place, and sentiment as well as of action.[12] It is defined by a dynamic network of associations that binds (albeit loosely) individuals, families, institutions, and organizations into a web of interconnections and interaction.

The local community can be seen as a functional unit in which goods and services are provided and consumed, interpersonal relationships are created and maintained, participation in activities is shared, and the circumstances of local life are held in common.[13] This definition of community is not necessarily dependent on clear geographic boundaries (different residents may have slightly different conceptions of where the neighborhood begins and ends), but it does assume that the community's residents hold in common a range of mutual experiences and circumstances and have shared access to an array of organizations, institutions, services, and activities.

The local community looks very different in different places,[14] particularly with regard to rural and urban settings, social and economic status, and the degree to which the target populations of certain services and organizations coincides with the boundaries of the community.

Because low-income, urban communities are so often the target of service-reform efforts, it is important to take into account their special characteristics. For

©Kathy Sloane

one thing, individuals may identify with and concentrate their activities and use of services within a local area substantially smaller than the city as a whole.[15] The boundaries of these neighborhoods are informed by residents' own "cognitive maps"[15]—that is, their own mental conception of their community—as well as by external boundaries drawn by city planners and politicians. It is important to consider these smaller units when considering the provision of social services for children and families, particularly with reference to the ways in which such services and activities may be linked and made to work together.

The community is a particularly appropriate context for planning and delivering services for children and families. Because they are generally less mobile than adults, children are more dependent on and affected by their local community. It is where they engage in informal, personal associations (friends, family); structured activities (Little League, scouts, counseling, hobby groups, therapy, and instruction); and relationships with formal institutions (schools, churches, health centers). The physical contexts of these relationships vary (playground, street corner, library, home, school, parole office, health center, settlement house). In constructing a system of services for children and families, it is important to incorporate and build on these associations, activities, and relationships, and the settings in which they occur.

Collaborative Governance

A community-based system that governs the development and delivery of services and provides and nurtures access to them needs to be flexible, accessible, and accountable to those it hopes to serve. It must base its work on the needs of its clientele. Therefore, such a system requires mechanisms whereby the citizenry (not just professionals) can contribute to the development, planning, and delivery of necessary services.

The hallmark of collaborative governance is the convening of the major public and private entities in the community—including schools, social services, churches, health providers, and community and other organizations—to plan and implement an integrated service system for children in that community. The incentives for these institutions to join together can be political (through the invitation or mandate of an elected official); financial (through the pooling of service dollars from several programs at the community level), and/or managerial (through the efficiency of integrated service delivery). The administrative context for such a collaboration can be a consortium of existing agencies or a newly created entity.

Several nascent models of such a collaborative governance structure are now being developed. The field of community development provides a number of examples. One, the Mid-Bronx Community Housing Corporation, formed in 1974, is a coalition of churches, civic organizations, block clubs, and tenant organizations.[16] The coalition was incorporated as a nonprofit organization. By collaborating with other nonprofit organizations, banks, and government, the corporation works to renovate abandoned buildings and construct new housing in the neighborhood.

Because they are generally less mobile than adults, children are more dependent on and affected by their local community.

A current Ford Foundation initiative which is being tested in four cities, is another example. The initiative provides for focused, comprehensive, neighborhood-based development through a collaborative body that represents neighborhood residents, local foundations, city government, and commercial and industrial interests with an identifiable stake in the community. These "collaboratives" are newly formed entities of perhaps 20 members each that act as the generative bodies for planning and implementing of development strategies.

Two other examples, dealing more with service delivery than community development, are also worth noting. One is the Cluster Initiative in Chicago, which involves the institutional collaboration, on an equal footing, of the Chicago Public Schools, the Chicago Park District, and the Chicago Housing Authority. The goal of the collaboration is to improve the school performance of students in certain neighborhoods. The second example is from

California, where legislation has been proposed that would mandate local collaborative governance in the delivery of social services. The Neighborhood Family Service Organization pilot project would establish a system capable of integrating "a comprehensive array of public and private programs." The organization would be operated by a newly created board composed of a majority of neighborhood residents chosen by election, and a representative from each of four city agencies: the mayor's office, the county board, the school board, and the juvenile court.

This collaborative structure is very similar to that which governs the Minhalot, neighborhood self-management councils that have been operating successfully in Jerusalem since 1980. The Minhalot allow residents to participate in the administration of neighborhood social services, education, and the physical maintenance of their communities. The councils operate primarily through two mechanisms. First, they participate in nonpartisan elections to choose a governing board made up of residents and representatives of institutions and services operating in the neighborhood. Second, council members are encouraged to volunteer for subcommittees dedicated to solving particular problems in the community. Each Minhalet is recognized by the city council as the "legitimate representative of the neighborhood" in negotiations with the city.[17]

The extent to which collaborative governance invests in the continued input and guidance of local residents is critical, and the mechanisms through which such input can be accommodated are in need of considerable investigation and experimentation. Conducting open forums, in the context or contexts most applicable for a particular community (a town meeting or a church group, the school, the park, the library), is one potential outreach and feedback mechanism. Forming citizen panels, in which a stratified, random sample of residents is chosen to participate in a structured process of policy review and recommendation, is another method that has proved useful in facilitating citizen participation in the planning process.[18] Whatever the mechanism, local residents must have an opportunity to shape and guide the service system.

Conclusions

The creation of a community-based, rather than an institution-based (for example, school-based) governance and coordinating structure for a system of activities and services for children is a formidable task. Previous efforts at governance and coordination have had a vision limited to specialized services and providers, and thus they have seemed appropriate for professional or institutional interests only. Often these efforts have seemed irrelevant to the community and

© Kathy Sloane

have lacked community support and participation. If a broadened vision of appropriate services and providers—including schools, parks, clinics, libraries, and mental health centers—spawns a broader effort at governance and coordination, such vision might become community property. The stakes may then seem high enough to enough people to command the attention necessary to result in substantive and sustainable service development and reform.

If we see the planning, promoting, and provision of the full range of children's services and opportunities as the responsibility of the community rather than of a single institution, that responsibility can become a vehicle for enriching (or even creating) community. Such an approach could foster mechanisms for promoting involvement in the community. In addition, community involvement could provide for and respond to the needs for diversity among the residents of a community and weave together from many institutions and interests a rich infrastructure to support children and families.

1. Arguments in favor of a comprehensive approach to service delivery are not new, and there seems to have been a constant pull between periodic attempts at coordination and a de facto trend toward specialization. Halpern, R. *Supportive services for families in poverty: Historical perspectives, dilemmas of reform.* Mimeograph issued by Erikson Institute. Chicago: Erikson Institute, 1990; Some of the more recent treatments of this theme include Schorr, L., with Schorr, D. *Within our reach: Breaking the cycle of disadvantage.* New York: Anchor Books, 1988; Gardner, S. Failure by fragmentation. *California Tomorrow* (Fall, 1989): 18-25; Levitan, S.A., Mangum, G.L., and Pines, M.W. *A proper inheritance: Investing in the self-sufficiency of poor families.* Washington, DC: The George Washington University, Center for Social Policy Studies, 1989; Edelman, P.B., and Radin, B.A. Effective services for children and families: What do we know and what do we do now as a consequence? Paper presented to the Workshop on Effective Services for Young Children. Washington, DC, November 1990; Bruner, C. *Thinking collaboratively: Ten questions and answers to help policy makers improve children's services.* Washington, DC: The Education and Human Services Consortium, 1991; Committee for Economic Development. *The unfinished agenda: A new vision for child development and education.* New York and Washington, DC: CED, 1991.
2. Levy, J.E., with Copple, C. *Joining forces. A report from the first year.* Alexandria, VA: National Association of State Boards of Education, 1989, p. 1.
3. Among the longer-running programs are Cities in the Schools, which has programs operating across the country; the New Futures School in Albuquerque, created in 1970; and James Comer's New Haven Model Programs, which have been replicated in other cities. For a general overview of such programs, see note no. 1, Committee for Economic Development, and note no. 2, Levy.
4. School's new role: Steering people to services. *New York Times,* May 15, 1991, at A1.
5. Pittman, K.J., with Wright, M. *A rationale for enhancing the role of the non-school voluntary sector in youth development.* Report prepared for The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development Task Force on Youth Development and Community Programs. Washington, DC: Center for Youth Development and Policy Research, Academy for Educational Development, 1991.
6. A more detailed treatment of the argument that follows can be found in Richman, H., Wynn, J., and Costello, J. *Children's services in metropolitan Chicago: Directions for the future.* Chicago: The Chapin Hall Center for Children at the University of Chicago, 1990.
7. "Primary services include sports teams, hobby clubs, after school programs, youth volunteer activities, telephone warm lines, and mentoring programs, as well as the resources of museums, parks, and libraries. Primary services are available for use voluntarily most often without an elaborate process of certifying need or eligibility." See note no. 6, Richman, Wynn, and Costello, p. 7.
8. Kountz, V., and Mosey, S., eds. *Lower Woodward social and demographic data. A report of the Neighborhood and Family Initiative.* Detroit: The Community Foundation for Southeast Michigan, 1990.
9. Hart, D. *Inner city youth committed to care: The contributions of self-understanding, parents, and teachers.* Interim final report to the Lilly Endowment Research Grants Program on Youth and Caring. Indianapolis, IN: Lilly Endowment, Inc., 1990.

10. Price, R.H., Cioci, M., Penner, W., and Trautlein, B. School and community support programs that enhance adolescent health and education. Working paper prepared for the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, Washington, DC, April 1990.

11. Quote attributed to Education Commission of the States, as quoted in *Let's do it our way. Working together for educational excellence.* Booklet prepared by R.C. Smith, C.A. Lincoln, and D.L. Dodson for MDC, Inc. Chapel Hill, NC: South Carolina ETV, 1991.

12. Levi, Y. Community-cooperative relationships. In *Community and Cooperatives in Participatory Development*. Y. Levi and H. Litwin, eds. Hants, England: Gower Publishing Company, Ltd., 1986.

13. Warren, R. *The community in America*. 3d ed. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1978.

14. Warren has developed a comparative framework whereby American communities can be compared along four dimensions: (1) the degree of local autonomy, (2) the coincidence of service areas, (3) the degree of psychological identification with the locality, and (4) the strength of the relation of various local units to one another (the "horizontal pattern"). See note no. 13, Warren, p. 13.

15. One conception of these units is that of the "defended neighborhood," a residential area defined and identified by its existence within certain boundaries. The defended neighborhood may occupy as small an area as a building in a housing project or may include a larger area "which people use in their daily round of local movement." These boundaries produce neighborhoods where residents share an identity based on the boundaries rather than on any sentimental or associational ties among members (though these may also exist). Such neighborhoods constitute safe havens for their members and serve in part to "regulat[e] spatial movement to avoid conflict between antagonistic groups." Suttles, G. *The social construction of communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

16. Himmelman, A.T. Communities working collaboratively for a change. Working paper for The Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, 1990. Himmelman, in seeking to construct a model of "multisector collaboration," describes four levels of interorganizational involvement ranging from informal "networking," where only information is exchanged for mutual use and benefit; to full "collaboration," where information and resources are shared, and activities may be altered, and organizations act to enhance "the capacity of [each other] to achieve mutual benefits and a common purpose." Also, Himmelman distinguishes between "collaborative betterment," which involves limited community representation, and "collaborative empowerment," in which ownership rests primarily with the community.

17. *The neighborhood councils (Minhalot) Force for democratization and citizens' participation in Jerusalem.* Jerusalem: Jerusalem Association for Neighborhood Self-Management, ca. 1990. There are three kinds of Minhalot, and this variation describes a continuum of development from the youngest to the most established. The youngest and least developed are legal extensions of the Jerusalem Association; the second are independent, incorporated, nonprofit entities; and the third integrate control of the neighborhood community centers, which provide direct service to the communities.

18. Crosby, N., Kelly, J.M., and Schaefer, P. Citizens Panels: A new approach to citizen participation. *Public Administration Review* (1986) 46:170-79; Kathlene, L., and Martin, J.A. Enhancing citizen participation: Panel designs, perspectives, and policy formation. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* (1986) 10(1):46-63.

Deborah Wadsworth

FIRST THINGS FIRST:
What Americans Expect from the Public Schools—Summary

First Things First: What Americans Expect from the Public Schools is the latest in a series of Public Agenda surveys focused on education reform. It is based on interviews with more than 1,100 Americans, including 550 white, African-American and tradition Christian parents of children currently in public school. The report describes ten findings with important implications for those aiming to improve education and regain the necessary broad public support to do so. Public Agenda is a nonprofit, nonpartisan research and education organization.

FINDING 1: First Things First: Safety, Order, and the Basics

For the large majority of Americans, too many public schools are not providing the minimum prerequisites for education—a safe, orderly environment and effective teaching of "the basics."

It seems axiomatic to people that schools should be safe, orderly, and conducive to teaching and learning, but Americans in all parts of the country and across every demographic category say their local public schools are not providing this basic underpinning for sound education. This study captures decisively what opinion research has suggested over the last decade: Americans are concerned that too many public schools are so disorderly and undisciplined that learning cannot take place. And the public's concern about order has been joined in the last few years by a disturbing new fear—that schools are violent and unsafe.

FINDING 2: The Public and Higher Standards

Americans believe the higher standards promoted by leadership are necessary—indeed, the public strongly supports them—but they do not believe they are sufficient.

Like leadership, the public has its own very clear agenda for improving the schools. People believe that academic standards should be raised, and that schools should hold students accountable for doing their best. But for the public, raising standards is only half an answer. Since Americans are most concerned about whether schools furnish a safe, orderly environment in which children learn the basics, leadership's education agenda sometimes seems mystifyingly incomplete.

FINDING 3: Public Response to Teaching Innovations

The leadership agenda for education reform faces an additional stumbling block—widespread discomfort with new teaching methods that often accompany reform.

The reform movement risks losing public support if it ignores the public's concerns about safety, order, and basics. But there is another element of reform that leads many Americans to question whether those "in charge" really share the public's goals.

Among opinion leaders in government, business and education, the drive to raise academic standards has been tied to a number of other teaching reforms: reforming math education to focus on concepts rather than rote learning; teaching composition with less emphasis on grammar and spelling; ending the "tracking" of students, and replacing standardized, multiple-choice tests with new, more "authentic" assessments that ask students to solve problems. But the large majority of Americans are uncomfortable with many of these changes. Overall, the public seems to have a more traditional view of what should be happening in the classroom. They want to see students learning some of the same things—in the same ways—that they learned in school.

FINDING 4: The Ideal Classroom

People's traditionalism about education does not mean that they yearn for "the good old days" in every respect. They seem to want a new and improved version of the little red schoolhouse.

Despite their strong support for more order and discipline in the schools, and their commitment to more traditional teaching methods, the public overwhelmingly rejects the notion that schools should be domains of boredom or fear. People believe that learning can be fun and interesting, and want schools to find ways to help children enjoy their education and become more confident and self-assured. They seem to reject both extremes in education—either intimidating students or pandering to them.

FINDING The Public and the School Wars

Most Americans are not preoccupied by concerns about sex education and multiculturalism that have caused such acrimonious debate in many communities.

Despite the attention they have attracted, "values" disputes about how history and science should be taught, how minorities are portrayed, what textbooks should be used, and what moral traditions should be conveyed in sex education are not at the top of the public's list of concerns. When most people consider how well public schools are serving the nation's children, these are not the issues that leap to mind.

FINDING 6: The Most-Valued Values: Tolerance and Equality

People want schools to teach values. They especially want schools to emphasize those values that allow a diverse society to live together peacefully.

The public's lack of concern about "values issues" does not mean that Americans endorse education that is value-neutral or makes no judgments about moral behavior. There is a circle of broadly agreed upon values people expect the schools both to teach directly and to reinforce by example. And there are some "lessons" that most Americans believe are not the business of the public schools—those that seem aimed at dividing people, rather than helping them live together in harmony.

FINDING 7: Sex Education, Yes, But...

There is strong support for public schools playing a central role in sex education—an overwhelming consensus that parents need help. However, on questions of premarital sex and homosexuality, there are sharp divisions over how graphic and morally judgmental sex education should be.

Americans express broad support for giving students information about the biological aspects of sex, the dangers of sexually transmitted disease, and for older students, information about birth control. However, sex education is a far more divisive issue when it turns to topics such as abortion, sex outside marriage, and homosexuality. Americans have different viewpoints about these topics, and, because they are so emotionally charged, people hold their views intensely.

FINDING 8: Special Focus: Traditional Christian Parents

Traditional Christian parents share most of the same concerns about the public schools—and support most of the same solutions—as other Americans, but they have a special perspective on issues related to sex and religion.

Public school parents who attend church regularly and say that they accept the Bible as the literal word of God or consider themselves "born-again" are just as likely to support solutions directed at improving safety, order, and command of the basics as other parents. They are, however, especially concerned about sex education that accepts premarital or homosexual sex. They are more concerned about profanity in assigned reading, and more eager to include Christian religious materials in public schools.

FINDING 9: Special Focus: African-American Parents

African-American parents have the same concerns about the schools—and the same ideas about what needs to change—as other Americans. They strongly support setting and enforcing high standards for their children.

Like other Americans, African-American parents are concerned about safety, order, and the basics. However, they are significantly more dissatisfied with their local schools' performance. There are two areas where African-American parents have a distinctive viewpoint. They want more candid sex education and AIDS prevention programs for their children at an earlier age. And they are concerned about negative stereotypes in textbooks and curricula—an issue that troubles only a small percentage of white parents. What this study captures most among African-American parents is a magnified call for schools that are safe, for teaching that produces solid academic skills, and for programs that will help them protect their children from AIDS and early pregnancy.

FINDING 10: The Public and the Educators: The Fault Line Beneath the Trust

Americans still trust teachers, principals, and school boards to make decisions about how to manage the schools—but the public's trust is wavering.

Americans believe that, compared to other decision makers such as elected officials, business people and religious leaders, educators can be trusted with decisions about running the schools. But some specific findings about teachers and principals suggest that substantial numbers of Americans are not completely confident about their performance or judgment.

Copies of a full report are available from: Public Agenda, 6 East 39th Street, Suite 900, New York, NY 10016.
Tel: 212-686-6610, Fax: 212-889-3461 ($10.00 each or $5.00 each for 10 or more copies).

Education Week, Nov. 30, 1994

Bridging the Divide:

What the Public Is Telling Educators Could Help Resuscitate School Reform

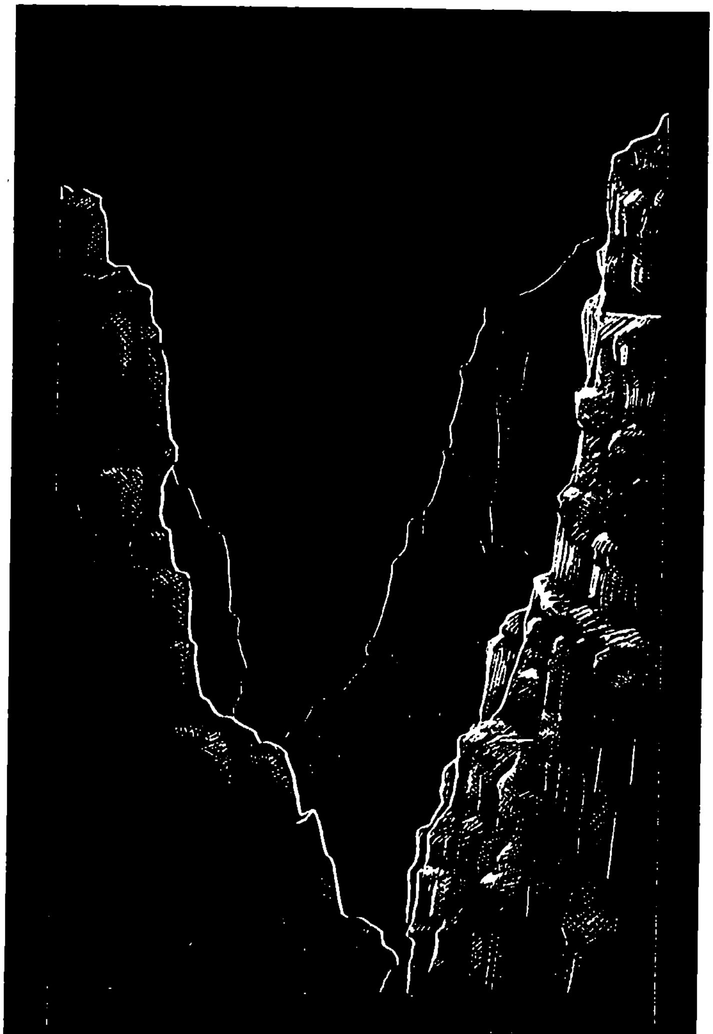
By Deborah Wadsworth

These are not the best of times for educators or education reformers. Educators are frustrated by an apparent paucity of understanding and support, as evidenced by rising criticisms and a wave of failing referendums. Reformers see their grand designs unraveling in communities from Colorado to Connecticut as parents and taxpayers join more traditional advocates of the status quo.

It's a particularly good time, therefore, to stand back and re-examine goals and strategies. We at the Public Agenda Foundation in New York City have very current information on how Americans feel about education reform, information we believe is ...tial to resuscitating reform that otherwise may be drowning.

Founded in 1975 by Cyrus Vance and Daniel Yankelovich as a nonprofit and nonpartisan organization to study such issues, Public Agenda has for the past half-dozen years built a reputation on interpreting the nuances and subtleties of public opinion on the issue of education reform. In so doing we have identified misperceptions and highlighted discontinuities between the public's agenda and that of reform leaders.

Reviewing the situation recently, we realized that despite all our previous intensive research with multiple constituencies across the nation, we still had fundamental questions. Why, we asked, is there so much opposition to reform, not only from educators who might feel threatened but also from parents? And why is there so little support from the citizenry at large? Why are referendums and legislative initiatives going down in flames, often ignited by a bizarre coalition of left-leaning advocates of "political correctness" and right-leaning adherents of "values"?



Rebecca Kingery

Convinced there was more to learn, in the summer of 1994 we conducted focus groups in Birmingham, Ala.; Philadelphia; Minneapolis; and Des Moines, along with a national, random-sample survey of 1,100 Americans. We included an oversampling of parents with children in school, African-American parents, and parents identified as traditional Christians. The resulting report, released in early October, was titled "First Things First: What Americans Expect From the Public Schools" *(See Education Week, Oct. 12, 1994).*

Analyzing that research, along with our other recent studies in several individual states, we discovered something old and something new.

The "something old" was further evidence of what we had found in previous research: extraordinarily strong support among Americans for higher educational standards and expectations. They strongly favor clear guide-l... on what children should learn and what teachers should teach. Eighty-seven percent believe students should not graduate from high school without writing and speaking English well, and seven in 10 favor raising standards of promotion from grade school to junior high.

People believe that by asking more, you get more. They don't believe in passing kids from grade to grade, or in letting them graduate without evidence of achievement. They oppose giving "A's for effort."

We also found that African-American parents and traditional Christian parents share most of the same concerns about the public schools, and they support most of the same solutions. In fact, African-American parents are by any measure even more dissatisfied than others with their children's schools and more concerned that standards in their communities' schools are too low. They neither want nor expect the schools to make allowances for their children.

The "something new" we discovered may explain why this broad base of potential support has not been translated into positive public engagement, for we found fundamental differences between how educators and the public view the schools and school reform. Our conclusion: Until the views of the public and of society's leaders, including educators, are better aligned, and until these groups start listening meaningfully to one another, progress is unlikely.

First, educators and the public hold fundamentally different views about how the schools are doing. Educators generally believe the schools are doing pretty well under the circumstances, while the public finds their local schools better than s... is elsewhere, but nowhere near as good as they should be.

An indication of the gulf between these groups is exemplified by findings from a study we conducted in Connecticut, where 68 percent of the educators said they believe schools today are better than when they were in school, while just 16 percent of the public share that optimistic view.

The differences in how these groups analyze the problem are equally dramatic. Educators often perceive a breakdown of the social contract whereby each generation supports the education of the next, a breakdown they sometimes attribute to public complacency, taxpayer selfishness, and, in the case of inner cities, even to racism. They often see the solution in terms of more money, smaller cl... , and extra help for students with various special needs.

Contrary to what many educators believe, the public values education as much as ever. It also strongly supports the goal of racial integration and believes that every child deserves an equal education. But it also believes intensely that while the schools haven't created today's problems, they are badly off track in addressing them. People suspect that many of t... problems have little to do with money, and that until they are addressed, more money will in fact be wasted.

But the disconnects aren't only between educators and the public; there are equally wide gaps between the public's priorities and the reform agenda. Such differences may well explain why the public's overwhelming support for higher standards has not translated into support for school reform.

We found three major reasons for this lack of support. One is that the public's chief concern about our schools—making them safe, orderly, and purposeful enough for learning to take place—is not being addressed by today's reform agenda or by today's reform leaders.

People see and read about schools in chaos—schools with little sense of order, respect, or discipline; schools where teachers appear to dress or act unprofessionally; schools in which discussions take place that people consider inappropriate for the classroom; and schools increasingly infested with drugs and violence.

How, people ask, can learning take place in such a disaster zone? And shouldn't this problem be fixed before

Continued on Page 38

Deborah Wadsworth is the executive director of the Public Agenda Foundation in New York City. Copies of the report, "First Things First: What Americans Expect From Their Public Schools," are available for $10 each (plus $1.50 for shipping and handling) from Public Agenda, 6 East 39th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.

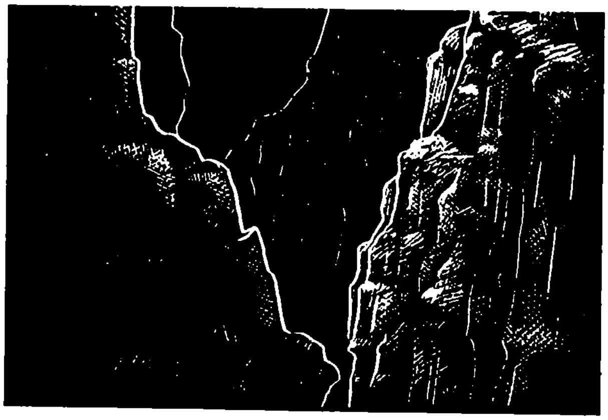
The Divide

Continued from Page 48

any academic-reform agenda is tackled?

It's difficult to overstate the force of public opinion on this issue. Almost nine Americans in 10 believe that dependability and discipline make a great deal of difference in how students learn, them. And for most people, it doesn't seem cruel or wasteful for students to memorize the 50 state capitals and where they're located.

What's happening, we believe, is that people are discovering through their own interactions and experiences with young people that those basic skills are not there. When someone observes a supermarket checkout person who cannot make change, that to them is authentic assessment. It convinces people that the basic skills are not being taught or



Rebecca Kingery

versus about half who believe that learning will improve by, for example, replacing multiple-choice tests with essay tests. Three-quarters of the population supports the permanent removal from school of students caught with weapons or drugs and the removal from the classroom of persistent troublemakers.

It's people's chief interest, and they fail to find it covered in most discussions of school reform.

Some people will respond that the media have overemphasized the problems of order and discipline or that certain proposed reforms will help address them. But the public is convinced that the learning environment is seriously deficient, and reformers need to deal with that fact, whether it be perception or reality.

The second public view that is threatening support for reform is captured in responses to the question "Which student is more likely to succeed?" Sixty-one percent of the public responded that the student from a stable and supportive family who goes to a poor school is more likely to succeed. Only 26 percent believe a good school can compensate for a troubled family. Moreover, 55 percent of the public say parents are doing a worse job than in the past. And if that's the case, some people reason, will it really do any good to pour more money into the schools or reform the curriculum? Americans across all racial and demographic categories support this concept.

The third factor at work is a strong suspicion among the public that reformers are promoting fuzzy and experimental teaching techniques at the expense of the basics. People believe that children should learn grammar and spelling before creative writing; learned, and they regard those basics not only as important in themselves but also as the foundation for more advanced learning. To promote "higher-order thinking skills" when kids can't make change seems to the public wrongheaded if not absurd.

Public views on teaching techniques remain pretty traditional, and people are concerned about what they see as educational "fads." They tend to reject extremes of any kind; for example, they support neither corporal punishment nor the use of street language in teaching inner-city kids.

So when we talk about math reform, for example, we face a dichotomy. Over 80 percent of our math professionals favor the early use of calculators; only one in 10 Americans agrees.

In contrast to their concern about teaching techniques, the public is less preoccupied with debates of such issues as sex and AIDS education, multicultural experiences and stereotyping, and school prayer. They also go beyond what I have space to cover here. For purposes of this exposition, let me say only that people are far less concerned about these issues than they are about safety, order, and the basics.

It's also worth adding that while teachers remain generally well regarded, we found what seems to be some diminution of public support. We think that people's doubts grow out of a perceived lack of discipline and order in the classroom, and a perception that some teachers are more anxious to be pals with kids than to be role models. People cite good teachers and an orderly learning environment as the most important factors needed for children to learn. But mance on academic matters.

The key issue, of course, is what to do with this information, which seems to me to be practical, commonsensical, non-ideological, and intellectually consistent.

In fact, whether we believe people are correct in their views is beside the point. The strongly held views by the people who pay the taxes, pass or defeat the referendums, and elect members of schools boards and state legislatures. If we want to improve our schools, we had better take their views into account.

Educators and education reformers need to consider at least three possible alternative responses. Any one of these choices or a combination, could be appropriate in any particular situation.

One option is to decide that the public's concerns require genuine change in the leadership agenda. This might mean expanding that agenda to incorporate such items as safety and discipline and programs in parenting skills. It might mean a more overt emphasis on basics and possibly re-examining or delaying some of the more innovative teaching techniques until a successful foundation has been laid and the public is more receptive.

Another option is for leaders to determine after an honest and candid soul-searching that the public's views stem from serious misunderstanding about what is really taking place in the schools and to respond, therefore, with better, more effective communications that correct these misconceptions. That doesn't mean a new slogan or marginal repackaging; that approach has been tried in many communities and found wanting. It means real, thoughtful, and ongoing communication that acknowledges and addresses the public's concerns and priorities and explains clearly how schools are addressing them.

A third approach is for leaders to conclude that the public's point of view is in whole or in part mistaken, a conclusion that requires the exercise of true leadership— the slow, exacting process of building a constituency for ideas that are worthwhile but not popular. This is the most difficult path but the only honest one if leaders conclude that their approach, and not the public's, is the one that will best help children and their families.

We at Public Agenda present this research in the hope that educators and reform leaders will read it carefully, thoughtfully, and objectively in an honest effort to understand what the public is saying.

Is the public right or wrong? Perceptive or wrongheaded? Whatever one concludes, and whichever course of action is adopted, the public's perceptions should not be dismissed lightly.

Educators and reformers must listen to and respect what the public is saying. For change will not occur until the public becomes an equal and valued partner in the effort. ■

THE BROKEN CONTRACT

Connecticut Citizens Look At Public Education

A Report from Public Agenda
Prepared for the
William Caspar Graustein Memorial Fund

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Many of Connecticut's educational leaders are convinced that the Connecticut public has "turned its back on the state's children." There is widespread concern among educational leadership that most people in Connecticut are complacent about the schools in their own communities, unconcerned about schools in other areas and especially indifferent to the problems of the inner-cities. As a result, they feel that the public has broken the implicit social contract where older generations support the education of the next generation, and they see the public as increasingly unwilling to support education, precisely at a time when a public school system overburdened by social problems is desperately in need of support. To test this perception, Public Agenda conducted a state-wide survey of public attitudes, supplemented by focus groups and a special survey of educators and community leaders.

Our research shows that the leadership perception is partly right and partly wrong. The Connecticut public is ambivalent about support for education and about proposals to integrate the schools. However, resistance grows not from lack of concern, but from a view that the schools are headed in the wrong direction. From the public's point of view, it is educators and parents themselves who have broken the contract. Specifically, the Connecticut public feels that the schools are failing to hold up their end in four significant ways: failure to maintain a safe environment for children, failure of many parents to support their own children, failure to teach even basic literacy and computational skills, and an inadequate emphasis on discipline.

Safety

Eighty-one percent of the Connecticut public believe that keeping the schools free of drugs, crime and gangs should be a top priority, and only 28% think that the schools are doing a good job at this.

Parents

Eighty-two percent think that parents are "not fulfilling their responsibilities toward the education of their children." Many Connecticut residents do not see what good it does to support public education when parents themselves are not doing their job.

Many Connecticut residents do not see what good it does to support public education when parents themselves are not doing their job.

Basics

Fifty-eight percent believe that the schools are not doing a good job of teaching "the basics" and people are deeply skeptical of new educational methodologies such as heterogeneous grouping. Ninety-four percent think that schools should be changed so that no one can graduate from high school without being able to write and speak English clearly.

Discipline and Respect for Authority

There is a widespread belief that the schools are not stressing discipline, failing to teach students good work habits and allowing some students to disrupt the education of others. Eighty-six percent support taking persistent troublemakers out of class, and 83% think that students should not be allowed to leave school grounds during the day.

From the public's perspective, these priorities have three things in common: they are essential for quality education, the public schools are not doing a good job on them and they have virtually nothing to do with money. By an almost two to one margin, people say that schools especially need "greater accountability and more discipline, things that do not cost more money."

Furthermore, Connecticut residents say that they have been burned by past reform efforts, which have raised taxes and teachers' salaries but not, in the public's view, improved the quality of education. Only 20% of the state's residents think that increasing teacher salaries in the 1980's substantially improved education in the state. Catholic schools, by contrast, are perceived as doing a good job by 62% of Connecticut residents, and our study suggests this is precisely because they emphasize the basics and remove trouble-makers.

Despite their criticisms, Connecticut residents are not willing to abandon the public schools. Only one-third of the public support instituting a system of vouchers that could be used at private schools. And only 24% favor measures to have private companies manage the public schools.

The survey also focused specifically on integration and the plight of inner-city schools. African-Americans and whites share many of the same criticisms of the state's schools in general and of inner-city schools in particular. Both groups agree that the most severe problems for inner-city students include unstable families, lack of parental support, and crime and drugs.

Only 20% of the state's residents think that increasing teacher salaries in the 1980's substantially improved education in the state.

But African-Americans are more likely than whites to single out more school-specific concerns: low levels of funding, a scarcity of good teachers, and the presence of many teachers who do not enforce high standards. Thus, they are more supportive of measures that would increase funding for inner-city schools and promote integration. Whites are more likely to think that such steps will not make much difference to inner-city children unless and until schools and families first deal with the top priorities: safety, parental involvement, the basics, and discipline.

ADDITIONAL READINGS/RESOURCES

Clinton Presidential Records
Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Divider Title: **8**