

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. resume	re: Lynda Edwards [partial, pages 7-12 in full] (7 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
001b. resume	re: Lynda Edwards [partial, pages 7-12 in full] (7 pages)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Shirley Sagawa
OA/Box Number: 23244

FOLDER TITLE:

Resumes [Folder 1]

Racheal Carter
2013-0124-S
rc1183

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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HERBERT BLOCK
67-35 Yellowstone Boulevard
Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375

November 27, 1998

Ms. Shirley Sagawa
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Shirley:

I am interested in returning to Washington for a "second tour of duty" in the Clinton-Gore administration, in a policy or program position, in either the White House or an agency. I have thirteen years experience in urban affairs, government, and politics, as well as legal training and an extensive knowledge of New York. Given my background, I also remain interested in intergovernmental relations and public affairs positions or in serving as an aide to a senior official.

I thoroughly enjoyed working earlier in the administration at the Corporation for National Service. Due to family demands I moved back to New York but I hope now to return to Washington and again have the opportunity to assist the Clinton-Gore administration.

I hope you can let me know of any positions that you are aware of and can also assist me through the Office of Presidential Personnel. A copy of my resume is enclosed.

I plan to be in Washington on December 7th or 8th and would be available to meet with anyone in Presidential Personnel or the administration. I will call you to discuss this and can be reached at (212) 442-0629.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. Block', written in a cursive style.

Herbert Block

HERBERT BLOCK
67-35 Yellowstone Boulevard
Forest Hills, New York 11375
h) 718-268-9463
o) 212-442-0629

WORK EXPERIENCE

Director of Intergovernmental and Public Affairs New York City Independent Budget Office - 1996 to Present

Senior official at non-partisan municipal agency that provides independent budgetary, fiscal and policy analysis concerning the City of New York to elected officials and the public. Responsible for designing and implementing all external affairs initiatives since the establishment of IBO.

- Liaison with elected officials and Community Boards.
- Handle media relations and all public communications.
- Manage outreach to civic and advocacy groups.

Deputy Director for Intergovernmental Relations, Corporation for National Service - 1994 to 1995

Presidential appointee in Washington, D.C. at the federal agency that runs AmeriCorps, the "domestic Peace Corps." Established intergovernmental operation and represented Corporation to public officials throughout the country.

- Formulated and implemented plans for relations with state and local governments.
- Coordinated legislative strategy with the agency's Congressional Relations staff.
- Assisted the White House Offices of Public Liaison and Political Affairs with special projects.

Consultant - 1994

- Managed Congressional and governmental relations for the Health Security Express bus caravan.
- Organized commemorative events in Washington and Mississippi for the 30th anniversary of the Chaney-Goodman-Schwerner murders.
- Arranged the visit to Israel of the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson.

Assistant to the Mayor, City of New York - 1990 to 1993

Senior advisor to Mayor David N. Dinkins for constituency relations and political affairs.

- Acted as a liaison with elected officials on policy and political matters.
- Aided in the settlement of community conflicts and crises.
- Served as the primary City Hall representative to the Jewish community.
- Conducted policy meetings between community organizations and city agencies on police, housing, environmental, and human services issues, and intergroup relations.
- Made frequent public and media presentations on behalf of the Mayor and city policies.
- Coordinated City Hall events and scheduling for the 1992 Democratic National Convention.
- Maintained contacts with clergy and religious groups of all faiths.
- Organized two Mayoral trips to Israel, one during the Persian Gulf War.

Political Director, Committee for David Dinkins - 1993 [On leave from City Hall]

Directed three departments of the Mayoral reelection campaign: Volunteers, Surrogate Speakers Bureau, and Constituencies. Participated at a senior level in all campaign activities, including fundraising, media, scheduling and production of literature and materials. Planned major rallies and events.

- Developed and coordinated the campaign's recruitment of 5,000 volunteers.
- Planned visits and appearances by White House and Congressional officials.
- Solicited and tracked endorsements by elected officials and civic leaders.
- Supervised six staff members, twelve interns and a \$250,000 budget.

Constituency Director, New York State Clinton-Gore Campaign - 1992 [On leave from City Hall]

Directed statewide campaign activities among fifteen ethnic and interest groups for the Presidential general election campaign and Democratic ticket. Supervised six staff members.

Special Assistant, Manhattan Borough President - 1986 to 1989

Advised Borough President Dinkins on youth services, disability issues and Black-Jewish relations. While on leave in 1989, served as a Mayoral campaign coordinator and transition aide.

- Staff Director of the Commission on Youth that issued a 142-page policy report entitled *Preparing for Tomorrow: Making Services Work for New York City's Young People*.
- Researched and wrote Mayoral transition memos on six City agencies.
- Assisted with Mayoral personnel search and inauguration planning..

EDUCATION

Brooklyn Law School, J.D. expected June 1999 (Evening Division)

Columbia College, Columbia University, A.B. in Urban Studies, 1987

COMMUNITY AND PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Student Member, Municipal Affairs Committee, Association of the Bar of the City of New York - 1998

Trustee, The Victor E. Perley Fund - 1997 to Present

Member, Government Affairs Professionals - 1996 to Present

Member, Board of Directors, National Jewish Democratic Council - 1991 to Present

Founding Co-Chair, Young Public Policy Group, United Jewish Appeal-Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York - 1993 to 1994

Member, Governor's Council on Youth - 1985 to 1994 (Confirmed by the New York State Senate)

Member, New York State Youth Council - 1983 to 1986 (Initiated, developed and coordinated a statewide voter registration drive that registered over 100,000 high school seniors.)

OTHER

Recipient, 1991 Political Mentor Award of B'nai Brith Hillel/Jewish Association for College Youth

Recipient, 1988 President's Award of the New York Society for the Deaf

Profiled in the Jerusalem Report (January 1993); Daily News (December 1992); Kol Ha-Ir Jerusalem (July 1991); Forward (December 1990); Jewish Week (April 1990); Seven Days (June 1989).

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LYNDA LEE EDWARDS, A.B., D.Phil.

Citizenship: U.S. (b)(6)

[001a]

4550 Connecticut Avenue

Washington, D.C. 20008

(202) 363-3418; 395-6152 (w)

email: Lynda.Edwards@omb.eop.gov

Employment History

Office of Congresswoman Carrie Meek, 1998-1999

Congressional Fellow

Responsibilities include developing strategies for the Census 2000 initiative and for the African Trade Bill, drafting floor speeches and position papers, and meeting with lobbyists and journalists. Position requires an in-depth understanding of the procedures of Congress as well as an ability to analyze and create technical legislative documents under strict time constraints.

Position includes a 3-month detail to OMB's Division of Education, Income Maintenance and Labor, beginning Monday, December 21, 1998. In that capacity, I work directly with Deputy Associate Director Barry White, attend meetings related to the Division's budget portfolio, and prepare briefing memos on those negotiations.

Atlantic Fellowship for Public Policy Research, Balliol College, Oxford, August, 1996-December, 1997

Fellow of the College and Senior Research Associate

Responsibilities included lecturing in the College and in other academic institutions on the continent of Europe, writing a comparative paper on Britain's budget process and editing my book on American budgeting. Fellowship provided travel opportunities hosted by the British Foreign Office, including official tours of major European capitals and to Brussels, for briefings on developments within the European Union.

Houston Gordon for Senate Campaign, Covington, Tennessee, June, 1996-November 5, 1996

Consultant and Director of Outreach and Women's Issues

Responsibilities included fund raising, speech writing, coordinating advance work for public appearances, extensive interfacing with electronic and print journalists, as well as coordinating issue identification and image development strategies for the candidate. Position also included recurring assignments in conjunction with the Clinton-Gore campaign.

University of Maryland at College Park, Graduate School of Public Affairs, August, 1992-June, 1996

Senior Research Associate and Lecturer

Responsibilities included devising and teaching courses, lecturing, completing dissertation research, participating actively in committee work for the University and advising students. I also participated in academic panel discussions on race relations and related issues throughout my tenure at the University and served as faculty advisor to the Black Students' Alliance.

Congressional Research Service, Civil Rights Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., April, 1992-December, 1992

Consultant and Analyst in American National Government

Responsibilities included preparing manuscript on Title VII-related employment issues for the Civil Rights Division of the Library of Congress. The briefing paper was particularly timely, because the Library was embroiled in a protracted employment discrimination lawsuit, which it later settled.

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Washington, D.C., 1990-1992

Research Associate on Race Sensitive Remedies Project

Responsibilities included preparing a manuscript on affirmative action and convening a major conference on employment discrimination, which was attended by academicians, politicians, and major business leaders, and which was covered widely by electronic and print journalists.

Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., 1986

Research Assistant to Alice Rivlin, Director of Economic Studies

Responsibilities included conducting research on American budgetary politics and establishing a series of weekly seminars where public policy experts of varying ideological backgrounds debated, Oxford Union-style, major political events of the day.

Educational Background

Oxford University, Oxford, England, 1984-1985; 1987-1989

Degree granted: Hilary, 1995

Major: **Doctorate of Philosophy in Politics (D.Phil.)**

Title: Budgeting in the United States: Problems of Process and Politics

Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, 1979-1983

Degree granted: May, 1983

Major: Government

Minor concentrations: Music, History

Dean's List

Covington High School, Covington, Tennessee, 1975-1979

Degree granted: May, 1979

Class Valedictorian

Grade Point Average: A

References Available Upon Request

Teaching, Course Development, Lectures and Publications

TEACHING & RESEARCH FIELDS

American government and political institutions, American constitutional law, American budgetary politics, Title VII enforcement and employment-related issues, multiculturalism and education policy, American social policy

CURRENT RESEARCH TOPICS

American budgetary politics

Affirmative action and employment

British political institutions and budgetary politics

Multiculturalism and education policy

TEACHING & COURSE DEVELOPMENT

Introduction to Political Analysis

Foundations of Social Policy

Multiculturalism and Education Policy: What Price Diversity?

The Budget as an Instrument of National Policy

PUBLICATIONS

Lynda Edwards, "Sharing Differences," Smith Alumnae Quarterly, (February, 1981).

Lynda Edwards, "Politics, Morality and Civil Rights," Vol. 19 Focus Magazine Number 5, (May, 1991).

Wrote draft report on "Affirmative Action and Employment" for the Congressional Research Service which was published January, 1995.

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Lynda Edwards, "Budget Wars: The Failure of Congressional Budgeting 1974-1986," in Claude Barnes and James Steele, eds., National and State Government: An African American View of the Return of Redemptionist Politics, (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt, 1997).

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Prepared manuscript on "A Crisis of Persuasion: Selling Affirmative Action in the 90s," for the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies (1992).

LECTURES AND PRESENTATIONS

"An Assessment of Clinton's First 100 Days," News Channel 8, Washington, D.C., (15-16 May 1993).

"Our Voices with Beverly Smith: Clinton and Black American Voters--The Lanie Guinier Nomination," Black Entertainment Television (BET), Washington, D.C., (13 June 1993).

"Analysing the New Right's Contract on America: Budgetary Impact on Minority Youth," National Conference of Black Political Scientists," Baltimore, Md., (10 March 1995).

"The Art of Syllabus Preparation," National Conference of Black Political Scientists, Baltimore, Md., (11 March 1995).

"The Federal Budget's Economic and Social Impact on Women and Minorities, 1995-1996" Academy of Business Administration, 1995 International Conference, London, England, (22 June 1995). Work-in-progress to be published in conference proceedings.

"Blacks and Schooling: Beyond Brown vs. Board of Education," Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) Conference, Washington, D.C., (3 November 1995). Panel Chair and Discussant.

"Recent Efforts to Reform Affirmative Action Policies: The State of California and Around the Nation," Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) Conference, Washington, D.C., (4 November 1995). Panel Chair and Discussant.

"How I Got from There to Here, and the Need to Go Further," University of Tennessee at Martin, (9 November 1995). Commencement Address.

"Power and Influence in the Making of British Budgets," University of Glasgow, Scotland, (16

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Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM)

Member, Working Group of the New Agenda for New Times, Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, and Co-Chair of the Social Policy Research Committee

American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP)

Owner LYNDACO Publishers

Bob Nash
OEOB, Room 159
1 March 1999

Dear Bob:

Attached please find a revised resume. I am seeking a Schedule C appointment or a career position at the GS-15 level. The resume also contains essays which respond to questions about quality ranking factors for a career job at OMB. They may shed some light on the skills sets, particularly my strong background in policy analysis and in grassroots activism, that I would bring to either type of appointment. Thanks for taking the time to help me with my job search.

Sincerely,

Lynda Edwards

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Member, Working Group of the New Agenda for New Times, Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, and Co-Chair of the Social Policy Research Committee

American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP)

Owner LYNDACO Publishers

Budget Wars: The Failure of Congressional Budgeting, 1974-1986

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All rights reserved.

PROLOGUE

This book presents a framework for testing the comparative influence of process versus politics in the making of American budgets from 1974-1986, a period characterised by sea changes in congressional and executive budgetary behaviour, resulting in outcomes that, at first glance, are nearly random acts difficult to make sense of. Through the use of case studies, I investigate two basic questions about the impulses creating those budgetary outcomes: In the United States, do the legislative rules governing public finance drive budgetary outcomes? And what role does politics play in determining those budgetary outcomes instead?

I will begin by analysing classical approaches to discussing political institutions. I will then examine the rich literature explaining the budget process or describing the institutional arrangements within which budgets are passed.¹ Thematic descriptions investigating the different roles played by legislators, the voting behaviour of members of Congress, developments with the congressional parties, and the executive budget formation process provide the focus for this section of the prologue. Finally, I will explain the qualitative framework upon which my ideas about budgetary outcomes are constructed--a framework which seeks to discipline a very complex area of American government.

I.

This manuscript investigates variables that drive budgetary outcomes. In attempting to respond to this issue and related questions, I investigate four approaches to analysing this

¹I would like to thank Charles L. Schultze of the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. for his brilliant insights as well as for his encouragement.

aspect of legislative behaviour and to explaining legislative outcomes--political, sociological, economic, and historical.

Political and Sociological Approaches

The classical political view of how institutions behaved in the main arenas of political decision making, i.e., in the legislative,² voting (both on how members of Congress vote and on how voters vote, which also effects the former dynamic),³ and administrative or organisational arenas,⁴ which was prevalent before World War II, stressed that positive formal rules such as

²An excellent early study investigating the informality of congressional procedures and on how roles and personal relationships affect committee behaviours, see Ralph Huitt, "The Congressional Committee: A Case Study," 48 American Political Science Review, (June, 1954): 340-365. More recent works include Bernard Asbell, The Senate Nobody Knows, (New York: Doubleday, 1978); John Kingdon, 2nd ed., Congressmen's Voting Decisions, (New York: Harper and Row, 1981); Richard Fenno, Congressmen in Committees, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973) and Richard Fenno, Home Style: House Members in Their Districts, (New York: HarperCollins, 1978).

³See, for example, studies which explore the vast schemas within which members of Congress vote, some of which may be re-election driven, issue-driven, party-driven, as well as schemas which test popular beliefs about party decline in the United States: Samuel Eldersveld, "Theory and Method in Voting Behavior Research," 13 Journal of Politics, (February, 1951): 70-87; Robert Bernstein, Elections, Representation and Congressional Voting Behavior: The Myth of Constituency Control, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1989); David Brady, "Electoral Realignment in the U.S. House of Representatives," in Gerald Wright, Leroy Rieselbach and Lawrence Dodd, eds., Congress and Policy Change, (New York: Agathon Press, 1986); Edward Carmines, "The Logic of Party Alignments," 3 Journal of Theoretical Politics, (January, 1991): 65-88; Philip Converse and Roy Pierce, "Partisanship and the Party System," 14 Political Behavior, (September, 1992): 239-259; Lawrence Dodd and Terry Sullivan, "Majority Party Leadership and Partisan Vote Gathering: The House Democratic Whip System," in Frank Mackaman ed., Understanding Congressional Leadership, (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1981); Warren Miller, "Party Identification, Realignment, and Party Voting: Back to Basics," 85 American Political Science Review, (June, 1991): 557-568; Philip Converse and Roy Pierce, "Measuring Partisanship," 11 Political Methodology, (1987): 143-166; Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structure, Party Systems and Voter Alignments," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., Party Systems and Voter Alignments, (New York: Free Press, 1967); David Mayhew, Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking and Investigations 1946-1990, (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1991); Byron Shafer, The End of Realignment? (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1991); Paul Beck and Frank Sorauf, 7th ed., Party Politics in America, (New York: HarperCollins, 1992), pp. 457-485; Gary Cox and Matthew McCubbins, Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1993).

⁴The literature on administration is also vast. See generally, Hugh Heclo, A Government of Strangers: Executive Politics in Washington, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1977); Francis Rourke, 3rd ed., Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy, ed., (New York: HarperCollins, 1984); Francis Rourke, ed., Bureaucratic Power in National Policy Making, 4th ed., (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986). For information on changing roles in administrative agencies, see Bruce Johnson, "From Analysis to Negotiator: The OMB's New Role," 3 Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, (Summer, 1984): 501-515; Margaret J. Wyszomirski, "The De-Institutionalization of Presidential Staff Agencies," 42 Public Administration Review, (September-October, 1982); Harold Bruff, "Presidential Management of Agency Rulemaking," 57 George Washington Law Review, 533-595, 1989; James Anderson, "The Carter Administration and Regulatory Reform: Searching for the Right Way," 18 Congress and the Presidency, (Autumn, 1991): 121-146. See also Kathleen Brawn, "Political Control Versus Expertise: Congressional Choices about Administrative Procedures," 89 American Political Science Review, (March, 1995): 62-73, which investigates how congressional decisions about agency procedures can affect implementation. See also, James Q. Wilson, The Politics of Regulation, (New York: Basic Books, 1980); Matthew McCubbins, Roger Noll, and Barry Weingast, "Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control," 3 Journal of Law, Economics, and

constitutions, laws, contracts, and other institutional arrangements guided individual behaviour and thereby secured order in the political world.⁵ Such a straightforward political analysis of congressional outcomes experienced a decline, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. At that time, this formalistic institutionalism gave way to a more sociological perspective, an approach which stressed informal rules of political organisations as the driving impulse behind the development of norms and roles which guided political behaviour.⁶ One subset of that approach, "old style" role theory, created by Aaron Wildavsky⁷ and Richard Fenno,⁸ said that temporally stable rules and roles generated predictable patterns of behaviour in the budgetary arena.⁹ The president (or his agency representatives) were advocates, asking for incremental increases in appropriations expenditures from the previous year's budget.¹⁰ The House appropriations committees acted as guardians of the public purse and cut presidential requests, and the Senate appropriations committees acted as "positive" courts of appeals adding some of the original

Organization, (1987): 243-277; and McCubbins, Noll, and Weingast, "Structure and Process; Politics and Policy: Administrative Arrangements and the Political Control of Agencies," 75 Virginia Law Review, (1989): 431-482; and John Ferejohn and Charles Shipan, "Congressional Influence on Administrative Agencies: A Case Study of Telecommunications Policy," in Lawrence Dodd and Bruce Oppenheimer, eds., Congress Reconsidered, 4th ed., (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1989).

⁵James March and Johan Olsen, Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics, (New York: Free Press, 1989), p. 5.

⁶John Ferejohn and Morris Fiorina, "Purposive Models of Legislative Behavior," 65 American Economic Review (1975):407-414.

⁷Aaron Wildavsky, The Politics of the Budgetary Process, 1st ed., (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964).

⁸Richard Fenno, The Power of the Purse: Appropriations Politics in Congress, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966).

⁹The locus classicus of roles and role behaviours and of their relationship to stability can be found in Fenno, pp. xxi, 127-130, 136-188, and 688-692 and in Wildavsky, (1984) at passim, and esp. pp. 6-126, which goes into great detail about behaviours and roles in budgeting. Donald Searing explains why these classical distinctions as a basis for analysis were later rejected in his "Roles, Rules, and Rationality in the New Institutionalism," 85 American Political Science Review, (December, 1991): 1239-1260.

¹⁰Aaron Wildavsky, The Politics of the Budgetary Process, 4th ed., (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), p. 62.

amount back in its final budgetary calculations.¹¹

By the 1970s, with the major changes in the rules of the budget game that I describe in Chapter 1, this classical understanding of microlevel budgetary behaviour had been decisively "turned on its head." People who even bothered to discuss budgetary role theory acknowledged that even within that paradigm, there had been a functional shift in the old roles of budgetary actors, thus pointing to the instability of the basic theoretical approach--an approach which depended on stability as a necessary condition for its existence. Their "new style" role theory, a second subset of the sociological perspective, identified executive agencies and the president as guardians. It said that the House appropriations committee advocated incremental budgetary increases for specific line items, and the Senate became a negative, rather than a positive, appeals court for those programmatic increase requests.¹² Indeed, in Chapter 8, I present evidence that shows that the Senate appropriations panels were abandoning even this unstable role, especially after 1981's Reagan Revolution, during which an increasingly politicised Office of Management and Budget (OMB) aided the executive branch in wresting power away from Congress for setting national priorities, even though that wresting resulted in lower levels of spending for many domestic agencies.

Those lower spending levels also point to the fact that agencies were not fulfilling an advocacy role similar to their advocacy roles during the classical period. They were instead

¹¹See Fenno, pp. 682-687.

¹²See James Cox, Gregory Hager, and David Lowery, "Regime Change in Presidential and Congressional Budgeting: Role Discontinuity or Role Evolution?" 37 *American Journal of Political Science*, (February, 1993): 89 and Aaron Wildavsky, *The New Politics of the Budgetary Process*, (Boston: Scott, Foresman, 1988), p. 72.

guardians, even though they were reluctant to fulfill such an active role in undercutting their own budgets. I present evidence in Chapter 6 which shows that OMB Director David Stockman acted as a surrogate for the agencies when he presented them with greatly reduced budget requests before many of the new agency heads had time to draft their own proposals in the short period after the Reagan transition and at the beginning of the 1981 budget cycle.¹³

The executive branch was not the only place where roles were changing. At least as of 1983, the 29-member Senate appropriations panel, which was more cohesive than its 58-member House counterpart, was becoming more politicised, and members hired more staff members to provide the necessary leverage for it to become more proactive, rather than reactive and appeals-oriented. This simple, yet substantive institutional change illustrates, as clearly as any, why it is difficult--and perhaps analytically unwise--to speak of stable roles in any congressional committee (in terms of legislative behaviour or even voting behaviour) in the aftermath of the changes in budget rules after 1974.

The same can be said of administration. As this study focuses primarily on the actions of the Budget Committees in both houses of Congress, the old labels associated with the

¹³For more on the tension that this new approach to budgeting created between the OMB and agencies, see also David Stockman, The Triumph of Politics: How the Reagan Revolution Failed, (New York: Harper and Row, 1986) and Alexander Haig, Caveat, (New York: Macmillan, 1984). See also Francis Rourke, Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy, 3rd ed., (New York: HarperCollins, 1984), pp. viii, 27-29; 74-75, 91-122 on how agency power ebbs and flows between OMB and executive agencies, specifically with reference to bill-drafting, additional evidence that roles and role behaviours are not consistently maintained. For additional information on the changing political role of the OMB, see Bruce Johnson, "From Analysis to Negotiator: The OMB's New Role," 3 Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, (Summer, 1984): 501-515; Margaret J. Wyszomirski, "The De-Institutionalization of Presidential Staff Agencies," 42 Public Administration Review, (Sept.-Oct., 1982): 448-458; Hugh Heclo, A Government of Strangers: Executive Politics in Washington, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution), pp. 78-83, where he comments "on the changing norms and relationships [which] call into question the possibility of preserving the institution [OMB] as a source of impartial continuity for the Presidency." He also illustrates how pressure for fulfilling an increasingly political role presents a difficulty for the OMB in trying to maintain neutral competency. See Heclo, "OMB and the Presidency--The Problem of 'Neutral Competence,'" in Francis Rourke, ed., Bureaucratic Power in National Policy Making, 4th ed., (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986), pp. 109, 113, 106-124.

appropriations committees in the classical era of American budgeting do not have effect here, though they are important and interesting for historical purposes. Indeed, the very existence of these new Budget Committees, which I study in a different way than Fenno and Wildavsky studied the appropriations committees, illustrates why new methodological approaches for budgetary analysis and theory construction are appropriate in this new and volatile budget era.

While modern budgetary theorists like Donald Searing, James Cox, Gregory Hager, and David Lowery¹⁴ believe that role theory has a place in newer analyses of the budget process, I believe that such an emphasis, even on a limited basis, is beside the point--especially in this study of the newly created Budget Committees in the House and Senate, which were created expressly for the purpose of being guardians of the public purse during the budget cycles that I examine. My story explains why it was hard for members to carry out this task of restraining spending, which immediately shows how roles are not sustainable in this post-1974 budgetary environment. I also go to great lengths to explain how the budgetary outcomes were very different at the end of cycles than the original proposals.

I do not focus extensively on the executive budgetary formation process, particularly as it relates to agency behaviour, as the old classicists did, because such an emphasis does not go to my questions--which instead turn on the comparative influence of process versus politics in the making of American budgets. As a result, I bypass the classical approach, with its emphasis on microlevel budgeting and the behaviours of executive agents and congressional appropriations

¹⁴See Searing, pp. 1239-1260; James Cox, Gregory Hager, and David Lowery, "Regime Change in Presidential and Congressional Budgeting: Role Discontinuity or Role Evolution?" 37 American Journal of Political Science, (February, 1993): 88-118.

committee members. I focus instead on how the general floors and ceilings on budget resolutions were arrived at or adhered to--or more often, not arrived at and not adhered to--in the chambers of both houses. I also focus on how the Budget Committees in the Senate and House struggled mightily (and unsuccessfully) to make the new budget resolution process, superimposed on the old process that Wildavsky and Fenno wrote about, work.

There is some discussion of how the Budget Committees behaved at a microlevel, but not a huge emphasis on the hearings which led to their final votes on budget resolutions which were later considered by the full chambers in each house. The focus of this study is instead on macrolevel aggregates and on how those aggregates differed (often substantially) from original proposals. Another important focus is on a tripartite budgetary outcome, which I identify as the setting of national priorities, the timeliness quotient, and deficit reduction. Figuring out which independent variables--politics in the large, politics in the small, process in the large, and process in the small (as defined below)--drove those outcomes is my real emphasis, not the roles that members of Congress play in the appropriations process. Those roles are exogenous to my theoretical framework, as they should be.

Economic approaches

According to Searing, even though role theory dominated research agendas during the 1960s and 1970s, this is not the case in the 1990s. Now, there is a stronger interest in economic (especially rational choice) models as explicators of political behaviour than on sociologically-inspired theories about how political actors fill roles and exhibit role behaviours under informal systems of rules. The idea is that individual preferences drive the manner in which politicians

make decisions in institutions. Indeed, David Mayhew's belief that legislators' decisions are determined by the "electoral connection," or by how a given choice affects re-election chances, dominates many analyses on the impulses behind legislative decision-making.¹⁵

John Kingdon, R. Douglas Arnold, and Mark Hansen employ this "rational choice" approach in their discussions of legislative decision-making,¹⁶ even though they do not come out at the same place that Mayhew does. Kingdon's analysis asks: "With a given set of alternatives facing them, how do congressmen choose among them?" He investigates the decision process by considering agenda-setting and alternative specification and how they affect decision boundaries and their final impact on legislative voting. His general model of the political system as one of "successively narrowing boundaries" is too intricate to embrace re-election as the sole force behind member behaviour.¹⁷ Similarly, Arnold does not claim that re-election considerations are the single driving influence on congressional voting. His model, which tries to make sense of why Congress passes general-interest legislation which may not increase members' re-election prospects, shows how imperfect information can lead re-election-minded members to anomalous voting.

Explaining budgetary flip-flops specifically "requires a single, unified theory of congressional policy making, one that allows for the triumph of any one of the three competing

¹⁵David Mayhew, Congress, The Electoral Connection, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 127-131.

¹⁶John Kingdon, Congressmen's Voting Decisions, 3rd ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989); R. Douglas Arnold, The Logic of Congressional Action, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); and John Mark Hansen, Gaining Access, Congress and the Farm Lobby, 1919-1981, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

¹⁷Kingdon (1989), p. 282 & p. 289.

interests--general, group or geographic."¹⁸ Arnold successfully shows "how electoral calculations shape everything from legislators' roll call decisions to the strategies and tactics of coalition leaders."¹⁹ Where there is no direction, or imperfect information, the member is free to act as a free agent, (as they often do) and members can then support general interest legislation. His framework for analysis, which is compelling, identifies three groups of actors: citizens, legislators and coalition leaders who make four separate decisions. Citizens lay out policy preferences by considering proposals and their possible effects. They vote on candidates who will support outcomes that they advocate. Members choose policies after considering how citizens feel about them and how citizens will vote for the member in the next election if he supports those policies. Coalition leaders think about how legislators may vote and adapt their lobbying strategies to those calculations.²⁰ He uses cases to illustrate the interplay between these variables.

This framework, accurate though it is, does not extend to theory construction, as he erroneously claims. Mark Hansen explains why certain interest groups have access to Congress and why others do not. He shows that when a group with a competitive advantage can provide information and electoral resources to a member at a lower cost than its rivals, then the group usually wins access to the member. The group becomes even more attractive to the member if it appears as if that competitive advantage will be recurring. These conditions usually result in

¹⁸Arnold, p. 5.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 6.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 14-15.

indefinite access.²¹

These views and approaches are not without their critics, particularly from communitarians like Arthur Maass, William Muir and Cass Sunstein, who comment on legislative and administrative behaviour. Maass and Muir do not accept as a beginning point the idea that legislative decision-making is singularly related to a members' re-election prospects, nor do they accept the idea that there is no place for responsibility in a theoretical framework investigating impulses from which legislative behaviour springs. If that were the case, they argue, there is no explanation for member commitment to policies which serve responsible and broad, rather than particularistic and sometimes short-sighted, interests.²² Similarly, Sunstein makes a case for legislatively-inspired administrative regulation, "while simultaneously adhering to the original belief in the governmental process as one of deliberation oriented to the public good rather than as a series of interest-group tradeoffs."²³

All of these interpretations emphasise the place of community in determining political outcomes, and criticise particularistic theoretical and functional attacks on modern collectivism, "a central distinguishing feature of the last quarter of the twentieth century."²⁴ Searing says that

²¹Hansen, pp. 5-8 & pp. 215-230.

²²See William Muir, Legislature, California's School for Politics, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), esp. pp. 182-186, where he rejects Mayhew's "artificial" and "adolescent" assumptions about legislative decision-making, (cf. Mayhew, pp. 13, 115, 141, 146, 147, 158, 163, 180); Arthur Maass, Congress and the Common Good, (New York: Basic Books, 1983), esp. pp. 3-5, whose framework for legislative analysis and behaviour is predicated upon "a political process that is conceived in terms of public or community interest," (p. 5) an approach which rejects the idea that political outcomes can be explained simply by the faulty concept of partisan mutual adjustment, or the idea that legislators define public interest as "the aggregation and reconciliation of those particular interests that assert themselves." (p. 3)

²³Cass Sunstein, After the Rights Revolution, Reconceiving the Regulatory State, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 12.

²⁴Sunstein, p. 11.

rational choice models "underestimate the significance of institutional contexts" just as behaviouralism paid too little attention to individual preferences.²⁵ I am inclined to accept this response to the models, and to suggest that integrating aspects of this approach is useful for developing theories of budgeting.

Historical approaches

What of the use of historical reportage to discuss budgeting? This approach has been widely used by budget experts in the aftermath of the rejection of role theory. There is an extensive body of literature on budgetary history that is atheoretical, anecdotal, and descriptive, an approach which has its place, but does absolutely nothing for theory construction. Robert Goodin criticises the lack of a theoretical base for policy studies and blames it on "the perverse and pervasive"²⁶ doctrine of incrementalism, a doctrine which, "in its boldest form, maintains that theoretical understanding of the social system is unnecessary and probably even undesirable for policymaking."²⁷ Advanced classically by Herbert Simon,²⁸ Charles Lindblom,²⁹ and Aaron Wildavsky,³⁰ it challenges top-down rational choice explanations for outcomes, claiming instead that legislators "satisfice" as they "restrict their search to options consistent with the

²⁵Searing, p. 1241.

²⁶Robert Goodin, Political Theory and Public Policy, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 19.

²⁷Ibid., p. 4.

²⁸Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior, (New York: Macmillan, 1958).

²⁹Charles Lindblom, The Intelligence of Democracy: Decision Making through Mutual Adjustment, (New York: Free Press, 1966).

³⁰Aaron Wildavsky, (1964), p. 15.

established givens, selecting their first alternative that appears to meet their objectives."³¹

These two approaches set up yet another tension point in developing theories about budgeting. I bridge that gap by showing that incrementalism is not sufficient to explain my tripartite budgetary outcome. It is entirely rational that politics would drive the setting of national priorities, and it does. If process drove the timeliness quotient, political actors would be forced to make decisions that could thwart their re-election efforts. Therefore, the tendency of politics to drive the timeliness quotient is also a result of rational decision-making, provided that re-election is at least a first principle in the top-down dynamic. Finally, rational choice explains clearly the fact that politics, rather than the general behaviour of the economy drives the feckless deficit reduction efforts described in the case studies below. What all of this shows is that while incrementalism may explain microlevel budget outcomes, rational choice gets closer to explaining the randomness of macrolevel outcomes.

W. S. Moore and Rudolph Penner (1980), Rudolph Penner (1981), Allen Schick (1981, 1986, 1995), Robert Reischauer (1984), Rudolph Penner and Alan Abramson (1988), Wildavsky (1988), White and Wildavsky (1989), and Gosling (1992) all contributed to this descriptive and atheoretical body of work by providing current information on the ever-changing budget process from the turbulent 1980s through 1995.³² In the midst of this atheoretical period, economists

³¹James Gosling, Budgetary Politics in American Governments, (New York: Longman, 1992), p. 19.

³²Rudolph Penner, ed., The Congressional Budget Process after Five Years, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981); Allen Schick, Reconciliation and the Congressional Budget Process, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1981); Robert Reischauer, "The Congressional Budget Process," in Gregory Mills and John Palmer, eds., Federal Budget Policy in the 1980s, (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1984): 385-421; Allen Schick, Crisis in the Budget Process, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1986); Rudolph Penner and Alan Abramson, Broken Purse Strings: Congressional Budgeting 1974-1988 (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1988); W. S. Moore and Rudolph Penner, eds., The Constitution and the Budget: Are Constitutional Limits on Tax, Spending, and Budget Powers Desirable at the Federal Level? (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1980); James Gosling, Budgetary Politics in

continued to produce sophisticated models of aggregate budget outcomes, like the studies by Lance LeLoup et al., Mark Kamlet and David Mowery, or Sung Deuk Hahm et al. which illustrate that it is possible to measure the impact of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings by showing exactly how sequestration restrained outlays for nonexempt programs.³³

Both kinds of work have merit, but some scholars express concern about a disjuncture between historical reporting and microlevel analysis, "since interpretation of the latter must be grounded on the former if they are to be more than ad hoc empirical exercises."³⁴ They express concern about this "lack of synthesis of theory and application,"³⁵ an assessment that I agree with. Indeed, I have identified the four main areas where disjunction has occurred in trying to understand budgetary outcomes: political, sociological, economic, and historical. I have also illustrated what the fights within each approach has been about. In politics, it is positivistic, rules-oriented institutionalism versus "new institutionalism" which combines rules, roles, and reasons as explicators of outcomes.³⁶ In sociology, it is "old style" role theory versus "new style" role theory. In economics, it is incrementalism versus rational choice models. In history, it is the use of anecdotes and simple reporting versus theory construction. Is there any way to get at an

American Governments, (White Plains, N.Y.: Longman, 1992); Allen Schick, The Federal Budget: Politics, Policy, Process, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1995).

³³Sung Deuk Hahm, Mark S. Kamlet, David C. Mowery, & Tsai-Tsu Su, "The Influence of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act on Federal Budgetary Outcomes, 1986-1989," 11 Journal of Policy Analysis and Management 2, (Spring, 1992): 207-234; Lance LeLoup, Barbara Grahm, and Stacy Barwick, "Deficit Politics and Constitutional Government: The Impact of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings," 7 Public Budgeting and Finance 1, (1988): 83-102; Mark S. Kamlet, and David Mowery, "Influences on Executive and Congressional Budgetary Priorities, 1955-1981," 81 American Political Science Review (1987): 155-178.

³⁴Cox, Hager, and Lowery, p. 90.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶March and Olsen, op. cit., at passim.

answer, given these schisms between theory and application?

It is possible. I surmise that none of these approaches, while necessary for discussing aspects of budgetary developments, are singly sufficient for explaining budget outcomes as I have defined them universally for this study. I believe that by integrating aspects of each of the approaches, I can posit an idea about the comparative influence of process versus politics in the making of American budgets, and by so doing make some sense of budget outcomes at a macro-level. One way to do this is through the use of the qualitative model.

II.

A Qualitative Framework for Understanding Process versus Politics in the Federal Budget

In the American context, it is useful to discuss the budget process in terms of the politics that affect budgetary outcomes. For the purposes of this study, I am linking the two and analysing how they inform each other and affect budget outcomes during a decade of budget cycles. There are numerous studies on the executive budget formation process, particularly as it applies to agency budgeting and as it applies to the manner in which Congress responds to agency budget requests. There are also works which investigate what agencies do after they receive public money.³⁷ Those studies, while important, do not address the main issues that I

³⁷See again, for example, Aaron Wildavsky (1992), or Richard Fenno (1966), in the former context. See Louis Fisher, The Presidential Spending Power, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975) in the latter context. As mentioned, Wildavsky and Fenno's microlevel role theory approach, with, among other things, its detailed descriptions of leadership behaviour and committee voting patterns, has some modest application in this project, as does my newer macrolevel aggregate analysis of how budgetary outcomes appeared during a decade of budget cycles. For more on the challenges of integrating these seemingly disparate approaches to budgetary analysis, see James Cox, Gregory Hager, and David Lowery, "Regime Change in Presidential and Congressional Budgeting: Role Discontinuity or Role Evolution?" 37 American Journal of Political Science, (February, 1993): 88-118, esp. 91. Hugh Heclo's seminal works on the administrative process also shed light on how the executive branch works. Heclo's "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment," in Anthony King, ed., The New American Political System, (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1978), pp. 87-124

raise in this book. The main focus of this manuscript is on the action of the Budget Committees of the House and Senate in formulating and adopting budget resolutions and on the actions of the full chambers of each house as they vote upon those packages. This book, of necessity, acknowledges the existence of presidential blueprints as a necessary beginning point for analysis, but the derivation of these blueprints is not its main point.³⁸ This is an attempt, instead, to link politics and process; to draw certain further crucial distinctions within each realm; and to show how these can make sense--superior sense--of recent American budgetary outcomes. To that end, four definitions are necessary, and these will remain at the heart of everything that follows.

*The theoretical definition of process, or process in the large, includes the scheme of separate institutions with shared powers and the institutional conflict between the executive, legislative, and sometimes judicial branches of government. That conflict often occurs at every

discusses the "paradox of expanding government and stable bureaucracy," a development which has been accompanied by incremental increases in federal outlays, particularly for domestic programs which are administered primarily by bureaucrats in the executive branch. See also Hecl, A Government of Strangers: Executive Politics in Washington, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1977) in which the author discusses the operational difficulties faced by presidential appointees in relation to career bureaucrats as they struggle for power in running the administrative agencies. For more on the bureaucracy, see also Francis Rourke, Bureaucracy, Politics, and Public Policy, 3rd ed., (New York: HarperCollins, 1984) and Rourke, ed., Bureaucratic Power in National Policy Making, 4th ed., (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986).

³⁸Additionally, Louis Fisher posits substantive claims for the idea that "[t]he link between the President's budget and executive responsibility seem[s] all but severed," especially in view of all of the dead-on-arrival budgets during the period that I address in this study. This position suggests strongly that the executive budgetary formation process has no lasting effect on the outcome measures that I seek to aggregate. See Fisher, Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President, 3rd rev. ed., (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1991), p. 193. However, there are very useful quantitative approaches to measuring budgetary outcomes like Hahn et al.'s "The Influence of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act on Federal Budgetary Outcomes, 1986," 11 Journal of Policy Analysis and Management 2, (Spring, 1992): 207-234, which illustrates that it is possible to measure the impact of that legislation by showing exactly how sequestration restrained outlays for nonexempt programs. This quantitative assessment of an outcome measure differs from the qualitative model that I construct for this study and it only measures one aspect of the tripartite dependent variable. There are other studies which focus specifically on Gramm-Rudman-Hollings as a budget process and on its impact on the budget process timetable and on its failure to reduce deficits, etc. The same approaches can be used for more recent changes in the law, as with the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990. This study, by comparison, examines how the budget process evolved over a decade and discusses the outcome measures during that time period. Cf. Robert Hartman, "Gramm-Rudman-Hollings after One Year," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Public Policy and Management, Austin, Texas, (1986); Joseph White and Aaron Wildavsky, The Deficit and the Public Interest, (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 1988); Aaron Wildavsky, The New Politics of the Budgetary Process, (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1988).

stage of the budget cycle and results in complex and sometimes conflicted budget outcomes.

***The mechanical definition of process, or process in the small, includes the rules of the budget game, the timetable for the budget cycle, the committee structure and the action that takes place in the authorising, appropriations, tax writing, and budget committees.**

Most of the fights between the branches during the budget cycle are a result of the built-in tensions of process in the large. Dispute settlement is often tenuous, conflicted, and fun to watch. It is because of the constant need for dispute settlement that Congress is always tinkering with process in the small. The purpose of the rules changes is usually to make the process less cumbersome and to ensure that Congress maintains control over the main elements of the budget process. Even so, the results of this tinkering are not always what that august body has in mind, as this book will illustrate.

Defining politics is another matter. ***Politics in the large** includes partisanship, the ideology of the parties that are warring for conflicting budgetary outcomes, electoral calculations, or voting behaviour of the American public in presidential and congressional elections, as well as the voting behaviour of members of Congress on individual pieces of legislation, and finally, the conversation between the president and Congress. These are the grand summary elements of American politics.

***Politics in the small**, by contrast, is interest group wishes or public wishes, often articulated by the thousands of lobbyists who roam the halls of Congress asking for favours on behalf of the people that they represent and paying for those favours with public support, with

other favours, or with money.³⁹ It is less easy to summarise this politicking, but it is no less real because of that.

All four of these competing elements create rivalry in the political arena. If the elements are relatively stable, or operate at a low energy level, then the rivalry is easier to neutralise and outcomes are easier to attain. If the elements are unstable, or operate at a high energy level, then the rivalry is harder to neutralise. Stability and budget outcomes, then, end up being more elusive and harder to attain. One distinct purpose of this book is to use a qualitative framework to make sense of that difficulty.

Unfortunately, the conversation between the two branches can often be heated, or else non-existent. There is rarely a middle ground, as the later years of the Reagan administration will illustrate. All of the competing interests in the political arena make for competing budgetary outcomes. The result can be chaos under a budget process that is so baroquely complex that few

³⁹There are at least 11,000 registered lobbyists in Washington. They report official expenditures of \$50 million a year. This figure does not include the money peddled by the 9,000 unregistered lobbyists, which boosts the original figure to an estimated \$2 billion per year. "Gucci Gulch," Sunday Times Magazine (London), (November 6, 1988): 29-30. A deeper development of the thesis in that article is contained in Jeffrey Birnbaum and Alan Murray's Showdown at Gucci Gulch: Lawmakers, Lobbyists and the Unlikely Triumph of Tax Reform, (New York: Vintage Press, 1988). Birnbaum's The Lobbyists: How Influence Peddlers Get Their Way in Washington, (New York: Times Books, 1992) provides an in-depth descriptive analysis of corporate lobbying. For more information about the substantive way in which lobbyists shape budgetary legislation, see also Chapter 9 in Hedrick Smith's The Power Game: How Washington Works, (New York: Random House, 1988). For a quantitative and opposing view see Kenneth Meier and J.R. Van Lohuizen, "Interest Groups in the Appropriations Process: The Wasted Profession Revisited," 59 Social Science Quarterly 3, (December, 1978): 482-495. See also Dan Clawson, Alan Neudstadt, and Denise Scott, Money Talks: Corporate PACs and Political Influence, (New York: Basic Books, 1992), who admonish political scientists to stop focusing on the relationship between campaign contribution patterns and on the behaviour of elected officials, but rather to pay attention to how those contributions affect the re-distribution of goods across people once a member is in office. That determination turns how much power corporate PACs have in affecting the details of policy, not general outlines of policy. (p. 223). An excellent text book on interest groups is Jeffrey Berry, The Interest Group Society, 2nd ed., (New York: HarperCollins, 1989), in which he argues among other things that interest groups proliferated during the 1960s and 1970s to fill a vacuum resulting from the decline of parties in the United States and to a lack of leadership in Congress. (pp. 16-43 & 221-231). Contrast that position with Cox and McCubbins' excellent study which rejects conventional wisdom on the decline of parties. They present a model of an active and partisan leader loyal House of Representatives where party leaders shape the legislative agenda. Their belief that there is party government in the House turns on a description of that body as a place where "the majority party acts as a structuring coalition, stacking the deck in its own favor--both on the floor and in committee--to create a kind of 'legislative cartel' that dominates the legislative agenda." Gary Cox and Matthew McCubbins, Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 270.

players in the budget game actually know much about what is happening. The little they do know, they do not very much like.

The simplest political science wisdom is that stories about the budget process are stories about how the executive and legislative branches interact in making policy. This, of course, abstracts widely from a yearly soap opera of deals, counter-deals, missed opportunities, and occasional triumphs. That is instead a story of how human personalities interact within the boundaries of a complex system of rules.

In order to discipline this story--this soap opera--four definitions must remain at the core of this project. Its purpose is to show how the tensions between the four concepts affect budgetary outcomes in America. The book is about the tensions between and the comparative influence of process versus politics in the making of American budgets. It also seeks to illustrate the complexity of measuring the results of that tension.

If we adopt the language of statistics in discussing the framework and the definitions contained therein, the dependent variable, or the outcome measure of what I am trying to explain or describe, would be the budget outcomes for the years covered in this study. For my purposes, the outcomes are whether the budget passed Congress in a timely manner and whether or not the package fulfilled its stated purpose. That purpose, loosely described, is two-pronged. In recent years, it has equalled deficit reduction and providing for the general welfare writ large. In other words, was the final budget timely and did it resemble what went in at the front end, with special attention to the deficit?

The independent variables would be the explanatory variables, that is, process in the

large, process in the small, politics in the large, and politics in the small. Throughout the study, I will illustrate which independent variables, singly or collectively, drive the dependent variable for each of the case study years at issue. I will also show what the "driving" resulted in--timely budget packages, deficit reduction and/or the setting of national priorities which answered the needs of average citizens.⁴⁰

The purpose of this analytic exercise is to show why the budget outcomes appear the way that they do and to establish whether or to what extent there is a causal link between the action of the independent variables (politics in the large and small and process in the large and small) and the final appearance of the dependent variable (the tripartite budgetary outcome for the cycle at issue). For example, changes in the law (process in the small), which may be adopted for the laudable purpose of forcing the deficit down, of necessity have a bearing on budgetary outcomes each time those changes in the law are passed by Congress. Those changes may result in deficit reduction, but the budget package may make individual constituent groups unhappy because of budget cuts, and it may result in delays in passing a fiscally frugal budget package. Of interest to most budget watchers is the fact that too often those budget reforms are contravened by the force of constituent demands (politics in the small), which usually work to force the deficit up.

While it is clear that changes in the law do affect changes in the budgetary outcome, those outcomes do not usually end up having a positive effect on deficit reduction.⁴¹ It is a test of this

⁴⁰See Addendum 1a.

⁴¹See also Charles Schultze, "Is There a Bias Toward Excess in U.S. Government Budgets or Deficits?" 6 Journal of Economic Perspectives, (Spring, 1992): 25-43 in which he argues that micro-inefficiency in budgeting does not have to, of necessity, lead to aggregate excess spending (p.27).

perspective that it explain the randomness of budgetary outcomes as answerable to the interplay between the variables. That randomness does not render my claims atheoretical, but rather disciplines the explanation about how the randomness comes about.

III.

But why is the behaviour of the economy exogenous to the framework, while absolutely essential to my story? At first glance, it appears as if politics in the large and politics in the small would have some driving effect on the "setting national priorities" output, and that process in the large and process in the small would drive the "timeliness" quotient. It seems to follow that the state of the real economy would drive deficit reduction.

Using the language of this project, the theoretical definition of the state of the real economy is based on economic performance--or on whether the economy is experiencing a boom or a bust cycle. Economic indicators "such as the inflation and unemployment rates, the rise and fall of personal income,"⁴² and the Gross Domestic Product explain what economics in the large is. The mechanical definition of economics, or the manner in which the monetary authority (the Federal Reserve Board) is controlling the money supply and the way that the fiscal authority (Congress) responds to boom-bust, inflation-recession cycles is economics in the small. It seems that economics would drive deficit reduction, just as politics and process would impact their

⁴²David Lanoue, "Partisan Schemas and Economic Voting: The Federal Budget Deficit and the 1988 Presidential Election," 13 Political Behavior 4, (1991): 285.

corresponding outputs.

The case studies show clearly that the former has not happened. While it is clear that interest rates affect whether lower or higher "bubbles" of economic activity occur, and while higher bubbles affect the positive general health of the economy, and while general health can produce environments where deficit reduction, with its concomitant requirement of raising taxes and cutting spending can take place, the measurable impact of those bubbles on how voters vote remains unclear. And that lack of clarity certainly connects to how members of Congress vote, at least on deficit spending, as all of the case studies illustrate. There has been no clear consensus that voters will punish legislators for voting for increased deficit spending, and the trend has been for legislators not to show leadership on lowering the deficit. In nearly all of the cases, deficit spending increased.

Sociotropic voting has little effect in this environment. Said differently, constituent votes based on assessments of the national economy⁴³ or on economics in the large and small as those factors relate to deficit reduction, the positive effects of which are not immediately evident to voters, and the negative effects of which are illustrated usually within technical economic literature which average voters probably do not read,⁴⁴ have little effect in this environment.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴See, for example, Charles Schultze, "Is There a Bias toward Excess in U.S. Government Budgets or Deficits?" 6 Journal of Economic Perspectives, (Spring, 1992): 25-43; or Schultze at passim in Henry Aaron, ed., Setting National Priorities: Policy for the Nineties, (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1990); Isabel Sawhill, "Economic Policy," or John Palmer and Gregory Mills, "Budget Policy," in John Palmer and Isabel Sawhill, eds., The Reagan Experiment: An Examination of Economic and Social Policies under the Reagan Administration, (Washington: Urban Institute, 1982), at 31-58 and 59-95 respectively; or Isabel Sawhill at passim in John Palmer, ed., Reflections on the Reagan Years, (Washington: Urban Institute, 1986); or generally James Buchanan, Charles Rowley, and Robert Tollison, eds., Deficits, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Philip Cagan, ed., The Economy in Deficit, (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1985).

Indeed, Allen Schick likens deficit issues to "worrying about termites in the basement,"⁴⁵ an assessment which highlights the locus of congressional inertia on deficit reduction. The idea is that deficits are a problem, but since their negative effects are not immediately felt by the average voter, incumbents do not feel compelled to show leadership on getting rid of them. The economic voting that voters seem to engage in is "pocketbook voting," which is a "product of individual self-interest,"⁴⁶ or in simpler terms, which is based on whether members of Congress "bring home the pork," or alternatively, pass policies which voters feel the immediate effect of.

Indeed, the 1984 presidential campaign underscores this point about the disconnect between constituent votes and the state of the national economy as it relates to deficit reduction. Walter Mondale's attempt to challenge Ronald Reagan's responsibility for the unprecedented growth in deficits was not successful. Voters did not listen, in spite of the fact that large numbers of them (11% according to one Gallup Poll) considered the deficit to be "the nation's most serious problem."⁴⁷ According to David Lanoue, it remains unclear whether Mondale's loss of 49 states to Reagan was due to "Reagan's personal appeal, the appearance of overall economic prosperity, or the importance of the deficit as a campaign issue."⁴⁸ But it is clear that centering his campaign on Republican responsibility for deficit increases did not help him to win.

Similarly, a 1988 CPS/National Election Study showed that "nearly one third of all voters

⁴⁵Interview with Allen Schick, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., July 20, 1992.

⁴⁶Lanoue, p. 285.

⁴⁷Lanoue, p. 286; Cf. The Gallup Report, October, 1984, p. 20.

⁴⁸Ibid.

(32.7%) named the deficit as the most important issue facing the United States."⁴⁹ That year, Michael Dukakis tried an approach similar to Mondale's when he unsuccessfully challenged George Bush for the presidency. Developments of February, 1995 point even more cogently to the difficulty of scoring political points by attempting to lower the deficit. President Clinton's recent budget, with its lack of emphasis on deficit reduction and emphasis on social spending, came close on the heels of his getting few political points for lowering deficits during his first two years in office.⁵⁰ Those successful deficit reducing budgets did not figure largely in the congressional elections of 1994, where the Democrats lost control of the House and of the Senate.

As Bob Woodward records in his book on the Clinton administration's attempt to pass its first economic package in 1993, there is "no magic to coordinating the economic efforts of a President and Congress with the Federal Reserve,"⁵¹ which leads to an important point. Certainly the state of the real economy has some bearing on what the president asks for in his budgets, and it is clear that at a fundamental level it has a bearing on OMB and CBO baseline and outyear calculations, and in some instances, on how much Congress is willing to "bust" or discipline the budget by. The case studies illustrate clearly, however, that the state of the real economy is not what explains the difference between what gets asked for at the beginning of a cycle and what is

⁴⁹Lanoue, p. 286.

⁵⁰Indeed, Council of Economic Advisors Chair Laura Tyson and other economists on the Domestic Policy Council were able to persuade the President on this point, against the advice of OMB Director Alice Rivlin, a fight which underscores my point and supports the literature on administration which emphasises the inherent tension between economic camps in the White House. See generally Heclo and Rourke, op. cit.

⁵¹Bob Woodward, The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), p. 69.

given out at the end.

In simple terms, then, the ups and downs of the economy do, of course, condition the broadest environment within which budgets are made, but that has no obvious implication for timeliness on the difference between what goes in versus what comes out on the budget. Additionally, the literature shows that those economic fluctuations do not appear to make the public demand deficit reduction in a major way.

With respect to economics in the large and small, the case studies actually show that economic indicators are at best abstract concepts at some levels, especially for voters in the short term; they have no lasting immediate effect. Inarguably, the state of the real economy is necessary for providing an environment, a frame within which the budget debate advances. It is not, however, sufficient for explaining the outcomes in any of the case studies discussed because of its instability, and because the evidence shows that it is dominated by politics at the beginning of each budget cycle. (There is a brief exception in 1984 when Senate Finance Committee Chair Bob Dole (R-Kan.) ignored his president's desire to continue to "bust" the budget with increased military expenditures and instead pushed deficit reduction to the top of his legislative agenda. Other Republican leaders followed suit. That emphasis would not last, as politics overtook that temporary outcome by the end of the cycle.)⁵²

⁵²See Chapter 8. According to John Kingdon's theory about how agenda-setting comes about in America, that policy abdication was a result of the "problem stream" presented by deficit increase not staying joined to "policy stream" of adopting a substantive deficit reduction package, and not staying joined to the "politics stream" of a unified executive-legislative Republican voice that deficit reduction should remain at the fulcrum of debate during that election year. That disharmony between the problems and politics streams precluded development of a situation (or opening of a policy window) where Dole's leadership could result in a window of opportunity appearing for the two functions to flow through and result in decision-making on this substantive issue. For more on Kingdon's agenda-setting theory generally and on specific applications to some political and economic developments during the 1980s and 1990s, see Kingdon, Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies, 2nd ed., (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), esp. pp. 1-20, 165-195, 196-208, 209-230.

Even the outcome that economics in the large might be expected to drive, the size of the budget deficit, is invariably and compellingly driven by politics in each case study. Thus, economics is not part of the input side of the framework, while deficit reduction remains as part of the output side of the equation. Economics in the large and economics in the small, then, remain exogenous to the framework.

IV.

If we accept the idea that explanation establishes causation, then the driving nature of the explanatory variables does itself contribute a causal proposition. The theory is that budget outcomes (dependent variables) are driven by politics and process (independent variables) differentially across discrete years and that the driving is not temporal and static throughout time. The non-static nature of that relationship explains the randomness of outcomes. Positivistic political institutionalism, the "new" institutionalism, classical role theory, revisionist role theory, incrementalist frameworks, rational choice theory, historical reporting, and microlevel analysis aggregating budgetary outcomes, the latter of which some scholars castigate as mere "ad hoc empirical exercises,"⁵³ are not sufficient to establish causation in this environment, even though each of those approaches to analysis are investigated or integrated into the case studies, even if only in a passing manner. They help to clarify aspects of the story.⁵⁴ However, none of those theories or approaches are singly sufficient to explain my outcomes; neither are they sufficient

⁵³Cox, Hager and Lowery, p. 90.

⁵⁴I do not rely heavily on role theory, for example, but it is not accurate to pretend that some role identification does not occur in the cases.

for explaining the randomness of the outcomes.

The theory then, of necessity, includes a qualitative framework which allows us to investigate the comparative influence of process versus politics in the making of American budgets. Economics (the state of the real economy, economic performance within budget cycles) remains exogenous to the framework because each case study shows that even though it frames the debate and is an integral part of the dialectical march toward outcome production, it has absolutely no driving effect on the final appearance of the outcome. It is not singly sufficient to explain the difference between what gets asked for at the beginning of the cycle and what is produced at the end. The opposite can be said of politics and of process.

Other findings

My approach to analysing the budget also implies that if the struggle for input hegemony is too frenzied, there is no formal, rules-driven budgetary outcome. The outcome emerges outside of the process, or a new process emerges. This pattern surfaces continually during the remainder the Reagan presidency, (where my case studies end), the whole of the Bush presidency, and even for the first 2 1/2 cycles of the Clinton presidency. The theory also suggests that if the struggle for input hegemony is not won by one variable, then the combined action of the other variables is too frenzied to result in any aspect of the tripartite outcome coming about. (Witness the environment in which Gramm-Rudman passed, and certainly in which the 1990 Budget Act,⁵⁵ another example of formula budgeting, passed.) In short, the process breaks down if more than one variable is too active. At that breakage point, Congress is forced

⁵⁵See, for example, CQA, Vol.46, (1990), at passim, and the corresponding C. Q. Weekly Reports for that year.

to create a new budget process to make up for the fact that the old process cannot operate under existing institutional and political arrangements.

This is precisely what happened in 1974, in 1986, and even in 1990, when yet another budget act was superimposed on all of the other ones.⁵⁶ In 1995, Congress rejected a new budget process when the Senate failed to pass the balanced budget amendment, an amendment that has been offered on the floors of both chambers each year since 1974. It is still considering making Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), a welfare entitlement program, part of the appropriations process, which in this new conservative environment with a conservative balance of power, would result in de-incremental reductions in this aspect of welfare outlays.

Even if such an alteration in the budget process occurred, it would have a nebulous effect on the deficit reduction aspect of the tripartite dependent variable, because AFDC welfare expenditures comprise only one percent (1%) of the annual budget dollar.⁵⁷ This lack of clarity establishes yet again the unclear driving effect of economic considerations on budgetary outcomes and establishes the driving effect of politics on economic considerations and thus on budgetary outcomes. If all entitlements, which at present, comprise 66% of the budget dollar

⁵⁶See Louis Fisher, *The Politics of Shared Power*, 3rd ed., (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1993), pp. 196-197, where he describes this new budget process (the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990) as an attempt to concentrate on spending limits as a deficit reduction mechanism. This formulaic approach set spending caps for three budget areas--defense, international and domestic. "Fire walls" between each category prevented monetary transfers between the categories. For three years the caps would apply to those categories. In the final two outyears covered by the Act, limits on total discretionary spending would guide legislators in deficit reduction. The law allowed periodical sequestration within budget cycles for discretionary programs and yearly sequestration for entitlements and taxes. The loophole is that the two branches can designate "emergency funding" or spending that will be exempt from the caps--yet another example of how the national legislature's right of implicit repeal continually stymies deficit reduction and other attempts to produce fiscally frugal budgets. Not surprisingly, the 1990 Budget Act did not result in substantive deficit reduction, nor would a 1993 revision of that rules change, which "extended the caps on the discretionary spending and which strengthened the 'paygo' rules." Interview with Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Director Alice Rivlin, the White House, Washington, D.C., 1 May 1995.

⁵⁷Interview with Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Director Alice Rivlin, the White House, Washington, D.C., 19 March 1995.

became part of the appropriations process, then the possibility of deficit reduction will increase. Given the driving nature of politics on the cases that I have examined, it is unlikely that such a rational, economic response to the current crisis will ever occur.

V.

The foregoing definitions and labels will structure each chapter's empirical analysis. The idea is that this approach will help the technical reader understand how the framework provides analytical purchase across changes in the dependent variable.⁵⁸ My attempt to bridge the disjuncture between theory and application does not extend to theory construction which proves a causal proposition, but it is a helpful tool in beginning to understand the randomness of budgetary outcomes in post-1974 American politics. That randomness is best understood through this kind of qualitative analysis, because the approach presents the opportunity for developing longitudinal ideas about what institutional behaviours drive budgetary outcomes. The framework shows emphatically that Congress is continually using procedural tools and all too often gimmicks to circumvent its inability to exert leadership in the budgetary arena. Calls for these process changes are as much a part of the march through the cycles as production of budget resolutions are. Assuming the validity of Louis Fisher's claim that the "overall effect of the Budget Act of

⁵⁸Michael Moore and Sue Thomas use similar language as they attempt to establish which kind of behaviours contribute to the success of individual senators in passing legislation. The difference in their approach is that they assign number values to the independent and dependent variables to establish senatorial "batting averages." My approach is not to assign a number value to the inputs and to the tripartite outcome measure in my framework, but rather to illustrate a cyclical theory of legislative-executive behaviour or a time theory which shows a pattern (in this case, a pattern of disarray as far as process in the small is concerned) re-emerging over time. See also Michael Moore and Sue Thomas, "Explaining Legislative Success in the U.S. Senate: The Role of the Majority and Minority Parties," The Western Political Quarterly, (Nov., 1990): 959-970 and Andrew McFarland, "Interest Groups and Political Time: Cycles in America," 21 British Journal of Political Science, (July, 1991): 257-284.

1974 has been to undermine the president's budget,"⁵⁹ and that the national legislature's present loss of confidence in its internal budget process⁶⁰ has spawned the feckless examples of formula budgeting outlined below, then it is understandable that as of 28 March 1995, Senate and House bills granting the President a line-item veto within the appropriations process remain stalled in conference. The sticking point is the Robert Dole (R-Kan.)-backed Senate version, which requires each line item veto to be treated separately in the appropriations process. This "unwieldy"⁶¹ approach to budgeting would stymie the process further, and preclude efforts to re-establishing a presidential budget process harkening back to pre-1974 arrangements. Until recently the Democratic White House remained publicly quiet about its support of the Republican-controlled House version of the bill, yet another example of how politics is driving the budget process at this early juncture in the 1995 cycle. The delays at resolution combined with the fact that both Houses have passed some version of the line-item approach highlights congressional inability to show clear leadership in the budgetary arena, in spite of its constitutional requirement to do so. It may very well be that after two decades of erratic legislative outcomes, the conventional wisdom is to re-visit executive budgeting to redress the imbalances that the case studies highlight below. (Indeed, events through 24 May 1996, including congressional acceptance of the presidential line item veto beginning in 1997, have proven that this is the case.)

⁵⁹Fisher (1993), p. 192.

⁶⁰Ibid., 198.

⁶¹Interview with Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Director Alice Rivlin, the White House, Washington, D.C., 28 March 1995.

What is compelling about these developments is the fact that rule and role instability animate those cycles, because of Congress's right of implicit repeal. The purpose of budget reform was to produce the opposite outcome. The cases illustrate why an independent variable drove the tripartite dependent variable in each cycle. They show that each of the four competing elements or independent variables exhibited varying levels of influence, and that they were never completely absent from the legislative dance, but the conclusion is that process in the small is the variable least capable of maintaining sustained influence on budgetary outcomes. The combined strength of the other three elements or independent variables is too strong to allow this. The data also show that in the overall struggle for input hegemony between politics and process, the trend is that politics will re-enter the configuration through some loophole--and have some sustained effect on the battle's outcome by either subverting the process in slowing things down or, in some other way, by challenging existing arrangements.

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

SHAIJEN FOR GOVERNOR, RESEARCH DIRECTOR AND DEPUTY PRESS SECRETARY. July-November 1998.

- Perform all aspects of comparative research for New Hampshire Governor's re-election campaign. Regularly update Governor, Chief of Staff, Legal Counsel, Campaign Manager and others on findings.
- Produce press releases, Ad Watches, "Rhetoric vs. Reality" pages, issue papers, and responses to candidate questionnaires.
- Coordinate monitoring of opponents' public events and print, television, and radio coverage of the race.

CORPORATION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE - AMERICORPS

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (ACTING). April-July 1998.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS (ACTING). September 1997-April 1998.

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT. January-September 1994, July 1995-September 1997.

- As principal staff for the reauthorization of AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, and the National Senior Service Corps, authored specifications for HR 3561, The National and Community Service Amendments Act of 1998, based on two years of review. Drafted Presidential Letter of Transmittal and support materials.
- With two other staff members, secured FY 1995-8 appropriations for AmeriCorps and the other national service programs after more than 20 attempts to eliminate them.
- Created and disseminated rapid responses to Congressional and press attacks on AmeriCorps and organized rebuttals to continuous hostile Congressional oversight. Wrote appropriations, reauthorization, and oversight hearing testimonies and briefed senior Administration and Congressional staff on appropriations and reauthorization.
- Won three special performance awards totaling \$1,750.

TENNESSEE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY 96, DEPUTY COUNTY FIELD DIRECTOR. October-November 1996.

- Co-directed the final five weeks of the coordinated campaign for President and Vice President, US Senate, US House of Representatives, State Senate, and nine General Assembly races in Davidson County (Nashville). Coordinated operations of county campaign headquarters and phone banks. Served as liaison to local elected and labor officials. Recruited and managed campaign volunteers.
- Clinton/Gore 96 won Davidson County with a wider margin of victory than in 1992.

CLINTON/GORE 96, OFFICE OF SURROGATE SPEAKERS VOLUNTEER. August-September 1996.

- Assisted National Director of Surrogate Speaker to recruit community leaders to advocate for Clinton/Gore. Helped organize database of speakers. Helped create talking points and pocket reference cards.

THE 1996 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, PODIUM-BACKSTAGE SECURITY. August 1996.

- With United States Secret Service, Chicago Police Department, and Convention personnel, maintained secure zone on and under the podium and backstage by limiting access to guests, delegates, and staff with appropriate credentials.

SCOTT PUBLIC SERVICE FELLOW. May-August 1993.

- With Philadelphia Health Commissioner's Office and Philadelphia's Summer of Service program, designed and implemented a community-based health curriculum to immunize at-risk children at the Turner Middle School - West Philadelphia Improvement Corps Summer Institute. The White House Office on National Service examined this program as a model for AmeriCorps.

CITIZENS' CAMPAIGN FOR THE ENVIRONMENT, FUNDRAISER. May-December 1991, May-August 1992.

- Encouraged donors to this nonprofit lobbying group to contact state and local officials in support of activities.
- Solicited funds; high performance rating based on pledges met.

EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Double major Bachelor of Arts in Urban Studies and History, with Honors, May 1995. Concentrations in Economics, Community Economic Development, and Social History. Graduate coursework in Public Policy and Management (Wharton), Law, Philosophy, and Education. Awards included Benjamin Franklin Scholar and National Merit Scholar. Proficient in Spanish and Hebrew.

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PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Program Assistant, Governance Programs, Institute for Educational Leadership, Inc.

Day-to-day responsibility for major education reform initiative.

- 1997-July 1998 and 1983-85**
- Organized structured "Community Conversations" to promote grass roots public engagement in public education governance for IEL partner effort with Public Agenda, a non-partisan, non-profit public opinion research and citizen education organization.
 - Completed Public Agenda moderator training to facilitate civic dialogues.
 - Customized participant guides, analyzed small discussion group transcripts, tabulated participant surveys and wrote reports for 13 "Community Conversations" each having 3-6 small discussion groups and 40-100 participants.
 - Researched background information from World Wide Web and Internet sources.
 - Recruited applicants for in-service fellowships.
 - Acted as liaison between IEL, firms of the Greater Washington Board of Trade and DC Public Schools for high school guidance counselors' summer internships in private industry.

Executive Assistant, Congressman Albert R. Wynn (MD-4), U.S. House of Representatives

Resolved constituent problems and implemented special projects to aggressively pursue Member's agenda. Reported directly to the Congressman.

- 1995-97**
- Wrote and distributed weekly Democratic Whip Report to Region IX Members.
 - Acted as liaison with federal agencies and White House regarding: Presidential Appointments, small and minority business development and special constituent casework problems.
 - Utilized small business expertise to initiate and implement an annual procurement expo at Andrews Air Force Base Officers' Club with 60 exhibitors, educational seminars and attended by 500 small and minority business persons—now in its third year.
 - Researched, designed, produced and publicized programs, special events and special projects including: a church arson prevention seminar, high school assemblies on how to prevent teen violence and an Olympian parade celebrating a constituent gold medalist.
 - Monitored District of Columbia legislation in Congress plus education legislation before Maryland General Assembly and advised Congressman of status and actions needed.

Legal Secretary, Administrative Assistant and Marketing Design

While engaged in community activities and development of a small business, gained experience in general office environments by working for the following organizations in temporary positions:

- 1988-95**
- Attorneys Per Diem; Oneness-Family School; Johns Hopkins Health Systems; Jai Medical Center; Gordon, Feinblatt, Rothman, Hoffberger & Hollander; Union Memorial Hospital; Johns Hopkins University; Ellin & Baker; Macy's Northeast; The Resume Place; Trammel Crow Company; TAC Staffing; Staff Builders; Temps & Co. and Don Richard Associates.

Owner and Manager, Chandini Bachman Health Foods

Obtained small business expertise and opened a retail health food business.

- 1992-94**
- Developed a business and marketing plan to start up a retail business.
 - Established commercial accounts, negotiated commercial leases, purchased equipment, supplies and inventory and managed all financial paperwork for business.

Chandini Margaret Bachman, Page Two

Volunteer Community Leader, in the City of Baltimore and State of Maryland

For eight years in a leadership role, initiated and carried out substantive community activities to promote unity.

- 1987-95**
- Peace Run Torch Relay: coordinated state-wide logistics, permits, ceremonies and press.
 - Marathon Team Race Director: planned, publicized and directed monthly 2-mile races.
 - United Nations Day: organized local and national observances including art exhibit in U.S. Senate Russell Rotunda celebrating the 50th anniversary of the U.N.
 - Peace Concerts: produced free concerts with grass roots outreach resulting in multi-cultural audiences; negotiated venues, coordinated advertising, ticketing and cadre of volunteers.
 - Meditation Classes: organized and taught free meditation classes to adults city-wide.

Assistant Campaign Manager, Ben Cardin for Congress (MD-3)

*Carried out candidate's visions for effective re-election campaign.
Reported directly to the Congressman.*

- 1987-88**
- Advised candidate on creative ways to increase active voter and volunteer involvement.
 - Acted as liaison between candidate and Washington, DC steering committee of Political Action Committee directors.
 - Planned and directed fund-raising efforts including breakfasts and receptions.
 - Researched, budgeted, scheduled and purchased newspaper advertising.
 - Evaluated, purchased and implemented new software for improved database.

Scheduler and Office Manager, Hon. Claudine Schneider (RI-2), U.S. House of Representatives

Managed the Congresswoman's time and her office. Reported to the Administrative Assistant.

- 1986-87**
- Received and responded to all scheduling requests; made all travel arrangements; provided Member with travel packet containing logistics, tickets and contact information.
 - Conducted weekly meetings to brief staff and assign preparations for scheduled events.
 - Maintained office equipment inventory, staff leave records and financial records.

Special Assistant, Senator Lawton Chiles (FL), United States Senate

Junior staff member of two-person executive suite team. Reported directly to the Senator.

- 1985-86**
- Scheduled and coordinated meetings for groups of Senators.
 - Coordinated special projects and special events per Senator's vision for them.
 - Assigned and supervised all intern projects and tasks to correspond with staff needs.
 - Composed and produced Senator's personal correspondence.
 - Acted as liaison with personal secretaries of other Senators.

Early career included: survey research work on George McGovern's 1972 and Jimmy Carter's 1976 and pre-1980 presidential campaigns and support staff positions in Senate and White House offices.

EDUCATION

1976, **Bachelor of Fine Arts in Design**

Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island

1970-73, majored in **Political Science/Urban Studies**

Occidental College, Los Angeles, California

REFERENCES

Available upon request

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Shirley

TO:

Melanne

FROM:

MICHAEL WALDMAN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR OF SPEECHWRITING

*I have heard that Jen Klein
is going to be at home full
time. This person comes very
highly recommended (and is
an expert on early childhood
development, reproductive technology,
etc.).*

SHANNON MILILANI BROWNLEE
1030 Sandpiper Lane Annapolis, MD 21403
Home: (410) 280-0870 Office: (202) 955-2137 or (410) 216-9582
brogar@erols.com

Experience

- Senior Writer
1989-98 *U.S. News & World Report* Serve as the lead science writer at *U.S. News*, with nearly 20 covers on topics ranging from cancer breakthroughs to social policy issues concerning genetic testing and tobacco. From 1989-97 responsible for biomedical beat. Now covering kids and family issues. Conceive of and write 1-10 page features on medicine, biotech, molecular biology, neurobiology and social issues for *U.S. News*, *Business*, and *Science* sections
- Staff Writer
1987-1989 *Sports Illustrated* (Time Inc.) Wrote sports features and athlete profiles. Favorite story: Profile of Tony and Dante Muse, teen speed roller skaters
- Staff Writer
1982-1987 *Discover* (Time, Inc.) Wrote 1-20 page science features on geology, astronomy, biology and evolution
- Reporter
Summer 1982 Providence, R.I., *Journal Bulletin* as AAAS Mass Media Science and Engineering Fellow. General assignment reporter; also wrote investigative stories on pollution in Rhode Island that led to closing of major industrial polluter. Served as apprentice illustrator of the weekly food page
- 1982-present Freelance articles and essays on a wide range of topics from biotech to bananas have appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Working Woman*, *Self*, *Parenting* and others.
Writer of *Vive La Difference!*, a seven-minute award-winning science video
Guest lecturer: University of Calif., Santa Cruz; University of Maryland

Selected Honors and Fellowships

- 1998 **Sigma Delta Chi Award**, Society of Professional Journalists: "The Quality of Mercy," *U.S. News & World Report*, March 17, 1997
- 1995 Included among top American science journalists in *The New Science Journalists*, Ted Anton and Rick McCourt, eds. (1995) Ballantine Books, NY
- 1992-1993 **Knight Journalism Fellow**, Stanford University
- 1992 **Sigma Tau Foundation Prize for Journalism**: "Alzheimer's: Is There Hope?" *U.S. News & World Report*, December 11, 1989
- 1991 Invited to address physics Nobel laureates symposium: "Big Science and Creativity," Stockholm, Sweden, December 12, 1991
- 1990 **General Motors Cancer Research Foundation Prize for International Journalism**: "Cancer's Bad Seeds," *U.S. News*, August 12, 1989

Shannon M. Brownlee

Honors and Fellowships continued_____

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1987 | American Institute of Physics Award: "Waiting for the Big One," <i>Discover</i> , July 1986 |
| 1982 | American Association for the Advancement of Science, Mass Media Science and Engineering Fellow , <i>Providence Journal Bulletin</i> , Providence, R.I. |

Education_____

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1982 | Master of Science, Marine Sciences, with honors, University of California, Santa Cruz |
| 1979 | Bachelor of Arts, Biology, with honors, University of California, Santa Cruz |
| 1981 | University of California Regents Fellow |
| 1979 | University of California President's Undergraduate Fellow |

Background and Interests_____

Born and raised in Honolulu
Married, with one son

Judith E. Michaels, Ph.D.
4509 Potomac Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007-2535
202-337-4666 - Phone
202-337-0545 - Fax

Excellent skills in administration, communication, strategic planning, evaluation, writing, advocacy, program development. Extensive background in partner relationships, leadership and organizational development, public policy. Policy specializations: nonprofit organizations, urban policy, refugee issues.

Employment History:

- 1998 Editor, Immigration and Refugee Services of America, Washington, D.C. Currently editing and re-writing a field guide for refugee mental health workers. Certified as a White House volunteer.
- 1998 Consultant, Institute for the Study of International Migration, Washington, D.C. Conducted literature review and background article on migration and remittances issues.
- 1996-1998 Maxwell Fellow, Syracuse University Washington Center. Currently conducting a survey of Senate-confirmed presidential appointees in the Clinton administration.
- 1997 Proposal writer, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration. Wrote grant request for a campus-based campaign to foster public service career choice.
- 1996-1997 Faculty, Institute for Experiential Learning. Taught Modern American Society and Politics, Washington, D.C.
- 1995-1996 Wrote book on presidential appointees in the modern era.
- 1994 Legislative Fellow, U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Employment, Housing, and Aviation. Researched and analyzed legislation and regulations, wrote memoranda, briefed Subcommittee chair on public housing issues, and worked with constituent groups.
- 1993 Adjunct Professor in Government and Politics (public administration) at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia; and in Political Science (urban policy, politics, and planning) at Goucher College, Towson, Maryland.
- 1991-1992 Doctoral Fellow, General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C. Developed, administered, and analyzed a survey of Senate-confirmed presidential appointees. Interviewed political and career executives in the federal government; focused on appointments selection and confirmation process.

1989-1994 Researcher and graduate student, University of Delaware. Developed, administered, and analyzed a survey of new teachers in the Delaware public school system to address issues of teacher recruitment and retention; co-wrote report of the results. Revised and administered a survey to executives of nonprofit organizations to assess the effects of government contracting on their agencies' operations; analyzed and wrote report of the results. Helped develop a certification program for executive directors of nonprofit organizations. Earned Ph.D. in public policy and urban affairs.

1988-1989 Earned M.P.A. degree.

1982-1988 Pastor, Waverly Presbyterian Church, Baltimore. Administered programming, supervised staff, and church office, coordinated work with community organizations, led services, directed the work of volunteer boards, taught classes and leadership development, goals setting and evaluation, and counseled parishioners and community members, and directed fundraising. Earned D.Min. degree.

1981 Writer and researcher, United Presbyterian Church. Researched and wrote The Book of General Mission, detailing finances and programs of the denomination.

1975-1981 Campus Pastor, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. Created, marketed, and executed programs at the University in conjunction with partner faculty, student, staff, and community organizations. Also administered office and supervised staff, coordinated work with volunteer board of directors, counseled, guest-taught in university classes and conferences, conducted leadership development, strategic planning and evaluation, did local and national committee work, planned and led regional and national conferences, and directed fundraising.

1973-1975 Director, The San Francisco Young Adult Network. Ran center programs, recruited, trained, and supervised volunteer staff, directed strategic planning, goals setting and evaluation, marketing, and fundraising, and coordinated work with partner groups and other agencies within the network.

Education:

Ph.D.	College of Urban Affairs and Public Policy, University of Delaware
D.Min.	San Francisco Theological Seminary
M.P.A.	Department of Public Administration, University of Baltimore
M.Div.	San Francisco Theological Seminary
B.A.	Department of History, California State University, LA

Political Campaign Activity:

Clinton-Gore/Mikulski election campaign (1992)
 Maryland Question 6 (1992)
 Congressional and Wisconsin Senate and Assembly election
 campaigns, Rep. Jim Moody (1992, 1984, 1982, 1980, 1978)
 Maryland Senate election campaign, Sen. John A. Pica (1994,
 1990)
 Maryland House of Delegates campaigns, Del. Ann Marie Doory
 (1990)
 Moderatorial Campaign Committee, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.,
 the Rev. Dr. Herbert D. Valentine (1993)

Specialized Training:

Administration and Management Training
 Communication Skills Training
 Computers in Management
 Economic Theories and Applications
 Training for Urban Organizations
 Training Institute for Therapists
 Counseling in Human Sexuality

Publications: Available on Request

Awards and Professional Societies:

Doctoral Research Fellowship, General Accounting Office,
 Washington, D.C., 1991-1992
 Masland Fellowship, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1981
 Pi Alpha Alpha (National Honor Society for Public Affairs and
 Administration)
 The Witherspoon Society, 1985-1990 (President, 1986-1990,
 Chair, The National Conference, 1989 and 1987)

Community and Campus Service:

Combined Health Agencies of Maryland (United Way), 1987-1988
 Planned Parenthood of Maryland Board, 1983-1989
 Institutional Review Board, Baltimore Hospitals, 1982-1983
 Family Shelter Board, YWCA, Baltimore, 1982-1983
 Vocaré (halfway home for women ex-offenders), Oakland,
 California, 1972-1975 (President)
 National Campus Ministry Association, 1977-1979 (Executive
 Committee and Planning Team for National Conferences)
 Campus Ministry Women, 1977-1978 (Executive Committee and
 Organizing Convener, Regional Conference)
 Wisconsin Campus Ministry Staff Retreats, 1976-1978
 (Organizing Convener)
 Guest lecturer on university campuses, 1977-1980

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
PRESCRIPTION FOR LEARNING KICKOFF
REACH OUT AND READ COALITION OF GREATER NEW YORK
BELLEVUE HOSPITAL CENTER, NEW YORK CITY
DECEMBER 1, 1998

It's a pleasure to be here today at Bellevue Hospital to join Barry Zuckerman, Patricia Schroeder, and Dick Robinson in applauding the Reach Out and Read Coalition of Greater New York as you kick off your "Prescription for Reading Partnership." Thank you for inviting me and thanks to all of you for coming today.

I believe that few things will make a more dramatic difference over the next ten years in this country than to persuade young parents--of all education and economic levels--to take seriously this mission of reading to and talking with their babies. So a year and a half ago, I challenged booksellers, publishers, libraries, hospitals, health centers, pediatricians and others to work together to make this simple idea a reality.

The result was the formation of the Prescription for Reading Partnership--a national coalition of health care organizations, booksellers, libraries, publishers, and foundations who have spearheaded wonderful programs like this. In the past year, doctors have given prescriptions redeemable at participating bookstores for a copy of Read to Your Bunny to nearly 200,000 children. More than 1500 bookstores have participated; 5,000 books were donated to local hospitals, health centers, and to Prescription for Reading partners Reach Out and Read and First Book.

The Prescription for Reading Partnership grew out of a simple idea: Nearly every new parent has contact with a pediatrician or health care provider during those first critical years of a child's life. When that doctor or nurse prescribes reading--and then takes it a step further by handing that new parent or caregiver a book--parents are likely to follow the doctor's advice. And what a difference that simple prescription for reading will make in a child's life.

We learned at last year's White House conference on Early Childhood Development and Learning, that what happens to a child in the earliest years can make all the difference in a child's life and that the difference lasts a lifetime. Just 16 years ago, even scientists thought that a baby's brain structure was virtually complete at birth. Now neuroscience tells us that a baby's brain is a work in progress and that everything we do with a child has some potential physical influence on that rapidly forming brain. As one participant at the White House Conference put it, "Nature and nurture don't compete, they cooperate." We now know what we've always known instinctively--that time spent sharing a favorite book with a child, even a newborn, not only strengthens the bond between parent and child, but it also helps a baby's brain to grow and it prepares her or him for a lifetime of taking pleasure in reading and learning.

Children's earliest experiences, the sights and sounds and smells and feelings they encounter, the challenges they meet, all these things determine how their brains are wired. And the more

something is repeated, the stronger that wiring in their brains becomes: And those connections in turn can be permanent. So, even the seemingly unimportant, totally forgettable events in our first years are anything but trivial. It is during this time that children learn to soothe themselves when they're upset, to empathize, to get along with others, to become and we hope they will become, human beings of the finest order.

Experience in the first three years of life can also determine how well a child learns. When someone speaks, reads or plays with an infant or toddler, whether that person is a mother, father, older sister or brother, grandparent, or care giver, she or he is activating the connections in that child's brain that will one day enable her to think and read and speak and solve problems for herself.

When Chelsea was a young child, Bill and I used to cuddle up with her and either read her books or make up new tales about imaginary characters who embarked on breathtaking adventures--just as our parents and grandparents did with us.

What we didn't know back then was that the stories we read to children during their first years of life do even more than strengthen our emotional bonds with them. As the White House Conference made clear, reading and talking to our infants and toddlers helps them learn words and concepts. It actually fires up the synapses and stimulates the growth of their brains. And it lays the foundation for a lifetime of reading and imagination.

Yet, when we speak to young parents about the importance of reading and talking to their very young children, many are puzzled by the thought of reading and talking to them, many are puzzled by the thought of reading to someone who can't understand or talk back. Some may worry that they're not good readers or, some, themselves, may not even be able to read. We must tell them, "It doesn't matter. All parents can open up a book, point to the pictures, and make up a story." All parents must hear the message: "Reading and talking are as important to your baby's brain as car seats and immunizations are to their health." We know that most parents come into contact with a pediatrician--they may not take their child to a library, they may not take their child to a preschool program until the child is over three, but they will, in all likelihood, take their child to a health care provider. If the doctor or nurse who is administering the well-baby checkup or the vaccination prescribes reading, and then takes it a step further--not merely prescribing reading, but handing that parent and child a book, we know that in most cases the parents will try to follow through on the doctor's prescription.

One of the great observers of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, wrote about what he thought made American democracy work. He talked about the way men and women felt they could participate in making their own lives better, how they formed associations, how they worked for some common good. And he referred to the habits of the heart that are necessary for any democracy to flourish. It is these habits of the heart that must

be nurtured and one of these habits, I think, is the love of freedom, of democracy. Reading teaches children and adults to think. It opens up a whole new world to them. It teaches them about being citizens, not just of their family, neighborhood, community, state and nation. It teaches to be citizens of the world. It expands their horizons as far as they can go. Reading is the key, the first step to the expanded universe that we would all wish for our children.

Today, the Reach Out and Read Coalition of Greater New York is doing a marvelous thing, starting children out on the right path, equipping parents to begin the learning process with and for their children. You now have the potential to place the power of reading within the hands of children in every corner of New York City, Westchester, and Northern New Jersey. I congratulate and salute you and wish you great success in your efforts. Our children are counting on you.

JMichaels

STU LOESER

235 Cedar Road • East Northport, NY 11731 • (516) 266-1654 • Pager: 1(800) SKY-8888 #1336608 • E-mail stu_loeser@hotmail.com

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

SHAHEEN FOR GOVERNOR, RESEARCH DIRECTOR AND DEPUTY PRESS SECRETARY. July-November 1998.

- Performed all aspects of comparative research for New Hampshire Governor's re-election campaign. Regularly update Governor, Chief of Staff, Legal Counsel, Campaign Manager and others on findings.
- Produced press releases, Ad Watches, "Rhetoric vs. Reality" pages, issue papers, and responses to questionnaires.
- Coordinated monitoring of opponents' public events and print, television, and radio coverage of the race.

CORPORATION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE - AMERICORPS

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS (ACTING). April-July 1998.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS (ACTING). September 1997-April 1998.

LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT. January-September 1994, July 1995-September 1997.

- As principal staff for the reauthorization of AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, and the National Senior Service Corps, authored specifications for HR 3561, The National and Community Service Amendments Act of 1998, based on two years of review. Drafted Presidential Letter of Transmittal and support materials.
- With two other staff members, secured FY 1995-8 appropriations for AmeriCorps and the other national service programs after more than 20 attempts to eliminate them.
- Created and disseminated rapid responses to Congressional and press attacks on AmeriCorps and organized rebuttals to continuous hostile Congressional oversight. Wrote appropriations, reauthorization, and oversight hearing testimonies and briefed senior Administration and Congressional staff on appropriations and reauthorization.
- Won three special performance awards totaling \$1,750.

TENNESSEE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY 96, DEPUTY COUNTY FIELD DIRECTOR. October-November 1996.

- Co-directed the final five weeks of the coordinated campaign for President and Vice President, US Senate, US House of Representatives, State Senate, and nine General Assembly races in Davidson County (Nashville). Coordinated operations of county campaign headquarters and phone banks. Served as liaison to local elected and labor officials. Recruited and managed campaign volunteers.
- Clinton/Gore 96 won Davidson County with a wider margin of victory than in 1992.

CLINTON/GORE 96, OFFICE OF SURROGATE SPEAKERS VOLUNTEER. August-September 1996.

- Assisted National Director of Surrogate Speaker to recruit community leaders to advocate for Clinton/Gore. Helped organize database of speakers. Helped create talking points and pocket reference cards.

THE 1996 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, PODIUM-BACKSTAGE SECURITY. August 1996.

- With United States Secret Service, Chicago Police Department, and Convention personnel, maintained secure zone on and under the podium and backstage by limiting access to guests, delegates, and staff with appropriate credentials.

SCOTT PUBLIC SERVICE FELLOW. May-August 1993.

- With Philadelphia Health Commissioner's Office and Philadelphia's Summer of Service program, designed and implemented a community-based health curriculum to immunize at-risk children at the Turner Middle School - West Philadelphia Improvement Corps Summer Institute. The White House Office on National Service examined this program as a model for AmeriCorps.

CITIZENS' CAMPAIGN FOR THE ENVIRONMENT, FUNDRAISER. May-December 1991, May-August 1992.

- Encouraged donors to this nonprofit lobbying group to contact state and local officials in support of activities.
- Solicited funds; high performance rating based on pledges met.

EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Double major Bachelor of Arts in Urban Studies and History, with Honors, May 1995. Concentrations in Economics, Community Economic Development, and Social History. Graduate coursework in Public Policy and Management (Wharton), Law, Philosophy, and Education. Awards included Benjamin Franklin Scholar and National Merit Scholar.

From: Stroud, Susan <S.STROUD@FORDFOUND.ORG>
To: 'baersagawa@erols.com' <baersagawa@erols.com>
Date: Monday, November 16, 1998 11:42 AM
Subject: FW: Fellowship/DC/ASIAN AMERICAN

doesn't pay much, but could lead to interesting things

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Archana Poddar [SMTP:Archana_Poddar@BROWN.EDU]

> Sent: Wednesday, November 04, 1998 3:18 PM

> To: Multiple recipients of list COMJOB-L

> Subject: Fellowship/DC/ASIAN AMERICAN

>

> NEW FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM INAUGURATED

>

> IN HONOR OF SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

>

>

> Washington, DC -- The Asian Pacific American Institute for
> Congressional Studies (APAICS) announced the inauguration of a
> fellowship program in honor of Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii),
> a decorated combat veteran of World War II who has served our nation
> with distinction in the United States House of Representatives and
> Senate for nearly 40 years.

>

>

> The Daniel K. Inouye Fellowship Program is designed to encourage a
> College graduate who has a commitment to the Asian Pacific American
> community

> to pursue a public policy career. The Fellowship is for nine months,
> from June 1999 to March 2000, and provides a stipend of \$15,000 to
> cover

> travel
> arrangements, housing, and personal expenses. Medical insurance will
> also be furnished.

>

>

> The Daniel K. Inouye Fellow will be placed either in the APAICS
> office
> or in the office of a member of Congress or congressional committee,
> a

> federal agency, or a nonprofit public policy organization. The Fellow
> will have the opportunity to engage in research on policy issues and
> will

> be expected

> to write a substantial paper during the Fellowship. Applications for
> the

- > program must be postmarked by February 5, 1999.
- >
- >
- > Senator Daniel K. Inouye
- >
- >
- > Senator Daniel K. Inouye was elected to the U.S. House of
- > Representatives in 1959 as Hawaii's first Congressman, and then to
- > the
- > U.S. Senate in
- > 1962, where he has served ever since. Senator Inouye was a member of
- > the
- > celebrated
- > Japanese American 442nd Regimental Combat Team during World War II.
- > He
- > Lost his right arm during the war, and earned the Distinguished
- > Service
- > Cross, Bronze Star, Purple Heart, and 12 other medals and citations.
- > Senator
- > Inouye gained national recognition and respect as a member of the
- > Senate
- > Watergate Committee in 1973-74, and as Chairman of the Senate Select
- > Committee
- > appointed to hold hearings on the Iran-contra affair in 1987. His
- > support
- > for the
- > Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which provided reparations to Japanese
- > Americans
- > interned in concentration camps during World War II, was critical to
- > the passage of the law. Senator Inouye is currently the ranking
- > minority member of the Defense Subcommittee of the Senate Committee
- > on
- > Appropriations, and is a member of several other Appropriations
- > subcommittees
- > as well as the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and
- > Transportation.
- >
- >
- > The Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies
- >
- >
- > The Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies
- > (formerly the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus Institute)
- > was
- > established
- > in 1995 as a nonpartisan, nonprofit, educational corporation with the
- > goal of
- > increasing the participation of Asian Pacific Americans in the public
- > policymaking process at the national, state, and local levels. The
- > APAICS Board of Directors includes nationally known Asian Pacific

- > American
- > leaders in business, government, and community circles.
- >
- >
- > The Daniel K. Inouye Fellowship Program is made possible through the
- > Support of Bell Atlantic. Bell Atlantic, the largest provider of
- > Telecommunications services to residential and business customers in
- > the
- > Eastern United
- > States, is proud to honor Senator Inouye and encourage the
- > development of
- > young
- > leaders in the Asian Pacific American community by underwriting the
- > Daniel K. Inouye Fellowship.
- >
- >
- > For an application and additional information about the Daniel K.
- > Inouye Fellowship Program, see the APAICS web page at www.apaics.org,
- > or contact the
- >
- > APAICS office by telephone at (202) 547-9100 or by e-mail at
- > apaics@apaics.org.
- >
- >
- > -----
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- >
- > Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies (formerly
- > CAPACI)
- >
- > 209 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE
- >
- > Suite 100
- >
- > Washington, DC 20003
- >
- >
- > phone: 202/547-9100
- >
- > fax: 202/547-9109
- >
- > email: apaics@apaics.org
- >
- > website: www.apaics.org
- >
- > Khyati Y. Joshi
- > Doctoral Candidate, Social Justice Education
- > 506 Goodell
- > Training & Development
- > University of Massachusetts, Amherst

> Amherst, MA 01002

Renee Stein

3501 Noble Creek Drive, Atlanta, GA 30327
(404) 350-9167
renee2209@aol.com

January 23, 1999

Shirley Sagawa
Deputy Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building #101
Washington, DC 20502

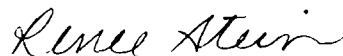
Dear Shirley:

I hope this letter finds you enjoying your new job at the White House. I'm so glad that I had an opportunity to meet you before my internship ended. I really appreciate your assistance in getting my books signed by Mrs. Clinton. My cousins were thrilled and asked, "How did you do that?" So, thank you!

I am beginning to put out some "feelers" in advance of the completion of my Master's degree in February. I do not intend to target any specific type of job as I am open to almost anything that my qualifications would fit and would challenge me. I am convinced that I can make a valuable contribution to almost any organization with the accumulation of my excellent academic performance, research and writing skills, management background, and most recently my White House Internship experience.

Please find the enclosed copies of my resume. If any situations come to mind where you think my skills and background would fit or if you have any suggestions as to others with whom it might be beneficial for me to speak (either within or outside of the EOP), I would really appreciate hearing from you. I can be reached at the telephone number or email address listed above.

Sincerely,



Renee Stein

RS
enclosure

Renee Stein

Education	1995 - Present	<u>Georgia Institute of Technology</u>	Atlanta, GA
	Experimental / Industrial-Organizational Psychology ▪ Master of Science, degree expected March 1999 ▪ 3.9 GPA		
	1987 - 1991	<u>University of Florida</u>	Gainesville, FL
	School of Arts and Sciences ▪ Bachelor of Science in Psychology, May 1991 (Minor: English) ▪ 3.7 GPA in major ▪ Honor Dean's List ▪ Semester Abroad in London, England (Richmond College)		
Professional Experience	1998	<u>The White House</u>	Washington, DC
	Intern to the Associate Director of Research for Strategic Planning and Communications (Office of the First Lady) ▪ Composed daily briefings for The First Lady ▪ Assisted with planning and coordination of The First Lady's daily briefing book ▪ Conducted original research and collected background materials for events and meetings in which The First Lady participated ▪ Assisted in the development of a web page for the Intern Diversity and Outreach Task Force		
	1997 - 1998	<u>Georgia Institute of Technology</u>	Atlanta, GA
	Research Project Director ▪ Planned and coordinated the daily operations of a million dollar grant funded by the National Institute on Aging ▪ Supervised and trained lab personnel ▪ Recruited and tested research participants ▪ Organized data collection procedures ▪ Managed and analyzed data		
	1997 - 1998	<u>Georgia Institute of Technology</u>	Atlanta, GA
	Recruitment Coordinator for the School of Psychology ▪ Planned and coordinated the recruitment and orientation of new graduate students ▪ Assisted in developing and implementing a plan of action for improving prospective student recruitment ▪ Edited and rewrote the Psychology Graduate Student Handbook		

1996

Corporate Psychological Resources

Atlanta, GA

Research Intern

- Analyzed, organized and interpreted data on 360-degree employee feedback questionnaires
- Wrote reports and prepared presentations for organizational development interventions
- Conducted research leading to the development of selection and assessment tools

1993 - 1994

Gibson Greetings, Inc.

Atlanta, GA

Territory Operations Manager

- Oversaw operations of 40 merchandisers who serviced greeting card departments of 50 accounts across Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina
- Initiated the recruitment, training, and development of the merchandiser team
- Formed and maintained effective working relationships with customers to maximize sales

1992 - 1993

American Multi Cinema

Atlanta, GA

Manager

- Planned and coordinated daily functions of the theater while maintaining strict cost control
- Supervised and recruited qualified staff
- Administered training and performance evaluations
- Conducted marketing and public relations activities to promote services
- Created a customer service committee that resulted in improved customer relations

Renee Stein

Education	1995 - Present	<u>Georgia Institute of Technology</u>	Atlanta, GA
	Experimental / Industrial-Organizational Psychology ▪ Master of Science, degree expected March 1999 ▪ 3.9 GPA		
	1987 - 1991	<u>University of Florida</u>	Gainesville, FL
	School of Arts and Sciences ▪ Bachelor of Science in Psychology, May 1991 (Minor: English) ▪ 3.7 GPA in major ▪ Honor Dean's List ▪ Semester Abroad in London, England (Richmond College)		
Professional Experience	1998	<u>The White House</u>	Washington, DC
	Intern to the Associate Director of Research for Strategic Planning and Communications (Office of the First Lady) ▪ Composed daily briefings for The First Lady ▪ Assisted with planning and coordination of The First Lady's daily briefing book ▪ Conducted original research and collected background materials for events and meetings in which The First Lady participated ▪ Assisted in the development of a web page for the Intern Diversity and Outreach Task Force		
	1997 - 1998	<u>Georgia Institute of Technology</u>	Atlanta, GA
	Research Project Director ▪ Planned and coordinated the daily operations of a million dollar grant funded by the National Institute on Aging ▪ Supervised and trained lab personnel ▪ Recruited and tested research participants ▪ Organized data collection procedures ▪ Managed and analyzed data		
	1997 - 1998	<u>Georgia Institute of Technology</u>	Atlanta, GA
	Recruitment Coordinator for the School of Psychology ▪ Planned and coordinated the recruitment and orientation of new graduate students ▪ Assisted in developing and implementing a plan of action for improving prospective student recruitment ▪ Edited and rewrote the Psychology Graduate Student Handbook		

1996 Corporate Psychological Resources Atlanta, GA

Research Intern

- Analyzed, organized and interpreted data on 360-degree employee feedback questionnaires
- Wrote reports and prepared presentations for organizational development interventions
- Conducted research leading to the development of selection and assessment tools

1993 - 1994 Gibson Greetings, Inc. Atlanta, GA

Territory Operations Manager

- Oversaw operations of 40 merchandisers who serviced greeting card departments of 50 accounts across Georgia, Tennessee, and North Carolina
- Initiated the recruitment, training, and development of the merchandiser team
- Formed and maintained effective working relationships with customers to maximize sales

1992 - 1993 American Multi Cinema Atlanta, GA

Manager

- Planned and coordinated daily functions of the theater while maintaining strict cost control
- Supervised and recruited qualified staff
- Administered training and performance evaluations
- Conducted marketing and public relations activities to promote services
- Created a customer service committee that resulted in improved customer relations

Renee Stein

Education

1995 - Present Georgia Institute of Technology Atlanta, GA

Experimental / Industrial-Organizational Psychology

- Master of Science, degree expected March 1999
- 3.9 GPA

1987 - 1991 University of Florida Gainesville, FL

School of Arts and Sciences

- Bachelor of Science in Psychology, May 1991 (Minor: English)
- 3.7 GPA in major
- Honor Dean's List
- Semester Abroad in London, England (Richmond College)

Professional Experience

1998 The White House Washington, DC

Intern to the Associate Director of Research for Strategic Planning and Communications (Office of the First Lady)

- Composed daily briefings for The First Lady
- Assisted with planning and coordination of The First Lady's daily briefing book
- Conducted original research and collected background materials for events and meetings in which The First Lady participated
- Assisted in the development of a web page for the Intern Diversity and Outreach Task Force

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- Created a customer service committee that resulted in improved customer relations

Nicole M. Spitale

6106 Latona Avenue, NE, Seattle, WA 98115

(206) 523-9104, nspitale@u.washington.edu

EXPERIENCE

- Oct '98 – present **HUD Community Development Graduate Fellow**, FREMONT PUBLIC ASSOCIATION, VOLUNTEER RESOURCES DEPARTMENT, Seattle, WA
The Volunteer Resources Department of the Fremont Public Association, a community-based nonprofit social service and advocacy organization, coordinates four national service programs serving Seattle-King County with over 100 AmeriCorps members and 2,500 Retired and Senior Volunteer Program participants. My role is to assist the programs with public relations and marketing, including the development of a strategic Communications Plan and several marketing-related materials. I am also responsible for designing the outcomes-based evaluation strategy for the JustServe AmeriCorps program, a public safety multi-site program serving in the areas of youth crime prevention and domestic crime prevention. Additional activities include planning events, reviewing site placement proposals, making recommendations on site placements and participating in member trainings.
- Oct '97 – Oct '98 **HUD Community Development Graduate Fellow**, OFFICE OF SEATTLE CITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT SUE DONALDSON, Seattle, WA
Provided facilitation, support and guidance for *A Sound Promise to Youth*, a Seattle-King County coalition of community-based organizations, businesses and government agencies dedicated to expanding resources for children and youth. Working with over 150 agencies organized into five community task forces, my role was to facilitate a bottom-up strategic plan development process, and act as the liaison between the *Sound Promise* Executive Committee and *Sound Promise* members. Also helped organize the *Sound Promise* launch on January 21, 1998, a community summit luncheon of 1,000 children and youth advocates that featured General Colin Powell as keynote speaker. In June 1998, I became the first Task Force Coordinator for the organization, and my duties were expanded to include: fundraising and grant writing; supervising the Youth Action Board, a team of high school leaders for the organization; and overall office management.
- Jan '97 – Sept '97 **Project Manager, To Learn & Grow Initiative**, CORPORATION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE, Washington, DC
Assumed all responsibilities for the development, coordination and management of the Corporation's national To Learn and Grow initiative, a public/private partnership to expand access and improve quality of children and youth activities during non-school hours. Planned special events to foster partnerships at the national, state and local levels; developed the project's proposal, implementation plan and first year \$1.3 million budget; presented at several conferences on the integration of service and out-of-school time; managed the grantmaking process to award To Learn and Grow federal contracts, including a \$300,000 training and technical assistance provider award; and provided support for the Corporation's out-of-school time commitment at the President's Summit for America's Future.
- May '95 – Jan '97 **Special Assistant to the Executive Director**, CORPORATION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE, Washington, DC
Working closely with the Executive Director, primary responsibilities included policy research and writing related to the administration of the agency and its programs. Specific assignments included drafting congressional issue papers, responding to White House requests for program information, facilitating trainings for Corporation staff and the national service field on Internet-related topics, and developing resource materials for national issue forums. Additional responsibilities included reviewing grant proposals; assisting in the development of the Corporation's Internet communications; planning, preparation and follow-up for Corporation-sponsored forums; organizing staff policy roundtable discussions; and supervising office interns.
- Aug '94 – May '95 **Program Associate, National Citizenship Training Project**, ALLIANCE FOR JUSTICE, Washington, DC
Co-trained adults and youth on leadership skills and active citizen participation, wrote and edited curriculum for the national skills training manual, and integrated a model for strategic organizational planning into training exercises. Trained participants ranging from AmeriCorps Members in Baltimore, MD, serving inner-city youths, to a group of 40 high school students in rural Michigan. Additional responsibilities included many of the administrative functions of a non-profit organization, including editing foundation proposals and funder reports; maintaining daily bookkeeping; and preparing year-end financial statements.
- Aug '88 – Aug '94 **Store Manager and Piano Instructor**, GITFIDDLER MUSIC, Northville, MI
Coordinated a staff of 30 music teachers and 800 music students for weekly private lessons, bi-annual concerts and special events. Assumed all responsibilities associated with managing a small private business, including public relations, bookkeeping and accounting, and computer systems development. Taught private piano lessons to adults and youths of varying skill levels, including individuals with disabilities.

SKILLS

Writing & Research

Seattle Super Smoke Box Lunch Marketing Plan, a 70-page marketing analysis and plan of action co-authored with a graduate student team for the University of Washington Business and Economic Development Program.

Policy Analysis of Workfirst Sanctions, an in-depth look at the sanctioning process for non-compliance with Washington's welfare reform program, June 1998.

AmeriCorps Member Satisfaction Report, a statistical regression of 8,000 - AmeriCorps*State Member Exit Forms and program characteristics to analyze member satisfaction and retention, June 1998.

Service as a Strategy in Out-of-School Time, a how-to manual for project directors published by the Corporation for National Service and highlighted at the October 1997 White House Conference on Child Care.

Expanding Opportunities in Out-of-School Time: A National Forum on Service and School-Age Care, a follow-up briefing paper to the event co-sponsored by the Corporation for National Service, U.S. Dept of Educ, U.S. Dept of Health and Human Services, National Assoc of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies, and Wellesley National Institute on Out-of-School Time, June 1997.

The Internet Guide to National Service Networking, a publication of the Corporation for National Service, 1996.

The Efficacy of Advocacy for the Poor: A Comparison Study of ACORN and the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, University of Michigan senior thesis, May 1994.

Computers

Extensive knowledge of MS Word, WordPerfect, FoxPro and Filemaker databases, Crystal Reports, Excel and Lotus, Harvard Graphics, PowerPoint, PageMaker, and Internet communications for both Macintosh and PC. Also familiar with SPSS software for statistical reporting and analyzing data.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

June 1998

*AmeriCorps*VISTA Welfare to Work Grant Proposal*, Writer and Editor. Assisted in the design, writing and editing of a multi-state AmeriCorps*VISTA grant application in collaboration with the U.S. Small Business Administration.

Nov '97 – present

Campfire Boys and Girls Club, Co-Leader. Plan, facilitate and manage a weekly after-school club for 16 at-risk third graders at a public elementary school located in a disadvantaged neighborhood in Seattle. Activities include homework help, fieldtrips, craft projects, drama skits and other team-building exercises.

Jan '97 – June '97

Garrison READS, Tutor and Project Developer. Tutored an at-risk first grade student in literacy, both whole language and phonics, twice per week. Developed policy to allow Corporation for National Service employees to participate as volunteer tutors.

October 1996

NetDay96 at Garrison Elementary School, Co-Coordinator. Organized the Corporation's sponsorship of a local D.C. public school to wire for Internet access.

EDUCATION

University of Washington Graduate School of Public Affairs, Seattle

Masters in Public Administration Candidate, Nonprofit Management Gateway – June 1999 *expected graduation*

George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

Masters courses in Public Administration – Fall 1994 (6 credits earned)

The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

BA Degree, Political Science and English Literature – May 1994

May 4, 1999

Ms. Catherine Milton
FAX: 203.221.4082

Dear Ms. Milton,

I am sending my resume to you at the suggestion of Bill Somerville. I appreciate your assistance in my search for a summer internship in Washington DC.

As you can see from my resume, I am a Stanford student majoring in human biology with a concentration in child development and education. I am planning to pursue a career in elementary education, and I am hoping to find an internship this summer that will complement my classroom experience.

My coursework at Stanford has included educational policy, gender and equity issues in education and historical analysis of educational trends. The combination of my academic background and real life experiences in East Palo Alto classrooms provides me with a broad perspective of educational issues. I am interested in a first-hand experience with policy development at the federal level.

I greatly appreciate any help that you can provide. Please let me know if I can furnish you with any further information. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Katherine Orr".

Katherine Orr

Katherine Orr

669 Mirada Ave
Stanford, CA 94305
650.853.3066
650.853.1677 (Fax)
korr@leland.stanford.edu

Education

Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

Bachelor of Arts in human biology with a concentration in education and child development, degree anticipated June, 2000. Coursework includes developmental psychology and education policy.

Monterey Institute of International Studies, Monterey, CA.

Participated in summer intensive language program in Spanish.

Experience

Cesar Chavez Academy, East Palo Alto, CA, 4/99 - present

Teacher's Assistant

Volunteer 12 hours a week in a 3rd grade class of low income students. Tutor students one on one in mathematics as well as assist in any classroom activities.

Bing Nursery School, Stanford, CA, 1/99 - present

Substitute Teacher (4/99 - present)

Substitute teach in nursery school classrooms for children ages 2 through 5. Organize activities, supervise play yards and help children gain social skills.

Student Teacher (1/99 - 3/99)

Taught in a nursery school classroom in conjunction with the seminar "Early Childhood Development".

The Stanford Fund, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, 9/97 - 3/99

Student Development Leader (9/97-3/99)

Student volunteer for the office of development of The Stanford Fund, the university's annual giving fund. Co-chaired an event for sophomores and juniors to help promote giving back to the university through The Stanford Fund. Participated in a committee of 3 to market The Stanford Fund to the Stanford community.

Student Manager (1/98 - 3/99)

Managed shifts of 25 students 9 hours a week in writing letters to donors to The Stanford Fund. Proof read the student letters and participated in the strategic planning of the program.

**Students for Environmental Education (SEED), Stanford University Stanford, CA
9/98 - 12/98.**

Student Volunteer

Taught one hour a week with a 4 person team in a 5th grade classroom at a low income school. Worked with team weekly to prepare lesson plans with a focus on environmental issues.

Lucile Salter Puckard Children's Hospital at Stanford, Stanford, CA, 4/97 - 6/98.

Hospital Volunteer

Volunteered in Central Recreation, a play room for patients and their siblings. Assisted in crafts with the children and brought activities to the rooms of children too sick to get out of bed.

Center for Infant Studies, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, 6/97 - 12/97.

Research Assistant

Recorded data and assisted in running experimental trials with infants for research in language acquisition.

Decathlon Sports Camp, Mountain View, CA, 6/96 - 8/96.

Assistant Counselor

Led a group of twenty 6 year olds with another counselor in sports activities and weekly field trips.

Additional Information

- Computer skills: MSWord, Excel on Macintosh and Windows
- Member: The Stanford Axe Committee
- Participant in Alternative Spring Break at Cesar Chavez Academy, 3/98
- References available upon request

Transmittal Information:

Date: May 25, 1999
Sending Secretary: Marcia Spriggs **Ph.:** (202) 342-8418
Client Billing No.: 99930-00948

COLLIER, SHANNON, RILL & SCOTT, PLLC

3050 K Street, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20007
Main Telephone: (202) 342-8400
Telecopier: (202) 342-8451

TO: Shirley Sagawa **FAX:** 202-456-6244
Confirmation No.: _____
FROM: Doris O. Matsui **Direct Dial No.:** (202) 342-8834

MESSAGE: Per our conversation

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Fax Operator Initials: RS

VICTORIA LYNCH

3715 Woodley Road NW • Washington • DC • 20016 • 202-966-8198
victoria_a_lynch@who.eop.gov

EDUCATION

Princeton University

1996 B.A., Politics with a Certificate in Political Theory

Fellowship: Princeton Project 55 Public Service Program.

Senior thesis: "The Theory of Care: Discovering the Power Dynamics of Caregiving". Relevant coursework: Independent work in education finance and child support collection systems.

EXPERIENCE

1998 - Present

The White House Office of Public Liaison

Assumed Deputy Director's portfolio upon her departure in December 1998. Responsible for all outreach to the Administration's education, Asian Pacific American, children's and nonprofit constituencies. Write Office of Public Liaison weekly reports to the President, press releases, presidential memos, website materials, and constituent letters.

Assistant to the Deputy Director — February - November, 1998

Assisted Deputy Director in coordinating White House liaison with public and private sectors in support of the Administration's economic, budget, education, race, and other policy initiatives. Responsible for written communication from deputy director's office, including speeches and documents outlining Administration accomplishments. Supervised interns and managed day-to-day affairs of office.

January-

February 1998

The White House Office of Presidential Speechwriting

Volunteer. Assisted speechwriters in complex research tasks; helped draft Presidential remarks.

August 1996-

July 1997

The Chicago Jobs Council

Princeton Project 55 Fellow

Researched and wrote policy proposals to advance workforce policies. Wrote monthly reports, manuals, and fact sheets for social workers, aid recipients, and the general public. Staffed the Welfare-To-Work Working Group during 1996's major legislative and administrative welfare reforms. Planned and coordinated economic development projects, including recruiting and training participants.

ACTIVITIES

Big Sisters Program: Youth Mentor

Princeton in Chicago Schools: Teen Mentor, 1996-97

Young Mothers Outreach: Project Director/Teen Mentor, 1992/93 -1995/96

Princeton Varsity Cross Country and Track & Field Team

JENNIFER KLEIN
2813 39th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 965-4234

EXPERIENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, D.C.

Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, January 1995 - January 1999; Senior Policy Analyst, December 1993 - December 1995; Consultant, National Health Care Reform, February 1993 - November 1993. Senior domestic policy advisor on the Domestic Policy Council and to the First Lady responsible for policy development and strategy on health care and children's issues, including child care, child welfare, early childhood development, children's and women's health, and health care reform. Led interagency policy development processes, drafted legislation, worked closely with congressional staff and advocacy groups, briefed members of press, and developed events for the President and First Lady.

SIMPSON THACHER & BARTLETT, New York, New York

Associate, 1990 - January 1993

Practice areas included tax-exempt organizations, corporate transactions, commercial litigation, antitrust, securities, and insurance. Appointed to Bioethical Issues Committee of the New York City Bar Association.

SHEARMAN & STERLING, New York, New York and Paris, France

Summer Associate, 1989

HARVARD SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH/AMERICAN SOCIETY OF LAW & MEDICINE, Boston, MA

Human Rights Intern, Summer 1988

Collaborated on article on the right to refuse medical treatment published in The Journal of the American Medical Association and The Milbank Quarterly. Drafted legislative guidelines for Harvard AIDS Project.

EDUCATION

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW, New York, New York

J.D., May 1990

Awarded Human Rights Fellowship in law and medicine. Research with Professor Harold Edgar on federal regulation of abortion counseling. AIDS Law Clinic Student Attorney.

YALE LAW SCHOOL, New Haven, Connecticut

Visiting Student, 1989 - 1990

Research with Dr. Jay Katz on legal and policy issues surrounding perinatal AIDS transmission. Internship at United States Attorney's Office, Environmental Enforcement Division.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, Providence, Rhode Island

A.B., History, with honors, May 1987

Honors Thesis. Award for Outstanding Performance in History. Sole Student representative to Chancellor's Council on university AIDS policy. Paper published in Clio, History Journal.

PERSONAL

Married with one child. Proficient in French. Interests include ballet, photography and travel.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Biographical Data

Born: October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois
Husband: President William Jefferson Clinton
Daughter: Chelsea Victoria Clinton

First Lady of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Education:

B.A. Wellesley College, 1969
J.D. Yale Law School, Yale University, 1973

Law Practice and Professional Associations:

Admitted to Arkansas Bar, 1973
U.S. District Court (eastern and western districts), 1973
U.S. Court of Appeals (8th Circuit), 1973
U.S. Supreme Court, 1975
Children's Defense Fund, Cambridge, Massachusetts and
Washington, D.C., and Carnegie Council on Children, New
Haven, Connecticut, 1973-74
Counsel, Impeachment Inquiry Staff, Judiciary Committee,
United States House of Representatives, Washington,
D.C., 1974
Chair, American Bar Association Commission on Women in the
Profession, 1987-91
Chair, Legal Services Corporation, Washington, D.C., 1978-
80, Member, Board of Directors, 1977-81
Partner, Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1977-92

Law Teaching:

Assistant Professor of Law and Director of the Legal Aid
Clinic, University of Arkansas School of Law at
Fayetteville, 1974-76
Assistant Professor of Law, University of Arkansas School of
Law at Little Rock, 1979-80

Publications:

"Children Under the Law," *Harvard Educational Review*,
January, 1974

"Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect," 86 *Yale Law Journal* 1522 (1977) (review of Gilbert Y. Steiner: *The Children's Cause*, 1976)

"Handbook on Legal Rights for Arkansas Women," Carolyn Armbrust [et al.], a project of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, 1977, 1987 editions

"Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," *Children's Rights*, Teachers College Press, New York, 1979

"Teacher Education: Of the People, By the People and For the People," *Beyond the Looking Glass: Papers from a National Symposium on Teacher Education Policies, Practices, and Research*, March, 1985 and *Journal of Teacher Education*, January-February, 1985

"Raising Chelsea," *Child Magazine*, October, 1994

"The Fight over Orphanages," *Newsweek*, January, 1995

"What Can We Do, What Must We Do," *Parenting Magazine*, June/July, 1995

"Investing in Sisterhood," *Outlook*, *The Washington Post*, May 14, 1995

"Talking It Over," Syndicated column, 1995-Present

It Takes A Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us, Simon and Schuster, January 1996

"Time to Act on Behalf of Women Everywhere," *The Journal of Intergroup Relations*, Summer 1996

"Giving Every Child A Chance," *Exceptional Parent*, June 1996

"Comfort and Joy," *Viewpoint*, *Time Magazine*, February 3, 1997

"Our Chance for Healthier Children," Op-Ed, *The New York Times*, August 5, 1997

Honors and Awards:

Honorary Doctor of Law:

University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 1985
Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, 1988

Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, 1992
University of Michigan, 1993
University of Pennsylvania, 1993
University of Sunderland, England, 1993
University of Illinois, 1994
San Francisco State University, 1995
University of Minnesota, 1995
Goucher College, 1998
Howard University, 1998

Honorary Doctor of Public Service:

George Washington University, 1994
University of Maryland at College Park, 1996

Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters:

Drew University, 1996
Ohio University, 1997

Honorary Professorship:

American University in Kyrgyzstan, 1997

Honorary Associate in Child, Family and Community Service:

Lincoln Land Community College, 1996

Who's Who in the World, 1998
Who's Who in America, 1998
Who's Who in American Law, 1994-95
Who's Who in Emerging Leaders in America, 1993-94
Who's Who of American Women, 1993-94
International Who's Who, 1994-95

Arkansas Woman of the Year, 1983
Phi Kappa Phi Honors Lecture, University of Arkansas at
Little Rock, 1984
Phi Delta Kappa Award for Outstanding Layman of the Year for
Contributions to Education, 1984
Arkansas Press Broadcasters Newsmaker of the Year, 1984
Arkansas Honor Young Mother of the Year, 1984
Esquire Magazine Register, "The Best of the New Generation,
Men and Women Under Forty Who Are Changing America,"
1984
Arkansas Bar Association and Arkansas Bar Foundation Award:
"To recognize outstanding achievements as a lawyer and
role model," 1985
Pulaski County Bar Association Lawyer-Citizen Award, 1987
The Best Lawyers in America, 1987, 1989-90, 1991-92,
1993-94
Friend of Pediatrics, Arkansas Chapter, American Academy of
Pediatrics, 1988

Gayle Pettus Pontz Award, "For outstanding excellence and achievement in the legal profession," Women's Law Student Association, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, 1989

Paul Harris Fellow, "Recognizing service above self," Rotary Club of Little Rock, 1991

Director's Choice Award, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, 1991

Bess Chisum Stephens YWCA Woman of the Year, "Arkansas First Lady," For Outstanding Leadership and Dedication to the People of Arkansas, 1992

Glamour Women of the Year Award, "For bringing our country's First Relationship into the nineties," One of ten women honored, 1992

ROSE (Recognition for Outstanding Service to Education) Award, University of Southern California School of Education, 1992

Outstanding Lawyer-Citizen Award, "In recognition of outstanding participation in and excellent performance of civic responsibilities, and for demonstrating high standards of professional competence and conduct," Arkansas Bar Association, 1992

Lewis Hine Award, "For Distinguished Service to Children and Youth, in recognition of work on behalf of children and families, National Labor and Child Labor Committee," January 26, 1993

Albert Schweitzer Leadership Award, "In recognition of leadership in guiding and motivating youth," Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation, May 10, 1993

Friend of Family Award, American Home Economics Association, June 26, 1993

The Iris Cantor Humanitarian Award, University of California at Los Angeles, "For Commitment to Women's Health Issues," July 19, 1993

1993 Charles Wilson Lee Citizen Service Award, Committee for Education Funding

1993 Awareness Achievement Award, National Breast Cancer Awareness Month

Claude D. Pepper Award, The National Association for Home Care, October 19, 1993

1993 National Humanitarian Award, American Friends of Jamaica, Inc., November 13, 1993

Distinguished Service Award, National Center for Health Education, November 18, 1993

Healthcare Advocacy Award, National Symposium on Healthcare Design, November 19, 1993

Distinguished Service Award, Phelps Memorial Hospital Center, November 20, 1993

First Humanitarian Achievement Award, El Banquete del Millon y del Amor, Inc., Saint Anthony Catholic Church, November 27, 1993

National Public Service Award 1993, The Bar Association of the District of Columbia, December 4, 1993

Fannie Lou Hamer Human Rights Award, Clergy and Laity
 Concerned, December 16, 1993
 OHEL's Humanitarian Award, Children's Home & Family
 Services, January 15, 1994
 First Save Our Youth Award, Save Our Youth, January 23, 1994
 Commitment to Life Award, AIDS Project Los Angeles, January
 27, 1994
 Distinguished Service Health Education & Prevention Award,
 "For efforts in focusing the nation's attention on
 health care and emphasizing the relationship between
 education and proper health care" National Center for
 Health Education, February 2, 1994
 "Cerviel" Corporate Achievement Award, "For efforts as a
 woman in corporate America and barrier-breaking efforts
 from which others have benefitted," Vista magazine,
 February 15, 1994
 California Coalition of Nurse Practitioners, Nurse
 Practitioner of the Year Award, February 24, 1994
 Vision in Education Award, Columbus School for Girls,
 February 25, 1994
 National Association of Cuban American Women, New Jersey
 Chapter, March 1, 1994
 Distinguished Service in Aging Award, American Association
 of Homes for the Aging, March 15, 1994
 First Award on Distinguished Humanism, Bragg Symposium on
 Humanism, All Saints Unitarian Church, March 18, 1994
 First Annual Eleanor Roosevelt Freedom Fighter Award,
 Alachua County Democratic Executive Committee, March
 21, 1994
 Social Justice Award, "For efforts to ensure that every
 American receives proper health care," United Auto
 Workers, March 22, 1994
 Friend of Education Award, Buffalo Teacher's Federation,
 Inc., March 22, 1994
 Brandeis Award, School of Law, University of Louisville,
 April 1, 1994
 Benjamin E. Mays Award, A Better Chance Inc., April 4, 1994
 Ernie Banks Positivism Trophy, "Given to the First Lady for
 her efforts as a most productive contributor to life in
 America," Emil Verban Memorial Society, April 6, 1994
 Humanitarian Award, Alzheimer's Association, April 11, 1994
 Elie Wiesel Foundation Humanitarian Award, April 14, 1994
 Leadership Award, Regional Aid for Interim Needs (RAIN),
 Inc., Bronx, New York, April 21, 1994
 International Broadcasting Award, "For contributing to the
 betterment of radio and television," Hollywood Radio
 and Television Society, April 26, 1994
 Ellen Browning Scripps Award, "To a pioneering women who has
 made a significant and positive difference in the life
 possibilities available to women," Scripps College,
 April 26, 1994
 Legislator of the Year Award, The American Physical Therapy
 Association, April 27, 1994

Dr. Edward C. Mazique Memorial Award, Greater Washington
 Boys and Girls Club, April 27, 1994
 Montclair Yale Bowl Award, Yale Club of Montclair, May 1,
 1994
 Women of Distinction Award, Crohn's & Colitis Foundation of
 America, Inc., May 2, 1994
 Coalition of Labor Women United, May 2, 1994
 HIPPY USA Award, May 6, 1994
 Women of the Year Award, Yad B'Yad Award, May 7, 1994
 Distinguished Citizen Award, Coalition of Citizens with
 Disabilities in Illinois, May 16, 1994
 C. Everett Koop Medal for Health Promotion and Awareness,
 American Diabetes Association, May 17, 1994
 Distinguished Pro Bono Service Award, San Diego Lawyer's
 Program, May 17, 1994
 Humanitarian Award, Chicago Chapter, Hadassah Medical
 Organization, May 26, 1994
 Coalition of Labor Union Women 20th Anniversary Award,
 Presented to First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton "For
 tireless dedication on behalf of National Health Care
 Reform," on the occasion of CLUW's 20th Anniversary,
 May 20, 1994
 Women of Distinction Award, National Conference for College
 Women Student Leaders, June 2, 1994
 Women of Achievement Award, Women's Project and Productions,
 June 6, 1994
 Girl Scouts of Illinois Crossroads Award, Girl Scouts, June
 10, 1994
 Barnert Hospital Award, "For outstanding service for health
 care reform," Board of Trustees, Barnert Hospital,
 Paterson, New Jersey, June 11, 1994
 Mary Hatwood Futrell Award, "The award commends her efforts
 on behalf of education opportunity, especially for
 women and girls," National Education Association, June
 14, 1994
 Women of Achievement Award, B'nai B'rith Women, June 15,
 1994
 The Ellington Shield Against Hopelessness, The Duke
 Ellington School for the Performing Arts, June 15, 1994
 Claude Pepper Award, "For recognition for her dedication to
 health care reform and long term care," National
 Association for Home Care Board of Directors, June 19,
 1994
 Women's Legal Defense Fund Award "Commending her work in
 advancing the status of women in society," June 23,
 1994
 Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Medallion of Honor, Alpha Kappa Alpha
 Sorority, July 13, 1994
 William S. Hall Award, South Carolina Association of
 Residential Care Homes, July 25, 1994
 Shining Star Award, "In recognition of her work on behalf of
 children, especially those with terminal illnesses,"
 Starlight Foundation, August 2, 1994

Martin Luther King, Jr. Award, Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., August 12, 1994
 Women of Achievement Award, Westchester Association of Women's Business Owners, September 24, 1994
 Non-Profit Advocacy Award, Illinois Association of Non-Profit Organizations, October 28, 1994
 Children's Diabetes Foundation Brass Ring Award, October 28, 1994
 Women's Media Group Award, "For Outstanding Leadership," Women's Media Group, November 1, 1994
 American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyer's Family Advocate of the Year Award, Greenfield & Murphy, November 4, 1994
 Dr. Frederick D. Patterson Award, Philander Smith College, November 5, 1994
 Delta Spirit Award, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Los Angeles Chapter, November 10, 1994
 Woman of Distinction Award, Women's League for Conservative Judaism, November 13, 1994
 First Leila Robinson Award, Women's Bar Association of Massachusetts, November 17, 1994
 30th Anniversary of Women at Work Award in Public Policy, National Commission on Working Women, December 6, 1994
 Public Service Award, Modell's Sporting Goods Executive Offices, December 8, 1994
 Boehm Soaring Eagle Award for Excellence in Leadership, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, December 12, 1994
 Preinaugural Award in Honor of First Ladies in Washington, Diamond Designs, December 30, 1994
 National Woman's Law Center Award, Annual Awards Dinner 1994, Honoring First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton for Making a Difference in Women's Health
 Family Circle Woman Who Makes a Difference Lifetime Achievement Award, 1995
 Top Lady of Distinction Award 1995, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center Support Group of Southeast Texas, Inc., January 16, 1995
 Award for Excellence in Communication, Capital Speakers Club, January 18, 1995
 National Federation of Black Women Business Owners Black Women of Courage Award to Hillary Rodham Clinton, "For outstanding commitment advocacy, and support of women-owned businesses," February 8, 1995
 Nurse Practitioner of the Year Award, California Coalition of Nurse Practitioners, February 24, 1995
 Woman of the Year Award, Iowa City/Johnson County Senior Center, March 1, 1995
 Greater Washington Urban League Award, March 8, 1995
 Golden Acorn Award, Child Development Center, Bronx, New York, March 9, 1995
 Servant of Justice Award, New York City Legal Aid Society, March 23, 1995
 Health Educator of the Year Award, The Ryan White Foundation, April 8, 1995

Golden Image Award, Women At Work, April 9, 1995
 1995 Outstanding Mother Award, National Mother's Day
 Committee, April 13, 1995
 Eleanor Roosevelt Award, Citizen's Committee For Children of
 New York, Inc., April 24, 1995
 1994 *Annual Survey of American Law* Dedication to Hillary
 Rodham Clinton, New York University School of Law,
 April 25, 1995
 Certificate in Recognition of Outstanding Efforts for the
 People of this Country, Hadassah, Florida-Broward
 County Region, April 30, 1995
 United Cerebral Palsy Humanitarian Award, 1995
 World Health Award, American Association for World Health,
 World Health Day, 1995
 Presidential Medal, Brooklyn College, June 1, 1995
 Write Women Back Into History Award, National Women's
 History Project, August 26, 1995
 Save the Children Service Award, September 1995
 Miss America Woman of Achievement Award, September 1995
 Eleanor Roosevelt Val-Kill Medal, October 1, 1995
 The National Breast Cancer Coalition Leadership Award,
 October 26, 1995
 Sisterhood Award, NAACP, November 28, 1995
 Jane Matilda Bolin Award, Metropolitan Black Bar
 Association, December 9, 1995
 Paul Harris Fellow, The Rotary Foundation, 1996
 ADRA's Humanitarian Award, January 29, 1996
 1996 NICHE Humanitarian of the Year Award, The Rosen Group's
 Buyers Market of American Craft, February 11, 1996
 Catherine Dunfey Award, New England Circle, February 22,
 1996
 Friend of Education Award, Buffalo Teachers Federation,
 March 6, 1996
 Faith in Humanity Award, National Council of Jewish Women,
 March 9, 1996
 Key to the City of Van Buren, Arkansas, May 11, 1996
 National Association of Elementary School Principals
 Distinguished Service Award, July 28, 1996
 Commendation by the County of Los Angeles for supporting and
 recognizing an American Heritage: Crafts and their
 artists, September 11, 1996
 Mayor's Orchid Award, West Palm Beach, Florida. "For your
 efforts in helping to Sculpt a Capital City." October
 1, 1996
 First Annual Amy Center Award, Mount Vernon, Illinois. "For
 your tireless efforts on behalf of children
 everywhere." October 9, 1996
 Sticking Your Neck Out Award, Pima Council on Aging, Tucson,
 Arizona, October 15, 1996
 Washington International School Award for Advocacy on Behalf
 of Young People, Washington, D.C., October 26, 1996
 Outstanding Contribution Award, Florida Agricultural
 Mechanical University, October 30, 1996

The Diamond In The Rough Award, Young Women's Council of the
 Florida Agricultural Mechanical University, October 30,
 1996
 Grammy Award, Best Spoken Word or Non-Musical Album,
 National Academy of Recording Arts & Sciences, February
 26, 1997
 Public Spirit Award, American Legion Auxiliary, March 2,
 1997
 "Bully Pulpit" Award, The National Council for Adoption,
 "For advocacy on behalf of adoption especially through
 the Adoption 2002 Initiative." April 16, 1997
 National Family Advocate Award, Parents' Plus Newspaper,
 April 21, 1997
 Judge Lois Forer Child Advocacy Award, Support Center for
 Child Advocates, April 28, 1997
 "Parents - As They Grow - Award: Hillary Rodham Clinton
 1997," Parents Magazine, May 22, 1997
 The President's Award for Distinguished Public Service,
 American Society for Public Administration, July 29,
 1997
 1997 Beacon Award, Trustees' Council of Penn Women, October
 22, 1997
 Distinguished Service to Education award, The College Board,
 October 28, 1997
 Lifetime Achievement Award, Big Sisters Guild/Big Sisters of
 Los Angeles, October 30, 1997
 Distinguished Service Award, Columbia University Center of
 Addiction and Substance Abuse, November 21, 1997
 Commitment to Children Award, The Elizabeth Glaser Pediatric
 AIDS Foundation, December 1, 1997
 Eleanor Roosevelt Living World Award 1997, Peace Links,
 December 9, 1997
 Lincoln Medal, Ford's Theatre, February 8, 1998
 Decade of the Brain Award, Society for Neuroscience, March
 18, 1998
 T. Berry Brazelton Leadership Award, Brazelton Foundation,
 March 28, 1998
 1998 Great Friend to Kids Award, Association of Youth
 Museums, May 8, 1998
 United Arab Emirates Health Foundation Prize, World Health
 Organization, May 14, 1998
 Friend of Education Award, Educational Press Association of
 America, June 5, 1998
 1998 Eleanor Award, Woman's National Democratic Club, June
 10, 1998
 The Burst: Energy, innovation, excitement turned into
 ACTION, Jumpstart, June 18, 1998
 Top 10 Most Influential Women, Civil Service Employees
 Association, Seneca Falls, New York, July 16, 1998
 Beverly Minkoff Award, Women's American ORT, July 17, 1998
 Honored for "all your extra efforts on behalf of the
 American Cancer Society", American Cancer Society,
 September 10, 1998
 Edmund S. Muskie Distinguished Public Service Award, Center

for National Policy, September 17, 1998
"Parents 1998 Child Care Awards," Parents Magazine,
September 23, 1998
Honored for "exemplary leadership on behalf of children and
families," National Committee to Prevent Child Abuse,
October 6, 1998
Foreign Policy Association Medal, Foreign Policy
Association, October 19, 1998
Annual Award of the New York Council on Adoptable Children,
November 18, 1998
Lifetime Achievement Award, Life Directions, December 3,
1998
Rock the Vote Award, MTV, February 19, 1999
Award of Excellence 1998-1999, United States Committee for
UNIFEM, March 4, 1999
Shalom Chaver Award for International Leadership (received
jointly with the President), Yitzhak Rabin Center for
Israel Studies, March 18, 1999

Memberships and Associations:

Member, Arkansas Bar Association
Member, Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association
Member, Arkansas Women Lawyers Association
Member, Pulaski County Bar Association
Honorary Life Member, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi
Founder and President, Arkansas Advocates for Children and
Families, Founder, President and Member of Board of
Directors, 1977-84
Chair, Arkansas Rural Health Committee, 1979-80
Chair, Board of Directors, Children's Defense Fund,
Washington, D.C., 1986-91, Member, Board of Directors,
1976-92
Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, 1983-84
Yale Law School Executive Committee, New Haven, Connecticut,
1983-88, Treasurer, 1987-88
Southern Governors Association Task Force on Infant
Mortality, 1984-85
Member, Commission on Quality Education, Southern Regional
Education Board, 1984-92
Honorary Membership, American Association of University
Women, since 1984
Honorary Membership, Delta Kappa Gamma Society
International, since 1985
Member, Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant
Foundation Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship,
1986-88
Board of Directors, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., 1986-92
Board of Directors, Child Care Action Campaign, New York,
New York 1986-92
Board of Directors, Southern Development Bancorporation,
1986-92
Chair, Board of Directors, New World Foundation, New York,
1987-88, Member Board of Directors, 1983-88

Board of Directors, National Center on Education and the Economy, 1987-92
Co-Chair for Implementation, Commission on Skills of the American Workforce
Board of Directors, "I Have a Dream" Foundation, 1988-89
Board of Directors, Arkansas Children's Hospital, 1988-92
Board of Directors, New Futures for Little Rock Youth, 1988-92
Member, HIPPY USA Advisory Board, 1988-92
Board of Directors, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 1988-93
Charter Member, Business Leadership Council, Wellesley College, 1989-Present
Board of Directors, Children's Television Workshop, 1989-92
Board of Directors, TCBY (The Country's Best Yogurt) Enterprises, Inc., 1989-92
Board of Directors, National Alliance of Business Center for Excellence in Education, 1990-91
Board of Directors, Public/Private Ventures, 1990-92
Board of Directors, Lafarge Corporation, 1990-92
Arkansas Business and Education Alliance, 1991-92
President, Board of Directors, Arkansas Single Parent Scholarship Fund Program, 1990-92
Chair, National Board of the Claudia Company 1991-93
Honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America, 1993-Present
American Workforce, 1991-92
Member, Visiting Committee, University of Chicago Law School, 1991-92
Alumnae Trustee, Wellesley College, 1992-93
Chair, President's Task Force on National Health Care Reform, January-May 1993
Honorary Chair, President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, 1993-Present
Honorary Member, American News Women's Club, 1994
Honorary Chair, U.S. Delegation, United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, September 1995
Honorary Member, The Pen & Brush, Inc., 1996
Honorary Member, National League of American Pen Women, Inc., 1997
Honorary Chair, White House Millennium Committee to Save America's Treasures
Founding Member, The President's Circle of Habitat for Humanity International, March 10, 1998

Kinshasa Theresa Curl
1500 Arlington Boulevard
Arlington, VA 22209
Home: (703) 522-9600 ext.7420
kinshasa@cats.ucsc.edu
curl@hdshq.com

OBJECTIVE: Seeking an entry-level position that will utilize current customer and public service experience.

EDUCATION: **University of California, Santa Cruz**
Fall 1997-currently enrolled
Pursing a Bachelors of Arts in Politics and Legal Studies.
Grade Point Average: 3.5
University of California, Berkeley
Summer 1998, 1997
Grade Point Average: 4.0

EXPERIENCE: **Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc.**
March 1999-Present
Research intern-fellow. Responsibilities include developing webpage content for the CBCF on public policy issues, drafting and reviewing public policy statements, and summarizing feedback from the Congressional Black Caucus.

Hitachi Data Systems
July 1998-March 1999
July 1997-September 1997
INROADS intern in the Legal Affairs, Export Compliance, and Finance and Administration Departments. Responsibilities included the following-legal research, summarizing all legal contracts used by HDS, export regulations training, researching methods to make the company more efficient, establishing webpage content, drafting and implementing a communication plan, assisting in establishing corporate giving practices, drafting and reviewing policies and procedures.

Hub Distribution, Millers Outpost
October 1995- October 1997
Assistant Store Manager- Supervise and hire Junior Sales Associates. Responsibilities included-loss prevention, shipping and receiving, processing payroll, perform the scheduling of personnel, customer service, and daily management of store appearance and layout. Top performance highlighted with 1.5 percent shrinkage in 1996.

EXTRACURRICULAR/ Associated Students of Evergreen Valley Executive Board Member
VOLUNTEER California Student Association of Community Colleges Representative for
ACTIVITES: Evergreen Valley College
INROADS Internship Program
San Jose East Side Union High School District Campaign Volunteer
UCSC Senate Committee Student Representative
University of California, Berkeley Study Abroad Program in South Africa
University of California, Santa Cruz Karl S. Pister Leadership Opportunity
Scholarship Program
University of California, Washington D.C. Academic-Internship Program at the
Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc.)

COMPUTER Windows98 and Microsoft Outlook
SKILLS:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Shirley -

Antonella is a very good friend of mine & I would feel confident she would serve at Americorps in a magnificent way.

She can get back to DC fairly easily from London, but would like to talk to you via tel first. Her direct dial at

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

the embassy is:

011 44 171 894 0005.

let me know if you
have any questions.

Thanks!

Missy

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
LONDON

ANTONELLA PIANALTO

Senior Advisor to the United States Ambassador
to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

As Senior Advisor to the U.S. Ambassador, Ms. Pianalto manages the strategic planning of the Ambassador's meetings, public appearances, speeches, press relations and official events. She is responsible for coordinating the outreach efforts, on behalf of the Ambassador, to the business community, non-government organizations, universities, cultural groups, schools, churches and charities to promote the political, social, economic and commercial goals of the U.S.

Prior to joining the Embassy in London, Ms. Pianalto has also served in the Clinton/Gore Administration as Associate Deputy Administrator for Management and Administration for the U. S. Small Business Administration. She was the principal advisor to the Administrator in the formulation and recommendation of policies, establishment of standards and procedures, implementation, evaluation and improvement of the Agency's management and administrative activities. Her responsibilities included human resources, information resources, administrative services, procurement and grants management and strategic planning. Ms. Pianalto served as Vice Chair of the Agency's Executive Resources Board, and as Vice Chair of the Small Business Investment Centers Licensing Committee. She also served on the President's Management Council.

Ms. Pianalto also served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Director of the White House Office of Presidential Personnel where she developed, implemented and managed the selection and clearance process for political appointees, including appointments to cabinet-level and independent agencies, boards and commissions, delegations and conferences.

Prior to joining the Clinton/Gore Administration, Ms. Pianalto spent over 9 years in management with Norrell Services, Inc., a nation-wide staffing services company. Throughout her career with Norrell, Ms. Pianalto held a number of management positions including Quality Service Manager and Area Manager before becoming Region Manager for the New York, New Jersey and Connecticut tri-state area where she managed business development, sales, marketing and operations for multiple profit centers.

Ms. Pianalto received a bachelor's degree from the University of Akron. She is a native of Valli del Pasubio, Italy, and grew up in Akron, Ohio, where her family still resides.

3726 Connecticut Avenue, NW, #524
Washington, DC 20008
23 March 98

Ms. Shirley Sagawa
Learning First Alliance
1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 310
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Shirley:

How are you? I hope that you are flourishing in your "new" position and are doing something close to your heart. We have not talked for some time -- I believe we last saw each other at the orientation session in Olde Towne for prospective Americorps/Learn and Serve America applicants (an excellent session supported by materials and staff of equal caliber). I wish to thank you again for the past opportunity to serve as a reviewer for the Corporation -- it was an enlightening experience where I met an incredibly diverse array of colleagues.

I am writing to let you know that I am searching for a new position and to ask if you would keep me in mind as opportunities arise and suggest individuals whom I should contact. As you may recall, I have solid experience in program development and implementation/management, and a proven track record in conference management and publications production. Although I have worked primarily in small and medium-sized freestanding policy research organizations, I believe this experience is transferable -- I wish to use my skills and experience in a different venue and from a different organizational perspective. I have the flexibility to travel and to relocate.

I have been working at HUD since 1995, as my position at The Union Institute was eliminated through restructuring in late 1994. Through my first assignment, I worked for more than two years at the newly established Office of University Partnerships (OUP). When it became clear that personnel ceilings would limit professional opportunities in OUP and its parent division, I directed my search for more commensurate employment elsewhere. However, I still maintain close ties with OUP's Founding Director, Dr. Marcia Marker Feld (University of Rhode Island at Kingston) and with the administration in its parent division, the Office of Policy Development and Research. My current assignment is with Ginnie Mae.

One of my best strengths is the ability to develop working collaborations and new opportunities, which I believe would be an asset to any organization seeking to position itself as a cooperative partner. In particular, I have solid experience in -- and enormously enjoy -- working on newly established programs in a variety of organizations, including:

- * A nontraditional university for adult learners, The Union Institute, where I served as Assistant to the Director of the newly established Center for Women and as the first program director for *DCGirls*, a pilot multicultural arts program for pre-adolescent girls. I developed an equitable working relationship between the university and the local community-based organizations from which we recruited program participants.

To make this academic/activist coalition work, I had to prove that the university was a trustworthy partner. In addition, our staff of three was charged with shaping a center for women for this university that does not have a traditional campus.

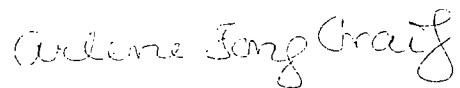
- * One of the first independent women-focused policy research centers, the Center for Women Policy Studies, where I wrote a concept paper on single sex education as a viable alternative for women and girls, and developed a partnership with a private school for girls in suburban Philadelphia and a consultant with the Bank Street College of Education. In addition, I served as part of a team, working on access to higher education for low income women. I also revitalized and streamlined the Center's publications program.
- * The first national policy center on state-level women's economic justice issues, housed in the Center for Policy Alternatives, where I served as the first coordinator, creating a small but effective multistate coalition by earning the trust and cooperation of several statewide women's legislative agenda projects, which became the active and committed core of our national Advisory Committee.

My written pieces have ranged from letters of proposal to individual donors and small foundations, to a policy brief on unpaid family and medical leave, to a contribution to a chapter on educational equity for women of color. I have served as founding editor for two newsletters. As executive producer, on behalf of The Union Institute, for a 30-minute video on the *DCGirls* performance at the National Museum for Women in the Arts, I hired and supervised the work of the artistic director, consulting artist, senior video producer, and photographer, and served as the liaison with the Museum's Curator of Education and Director of High School Programs – I also worked with the girls themselves.

I bring a multicultural perspective and strong management, program, writing and production skills grounded by professional and personal experience. Please let me know if you need more information, and I will be glad to provide it. My number at Ginnie Mae is (202) 708-0926 (voice only); my voice mail number there is (202) 708-0614, x4985.

Thanks again, Shirley, for your help. I appreciate your time and effort, especially given what I surmise is a schedule full of responsibilities. When the time is right, it would be good to see you again, so perhaps we could meet over a meal. Take care.

Sincerely,



Arlene Fong Craig

Enclosure

Arlene Fong Craig

3726 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Apartment 524

Washington, DC 20008

Home: (202) 966-4798 Office: (202) 708-0926 E-mail: arlene_fong_craig@hud.gov

Accomplished senior program associate -- education and outreach. Inclusive and multicultural perspective. Strong interpersonal skills. Proven ability to implement new projects, build teams and university/community partnerships, position an organization, write/edit. Expertise in educational equity for women and girls. Directed multicultural pilot arts program for pre-adolescent girls.

KEY PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

1995 to Present, Assistant to the Director.

*Office of University Partnerships, US Department of Housing and Urban Development;
Washington, DC.*

- * Transformed a designated support position into that of a staff assistant, managing the daily administrative operations of a staff office that reports directly to the Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research, and redefining the position and staff configuration of the office. Received a certificate of superior accomplishment.

1992 - 1994, Assistant to the Director.

The Union Institute Center for Women; Washington, DC.

- * Directed *DCGirls* -- a multicultural arts program for pre-adolescent girls and one of the institution's pilot university/community partnership programs for its Washington, DC policy office -- providing a metropolitan presence for the university among community-based service providers and funders.
- * Produced a 30-minute video of the *DCGirls* Program performance at the National Museum of Women in the Arts, creating an audiovisual record of the program's purpose and accomplishments for fundraising and community outreach.
- * Recruited members and developed a core program support and funding group -- *DCWomen for DCGirls* -- providing access to enhanced levels and kinds of funding sources as well as program credibility in the larger community.
- * Via *DCGirls*, positioned the Center and the university -- among academic centers for women and nontraditional institutions of higher education -- as innovators contributing practical scholarship on pre-adolescent girls and running an applied program in partnership with the surrounding community.
- * Invited by the conference committees of academically-based organizations -- e.g., the National Women's Studies Association and the African American Women's Institute at Howard University -- to participate in the planning of annual and/or special conferences, thus further integrating the Center into the sphere of academically-based centers for women.
- * Provided technical support to a university/community coalition on women's health issues in rural Maine, strengthening its connections with academia and the policy world, and launching it into the next stage of organizational development.

1989 - 1992, Senior Program Associate.

Center for Women Policy Studies; Washington, DC.

- * Program/policy work on educational equity: created a new program initiative and wrote a concept paper on single sex education as a viable alternative educational choice for girls and

young women; directed the work of a consultant to develop a monograph and annotated directory of programs to recruit and retain women and girls of color in math, science and technology education; and served as part of a team working on access to higher education for low income women.

- * Convened the working group for a nascent journal on Asian American women's issues -- establishing the mission statement and infrastructure, and setting a two-year publication plan -- and positioning the Center and its partner in the publishing circles of Asian and Asian American women's literature.

*1987 - 1989, Coordinator, Women's Economic Justice Center.
Center for Policy Alternatives; Washington, DC.*

- * Researched and co-authored a policy brief on state-level family and medical leave policies, disseminating it to state legislators, policy and program advocates.
- * Organized a small and effective multistate coalition of diverse state organizations and representatives for women's economic justice issues, forming the active core of the advisory committee for the first national policy center on state-level women's economic justice issues.
- * Provided technical assistance in the formation of statewide women's legislative agenda projects in North Carolina and West Virginia, representing the Center as the sole invited out-of-state guest/resource person at their inaugural meetings.
- * Provided technical assistance and organizational support to the first national conference on gender equity in insurance, convened by a Montana-based coalition, further positioning the Center as a facilitator for public discourse on state-level issues with national implications.

OTHER SKILLS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Publications Programs -- solid track record in establishing or revitalizing publications programs; overseeing the creation of a distinct graphic identity; instituting streamlined, team-based production/dissemination processes; creating a proofreading guide; and supervising manuscript production (e.g., graphic design and offset printing) for a number of organizations, including:

- * *The Union Institute Office of Social Responsibility;*
- * *Center for Women Policy Studies;*
- * *Women's Economic Justice Center of the Center for Policy Alternatives -- founding editor of WEJC Update; edited the work of Center consultants;*
- * *Organization of Chinese American Women -- developed and served as the founding editor of its newsletter, OCAW SPEAKS (which still exists), doubling its circulation during my tenure.*

Conference/Events Management -- experienced in planning and managing conferences, and working with advisory/host committees for several organizations, including:

- * *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy -- with the conference chair, planned and implemented AAPIP's third annual meeting, Invisible and In Need;*
- * *Center for Women Policy Studies -- co-coordinated one of the first national conferences by, for and about young women in their 20s, convening 500 participants;*
- * *Organization of Chinese American Women (OCAW) -- co-coordinated several regional and national conferences, including OCAW's first national conference, Chinese American Women in Voluntary Community Leadership.*

EDUCATION

Bachelor Arts in Sociology: Temple University
Graduate Hours in Sociology: Temple University and American University
Continuing Education Hours in the Language of Signs: Gallaudet University

LANGUAGES

Cantonese and Toishanese: Moderate verbal fluency.
Pidgin Signed English and
American Sign Language: Moderate expressive fluency and receptive skill.

BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

District of Columbia Commission on Women (DC): 1996 - 1997.
DCGirls Coalition, The Union Institute Center for Women (DC): 1994 - 1997.
National Institute for Women of Color, Board of Directors (DC): 1994 - Present.
Howard University, African American Women's Institute Planning Committee (DC):
1993 - Present.
Women's Research and Education Institute (WREI), Fellows Program Selection Committee
(DC): 1993 - Present.
Metropolitan Washington (DC) Asian and Pacific American Advisory Committee to the
Democratic National Committee: 1992 - 1996.
Ad Hoc Health and HIV/AIDS Task Force to the Indochinese Community Center (DC):
1990 - 1995.
District of Columbia Commission on Asian and Pacific Islander Affairs (DC): 1988 - 1995.
Organization of Pan Asian American Women National Board (DC): 1988 - 1992.
Campaign '88: Women of Color Access Project Steering Committee (DC): 1987 - 1989.
Organization of Chinese American Women National Board (DC): 1980 - 1982.
Metropolitan Ministry for Women Board (DC): 1975 - 1978.

PROPOSAL REVIEWS

Corporation for National Service; Centers for Disease Control; Women's Education Equity Act Program;
Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (formerly, ADAMHA);
Office of Refugee Resettlement. For the Indochinese Community Center (DC) -- reviewed English
language, mixed media, culturally-specific AIDS education materials.

REFERENCES

Dr. Florence Bonner
Chair, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, and
Chair, African American Women's Institute
Howard University, Douglass Hall
2400 Sixth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20059
(202) 806-6854
E-mail: fbonner@fac.howard.edu

Dr. Veronica O. Collazo
Deputy Superintendent
Building Alternatives Charter School
6903 Sunbelt Drive South
San Antonio, TX 78218
(210) 804-1786
E-mail: gervinc@txdirect.net

Dr. Marcia Marker Feld
Founding Director, Office of University Partnerships, and
Professor and Immediate Past Chair, Community Planning and Area Development
University of Rhode Island, Rodman Hall
Kingston, RI 02881
(401) 874-2674 and (401) 277-5235
E-mail: mfeld@uriacc.uri.edu

Ms. Irene S. Lee
Senior Associate
The Annie E. Casey Foundation
701 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, MD 21202
(410) 547-6600
E-mail: IRENELEE@aecf.org

Shari E. Miles, Ph.D.
Executive Director
Women's Research and Education Institute
1750 New York Avenue, NW, Suite 350
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 628-0444, x14
E-mail: wrei@ix.netcom.com

Ms. Sharon Parker
President
American Institute for Managing Diversity
50 Hurt Plaza, Suite 1150
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 302-9226
E-mail: sharon_parker@mindspring.com

Return-Path: <aaron_lieberman@jstart.org>
 X-Sender: usinet.jsnata1@pop03.ca.us.ibm.net
 Date: Sat, 07 Mar 1998 15:18:37 -0500
 To: Aaron_lieberman@jstart.org, Dianne_Morales@jstart.org,
 peter_wendler@jstart.org, megan_bang@jstart.org,
 robert_fiske@jstart.org, jenny_cook@jstart.org,
 megan_flannery@jstart.org, ed_greene@jstart.org,
 dawn_hutchison@jstart.org, rachel_bragin@jstart.org,
 carolyn_nee@jstart.org, jordan_meranus@jstart.org,
 robyn_glover@jstart.org, christina_kim@jstart.org,
 kristen_mehr@jstart.org, karen_richardson@jstart.org,
 rebecca_weintraub@jstart.org, david_carmel@jstart.org,
 eddie_gonzalez-novoa@jstart.org, anthony_deguzman@jstart.org,
 tosha_lomask@jstart.org
 From: Aaron Lieberman <aaron_lieberman@jstart.org>
 Subject: Whitman Center Report
 Cc: linieves@aol.com, daledoc@sprynet.com, jbradach@hbs.edu,
 kspan@earthlink.net, carriganlc@aol.com, jhkidd@husc.harvard.edu,
 sagawas@iel.org, carol.ripple@yale.edu

I wanted to pass on these long-awaited evaluation results from the Citizenship Survey Boston Corps members completed at the 1996 Fall Future Teachers retreat and again during Jumpsummer '97. The results are impressive -- and testament to all of the hard work that everyone has done to help create a program that changes lives. Please let me know if you would like to see the hard copy, or want more information! Aaron

>Comments: Authenticated sender is <rhiggins@email.rci>
 >From: "Bob Higgins" <rhiggins@erebus.rutgers.edu>
 >To: aaron_lieberman@jstart.org
 >Date: Fri, 6 Mar 1998 11:17:13 +0000
 >Subject: Whitman Center Report
 >Reply-to: rhiggins@rci.rutgers.edu
 >Priority: normal
 >X-Loop-Detect: 1
 >
 >Dear Mr. Lieberman,
 >
 >Please find enclosed with this e-mail a copy of the Whitman Center's
 >report on Jumpstart volunteers for 1996-97, as you requested. While
 >I am sure the text will come through fine, I have doubts about the
 >tables -- perhaps you can re-format them. Or, I can try to send the
 >report as an attached file (though I think you'd still have the same
 >challenge with the tables). Good luck.
 >
 >Bob Higgins
 >
 > CIVIC ASSESSMENT REPORT:
 >
 > 1996-97 JUMPSTART VOLUNTEERS
 >
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 >
 >EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
 >
 > This report assesses the impact of Jumpstart volunteers' community
 > activity on their civic capacities, beliefs, and skills. Using the
 > Whitman Citizenship Measure (WCM), volunteers were pre-tested in
 > August 1996 and post-tested at the end of their service, in June
 > 1997. Thirty-nine volunteers completed both the pre-test and
 > post-test.
 >
 > We report on ten scales from the WCM which we have found most useful
 > for this type of assessment: alienation from local government,
 > political tolerance, religious tolerance, racial tolerance, issue
 > activity, voting activity, civic participation, civic obligation,

> agency of self, and civic skills. Of these ten, Jumpstart volunteers
 > showed statistically significant post test increases in scales
 > measuring racial tolerance and voting activity.

>
 > There were no significant changes for the other eight scales.
 > However, compared to other college students and non-profit volunteers
 > we have assessed, Jumpstart volunteers registered as much more
 > politically and religiously tolerant. And for the other six scales,
 > Jumpstart volunteers scored very close to mean for the other
 > respondents we have tested.

>
 > We believe that Jumpstart volunteers' racial tolerance and voting
 > activity improvements are important evidence of the impact that
 > community service programs can have on their participants' civic
 > capacities. We expect that service programs will differ in their
 > content, emphases, and volunteers and thus in their WCM results.
 > Jumpstart volunteers' significant improvements are thus generally
 > consistent with our findings for college service learning volunteers
 > (significant increases in religious tolerance, civic participation,
 > and civic skills) and for Public Allies volunteers (significant
 > decreases in alienation and significant increases in voting activity
 > and agency of others).

>ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

>
 > Table 1 shows the pre and post test mean scores for all ten scales,
 > and the results of an analysis of the scores using the paired t test
 > statistic. Essentially, this test analyzes whether respondents' pre
 > and post-test mean scores are significantly different, using only
 > those respondents who took both the pre and post test. Jumpstart
 > volunteers showed improvements in racial and religious tolerance that
 > were statistically significant at the .01 level. That is, for this
 > size group, ninety-nine times out of a hundred we would correctly
 > reject the null hypothesis that Jumpstart volunteers did not show a
 > significant improvement. These are strong findings.

>
 > Next, we conducted a series of linear regression analyses to
 > determine which factors most affected post test racial tolerance and
 > voting activity scores. These analyses construct linear algebraic
 > equations to predict respondents' post test scores, using the post
 > test score as the dependent variable and other factors as independent
 > variables. We first performed regression analyses using twelve
 > independent variables, entering all twelve in one block. The twelve
 > variables were: pre-test score, political party identification,
 > political ideology (liberal to conservative), ethnicity, religion,
 > age, education level, sex, family income level, college, level of
 > religious--spiritual motivation for community service, and amount of
 > prior community service. These analyses essentially examined the
 > impact of each independent variable, controlling for the other
 > eleven.

>
 > Based on our own and others' previous research, we expected pre test
 > scores to be the most significant predictor of post test racial
 > tolerance and voting activity scores -- which they were. Basically
 > this means that those with higher pre test scores tended to have
 > higher post test scores, which is a common sense result. For both
 > racial tolerance and voting activity, a small number of other
 > variables were also statistically significant.

>
 > In order to reach the most parsimonious solutions, we then included
 > only the significant variables from our first round in our second
 > round of regression analyses. We report the second round results in
 > Table 2 for racial tolerance and in Table 3 for voting activity.

>
 > In analyzing the racial tolerance results in Table 2, one must keep
 > in mind that this test scale was coded so that higher scores indicate

> less tolerance. Thus, Table 2 shows that while Jumpstart volunteers
 > as a whole showed a significant increase in racial tolerance, higher
 > post test scores are positively and significantly correlated with
 > greater degrees of conservatism, higher levels of religious --
 > spiritual motivation for civic activity, and higher pre-test scores.
 > Apart from the common sense result for pre-test scores, this means
 > that liberals and those who had lower levels of religious --
 > spiritual motivations in their civic life tended to show the greatest
 > increases in racial tolerance. These results are consistent with the
 > general literature on tolerance.

> Table 3 shows that while Jumpstart volunteers as a whole showed a
 > significant increase in voting activity, higher post test scores are
 > significantly and positively correlated with higher levels of prior
 > community service and with higher post test scores. Again, apart from
 > the common sense result for the pre-test scores, this means that
 > community service has a cumulative effect on one's voting activity --
 > the more service a volunteer has had, including Jumpstart, the more
 > likely she or he is to vote, irrespective of age, education,
 > ethnicity and all the other factors we examined. Again, this result
 > is in line with the social science literature which shows strong
 > correlations between civic participation and voting.

> CONCLUSION

> We conclude that participation in Jumpstart can have a measurable,
 > positive, and significant impact on volunteers' racial tolerance and
 > voting activity. For racial tolerance, this improvement is
 > especially enhanced for liberal volunteers and for those who were
 > more secularly motivated in their civic participation. And for
 > voting activity, this improvement is enhanced for those who had
 > higher levels of prior community service.

> TABLE 1: TEST SCALE RESULTS

> VARIABLE NAME	PRE-TEST T-VALUE	PRE-TEST 2-TAIL SIG	PRE-TEST MEAN	PRE-TEST ST. DEV	POST-TEST MEAN	POST-TEST ST. DEV	POST-TEST T-VALUE	POST-TEST 2-TAIL SIG
> ALIENATION	11.44	2.81	11.33	2.64	.23	.82		
> POLITICAL TOLERANCE	6.08	1.22	6.13	1.34	-.20	.84		
> RACIAL TOLERANCE	8.54	1.71	7.85	1.99	2.74	.01		
> RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE	6.15	1.41	6.44	1.48	-.99	.33		
> ISSUE ACTIVITY	12.26	2.84	12.64	2.86	-.85	.40		
> VOTING ACTIVITY	8.61	4.07	9.82	3.59	-2.74	.01		
> CIVIC PARTICIPATION	33.39	7.12	32.26	63.73	1.38	.18		
> CIVIC OBLIGATION	23.72	3.55	23.36	3.79	.69	.50		
> AGENCY OF SELF	15.79	4.74	15.95	2.71	-.23	.82		
> CIVIC SKILLS	64.15	10.40	65.41	12.02	-.77	.45.		

> TABLE 2

> REGRESSION ANALYSIS: PREDICTING RACIAL TOLERANCE POST TEST SCORES

----- Variables in the Regression Equation

Variable	B	T	SE B	T Test	Beta	Score
Pre Test Score	.635022	.147362		.550872		4.309
.0002 Ideology*	.466465			.209836	.282612	2.223
.0339 Religious Motivation	.670086			.356232	.237890	
1.881 .0697 (Constant)			-.012124		1.404516	

> -.009 .9932

>Adjusted R Square = .48

>Standard Error = 1.42

>N = 39

>INTERPRETATION:

>In brief, Jumpstart volunteers showed a significant improvement in their mean racial tolerance score. (Because of test coding, this meant that their post test mean score was lower than their pre test mean.) And, apart from the common sense correlation of pre and post test scores, those who were more liberal and who had lower levels of religious -- spiritual motivation for their civic activity tended to have more racially tolerant scores on the post test.

>The influence of the pre test score is highly statistically significant, at the .001 level. The influence of liberal ideology is also statistically significant at the .05 level. And the influence of religious motivation is significant at the .10 level.

>* We asked respondents to rate themselves on a 7 point scale with 1 being extremely liberal and 7 being extremely conservative. A positive correlation (in the T Score column) indicates that the more conservative one is, the more likely one is to have higher post test scores -- to be less tolerant -- when all other factors are taken into account).TABLE 3

>REGRESSION ANALYSIS: PREDICTING VOTING ACTIVITY POST TEST SCORES

----- Variables in the Regression Equation

Variable	T	SE B	T Test	Beta	Score
Pre Test Score	.649896	.094421	.747042	6.883	.0000
Amount Prior Service	1.488672	.812053	.198968	1.833	.0755
(Constant)	.306894	2.349169		.131	.8968

>Adjusted r square = .58

>Standard error = 2.31

>N = 39

>

>

>

>INTERPRETATION:

>

>In brief, Jumpstart volunteers overall showed significantly improved
>voting activity at the end of their service. And, those most likely
>to improve tended to have more prior community service and to have
>higher pre test scores.

>

>The influence of the pre test score is highly statistically
>significant, at the .000 level, and the influence of prior service is
>statistically significant at the .10 level.

>

>

Jumpstart builds School Success, Family Involvement, and Future Teachers ONE CHILD
AT A TIME.

For the latest information on Jumpstart please visit our website at
<http://www.jstart.org>

Mariejoy Mendoza

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EDUCATION

Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA.
B.A., graduation anticipated May 2001
Double Major Sociology and Political Science (Major G.P.A. 3.7 and 3.3 respectively)

Lowell High School, San Francisco, CA.
Graduated June 1997

EXPERIENCE

Intern: United States Department of Education, Office of the Secretary
Aided Susan Frost, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of Education, in her overall efforts to advance the Secretary's national education agenda. Required in-depth knowledge of current national education issues (i.e. school violence, the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), and issues relating to fair testing in schools. Gained strong comprehension of the budget appropriations process and its effect on both entitlements and discretionary programs. Had hands-on experiences with the President's Fiscal Year 2000 Budget, and the legislative process. Interacted extensively with various outside education groups and associations in department outreach efforts. (05/99-06/99)

Intern: Bryn Mawr College Office of Admissions
Worked within the Office of Minority Recruitment. Initiated both on campus and off campus recruitment events for prospective and admitted minority students. This position required an in depth comprehension of issues surrounding women of color in higher education. Interacted with many young women from across the country in efforts to recruit them to apply and eventually attend Bryn Mawr College. Required excellent public speaking and writing skills. (10/98-06/99)

Intern: Brobeck, Phleger, and Harrison LLP
Worked within the marketing department. Created a database using MS Access in order to aid the office in their public outreach efforts. Created media book for 1997. Wrote articles for the *Brobeck Bulletin*, the internal office newsletter. Interviewed several partners and staff members for research purposes. Participated in firm conferences and events sponsored by the marketing department. (06/97-01/98)

Youth Commissioner: San Francisco Youth Commission
Appointed by Mayor Frank Jordan and Supervisor Kevin Shelley to the city commission. Worked with a group of the city's top youth leaders to help solve youth problems in the city of San Francisco. Sat on the Executive Committee. Reviewed upcoming city legislation concerning youth. Tried to ensure that city policies were youth friendly. Involved in community affairs.
(06/96-05/97)

Intern: Kevin Shelley, President of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.
Prepared meeting briefs. Handled various constituency issues by filing letters of complaint to various city agencies on behalf of disgruntled constituents. Participated in full board and committee meetings for the Board of Supervisors (06/95-09/95 and 06/96-09/96)

HONORS

Student spokesperson for "College is Possible" Campaign. (October 1998)
Spoke with the Secretary of Education and President of the American Council on Education at a national press conference in Washington, D.C.

Featured and interviewed on the cover of the "Life" Section of the *USA Today* regarding financing college education. (10/27/98)

Interviewed Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer for a C-SPAN program focusing on America's young people and the judicial process. (April 1997)

Certificate of Honor: Board of Supervisors for the City and County of San Francisco for distinguished service to the youth of San Francisco. (August 1997)

SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Bryn Mawr College Asian Student Association (1997-present): Culture Show Coordinator

Bryn Mawr College Ethnic Studies Committee (1997-present)

Bryn Mawr College Admissions Tour Guide (1998-present)

Bryn Mawr College Customs: Residential Advisor for Class of 2002 (1998-present)

Bryn Mawr College Common Ground (1997-present)

Bryn Mawr College CRUCIAL (Coming to Racial Understanding through Community Involvement, Action and Learning): Facilitator (Spring 1999- Present)

Women's Institute for Leadership (March 1998)

Coordinator Multi-cultural Preview Day at BMC (November 1998)

Student Panelist for the Office of Admissions (March 1998, April 1998, October 1998, November 1998)

Bryn Mawr College Chinatown Tutoring Program (1997-present)

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1994 - Present

**Director of Congressional and Intergovernmental Relations,
Corporation for National Service**

Principal advisor to the Chief Executive Officer for legislation affecting national service programs, which currently have nearly two million participants and a budget of \$700 million. Serve on senior staff committee that makes and implements policies for the entire Corporation. Determine short and long-term strategies to support AmeriCorps and other Corporation programs. Negotiate with Congress on issues facing the Corporation, including appropriations and reauthorization. Direct preparation of testimony, statements and briefings to the appropriate Congressional committees. Represent the Corporation to the White House, the Office of Management and Budget, and cabinet agencies. Worked with the White House and other Executive agencies to design the Administration's "America Reads" literacy initiative. Attend weekly White House legislative strategy meetings with other Assistant Secretaries from Departments and key agencies. Oversee office of intergovernmental affairs to promote national service to a broad range of constituencies, including governors and mayors.

1985 - 1994

Counsel, House Committee on Education and Labor

Senior member of the Committee staff. Directed the Committee's budget and appropriations strategies and served as its liaison to the House leadership, the Budget and Appropriations Committees, and constituency groups. Led the Committee's efforts to develop President Clinton's national service legislation and was responsible for negotiating its passage in the Congress, with bi-partisan support. Instrumental in the development and enactment of landmark legislation on child care, drug-free schools, adult education, dislocated workers and defense reinvestment. Detailed to White House Office of National Service to create the strategic plan to launch AmeriCorps.

1980 - 1985**Majority Staff Associate, House Committee on the Budget**

Helped to formulate the annual Congressional budget resolution and amendments, and prepared alternatives to the Administration's budget. Wrote speeches and testimony about fiscal policy, the budget process, and investment in public infrastructure.

1978-1980**Special Assistant, Coalition of Northeastern Governors, Policy Research Center**

Worked with the Director to develop policies and programs to enhance the economic development of the region, including proposals for energy conservation and to assess the impacts of undocumented immigration on the northeast.

1977-1978**Research Associate, Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**

Helped to start the Latin American Program. Organized seminars and conferences on issues of concern to scholars and policy makers in Latin American affairs, including economic policy, inter-American relations, and the transition of Latin American regimes to democracy.

1968-1976**Ph.D., History, University of California Los Angeles**

Author of From Pale to Pampa: A Social History of the Jews of Buenos Aires (Holmes and Meier, 1982) and numerous scholarly articles. Recipient of various fellowships and teaching assistantships.

1964-1968**B.A. Politics, New York University**

Married.

Father of one child, age nine.