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Early Start

Andrew Karch

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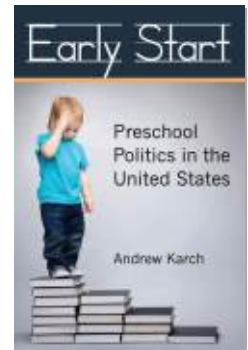
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Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. “Picking up the Options,” address by Harold Howe II, U.S. commissioner of education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, before the Annual Meeting of the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association, Houston, Texas, April 1, 1968, 5, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 382.

2. Current Population Survey, “Table A-2: Percentage of the Population 3 Years and Older Enrolled in School, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: October 1947 to 2010,” <http://www.census.gov/hhes/school/data/cps/historical/index.html> (accessed September 14, 2012).

3. Current Population Survey, “Table A-1: School Enrollment of the Population 3 Years Old and Over, by Level and Control of School, Race, and Hispanic Origin: October 1955 to 2010,” <http://www.census.gov/hhes/school/data/cps/historical/index.html> (accessed March 13, 2012).

4. Undated memorandum from Albert H. Quie, chairman, to House Republican Task Force on Education, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1965–1968 Files,” box 148, 146.I.19.5B. The memorandum is undated but accompanied a document entitled *Report of the Republican Task Force on Education: A New Look at Pre-School Education, Present and Future*. The report was written in 1966, suggesting that the memorandum was authored around that time.

5. Current Population Survey, “Table A-1.” Bainbridge et al. (2005) note that question changes in the October CPS in 1985 and 1994 may have increased reporting rates.

6. *Transforming Public Education: Pathway to a Pre-K–12 Future* (Washington, DC: Pew Center on the States, 2011), 14.

7. Education Commission of the States, *Early Learning: Improving Results for Young Children* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2000), 4, ECS Archives.

8. Due to its focus on preschool programs, the present analysis devotes limited attention to the history of kindergartens in the United States. Kindergartens are an important chapter in the story of early learning, but they currently fall outside the domain of “preschool” due to their integration into the public school system. Several superb studies examine the emergence of kindergarten as an educational innovation in the late nineteenth century and/or its relationship with the public school system (Beatty 1995,

2001; Cuban 1992; Dombkowski 2001; Kaestle and Vinovskis 1978; Ross 1976; Russell 2011).

9. This book uses several terms interchangeably. It refers to preschool education, child development programs, early childhood policy, and prekindergarten. These terms reflect the changing rhetoric of those who favor greater public investment in educational programs serving young children (Russell 2011; L. White 2004). They also reflect preschool service providers' contemporary diversity.

10. Programs serving infants and toddlers also fall outside the scope of the present analysis. Beatty (1995, xi) asserts that it is "historically correct" to distinguish between preschool education and child care. Several scholars focus on child care in the United States and examine some of the policies and programs that appear in this book (Beatty 1995; Cohen 2001; Michel 1999).

11. These cost estimates include both preschool and child care programs. Focusing solely on child care centers highlights the role of the private sector. In 1990, according to one analysis, about 90 percent of American child care centers were private. Two-thirds of the private centers were nonprofit, and one-third was for-profit. The nonprofit centers included 25 percent that were independent, 15 percent that were sponsored by religious organizations, 8 percent that were run by large nonprofit organizations, and 9 percent that were run by Head Start providers (A. D. White 2005, 17).

12. Kavan Peterson, "Preschool Gets Record Boost in '05," *Stateline.org*, November 16, 2005.

13. *NEA on Prekindergarten and Kindergarten* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 2004), 5.

14. *Ensuring America's Future: Policy Statements and Recommendations from National Education Organizations* (Alexandria, VA: Pre-K Coalition, 2011), 5.

15. In addition to complaints about the general shortcomings of the contemporary preschool system, many observers lament the poor quality of individual preschool and child care programs (Barnett and Hustedt 2003; Henry, Gordon, and Rickman 2006).

16. The historical and contemporary political conflict surrounding preschool education is multidimensional. This book focuses on the interplay between the public and the private sector and between the national government and the states, but questions of program effectiveness, appropriate curricula, and teacher certification requirements have also proven controversial. Those debates lie beyond the scope of this analysis but have been examined elsewhere (Beatty 1995; Vinovskis 1999a).

17. A "political analysis" seems especially constructive because, in the words of one scholar, "far too many 'historians' of particular childhood policies are insiders with axes to grind" (Sealand 2004, 181).

18. A recent comparative analysis of "family policy" concludes that fewer significant policy changes since the mid-1990s have occurred in the United States than in such countries as the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Australia (Daly 2010).

19. Many other public preschool programs are modeled on Head Start, especially in terms of their clientele and their comprehensive programming.

20. House Committee on Ways and Means, *1990 Green Book: Background Material and Data on Programs within the Jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means*, 101st Cong., 2d sess. (Committee Print, 1990), 840.

21. This growth is impressive, but not all claims are based on preschool-related expenses. Claimants become eligible for the tax credit based on the expenses they incur for

children who are thirteen years of age or less. The substantial growth in claims is based on data from 1988, when the Family Support Act significantly tightened eligibility for the tax credit. It required that taxpayers provide the correct name, address, and taxpayer identification number of the dependent care provider. It also lowered the age at which a taxpayer identification number had to be submitted for children for whom the credit was claimed, from age five to age two. These more-onerous reporting requirements lowered the number of claimants from nine million in 1988 to six million in 1989. See House Committee on Ways and Means, *2004 Green Book: Background Material and Data on Programs within the Jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means*, 108th Cong., 2d sess. (Committee Print, 2004), 13–43.

22. Tax Policy Center, “Dependent Care Tax Credit: Number of Families and Amount of Credit, 1976–2009,” <http://www.taxpolicycenter.org/taxfacts/displayafact.cfm?Docid=180> (accessed March 27, 2012). The Tax Policy Center is a joint initiative of the Urban Institute and the Brookings Institution. Its estimate was last updated in July 2011.

23. This dynamic is not unusual. Third-party providers in the private sector are often the “core societal advocates” of tax expenditures because there are no interest groups that represent their nominal beneficiaries (Howard 1997, 7).

24. Head Start remains in existence nearly five decades after its creation, and its long-term political impact has exceeded that of either the emergency nursery schools or the wartime child care centers. It was created, however, as part of the broader War on Poverty, which, if successful, would not be permanent.

CHAPTER 1

1. Encouraging the involvement of the market and private sector in social provision is a distinguishing feature of liberal welfare states, of which the United States is an “archetypal example” (Esping-Andersen 1990, 27). Some comparative analyses of early childhood policy compare American programs to those in other liberal welfare states (Michel 1999; L. White 2002, 2004).

2. Current Population Survey, “Table A-1: School Enrollment of the Population 3 Years Old and Over, by Level and Control of School, Race, and Hispanic Origin: October 1955 to 2010,” <http://www.census.gov/hhes/school/data/cps/historical/index.html> (accessed March 13, 2012).

3. See Skocpol 1992 for a broader critique of cultural accounts of welfare state development.

4. One might posit that public opinion represents such a mechanism. However, most studies of the relationship between public opinion and public policy suggest that public opinion sets the general ideological direction of policy but does not spur elected officials to comply with specific demands (Erikson, Wright, and McIver 1993; Stimson, MacKuen, and Erikson 1995).

5. Comparative scholarship on social policy often examines interest group politics through the lens of power resources theory, which emphasizes the significance of organized labor and social democratic political parties. Power resources theory offers valuable insights into the politics of the welfare state, but several scholars have questioned its applicability to early childhood education and care (Bonoli and Reber 2010; Morgan 2006).

6. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Senator Walter Mondale, April 23, 1975, 6.
7. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Jule Sugarman, November 2, 1972, 31.
8. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Marian Wright Edelman, October 4, 1973, 29.
9. Morgan 2006 describes the conservative resurgence and its policy implications in more detail.
10. *Transforming Public Education: Pathway to a Pre-K–12 Future* (Washington, DC: Pew Center on the States, 2011), 5.
11. The decentralization of political authority set forth in the Constitution has been exacerbated by Progressive Era reforms and changes in congressional operations (Steinmo and Watts 1995).
12. Federalism has been characterized as a “necessary condition for the development of American exceptionalism” (Robertson 1989, 261).
13. Federalism scholars describe an increased willingness among national officials to preempt policy decisions that were made at the state level (Zimmerman 1991).
14. Political historian Julian Zelizer (2004) argues that the complex world of political actors described by political science scholarship might help political historians develop fresh approaches and frameworks for the study of the policymaking process.

CHAPTER 2

1. Several authors examine the early history of early childhood programs in greater detail than will be pursued in this chapter. See Beatty 1995; Cahan 1989; Michel 1999; E. Rose 1999.
2. School attendance data suggest that approximately 40 percent of all three-year-olds in Massachusetts were enrolled in school as late as 1840. Attendance then steadily declined until 1860. See Kaestle and Vinovskis (1978) and May and Vinovskis (1977) for more on Massachusetts, the state for which the best data on infant school attendance are available.
3. Abigail Adams Eliot, “Nursery Schools Fifty Years Ago,” *Young Children*, April 1972, 212, Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI) Archives, Special Collections, University of Maryland Libraries, RG V, series I, box 11.
4. Eliot, “Nursery Schools Fifty Years Ago,” 211.
5. “NAEYC’s First Half Century, 1926–1976,” *Young Children*, September 1976, 463, ACEI Archives, RG V, series I, box 11.
6. Eliot, “Nursery Schools Fifty Years Ago,” 213.
7. Cravens (1993) examines the emergence of child development as an established science and profession in the American scientific and academic system, focusing on the history and impact of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station. Some of the Iowa scientists, most prominently George D. Stoddard, were actively involved in political debates over the appropriate role of nursery schools.
8. Local control led the schools to take on a variety of forms. Some were connected to colleges or universities, others were part of high school home economics departments, and others were administered by local community agencies. See Sue C. Wortham, *Childhood, 1892–1992* (Wheaton, MD: ACEI, 1992), 36, ACEI Archives, acc. 99–116, box 8.
9. Mary Dabney Davis, “Nursery Schools in 1936,” *School Life*, December 1936, 117–120, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 10.

10. Bureau of Child Development, University of the State of New York, *Essentials of Nursery Education* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1938), 1, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 10.

11. This particular estimate may overstate peak enrollment in the emergency nursery school program. In a 1972 interview, someone who was on the faculty of the Child Development Institute at Teachers College at Columbia University when the program began claimed that the peak enrollment was in 1934–35, when seventy-five thousand children attended nineteen hundred nursery schools (Hymes 1979, 20).

12. *Federal Aid for the Day Care Program*, no. 8 (Washington, DC: Child Welfare Information Service, 1945), Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, box 141, folder 1.

13. Elizabeth Rose (1999, 145) uses language that is more flexible, explaining that the nursery schools provided services to children whose families were “on relief or near relief.” Her description confirms the targeted nature of the program.

14. Children attending WPA nursery schools represented only 5 percent of children aged two to five years who were attending school. Most of the others enrolled in kindergartens in public schools, and school attendance was higher in urban areas than in rural areas. See Mary Dabney Davis, *Schools for Children under Six: A Report on the Status and Need for Nursery Schools and Kindergartens*, bulletin 1947, no. 5 (Washington, DC: Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1947), 23, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 10.

15. *Federal Aid for the Day Care Program*.

16. *Federal Aid for the Day Care Program*, 44.

17. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with James L. Hymes Jr., November 16, 1972, 16.

18. Some observers portrayed female employment as an economic necessity for individual families who had been affected by the war, arguing that the stipends received by the wives of men in the armed forces were “utterly inadequate” (*Wartime Care and the Protection of Children of Employed Mothers: Hearing on S. 876 and S. 1130 before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor*, 78th Cong., 1st sess. [1943], 91).

19. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Wartime Care*, 81.

20. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Wartime Care*, 5.

21. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Wartime Care*, 50.

22. *Day Care of Children in Post-war United States* (New York: Child Welfare League of America, 1945), Carl Albert Center, Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, box 141, folder 1.

23. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Wartime Care*, 8.

24. *Federal Aid for the Day Care Program*, 46.

25. *Federal Aid for the Day Care Program*, 46–47.

26. *Federal Aid for the Day Care Program*, 47.

27. Many WPA nursery schools were converted into wartime child care centers by lengthening their hours and limiting their enrollment to children of working women. By May 1943, “1,150 of the 1,700 WPA nursery schools were operating in war-disrupted areas serving children and families regardless of income” (Cahan 1989, 42).

28. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Wartime Care*, 12.

29. *Federal Aid for the Day Care Program*, 46.

30. Davis, *Schools for Children under Six*, 30.

31. *Nursery Schools Vital to America’s War Effort*, School Children and the War Se-

ries, leaflet no. 3 (Washington, DC: Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1943), 12, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 10.

32. David H. Russell, “With Books and Magazines,” *Understanding the Child* 25, no. 2 (April 1946): 55–60, 55, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 15.

33. *Children in a Democracy*, general report adopted by the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, January 19, 1940, 36, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 14.

34. *Who Will Need a Post-war Nursery School*, Kaiser Child Service Centers, Pamphlets for Teachers, no. 3, 12, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 10.

35. Letter from Henry L. Zucker, chairman, Ohio State War-Time Child Care Committee, Ohio State Council of Defense, to Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, June 5, 1945, Carl Albert Center, Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, box 17, folder 4a.

36. Association for Nursery Education of Southern California, Mail Survey of the Families of the Children Enrolled in the Ninety Los Angeles Child Care Center Nursery Schools, Carl Albert Center, Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, box 17, folder 4b. The memorandum describing the survey is undated but reveals that it was mailed on July 15, 1945.

37. “Letters about Day Care,” *Day Care News* (Committee on Day Care of Children, Wayne County Council of Defense) 20 (April 1945), Carl Albert Center, Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, box 141, folder 1.

38. Letter from Alice T. Dashiell, field secretary, Child Welfare League of America, to Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, June 4, 1945, Carl Albert Center, Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, box 141, folder 1.

39. *Day Care of Children in Post-war United States*, 2.

40. James L. Hymes Jr., “The Road Ahead for Nursery Schools,” *Understanding the Child* 25, no. 2 (April 1946): 36–39, at 39, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 15.

41. “Child Care,” resolution adopted at the Convention of the International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, CIO, Atlantic City, New Jersey, March 23–30, 1946, Carl Albert Center, Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, box 17, folder 4b.

42. A similar campaign occurred in the United Kingdom, where the National Society of Children’s Nurseries pressed for nurseries to become a permanent feature of the British social service system. Legislation passed in England in 1944 and in Scotland in 1945 made “the provision of fully equipped educational centers obligatory upon all local Education Authorities for children *from two years of age and up*.” According to that legislation, “Parents are not required to send their children but the school authorities are required to provide suitable facilities” (Russell, “With Books and Magazines,” 59; emphasis in original).

43. Congress continued to support centers for poor children in Washington, DC, until 1953 (Beatty 1995, 192).

44. Hymes, “Road Ahead for Nursery Schools,” 36.

45. H.R. 2362, 80th Cong., 1st sess. (March 4, 1947); H.R. 793, 81st Cong., 1st sess. (January 5, 1949). In 1949, Senator Claude Pepper (D-FL) introduced companion legislation in the Senate: S. 1216, 81st Cong., 1st sess. (March 9, 1949).

46. Davis, *Schools for Children under Six*, 17–19.

47. Dorothy W. Baruch, Evangeline B. Burgess, and Dorothy Blumenstock Jones, *How to Start Publicity for Nursery Education in Your Community* (Iowa City, IA: National Association for Nursery Education, 1940), 13, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 10.

48. Four states (California, Massachusetts, New York, and Washington) allocated state funds for child care immediately after the Second World War. California was the only one whose allocation preserved a large proportion of its centers (Reese 1996, 568).

49. *For Every Child a Healthy Personality: A Digest of the Fact Finding Report to the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth* ([Washington, DC]: Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950), ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 14.

50. *Platform Recommendations and Pledge to Children* ([Washington, DC]: Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, 1950), ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 14.

51. Michel (1999, 150) argues that the largely unsuccessful attempts to extend public funding for early childhood programs provoked a “broad-ranging debate about motherhood, paid employment, and child care that eventually led to the formation of a national child care movement.” For example, postwar protests in Philadelphia illustrated mothers’ “new sense of entitlement” to publicly funded care and eventually led the city to fund centers through the 1950s (E. Rose 1999, 6). While important, these debates and developments had a limited effect on national enrollment patterns.

52. Lillian L. Gore and Rose E. Koury, *A Survey of Early Elementary Education in Public Schools, 1960–61* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1965), 46, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 15.

53. Gore and Koury, *Survey of Early Elementary Education*, 52.

54. Dorothea Andrews, “Highlights of the Recommendations,” *Children* 7, no. 3 (May–June 1960): 92–95, at 94, ACEI Archives, RG V, series 1, box 14.

55. Proponents also linked the tax deduction to the Korean War and other policy initiatives. They contended that “women’s labor was necessary to the nation’s economic and security interests, claimed that the deduction would help promote rapid mobilization in a wartime emergency, and insisted that child care was as legitimate a business expense as entertainment, travel, and country club membership” (E. Rose 1999, 196).

56. “The White House Message on Poverty,” March 16, 1964, 2, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 125.

57. This discussion of Head Start draws heavily on three excellent accounts of its emergence and early years: Vinovskis 2005, Zigler and Muenchow 1992, and Zigler and Styfco 2010.

58. “Preschool Programs for Disadvantaged Children,” memorandum from Harry Levin to Frances Keppel, U.S. commissioner of education, August 24, 1964, 2, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 125.

59. “Preschool Programs for Disadvantaged Children,” 4.

60. During his 1964 presidential campaign, Johnson discussed education and poverty at length but did not mention preschool specifically (Vinovskis 2005, 58).

61. “White House Conference on Education: Transcript of Closing Session,” remarks of James E. Allen Jr., commissioner of education, State Department of Education, Albany, New York, vice chairman for panels on “Extending Educational Opportunities,” 14, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 205.

62. J. W. Getzels, “Preschool Education,” in *Consultants’ Papers, The White House*

Conference on Education, July 20–21, 1965, 2:111, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 204.

63. Becker, “Pre-School Education,” panel summary of the White House Conference on Education, Washington, DC, July 20–21, 1965, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 204. This summary is in a folder labeled “White House Conference on Education: Press Releases.”

64. Becker, “Pre-School Education.”

65. The memorandum claimed that “what is now known as Project Head Start was originally proposed by Republicans as long ago as 1961” (Carol Khosrov, “The Eradication of Poverty,” Task Force on the Functions of Federal, State, and Local Governments, revised draft, May 26, 1966, 4, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1965–1968 Files,” box 147, 146.I.19.4F).

66. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Edward Zigler, June 10, 1972, 26.

67. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Martha Phillips, November 19, 1973, 29.

68. “Programs and Research in the Facilitation of Development in Young Children,” memorandum from Edmund W. Gordon to the President’s Task Force on Education, March 24, 1967, 10, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 334.

69. During the July 1965 White House Conference on Education, the “one-shot nature” of Head Start emerged as a common critique (“Undated Memorandum: The White House Conference on Education,” 4, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “House Republican Task Force on Tax Credits for Higher Education Files, 1965,” box 56, 146.I.12.11B).

70. “Follow Through,” undated program summary, 1, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 485. The summary includes estimates of “new obligational authority,” the number of children served, and the number of programs for fiscal years 1968, 1969, and 1970. These estimates and the document’s reference to the “initial stages” of Follow Through suggest that it was published shortly after the program was launched in 1967. Follow Through was created as a temporary demonstration program, but it lasted for twenty-five years, despite a checkered history and disappointing results (Vinovskis 1999a, chap. 4).

71. “Statement of the Office of Economic Opportunity on the Release of Preliminary Report by Westinghouse Learning Corporation on Head Start Effectiveness,” April 14, 1969, O-5 (emphasis in original), Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 150, 146.I.19.7B.

72. The Coleman Report and a research monograph by Albert Jensen also placed Head Start supporters on the defensive. The former argued that schools could do little to reverse the educational disadvantages induced by poverty, and the latter emphasized the impact of genetics and heredity (Zigler and Muenchow 1992, 56–73).

73. “Statement of Secretary Robert H. Finch,” April 9, 1969, 2, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 4. The state-

ment was one of three enclosures that accompanied a letter of June 2, 1969, from the secretary to Head Start grantees.

74. Office of the White House Secretary, “The White House Press Conference of Robert H. Finch, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Daniel P. Moynihan, Special Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs; Robert Patricelli, Deputy Assistant Secretary for HEW; Jule Sugarman, Acting Director of the Children’s Bureau; and Ron Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President,” Roosevelt Room, April 9, 1969, 4, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 3.

75. “Head Start: An Overview,” undated, 4, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 2, folder “H.S./O.C.D., March 1969, #1.”

76. “Head Start: An Overview,” 5.

77. “Head Start: An Overview,” 7.

78. *Head Start Child Development Program: A Manual of Policies and Instructions* (Washington, DC: Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967), 10, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 146, folder 4.

79. “Questions and Answers on the Delegation of Head Start to HEW,” 3, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 4. The statement was one of three enclosures that accompanied a letter of June 2, 1969, from the secretary to Head Start grantees.

80. “Survey Results Revealed: Schools Favored to Run Head Start,” *Minneapolis Tribune*, July 24, 1969, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1969–1970 Files,” box 149, 146.I.19.6F.

81. Hymes, “Road Ahead for Nursery Schools,” 37.

82. Beatrice Rosenberg, *Day Care Facts* (Washington, DC: Women’s Bureau, 1970), 1, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 231, folder 19.

83. “Developmental Day Care,” speech by Mrs. Richard M. Lansburgh at White House Conference Forum 17, December 14, 1970, 2, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 232, folder 5.

84. “Letter from National Women’s Political Caucus,” July 13, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 157, 146.I.19.4F.

85. Statement by Sam Nocella, vice president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in *A Report of a Conference on Day Care and the Working Mother*, ed. Jeanette Stats (Baltimore, MD: Board of Trustees, Health and Welfare Fund, Baltimore Regional Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO, 1967), Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1965–1968 Files,” box 148, 146.I.19.5B.

86. Senn, interview with Phillips, 4.

87. These two approaches are best thought of as ideal types, as no early childhood program is exclusively custodial or educational.

88. Senn, interview with Zigler, 3.

89. Senn, interview with Zigler, 31.
90. The research of Hunt and Bloom was influential, but the two scholars were not the first to challenge the notion that physical and mental development were predetermined. From the mid-1930s to the early 1950s, the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station was “the leading challenger of the field’s twin theses, the maturation theory and the idea of the fixed IQ” (Cravens 1993, 110).
91. Sheldon H. White, “Speculations on the Fate of Early Childhood Education,” address before the American Educational Research Association, Washington, DC, April 1975, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966,” box I:04, folder 16.
92. Wortham, *Childhood*, 50.
93. Zigler described himself as a skeptic who believed that the environment affected motivation more profoundly than it affected intelligence. He participated in several heated debates with Hunt that “were advertised somewhat like competitions between rival evangelists” (Zigler and Muenchow 1992, 13–14).
94. Raymond S. Moore and Dennis R. Moore, “The Dangers of Early Schooling,” *Harper’s* 245 (July 1972): 58–62, at 58, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Comprehensive Child Development Act,” box I:05, folder 2.
95. Moore and Moore, “Dangers of Early Schooling,” 58–59.
96. “The Foundations of Change,” address by S. P. Marland Jr., U.S. commissioner of education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, before the Lyndon B. Johnson Library Symposium on Education, Austin, Texas, January 24, 1972, 5, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 585.
97. The “laboratories of democracy” metaphor can be traced to a dissent by Supreme Court justice Louis Brandeis in *New State Ice Co. v. Liebmann*, 285 U.S. 262 (1932).
98. “A Federal Education Program,” memorandum from Hirst Sutton to Messrs. Schultze and Seidman, November 9, 1962, 3, National Archives, RG 51: Records of the Office of Management and Budget, series 61.b: Directors, Deputy Directors, and Assistant Directors Office Files, 1961–68, box 67, folder “Education—A Federal Program For, Nov. 1962.”
99. John Brademas, “The National Politics of Education: A View from Capitol Hill,” speech before the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, June 17, 1968, 6, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Speeches: The Politics of Education,” box I:10, folder 53.
100. Several historians provide more-comprehensive accounts of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. See Bailey and Mosher 1968; Graham 1984; Sundquist 1968; Thomas 1975.
101. Harold Howe II, “U.S. Schools: Changing Federal Role Seen—But Not Control,” interview with Josephine Ripley, *Christian Science Monitor*, July 13, 1966, Eastern edition, 3, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 381.
102. Brademas, “National Politics of Education,” 19.
103. Harold Howe II, “U.S. School Aid,” *New York Times* annual education review, January 12, 1968, 1, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 382.

104. Undated and untitled draft, 17, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “House Republican Task Force on Tax Credits for Higher Education Files, 1965,” box 56, 146.I.12.11B. The draft appears in a folder with several documents from the first few months of 1965. It may be “A Preschool Program for Republicans,” which is referenced by another document in the folder but does not appear in it.

105. Rosenberg, *Day Care Facts*, 3.

106. Getzels, “Preschool Education,” 110.

107. “Picking up the Options,” address by Harold Howe II, U.S. commissioner of education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, before the Annual Meeting of the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Educational Association, Houston, Texas, April 1, 1968, 6, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 382. The speech was read to the principals when Howe could not make the trip to Houston.

CHAPTER 3

1. “Report,” memorandum from Robert E. Patricelli, executive secretary of the Advisory Committee on Head Start, to members of the committee, March 4, 1969, 7, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 2.

2. “Day Care: It’s a Lot More Than Child’s Play,” *Business Week*, March 21, 1970, 110, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 193, folder 15.

3. “Statement of Secretary Robert H. Finch,” April 9, 1969, 5, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 4. The statement was one of three enclosures that accompanied a letter of June 2, 1969, from the secretary to Head Start grantees.

4. Rose K. Wiener, “Some Thoughts on Education for the Poor,” April 7, 1967, 8, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 335.

5. *Education for the Urban Disadvantaged: From Preschool to Employment* (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1971), 17, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Department Files, box 93, folder 15. The statement endorsed universal enrollment while placing special emphasis on access for “disadvantaged” children.

6. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Dr. Julius Richmond, July 12, 1972, 47.

7. Margaret Malone, *Federal Involvement in Day Care* (Washington, DC: Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, 1969), 9–10, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 157, 146.I.19.14F.

8. Malone, *Federal Involvement in Day Care*, 10–11.

9. “Office of Education: Programs and Activities in Early Childhood Education, Fiscal Year 1969,” undated, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant

Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 2.

10. “Information Sheet on Federal Assistance for Day Care Programs,” prepared by the Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, September 1969, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 193, folder 15.

11. Beatrice Rosenberg, *Day Care Facts* (Washington, DC: Women’s Bureau, 1970), 7, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 231, folder 19.

12. Rosenberg, *Day Care Facts*, 8.

13. Richard D. Jaffe and Evelyn C. Jaffe, *Survey of Available Private and Public Kindergarten Services, Fall, 1968* (Chicago: Richard D. Jaffe and Associates, Institute for Social Action, 1969), 98, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 461.

14. Jaffe and Jaffe, *Survey of Available Private and Public Kindergarten Services*, 10, 99.

15. Jaffe and Jaffe, *Survey of Available Private and Public Kindergarten Services*, 103.

16. Malone, *Federal Involvement in Day Care*, 37.

17. Rosenberg, *Day Care Facts*, 12.

18. “Business Takes Care of the Kiddies,” *Business Week*, March 21, 1970, 51, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 193, folder 15.

19. Ann Cook and Herbert Mack, “Business in Education: The Discovery Center Hustle,” *Social Policy*, September/October 1970, 6, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 193, folder 15.

20. Cook and Mack, “Business in Education.”

21. “Day Care Programs Authorized by H.R. 12080,” memorandum from Lawrence C. Feldman, executive director, National Committee for the Day Care of Children, to staff, Senate Finance Committee, undated, 2, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 193, folder 15.

22. “For Excellence, Freedom and Diversity,” condensation of broadcast, Richard M. Nixon, CBS Radio Network, October 20, 1968, 10, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 383.

23. Jule M. Sugarman, “A Summary of Administration Action to Date,” draft dated October 31, 1969, 1, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 5.

24. Letter from Urie Bronfenbrenner, Cornell University, to the Honorable James Farmer, undersecretary of health, education, and welfare, November 21, 1969, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 5.

25. Sugarman, “Summary of Administration Action to Date,” 1.

26. Due to tight state budgets, a lack of personnel, and a lack of physical facilities, this provision spurred “relatively little new day care” (Malone, *Federal Involvement in Day Care*, 35–36).

27. *Day Care and Child Development in Your Community* (Washington, DC: Day

Care and Child Development Council of America, 1969), 13 (emphasis in original), Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 193, folder 15.

28. Sugarman, “Summary of Administration Action to Date,” 2.
29. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Stephen Hess, November 19, 1973, 11.
30. “Task Force on Delivery of Services,” Developmental Child Care Forum, White House Conference on Children 1970, 5, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 232, folder 5.
31. Therese W. Lansburgh, “Speech at White House Conference Forum #17: Developmental Day Care,” December 14, 1970, 1, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 232, folder 5.
32. “Results of Balloting by the Delegates to the 1970 White House Conference on Children on Overriding Concerns and Specific Recommendations,” undated, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 508. The ballot listed sixteen “overriding concerns,” with each first-place vote receiving sixteen points, each second-place vote receiving fifteen points, and so forth. “Comprehensive family-oriented child development programs” received the third-highest total of first-place votes.
33. Therese W. Lansburgh, “Report on the White House Conference on Children,” memorandum to the Board of Directors, January 5, 1971, 1, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 232, folder 5.
34. Lansburgh, “Report on the White House Conference,” 2.
35. The Select Subcommittee on Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor held hearings on a similar bill with the same title during the Ninetieth Congress.
36. “Dear Colleague” letter from Representative Patsy Mink, January 1969, Carl Albert Center, Jeffery Cohelan Collection, box 77, folder 21.
37. John Brademas, “Testimony before the National Priorities Committee of the Democratic National Committee,” April 29, 1970, 7, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 115, folder 85.
38. The bills profiled in this paragraph do not provide a comprehensive list of legislation with implications for early childhood policy but highlight the bills whose objectives resonated with those of the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971.
39. Jule M. Sugarman, “Legislative Items,” memorandum to Tom Joe, special assistant to the undersecretary, June 12, 1969, 1, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 4.
40. Sugarman, “Summary of Administration Action to Date,” 4.
41. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Carolyn Harmon, September 14, 1972, 3.
42. Senn, interview with Harmon, 2–3. Harmon did not join the Office of Child Development until July 1970, but she explained that upon joining the agency, she had been told about Sugarman’s activities and how they had been perceived.
43. Senn, interview with Harmon, 4.
44. “Federal Block Grant Proposed,” *ECS Bulletin* (Education Commission of the States), May 1969, Carl Albert Center, Jeffery Cohelan Collection, box 77, folder 20.

45. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Martha Phillips, November 19, 1973, 6.
46. Senn, interview with Phillips, 6–7.
47. Walter F. Mondale, letter to Senator Birch Bayh, May 27, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Subcommittee on Children and Youth,” box 32, 13.3.0.3B.
48. “Remarks of Senator Walter F. Mondale before the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development,” Minneapolis, Minnesota, April 3, 1971, 4, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Speech Text Files,” box 4, 154.K.3.2F.
49. Letter from Walter F. Mondale to Marian Wright Edelman, January 15, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Subcommittee on Children and Youth,” box 32, 13.3.0.3B.
50. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Sydney Johnson III, September 15, 1972, 3.
51. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Marian Wright Edelman, October 4, 1973, 5.
52. Senn, interview with Edelman, 5.
53. Senn, interview with Edelman, 6.
54. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Judy Assmus, September 14, 1972, 8.
55. Senn, interview with Assmus, 8.
56. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Dr. Donald Cohen, November 1, 1972, 2.
57. The coalition also included Common Cause, the League of Women Voters, the U.S. Catholic Conference, the National Organization for Women, and organizations representing Latinos and Native Americans (Senn, interview with Johnson, 4).
58. Senn, interview with Assmus, 2–3.
59. Senn, interview with Assmus, 3.
60. Senn, interview with Johnson, 5–6.
61. Senn, interview with Johnson, 5–6.
62. Letter from John Brademas to Wilbur D. Mills, March 31, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 157, 146.I.19.14F.
63. “Remarks of Senator Walter F. Mondale before the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development,” 6.
64. Letter from Representative Albert H. Quie to Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner of Cornell University, August 17, 1967, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 1.
65. Senn, interview with Edelman, 7.
66. *Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971*, S. 1512, 92d Cong., 1st sess. (April 5, 1971).
67. “Senate Passes Day Care Bill” Washington memo on federal education programs, NEA Office of Government Relations and Citizenship, September 15, 1971 (emphasis in original), Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 157, 146.I.19.14F.
68. Connaught Coyne Marshner, *Federal Child Development: What’s Developing?* (Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation, 1974), 4, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966,” box I:04, folder 34.

69. “Remarks of Senator Walter F. Mondale before the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development,” 4.
70. John Brademas, “The Outlook for Child Development Legislation,” *National Business Woman*, October 1972, 6–7, at 7, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Comprehensive Child Development Act,” box I:05, folder 2.
71. Letter from Wilma Scott Heide (president) and Mary Ann Stuart (Child Care Task Force) of the National Organization for Women to secretary of health, education, and welfare Elliot Richardson, November 1, 1971, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 231, folder 17.
72. Letter from Roy Wilkins, Ralph David Abernathy, Dorothy Height, Vernon Jordan, A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Harold Sims, and Andrew Young to President Richard Nixon, November 24, 1971, Carl Albert Center, Cornelius Gallagher Collection, box 21, folder 5.
73. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Lisbeth Bamberger Schorr and William Smith, April 23, 1974, 12. Schorr made the observation about the political strength of programs for low-income families.
74. Senn, interview with Edelman, 8.
75. Senn, interview with Edelman, 3.
76. Senn, interview with Edelman, 4–5.
77. Senn, interview with Edelman, 9.
78. Letter from Urie Bronfenbrenner, Cornell University, to the Honorable James Farmer, undersecretary of health, education, and welfare, November 21, 1969, National Archives, RG 235: General Records of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, series 235.3.2: Records of the Office of the Assistant Secretary, Office File of Jule Sugarman, First Director of the Office of Child Development, 1967–69, entry 34, box 5.
79. Senn, interview with Edelman, 10.
80. Letter from Roy Wilkins et al. to Nixon (emphasis in original).
81. “Remarks of Congressman John Brademas at the Conference on Priorities and Action for Children and Youth,” sponsored by the National Committee for Children and Youth, Washington, DC, December 4, 1971, 8, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Speeches: Remarks to Select Committee on Education, Conference on Priorities and Action for Children and Youth,” box III:11, folder 83.
82. Senn, interview with Phillips, 18.
83. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Judy Miller, October 12, 1972, 14.
84. Senn, interview with Edelman, 4.
85. Senn, interview with Harmon, 9.
86. “Bipartisan Child Development Bill Introduced,” press release, March 24, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscript Collections, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 158, 146.I.20.1B.
87. “Remarks of Congressman John Brademas at the Conference on Priorities and Action for Children and Youth,” 4.
88. Jo Ellen Jennette, “Child Care and Child Development: Legislative Developments during the 92nd Congress,” Congressional Research Service, December 19, 1972, 3. New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child Development: CRS Reports,” box I:04, folder 32.
89. Only New York senator James Buckley, representing the Conservative Party, at-

tacked the basic philosophical foundations of the bill. Buckley characterized it as “one of the most radical pieces of legislation ever contemplated by Congress” (McCathren 1981, 111).

90. Jennette, “Child Care and Child Development,” 1.
91. “Remarks of Senator Walter F. Mondale before the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development,” 2.
92. Jennette, “Child Care and Child Development,” 1.
93. Letter from John Brademas to Raymond S. Moore, chief executive officer of Hewitt Research Center, July 18, 1972, 2, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Comprehensive Child Development Act,” box I:05, folder 2.
94. Raymond S. Moore and Dennis R. Moore, “The Dangers of Early Schooling,” *Harper’s* 245 (July 1972): 58–62, at 58, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Comprehensive Child Development Act,” box I:05, folder 2.
95. Jennette, “Child Care and Child Development,” 1.
96. “Statement of Senator Fred R. Harris (D-OK) on Child Development Act,” February 10, 1971, 1, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 231, folder 20.
97. “Major Preschool Bill Clears Brademas Subcommittee,” press release, Office of Congressman John Brademas, June 21, 1971, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “H.R. 6748, 92nd Congress, 1st Session,” box I:41, folder 50.
98. Jennette, “Child Care and Child Development,” 6.
99. “Child Care: Top Priority for Women’s Rights Movement,” *Voice for Children* (Day Care and Child Development Council of America) 3, no. 8 (September 1970): 1, 8, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 185, folder 19.
100. “Day Care and Women’s Liberation,” *Voice for Children* 3, no. 8 (September 1970): 4, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 185, folder 19.
101. Senn, interview with Phillips, 32.
102. Letter from Agnes T. Marks, coordinator of the Legion of Mothers, to Carl Albert, June 10, 1971, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 132, folder 11.
103. Marshner, *Federal Child Development*, 19.
104. Letter from John L. Grady, mayor of Belle Glade, FL, to Cornelius Gallagher, December 8, 1971, Carl Albert Center, Cornelius Gallagher Collection, box 21, folder 5.
105. J. Marie Hosea, “Total Control: A Special Report,” *Patriotic Press*, September 1971 (emphasis in original), Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 231, folder 18.
106. Senn, interview with Johnson, 11–12.
107. Marshner, *Federal Child Development*, 14.
108. Marshner, *Federal Child Development*, 27.
109. John Ashbrook, “Should Congress Support a Child Day Care Program? No,” *American Legion Magazine*, June 1972, 19, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Comprehensive Child Development Act,” box I:05, folder 2.
110. See, for example, “Statement of Congressman John Brademas on the National Radio Networks (CBS, NBC, ABC, Mutual, Public) as Spokesman for the Congress in Responding to the Network Address on Education Made by President Nixon One Week Ago,” March 30, 1974, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Speeches: Education Response to President Nixon,” box III:12, folder 23. The date of this particular reference illustrates how advocates cited the presidential message throughout the Nixon presidency.

111. Senn, interview with Assmus, 4.
112. Senn, interview with Johnson, 8.
113. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Jule Sugarman, November 2, 1972, 23.
114. Senn, interview with Phillips, 6.
115. Senn, interview with Harmon, 9–10.
116. Connie Newman, “Child Care Legislation,” undated information memorandum to HEW secretary Elliot Richardson, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 158, 146.I.20.1B. The memorandum was likely sent in late March or early April.
117. Newman, “Child Care Legislation,” 2.
118. Senn, interview with Harmon, 12.
119. Letter from Elliot Richardson to John Brademas, June 8, 1971, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Comprehensive Child Development Act,” box I:05, folder 2.
120. Senn, interview with Johnson, 8.
121. Senn, interview with Harmon, 12.
122. “Child Care: Who Will Win?” *Washington Memo on Federal Education Programs* (NEA Office of Government Relations and Citizenship), July 19, 1971, 2, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 158, 146.I.20.1B.
123. “Brief Legislative History of Significant Child Care Proposals,” memorandum from Earline Anderson to Walter Campbell, August 10, 1971, 2, Carl Albert Center, Fred Harris Collection, box 231, folder 18.
124. Senn, interview with Harmon, 11.
125. Senn, interview with Schorr and Smith, 16. Smith made this observation about the lobbying campaign.
126. Senn, interview with Edelman, 10.
127. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Kenneth Keniston, March 7, 1975, 19.
128. “Draft Reply to Letters Criticizing the Child and Family Services Act,” undated, Carl Albert Center, Tom Steed Collection, Legislative Series, box 73, folder 4. This document appears in a twelve-page information packet on the child development legislation.
129. Gil Scott, “Day Care—A Choice for Mothers,” *Christian Science Monitor*, October 4, 1971, 3, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Comprehensive Child Development Act: Comparisons 1971,” box I:05, folder 4.
130. Senn, interview with Johnson, 14.
131. Letter from Richardson to Brademas. The quotation appears on the third page of the enclosure accompanying the letter.
132. Walter F. Mondale, “Children’s White House Conference Speech (Draft),” December 7, 1970, 64, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Speech Text Files,” box 4, 154.K.3.2F.
133. “Education and Manpower,” memorandum from Charles W. Radcliffe, minority counsel for education, to Albert H. Quie, June 23, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 157, 146.I.19.14F.
134. Senn, interview with Johnson, 13.
135. Letter from Charles A. Byrley, director of the National Governors’ Conference, to Albert H. Quie, June 9, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 158, 146.I.20.1B.

136. Senn, interview with Miller, 13.
137. Letter from A. Sidney Johnson III to Urie Bronfenbrenner, September 7, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Subcommittee on Children and Youth,” box 32, 13.3.0.3B.
138. Senn, interview with Johnson, 9–10.
139. The OEO extension is covered more comprehensively in Cohen 2001, Congressional Quarterly 1972, and Zigler and Muenchow 1992.
140. Senn, interview with Miller, 3.
141. A family could be charged no more than 10 percent on annual incomes between \$4,320 and \$5,916 and no more than 15 percent on incomes between \$5,916 and \$6,960. Under this formula, the annual fee for a family of four earning \$6,960 would be \$316.20 (Congressional Quarterly 1972).
142. Senn, interview with Johnson, 14–15.
143. Letter from Jay M. Arena, president of the American Academy of Pediatrics, to Carl Albert, November 26, 1971, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 132, folder 12.
144. Letter from Lucy Wilson Benson, president of the League of Women Voters of the United States, to Carl Albert, November 30, 1971, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 132, folder 12.
145. “Press Release from the Office of Senator Walter F. Mondale,” November 16, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Senate: Press Releases and Newsletters,” box 3, 154.K.1.3B.
146. “Press Release from the Office of Senator Walter F. Mondale,” December 7, 1971, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Senate: Press Releases and Newsletters,” box 3, 154.K.1.3B.
147. Senn, interview with Assmus, 5.
148. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*, S. Doc. 92-48, 92nd Cong., 1st sess. (1971), 3.
149. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*, 3.
150. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*, 4–5.
151. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*, 5.
152. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*, 5.
153. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*, 5.
154. James J. Kilpatrick, “Incredible Lemon of a Bill, Honey of a Veto,” *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), December 16, 1971, A23, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 157, 146.I.19.14F.
155. John Brademas, “Putting America on the Side of Children,” *Early Years Parent*, Winter 1975/76, 8, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.
156. Senn, interview with Assmus, 6.
157. Senn, interview with Johnson, 15–16.
158. Senn, interview with Assmus, 6. See Cohen 2001, chap. 2, for a more expansive discussion of the debate within the Nixon administration over the legislation, the veto, and the press conference that followed the veto.
159. Senn, interview with Harmon, 18–19.
160. Senn, interview with Sugarman, 25–26.
161. Senn, interview with Miller, 10.

162. Senn, interview with Edelman, 12 (emphasis in original).
163. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*.
164. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Albert Quie, April 25, 1975, 13.
165. Senn, interview with Johnson, 16.
166. Senn, interview with Harmon, 22.
167. Senn, interview with Assmus, 11.
168. Senn, interview with Edelman, 11.

CHAPTER 4

1. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Dr. Nicholas Hobbs, April 25, 1974, 26.
2. “Implementation of Early Childhood Programs in the States,” proposal submitted by Wendell H. Pierce, executive director, Education Commission of the States, to the Office of Child Development and the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, time period proposed: September 1, 1971–September 1, 1973, 9, ECS Archives.
3. Early Childhood Project, *State Services in Child Development: Needs Assessment and Planning, Child Abuse, Day Care Issues* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1975), ii, ECS Archives.
4. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States: Report of a December 1972 Conference* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1973), 7, ECS Archives.
5. The survey also revealed that public support for kindergarten was provided in the Canal Zone, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands (“Early Childhood Education: Survey of States—1967,” 2, ECS Archives; this undated document appears in a folder that also contains a letter of January 18, 1968, and an information packet that was mailed to key figures in each of the states).
6. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 54.
7. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 56.
8. The commission was a nonprofit organization formed by interstate compact and designed to establish a partnership between state educators and political leaders (“The Education Commission of the States,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 1 [April 1972]: 4, ECS Archives).
9. “Early Childhood Education: Survey of States—1967,” 2.
10. The ECS sent the packet to presidents of state education associations, commissioners, majority and minority leaders of state legislatures, chairs of legislative councils, and chairs of finance committees of state legislatures. In preparing the packet, it worked with the American Association of University Women, the Association for Childhood Education International, the National Association for the Education of Young Children, the National Committee for Children and Youth, the National Committee for the Day Care of Children, the National Committee for Support of Public Schools, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National Education Association, and the Department of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Education of the NEA.
11. “Early Childhood Education: Survey of States—1967.”
12. Education Commission of the States, *Positions, 1965–77*, pub. no. P2 (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1977), 4, ECS Archives.

13. Education Commission of the States, *Positions, 1965–77*, 54.
14. Education Commission of the States, *Positions, 1965–77*, 56.
15. “Grant Received for Early Childhood Implementation Project—State Services Planned,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 1 (April 1972): 1, ECS Archives.
16. Education Commission of the States, *Positions, 1965–77*, 1.
17. Education Commission of the States, *Positions, 1965–77*, 2.
18. *A Fact Sheet on the ECS Early Childhood Project*, ECS Archives (this undated flyer lists publications from May 1976 and earlier).
19. “Grant Received for Early Childhood Implementation Project,” 1.
20. *A Fact Sheet on the ECS Early Childhood Project*.
21. “State Concerns Voiced to Congress,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 1 (April 1972): 3, ECS Archives.
22. “Grant Received for Early Childhood Implementation Project,” 1.
23. “Task Force Sets Project Priorities,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 3 (August 1972): 1, ECS Archives.
24. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 4.
25. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 4–5.
26. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 36.
27. “Grant Enables ECS to Expand Assistance to States,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 8 (July 1973): 1, ECS Archives.
28. “Grant Enables ECS to Expand Assistance to States,” 1.
29. “Project News: New Staff, New Funds, New Plans,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 14 (September 1974): 4, ECS Archives.
30. “Going, Going . . .,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 17 (March 1975): 1, ECS Archives.
31. Early Childhood Project, *The Role of the Family in Child Development: Implications for State Policies and Programs* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1975), iii, ECS Archives.
32. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Judy Miller, October 12, 1972, 20.
33. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Martha Phillips, November 19, 1973, 33.
34. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Trude Lash, February 6, 1973, 26.
35. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Lisbeth Bamberger Schorr and William Smith, April 23, 1974, 13–14. Smith made this observation about the role of the states.
36. Senn, interview with Hobbs, 26.
37. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Marian Wright Edelman, October 4, 1973, 27.
38. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Barbara Finberg, undated, 23. Senn conducted ninety-eight interviews between 1967 and 1975. The content of the Finberg interview suggests that it took place sometime in 1974.
39. “Grant Received for Early Childhood Implementation Project,” 1.
40. “Grant Received for Early Childhood Implementation Project,” 1.
41. Early Childhood Project, *Role of the Family in Child Development*, 1.
42. Early Childhood Project, *State Services in Child Development*, 25.
43. Early Childhood Project, *State Services in Child Development*, 29.
44. Early Childhood Project, *State Services in Child Development*, 22.
45. Early Childhood Project, *State Services in Child Development*, 34.
46. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 25.
47. Early Childhood Project, *Role of the Family in Child Development*, 42.

48. Early Childhood Project, *Role of the Family in Child Development*, 5 and 8.
49. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 74.
50. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 66.
51. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 70.
52. Early Childhood Project, *State Services in Child Development*, 31.
53. Senn, interview with Edelman, 14.
54. Senn, interview with Schorr and Smith, 14. Smith made this observation about state offices of child development.
55. Education Commission of the States, *Establishing a State Office of Early Childhood Development: Suggested Legislative Alternatives*, Report no. 30, Early Childhood Report no. 3, 2nd printing (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1973), 21, ECS Archives.
56. Early Childhood Project, *State Offices of Child Development* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1975), ix, ECS Archives.
57. Early Childhood Project, “State Offices of Child Development: Do They Work?” preliminary draft for use only at the Early Childhood National Symposium, August 1–2, 1974, 2, ECS Archives.
58. “The States Move in New Directions,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 2 (June 1972): 5, ECS Archives.
59. “States Move in New Directions,” 6.
60. Early Childhood Project, “State Offices of Child Development: Do They Work?” 2.
61. Early Childhood Task Force, *Early Childhood Programs in the States*, 60. The director of the Idaho office also noted that potential disadvantages to this arrangement included vulnerability to political change and incompatibility between previous political commitments and research.
62. “The States Move Ahead,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 3 (August 1972): 2, ECS Archives.
63. “Massachusetts, California Enact Early Childhood Development Legislation,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 5 (February 1973): 2, ECS Archives.
64. “States Move Ahead,” 3.
65. “Legislation Developed for State Office of Child Development,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 4 (January 1973): 2, ECS Archives.
66. “Roundup Reveals 12 States Have Created Child Development Offices,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 5 (February 1973): 1, 3, ECS Archives.
67. “State Legislatures Focus on Early Childhood Development in 1973 Sessions,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 7 (May 1973): 3, ECS Archives.
68. “State Legislatures Focus on Early Childhood Development,” 1.
69. “Hawaii Enacts Child Development Legislation,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 8 (July 1973): 2, 4, ECS Archives.
70. “Louisiana Focuses on Children,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 8 (July 1973): 3, ECS Archives.
71. “Grant Enables ECS to Expand Assistance to States,” 1.
72. “State OCD Directors Organize,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 9 (September 1973): 2, ECS Archives.
73. “Directors Urge OCD Appointment,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 10 (November 1973): 2, ECS Archives.

74. “About People, Places, Things,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 9 (September 1973): 3, ECS Archives.
75. “Nine State Legislatures Act for Child Development,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 12 (May 1974): 1, ECS Archives.
76. “Massachusetts Finances Children’s Budget and Special Education,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 13 (July 1974): 2, ECS Archives.
77. “Changing Times for OCDs,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 14 (September 1974): 3, ECS Archives.
78. “Changing Times for OCDs,” 2.
79. Early Childhood Project, *Role of the Family in Child Development*, 35.
80. Letter from John B. Himelrick Sr., director, Interagency Council for Child Development Services, Office of the Governor, Charleston, WV, to Congressman John Brademas, September 4, 1975, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Day Care-Pro,” box I:04, folder 12. Himelrick’s letter noted that seventeen states had functioning statewide offices of child development, that twelve states had a grant to plan and establish an office, and that eight states had an office of child development functioning in part of the state.
81. Early Childhood Project, *Assessing the Needs of Children in Your State: What Is a Needs Assessment?* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1976), ECS Archives.
82. Early Childhood Project, *Role of the Family in Child Development*, 36.
83. Education Commission of the States, *Positions, 1965–77*, 3.
84. Early Childhood Project, *The Children’s Needs Assessment Handbook* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1976), 4, ECS Archives.
85. Early Childhood Project, *Children’s Needs Assessment Handbook*, 75–89.
86. Early Childhood Project, *Early Childhood Programs: A State Survey* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1974), 1, ECS Archives.
87. Early Childhood Project, *Early Childhood Programs: A State Survey*.
88. Early Childhood Project, *Early Childhood Programs: A State Survey, 1974–1975* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1975), 1.
89. Early Childhood Project, *Early Childhood Programs: A State Survey, 1974–1975*, 1.
90. Early Childhood Project, *Early Childhood Programs: A State Survey, 1974–1975*, 1.
91. “Child Associates Program Develops,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 2 (June 1972): 4, ECS Archives.
92. “Day Care Workers Criticize CDA Standards,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 11 (January 1974): 4, ECS Archives.
93. Denise Kale Hayas and Doris M. Ross, *The Very Young and Education: 1974 State Activity*, Report no. 68 (Denver: Education Commission of the States Early Childhood Project, 1975), ECS Archives.
94. Early Childhood Project, *State Trends and Priorities in Services for Children and Their Families: A Report of a Telephone Survey* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1976), 4, ECS Archives.
95. Early Childhood Project, *State Trends and Priorities*, 8.
96. Early Childhood Project, *State Trends and Priorities*, 2.
97. Early Childhood Project, *State Trends and Priorities*, 2.
98. “Politics and Early Childhood,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 10 (November 1973): 3, ECS Archives.
99. Early Childhood Project, *Role of the Family in Child Development*, 1.

100. Senn, interview with Schorr and Smith, 13–14. Smith made this observation about the role of the states.
101. Early Childhood Project, *State Services in Child Development*, 33.

CHAPTER 5

1. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Carolyn Harmon, September 14, 1972, 22.
2. “Senator Walter F. Mondale Reports to Minnesota,” press release from the Office of Senator Walter F. Mondale, May 15, 1972, 1, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Senate: Press Releases and Newsletters,” box 3, 154.K.1.3B.
3. “Senator Walter F. Mondale Reports to Minnesota,” 1.
4. “Senator Walter F. Mondale Reports to Minnesota,” 2. Mondale issued this press release before the Senate endorsed the controversial Dominick amendment.
5. “Child Development,” in an issues book from the 1972 Senate campaign, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscript Collections, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “1984 Campaign Files,” box 1611, 146.L.8.4F. This document describes eleven “criticisms” of Mondale’s child development bills and provides “answers” to each of these critiques.
6. “Governor Dunn Wants Bill Amended,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 2 (June 1972): 8, ECS Archives.
7. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Judy Assmus, September 14, 1972, 12–13.
8. Emergency Committee for Children, “What Is Child Development?,” undated memorandum, 5, accompanying the booklet “The Comprehensive Headstart, Child Development and Family Services Act of 1972 (S. 3617): Materials, the Case against It,” Carl Albert Center, Happy Camp Collection, Legislative Correspondence, box 49, folder 43.
9. Emergency Committee for Children, “What Is Child Development?,” 4.
10. Senn, interview with Harmon, 24–25.
11. “Minority Views,” undated memorandum, 2, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Albert H. Quie Papers, “1971–1972 Files,” box 154, 146.I.19.11B.
12. “Minority Views,” 4.
13. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Sydney Johnson III, September 15, 1972, 21. Johnson speculated that Representative Albert Quie (R-MN) was reluctant to negotiate because of the possibility that he would be a committee chair in the next Congress.
14. This summary of congressional activity is based on Margaret Malone, *Child Care Legislation in the 93rd Congress* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 1975), New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child Development: CRS Reports,” box I:04, folder 32.
15. “Child Development Bill,” memorandum from A. Sidney Johnson III to Walter Mondale, October 26, 1973, 1, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Subcommittee on Children and Youth,” box 32, 13.3.0.3B.
16. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Trude Lash, February 6, 1973, 27.
17. “Child Development Bill,” 1–2.
18. John Brademas, “Child and Family Services Act of 1974,” news conference statement, June 26, 1974, 3, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966,” box I:04, folder 13.
19. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Marian Wright Edelman, October 4, 1973, 18.

20. Brademas, “Child and Family Services Act of 1974,” 2.
21. Brademas, “Child and Family Services Act of 1974,” 2.
22. “Draft Reply to Letters Criticizing the Child and Family Services Act,” undated, Carl Albert Center, Tom Steed Collection, Legislative Series, box 73, folder 4.
23. “Draft Reply to Letters Criticizing the Child and Family Services Act.”
24. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Gilbert Steiner, March 20, 1975, 19–20.
25. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Martha Phillips, November 19, 1973, 35.
26. “Child Development Bill,” 1.
27. John Brademas, “Legislation for Young Children and Their Families,” remarks at a meeting of the Fort Worth, Dallas, and Denton Associations for the Education of Young Children, Fort Worth, TX, March 31, 1977, 9, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Speeches: Legislation for Young Children and Their Families,” box III:15, folder 30.
28. “Working Mothers: Their Child Care Needs,” address by Carmen R. Maymi, director of the Women’s Bureau, at a meeting of the Chicago Community Coordinated Child Care Committee, Chicago, IL, November 2, 1974, 4, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child Development: Misc. Reports and Clippings,” box I:04, folder 34.
29. Sylvia Porter, “Finding Adequate Day Care Increasingly Urgent Need,” *South Bend Tribune*, April 8, 1976, 17, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.
30. John Brademas, “Putting America on the Side of Children,” *Early Years Parent*, Winter 1975/1976, 11, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.
31. Ann Allman, *Determining the Need* (Washington, DC: Education and Public Welfare Division, Congressional Research Service, 1974), New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966,” box I:04, folder 13. The original document is a “draft statement prepared according to the instructions of the Select Education Subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee”; it was prepared for “personal use.”
32. Milton J. E. Senn, interview with Urie Bronfenbrenner, April 12, 1972, 29.
33. “Remarks of Senator Walter F. Mondale,” Minnesota PTA Convention, Duluth, MN, October 15, 1972, 5, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Subcommittee on Children and Youth,” box 32, 13.3.0.3B.
34. “Basic Children’s Speech,” 11, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Senate Campaign, 1972,” 153.L.16.14F.
35. Onalee McGraw, “Big Brother Child Development Bill Threatens Family, Parental Control,” *Battle Line* (American Conservative Union), January 1976, 2, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.
36. Alan Stang, “The Child Care Bill,” *American Opinion*, December 1975, 6, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966,” box I:04, folder 15.
37. Letter from Virginia Y. Trotter, assistant secretary of education, to Congressman Carl Perkins, August 17, 1975, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Day Care-Anti,” box I:04, folder 11.
38. Letter from Trotter to Perkins.

39. Letter from Trotter to Perkins.
40. "Summary: Joint House/Senate Hearings on Child and Family Services Bill, H.R. 2966 and S. 626, July 15, 1975," memorandum from staff of the Subcommittee on Select Education to members of the Subcommittee on Select Education, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, "Child and Family Services: Hearings-Memos," box I:04, folder 18.
41. *Child and Family Services Act of 1975: Joint Hearings on S. 626 and H.R. 2966 before the Subcommittee on Children and Youth and the Subcommittee on Employment, Poverty, and Migratory Labor of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Subcommittee on Select Education of the House Committee on Education and Labor*, 94th Cong., 1st sess. (1975), 2120.
42. *Child and Family Services Act of 1975: Joint Hearings*, 2123.
43. *Child and Family Services Act of 1975: Joint Hearings*, 2121.
44. *Child and Family Services Act of 1975: Joint Hearings*, 2120.
45. "Sensible Opposition," editorial, *Norman (OK) Transcript*, December 17, 1975, 6, Carl Albert Center, Tom Steed Collection, Legislative Files, box 196, folder 3.
46. McGraw, "Big Brother Child Development Bill Threatens Family," 2.
47. "Conservative Coalition Formed to Oppose Pending Child Care Bill," *Day Care and Child Development Reports* 4, no. 20 (October 13, 1975): 8, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, "Child and Family Services: Day Care-Anti," box I:04, folder 11.
48. "The Left's Grand Strategy," editorial, *Indianapolis Star*, June 9, 1974, sec. 2, 2, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, "93rd Congress: Day Care," box I:19, folder 33.
49. "Mr. Carter and the Family," editorial, *Wall Street Journal*, September 15, 1976, 26, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, "Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966," box I:04, folder 15.
50. Stang, "Child Care Bill," 4.
51. Stang, "Child Care Bill," 3.
52. Letter from Josie M. Thomas, Choctaw, OK, to Congressman Carl Albert, October 15, 1975, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 196.
53. Letter from Kathy Norcott, Bowlegs, OK, to Congressman Garner Shriver, October 22, 1975, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 196.
54. Letter from Roy L. Miller, Oklahoma City, OK, to Congressman Carl Albert, October 30, 1975, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 196.
55. Letter from Nancy Freeland, Oklahoma City, OK, to Congressman Carl Albert, October 29, 1975, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 196.
56. The correspondence that Speaker Albert received on the Child and Family Services Act fills eleven folders.
57. John Brademas, "HR 2966, Child and Family Services Act," memorandum to members of the Indiana Congressional Delegation, November 4, 1975, 1, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, "Child and Family Services: Rebuttal," box I:04, folder 23.
58. "A Ranting Mail Campaign," *Washington Post*, February 19, 1976, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, "Child and Family Services: Clippings," box I:04, folder 10.
59. Robert P. Sigman, "Misleading Charges against Child Care Act," *Kansas City Star*,

November 30, 1975, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.

60. Martha Angle, “Even Nonexistent Parts of Child Bill Draw Fire,” *Washington Star*, February 3, 1976, A-7, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.

61. Letter from Charles A. Moser, Emergency Committee for Children, to Congressman John Brademas, February 4, 1976, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Rebuttal,” box I:04, folder 23.

62. Brademas, “HR 2966, Child and Family Services Act,” 2–3.

63. Brademas, “Putting America on the Side of Children,” 11.

64. John W. Baker and Rosemary Brevard, “The Charges Being Made about Child Services Act,” *Baptist Messenger*, December 11, 1975, 5, Carl Albert Center, Tom Steed Collection, Legislative Files, box 75, folder 3.

65. Brademas, “Putting America on the Side of Children,” 11.

66. Statement by Congressman John Brademas on the Child and Family Services Bill, November 1, 1975, 2, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Rebuttal,” box I:04, folder 23.

67. Letter from Walter F. Mondale to Cheryl Crooker, October 28, 1976, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Subject Files on Children and Youth,” box 1789, 29.A.o.8F.

68. “Our Point of View: Child-Family Services,” editorial, *Norman (OK) Transcript*, December 1, 1975, 6, Carl Albert Center, Tom Steed Collection, Legislative Files, box 75, folder 3.

69. Baker and Brevard, “Charges Being Made about Child Services Act.”

70. “Child Care Opposition Mounts—and Sinks,” editorial, *Minneapolis Tribune*, January 23, 1976, 6A, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Senate: Press Releases and Newsletters,” box 3, 154.K.1.3B.

71. “Interreligious Statement on Child and Family Services Bill, 1975,” Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Senate: Press Releases and Newsletters,” box 3, 154.K.1.3B.

72. Letter from Congressman Michael T. Blouin to Congressman John Brademas, April 6, 1976, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.

73. Edith K. Roosevelt, “Flyer Claims Bill Imperils U.S. Families,” *Manchester (NH) Union Leader*, December 27, 1975, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.

74. Remarks of Senator Walter F. Mondale at the Midwestern Conference on Early Childhood Education, Omaha, NE, October 5, 1975, 11, Minnesota Historical Society, Manuscripts Collection, Walter F. Mondale Papers, “Speech Text Files,” box 7, 154.K.3.5B.

75. Howard Flieger, “False Alarm,” *U.S. News and World Report*, March 1, 1976, 80, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.

76. Current Population Survey, “Table A-1: School Enrollment of the Population 3 Years Old and Over, by Level and Control of School, Race, and Hispanic Origin: October 1955 to 2010,” <http://www.census.gov/hhes/school/data/cps/historical/index.html> (accessed March 13, 2012). The increasing role of the private sector in early childhood

was not limited to nursery schools, and the figures cited in this paragraph are suggestive of broader changes.

77. “Child and Family Services Act: Analysis of Testimony on H.R. 2966 and S. 626,” Congressional Research Service, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Hearings-Testimony,” box I:04, folder 20.

78. “Child and Family Services Act: Analysis of Testimony.”

79. “Child and Family Services Act: Analysis of Testimony.”

80. “Child and Family Services Act: Analysis of Testimony.”

81. “Child and Family Services Act: Analysis of Testimony.”

82. “Child and Family Services Act: Analysis of Testimony.”

83. Of the seventeen functional state offices of child development, only three were part of departments of education; the others were in governors’ offices or in departments of social or community services (Sally V. Allen, “Growing National Debate: The Schools Can/Can’t Be Trusted with Child Development,” *Compact*, February 1975, 22, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966,” box I:04, folder 13). This variation foreshadowed the looming battle over the appropriate role of the public schools.

84. Letter from John B. Himelrick Sr., director, Interagency Council for Child Development Services, Office of the Governor, Charleston, WV, to Congressman John Brademas, September 4, 1975, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Day Care-Pro,” box I:04, folder 12.

85. “Dilemma for Working Mothers: Not Enough Day-Care Centers,” *U.S. News and World Report*, April 12, 1976, 50, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.

86. Emergency Committee for Children, “What Is Child Development?,” 6.

87. “Summary: Joint House/Senate Hearings.” Weinberger “did not know offhand of any programs to be eliminated” when questioned about this programmatic duplication.

88. “American Families: Trends, Pressures, and Recommendations,” preliminary report to Governor Jimmy Carter by Joseph A. Califano Jr., undated, 5, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966,” box I:04, folder 15.

89. The contest between Shanker and Selden for control of the American Federation of Teachers is described in more detail in Kahlenberg 2007.

90. Shanker referred to comments by Edwin W. Martin, acting deputy commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Education for the Handicapped, who had compared the fragmentation of early childhood policy to a “Buddhist approach to gardening.”

91. Albert Shanker, “Early Childhood Education Is a Job for the Public Schools,” *New York Times*, September 8, 1974.

92. “Highlights of Meeting with Ed Zigler on October 28, 1975,” memorandum from “Mike” to “Jack,” New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: H.R. 2966,” box I:04, folder 15. The recipient of this memorandum was likely Jack G. Duncan, counsel to the House Subcommittee on Select Education.

93. U.S. OECD Forum of Education Organization Leaders, “A Call for Federal Funding of Early Childhood Development Programs,” press release, January 28, 1976, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Rebuttal,” box I:04, folder 23.

94. U.S. OECD Forum of Education Organization Leaders, “Statement in Support of Federal Funding of Early Childhood Development Programs,” undated, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Rebuttal,” box I:04, folder 23. This statement was presumably issued at the forum’s news conference on January 29, 1976.

95. “Bell Wants Education in Child Care Bill,” *Education Daily*, April 30, 1975, 5–6. New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services,” box I:18, folder 15.

96. Senn, interview with Steiner, 12.

97. William V. Shannon, “Government and Families,” *New York Times*, September 14, 1975, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Clippings,” box I:04, folder 10.

98. Charles A. Moser for the Emergency Committee for Children, “Letters to the Editor,” December 1, 1975, New York University Archives, John Brademas Congressional Papers, “Child and Family Services: Rebuttal,” box I:04, folder 23.

99. The rift over the appropriate role of the public schools began to emerge before the publication of Shanker’s essay. Two members of the ECS task force debated each other at an August 1974 symposium on child development. The event was characterized as “the first public airing of these contrasting views by prominent persons in the field” (“Martin and Sugarman Debate Public Schools as Delivery System,” *Early Childhood Project Newsletter* 14 [September 1974]: 1, ECS Archives).

100. Shannon, “Government and Families.”

101. Allen, “Growing National Debate,” 23.

102. Allen, “Growing National Debate,” 23.

103. Letter from Jack T. Waters, major and city commander, Salvation Army, Tulsa, OK, to Congressman Carl Albert, April 2, 1975, Carl Albert Center, Carl Albert Collection, Legislative Files, box 196.

104. Quoted in Brademas, “Legislation for Young Children and Their Families,” 12.

105. Brademas, “Legislation for Young Children and Their Families,” 12.

106. Steiner (1981, 42–43) speculates that Cohen withdrew due to the controversy over Patricia Fleming’s appointment as executive director and the fact that he “could look ahead to trouble because of his belief in public intervention to prevent large families.”

107. However, the administration did create the Office for Families in the Department of Health and Human Services, in October 1979 (Beck 1982, 328).

108. Cranston’s cosponsors included Harrison Williams Jr. (D-NJ), Donald Reigle Jr. (D-MI), Jacob Javits (R-NY), and George McGovern (D-SD).

109. Representative Edward Roybal (D-CA) introduced a companion bill in the House of Representatives (Beck 1982, 328).

110. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources*, 96th Cong., 1st sess. (1979), 4.

111. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 3.

112. Draft letter from Governor Jerry Apodaca to President Jimmy Carter, February 10, 1977. National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 941.

113. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 398.
114. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 4.
115. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 223.
116. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 238.
117. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 238. Vice President Mondale later remarked that Cranston's queries had been "inartfully answered" and that the testimony might have been less controversial had the lack of administration support been attributed to budgetary constraints (interview with former vice president Walter F. Mondale, December 3, 2010, Minneapolis, MN).
118. "Draft Head Start Assessment Report—Final Draft," memorandum from James F. Mellody, principal regional official, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, May 15, 1978, 1, National Archives, RG 12: Records of the Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner, Office Files of the Commissioner of Education, 1939–80, A1, entry 122, box 1133.
119. "Draft Head Start Assessment Report," 1.
120. "Draft Head Start Assessment Report," 5.
121. "Draft Head Start Assessment Report," 10.
122. "Draft Head Start Assessment Report," 11.
123. "Draft Head Start Assessment Report," 10–11.
124. "Draft Head Start Assessment Report," 11.
125. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 39.
126. House Committee on Ways and Means, *1990 Green Book: Background Material and Data on Programs within the Jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means*, 101st Cong., 2d sess. (Committee Print, 1990), 840.
127. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*, 92nd Cong., 1st sess. (1971), S. Doc. 92-48, 3–4.
128. *Veto of the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971*, 3.
129. *Statistics of Income, 1973: Individual Income Tax Returns*, Internal Revenue Service Publication 79 (11-76) (Washington, DC: Department of the Treasury, 1976), tables 1B, 2A, and 2.9.
130. House Committee on Ways and Means, *1990 Green Book*, 840. The Revenue Act of 1978 modified the rules governing payments to relatives but did not fundamentally alter the treatment of dependent care expenses in the tax code.
131. House Committee on Ways and Means, *1990 Green Book*, 842.
132. House Committee on Ways and Means, *1990 Green Book*, 842.
133. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 274.
134. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 290.
135. *Child Care Act of 1979: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development*, 286–87.

CHAPTER 6

1. Examining initiatives that were not adopted also provides a useful contrast with the recent state-level changes that are profiled in chapter 8. Those successful campaigns generally accommodated existing stakeholders, illustrating how the long-term impact of decisions made in the 1970s constrained policymakers' options.

2. *Early Childhood Education and Development Act: Hearing on H.R. 3 before the House Committee on Education and Labor*, 101st Cong., 2d sess. (1990), 47.

3. Several studies examine these changes in more detail. See Manna 2006; McDermott 2011; McGuinn 2006.

4. The Child Care Development and Block Grant Act of 1990 did not focus on educational services. Instead, it sought to make child care resources available to low-income families beyond those receiving welfare. It limited the national government's role to "providing subsidies to low-income families and helping states upgrade the quality of existing [child care] services" (E. Rose 2010, 79). For more on this landmark legislation, see Cohen 2001; Lombardi 2003; E. Rose 2010.

5. At a hearing on another piece of legislation in 1988, Kennedy said, "I do not expect that as comprehensive a program as Smart Start will be enacted in this session of Congress" (*Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act of 1988: Hearing on S. 2034 before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources*, 100th Cong., 2d sess. [1988], 2).

6. *Smart Start: The Community Collaborative for Early Childhood Development Act of 1988; Hearing on S. 2270 before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources*, 100th Cong., 2d sess. (1988), 75.

7. *Smart Start*, 329.

8. *Smart Start*, 63.

9. *Smart Start*, 259.

10. *Smart Start*, 240.

11. *Smart Start*, 253.

12. *Smart Start*, 226.

13. *Smart Start*, 335 (emphasis in original).

14. One exception was Lawrence J. Schweinhart of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, who described underfunded, low-quality programs as "a reckless gamble with our nation's most precious commodity—the lives and futures of our children" (*Smart Start*, 318).

15. "For Children: A Fair Chance," *New York Times*, September 6, 1987, reprinted in *Smart Start*, 173.

16. *Smart Start*, 76.

17. *Smart Start*, 161.

18. *Smart Start*, 272.

19. *Smart Start*, 230.

20. *Smart Start*, 219.

21. *Smart Start*, 42.

22. *Smart Start*, 42–43.

23. *Smart Start*, 237.

24. *Smart Start*, 303.

25. *Smart Start*, 152.
26. *Smart Start*, 304.
27. *Smart Start*, 105.
28. *Smart Start*, 264.
29. *Smart Start*, 31.
30. *Smart Start*, 2.
31. *Smart Start*, 304. The witness, Lawrence J. Schweinhart of the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, argued that Head Start should also strive to develop stronger ties with the states.
32. *Smart Start*, 31.
33. *Smart Start*, 305.
34. *Smart Start*, 157.
35. *Smart Start*, 269.
36. *Smart Start*, 295.
37. *Smart Start*, 307.
38. *Smart Start*, 154.
39. *Smart Start*, 187.
40. *Smart Start*, 280.
41. *Smart Start*, 57.
42. *Smart Start*, 107.
43. *Smart Start*, 122.
44. *Smart Start*, 238–39.
45. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 6.
46. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 35.
47. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 56–57.
48. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 14.
49. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 48.
50. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 125.
51. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 42.
52. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 33.
53. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 43.
54. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 50–51.
55. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 130.
56. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 49.
57. *Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act*, 131.
58. *Early Childhood Education and Development Act*, 148.
59. See Morgan 2006 for a more detailed discussion of the tax policy changes of the 1980s and their political implications.
60. *Early Childhood Education and Development Act*, 42.
61. *Early Childhood Education and Development Act*, 163.
62. One minor policy change occurred in 1989, when the Early Start program was established. Early Start “invests in early literacy programs for very low-income families, particularly during the years leading up to a child’s third birthday” (Maeroff 2006, 29). Early Start illustrates the constraining effect of the existing policy repertoire, because both its name and its primary constituency are clearly extensions of Head Start.
63. *Early Childhood Education and Development Act*, 131.

64. Policy and Priorities Committee, *The Evolving Reform Agenda: The Three-Year Plan of the Education Commission of the States with Priorities for 1987–88* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1987), 7 (emphasis in original), ECS Archives.

65. Those who support additional public investment in early childhood programs frequently cite the Perry Preschool Program and other initiatives, but the quality of these acclaimed programs exceeds that of most other preschool programs in the United States (Vinovskis 1999a, 75). Furthermore, these multifaceted initiatives “had many moving parts, and no one can say for sure which (if any) of them mattered more than others” (Finn 2009, 49).

66. These programs are described in *Why Policymakers Should Be Concerned about Brain Research*, ECS Policy Brief: Early Childhood Education (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1998), 2, ECS Archives.

67. “Federal/State Relations,” memorandum from Frank Newman, president of the Education Commission of the States, to Governor Garrey Carruthers, Governor Bill Clinton, and Governor Ted Sanders, September 25, 1989, 2, ECS Archives.

68. “Education Leaders Praise Agenda Set at Education Summit,” *White House Wire on Education*, November 8, 1989, 4, ECS Archives.

69. “A Jeffersonian Compact’: The Statement by the President and Governors.” *New York Times*, October 1, 1989.

70. Despite widespread public support for the goal of promoting school readiness, its numerous and shifting meanings meant that “attempts to implement [the goal] faced major conceptual and practical problems” (Dombkowski 2001, 541). For an excellent account of the politics surrounding school readiness and the effort by the National Education Goals Panel and the National Governors Association to achieve it, see Vinovskis 1999b.

71. “Early Childhood Education Getting More Attention,” *State Education Leader* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1997), 13, ECS Archives.

72. “Early Childhood Education Programs,” February 15, 1997, ECS Archives.

73. Janelle Miller, “Education Practices Conflict with Brain Research,” *State Education Leader* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 3–4, at 4, ECS Archives.

CHAPTER 7

1. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now: A Policymaker’s Guide to Early Care and Education and School Success* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2001), 5, ECS Archives. These estimates came from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. According to another estimate, 64 percent of women with preschool children participated in the labor market in 1999 (Lombardi 2003, 2).

2. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now*, 10.

3. Sharon Lynn Kagan, *Giving America’s Young Children a Better Start: A Change Brief* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2001), 1, ECS Archives.

4. Policy and Priorities Committee, *The Evolving Reform Agenda: The Three-Year Plan of the Education Commission of the States with Priorities for 1987–88* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1987), 8–9, ECS Archives.

5. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now*, 4.

6. *Why Policymakers Should Be Concerned about Brain Research* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1998), 1–2, ECS Archives.
7. Frank Newman, “Is First Grade Too Late?” *State Education Leader* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 1–2, at 2, ECS Archives.
8. Education Commission of the States, *Early Learning: Improving Results for Young Children* (Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States, 2000), 3, ECS Archives.
9. “Early Childhood Education Getting More Attention,” *State Education Leader* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 13, ECS Archives.
10. This focus on early childhood programs extended to those serving children between birth and age three. The ECS, the National Governors Association, and several foundations launched initiatives on the topic in the late 1990s.
11. Roy Romer, “The Importance of Early Childhood,” *State Education Leader* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 9–10, at 9, ECS Archives.
12. *Multiple Program Coordination in Early Childhood Education: Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Oversight of Government Management, Restructuring, and the District of Columbia*, 106th Cong., 1st sess. (1999), 3.
13. The Early Head Start National Resource Center, “What Is Early Head Start?” <http://www.ehsnrc.org/AboutUs/ehs.htm> (accessed February 14, 2011).
14. Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, *Are Our Children Ready to Learn? Hearing of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources*, 105th Cong., 2d sess. (1998), 44.
15. *Are Our Children Ready to Learn?*, 27.
16. *Are Our Children Ready to Learn?*, 28.
17. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 21.
18. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 46.
19. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 3.
20. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 23.
21. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 16.
22. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 38.
23. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 32.
24. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 11.
25. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 12.
26. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 18.
27. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 37.
28. *Multiple Program Coordination*, 36.
29. *Early Education: From Science to Practice; Hearing of the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions*, 107th Cong., 1st sess. (2002), 21.
30. *Early Education: From Science to Practice*, 68.
31. Manna (2006) and McGuinn (2006) examine the politics, provisions, and implications of NCLB in greater detail.
32. Kristie Kauerz and Jessica McMaken, *Implications for the Early Learning Field*, ECS No Child Left Behind Policy Brief (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2004), ECS Archives.
33. *Early Education and Care: What Is the Federal Government’s Role? Hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Education and Early Childhood Development of the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions*, 109th Cong., 1st sess. (2005), 15.

34. *Early Education: From Science to Practice*, 5.
35. *Forum on Early Learning: Investing in Our Children, Investing in Our Future; Hearing of the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions*, 107th Cong., 2d sess. (2002), 12.
36. *Early Education: From Science to Practice*, 4.
37. *Forum on Early Learning*, 4.
38. *Forum on Early Learning*, 6.
39. *Early Education: From Science to Practice*, 37.
40. *Early Education and Care*, 32.
41. *Early Education: From Science to Practice*, 35.
42. *Early Education: From Science to Practice*, 40.
43. *Early Education: From Science to Practice*, 12.
44. *Early Childhood Education: Improvement through Integration; Hearing before the House Subcommittee on Education Reform of the Committee on Education and the Workforce*, 109th Cong., 1st sess. (2005), 21.
45. *Early Childhood Education: Improvement through Integration*, 33.
46. *Early Childhood Education: Improvement through Integration*, 8.
47. *The School Readiness Act of 2003: Hearing on H.R. 2210 before the House Subcommittee on Education Reform of the Committee on Education and the Workforce*, 108th Cong., 1st sess. (2003), 26.
48. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 60.
49. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 93.
50. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 8.
51. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 37.
52. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 36.
53. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 43.
54. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 45.
55. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 45.
56. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 94.
57. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 5.
58. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 13.
59. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 35.
60. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 94.
61. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 64.
62. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 85.
63. *School Readiness Act of 2003*, 89.
64. *Early Childhood Education: Improvement through Integration*, 2.
65. During the debate over reauthorization, Democrats and Republicans were also divided on language that would have allowed faith-based providers of Head Start services to take religion into account when hiring employees for the program. This language, which the Bush administration endorsed, was not in the final bill.
66. For more information on the content and politics of Head Start reauthorization, see “Long-Sought Head Start Bill Clears,” in *CQ Almanac 2007*, 63rd ed., ed. Jan Austin, (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 2008), 8-6-8-7, available at <http://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/cqal07-1066-44917-2048087>.
67. *Providing Resources Early for Kids Act*, HR 3289, 110th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 153 (August 1, 2007): H9282.

68. The Library of Congress: THOMAS, “Bill Summary and Status, 110th Congress: H.R. 3289,” <http://www.thomas.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d110:HR03289:@@L&summ2=m&> (accessed March 14, 2011).
69. Sam Dillon, “Obama Pledge Stirs Hope in Early Education,” *New York Times*, December 17, 2008.
70. Dillon, “Obama Pledge Stirs Hope.”
71. Valerie Strauss, “Early Childhood Again in Spotlight,” *Washington Post*, October 9, 2011.
72. Title I distributes funds to local education agencies and public schools that have high numbers or high percentages of poor children. The funds can be used for preschool or to supplement or expand other early childhood programs. See Steffanie Clothier, *Economic Recovery Funding Opportunities for Early Care and Education* (Denver: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2009), 2.
73. Clothier, *Economic Recovery Funding Opportunities*, 3.
74. Clothier, *Economic Recovery Funding Opportunities*, 6.
75. *Race to the Top Program Executive Summary* (Washington, DC: Department of Education, 2009), 2.
76. Twelve of the sixteen finalists in the first phase of Race to the Top completed the early education section of the application. See Chrisanne L. Gayl, *Pre-K and the Race to the Top: A Review of Early Education Proposals in States’ Phase 1 Grant Applications* (Washington, DC: Pre-K Now, 2010), 2.
77. Gayl, *Pre-K and the Race to the Top*, 2–3.
78. Gayl, *Pre-K and the Race to the Top*, 6.
79. Gayl, *Pre-K and the Race to the Top*, 8.
80. *Race to the Top–Early Learning Challenge* (Washington, DC: Department of Education and Department of Human Resources, 2011), 2.
81. *Race to the Top–Early Learning Challenge*, 3.
82. *Race to the Top–Early Learning Challenge*, 2.
83. Strauss, “Early Childhood Again in Spotlight.”
84. Letter from Mary Jane Wallner, Wes Keller, John Goedde, and Roy Takumi to Arne Duncan and Kathleen Sebelius, July 6, 2011, <http://www.ncsl.org/issues-research/human-services/letter-to-hhs-re-race-to-the-top-early-learn32.aspx> (accessed March 7, 2012).
85. Department of Health and Human Services, “We Can’t Wait: Nine States Awarded Race to the Top–Early Learning Challenge Grants,” news release, December 16, 2011.

CHAPTER 8

1. “We Are Listening to You: 1999 ECS Constituent Needs Survey Results,” August 1999, 1, ECS Archives.
2. Education Commission of the States, *Early Learning: Improving Results for Young Children* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2000), 7, ECS Archives.
3. Education Commission of the States, *Early Learning*, 8.
4. Education Commission of the States, *Early Learning*, 9.
5. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now: A Policymaker’s Guide to Early Care and Education and School Success* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2001), 6, ECS Archives.

6. Gloria Zradicka, “2003 State-of-the-State Addresses: Early Learning,” *State Notes: Early Learning*, March 17, 2003, ECS Archives.

7. For more on the role of the Pew Charitable Trusts, see Bushouse 2009 and E. Rose 2010, chap. 5.

8. A similar rhetorical transformation occurred in the context of kindergarten, where several developments in the late twentieth century “progressively recast the purpose of kindergarten education from a vehicle for young children’s development to the foundation for the individual child’s future academic achievement” (Russell 2011, 256).

9. Supporters of increased public investment carefully considered how to frame the issue. For example, focus groups in four states suggested greater public comfort with “universally available, voluntary prekindergarten” than “universal pre-K,” because the latter sounded like a mandatory program. They also suggested a preference for “government-assisted” rather than “government-run” programs, possibly due to the existing mélange of service providers (Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now*, 23).

10. Kristie Kauerz and Jessica McMaken, *Implications for the Early Learning Field, ECS No Child Left Behind Policy Brief* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2004), 2, ECS Archives.

11. Samuel J. Meisels and Abigail M. Jewkes, “‘School Readiness’ Not Easy to Determine,” *State Education Leader* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 15, ECS Archives.

12. “Assessment,” *The Progress of Education Reform, 1999–2001: Early Care and Education* 2, no. 6 (June–July 2001): 4, ECS Archives.

13. Jessica McMaken, “Eligibility Requirements for Students,” *ECS State Notes: State Funded Prekindergarten Programs*, March 2002, ECS Archives.

14. “‘P-16’: The Next Great Education Reform,” *State Education Leader* 20, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 1–2, at 2, ECS Archives.

15. Louise Stoney, “Financing Early Care and Education: Key Issues,” *State Education Leader* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 3–4, at 3, ECS Archives.

16. Mimi Howard, *Emerging Issues 2006*, ECS Policy Brief: Early Learning (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2006), 3, ECS Archives.

17. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now*, 2.

18. Sharon Lynn Kagan, *Giving America’s Young Children a Better Start: A Change Brief* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 2001), 5, ECS Archives.

19. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now*, 8.

20. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now*, 3.

21. “Early Childhood Education Resource Materials,” Education Commission of the States Education Legislative Workshop, October 3, 2005, 2, ECS Archives.

22. “Early Learning Shows Benefits,” *The Progress of Education Reform, 1999–2001: Early Care and Education* 2, no. 6 (June–July 2001): 1, ECS Archives.

23. Education Commission of the States, *Early Learning*, 4.

24. Jane Wiechel, “Eliminating the ‘Nonsystem’ of Governance,” *State Education Leader* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 8–9, at 9, ECS Archives.

25. Kagan, *Giving America’s Young Children a Better Start*, 5.

26. The relevant service providers included child care facilities (18 percent), Head Start centers (7 percent), family-based care (1 percent), and other organizations (3 percent) (“Early Childhood Education Resource Materials,” 2).

27. “From Potty Gate to Popularity,” *State Education Leader* 15, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 14, ECS Archives.

28. See Bushouse 2009 for a more comprehensive description of developments in Georgia and Oklahoma.

29. Howard, *Emerging Issues 2006*, 1.

30. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now*, 17.

31. Education Commission of the States, *Starting Early, Starting Now*, 12.

32. For more on the social scientific rationale behind this approach and the perils of failing to examine multiple outcomes, see Geddes 1990 and King, Keohane, and Verba 1994.

33. In addition to the quantitative approach employed here, one can increase confidence in the conclusions drawn from primarily historical accounts by paying more-careful attention to causal mechanisms, relying on counterfactual analysis, or examining multiple policy areas (Hacker 2002).

34. Rigby 2007 describes the data on which these figures are based.

35. Two policy alignments will not be examined here. One might hypothesize that a strong Head Start community will lead states to fund only Head Start supplements. Very few states undertake such a funding approach, however, making a systematic analysis impossible. In addition, the analysis in this chapter does not examine the relationship between Head Start strength and a mixed funding approach, because its impact is unclear. Head Start supporters might appreciate the supplemental funding but worry that the simultaneous existence of a freestanding program represents a long-term threat. In addition, Head Start supplements often come with “strings attached.” Some supplements fund extended days or enrollment expansions, but in other cases, the state assumes some administrative responsibility for Head Start (Barnett et al. 2006, 31). As a result, Head Start supporters might resist the establishment of a mixed funding approach.

36. Data on Head Start enrollment come from Administration for Children and Families, “Head Start Program Fact Sheet: Fiscal Year 2002,” <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ohs/about/fy2002.html> (accessed March 12, 2009). Data on overall preschool enrollment come from U.S. Census Bureau, “Table P053: School Enrollment by Level of School for the Population 3 Years and Over,” in *Census 2000 Supplementary Survey* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

37. U.S. Census Bureau, “SC-EST2005-2: Population Estimates by State: Age and Sex for States and for Puerto Rico, April 1, 2000 to July 1, 2006,” (accessed September 20, 2012 <http://www.census.gov/popest/data/state/asrh/2006/SC-EST2006-02.html>).

38. References to anticipated “positive” or “negative” relationships merit further explanation. The first dependent variable indicates whether a state does not fund preschool education. Any characteristic expected to have a “positive” impact on preschool spending will be expected to have a negative relationship with this specific outcome. The second dependent variable indicates whether a state exclusively funds a freestanding program. The expected relationships are therefore expected to hold as they are described here. For ease of interpretation, tables 2 and 3 include the expected direction of the relationship under examination.

39. The analysis in this section uses state per capita income as its proxy for the economic resources. The specific measure is per capita income (Bureau of Economic Analysis, <http://www.bea.gov/regional/docs/income> [accessed September 20, 2012]) divided

by the implicit price deflator (“Gross Domestic Product: Implicit Price Deflator,” <http://www.research.stlouisfed.org/fred2/series/GDPDEF/> [accessed January 19, 2013]) and then logged.

40. The measure is a percentage of the state population aged twenty-five and over, from U.S. Census Bureau. “QT-P20: Educational Attainment by Sex, 2000,” in *Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF-3) Sample Data* (Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

41. U.S. Census Bureau, “SC-EST2006-6RACE: Annual State Population Estimates with Sex, 6 Race Groups (5 Race Alone Groups and One Group with Two or More Race Groups) and Hispanic Origin, April 1, 2000 to July 1, 2006,” <http://www.census.gov/popest/states/asrh/stasrh.html> (accessed March 11, 2010).

42. The party control measure is an updated, annual version of the data presented in Klarner 2003.

43. The “first differences” displayed in tables 2 and 3 are predicted probabilities rather than the coefficients of the original analysis. They were derived by setting all continuous variables to their means and all dichotomous variables to their modes and manipulating the quantity of interest. For such variables as the size of the Head Start community, the values in the tables display the change in the predicted probability when the quantity of interest shifts from one standard deviation below its mean to one standard deviation above its mean. For dichotomous variables like unified Democratic government, the values in the tables display the change in predicted probability when the quantity of interest shifts from zero to one. The values were derived using the statistical simulation technique and computer software described in King, Tomz, and Wittenberg 2000. The “confidence intervals” presented in the tables are 2.5 percent, 97.5 percent of the posterior distributions.

44. Technically, the results presented in table 2 indicate that wealthy states, liberal states, and states with a unified Democratic government are all significantly less likely not to allocate public funds to preschool. The formulations used in the text have been employed for ease of interpretation.

45. The effects of the remaining three variables included in the model—percentage of the state population under age five (positive), state education level (positive), and population homogeneity (positive)—do not conform to our predictions. Of these three variables, only the relationship between the state education level and the decision not to fund preschool education achieves conventional levels of statistical significance.

46. The effects of the remaining four variables included in the model—percentage of the state population under age five (negative), state wealth (negative), state education level (negative), and population homogeneity (negative)—do not conform to our predictions. Of these four variables, only the relationship between state education level and the exclusive funding of a freestanding state program achieves conventional levels of statistical significance. The negative relationships between education and preschool funding in tables 2 and 3 might reflect regional patterns. Southern states’ populations generally have less formal education, but states like Georgia and Oklahoma have been policy leaders. This southern leadership dates to the 1980s, when several regional associations called for increased investment in public schools, including early childhood programs, as part of a long-term economic growth strategy (Bushouse 2009, 19).

47. The key relationship identified in this section is robust to changes in model specification. In models using alternative measures of partisanship, population homogene-

ity, and education levels, the relationship between Head Start strength and preschool funding remains in the expected direction and achieves conventional levels of statistical significance. These results suggest that neither the absence of a relationship between ethnic and racial diversity and preschool funding nor the unexpected relationship between education levels and preschool funding decisions is an artifact of the proxies used to measure these state attributes. In another test of the robustness of the results reported here, the analysis was also performed using a random effects model. The substantive effects of the analysis hold, as the interest group variable achieves conventional levels of statistical significance in both models.

48. It might also be useful to extend the present analysis to other dimensions of preschool policy, such as curricular standards, personnel credentials, and classroom regulations. The contemporary debate over preschool education is multidimensional, and the size of the Head Start community may not be relevant in every context.

49. Steffanie Clothier and Julie Poppe, “Preschool Rocks: Policymakers around the Country Are Investing in Preschool,” *State Legislatures*, January 2007, 28–30.

50. Elizabeth McNichol, Phil Oliff, and Nicholas Johnson, *States Continue to Feel Recession’s Impact* (Washington, DC: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2012), 1.

51. McNichol, Oliff, and Johnson, *States Continue to Feel Recession’s Impact*.

52. McNichol, Oliff, and Johnson, *States Continue to Feel Recession’s Impact*, 2.

53. Nicholas Johnson, Phil Oliff, and Erica Williams, *An Update on State Budgets: At Least 46 States Have Imposed Cuts That Hurt Vulnerable Residents and Cause Job Loss* (Washington, DC: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2011), 3.

54. Johnson, Oliff, and Williams, *An Update on State Budgets*, 10–11.

55. *Child Care and Early Education 2009 Legislative Action* (Denver: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010), 1.

56. *Child Care and Early Education 2009 Legislative Action*, 2.

57. *Child Care and Early Education 2010 Legislative Action* (Denver: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2012), 1.

58. *Child Care and Early Education 2010 Legislative Action*, 4.

59. *Transforming Public Education: Pathway to a Pre-K–12 Future* (Washington, DC: Pew Center on the States, 2011), 14.

60. Amanda Szekely, *State Early Childhood Advisory Councils: An Overview of Implementation across the States* (Washington, DC: National Governors Association, 2011), 2.

61. Szekely, *State Early Childhood Advisory Councils*, 6.

62. “Teacher Training,” *The Progress of Educational Reform, 1999–2001: Early Care and Education* 2, no. 6 (June–July 2001): 6–7, at 7, ECS Archives. Many scholarly studies, however, find no connection between teacher credentials and academic outcomes (Early et al. 2006; Early et al. 2007; LoCasale-Crouch et al. 2007).

63. *The Best of Head Start: Learning from Model Programs; Hearing before the House Subcommittee on Education Reform of the Committee on Education and the Workforce*, 109th Cong., 1st sess. (2005), 32.

64. National Head Start Association, *Position Paper: Our View of the U.S. Senate Reauthorization Bill, S. 1940* (Alexandria, VA: National Head Start Association, 2004), 8. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, many states provided scholarships and financial incentives to help address the fiscal barriers that accompany new training requirements (Ackerman 2004).

65. National Head Start Association, *Position Paper*, 8.

66. “Teacher Training,” 6.

67. Some observers view programmatic diversity as a benefit of the status quo because it promotes parental choice and is potentially responsive to families’ divergent priorities (Finn 2009; Fuller 2007).

68. Quoted in “Georgia: Ahead of the Game in Early Childhood Education,” *State Education Leader* 20, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 10, ECS Archives.

CONCLUSION

1. Melinda Henneberger, “‘Princess Nancy’ Pelosi Calls Cain ‘Clueless,’ Vows to Do More for Child Care,” *Washington Post*, November 17, 2011.

2. *Transforming Public Education: Pathway to a Pre-K–12 Future* (Washington, DC: Pew Center on the States, 2011), 12.

3. Duane Benson, “Lessons Learned While Pushing for Preschool,” *Star Tribune*, December 11, 2011, A15.

4. *Transforming Public Education*, 5.

5. In recent years, scholarship in comparative politics has devoted more attention to the politics of education, often through the lens of political economy (Ansell 2010; Iversen and Stephens 2008).

6. One exception is Skocpol 1992, which examines the evolution of maternalist public policies at both the national and the state level in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

7. Scholars of state politics bear equal responsibility for this lack of scholarly engagement. The theoretical advances and key concepts of the policy development approach have generally not been incorporated into state politics research (Howard 1999).

8. Interview with former vice president Walter F. Mondale, December 3, 2010, Minneapolis, MN.