



PROJECT MUSE®

Early Start

Andrew Karch

Published by University of Michigan Press

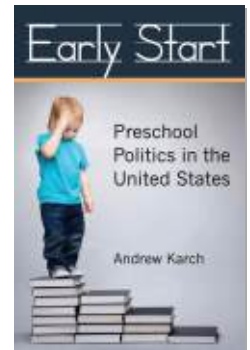
Karch, Andrew.

Early Start: Preschool Politics in the United States.

University of Michigan Press, 2013.

Project MUSE., <a href="

<https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/22707>

Access provided at 31 Mar 2020 08:41 GMT with no institutional affiliation



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

Index

- A Nation at Risk*, 150
Abecedarian Project, 158
Ackerman, Debra J., 197n64
AFT. *See* American Federation of Teachers
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 26, 44, 61, 63
Alabama, 101
Alaska, 97, 195–96
Albert, Carl, 74, 116
American Academy of Pediatrics, 81, 111
American Association of School Administrators (AASA), 57–58, 147–48
American Association of University Women, 88n10, 111
American Conservative Union, 83, 114, 117, 137
American Federation of Teachers (AFT), 67, 107, 110, 112, 118–23, 134, 145, 146–48, 161, 208
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), 171–73, 195, 196–97
Andrus, Cecil, 97
Ansell, Ben W., 207n5
Appalachian Act, 96
Appalachian Regional Commission, 88, 96
Arizona, 98, 177, 195
Arkansas, 96, 97, 98, 101, 151, 153
Ashbrook, John, 75n109, 83
Association for Childhood Education International, 88n10
Association of Early Childhood Specialists in State Departments of Education, 99
Australia, 7n18
Bailey, Stephen K., 28, 55, 56, 120
Bainbridge, Jay, 2
Barnes, Roy, 198–99
Barnett, W. Steven, 2, 5, 6n15, 183, 186, 187, 189n35, 195, 196, 197–98
Baumgartner, Frank R., 8, 25, 26, 28, 204
Beatty, Barbara, 3n8, 3n10, 6n16, 8, 12, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40–41, 42n43, 44, 87–88, 178, 187–88
Beck, Rochelle, 125n107, 125n109, 126, 137, 138
Bell, Terrel, 93, 121
Belle Glade, Florida, 74
Berkowitz, Edward, 112, 113, 123–24, 125
Berry, William D., 191
Bingaman, Jeff, 140
Blanchard, James, 144
block grants, 65, 89, 165, 168–69. *See also* Child Care and Development Block Grant Act
Bloom, Benjamin, 52–54
Bond, Christopher, 162
Bonoli, Giuliano, 19n5
Bradbury, Dorothy E., 35
Brademas, John: and Child and Family Services Act of 1975, 110–13, 116–19, 121; and Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971, 67–73, 76–77, 79–80, 83, 121; as House majority whip, 123; and other congressional initiatives, 56, 64, 137
brain development. *See* neuroscience
Brandeis, Louis, 55n97
Bronfenbrenner, Urie, 63, 70, 113

- Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, KS, 55
- Buchanan, Patrick, 82
- Buckley, James, 72n89, 80
- Bureau of Labor Standards (BLS), 78
- bureaucratic capacity, 30
- Bush, George H. W., 137, 152–53
- Bush, George W., 23, 162–65, 170, 197
- Bush, Laura, 164
- Bushouse, Brenda K., 175, 177n7, 178, 183, 184, 185, 186, 193n46, 198
- business community: and education reform movement, 150; endorsement of preschool education, 140–41, 144, 164, 176–78, 181, 197
- Business Week*, 59, 62
- Butler, Owen, 140–41
- Cahan, Emily D., 33n1, 34, 35, 38, 39n27, 49, 52
- Califano, Joseph A., Jr., 119
- California, 42–43, 90, 102, 125, 149, 153, 172, 180, 186, 205
- California Child Care Resource and Referral Network, 149
- California Teachers Association, 182
- Cammisa, Anne Marie, 30
- Campbell, Andrea Louise, 29, 194
- Canal Zone, 88n5
- Carnegie Foundation, 92
- Carter, Jimmy, 119, 123–25, 127–30
- Castle, Michael, 168–70
- CDA. *See* child development associate credential
- Census. *See* United States Census
- Chapter I Compensatory Education Program, 142, 144
- Charlottesville Education Summit, 152–53, 154
- Chicago Child-Parent Centers, 158
- Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit: beneficiaries of, 4, 10–11, 61, 126, 132, 134; changes to, 9–11, 21, 44, 128, 130–33, 148–49; and policy feedback, 11, 132–33, 202; and private preschool providers, 4, 10–11, 18, 106, 131–33, 134, 136, 206
- Child and Family Services Act of 1975: conflict among supporters, 112, 118–23; demise of, 114–18, 122–23, 127, 128, 133; justifications for, 113–14; provisions of, 106, 109–11; relationship to Child Care Act of 1979, 125–26; relationship to Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971, 109–13; state governments and, 119, 122, 123, 126, 203
- child care. *See* preschool education
- Child Care Act of 1979, 106, 125–28, 129, 130, 133, 136, 203, 205
- Child Care and Development Block Grant Act, 137, 160, 165
- child development: concept of, 48, 52, 59, 64, 80, 82, 164–65, 178, 201; science of, 35–36
- child development associate credential (CDA), 102–3
- Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), 70–71
- child development movement, 91, 177
- Child Welfare League of America, 39, 41, 130
- children: as interest group, 19–20
- Children in Need*, 140, 146
- Children's Defense Fund, 20, 91–92, 136, 167
- Chiles, Lawton, 145–47
- China, 83
- churches: as providers of preschool services, 43, 70, 147, 184, 186–87. *See also* religious organizations
- Cibulka, James G., 23, 150–51
- civil rights groups, 66–67, 69, 70–71
- Clifford, Richard M., 156, 180, 199
- Clinton, Bill, 158
- Cobb, Clifford W., 18
- cognitive psychology, 7, 33, 52–54, 57
- Cohen, Sally S., 3n10, 80n139, 81, 83n158, 137, 181
- Cohen, Wilbur, 125
- Cold War, 55
- Coleman Report, 48n72, 69
- Collier, David, 12, 13, 24, 27, 33
- Collier, Ruth Berins, 12, 13, 24, 27, 33
- Colorado, 6, 88, 97, 98, 144, 158

- Committee for Economic Development, 60, 140–41, 146, 178
- Committee on Children, 74
- Common Cause, 67n57
- Community Action Program, 45–46, 70, 129
- Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C) program, 63–64, 96, 101
- Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971: coalition of supporters, 66–68; as critical juncture, 7–8, 11–14, 16–17, 24–25, 27, 31, 33, 60, 133, 135, 202, 206–7; introduction of, 58; legislative strategy of supporters, 77–78, 83, 137–38; as model, 159; Nixon administration and, 75–77, 82; precursors to, 63–66; provisions of, 66–71, 76–77; relationship to Child and Family Services Act of 1975, 109–13; state governments and, 61, 77, 79–80, 82, 92, 97, 101, 105, 119, 143, 203; veto of, 8, 11, 12, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27, 72, 81–85, 86–87, 89, 90, 95–96, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 115, 123, 130–31, 133, 135, 140, 148, 174, 180, 200, 201, 202, 208–10
- Comprehensive Headstart, Child Development, and Family Services Act, 107–9
- Comprehensive Preschool Education and Child Day Care Act of 1969, 64
- Congressional Research Service, 113
- Connecticut, 103, 153
- conservative interest groups, 20–21, 83, 114–18, 127, 137–38
- Council of Chief State School Officers, 150, 168
- Council of State Governments, 98
- Cranston, Alan, 125–28
- Cravens, Hamilton, 35n7, 48, 52n90
- credentials of early childhood professionals, 6n16, 89, 100, 102–3, 118, 129, 154, 167, 183, 186, 194n48, 197–98
- credit claiming, 29
- critical junctures: Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 as, 7–8, 11–14, 16–17, 24–25, 27, 31, 33, 60, 133, 135, 202, 206–7; definition of, 7, 24; institutions and, 23–25
- Cuban, Larry, 3n8, 17, 22, 28
- Czech Republic, 4
- Daly, Mary, 7n18
- David and Lucile Packard Foundation, 177
- day care: national government funding of, 38–42, 58, 61–62, 64, 65, 68, 71, 76, 107, 109; welfare reform and, 63, 67, 72, 84. *See also* preschool education
- Day Care and Child Development Council of America, 64
- day nurseries, 34–35, 52, 179
- Delaware, 159, 172, 180
- Department of Agriculture, 160
- Department of Education: creation of, 124; Head Start and, 124, 128, 130; role in preschool programs, 5, 160–61
- Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), 5, 125n107, 158, 159, 160
- Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), 48, 59, 61, 63, 76–77, 81, 89, 96, 108, 115
- Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), 61
- Department of Labor, 61, 62
- Detroit, 41
- developmental child care. *See* child development
- District of Columbia, 36, 172
- Dodd, Christopher, 142, 144, 162, 165
- Dombkowski, Kristen, 3n8, 153n70
- Dominick, Peter, 107n4, 108
- Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 42
- Dunn, Winfield, 108
- DuPont, 159
- Durbin, Richard, 160, 161
- Dye, Thomas R., 190
- Eagle Forum, 137
- Early, Diane M., 197n62
- early childhood advisory councils, 196–97
- early childhood education. *See* preschool education
- Early Childhood Educator Professional Development Program, 163
- Early Head Start, 158, 159, 171, 174

- early learning standards, 169, 172, 173
- Early Reading First, 163
- Early Start, 149n62
- Edelman, Marian Wright, 20, 21, 66–71, 78, 83–84, 85, 91–92, 95–96, 110, 141
- Educare, 178. *See also* preschool education
- Education, Department of. *See* Department of Education
- Education Commission of the States (ECS): education reform movement and, 150; lobbying activities of, 89, 108, 127; needs assessments and, 100–101; preschool education and, 86–91, 101–4, 105, 111, 152; services for infants and toddlers and, 158n10; state offices of child development and, 97, 98; venue shopping and, 89–90, 92–93, 176
- education policy: education reform movement and, 136, 149–53, 157–58; interest groups and, 28, 144–45, 147–49, 174, 201; local control of, 54–55; multiple purposes of, 17; federalism and, 22, 26–27, 56, 149–50, 207; role of national government in, 22–23, 26, 55–57, 63
- education reform movement, 136, 149–53, 157–58
- Education Writers Association, 178
- educational community, 144–45, 147–48, 174, 201
- Edwards, Edwin, 97–98
- Edwards, John, 161
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), 46, 56–57, 60, 158, 171
- elementary education. *See* public schools
- Eliot, Thomas H., 54, 55
- Elmore, Richard R., 149
- Emergency Committee for Children, 108, 116, 119, 121
- emergency nursery schools, 12, 33, 36–42, 44, 50
- England, 42n42
- Erikson, Robert S., 18n4, 191
- Esping-Andersen, Gosta, 16n1
- excellence movement. *See* education reform movement
- extended family: breakdown of, 51, 109
- Family Assistance Plan (FAP), 63, 67, 75–76, 84. *See also* welfare reform
- Family Research Council, 20
- Family Support Act, 11n21
- Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 36
- Federal Panel on Early Childhood, 61
- Federal-State Education Act of 1969, 65
- Federal Works Agency, 39
- federalism: education policy and, 22, 26–27, 56, 149–50, 207; as impediment to policy adoption, 22, 26–27, 204; multiple dimensions of, 207–8; policy feedback and, 29–30, 204–5; preemption and, 23n13; venue shopping and, 86–105, 204
- Fellowes, Matthew C., 190
- female labor force participation: increases in, 50–52, 57, 73–74, 96, 100, 113, 134, 139, 156; preschool education and, 7, 21, 33, 50–52, 73–74, 113, 126, 151; Second World War and, 38–42, 51, 156; societal attitudes toward, 34–35, 38, 41, 44
- feminism. *See* maternal roles; women's liberation movement
- Fight Crime: Invest in Kids, 178
- Finch, Robert, 48, 59
- Finn, Chester E., Jr., 5, 14, 151n65, 185, 198n67
- Fishhaut, Erna H., 121, 122
- Fleming, Patricia, 125
- Florida, 6, 94, 97, 99, 147, 187
- Follow Through, 47, 60, 63
- Ford, Gerald: as House minority leader, 78, 81; as president, 112, 117, 123
- Ford Foundation, 45
- Foundation for Child Development, 91
- France, 5, 7n18
- Frum, David, 51, 137
- Fuller, Bruce, 3, 14, 177, 183, 185, 186, 198
- Fusarelli, Lance D., 27, 150
- Gallup, 58
- Gatenio, Shirley, 3
- Gayer, Ted, 185, 206

- Geddes, Barbara, 188n32
- Georgia, 21, 102, 166–67, 183–84, 193n46, 198–99, 209
- Germany, 7n18
- Gesell, Arnold, 35, 52–53
- Getzels, J. W., 46
- Gilles, Stephen, 18
- globalization, 150, 157
- Goals 2000, 158–59
- Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children (1960), 43
- Good Start, Grow Smart, 163–64
- Goodell, Charles, 65
- Gordon, Craig S., 6n15, 197
- Gormley, William T., Jr., 185, 206
- Gornick, Janet C., 51
- Gottschalk, Marie, 12, 26, 27, 201–2
- Government Accountability Office, 159
- Graham, Hugh Davis, 55, 56
- Granholm, Jennifer, 177
- Gray, Virginia, 188
- Great Depression. *See* emergency nursery schools
- Grotberg, Edith H., 10, 137
- Grubb, W. Norton, 19, 20, 23, 151–52
- Hacker, Jacob S., 7, 12, 16, 23, 26, 28, 32, 132, 188n33, 194, 201–2, 207
- Haider, Donald H., 30
- Haider-Markel, Donald P., 191
- Hales, Dawson, 55
- Harris, Fred, 73
- Hatch, Orrin G., 137, 143
- Hawaii, 98
- Hayden, Carl, 38, 39
- Head Start: academic focus of, 163–65; Carter administration and, 124, 128–30; changing views of, 112; Child Care Act of 1979 and, 126, 129, 205; compensatory nature of, 4, 10, 12, 50; comprehensive nature of, 45, 48, 59, 161, 165, 168, 205; creation of, 44–49, 205; credentials of staff, 103, 129, 167, 168, 186, 194n48, 197–98; Department of Education and, 124, 128, 130; early childhood advisory councils and, 196–97; effectiveness of, 46, 47–48, 144; expansion of, 21, 106, 128–30, 133, 134, 135, 159, 202; hiring practices of faith-based providers, 170n65; impact on kindergarten of, 61; lobbying activities of supporters, 11, 124, 129, 144, 145, 149, 167–69, 174, 205–6; as model for other programs, 10n19, 68, 94, 96, 158; parent involvement and, 10, 49, 129, 205; policy feedback and, 9–10, 129–30, 136, 155, 169, 194, 205–6; political solidification of, 9, 10, 139, 201, 205; reauthorization of, in 2007, 170, 197; relationship with other preschool programs, 10, 64, 89, 90, 115, 122, 141–42, 143–44, 147, 149n62, 160, 163, 166–70, 175–76, 180, 182, 184–86, 188–95, 199, 205–6, 208–9; relationship with public schools, 46–47, 67, 68, 108, 144, 148, 161, 182, 185; state governments and, 66–67, 70, 82, 143n31, 153, 166–70, 206
- Head Start Planning Committee, 45, 48
- Headstart Child Development Act of 1969, 63, 64
- Headstart, Economic Opportunity, and Community Partnership Act of 1974, 109
- health care policy, 28, 32, 101, 194, 208
- Hecl, Hugh, 23
- Henry, Gary T., 6n15, 197
- Heritage Foundation, 137
- Hero, Rodney E., 190
- HEW. *See* Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
- HHS. *See* Department of Health and Human Services
- higher education: accountability mechanisms and, 207; child care and, 43; early childhood professionals and, 102–3
- High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, 140n14, 143n31
- Hinitz, Blythe E., 102
- Hirono, Mazie, 170
- Hobbs, Nicolas, 92
- Holyoke, Thomas T., 25
- Howard, Christopher, 11n23, 12, 16, 18, 26, 28, 132, 133, 201–2, 207n7

- Howe, Harold, II, 1–2, 6, 8, 15, 58, 198–99, 209–10
- Huber, Evelyne, 22, 204
- Human Events*, 74
- Hunt, J. McVicker, 52–53, 54
- Hustedt, Jason T., 2, 6n15, 183, 186, 187, 197–98
- Hymes, James L., Jr., 36, 37, 48, 53
- Idaho, 97, 99
- Illinois, 103, 186–87, 194
- Illinois Action for Children, 187
- Improving Head Start for School Readiness Act, 170, 197
- Indiana, 101
- Indianapolis Star*, 115
- individualism, 17–18, 74–75, 93
- Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, 171, 182
- infant mortality rate, 100
- infant school movement, 33, 34
- Ingram, Helen, 205
- institutions: critical junctures and, 23–25; decentralization in the United States, 8, 21–22, 25, 85, 86, 204, 209; policy feedback and, 27–30; preservation of status quo and, 9, 22, 26–27, 28, 204, 209–10; venue shopping and, 25–27, 85, 86, 95, 135, 175, 202, 204. *See also* federalism
- intelligence: as developmental concept, 47, 52–54
- interest groups: education policy and, 28, 144–45, 147–49, 174, 201. *See also* business community; civil rights groups; conservative interest groups; law enforcement community; organized labor
- Internal Revenue Code. *See* Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit
- Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, 35n7, 52n90
- IQ scores: early childhood experiences and, 52–54, 72–73; Head Start and, 47
- Iversen, Torben, 17, 207n5
- Japan, 150
- Javits, Jacob, 107, 110, 125n108
- Jeffords, James, 166
- Jensen, Albert, 48n72
- John Birch Society, 74, 83
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 45, 56, 59, 84
- Jones, Bryan D., 8, 25, 26, 204
- Jones-Correa, Michael, 24
- Kaestle, Carl F., 3n8, 34
- Kagan, Sharon L., 3
- Kahlenberg, Richard D., 120n89, 124
- Kaiser, Edgar, 40
- Kaiser Child Service Centers, 40
- Kammerman, Sheila, 3
- Kansas, 98
- Kansas City Star*, 116
- Katznelson, Ira, 23, 24
- Kean, Thomas H., 141
- Kelly, Erin L., 132
- Kennedy, Edward M., 137, 138–43, 146–47, 203–4
- Kennedy, Robert F., 45
- Kentucky, 153, 180
- Keohane, Robert O., 188n32
- Keppel, Francis, 55
- kindergarten, 3, 37n14, 40, 42–43, 60, 61, 62, 87–88, 94, 101–2, 113, 119, 152, 158, 163, 167, 177, 178n8, 179, 185, 198–99
- King, Anthony, 18
- King, Gary, 188n32, 191n43
- Kingdon, John W., 50
- Kirkpatrick, James J., 83
- Kirp, David, 3, 14, 85, 157, 159, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 198, 199
- Klarner, Carl E., 191n42
- Korean War, 44n55
- Labor, Department of. *See* Department of Labor
- Labor groups. *See* organized labor
- Lanham Act, 12, 33, 38–42, 44, 50
- Latinos, 67n57
- law enforcement community, 177–78
- Lazerson, Marvin, 12, 33, 35, 40, 44
- League of Women Voters, 67n57, 81, 111
- Levin, Harry, 45
- Library of Congress, 62
- Licari, Michael J., 191
- limited government, 17–19

- LoCasale-Crouch, Jennifer, 197n62
 Lombardi, Joan, 44, 85, 137, 156n1
 Los Angeles, 41, 186
 Louisiana, 6, 97–98
 Lowry, Robert C., 207
- MacKuen, Michael B., 18n4
 Maeroff, Gene I., 149n62, 157, 178, 183, 187
 Maine, 98, 102
 Manna, Paul, 26–27, 136n3, 163n31, 207
 Marland, S. P., Jr., 54
 Maryland, 98, 103
 Massachusetts, 34n2, 42n48, 88, 93, 97, 98–99, 102, 153, 195
 maternal roles, 34–35, 38, 41, 44. *See also* female labor force participation
 May, Dean, 34n2
 Mayes, Rick, 7, 24, 28, 194
 Mayhew, David R., 29
 Mazzone, Tim L., 150, 151
 McCathren, Randall R., 19, 71–72, 79, 111, 117, 120, 121, 125–26, 127, 130
 McCaughey, Betsy, 157
 McDermott, Kathryn A., 136n3, 150
 McDonnell, Lorraine M., 26, 56
 McGill-Franzen, Anne, 50, 110, 120, 126, 152, 153
 McGovern, George, 109, 125n108
 McGuinn, Patrick J., 28, 136n3, 163n31, 207
- McIver, John P., 18n4, 191
 McLaughlin, Milbrey Wallin, 149
 McNair, Robert, 87
 Medicaid, 205
 Medicare, 28, 84
 Melnick, R. Shep, 26
 Mettler, Suzanne, 205
 Meyers, Marcia K., 51
 Michel, Sonya, 3n10, 4, 12, 16n1, 20, 23, 27, 33n1, 34, 36, 43, 44, 75, 106, 114, 132, 134, 136, 138
 Michigan, 144, 153, 177
 Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth (1950), 43
 Middle class: children, 68–69; families, 69, 126, 132, 134, 159; tax credit and, 4, 11, 132, 134; women, 136
- Miller, Zell, 184
 Mink, Patsy T., 64
 Minneapolis, 49
 Minnesota, 97, 98, 101, 142, 151, 196
 Minnesota Early Learning Foundation, 200
 Mississippi, 70–71, 96, 97, 182, 189
 Missouri, 98, 102, 151
 Mondale, Walter, 19–20, 208–9; Child and Family Services Act of 1975 and, 110–11, 113, 117–18, 121; Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 and, 66–68, 72, 79, 81; and other congressional initiatives, 64, 107–9; as vice president, 123–24, 128
 Montavon, William F., 38
 Mooney, Christopher Z., 188
 Moore, Arch, 88
 Moral Majority, 137
 Morgan, Kimberly J., 11, 19n5, 20, 27, 132, 134, 148n59
 Mormon Church, 83
 Mosher, Edith K., 55, 56
 mothers. *See* maternal roles
 mothers' pensions, 44
 Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 75–76
 Muenchow, Susan, 10, 44n57, 45, 46, 47, 48n72, 49, 53, 68, 71, 77, 80–81, 82, 124, 128, 136, 205
- Napolitano, Janet, 177
 Nathan, Richard, 75–76
 National Alliance of Pupil Services Organizations, 141
 National Association for Child Development, 133
 National Association for the Education of Young Children, 67, 88n10, 104, 142, 152, 159, 167
 National Association for Nursery Education, 41, 42
 National Association of State Boards of Education (NASBE), 141, 152
 National Association of State Directors of Child Development, 98, 99
 National Black Child Development Institute, 141, 152

- National Catholic Welfare Conference, 38
- National Coalition for Children, 114, 115, 116–17, 137
- National Committee for Children and Youth, 88n10
- National Committee for Support of Public Schools, 88n10
- National Committee for the Day Care of Children, 62, 88n10
- National Conference of State Legislatures, 150, 171, 173, 195
- National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 88n10
- National Conservative Research and Educational Foundation, 137
- National Council of Churches, 111
- National Education Association (NEA), 1, 6, 57–58, 60, 67, 88n10, 124, 142, 145
- National Education Goals Panel, 153n70
- National Governors Association, 142–43, 150, 153n70, 158n10
- National Governors' Conference, 79
- National Head Start Association: as policy feedback, 10, 129, 136, 169, 205–6; lobbying activities of, 124, 144, 169, 206; skepticism toward policy change, 10, 144, 169, 197, 205–6
- National Institute for Early Education Research, 167, 177
- National Kindergarten Association (NKA), 87–88
- National Organization for Women, 67n57, 69
- National Society of Children's Nurseries, 42n42
- National Welfare Rights Organization, 67
- National Women's Political Caucus, 51
- Native Americans, 67n57
- NEA. *See* National Education Association
- Nebraska, 6, 180
- needs assessments, 90, 100–101, 104
- Nelson, Gaylord, 107–8
- Nelson, John R., Jr., 71
- Neuman, Michelle J., 3
- neuroscience, 156–57, 159, 162, 177
- New Deal. *See* emergency nursery schools
- New Hampshire, 189
- New Jersey, 141, 166, 189
- New Right, 114. *See also* conservative interest groups
- New State Ice Co. v. Liebmann*, 55n97
- New York State, 37, 42, 65, 98, 153, 157, 182
- New York Times*, 119–20, 121, 140–41
- Nice, David C., 190
- Nixon, Richard: Head Start and, 48; pre-school education and, 59, 62, 63, 65–66, 69, 70, 75–77, 82, 96, 98; tax policy and, 130–31; veto of Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971, 8, 11, 12, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27, 72, 81–85, 86–87, 89, 90, 95–96, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 115, 123, 130–31, 133, 135, 140, 148, 174, 180, 200, 201, 202, 208–10; welfare reform and, 63, 72, 75–76, 84
- No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), 23, 26, 163–65, 179–80, 207
- Norman (OK) Transcript*, 115
- North Carolina, 96, 97, 98, 153, 158, 166
- North Dakota, 103, 182
- nursery schools: educational content of, 35–36, 37, 52, 179; emergence of, 35–36; enrollment in, 1–3, 5, 16, 43, 118, 122; Great Depression and, 12, 22, 36–42, 44, 50, 71; public schools and, 35, 37, 40–42, 43; relationship to kindergarten, 61; Second World War and, 39–42; societal attitudes toward, 112. *See also* emergency nursery schools; preschool education
- Obama, Barack, 170–74
- Office of Child Development, 20, 48, 49, 59, 63, 65, 68, 76–77, 85, 90, 94, 96, 98, 102. *See also* state offices of child development
- Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), 45, 70, 78, 80, 81, 82, 129
- Office of Education, 48, 60–61, 86, 89
- Office of Management and Budget (OMB), 76–77, 124
- Ohio, 41, 98, 160
- Oklahoma, 21, 98, 116, 166, 183, 184–85, 193n46, 209

- Older Americans Act of 1965, 28
- Olmsted, Patricia, 8
- Oregon, 40, 153, 189
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 4, 6
- organized labor, 19n5, 67, 120, 123. *See also* American Federation of Teachers; National Education Association
- Orloff, Ann Shola, 17, 204, 209
- Orren, Gary R., 18
- Ounce of Prevention Fund, 187
- parental autonomy, 2, 4, 18, 74–75, 81–83, 93, 108, 111, 115, 132–33, 191
- Pastor, Donald, 121, 122
- Patashnik, Eric M., 28, 30–31
- Pell, Claiborne, 142, 144
- Pelosi, Nancy, 200, 201
- Pennsylvania, 6, 102
- Pepper, Claude, 42n45
- Perkins, Carl, 79–80, 85
- Perpich, Rudolph G., 142–43
- Perry Preschool Program, 140, 146, 151, 158
- Peterson, Paul E., 17
- Pew Charitable Trusts, 177–78, 200
- Phillips, Deborah, 185, 206
- Pierson, Paul, 7, 9, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 204
- policy development, 7–12, 14, 16–17, 23–32, 188, 201–8
- policy feedback: definition of, 27–28; federalism and, 29–30, 204–5; Head Start and, 9–10, 129–30, 136, 155, 169, 194, 205–6; institutions and, 27–30; as obstacle to policy change, 7, 12, 14–15, 24, 174, 175–76, 181–83, 198–99, 201, 202–3, 206–7, 209–10; state governments and, 9, 29–30, 134, 155, 188–94, 203–5; tax policy and, 11, 132–33, 202
- political culture, 12, 17–19, 23, 74–75, 93, 111, 115
- poverty rate, 100
- power resources theory, 19n5
- preemption. *See* federalism
- prekindergarten, 3, 5, 14, 18, 21, 60, 100, 102, 146, 147, 151, 153, 157, 166, 172, 179, 181, 182, 184, 186, 187, 195–96, 199, 200, 201. *See also* preschool education
- Prekindergarten Early Dropout Intervention Act of 1988, 145–48
- Preschool Centers Supplementary Education Act, 64
- preschool education: business community and, 140–41, 144, 164, 176–78, 181, 197; dissatisfaction with, 6–7; as distinct from child care, 3, 178–79; Education Commission of the States (ECS) and, 86–91, 101–4, 105, 111, 152; enrollment in, 1–3, 5, 16, 43, 118, 122; female labor force participation and, 7, 21, 33, 50–52, 73–74, 113, 126, 151; fragmentation of, 2, 3–7, 14, 19, 21, 23, 60, 94–95, 99, 104, 106–7, 119, 123, 133–34, 138, 176, 180–83, 198–99, 201, 202–7; need for program coordination, 142, 147, 155, 159–62, 163, 165–70, 172–74, 182–83, 187, 202, 206; prime sponsorship and, 64, 67–68, 71, 79–81, 82, 86, 87, 97, 107–8, 109, 110, 115, 118–23, 126–27, 134, 144–45, 147–48, 167, 203, 208–9; prospects for reform, 7, 12, 14–15, 24, 174, 175–76, 182–83, 198–99, 201, 206–7, 209–10; public schools and, 46, 67, 93, 110, 148, 152, 172–73, 181–83, 186, 194–95, 198, 199; role of national government in, 146–47, 153, 170, 174, 204; services for infants and toddlers and, 158n10; state governments and, 5–6, 16, 21, 86–105, 106, 110, 138, 142–43, 146–47, 160, 170, 171–73, 175–99, 201, 203–4, 208–9; as two-tiered system, 4, 16, 106, 132, 134, 139–40, 201–2; venue shopping and, 8–9, 12, 16, 24, 25–7, 135, 174, 206–7. *See also* day care; nursery schools; prekindergarten
- Preschool Education and Child Day Care Act of 1969, 65
- prime sponsorship, 64, 67–68, 71, 79–81, 82, 86, 87, 97, 107–8, 109, 110, 115, 118–23, 126–27, 134, 144–45, 147–48, 167, 203, 208–9
- Private Child Care Providers Allied Association, 133

- private preschool providers: churches as, 43, 70, 147, 184, 186–87; constituencies served by, 4, 106, 132, 134, 139–40, 201–2; growth of, 8, 11, 31, 62, 106, 118, 122, 132, 134, 138, 148, 180–81, 202, 209–10; importance of, 1–9, 16, 18–19, 23, 27, 32, 142, 149, 162, 174, 175, 180, 198–99, 201, 207, 209–10; inclusion in government programs, 14, 70, 76, 95, 99, 122, 146, 147, 163, 167, 175–76, 183–88; tax policy and, 4, 10–11, 18, 132–33, 134, 136, 206
- private sector: and American social policy, 12, 16, 26, 131, 201–2
- Progressive Era, 22n11
- Providing Resources Early for Kids (PRE-K) Act, 170, 204
- public opinion, 18, 54, 58, 83, 112
- public preschool programs: constituencies served by, 4, 16; cost-effectiveness of, 113–14, 140–41, 146, 148, 155, 156–57, 178, 201; decentralization of, 5–7, 180–83, 202; growth of, 102–3, 118; supporters as divided constituency, 20, 23, 112, 118–23, 127–28, 132–33, 135, 138, 141–45, 147, 148–49, 152, 155–56, 161–62
- public schools: Head Start and, 46–47, 67, 68, 108, 144, 148, 161, 182, 185; kindergarten and, 3n8; nursery schools and, 35, 37, 40–43; preschool education and, 46, 67, 93, 110, 148, 152, 172–73, 181, 182, 183, 186, 194–95, 198, 199; as prime sponsor, 119–23, 134, 144–45, 147–48, 208–9; universal preschool and, 119–23, 134, 161
- Puerto Rico, 88n5
- Quadagno, Jill, 28
- Quie, Albert, 1–2, 6, 15, 46–47, 68, 79, 81, 84, 109n13, 198–99
- Race to the Top, 172–73
- Race to the Top–Early Learning Challenge (RTT-ELC), 173, 204
- Ragin, Charles, 22, 204
- Rampton, Calvin, 89
- Ray, Leonard, 191
- Ready to Read, Ready to Learn, 164
- Reagan, Ronald, 90, 136
- Reber, Frank, 19n5
- recession: and education reform movement, 150; impact on preschool education, 6, 171–72, 194–98
- Reese, Ellen, 42–43
- Reid, Ogden, 64, 65
- Reigle, Donald, Jr., 125n108
- Reiner, Rob, 162, 166
- religious organizations: and Child and Family Services Act, 117; inclusion in government programs, 183–84, 186–88, 194–95; as providers of preschool services, 4n11, 43, 70, 138, 147, 181, 184, 186–87
- Revenue Act of 1964, 130
- Revenue Act of 1971, 10–11, 130–31
- Revenue Act of 1978, 131n130
- Reyes, Pedro, 27
- Rhode Island, 195–96
- Richardson, Elliot, 76–77, 78, 79, 81
- Rickman, Dana K., 6n15, 197
- Rigby, Elizabeth, 188–89, 191
- Robertson, David Brian, 22n12, 26, 204
- Rockefeller, Nelson, 65
- Roh, Jongho, 191
- Romer, Roy, 158
- Rose, Elizabeth, 8, 11, 33n1, 34, 35, 36, 37, 41, 43n51, 44n55, 48, 51, 60, 84, 122, 137n4, 165, 177n7, 183, 184, 198
- Rose, Richard, 16, 23
- Ross, Elizabeth Dale, 3n8
- Rothman, Sheila M., 18, 37, 72
- Rowe, Gretchen, 190
- Roybal, Edward, 125n109
- Russell, Jennifer Lin, 3n8, 3n9, 178n8
- Rutgers University, 177
- Salvation Army, 122
- Sanford, Mark, 177
- Schneider, Anne, 205
- school readiness, 4, 153–54, 156, 157–60, 162, 168, 169–70, 172, 174, 178, 179–80, 201
- School Readiness Act of 2003, 167–69
- Schott Foundation for Public Education, 177
- Schulman, Bruce J., 112
- Scotland, 42n42

- Scribner, Jay D., 27
- Scribner, Kent Paredes, 23
- Schweinhart, Lawrence J., 140n14, 143n31
- Sealander, Judith, 7n17, 51
- Second World War. *See* female labor force participation; Lanham Act
- Selden, David, 120
- senior citizens, 28, 29, 181
- Senn, Milton J. E., 91
- separation of church and state, 55
- Shaheen, Jeanne, 176
- Shalala, Donna, 158
- Shanker, Albert, 119–22, 145, 208
- Sidney, Mara, 205
- Skocpol, Theda, 18n3, 19, 27, 69, 194, 207n6
- Slobdin, Carol, 12, 33, 38, 40, 44
- Smart Start: The Community Collaborative for Early Childhood Development Act, 138–45, 147, 148, 203–4
- Smart Start (North Carolina), 161
- Social Security, 28, 29, 32, 188
- Social Security Act, 109, 115, 125, 128
- Social Services Amendments of 1974, 109
- Soss, Joe, 190, 205
- South Carolina, 87, 97, 102, 153, 177, 194–95
- Spill, Rorie L., 191
- Sroufe, Gerald E., 6, 24, 207
- Stafford, Robert T., 139
- state governments: activity during the 1970s, 86–105; activity during the 1980s, 149–54; activity during the 1990s and 2000s, 135n1, 175–99, 204; Child and Family Services Act of 1975 and, 119, 122, 123, 126, 203; Child Care Act of 1979 and, 126–27, 203; Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1971 and, 61, 77, 79–80, 82, 92, 97, 101, 105, 119, 143, 203; Comprehensive Headstart, Child Development, and Family Services Act and, 107–8; education policy and, 22, 26–27, 56, 149–50, 207; Head Start and, 66–67, 70, 82, 143n31, 153, 166–70, 206; as “laboratories of democracy,” 54–55; lobbying on behalf of, 9, 11, 30, 98, 99, 104, 19, 142–43, 145, 149, 174, 203–5, 208; policy feedback and, 9, 29–30, 134, 155, 203–5; preschool education and, 5–6, 16, 21, 86–105, 106, 110, 138, 142–43, 146–47, 160, 170, 171–73, 175–99, 201, 203–4, 208–9; preschool education by, 188–94; recession and, 194–98; universal preschool and, 183–88, 198, 204; venue shopping and, 8–9, 12, 31, 86–105, 175, 176, 203
- state offices of child development, 87, 95–99, 100, 101, 104, 119, 203
- Steiner, Gilbert, 112, 121, 125
- Steinfelds, Margaret O’Brien, 34, 35, 71, 76, 79
- Steinmo, Sven, 22n11
- Stephens, John D., 17, 22, 204, 207n5
- Stimson, James A., 18n4, 54
- stimulus. *See* American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA)
- Stipek, Deborah, 179
- Stoddard, George D., 35n7
- Stonecash, Jeffrey M., 205
- Stout, Robert T., 23
- Styfco, Sally J., 44n57
- Subcommittee Bill of Rights, 137
- Sugarman, Jule, 20, 65
- Summit on Early Childhood Cognitive Development, 164
- Sundquist, James L., 55
- Taft, Robert, Jr., 80, 107
- Takanishi, Ruby, 49–50
- Tallerico, Marilyn, 23
- tax policy. *See* Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit
- Tax Reduction Act of 1975, 131
- Tax Reform Act of 1976, 131
- teachers unions. *See* American Federation of Teachers; National Education Association
- Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, 205
- Tennessee, 97, 98, 102, 108, 172, 185–86
- Texas, 97, 116, 186
- Thelen, Kathleen, 25, 27, 28, 31
- Thomas, Norman C., 22, 55, 56, 84, 124
- Thomas Bill. *See* War Area Child Care Act
- Tolbert, Caroline J., 190
- Tomz, Michael, 191n43

- totalitarianism, 55, 74, 108
 Treasury Department, 159–60
 Truman, Harry S., 42
 Tsebelis, George, 22
 Tweedie, Jack, 190
 Tyack, David, 17, 22, 28
- unemployment insurance, 113, 205
 United Auto Workers, 41–42, 111
 United Kingdom, 7n18, 42n42
 United States Catholic Conference, 67n57, 111
 United States Census, 37
 universal preschool: arguments for, 68–69; cost of, 94, 151–52, 180, 198; efforts to establish, 40–41, 59–60, 85, 204; public schools and, 119–23, 134, 161; state governments and, 183–88, 198, 204; strategies of contemporary supporters, 93, 177–78, 180
 University of Virginia, 152
 U.S. OECD Forum on Education Organization Leaders, 120–21
 Utah, 89, 98, 101
- Vanderbilt University, 92
 venue shopping: definition of, 8, 25–27; Education Commission of the States (ECS) and, 89–90, 92–93, 176; federalism and, 86–105; institutions and, 25–27, 85, 86, 135, 175, 202, 204; kindergarten and, 87–88; long-term consequences of, 9, 29, 204–5; pre-school education and, 8–9, 12, 16, 24, 25–27, 135, 174, 206–7; state governments and, 8–9, 12, 31, 86–105, 175, 176, 203
 Verba, Sidney, 18, 188n32
 Vermont, 97, 102
 veto points, 22, 25. *See also* institutions
 Vinovskis, Maris A., 3n8, 6n16, 10, 34, 44n57, 45, 47, 48, 52, 55, 151n65, 153n70, 205
 Virgin Islands, 88n5
 Viteritti, Joseph P., 23, 36
 Voices for Illinois Children, 187
 Voinovich, George, 160
 vouchers, 137
- Walker, Jack L., Jr., 28, 190, 194
Wall Street Journal, 115
 War Area Child Care Act, 40–41
 War on Poverty, 10, 12n24, 44, 54, 205
 wartime child care centers. *See* Lanham Act
Washington Post, 116
 Washington Research Project, 66–67, 75, 83
 Washington State, 42, 98, 102, 196
 Watergate, 112, 117
 Watts, Jon, 22n11
 Weinberger, Caspar, 115, 119
 welfare reform, 63, 72, 75–76, 78, 84, 126, 151
 West Virginia, 88, 97, 98, 102, 119, 185, 194
 Westinghouse Learning Corporation, 47
 Westinghouse Report, 47–48, 73
 White, Ann Dryden, 4
 White, Linda A., 3n9, 16n1, 157, 178, 179
 White, Sheldon H., 52, 72–73
 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy (1940), 40
 White House Conference on Children and Youth (1970), 64, 82, 96
 Wilensky, Harold, 17
 Williams, Harrison, Jr., 125n108
 Wittenberg, Jason, 191n43
 Women's Bureau, 113
 Women's Liberation Day (1970), 73
 women's liberation movement, 73–74
 Wong, Kenneth K., 150, 158
 Woolsey, Lynn, 168
 Work Incentives program, 115
 Works Progress Administration (WPA). *See* emergency nursery schools
 World War II. *See* female labor force participation; Lanham Act
 Wright, Gerald C., 18n4, 191
 Wyoming, 182
- Zelizer, Julian E., 24n14
 Zigler, Edward, 10, 44n57, 45, 46, 47, 48n72, 49, 53, 68–69, 71, 76–77, 80–81, 82, 94, 124, 128, 136, 164, 166, 205
 Zimmerman, Joseph F., 23n13