Notes

1. Introduction


13. Ibid., 16.


16. Ibid., 1250.


25. Ibid., xiii.


27. Ibid., 12, 16.

28. Ibid., 16.


33. This brief review of the literature is not meant to be comprehensive, but rather summarizes some of the key relevant literature.

34. See, for example, Emily D. Cahan, Past Caring: A History of U.S. Preschool Care and Education for the Poor, 1820–1965 (New York: National Center for Children in Poverty, 1989); Ann Mitchell, Michelle Seligman, and Fern Marx, Early Childhood Programs and the Public Schools (Dover, Mass.: Auburn House, 1989); Barbara Beatty, Preschool Education in America: The Culture of Young Children from the Colonial Era to the Present (New Haven, Conn.: Yale

35. Michel, *Children’s Interests/Mother’s Rights*.


42. Ibid., 3–28.


45. Among some of the classics relevant to this work are Barbara Nelson, *Making an Issue of Child Abuse* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Eric Redman, *The Dance of Legislation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973);
1. Introduction


49. Ibid., 12.


56. Baumgartner and Jones, Agendas and Instability, 12.


58. The author developed an interview guide for the semistructured interviews and modified it, depending on the interviewees’ roles and the need to obtain specific data from certain individuals. Having a core set of questions enhanced reliability (repeatability) and validity (accuracy) of the interview data.


60. All the interviews conducted between 1996 and 1999 followed a protocol approved by the Yale University School of Nursing Human Subjects Research Review Committee.

61. For further discussions of interviewing politicians and deciding whether or not to tape-record, see Richard E. Fenno Jr., Watching Politicians: Essays on Participant Observation (Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of Government Studies, 1990),
2. Politics of Child Care Legislation, 1971

1. Throughout this book, child care advocates include the many legislators, organizations, and individuals who lobbied for federal (and state) funding of child care programs.


4. Ibid., 34.


7. Ibid., 170–75.


10. Tank, Young Children, Families, and Society, 389


18. For a thorough discussion of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth and other organizing activities of the public and private sector pertaining to child care in the 1950s and 1960s, see Michel, *Children’s Interests/Mother’s Rights*, 192–229.


38. Tomkins, “Profiles,” 63


42. In 1969 the composition of Congress was House: 243 Democrats and 192 Republicans; Senate: 57 Democrats and 43 Republicans. In 1971 the composition was House: 254 Democrats and 180 Republicans; Senate: 54 Democrats and 44 Republicans.
48. Ibid., 1–7.
50. Martin LaVor, interviews by author, 1 June 1992 (telephone) and Washington, D.C., 15 June 1992.
55. Dellenback, letter to Finch, 18 February 1970.
58. Ibid., 826–28.
59. Phillips, interview.
2. Politics of Child Care Legislation, 1971

64. “Additional Views,” drafted by Martin LaVor for Representative Quie, box 157, folder: QF Select Committee on Child Development, Quie Papers.
67. U.S. Senate, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Justice for Children, 92d Cong., 2d sess., June 1972, Committee Print. This was originally a speech Mondale gave to the Senate on December 9, 1970, addressing the nation’s failure to meet the needs of its children.
69. Ibid., 61–75.
72. Congressional Record, 92d Cong., 1st sess., 2 December 1971, 44122.
73. Congressional Record, 92d Cong., 1st sess., 1 November 1971, 38608.
74. LaVor, interview, 15 June 1992.
75. Congressional Record, 92d Cong., 1st sess., 7 December 1971, 45071.
79. For example, see Robert Docking, governor of Kansas, telegram to Representative Albert H. Quie, n.d., box 61, folder: Legislation: Education and Labor Committee, Preschool, Quie Papers; Marvin Mandel, letter to all governors, 30 November 1971, box 61, folder: Legislation: Education and Labor Committee, Preschool, Quie Papers.
82. Ibid., 270.
83. Ibid., 270–71; John Ehrlichman, memo to the president, 16 August 1969, box 1, [EX] FG 23, WHCF, Nixon Presidential Materials Staff.
84. Checker Finn, memo to Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 19 August 1969, box 1, [EX] FG 23, WHCF, Nixon Presidential Materials Staff.
86. Checker Finn, memo to Daniel Patrick Moynihan, 2 October 1969, box 1, [EX] FG 23, WHCF, Nixon Presidential Materials Staff.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid., 2127.
95. Child Development-Coordination Section, 14 October 1971, box 157, folder: QF, Select Committee on Child Development, Quie Papers.

102. Ehrlichman, memo to the president, 15 November 1971, tab A. The archival records do not include the name of the person who wrote the paper, and it is unclear if Richardson knew the author.


104. Ehrlichman, memo to the president, 15 November 1971, Tab B.

105. Ibid.

106. Elliot Richardson, memo to John Ehrlichman, 15 November 1971, box 52, [EX] WE 10, WHCF, Nixon Presidential Materials Staff.

107. Ehrlichman, memo to the president, 15 November 1971.


110. Ibid.


February; 12, 13 March; 25–26 April (Montpelier, Vt.); 5, 16, 20 June; 15 July 1975.

9. The leaflet and other pertinent materials can be found in House, Subcommittee on Select Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, Background Materials Concerning Child and Family Services Act, 1975, H.R. 2966, 94th Cong., 2d sess., December 1976.


12. Linda Bird Francke, with Diana Camper, “Child Care Scare,” Newsweek, 5 April 1976, 77; Senators Jacob Javits and Harrison Williams, letter to Honorable Howard Cannon, 4 May 1976, box 1788, folder: Children-General, part 1, Mondale Papers.


15. Ibid., 1255.


17. Ibid., 144.

18. Ibid., 191, 1200, 1973. See, for example, testimony presented by the Child Welfare League of America, American Federation of Teachers, and American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees in U.S. House and Senate subcommittees.


24. Martinez, interview.
26. Martinez, interview.
28. Martinez, interview.
32. Pizzo, interview.
33. Ibid.
34. U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Child and Human Development of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Hearings on the Child Care Act of 1979, 238.
35. Pizzo, interview.
41. Ibid., 169.
42. Ibid., 171.
43. Ibid., 171, 169.


48. Advocates for Children of New York and others, letter to Secretary Harris, 13 September 1979, CY, 1–3, FIDCR, box 12/69, DHHS/OS/IS Official Correspondence 1979, HHS Archives, Suitland, Md.

49. American Academy of Child Psychiatrists and others, letter to Secretary Harris, 8 August 1979, CY, 1–3, FIDCR, box 12/69, DHHS/OS/IS Official Correspondence, HHS Archives.


51. Patricia Roberts Harris, letter to the Honorable Jim Sasser, September 1979, FIDCR folder, box 12/69, DHHS/OS/IS 1979, Official Correspondence 1979, HEW Archives, Suitland, Md.

52. Peter Libassi, note to Hale Champion, n.d., personal papers of Peter Libassi, FIDCR folder, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.


54. Pizzo, interview.

55. Eizenstat, interview.


61. Ibid., 240.
63. Walker, Mobilizing Interest Groups in America, 48–51.
64. For an excellent review of the literature on the rise of conservatism in the 1970s and 1980s, see William C. Berman, America’s Right Turn: From Nixon to Bush (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 171–73.
69. Ibid., 159.
70. Smith, Idea Brokers, 201.
75. Ibid., 184–86.
76. Ibid., 46–50.
78. Ibid., 294.
79. Ibid., 293.

82. “Interview with Marian Wright Edelman,” 54.
83. Ibid., 54–55.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
91. Ibid., E32–33.
95. Susan DeConcini, telephone interview by author, 2 October 1991.
99. In the first year when the DCTC was added to the IRS short form, the number of claimants increased by approximately 1 million, according to Nancy Duff Campbell, telephone interview by author, 13 March 2000.


105. Ibid., 341–43.

106. Franna Diamond of CDF, quoted in ibid., 342.


114. Ibid., 331–32.


120. U.S. House, Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation of the Committee on Ways and Means, *Hearings on the Family
Welfare Reform Act (H.R. 1720), 100th Cong., 1st sess., 30 March; 1 April 1987, 251–54.
121. Ibid., 323–24.
122. Ibid., 327–35, 348.
124. Ibid., 323.
129. Ibid., 162.


3. Ann Rosewater, e-mail communication to author, 14 November 2000.


9. In 1994, Olympia Snowe was elected senator and has continued to fight for child care legislation, as discussed in subsequent chapters.


20. According to the *Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (1966), a secularist is one who holds the “view that public education and other matters of civil policy should be conducted without the introduction of a religious element.”

21. Kisker et al., *Profile of Child Care Settings*, 44.


25. Helen Blank, memo to Members of the Alliance for Better Child Care, 18 April 1988, CDF files.


38. The Child Care Act also capped income eligibility for the dependent care tax credit at $50,000. Congressional Record, 99th Cong., 2d sess., 8 May 1986, H2488.


40. U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance, Child Care Welfare Programs and Tax Credit Proposals, Hearings on S. 5 [and other bills], 101st Cong., 1st sess., 18, 19 April 1989, 36–37.


42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., 90.

44. U.S. House, Subcommittee on Human Resources of the Committee on Education and Labor, Hearing on Child Care, 100th Cong., 2d sess., 21 April 1988, 164.


54. U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Children, Family, Drugs, and Alcoholism of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Act for Better Child Care Services of 1987, 225.

55. Ibid., 216.


57. In 1987 Senator Orrin Hatch introduced the Child Care Services Improvement Act (S. 1678). Representative Nancy Johnson introduced the companion bill in the House. It provided block grants to states with much lower funding than ABC and featured other provisions, such as child care liability reform.


60. Ibid., S6706.

61. Ibid.


64. U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance, Federal Role in Child Care, 100th Cong., 2d sess., 22 September 1988, 8.
65. In addition to the NGA, the other state and local organizations that officially endorsed the final agreement reached with Dodd were the National Association of Counties (NACO), the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), the National League of Cities, the National Association of Regional Councils, and the American Public Welfare Association (APWA). NGA, letter to Senator Christopher Dodd, 12 June 1989.


67. The groups included were the USCC, NEA, AFT, AJC, United Church of Christ, NCJW, Council of Chief State School Officers, Council of Jewish Federations, Office of the Episcopal Church, Women’s Convention-Auxiliary to National Baptist Convention, and General Board of Global Ministries United Methodist Church.


77. Paul A. Gigot, “On Child Care, a Liberal Sings Republican Song,” Wall Street Journal, 9 March 1990, A12; William R. Mattox Jr., telephone interview by author, 3 October 1991. See also Gary Bauer (Family Research Council) and
82. Representatives Tom Downey and George Miller, letter to Marian Wright Edelman, 7 August 1989, CDF files.
84. Marian Wright Edelman, memo to Tom Downey and George Miller, 14 November 1989, CDF Files.
89. Thomas A. Scully, letter to author, 3 June 1993.


101. Ibid.


105. Ibid., S15821. For an explanation of this procedural rule, see Collender, Guide to the Federal Budget 1992, 53, 56–57.


119. Ibid., 249.


---


5. Regulations, Implementation, and High Expectations


10. Hayes et al., *Who Cares for America’s Children?*


15. As of October 1, 2000, for example, over 7,500 programs serving more than 680,000 children were accredited by the NAEYC’s National Academy of Early

17. Galinsky et al., Study of Children in Family Child Care and Relative Care, 46, 81.
23. Gormley, Everybody’s Children, 143.
24. Ibid., 144.
29. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., 26196.
41. Beverly LaHaye, letter to Child Care Task Force, 2 August 1991, letter 1208, comments on interim final regulations for CCDBG, Child Care Bureau files; Phyllis Schlafly, letter to Child Care Task Force, 1 August 1991, letter 1449, comments on interim final regulations for CCDBG, Child Care Bureau files.
43. See, for example, David S. Liederman, letter to Mark Ragan, 29 July 1991, letter 14427, comments on interim final regulations for CCDBG, Child Care Bureau files; Nancy Duff Campbell and Shirley Sagawa (National Women’s Law Center), letter to Mark Ragan, 5 August 1991, letter 1446, comments on interim final regulations for CCDBG, Child Care Bureau files.
44. William T. Pound, letter to Mark Ragan, 5 August 1991, comments on interim final regulations for CCDBG, Child Care Bureau files.
47. Stewart, Implementing Regulations for New Federal Child Care Programs, 7.
51. Under the 1990 law, states could spend CCDBG funds on activities to improve child care quality from the 75 percent and 25 percent allocation. However, the law imposed constraints on how states could spend the funds in each allocation. For example, under the 25 percent reserve of funds, not less than 75 percent was to be allocated to early childhood development and before- and after-school care and not less than 20 percent was to be allocated for quality enhancements. The regulations generated controversy over how much flexibility states had in using the 75 percent reserve funds for quality enhancement activities.
52. Sections on child care from the 1990 reconciliation conference report are in the Congressional Record, 101st Cong., 2d sess., 26 October 1990, H12691.
58. Senators Christopher J. Dodd, Orrin G. Hatch, and Edward M. Kennedy, letter to Jo Anne B. Barnhart, 2 August 1991, comments on interim final regulations for CCDBG, Child Care Bureau files.
62. Stewart, Implementing Regulations for New Federal Child Care Programs, 8.
63. Bruce Hershfield, telephone interview by author, 19 December 1996.
64. Stewart, Implementing Regulations for New Federal Child Care Programs, 8.
68. Ibid., 29061.
70. Ibid., 23–24.
71. Ibid., 26.
72. Ibid., 83.
73. Ibid., 97.
74. Stewart, Implementing Regulations for New Federal Child Care Programs, 10.
75. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Proposed Rule: Aid to Families with Dependent Children At-Risk Child Care Program,” Federal Register, section 257.41 (b).
78. Ibid., 34448.
79. Ibid., 34449.
5. Regulations, Implementation, and High Expectations


86. Ibid., 34442.

87. Federal government fiscal years begin on October 1 and are identified by the year in which they end. So, for example, fiscal year 1991 ran from October 1, 1990, to September 30, 1991.


91. Ibid., 11–22.


93. Ibid., 11.


95. Ibid., 22–23.

96. Ibid., 8.


100. Ebb, *Child Care Tradeoffs*, table 3, appendix B.
112. Ibid., 5, 14, 15, 50.
113. Ibid., 51.
114. Ibid., 165.
117. Ibid.
122. Ibid., 53.
5. Regulations, Implementation, and High Expectations


126. Executive Office of the President, Vision of Change for America, iv.


128. 1993 Budget Reconciliation Act, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 18 September 1993, 2482, 2490, 2494. For an excellent discussion of the politics behind Clinton’s efforts to get Congress to enact his economic policies in 1993, see Weatherford and McDonnell, “Clinton and the Economy.”


133. “Aid to Families with Dependent Children Child Care Program, Transitional Child Care, and At-Risk Child Care: Child Care and Development Block Grant, Proposed Rule,” Federal Register 50, no. 90 (11 May 1994): 24510–27.

134. Helen Blank, memo to Mary Jo Bane, re: Proposed Child Care Regulatory Changes, including enclosure, Improving Child Care Licensing, 27 April 1993, CDF files.

135. “Aid to Families with Dependent Children Child Care Program, Transitional Child Care and At-Risk Child Care: Child Care and Development Block Grant, Proposed Rule,” 24510–27; Helen Blank and Nancy Ebb, memo to Child Care Advocates, re: Proposed Child Care Regulations Include Positive Changes, 23 May 1994, CDF files.


137. Gordon White, letter to the Assistant Secretary for Children and Families, 11 July 1994, letter 113, comments on 1994 proposed child care regulation, Child Care Bureau files. White was the director of government relations for the NCCA.

2. Ibid., 558.
5. Ibid., 33; Peters, American Speakership, 252, 264–83.
11. Koopman, Hostile Takeover,” 146; see also Davidson, “Congressional Committees in the New Reform Era.”
13. Ibid., 17; Peters, American Speakership, 293.
14. Peters, American Speakership, 293; see also Jacobson, “1994 House Elections,” 204. Several other factors precipitated the Republican takeover and disillusionment with the status quo. Among them was the House bank scandal in 1991, prompted by GAO reports that many representatives had drawn more than 8,000 checks on insufficient funds at the House bank. No checks bounced because there were no rules regarding overdraft. See Koopman, Hostile Takeover, 35.


36. Ibid., A10.


43. Ibid., 15.
44. Ibid., 70–74. See, for example, testimony of Bruce Hershfield.
46. Nancy Elb, statement in U.S. House, Subcommittee on Human Resources of the Committee on Education and Labor, Hearing Regarding the Impact of Welfare Reform on Child Care Providers and the Working Poor, 44.
53. Ibid., 111.
55. Ibid., 84.

59.  Ibid., 52–59, quote on 56.

60.  Ibid., 7.


62.  Ibid., 3.

63.  Ibid., 11–25.


73.  *Congressional Record*, 100th Cong., 2d sess., 7 October 1988, S15055.


82. Ibid.


84. Ibid., section 658 T.


94. Congressional Record, 104th Cong., 1st sess., 8 September 1995, S12979; Raymond C. Scheppach (NGA), William Pound (NCSL), and A. Sidney Johnson (APWA), letter to senators, 14 June 1995, CDF files.


98. Ibid., S13179.


120. Yankelovich Partners, Time/CNN Poll, 10 May 1996.


130. Helen Blank, letter to State Child Care Advocates, 29 February 1996, CDF files.


133. Ibid.


3. Ibid., 2406.
8. Ibid., 2743.
25. Ibid., 60.
30. See, for example, Ellen Galinsky et al., *The Study of Children in Family Child Care and Relative Care: Highlights of Findings* (New York: Families and Work Institute, 1994); Cost, Quality, and Child Outcomes Study Team, *Cost, Quality and Child Outcomes in Child Care Centers*, Executive Summary, 2d ed. (Denver: Economics Department, University of Colorado at Denver, 1995). For an excellent summary report on child care quality, see Deborah Lowe Vandell and Barbara Wolfe, “Child Care Quality: Does It Matter and Does It Need to be Improved?” available at: www.aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/ccquality00/ccqual.htm, accessed 12 September 2000.
33. Christopher Dodd’s bill was cosponsored by Minority Leader Tom Daschle in the Senate; Representative Lynn Woolsey introduced its counterpart (H.R. 899) in the House.
35. Ibid., 16.
36. Ibid., 33.
37. Ibid., 41.
38. U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Hearing on Improving the Quality of Child Care, 105th Cong, 2d sess., 17 July 1997.
39. Among the tax-related features of CIDCARE were provisions making the DCTC refundable, increasing tax breaks for families that used accredited child care, and supplementing the dependent care assistance plans that some employers offered to employees.
40. Senator Herb Kohl’s amendment was based on his bill, the Child Care Infrastructure Act of 1997 (S. 82), which was introduced in the House by Representative Carolyn Maloney (D-N.Y.) as H.R. 1706.
48. Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development and thirty-two other


63. One of the marriage penalties in the federal income tax code is the increase in taxes that some married couples incur because they pay taxes as couples rather than as individuals. The income from the second worker pushes the couple’s total earnings into a higher tax bracket than if the second worker were taxed separately. The marriage penalty does not apply to single-earner couples, the constituency that conservatives were most concerned about in the context of child care policy. National Center for Policy Analysis, “The Marriage Penalty,” Policy Backgrounder No. 145, 2 February 1998, available at: www.ncpa.org/bg/bg145.html, accessed 4 December 2000; Lori Nitschke, “Marital Status and Taxes? Irreconcilable Differences?” Congressional Quarterly Weekly, 30 October 1999, 2581–85.


68. ACCESS legislation allowed families with one parent staying at home to care for a child under the age of one to claim up to $90 per month of child care expenses as a tax credit.

69. For a detailed discussion, see “Child-Care Options,” Congressional Quarterly Researcher 8, no. 18 (8 May 1998): 409–32.
70. U.S. Senate, Committee on Finance, Hearing on Child Care, 105th Cong., 2d sess., 22 April 1998.


78. Fight Crime: Invest in Kids, Quality Child Care and After-School Programs, 12–25.


80. Elliot Richardson was an interesting choice, as he was the only U.S. attorney general (1973) who also served as a state attorney general (Massachusetts) and as a federal prosecutor. Sanford Newman, telephone interview by author, 26 October 1998.

82. Newman, interview.


89. Stapleton, *21st Century Community Learning Centers*.


92. Ibid., S2809.


95. *Congressional Record*, 105th Cong., 2d sess., 31 March 1998, S2811; Senator Barbara Mikulski was absent that day, but probably would have voted for Dodd’s amendment had she been there.


101. For example, Senator Edward Kennedy’s bill (S. 1492) used tobacco revenues to fund early childhood programs. Senator Orrin Hatch, chair of the Judiciary Committee, introduced legislation (S. 1530) that, among other things, increased penalties imposed on cigarette companies for not meeting targets for reducing youth smoking.


103. U.S. Senate, National Tobacco Policy and Youth Smoking Reduction Act.

104. The discussion of child care and tobacco legislation is based largely on a telephone interview with David Kass, 14 April 2000.


109. The Kerry–Bond amendment had cosponsorship of Senators John Chafee, Kennedy, Dodd, Paul Wellstone, Kohl, Tim Johnson (D-S.D.), Barbara Boxer, Arlen Specter, Mary Landrieu (D-La.), Richard Durbin (D-Ill.), Max Baucus (D-Mont.), and even Bob Graham, who had previously expressed opposition to the settlement because of the federal government’s usurping of state funds.

111. Ibid., S6139–56.
117. Kirchhoff, with Carey, “Medical Research and Education Are Big Winners in Spending Bill.”
119. This view was expressed by Robert D. Reischauer, former CBO director and now a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, cited in Carroll J. Doherty, “Clinton Case Overshadows 105th’s Legislative Legacy,” Congressional Quarterly Weekly, 3 October 1998, 2635.


133. Representative Nancy L. Johnson, letter to each governor, 16 March 1999, courtesy of Representative Johnson’s office.


6. Donahue, Disunited States, 10.


10. These results of these polls were not consistent. For some area—such as health care, the environment, civil rights, and the economy—respondents favored federal over state authorities. Donahue, Disunited States, 13, 186.


13. Ibid., 708–11.


21. As part of this focus on the first three years, the National Governors Association published *The First Three Years: A Governor’s Guide to Early Childhood* (Washington, D.C.: NGA, 1996), which covered state initiatives, financing strategies, public engagement, and other topics pertaining to early childhood and health.


23. The NGA Center for Best Practices, started in 1996, works in a number of policy fields, many of which focus on children’s issues. Its activities in early childhood care include showcasing the states’ efforts and promoting the governors’ roles in implementing them. National Governors Association, Center

24. George Voinovich was elected senator from Ohio in 1998, and Thomas Carper was elected senator from Delaware in 2000.


26. Ibid.


31. This view is eloquently documented in an analysis of states’ child care policies in the late 1980s: Monica Lynn Herk, “Helping the Hand that Rocks the Cradle: The Politics of Child Care Policy at the State Level” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1993).


33. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, “Child Care and Development Fund: Notice of Proposed Rulemaking,” *Federal Register* 62, no. 141 (23 July 1997): 39609–57. The proposed and final rule changed the name of the child care block grant to Child Care and Development Fund. However, because it continued to be referred to as the Child Care and Development Block Grant (CCDBG), that term is used for this and subsequent discussions.


36. Ibid.
38. See, for example, Carl Tubbesing, deputy executive director, NCSL, letter to the Assistant Secretary for Children and Families, n.d., courtesy of NCSL.
42. See, for example, Yasmina Vinci, National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies, comment, 22 September 1997, re: Proposed Amendments to the Child Care and Development Block Grant Regulation, obtained from ACF, on-line; Barbara Willer, National Association for the Education of Young Children, comment, 22 September 1997, re: Proposed Amendments to the Child Care and Development Block Grant Regulation, obtained from ACF, on-line; Karabelle Pizzigati and Bruce Hershfield, Child Welfare League of America, letter to the Assistant Secretary of HHS for Children and Families, 22 September 1997, Child Care Bureau, Administration for Children and Families, Washington, D.C.; Helen Blank and Nancy Ebb, memo to Child Care Advocates, 10 August 1997, re: Proposed Child Care Regulations Include Many Positive Features, CDF files, Washington, D.C.; and Lynn White, National Child Care Association, comments, 22 September 1997, re: Proposed Amendments to the Child Care and Development Block Grant Regulation, obtained from ACF, on-line.
43. See, for example, Carmen Schulze, Missouri Department of Social Services, Division of Family Services, comment, 29 September 1997, re: Proposed Amendments to the Child Care and Development Block Grant Regulation, obtained from ACF, on-line; Suzanne Zafonte Sennett, New York Bureau of Early Childhood Services, comment, 26 September 1997, re: Proposed Amendments to the Child Care and Development Block Grant Regulation, obtained from ACF, on-line; Patti Campbell, Idaho Department of Health and Welfare, comment, 22 September 1997, re: Proposed Amendments to the Child Care and Development Block Grant Regulation, obtained from ACF, on-line; and Verna S. Weber, memo to Joan Lombardi, 22 September 1997, re: Comments for Child Care Regs., Child Care Bureau files.


48. See, for example, Blank and Ebb, memo to Child Care Advocates, 10 August 1997, 3, and Alvin Collins, Maryland Department of Human Resources, comment, 26 September 1997, re: Proposed Amendments to the Child Care and Development Block Grant Regulation, obtained from ACF, on-line.


50. See, for example, White, comments, 22 September 1997.


52. Ibid., 39965, 39990.

53. Tubbesing, letter to the Assistant Secretary for Children and Families, n.d.


58. Blank and Poersch, State Child Care and Early Education Developments, 9.


60. American Public Welfare Association, Meeting the Child Care Challenge, 2; Blank and Adams, State Developments in Child Care and Early Education 1997, 14.

61. Blank and Poersch, State Child Care and Early Education Developments, 10.


63. Ibid., 9.

64. Ibid., 9–11.


67. Blank and Poersch, State Child Care and Early Education Developments, 16.

68. Ibid., 29–35.

69. Ibid., 26–27.


73. Individual state and aggregate data described in this section were obtained from U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Child Care Bureau, “Child Care and Development Fund: FFY 1998 Tables and Charts, 15 March 2000.”


75. Blank and Poersch, State Child Care and Early Education Developments, 23–30.


82. Blank and Poersch, State Child Care and Early Education Developments, 5.


101. Ibid., 5.

102. Ibid., xx, 199.

103. Ibid., 13–20.

104. Ibid., 128–29.

Redistributive policies entail the reallocation of resources or rights among groups or social classes. Theodore J. Lowi, “American Business, Public Policy, Case Studies, and Political Theory,” World Politics 16: 677–715.


4. Ibid., 145–164. Kingdon’s framework for agenda-setting relies on the merging of three streams: politics, problem, and policy. The political stream encompasses broad changes in national moods often reflected in national elections and public opinion.


6. According to a 1997 FWI study, 13 percent of respondents had an employer who offered direct financial assistance for child care; 20 percent had employers offering assistance in finding child care; and 29 percent had employers putting pretax dollars into an account to pay for child or other dependent care. A very small percentage (less than 3 percent) of employers offered on-site child care. James T. Bond, Ellen Galinsky, and Jennifer E. Swanberg, *The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce* (New York: Families and Work Institute, 1998), 96.


15. Mayhew, *Divided We Govern*, 39n, 40n.


20. Ibid., 23.

21. Ibid., 75.


9. Looking Back and to the Future


29. These four major committees do not include appropriations committees in each house and other panels, such as government operations, which also dealt with child care.


34. Its Conservative Coalition support scores rose considerably from 58 percent in 1993 to 78 percent in 1997. In contrast, the Conservative Coalition support scores for the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions rose from 43 to 53 percent over the same period. Ornstein, Mann, and Malbin, Vital Statistics on Congress, 214–15.

35. Fenno, Congressmen in Committees, 182; Smith and Deering, Committees in Congress, 141.


40. For a discussion of these issues as they apply to children’s advocacy groups, see Imig, “Advocacy by Proxy.”


42. Ibid., 34; Theda Skocpol, “Associations Without Members,” American Prospect (July-August 1999): 66–73.

43. Walker, Mobilizing Interest Groups in America, 53.


48. Ibid., 498.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., 500–501.

51. Ibid., 502.


57. Ibid., 80.


