INTERIM REPORT
of the
FAMILY IMPACT SEMINAR
1978
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The Family Impact Seminar is an independently-financed, three-year project based at the Institute for Educational Leadership of George Washington University. Our purpose is to review—carefully and in depth—the substantive, administrative and political feasibility of developing a process for assessing the impact of public policies on families. We are cautiously developing and testing a "tool"—which might be called a family impact statement—to encourage government to be more aware of and sensitive to what it does to and for families.

The Seminar is composed of twenty-two leading scholars and policy makers with expertise in family research and public policies affecting families. They come together with our staff in ongoing seminars and work groups to help guide and strengthen our work. By bringing together scholars and policy makers to help in this effort, the Seminar deliberately stands mid-way between the often separate worlds of academe and policy. It specifically seeks to develop findings and recommendations which are considered relevant, important and understandable to individuals and organizations operating in both these contexts.

Our focus on governmental actions reflects my belief that public policies—which seek to represent the interests of all Americans, and which are financed by funds collected by all taxpayers—should be especially sensitive and responsive to American families. This focus does not mean, however, that all or even most of the important events or policies which influence families result from governmental actions. Technological changes such as the advent of television, or ideological changes such as those reflected in the civil rights movement, can have substantial and lasting impacts. These and many other examples demonstrate the profound effects that private actions or attitudes can have on families.

Thus we define family impact to include private as well as public actions or inactions. Our choice to limit the focus of our inquiries to public policies reflects our belief that the government has a special responsibility to be conscious of its impact on families.

Since our creation in February 1976 we have held five seminar meetings, completed our orientation to this new and largely unexplored area, reached some preliminary conclusions, and begun preparing pilot family impact statements on two policies: government as employer and foster care. In addition, we will be commissioning a set of papers to explore from a family perspective the programs and problems related to teenage pregnancy.
While we believe that our final recommendations will be shaped in large measure by what we learn preparing these pilot family impact statements, we want to present at this time an interim summary of the conclusions we have reached as a group, staff papers we have developed, and plans we have for pilot family impact statements. In addition, we are including an appendix of sources which have been especially helpful to us in our work to date.

The first chapter of this report, Interim Conclusions of the Family Impact Seminar, reflects the judgement of the Seminar as a whole. Each section of the chapter—working definitions, preliminary findings and values—was discussed in depth at our Seminar meeting in October 1977, revised, and circulated to Seminar members for further comment. While each Seminar member might prepare some portions differently if he or she were writing it independently, this chapter represents the interim conclusions of both Seminar members and staff. Of course, like any interim conclusions, these will be the subject of further review, debate and refinement throughout the future work of the Seminar.

The remaining chapters and the appendix are primarily staff products. Chapter II describes our best thinking about our Ecological Perspective, Evolving Framework for Family Impact Analysis and an Approach to Data. While we received some very helpful reactions to these working papers from several Seminar members, they do not represent conclusions of the Seminar as a whole. We are sharing them as staff working papers because we believe they might be helpful to individuals and organizations who have asked us how we are approaching family impact analysis.

Chapter III is a description of our current activities and plans for developing pilot family impact statements on government as employer and foster care. The appendix includes a bibliography of books and articles, a list of family study centers which have a special focus on public policies and families, and a list of individuals in state or local government who are interested in or experimenting with the family impact idea. While none of these lists is complete, they do contain many of the relevant sources and references for information concerning family impact analysis.

In the months ahead, the Seminar will be primarily working on three specific pilot family impact studies in the areas of government as employer, foster care and teenage pregnancy. In the course of these studies we will be attempting to develop ways of translating the broad

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April, 1978
A. WORKING DEFINITIONS

The Seminar has adopted a series of working definitions to guide its work. They include the following:

1. Family

The Family Impact Seminar uses the term "family" in a broad sense to include two different but related concepts or perspectives: the "household" family and the "kinship" family.

By "household" family we mean "a group of two or more persons residing together who are related by blood, marriage or adoption." This is the definition used by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

By "kinship" family we mean "a group of two or more persons who are related by blood, marriage or adoption." We use this definition, which does not include the reference to sharing a household or residing together, to help underscore the importance of extended families and kinship networks to family impact analysis. Use of this definition encourages consideration of the ways in which public policies may affect relationships or shared responsibilities between a single person living alone and his/her relatives or between related family units of the same or different generations.

While neither of these working definitions requires inclusion of a child or children, the Seminar has a special interest in families with children and our pilot family impact statements will include a special focus on these families.

2. Impact

The Family Impact Seminar defines impact as "the effects, demonstrable or possible, of a policy."

This definition indicates that we are interested in identifying both policies which have proven effects on family functioning or behavior and policies which may affect families in their functioning or behavior. For example, it seems likely that the government's policy forbidding the use of Medicaid funds for most abortions will have the effect of increasing the size of some families. While other family impact questions could be raised about that policy, such as how it will affect the nurturant functions in those families, it appears that it will have a clear impact on family membership or size. But there are many other policies with direct relevance to families where the evidence of impact is less clear.
Does the so-called marriage penalty for two-earner families at some levels in the tax code actually discourage individuals from marrying or encourage divorce? This is an example of a possible effect or impact that could be explored. Indeed, one of the purposes of family impact analysis is to identify policies on which further research is necessary to determine actual effects.

Impact can be both short and long term, explicit or implicit, intended or unintended. It may lend itself partially or totally to quantitative measurement in terms such as dollars expended or received, persons served or divorces obtained. It may also be measured or described more qualitatively in terms such as improved parenting skills, greater family harmony, increased solidarity, or better mental health.

Impact can be both positive and negative. A single policy can have multiple impacts—positive, negative and mixed. And a single provision in a policy may have a positive effect on some families, but a neutral or negative effect on others. This may be especially true of programs which are available only to families at certain income levels. For example, the $750 personal exemption may have a very positive impact on families in the higher tax brackets but a neutral or negative impact on families too poor to pay taxes and thereby benefit from tax exemptions. Conversely, a program like Head Start may have a positive impact on families who participate but a neutral or perhaps negative impact on families whose neighbors participate when they themselves make slightly more money and are therefore ineligible.

3. Public Policy

We define public policy as "government actions (or inactions) expressed in a variety of ways including legislation, resolutions, programs, regulations, appropriations, administrative practices, and court decisions."

Our definition of public policy includes government actions (or inactions) at the federal, state or local levels, and, as in the case of many federal grant-in-aid programs, government actions which involve all three levels of government. It includes not only social policy but economic, military and all other policies which result from government actions (or inactions).1/

1/ For a more complete discussion of the range of government actions which fall within our definition of public policy and illustrations of federal programs with potential direct impact on families, see Toward an Inventory of Federal Programs with Direct Impact on Families, Family Impact Seminar staff report, February 1978.

4. Family Impact Analysis

We define family impact analysis as "the process in which specific public or private policies are examined with regard to their specific effects on families."

For example, family impact analysis as we conceive it would seek to examine the effect of a policy on a number of family functions and structures, including membership, nurturance and economic support functions.2/

Family impact analysis can be conducted by a variety of different organizations and at a variety of levels. For example, a sophisticated research organization might undertake new research as part of a comprehensive family impact analysis of a particular policy. Or a local PTA or citizens' organization might raise questions about the degree to which schools or other community institutions are sensitive to the needs of families, and this could represent the beginning of a family impact analysis.

At this stage we propose that analysis should concentrate primarily on existing policies. Since family impact analysis is still in its infancy, it seems premature to attempt to predict the effects of proposed policies.

While our definition of family impact analysis includes the examination of public or private policies, the Family Impact Seminar is specifically concerned with the analysis of public policies.

5. Family Impact Statement

We define family impact statement as "the written summary product of a particular family impact analysis."

The family impact statement would be the final written document which presents the findings of the family impact analysis. It would include, as we view it at this point, a background statement describing the policy under review and the purposes for which it was adopted, an analysis of the ways in which it affects different families, and recommendations or options for policy makers to consider.

A family impact statement should be a document that public officials and members of the public will find easy to read and use. It need not be an exhaustive discussion of every conceivable family-related issue in a policy or program. Related technical background papers which may have been prepared should appear in an appendix. Certainly the statement itself should approach.
should not approximate the environmental impact statements which sometimes totalled ten or more volumes. Instead, we believe a family impact statement should highlight the key family-related issues in a policy and analyze the two or three most important among them.3/

3/ For a discussion of other impact statements see A Statement about Impact Statements by Susan Martin, a staff paper prepared for the Panel On Legislative Impact on Courts, Assembly of Behavioral and Social Science, National Research Council, Washington, D.C.

8: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The Family Impact Seminar has reached agreement on a series of what might be called preliminary findings. While all are subject to further review and modification as our work progresses, the following statements reflect some of the key facts and conclusions which shape the direction of our work.

1. Families have been and are currently experiencing unprecedented changes. These include dramatic increases over the past 25 years in the proportion of mothers working outside the home, in the rates of divorce and remarriage, and in the number of single parent families. The steadily shrinking size of families coupled with a lengthened period of adult years following active childrearing is also significant as is the introduction of television into the home and many others. These profound and dramatic shifts have major effects on the capacities of families to care for their members.

2. There is substantial and growing interest in families and the ways in which public policies affect families among the public, policymakers, scholars, professionals, and public and private organizations at the federal, state and local levels.

3. Unlike some European countries, the United States does not have an official family policy. There is, however, a wide range of public policies and programs which affects families. Our preliminary reviews reveal that:

   --at least 268 programs (as listed in the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance) provide direct financial assistance or services to individuals and families and have potential impact on families. 4/
   --countless other federal policies have substantial impact on families, including tax policies, court decisions, government employment practices, general revenue sharing, policies of regulatory agencies, and macroeconomic policies.
   --these policies and programs can and do affect families at all economic levels, not just poor families.

4. The process of assessing the ways in which public policies affect families—which we call family impact analysis—should be explored in a variety of settings and on a broad range of policies. This analysis has the potential to bring important new perspectives to policy making and policy analysis. Asking the question “what are the effects of this policy on families?” can potentially contribute to an understanding of some of the reasons families experience problems and opportunities, and contribute to suggestions for making public policies more responsive and sensitive to family needs.

5. Family impact analysis is a new concept involving complex and largely unexplored questions. There is little or no existing methodology for family impact analysis, and few guidelines for the development of one. While the process of family impact analysis is being tested at a growing number of universities and research organizations, this type of analysis is still in its formative stages.

There are many reasons why public policies have not been examined in terms of their impact on families. Three of the more important reasons appear to be the following:

First, our system of democratic government is based primarily on the recognition of the rights and responsibilities of individuals. Our constitution, for example, does not mention families. This emphasis has led to defining social problems and opportunities and the policies designed to address them in individualistic terms. Largely overlooked have been the “mediating structures” that stand between government and the individual, among which the family is paramount.

Second, there is a tendency to attribute the problems that families experience to the inadequacies of the families or family members. Families have generally been considered to be solely responsible for most, if not all, the difficulties they experience.

This attitude has meant, in part, that there has been little effort to analyze the effects that public policies, the world of work, or other institutions have on families. We believe, however, that many problems experienced by families are the result of basic economic and social conditions, that family functioning must be understood in this “ecological context,” and that one determinant of this context is public policy.

Third, there is a widespread belief that families are private units, and that government does not and should not intervene in their private affairs. Families have been considered to be largely out of bounds for public policy. As a result, even when public policies have had major effects on families, they are seldom described or analyzed in terms of their family impact. We believe that many public policies have direct effects on families, and that efforts should be made to determine and make known these effects so that the public and its elected representatives can debate and change those policies if they desire.

6. Much of the data necessary to describe and assess the impact of policies on families are not available or easily accessible. For example, relevant family data are scattered among a variety of federal agencies, comparable definitions are seldom used in the collection or analysis of these data, and most importantly, these data are seldom analyzed with the family unit as prime consideration.

We question whether public policies designed to respond to the needs of a particular family member have too often sought to deal with that person as an isolated individual, ignoring his or her interrelatedness with other family members, and the degree to which the attitudes and activities of those other family members may enhance or limit the effectiveness of the policies being pursued.
Assessment of family impact may require information about families, communities, institutions and programs which has not yet been collected and analyzed. For example, data is lacking on the number of children in foster care and the length of time in such care.

7. Any framework or checklist for family impact analysis should recognize that:

- the impact of public policies on families may derive from a law as enacted, its regulations, the level at which it is funded, and the ways in which it is implemented.
- any single public policy may affect different families in quite different ways, given the diversity and pluralism of families (in terms of income level, structure, household composition, extended family networks, stages in the life cycle, and ethnic, racial and regional, and neighborhood factors).
- any single public policy may affect members of the same family in quite different or conflicting ways. The child abuse or child support enforcement laws are examples.
- efforts to assess the impact on families of a particular policy will involve value judgments and choices about trade-offs which should be made explicit. §
- family impact analysis should focus on more than just the membership of families. While it is important to explore whether public policies affect, for example, marriage or divorce, it is also important to explore their effect on the economic and nurturant functions of families. Families continue to have primary responsibility for providing the income necessary to house, feed and clothe their dependent members, and house, feed and clothe their dependent members, and
- family impact analysis should assess the effect of public policies on at least three basic family functions, and perhaps others.

8. The analogy of family impact analysis to environmental impact analysis is useful in some respects but not in others. We believe it is important to encourage public discussions of and scholarly research into the way that public policies affect families, and the impact concept contributes to these objectives. A major contribution of the environmental impact concept has been heightened public consciousness of the possible effects of public projects on the environment. A similar development regarding public policies and families would be valuable.

We believe, however, that the concept of family impact differs in important ways from the concept and the process of environmental impact. We think that family impact analysis should focus primarily on existing policies, at least for the present, while environmental impact analysis focuses primarily on proposed policies or projects. In addition, for a variety of reasons, we consider the subject of family impact to be more complex, less easily defined and measured, more value-laden, more personal and more sensitive.

9. Family impact analysis is still in a developing stage. Thus, we believe it is inappropriate at this time for federal, state or local governments to establish government-wide processes for family impact analysis. In our judgment, government consideration of mechanisms for encouraging family impact analysis should await the results of pragmatic efforts to test the concept by producing pilot impact statements on selected public policies.

10. Because we respect the wide diversity of families and the sensitive and personal nature of family life, we oppose the idea of enacting a uniform, comprehensive national family policy. We propose, instead, that means are developed—such as family impact analysis and new legislative initiatives where necessary—to help make a variety of policies, in areas ranging from employment to taxes, more sensitive and responsive to the various needs of different families.

§ See the next section of this chapter for our statement on the need to make value judgments explicit in family impact analysis.
The effort to assess the ways in which public policies affect families is not a value-free exercise. The public policies being analyzed involve value judgments. They are based on the belief that they will be "good" for individuals, or the economy, or the environment, or whatever.

The basic decision to focus on how public policies affect families--rather than how they affect corporations, for example--is a value judgment. It indicates a concern for families and an interest in making public policies sensitive to family needs.

Even some aspects of the seemingly neutral tasks of collecting information involve value judgments. Some of the questions asked in family impact analysis appear to be totally or largely value-free. It is a matter of fact how many funds were expended on some program, or how many families received certain kinds of benefits or services from the program. But even the asking of such factual questions involves value judgments. Certain questions, and certain facts, are assumed to be more important than others.

At another level, any attempt to determine whether a particular policy or program "strengthens" or "weakens" families involves additional value judgments. For example, the same set of data about the effects of day care on children and families may lead some observers to conclude that day care strengthens families because it permits mothers to work and by doing so increases families' incomes or perhaps permits them to leave welfare. Others, looking at the same data, may conclude that day care weakens families because it permits shifting some of the responsibilities of child-rearing from the family.

Just as there can be disagreement about a single value judgment, there can be conflicts between different values. Some favor the food stamp program for low income families because it helps to ensure that these families receive the food and nutrition that they need. Others believe that providing food stamps rather than the equivalent value in cash unnecessarily restricts the parents' freedom of choice about how to spend their income best to meet family needs (i.e. food, versus health care, versus rent), and stigmatizes them at the supermarket where they pay by food stamps rather than cash. Conflicts of value are shown even more acutely in the question whether Medicaid should cover the costs of abortion.

The values implicit in policy choices often receive too little discussion. As Alva Myrdal wrote over thirty years ago in a book on family policy, public officials have the tendency "to drive values underground...to make the analyses appear scientific by omitting certain basic assumptions from the discussion". This observation could be applied as well to policy analysts, scholars, and, indeed, all citizens. We all have a tendency to want to believe that difficult policy choices can be made on the basis of "neutral" computer print-outs or by finding just a little more data, rather than by debating and seeking to resolve what may be fundamental value disagreements.

Yet it would be a disservice to pretend that determinations about what "strengthens" or "weakens" families can be based purely on data and statistics.

For these reasons, the Family Impact Seminar is committed to stating as explicitly as possible the value assumptions and judgments which are involved in its work and its conclusions. We recognize that this will not always be an easy task; that there will be value judgments on which we as a group will not agree; that there will be cases in which general values hold may be in conflict; and that our efforts to be explicit may not be completely successful.

But we will make these efforts so that those who review our work, or conduct their own, will be reminded that this field involves both questions of value as well as questions of fact. We believe this is not only the most honest but also the most effective way to help generate public debate about, and make the policy process aware of, the ways in which public policies affect families.

The work of the Family Impact Seminar is based on the following general values:

- We have a mutual interest in the well-being of families and their ability to care for their members.
- We believe that public policies affecting families should seek to support and supplement families in the exercise of their basic functions.
- Where institutions share or have primary responsibility for functions which previously were the responsibility of families--such as the education of children--we believe families should be informed about and have real opportunities to influence the important institutional decisions which affect their family members.
- As a general rule and consistent with the protection of constitutional rights, we believe government policies should provide families with broadened options and choices.

12/ Alva Myrdal, Nation and Family, M.I.T. Press, 1941
We believe that the diversity and pluralism of families must be recognized and respected. Public policies should not discriminate against or penalize family structures or roles—such as single-parent or two-earner families—which differ from the actual or perceived norm or traditional structure.

We believe that public policies designed to support families should give priority to those families and family members who have least access to the needed resources of society.

We recognize that this statement of general values is not complete and will need further clarifications. Other questions about values will arise when we examine particular policies, and trade-offs will need to be weighed and discussed. There will be a need to define more precisely what some of these statements mean in relation to specific policies. And some of these general values will be more relevant to some policies than to others. It is our hope, however, that this statement helps illustrate how family impact analysis involves value judgments, will encourage the discussion of values in this process, and provides a sense of the general values on which the work of the Family Impact Seminar is based.

As an additional means of assuring that the value questions are as explicit as possible in family impact analysis, we recommend that the description of policy options include a statement of the values to be furthered or supported by each option. For example, the Child Support Enforcement Act raises value questions about the relative responsibility of a remarried father to his first family and to his current family; these value questions should be spelled out in the discussion of policy options. Similarly, child abuse programs involve value judgments about the rights of children to a safe and healthy life; these judgments should be made explicit. Value questions addressed to family needs may value the collection of data more highly than family privacy or confidentiality (or vice versa), and these value considerations should be discussed.

Thus, in addition to attempting to identify the general values on which our work is based, when assessing a particular policy, the Family Impact Seminar will seek to state the values and value trade-offs involved in options we discuss or recommendations we propose. Specifically, we aim to attempt to do this in the development of the Family Impact Seminar's pilot family impact statements. 13/ See Chapter III for a summary of our plans to develop pilot family impact statements on government as employer and foster care.

13/ See Chapter III for a summary of our plans to develop pilot family impact statements on government as employer and foster care.

CHAPTER II: STAFF WORKING PAPERS

A. OUR ECOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The theoretical base from which our values, preliminary findings, and conceptual framework emerge is that of the ecology of human life and development. The core proposition of this approach is the assumption that human beings need to be understood in the context of the relationships in their immediate and wider social environment. 1/ Because its scope is broad, the Seminar draws upon concepts from many of the social and biological sciences but those which we have found most helpful have been those with an ecological perspective. This section of our report will attempt to outline the basic theoretical assumptions of this view. At certain points the "ecological" approach will be contrasted with the "individually" oriented theories which have prevailed in many of the social sciences, helping professions and public policy. 2/

In recent years the environmental movement has helped the public become aware of a principle that biologists have known and studied for decades—namely the interdependency of living organisms upon each other and upon the physical environment. We have become sensitive to the fact that a substantial change in any aspect of the environment will have multiple reverberating effects on the animal and plant life that inhabits it. In a similar, though less well-recognized way, a number of social scientists, therapists, counselors, and teachers have been thinking in ecological terms about the human or social environment, focusing on the interdependency of social systems and settings in which people work and live. Their work demonstrates that a change in one aspect of the social or physical environment will produce a chain of reactions in other aspects of the environment. Such changes might be the result of new technological development (such as improved birth control or the advent of television), a change in economic conditions (substantial rise in the standard of living or an increase in

1/ Ecology is defined broadly in Webster's dictionary as "branch of science concerned with the inter-relationship of organisms and their environment." We are using it in this chapter as referring specifically to the study of human organisms and their social environments.

2/ The ideas presented in this section have drawn from our Seminar meetings and discussions but in particular we owe a considerable debt to the written work of three Seminar members—Uriel Bronfenbrenner, Nicholas Robbs and Salvador Minuchin. In addition, these three members together with Moncrieff Cochran, Seminar consultant, made very helpful comments on the first draft.
his followers had, for example, emphasized genetic determinants usually within the physical setting of a professional institution. Educational psychologists following from Skinner were among offices and hospital wards. And their views greatly influenced concentrated narrowly on developing stimulus and response programs. Freudians emphasized the critical importance of behavior. The experiences, in particular, of the great father) on later adult behavior. And although behavioral and early experiences of the child with his mother (and sometimes the first to be interested in the effect of the immediate environment on animals and humans, their studies primarily concentrated narrowly on developing stimulus and response theories along similar linear cause and effect models. Thus, the majority of research psychologists, educators, and mental health professionals have been concerned primarily with observing, teaching, and treating children and adults as isolated individuals in laboratories, testing rooms, clinics, doctors' offices and hospital wards. And their views greatly influenced the structure and design of many health, educational and social programs.

On the other hand, another group of social programs is built on an awareness of the effect of the social environment on behavior. The experiences, in particular, of the great depression of the thirties re-emphasized what many social workers had known for a long time, that broad economic forces beyond the control of the individual or his/her family can profoundly influence individual and family behavior. Economists and policy-makers began to address the problems of poverty, discrimination and inequality of opportunity that so strongly shaped the social environment in which people lived. The creation of the social security system, unemployment insurance and income-maintenance programs reflected this kind of understanding. Two more recent examples of such policies are the Civil Rights Act with its broad scope and Head Start programs which are specifically intended for poor children.

However, this awareness of the influence of the social and economic context on peoples' lives did not significantly affect the academic laboratories or influence psychologists' theories about human behavior until the last two decades with the growth of ecological psychology and systems theories. Psychologists began to study children's behavior in the context of specific natural settings of family and school. Professionals working with disturbed families found that behavior could be influenced by various concepts borrowed from cybernetics and systems theories. These ideas, joining with those from anthropology, sociology and home economics—disciplines which have always been concerned with social systems—have contributed to a distinct shift in perspective. A excellent example of this approach can be found in the Carnegie Council report All Our Children.

Metaphorically, a shift from an individual perspective to an ecological one is like changing from a still camera with a close-up lens to a movie camera with a zoom lens. The movie camera can still focus on the fine details of a single subject but the zoom lens allows a widening of the view to include other people and follow the dynamic interactions between all these elements of the picture.

Two specific examples will illustrate how the assumption of an ecological perspective influences our understanding of public policy and programs. First, consider the issue of family needing welfare assistance. Experts, policy makers, or citizens who assume that this need derives from some kind of inadequacy on the part of the individual ("head of household", might recommend a solution of individual job counseling to the potential wage earner hoping he or she would gain enough new perspective and a new paradigm.

3/ As Earl Schaefer suggested in a paper he delivered to the American Psychological Association in 1977, this kind of shift in perspective is described in Thomas Kuhn's book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (University of Chicago Press). Kuhn says that there sometimes comes a point when divergent approaches lead to a crisis in the dominant paradigm resulting in the development of a new perspective and a new paradigm.
Such factors might be:

-- broad economic policies which caused a nationwide or local recession and consequently fewer jobs available in that community to that family;

-- inability of the family to move to an area where there were jobs because of insufficient funds for the move;

-- unwillingness to move because of a unique service that the family needed which would be jeopardized by the move (availability of a special school for a deaf child, or kidney dialysis unit for a teenage son);

-- insufficient public transportation to enable the head of household to get to jobs which were available in the suburbs and insufficient funds to buy a car to commute;

-- family responsibilities such as care of a sick family member or a pre-school child which required the head of the household to remain at home;

-- lack of any relatives or other members of a family's informal support network to help care for these family responsibilities, and free the potential wage earner for work;

-- lack of sufficient child care or home nursing services in the community;

-- insufficient technical skills or education to apply for the jobs available in the area due to lack of vocational program in local school.

Thus, characteristics of many social systems which are subject to public policy decisions—transportation, education, industry, health care, community services and the failure of coordination between these systems—may account for an individual family's need for welfare. And in fact much, though not all, current discussion about welfare policy does reflect this ecological understanding.

A second example is a sixth grade child's failure in school, a difficulty experienced by families of all income levels. Some experts, family members, and present educational policy explain and treat such failure by assuming that the child and/or his parents are "lacking" in some way. An ecological perspective would require attention to many other factors and relationships that might be involved. It is indeed possible that the child's poor eyesight, or some other family factors may be contributing to his learning difficulty and the ecological perspective would consider these possibilities. But it may also be that the teacher doesn't understand how to teach, the child is being teased by other children, that he is placed in the wrong class, or the neighborhood may be frightening. And most importantly, and most often ignored, the failure may be a result of long-standing problems in the relationship between family and school. The child may be caught in the middle of contradictory expectations and inadequate communication between the two primary social systems—school and family. School failure is most likely to be a product of a combination of all these factors and relationships. However, very little current educational policy and programs, or attitudes in teacher training reflect this ecological understanding.

It may be helpful at this point to state the basic theoretical assumptions of an ecological perspective that have most relevance for family impact analysis of public policies and programs. These assumptions are necessarily over-simplified and do not attempt to be a comprehensive statement of ecological theory. They are stated here in very abstract terms. The human ecology diagram and discussion that follows provides more concrete illustration of the generalizations.

Assumptions of an ecological perspective

- An individual's needs, behavior, opportunities, values and expectations are products of a continuous interplay between his or her biological make-up and personality and elements within the immediate social environment which, in turn, reflect or are influenced by external factors from the wider social environment.

- The primary social system for most people is their family. Even those who do not live with one or more family members will usually have important emotional, financial and legal ties—whether positive or negative in nature—with family members who may live anywhere, such as a parent, sibling, grandparent or aunt.

- Within any one family system—whether it is within a household family or the extended kinship network—there are many aspects of family members' lives that are interdependent. A change in situation, behavior or feelings of one family member will affect other members and may produce a series of reactions which feed on each other. This series of reactions may dramatically shift the whole structure and functioning of the family, or it may be accommodated with some minor adjustments.

- Each family member—as economic producer and consumer,
student, patient and parishioner, client, taxpayer and citizen—interacts daily with a variety of social systems which are external to the family, such as the worlds of work, the market economy, schools and colleges, churches, and private and public agencies. The pressures, demands, expectations and opportunities which these different systems may create for one family member can profoundly affect other family members and the entire family unit. Public policies at federal, state and local levels directly or indirectly affect many of these social systems.

All family systems progress through a series of predictable development tasks, and can be expected to cope and adapt to a variety of normal changes and crises or stress-producing situations such as birth, sickness or death of family members, perhaps separation and divorce, moving, entering or leaving the work force, and entering or graduating from school. Some public policies are addressed to these normal and expected changes in family life (tax policies, social security, employment, educational and preventive health policies). Other areas of public policy are addressed to families who experience an unusually high degree of stress or are especially vulnerable and unable to cope themselves with some of these normal stages of growth or change (programs for the handicapped, premature infants, abused children, mentally ill).

The ability of a family to negotiate its way through these different developmental stages and cope with normal family stress or unusual crises seems largely dependent on four factors. They are the level of economic resources, physical health, the availability of supportive relationships within the immediate network, and the quality of the neighborhood setting. Policy discussions and analyses have focused almost exclusively on the first factor—the level of economic resources. While this is of undoubted importance, an ecological perspective also requires that we acknowledge the importance of the social context within which familial function. The informal supports which can be provided by relatives, friends, neighbors, ministers and priests or lay church members, voluntary and neighborhood associations and clubs help families in many practical and emotional ways with both the routine tasks of everyday living and in periods of strain or trouble. The absence of such supports frequently necessitates public or governmental intervention.

Similarly, the quality of a family's immediate neighborhood environment, the level of municipal services, quality of housing, recreation and consumer services profoundly affects families functioning.

Families are rarely passive agents or recipients of programs and services. Like other systems they have their own momentum, goals and actions which can create pressures on other systems for change and response.

Finally, an ecological approach places great importance on the study of the nature of relationships between social systems such as between work and family, social agency and school, family and church especially with regard to the power relationships, the rigidity or flexibility of institutional boundaries. The quality of the daily transactions between systems is important in understanding the effect of one system on another. Thus, professionals, agency staff and bureaucrats are no longer viewed as neutral intervenors, acting upon individuals but are themselves seen as parts of systems which interact with other systems.

Implications of an ecological perspective: emerging trends

The increasing influence of an ecological perspective in the social sciences, clinical work and public policy can be expected to be followed by both minor and major changes in research, counseling and treatment, program design and delivery of services, professional training and broad policy goals and directions. A few trends that are already emerging may indicate some possible directions for these changes. In research there is an increasing interest in interdisciplinary studies that observe people in their natural settings and examine the influences of the external environments on them, and of the relationships between these settings. In the area of counseling and mental health treatment there is growing trend to involve a person's entire family in the service: when this is not possible, to provide surrogate families in the community instead of institutionalization (foster families and group homes). In medical care there is a renewed interest in family medicine and family practice, in coordinating medical care in family health centers and in encouraging families to become more involved in various aspects of care and medical treatment (childbirth, rooming in, staying with sick children, home care of the chronically ill and dying). And in some cases professional, more aware of the limitations of their traditionally conceived roles to "cure" individuals, are assuming new roles as consultants, liaisons, and facilitators to systems such as

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5/ One dramatic example of families acting together to create policy changes is the movement of parents of retarded and handicapped children which culminated in the passage of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act in 1975 (PL94-142).
families, schools, day care centers, neighborhood agencies and church groups. Finally, policy discussions about income tax, social security, welfare, television advertising and so forth are more frequently raising questions about the effects of aspects of the policy on family structure and functioning. The Family Impact Seminar is, of course, an example of this.

In all these areas (research, service and policy) there is much more interest in examining and working with the strengths of families—how they cope, adapt and change rather than concentrating only on pathology and inadequacies.

It may be helpful after this generally abstract discussion to attempt to map out the basic elements of this ecological perspective in visual graphic form as follows:

(over)
Explanation of the ecology diagram

1. The diagram shows a hypothetical family—the inner circle—and its relationship to specific elements of other social systems. The household family consists of father, mother and teenage daughter or son. One subsystem of the extended family is shown—the maternal grandmother and grandfather.

2. The three outer concentric circles represent different general layers of the social ecology within which this particular family system is embedded. These layers are distinguished somewhat arbitrarily on the basis of the degree of formality which characterizes the relationships of the family with the persons and institutions that form these other systems. Thus, the outer layer contains those systems which are most formal and psychologically distant from families, the intermediate layer those systems which comprise a mixture of formal and informal relationships and the inner layer the most informal and the closest psychologically.

A. Informal support systems: this layer contains the network of friends, extended family members, neighbors and other informal "helpers". Relationships with these people are largely voluntary in nature, and not primarily characterized by legal or formal expectations or responsibilities.

B. Quasi-formal systems: contains those settings, or institutions with which a family has routine daily or frequent contact in its everyday functions. Such relationships are generally characterized by a mixture of formal relationships and responsibilities and informal and more intimate relationships (such as with a colleague at work, teacher at school, or fellow member of a committee).

C. Formal systems: this outer layer contains the set of formal, often bureaucratic and governmental systems with which a family relates rather "distantly" through a set of formal procedures, rules and regulations.

3. The boundaries between the layers are shaded both to highlight the importance of examining the relationships between systems, and to indicate that they are not rigid or dense. Thus, certain institutions do not fit neatly into any one layer but straddle the boundaries and may lean more towards one category rather than the other, depending on the specific institution involved. For example, a family may experience its relationships with a medical service system as impersonal and bureaucratic if it attends a large hospital and its clinics, but if a family doctor or neighborhood health center is giving the care, their experience may be more personal and informal.

4. The pie-shaped shaded segments include the specific members of systems or institutions within the general ecology with which individual family members relate directly. (These specific elements—school, work, scout group, church—are themselves microsystems, or members of such, and relate in particular ways to many of the other systems. These relationships could be represented diagrammatically by overlapping circles, or with connecting arrows, but these were omitted for the sake of clarity of the diagram.)

5. Ideology—or social and personal values—and technology are not represented on this diagram but have tremendous impact on the type and quality of interactions between social systems. But since they influence the nature of almost all the relationships pictured they should most appropriately be conceived as two separate overlays on the entire diagram.

6. This diagram is necessarily a static picture of a complex set of relationships which are, in reality, constantly in movement. Clearly, a single event or change in one set of relationships in this social ecology is likely to set off a series of reactions which can be traced through different layers of the ecology and which affect different elements of the system.

Specific examples of two events occurring to this hypothetical family will illustrate the point.

**EVENT A**

- The father of a middle income family who has had a steady job for ten years with an aircraft manufacturing company is laid off because the company lost a Defense Department contract.
- He receives unemployment insurance and registers at the employment service (outer layer C) but the family suffers a considerable drop in income. Mother gets a job at the local supermarket, which means that she has to stop volunteering in the local elementary school (layer B). Father becomes depressed and spends a lot more time at home than he used to. Tension mounts at home, and father starts drinking too much, nagging his wife and complaining about his daughter's lackadaisical attitude, sloppiness and that she doesn't do her share of home chores.
- Partly as a result of these tensions, daughter starts truanting from high school with increasing frequency. However, she continues with her church teen club activities and picks up a paper route job in the afternoons. Mother's high blood pressure worsens. She has a series of appointments with the doctor, hospital clinics, school personnel, and truant officer and has to appear with her daughter in juvenile court. Mother is frustrated because nobody at the school seems to have a good relationship with her daughter, or have any help to offer her.
- Eventually, both parents and daughter sit down with their local priest who has been a help to them before in time of trouble. Their discussion doesn't resolve any of the depression
and tensions but it does enable the daughter to ask if she
can go and live with an aunt to whom she feels very close.
Her parents reluctantly agree to her leaving home. Father
is encouraged by the priest to enroll in a government
employment and training program (CETA).

EVENT B

- Grandmother and grandfather live across town in an
  apartment. They receive social security and Medicare, and
  one hot meal a day from "Meals on Wheels" (a branch of the
  Senior Citizen program). Grandmother has chronic diabetes,
  gets increasingly ill and cannot be cared for by her
  elderly husband.
- Neither the family nor Medicare can pay for the home
  nursing service which would make it possible for grandparents
  to stay in their independent apartment. The only other
  alternative, apart from institutionalization in a nursing
  home which is not acceptable to the family's values, is to
  have the grandparents move in with them.
- Mother must then quit her job at the supermarket, as she
  feels she needs to stay at home to care for her mother and
  father. Their moving in makes it much less likely that their
  teenage daughter will return from living with her aunt and
  cousin since the house is too small to have four adults and
  a noisy teenager.

These two events are not extraordinary ones. The outcomes
would have been different, and by most criteria worse, if the
family did not have the income available from the unemployment
insurance, if the mother had not been able to supplement their
income by going to work, if they had not had a helpful priest
to turn to in their stress, if there had been no family member
such as the aunt to offer help to the daughter, and if there
were no retraining programs for the father to enroll in.

However, the outcome might have been better if medical care
had been integrated for this family, if home nursing care had
been available on Medicare, if the school system could have been
more supportive to the family in counseling them with their
daughter, and if they had greater economic resources (to have
a bigger home, pay for nursing care themselves).

The outcomes might have been different too, if this family
had worked actively with other families to get a home nursing
service established in the community, or had been less easily
discouraged by the contacts with the high school.

*** *** *** *** ***

The graphic sketch of the elements and relationships in
the human ecology has been necessarily much over-simplified
and abstracted. There is no way that one diagram can present
the true color, texture, variety and movement to the multitude
of family circumstances and settings. The next section will
explore in much greater detail the different ways in which
policy, through a variety of institutional systems, affects
families in all their diversity and in different contexts.

CHAPTER II: STAFF WORKING PAPERS

5. AN EVOLVING FRAMEWORK AND CHECKLIST FOR FAMILY IMPACT
ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION
The Seminar's preliminary general findings and its eco-
logical perspective indicate the highly complex and value-
laden nature of developing family impact statements. It is
clearly not a simple matter to identify and describe what
affects a particular policy or program has on families. 1/
It is even more difficult to measure these effects and
decide whether they are beneficial or harmful. Thus, our
first year of work has embued us with a sense of caution:
we recognize the need to be realistic in our expectations
and open minded about the costs and benefits of the family
impact approach at such an early stage of its development.
We remain convinced, however, that our work--and that of
others who are conducting similar efforts--is uncovering and
highlighting some very important questions. Like any new
area of study, family impact analysis will only develop the
necessary tools and methodologies in response to generating
significant and creative questions.

Our first task has been to find a methodical way of
organizing our formulation of these questions, and of reviewing
and collecting information which will adequately take account
of the complex ways in which policy affects families. We
are developing two tables to facilitate this. These two
tables help alert us to the different elements of program
implementation and service delivery which need to be considered
in family impact (Table I) and to the different dimensions
of family functioning, structure and context (Table II) that
an ecological perspective suggests are salient.

1/ For reasons of clarity and style in this chapter of the
report, we will henceforth only refer to family impact
analysis of a single program. It should be understood,
however, that we hope this suggested method for analysis
might also be used to apply to a group of related pro-
grams, a broad policy area, or a set of governmental
or institutional administrative practices.
This chapter presents and discusses these two tables. Further, through considering the relationships between the identified elements in both tables, we are gradually identifying a series of questions that we refer to as "family impact questions." Such questions need to be distinguished from those that would be routinely asked in any program evaluation or policy analysis with a different focus. Both evaluation and policy analysis with a different focus. Both the tables and the checklist are evolving; we expect them to be changed and refined as we continue our work and obtain reactions to them from others. Hence, both tables indicate by their "other" columns that additional categories may need to be added.

Thus, the aim here is to outline a general, comprehensive framework upon which family impact statements might be built. However, we hope this discussion and the family impact questions will also be helpful to studies or analysis with a more limited or specific focus: studies that may be interested in examining not the impact of an entire program, but the impact of one regulation, or of one policy, or service delivery program.

**TABLE I: PUBLIC POLICY COMPONENTS**

A thorough review of the impact of any federal program or policy should first carefully identify the different operational levels and components of the actual or proposed program, and is essential background information for the family impact analysis. This table schematically lists the different levels and components of a program. A brief description will be given of each of these elements throughout all phases of implementation. (The next chapter and the appendix on data briefly discuss sources for obtaining such information.)

**LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT:** Federal, State, Local (Columns A, B, C)

Most federal programs are implemented through several layers of bureaucracy involving state and local government. There are regional and local divisions of federal agencies. They are, of course, programs such as some research and demonstration programs, tax programs or financial benefit programs or stration programs, tax programs or financial benefit programs, which are administered directly from the federal bureaucracy in Washington. Depending on the design of the program, these levels of government may act simply as a conduit to which these choices and decisions are delegated by the federal government.

**EVOLVING FRAMEWORK: TABLE I - PUBLIC POLICY DIMENSIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPONENTS</th>
<th>Value Assumptions</th>
<th>A. Federal</th>
<th>B. State</th>
<th>C. Local</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Laws:</td>
<td>Act(s), amendments</td>
<td>Court interpretations</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Regulations</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Appropriations:</td>
<td>Funding levels, allocations, terms (incentives, disincentives)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Administrative Practices:</td>
<td>Standard procedures (informal or by memorandum)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Benefits/Services Delivery Characteristics:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auspices: private/public (schools, hospital, agency, workplace)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Staffing: professional/bureaucratic (orientation, training, affiliations, unions)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Convenience and accessiblity to families (hours, location)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Coordination (with other programs)</td>
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<td>Sensitivity to families' needs and realities</td>
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<td>Nature of relationship with family</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Related programs/policies</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Related laws and court decisions</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Other</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
federal government is usually spelled out in the original legislation, through regulations (often in the form of funding involved, i.e., direct grants, formula grants, block grants, revenue sharing). These all specify the degree to which the state or local government has freedom to exercise choices about program priorities, funding levels, program design, eligibility questions, etc., and will account for the variations in implementation found between states and even localities. In addition, decisions at different levels of the judicial system may need to be identified as sometimes having considerable effect on program implementation.

We suggest then that it is very important, when reviewing the different components of a program, to identify which governmental level is the source of the particular impact under consideration. Asking how the aspect or program component under study could be changed would generally help to identify whether the source of control and decisions is at the local, state or federal level.

IMPLEMENTATION: Components and Value Assumptions

Listed as rows on this table are seven separate categories of components of policy implementation. We suggest that these components should be discussed from two points of view. First, a careful description of their objective characteristics is needed; e.g., the wording of the law, the level of dollar appropriations, and the type of agency delivering the services. Secondly, an attempt should be made to clarify the value assumptions that may be implied in the working of the law, the specific funding levels, or the orientation of the type of agency. These value assumptions may sometimes be explicit, but are often buried, and it may not be possible to identify them. However, a separate sub-column for value assumptions is put in this table to highlight the need for identifying the values at each level and component of policy implementation.

1. Laws: In focusing on the authorizing legislation for a federal program, the act, series of acts or amendments need to be identified and described. (Occasionally, the authority for a program, or amendment to a program, is established by an executive order of the President and there is no legislation.) Such legislation often has several sections, and usually states in a preamble the overall objectives or purposes of the legislation. This statement may provide an orientation to the value preferences or ideology which frame the design of the program.

It is important to remember that the legislative process is one of gradual accommodation to various, often conflicting, interests and points of view. Any one program may represent a compromise and, therefore, have no consistent or clear set of guiding values or principles behind it. More often a program may be an expression of several rather different values or objectives which may sometimes even conflict with each other. For example, Head Start and Follow Through programs with multiple objectives and several groups of potential beneficiaries. The AFDC program is caught between often contradictory objectives of adequate income maintenance and of providing sufficient incentives to seek employment. A scrutiny of the committee hearings and floor debate at different stages of the passage of the legislation may shed considerable light both on the political process and objectives and values represented by the final legislation.

If state or local programs are under consideration, state legislation and local ordinances should be identified in this section. Federal legislation may stimulate passage of state laws on a closely similar subject--to bring the state law into compliance with federal guidelines in order to receive the funding. This has been true, for instance, as a result of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974, and will be true of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1976. Related state laws on the same subject which will clearly affect the implementation of the federal program should be identified in this row. (Laws regarding other related programs need to be addressed in row 7.)

Court interpretation of the law (whether at federal, state or local level) needs to be reviewed as it may further clarify the objectives and values, and may substantially affect program operation.

2. Regulations: Regulations establish the guidelines for the implementation of the law. They interpret the meaning of the law, and outline specific criteria for carrying it out. At the federal level, regulations are drawn up by the agency that administers the program. The Federal Register prints proposed regulations, in order to receive comment from other experts and the public, and final regulations. The congressional committee which originated the legislation often reviews and sometimes comments on proposed regulations, infrequently making them the subject of hearings. Sometimes when the legislation is loosely written, the interpretations by the regulations can substantially modify the original intent of the legislation. This appears to occur most
frequently when the Executive Branch is not supportive of the objectives or funding of the legislation (as in the case of revised regulations for Title IV-A of the Social Security Act (Social Services) proposed in 1973).

Similarly, there is considerable leeway in some programs for the state government, through its own regulatory process or courts, to make interpretive rulings which modify the program even further. Also, the federal statutes or regulations may allow certain options for the state but not require them. A well-known example of this is the changes in the AFDC program which permitted the state to give payments to families in which the unemployed father was present in the household. (Only half of the states chose to exercise this option.)

Federal laws or regulations can also grant discretion to agencies at the local level, or simply be subject to differing interpretations in practice. One relevant example reported to us concerned several localities where the office that administers unemployment insurance benefits insists that the person collecting the unemployment check not bring his or her children to the office. We are told that this is a purely local interpretation of a federal regulation that the recipient show evidence that he/she is "ready and able" to work.

3. Funding: It will be necessary to identify and describe both the levels of funding authorized in the initial legislation, and the levels which were actually appropriated. There may be a considerable difference between these. In addition, since some programs depend on matching amounts provided at state and local levels, it may be necessary to assess the actual expenditures on the program, possibly by state.

Tracking the flow of funds into different program activities will be helpful in assessing to what extent certain program goals are being achieved or neglected. Sometimes, the levels of funding are quite inadequate and administrative decisions are made which give priority to certain program activities and neglect others. (For example, an important question in our foster care study will be to try to assess what proportion of the funds are spent on activities which attempt to reunify the child with the biological family which is one of the goals of the foster care legislation.)

A careful examination of the various mechanisms by which financial incentives or disincentives are built into the program will often yield much useful information. For example, there are a variety of ways that a government may receive greater federal reimbursement if a patient receives health care in a hospital institution rather than in the home.

4. Administrative Practices: Administrators at all levels frequently need to make decisions about allocation of scarce resources, or develop certain procedures based on assumptions or preferences, that may have important impact on the policy implementation process. Sometimes these decisions or procedures are formally written in memoranda; often they are simply accepted practice. This is a difficult and often subjective area in which to collect information.

5. Benefits/Services Delivery Characteristics: Impact analysis will need to probe the complicated depths of "implementation" at the level of delivery of services. This is a relatively neglected area of social policy analysis. Traditionally, social policy analysis has been more concerned with descriptive evaluation or cost/benefit analysis. These approaches usually concentrate on ultimate program impact and/or questions of program efficiency without examining the institutional means of achieving that effect.

For family impact purposes, such kinds of traditional analysis is not sufficient. We need to analyze the ways in which the program is actually administered at the local level which may result in the programs' goals being faithfully executed, effectively undermined, or some mixture of success and failure.

We suggest that at the heart of much family impact analysis will be a thorough exploration of how programs actually work, primarily with respect to whether the design, structure, and day-to-day operations of programs are sensitive to the needs and realities of families who are affected by them. The aspects of service delivery which are highlighted on this table are those which seem most salient to family impact analysis. They are to some degree overlapping and influence each other; for example, agency staff's high caseloads are frequently cited as the cause for many insensitive practices.

a. Auspices: Most programs are administered through various bureaucratic levels of government. Ultimately, the service or benefit is delivered at the local level by a unit which has the direct contact with the clients or beneficiaries. Such units can be public or private schools, clinics, social agencies, and offices of local hospitals, government funding and come under various constraints in their operation because of this. Also, the private sector, or facilitating its objectives. The nature of the professional can considerably shape the nature of the program, impeding bureaucrats, work rules and employment practices, and factors arising from union membership all may be elements of a program that have significant family impact.

b. Staffing: Staffing patterns and ratios, nature and level of professionalization need to be described. It is important also to identify the various institutional and bureaucratic characteristics that influence the staff. These characteristics can considerably shape the nature of the professionals' work and can influence the objectives. The nature of the professional or facilitating its objectives. The nature of the professional can considerably shape the nature of the program, impeding bureaucrats, work rules and employment practices, and factors arising from union membership all may be elements of a program that have significant family impact.

c. Convenience and Accessibility: The hours that a service unit is open and its physical accessibility can profoundly impact the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence the ability of families to use the service or benefit. These factors also influence

d. Coordination: Another element of inquiry about any service delivery unit is to what extent it coordinates with other related services. Services are often extremely fragmented—due in part to categorical funding and specialized rather than comprehensive programs—such that a young mother who becomes pregnant and is poor may need to go to five or six different clinics funded under different federal and/or state programs during the pregnancy and first year of the child's life. Family impact analysis of a particular program will not by itself do more than allude to this fragmentation, but it can ask whether mechanisms are built in to ensure coordination with other related services—such as records are sent on, appropriate referral information is known and properly made, coordinating conferences or tracking mechanisms in place to ensure the client doesn't get lost in the system.

e. Sensitivity to Families' Needs: Various aspects of service delivery may either "dehumanize" families who are the recipients of the service or, on the positive side, may enhance the family's ability to gain control of the problem, and get itself back on its own feet. Obviously, description of this component of service delivery leads one down some very subjective pathways but there are clearly many negative examples.

Significant value issues may be involved in determining the location and hours of service. For example, the convenience of the professionals who staff the program may be more highly valued than that of the families who use the service.

By 40, three years and a half to five years, and six or seven years, and they are now beginning to have a conference with school personnel, are faced with the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice: they can either take time off from the difficult choice.
children in foster care can only visit them within the wel­
fare office; and the absence of a person available in emer­
gency rooms or critical care units to support a family in
a time of stress.

It is apparent that such insensitive practices are much
more common in programs that are primarily designed for or
used by poor families. However, they are not uncommon in
services (whether private or public) that are used by middle
class families.

It is as important to describe and evaluate good and
sensitive practices and administration as insensitive ones,
since such positive aspects can provide exemplary models of
what is indeed possible. 2/

f. Nature of Relationship Between Program (Service
Unit) and Families: A second group of more subjective
questions focuses on the nature of the relationship between
families and the unit and professionals who staff it. What
kind of input do parents or family members have in deter­
mining the general shape of the programs? Are they asked
for advice, consulted, asked for feedback? In what respect
is the program accountable to families? What kind of con­
tacts do staff delivering services focused on children have
with their parents? What are the channels of communication?
In situations of services for adult family members—adult
hospital patients, or handicapped clients—to what extent do
the professionals or bureaucrats communicate with, ask for
the support of, and listen to the adult client's family
members?

6. Related Programs/Policies: Programs may often be adminis­
tered by other governmental units or departments that are directed
at the same target group or address the same need or problem
as the program under analysis. For instance, approximately
30 programs from all three divisions of HEW aim to affect
teenage pregnancy and its outcome. It is important to identify
such related programs and consider what their effect is on
the program in question; whether they share similar assump­
tions and goals, and whether they complement, compete, or
undermine each other. For example, policies of deinstitu­
tionalization in the juvenile justice and mental health system
have appeared to place increasing demands on the foster
care programs.

7. Related Laws and Court Decisions: Certain programs
have to operate within a framework of already established
family law parameters—namely, the set of decisions and
opinions interpreting the Constitution and state laws which
legally frame the rights and obligations of family members
to each other and the limits to governmental and institu­
tional interference with the rights and powers of families.
This is a rapidly changing field of law, and although the
primary focus of change is at the state level, several
Supreme Court decisions and new federal legislation have
profoundly affected the directions in the field. Examples
of recent decisions are: granting of due process rights for
families and children in juvenile court; children's rights
to seek medical treatment under certain circumstances without
parents' consent; parents' and children's rights to see
school records; constitutional decisions about the legality
of abortion; and a variety of federal and state child abuse
and neglect laws.

Whereas many of these laws and decisions deserve to be
regarded as appropriate policies for family analysis in
their own right, they do also affect the shape, design and
implementation of other programs. For instance, family
planning, drug abuse prevention, V.D. prevention, and run­
avay youth programs must operate within the national and
state framework of the related rights and responsibilities
of adolescents and their parents. This can be quite compli­
cated because of variations within states which, for example,
differ considerably with respect to the rights of adolescents
to sign for their own medical treatment, and define "emanci­
pated minors" in different terms.

An attempt should be made to describe the implicit or
explicit value assumptions of these family law provisions;
i.e., of the relationship between the rights and responsi­
bilities of family members to each other, and of families to
outside authorities, including government. These values may
at times be in conflict with the assumptions upon which the
program is based.

2/ The studies conducted by the Children's Defense Fund
are a good illustration of this point. See especially,
Doctors and Dollars Are Not Enough (refer to Appendix B).
The different components of policy implementation, emanating from or through different levels of government, have affect on aspects of family functioning and may, in fact, be designed in response to the needs and conditions of family functions. The second table in our evolving framework presents and describes broad aspects of family functioning. However, examination of policy impact also needs to take account of the different attributes of families—differences of socioeconomic condition, structure, and context. Table II shows how impact on family functioning needs to be examined through a series of different perspectives or lenses which focus on differences between families (differences of need, structure and responsibility) and highlight certain aspects of the immediate environment (or social context) which gives specific content to the position of individuals within families, and to the diversity of family life.

The different elements are schematically represented on Table II (see next page). The three columns—A, B, C—identify a broad typology of three groups of family functions: 1) Membership; 2) Economic; and 3) Nurturant, which are described and defined below. The seven rows identify overlapping dimensions of family structure, conditions and contexts within which families function. This table, like Table I, includes room for additional dimensions which may evolve from attempts to analyze policies in family impact terms.

Interpersed amidst the description of the different factors are examples of general "family impact questions" which should help frame the analysis. Some of these questions will overlap with each other to some degree.

**FAMILY TYPES**

Sociologists have identified a number of separate though related family functions. For example, the family as a productive economic unit is often differentiated from the family as a consuming unit. The functions of a family as the vehicle for expression of intimacy and affection is often identified as a separate function from its role in the socialization of its members. /4/ However, for purposes of 

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/4/ Two recently developed typologies are presented by Robert Rice in his new book, American Family Policy: Content and Context, and by Paul Mattessich in one of the papers published by the Minnesota Family Study Center, Taxonomies for Family Impact Analysis.
family impact analysis of public policies grouping these functions into three broad categories seems to be most useful. A program may be designed specifically to have impact on one group of functions, but have a secondary or unintended effect on another group of functions. For example, a job placement program which helps a parent provide economically for the family may secondarily improve his relationship with his wife and children.

In addition, the table highlights two aspects of family functioning which are considered to be of special relevance to program planning and service delivery: the roles of family as coordinator and mediator.

A. Membership Functions: Since families are the primary social group or building block of society, the first primary function of families in society is that of self-definition and maintaining continuity. This function is carried out by that set of actions or events which define family membership—establishing who belongs, enters or leaves a family. Since the seminar’s definition of family includes both household and kinship relationships, the actions or events which define family membership include birth, death, marriage, divorce, adoption and establishment of household units—family members deciding on living together or living apart. Public policy and programs both directly and indirectly influence these decisions and actions.

Examples of programs which directly affect membership of families are family planning programs and funding of abortion; foster care and adoption; divorce laws; custody decisions; health programs’ funding intensive care services to premature babies or providing kidney dialysis machines; welfare programs’ funding intensive care services to premature babies or providing kidney dialysis machines; provisions within the Medicaid program which penalize two-earner families at some income levels and which thereby may act as a disincentive to marriage; or the disincentives within the social security benefits for a widow and widower to marry; health care or penal programs which emphasize deinstitutionalization and community or home-based care.

Basic family impact questions with regard to the impact of programs on this membership function include:
- What affects does the program have on family membership and stability? What incentives or disincentives are provided to marry, have children, separate or divorce?
- What incentives or disincentives exist for family members to live together or live independently?

B. Economic Support and Consumer Functions: A second primary function of families is to provide the basic material needs of its members. Family members perform these functions through their ability to generate income, secure housing, and buy food, clothing and other necessities. A family exercises its economic choices through patterns of consumption.

Many broad economic policies affect these functions indirectly through affecting the levels of unemployment, cost of living, and rate of inflation. However, examples of programs which are directly addressed to helping families carry out these basic functions are: unemployment benefits, welfare assistance, social security benefits; job training and counseling programs; housing subsidies, loans, and tax deductions for mortgage interest payments; tax credits for child care, etc.

Questions that arise in considering impact on these functions include:
- To what extent does the program enable the recipient families to fulfill their economic support functions more effectively? Does it increase or decrease the level of economic resources available to families?
- Does the program provide incentives for other persons or institutions to "take over" these functions? Or does it provide resources which help to supplement family roles and thereby strengthen families’ own abilities to provide support on their own?

For example, welfare assistance with no accompanying services—counseling, job training, or job creation—to help families become more self-supporting may by encouraging long dependency, substitute public for family functioning. And failure to give payments to families for "home-based" nursing services may result in long term hospitalization or institutionalization—a way of substituting for family.

- What definition or concept of family is used by the program to define eligibility? What effect does this definition have on family stability or solidarity? That is, what secondary effects does it have on the membership dimension of family functioning?

To what extent does the program allow or restrict the recipient families' range of choice in exercising these functions? For example, food stamps restrict choice more than provision of cash assistance, as does the provision of public housing compared to rent subsidies.

C. Nurturant, Health and Socializing Functions: The third major group of family functions centers around the role of families to rear and nurture their young and care for their other dependents in non-economic terms—encouraging and supporting their children's physical, intellectual and emotional growth and development, and providing each family member—whether adult or child—with psychological sustenance, opportunities for expressions of intimacy, and socialization sufficient to integrate them into the wider community (into the worlds of school, work, recreation, friendships, etc.).

This concept clearly covers a very wide range of functions, many of which are loosely defined. However, a number of programs aim primarily at affecting these aspects of family functioning, for example, health services, nutrition and other preventive health education programs; social service programs providing a variety of support services especially to "vulnerable" family members and individuals (mentally ill, elderly, handicapped, abused and neglected children, pre-school children, runaway youth, etc.); crime and delinquency prevention programs; and penal institutions.

Assessment of a program's effects on this dimension of family functioning will involve much more subjective data—when the data exists at all—and many more value judgements as compared with assessment in the other functional areas. Also, it will frequently be the case that a program whose prime purpose is to affect the membership dimension of economic support dimension will secondarily affect, for example, an adult's ability to provide psychological support to other members of the family.

Health care programs clearly affect both the membership and the nurturant functions of families. For organizational clarity, we have chosen to illustrate the dimensions by emphasizing preventive and regular health care and health education in the nurturant dimension—as they tend to be focused on health maintenance. And acute care services are identified as affecting the membership dimension as they tend to emphasize prolonging of lives (and hence, family membership).

Some of the family impact questions that seem most salient to this dimension of functioning are:

- Does the program reflect understanding of the roles that other family members may play in contributing to the individual's need or problem?
- Does the program reflect understanding of the roles that other family members—not living in the household—may be able to play in alleviating the need or helping to solve the problem?
- What effects does the program have on these different aspects of family functioning, the ability to nurture, care for, be intimate with other family members? If there is no clearly objective way to measure these effects, by what process can such effects be identified and described?

The Coordinating and Mediating Roles in Family Functioning:

As more and more family functions are shared with public and private institutions, and as modern society becomes more complex, specialized and fragmented, the roles that family members perform in coordination and mediation becomes of crucial importance. As our diagram seeks to indicate these roles are necessary in carrying out the three basic groups of family function we have described. Although these twin roles may be seen to have special importance when families have children, they are also important in families with only adult members.

1. Family as Coordinator: Daily, even hourly, family members perform multifaceted roles which include planning, coordinating and executing the multitude of economic and nurturing activities required to ensure the health, safety, and well-being of their family members. In the nuclear family model, the heaviest burden of this role has traditionally been assumed by the female parent. However, in many families, this role is always shared with extended kin and older children who would share in the babysitting, housework, shopping, taking to appointments, financial management and budgeting, etc. With the increasing participation of women in the labor force, it becomes clear that fathers, and often all the children are assuming greater management and coordinating responsibilities.

It is unusual for a government program to focus specifically on this aspect of family functioning (although the home economics programs supported by the agricultural extension programs are a notable exception). However, it seems important that any critical analysis of a program should
keep this aspect of family functioning firmly in view, especially at the level of service delivery. For example, both the employed single parent and two-earner families with young children can experience considerable difficulties coordinating and managing the complex demands of work and family, in part as a result of the inflexible hours and schedules of work and service programs during the adults' normal working hours.

The vast majority of families who have limited budgetary resources need to exercise a considerable degree of financial management and planning skills, especially in times of high inflation or when families experience periods of unemployment. Government policies may directly affect the difficulty of such tasks through complex tax codes, and policies which affect credit and other consumer practices.

In highlighting families' executive function the report of the Carnegie Council on Children says, "The parent today is usually a coordinator without voice or authority, a maestro trying to conduct an orchestra of players who have never met and who play from a multitude of different scores, each in a notation the conductor cannot read. If parents are frustrated it is no wonder." 8/

Family impact questions which focus on this perspective of family functioning are:

- Is the program founded on a realistic understanding of families' lives in terms of this management function? Does the program, especially at the level of service delivery, enhance or diminish the ability of families to orchestrate the many interlinked facets of their lives?

7/ The Seminar is exploring these questions in its pilot family impact study on government as employer in which the focus is on hours of work practices. (See Chapter III)

8/ All Our Children. (See Appendix)

- When a program is designed for individual family members rather than the family as a unit, to what extent does it complicate and hinder the families' coordinating functions? 9/

b. Family as Mediator: A second aspect of family functioning which needs highlighting because of its important policy implications is the role of family as mediator. Berger and Neuhaus have recently described the family as one of four mediating structures "that stand between an individual in his private life and the frustrations of public life." 10/

We interpret this concept in terms of government programs as follows—the family's mediating role, as expressed through its attitudes, values and behavior, affects the extent to which an individual knows about, perceives, uses and benefits from a public program. In order to exercise this role effectively family members need to have appropriate information, to have the opportunity to ask questions, and to be involved in ways which will ensure that they will follow through and support the service or benefit offered. In practice, this kind of relationship can usually only be created when families do not perceive themselves as passive recipients, but when they are respected and offered opportunities to have input of some kind themselves into the individual decisions or overall design of the program.

This concept of the need to "empower" families is one major theme of All Our Children and To Empower People. In different ways these books forcefully describe the sense of bewilderment, powerlessness, and alienation.

9/ For example, in any one week a mother may need to go to three separate hospital clinics or doctor offices for her infant, her five year old and for herself. The growing number of one stop supermarkets and shopping centers that are open in evenings and weekends suggests that some parts of the private business sector are more responsive to families' orchestrating role than public institutions such as schools or hospitals.

10/ To Empower People, Berger & Neuhaus. The other three such mediating structures they describe as neighborhood, church, and voluntary associations.
that often confront individuals and their families when they have to deal with bureaucracies, institutions and professionals. The frequent inability of the family to perform this mediating role is increasingly cited as an important reason for the ineffectiveness of many of the most well-intentioned public policies. Asking certain family impact questions might help to uncover concrete ways in which programs could strengthen instead of weaken this mediating role and thereby "empower" families.

- To what extent does the program communicate with the family, and share the knowledge and information necessary to enable the family to exercise its responsibilities and make informed choices?

- To what extent does the program respect and recognize the family unit's right and need to become an active part of the service, either in decisions about one of its own members (e.g., a child's placement in special class in school) or to give input into the basic design and running of the program (serving on advisory committees, boards, or providing consumer evaluations)?

FAMILY TYPES

There are many ways of describing differences among family types. We have identified three different lenses through which to view families: each family having an ascribed socioeconomic status; having a particular structure; and being at a certain stage of family development.

1. Socioeconomic Characteristics: This designation is a familiar one and is used as a variable in most policy analysis. The socioeconomic status is ascribed usually to the household head and not to the family as a whole, and is derived from a combination of points on a scale of income, education, and class of occupation.

The relevant family impact questions here are familiar ones:

- To what extent is the program designed for families with specific socioeconomic status?

- What socioeconomic groups in fact use or benefit from the program?

- If a program is available to families of all income levels, is it in fact used by all types of families? And if not, why not?

2. Structure: There are many different ways to view and describe family structure. We have selected for this framework those perspectives which appear to have most relevance for discussions of public policy. These perspectives concern the roles within a family with children (one parent, two parent); the nature of kinship relations (primarily nuclear or extended); the relationship of family members to the labor market (unemployed, one wage earner, two or more wage earners); continuity of generations (family of orientation or procreation); family stability over time (whether a family is a primary, separated or reconstituted-through-remarriage unit); and finally, there are de facto families which perform essential family functions but are not related by marriage, blood or adoption (informal or formal foster care and informal adoptions).

These perspectives naturally overlap and are interdependent. Any one family will fit into several of these categories. However, there are many examples of specific programs or policies in which one of these perspectives seems most salient for illuminating the family impact issues. Robert Hill has emphasized that an objective analysis must be cautious about confusing structure with function, and stereotyping certain kinds of structure as ipso facto pathological (e.g., black single parent matriarchal families).

Thus, it is important when examining structure to ask further questions about the contexts within which families operate, which are discussed in following pages. Clearly employed single parent families will in general have a lower income and need for child care or flexible working hours than will a two parent family. However, between single parent families, the degree of difficulty they experience will depend significantly not only on the level of income but also the existence of other
supports from extended family, neighborhood and community. These supports may in fact be more available in lower income groups and for blacks and certain other ethnic groups than for middle income white families.

Further examples of policy where it is important to distinguish between families with different structures are income tax provisions which penalize two earner families above a certain income level, or social security provisions which "discriminate" against the work of a housewife in a one earner family, as compared to the work of an employed wife in a two earner household; programs which fail to offer incentives for, or actually discriminate against, extended family members providing help (foster care and child care); and programs designed to prevent pregnancy or support teenage mothers which exclusively focus on the family of procreation (her and her child) and ignore the role of her family of orientation (her parents and siblings) and of the father of her child. Lastly, several government programs, including the Child Support Enforcement Act, raise complicated issues concerning the competing support obligations and responsibilities of parents who have been through divorce and remarriage.

Some of the many family impact questions that arise in consideration of these structural issues are therefore:

- Is the program targeted only on families of a certain kind of structure?
- Is the program aware of the differences in need and situation of families with different structures?
- Does the program affect families with different structure in different ways? Is it biased towards or against certain kinds of structures?
- Does the program make value assumptions about effective family functioning based solely on information about structure?

3. Families at Different Life Cycle Stages: Another lens through which to view families is to focus on the varying impact of policies or programs on families at different stages in the life cycle: newly married couples; families with young children; families with children in transition to adulthood; families with no child dependents; families with elderly dependents, etc. For some policy issues, an appreciation of the family's specific developmental tasks and responsibilities at different stages will highlight new complex questions.

As examples, a branch of government which had a large number of employees who had young children might be more likely to implement flexible or part-time policies than another unit whose employees were predominantly single, unmarried, or older with grown up children. And some of the discussions on social security financing point out that an increasing number of middle aged and middle income families are at that developmental stage when they face the prospect of dual financial responsibilities of college tuition for their children, and prolonged nursing care for their elderly parents.

The relevant family impact questions can be phrased as:

- Is the program targeted on, or mostly benefiting, families at certain life cycles?
- Is the program likely to affect families at various stages of the life cycle differently?
- Is the program built on an understanding of family developmental tasks and situations?

FAMILIES' IMMEDIATE CONTEXTS

1. Internal Family Relationships (positive, negative or mixed): Although family impact analysis primarily focuses on the family group as a single unit, it needs to recognize that the family members do not always have the same set of needs or problems. Hence, there are many ways in which the internal dynamics of the family system are of concern not only to subjective personal experience, but also to policy.

Firstly, family impact analysis must be conscious of the interdependency of family members, whether psychological or financial, and the ways in which the well-being or problems of one family member can affect or be affected by other family members and thus the whole family system. For example, a recognition of such psychological interdependency has led to new hospital practices such as encouraging parents to stay the night with their hospitalized child, rooming in of the newborn with mother, and permitting the father to stay in the labor and delivery room. And many of the discussions about eligibility for welfare have centered around the questions of relatives' financial interdependency, as has the question of whether families should be expected to pay for the long-term institutionalization or hospitalization of adult family members, irrespective of their income level.

Secondly, certain programs need to be aware of the many occasions when different family members' needs, responsibilities and rights compete or conflict with each other.
Much judicial activity and some government programs involve public interventions and decisions to protect one family member’s rights or health from abuse by another member’s, or to adjudicate disputes between family members. Mediation courts, custody decisions, child support enforcement programs, child abuse or other family violence programs, are all examples of situations when representatives of government must sometimes support the position of one family member(s) against another(s). Occasions when courts assume or appoint guardianship of children in order that they receive medical treatment against their parents’ wishes are further dramatic examples.

Thirdly, there are a complicated set of issues involving autonomy and independence of family members from each other, which are raised particularly acutely in cases of policy regarding adolescents even when there is no overt conflict. A question of considerable current policy debate is whether adolescents should be able to receive medical treatment, family planning, abortion counseling, etc., without the knowledge or permission of other family members. Similarly, there is much debate about what rights family members have to information about the medical condition, school and employment records, etc., of another family member. These are difficult questions that many government programs have to decide and in many cases the debate centers on broad questions of public ethics.

Several types of questions need to be asked about programs’ potential effects on the internal relationships of the family system:

- Does the program understand the role that family members may play in contributing to an individual’s need or problem?
- Does the program ask whether there are competing needs, rights, responsibilities and tensions that exist between family members?
- On what value principles does the program decide that a negative impact on one family member, or sub-unit of a family, is justified in order to have positive impact on another family member?
- What value principles guide the decisions that families’ autonomy can be infringed by outside authorities?

2. Pluralistic Context (ethnic/religious/cultural/racial): There is a growing awareness that government programs should be more sensitive to differences among families that derive from their racial, religious, and cultural background. These differences may affect expectations, values, attitudes and behaviors. Policy discussions on this issue have tended to only consider differences by race, generally only collecting data on black/white differences. This dichotomy has too often led to a tendency to evaluate minority attitudes, expectations, values and behavior as different from a “norm.”

However, America is a highly diverse and pluralistic society, representing an enormous variety of backgrounds. And this realization leads to a much richer and more complex problem: to what extent can public policies be responsive to this great variety of backgrounds? Can a program be designed to be flexible enough to respond to Polish, Scandinavian, Irish, Italian, Blacks, Hispanic, Native American, Chinese and Japanese? Moreover, within each racial/ethnic group there are many differences depending on region, social class, degree of assimilation, etc.

During our Seminar’s general discussions, several policy areas seemed particularly influenced by the pluralistic context of family life. For example, foster care and adoption programs have consistently ignored the informal fostering and adoption patterns of minority groups, which are one of their great strengths. Programs addressed to the sensitive issues of sexuality clearly need to be aware of and sensitive to religious and cultural values and attitudes but there is scant evidence that they do so.

It is clearly very difficult to translate a commitment to respecting diversity into specific ideas for program design and implementation. Moreover, there is little basic data with respect to rates of incidence of need or problem between these different groups. However, the following questions may eventually provide some general guidelines as to how policy can respond in a more pluralistic fashion. 12/

- What is known about the differences between ethnic and religious groups of families with respect to the need or problem that the program addresses?

12/ A Seminar policy fellow consultant, Jolene Adams, is completing a small pilot study of attitudes and values in these two areas of policy. (Foster care and teenage pregnancy.)
Are certain groups more likely to be served by, or take advantage of, the program than others? And if so, what are the reasons for this?

Can we identify ways in which the program discriminates against certain groups of ethnic families?

Can we identify ways in which the program is not sensitive or does damage to certain values and attitudes?

In what ways could the program build on the values, attitudes, resources and strengths of particular ethnic groups to encourage more effective family functioning?

3. Informal Social Networks: The ecological perspective emphasizes that the network of informal voluntary relationships between families and non-related persons or groups provides a sense of identity, usefulness, "connectedness," and is frequently a source of support in times of stress and trouble. These informal supports can come from friends and neighbors, "natural" community and religious leaders, and voluntary organizations, associations, self-help groups, etc.

There is increasing evidence that families who do not for one reason or another develop such informal support networks are those who are most vulnerable to stress, are unable to cope with crises, and may be most likely to turn to public sources of assistance.

The family impact questions that are suggested by this concept are particularly relevant for health, mental health, and social programs:

To what extent does the program build on or complement existing informal networks of support or does it ignore and help to undermine these sources? (An example might be the widespread practice of informal adoption in the black community which is seldom given any official sanction, subsidy or recognition by government programs.)

To what extent are the professional and institutional services aware of--and do they connect with--these "natural helpers" of a community who are often the professional's best source of referral and follow-up services?

4. Neighborhood Environment: An overlapping dimension addresses the physical and environmental conditions of the immediate locality in which families live. The quality and effectiveness of municipal services (schools, sanitation, transportation, police, recreation), the quality and condition of housing and safety of the streets, the availability of the stores, health care and other services have daily impact on the functioning of all families, and most especially upon low income families who are not able to choose easily to move to other more congenial neighborhoods. Policies affecting any of these services can have profound direct and indirect family impact.

Moreover, the conditions of the neighborhood can seriously affect the family's ability to function as "mediator" or "orchestrator" and, hence, to use effectively other well-intentioned public programs. The physical environment can lead to extreme social isolation, irrespective of income, and prevent the development of informal support networks. The loneliness and documented high rates of depression experiences by many suburban housewives is paralleled by the isolation of mothers with young children who live in high-rise apartments.

Family impact questions related to this dimension are:

Does the problem or need that the program addresses appear to vary in incidence according to the type of neighborhood? If it does, what factors in the neighborhood appear to influence these variations in incidence rate?

Do different neighborhood factors in relation to transportation, and general accessibility account for the degree of success of the particular program unit?

In what ways can and should the overall program design be sensitive to these differences of immediate locale and be flexible in their implementation to allow for them?
The discussion of these two tables has presented a wide range of factors to be considered in any family impact analysis, but only some of them will be found upon close examination to be relevant to the particular program in question. We are using both tables initially as scanning tools to help search out and review various types of information about a particular program. The next step is to consider the relationships between the various elements and factors highlighted by the tables in order to determine which are significant and need to be checked. The checked boxes will then be the subject of the in-depth family impact analysis.

For example, analysis of a provision of the Internal Revenue Code, such as the so-called "marriage penalty" for two earner families at certain income levels, might involve checking the box on Table I which relates membership functioning to socioeconomic characteristics. The question to be asked is what incentives does this provision offer to encourage or discourage marriage at different levels of income? The analysis might also focus on a second checked box, namely what its effect was on the income support functions of families at different life cycle stages. However, other boxes which relate family functioning to the different contexts of families would not appear to be important to this particular analysis.

However, analysis of another type of program, such as the foster care program, will reveal that many more of these relationships are significant for analysis and thus many more boxes on both tables would need to be checked.

This chapter has attempted to formulate the conceptual outline with which we approach family impact analysis and suggest some initial guidelines for determining the relevant questions and needed information for any particular study. We have, ourselves, to test, refine and substantially modify this evolving framework and checklist in our pilot family impact statements on foster care and government as employer. As our resources for performing extensive original research are limited, our experiences may be most relevant to those groups with similar constraints. However, we hope that many of the concepts and questions raised may be helpful and stimulating to anyone involved in family impact analysis.

This paper defines the problems which we have encountered in attempts to use federally-collected data. It also describes the framework we are using to guide our fact-finding efforts.

Problems relating to federally-collected data

As our family impact analyses will be performed from a national rather than a state or local perspective, we have mainly used federal data sources in our fact-finding efforts. These investigations, and the experiences of our Seminar members have revealed a number of short-comings in the federal data which are available to the public. (A listing of a variety of federal data sources is contained in the Appendix.)

We believe that the quality of family-related data fundamentally affects the ability of the government to serve families effectively and efficiently. We are, therefore, concerned about the serious inadequacies in the data which make research, policy planning, and program evaluation very difficult and at times impossible to perform accurately.

One of the major difficulties in working with federally-
collected data is that the data are not centrally located. To perform comprehensive analyses of family situations, it would be necessary to go to many different agencies to obtain the data needed. Furthermore, the data sources are rarely coordinated and/or cross-indexed. Therefore, it is quite difficult to move from one data source to another for more complete analyses. The analyst or researcher must assume the role of detective to locate the information that he/she needs. The lack of coordination has created many problems in the comparability of data among sources. For example, one agency might define "child" or "family" in one way, but another agency would define it differently. (A "child" might be defined as anyone under the age of twenty-one by the first group, but anyone under twelve by the second.) Therefore the two data bases would not be equivalent.

For the purposes of family impact analysis, it is difficult to find data that are analyzed by "family". More frequently, the analysis is by individuals or, even more confusing, by transactions (as in the number of hospital admissions). These factors make family impact analysis and analyses of impacts on individuals (as family members) almost impossible. Often data are gathered without reference to public social programs so that it is not possible to determine if such efforts as medical screening or nutrition supplementation are affecting health status.

We are also concerned that some of the federal data collection efforts are duplicative and/or unduly invasive of family privacy. It appears to us that present safeguards may not adequately control such concerns. Furthermore, in the interests of efficiency, it appears that greater amounts of data are being collected than are being thoroughly analyzed. Most of the current analyses are very simple. The data would be more efficiently used if it were subjected to more in-depth analyses.

In addition to these problems of a general nature, our Seminar members have identified a number of specific problems with existent data. These problems should serve as examples of the types of deficiencies which may exist within any data source or with the use of the data. The limitations are enumerated below.

Specific problems with currently available federal family-related data

1. There is no enumeration by any agency of the total number of children in foster care in the United States, nor how long they remain in care.

2. It is impossible to develop descriptions of the total resource and service packages which families construct for themselves, and thus it is impossible to describe the distribution of public benefits to families, especially whether services are reaching people most in need. There is now some quite good detailed data on sources of income, but we do not know whether some families are maximizing their use of governmental resources while others are not being served at all.

3. From currently available data it is very difficult to describe the dynamics of family life over time and to estimate the incidence and duration of events. For example, the Current Population Survey counts the number of husbands and wives who are separated at a given point in time, but we cannot estimate from the data how many couples ever separate, how long the separations last or how they end. Because so many single parent families result from separation rather than divorce or death, this is an important gap in our knowledge about the proportion of children who ever live in single parent families and the length of time they do so.

4. Children with handicapping conditions are enumerated by one condition only; a large but indeterminate number of children are multiply handicapped. Effective program planning for these children is difficult if not impossible without such information.

5. There is no accurate data on numbers of school-age children who are not attending school, why they are not attending, and for how long they have not been in attendance.

6. Though often available separately, few social indicators are compiled and published together by state or for areas within states. Indicators such as infant mortality rates, numbers of pediatricians, numbers of children in day care, etc., are important for research and planning at the state level where much policy-making is done that affects families. The current fragmentation and lack of specificity by state makes use of such data extremely difficult.

7. Data on children of working mothers reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are confined to children of heads of families. Therefore, grandchildren, nieces, nephews, cousins and unrelated children living in a household are uncounted. For example, the child of a young mother is working, but living with her parents, would not be counted. This is an under-enumeration of approximately 1-2 million children. This exclusion hampers policy research on such things as the need for day care services.

8. In the otherwise excellent tabulations on family structure published annually in the Current Population Report from the Bureau of the Census, there is one important omission; there is no way of determining the number of adults living in a
household containing a specified number of children. The datum is an important one since there is some evidence to suggest that ratio of children to adults in the household is relevant to the effectiveness of child care and development.

9. Most governmental publications categorize individuals as black, white or other. Rarely are breakdowns available for various ethnic groups. This practice precludes analysis of the needs and status of Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, Oriental Americans and Native Americans.

10. There are currently no data available on child support payments for a national sample of significant size. Without such information it is difficult for courts or for HEW to develop reasonable guidelines on expected support payments. It is also impossible to determine the standards of living for separated families, or what welfare saving could be obtained through the use of child support guidelines.

These are some examples of problems which our Seminar members have noted. Other data sources may have similar problems, and analysts should use them with a degree of caution. The Appendix to this chapter contains a list of federal data sources which may be used for family impact analyses. Some of them are excellent, some are poor. Some are good for certain types of analyses but not for others. Our own reliance on any one of these sources will be based on careful consideration of its limitations with knowledgeable sources such as the data collection agency officials and researchers such as those of our Seminar members who have had experience with these data in the past.

The following section describes the framework which we will be using to guide our search for information for our family impact analyses.

Framework for identification and utilization of family impact data

The basis of a family impact analysis is the factual information which describes the policy under study, its implementation, and its effect on families. This paper describes the framework which the Family Impact Seminar will use to guide our fact-finding efforts as we develop our pilot family impact statements. It is our purpose to test this guide for data-gathering, and to encourage others to test it as well. Hopefully, this experience will help us to identify changes, additions, or deletions needed.

The first steps in our pilot family impact analyses have been to obtain general background information on the public policy under study, to identify available resources, and to determine the key family impact issues. As might be expected we have done these things through reading review articles and meeting with a few experts in the field. The reviews have provided us with concrete information about the subject. Interviews have helped to identify major issues and to screen out those that are of less or limited importance.

We have interviewed representatives of the public agencies operating the programs under analysis (HEW, Department of Labor, etc.), advocacy groups with an interest in the area (Children's Defense Fund, Coalition for Children and Youth, National Association of Social Workers), university researchers who have conducted scientific studies on the topic, legislators and their legislative assistants who have written or sponsored legislation on the topics, and providers and recipients of the program services. Counterparts of these on the state or local level should be helpful to groups doing more localized family impact analysis.

We have found that a broad policy or program is too large for the type of analysis we anticipate. Therefore we selected specific foci for each study based on our findings from these early explorations.

With the focus selected (such as the impact of flexible hours as the focus of our government as employer pilot family impact statement) we began to compile information on that specific item.

The remainder of this section outlines the types of data which we have reviewed or will review in order to obtain as complete as possible an overview of the policy focus under study and its implications. While it may not be possible or desirable to obtain complete data on all topics, we are attempting to gather some background information in each category. We hope that the use of this framework will prevent us from omitting critical information, a situation which could render our study incomplete or inaccurate.

The framework for identifying and utilizing family-related data focuses on three dimensions of those data: the function of the family described in the data; the type of data collection; and the form in which the data analysis is presented.
The first dimension is the facet of family life to be examined in the family impact analysis. Broadly, these facets may be defined according to the three major family functions: nurturance, economic support, and membership. These functions correspond to the family functions analyzed by the family impact framework. (See preceding chapter, Table I) Within these functions are a number of specific topics of concern. These include health, education, income maintenance, family planning, child care, employment, mental health, etc. Once the subject of the analysis is selected (such as hours of work), we will proceed to obtain data categorized by the next two dimensions.

The second dimension is the type of data collection. There are two different types of data and they cut across all topical areas. They will also probably be differentially useful at sequential points in the analysis process. The first type is quantitative, simple counts of individuals, families or households. The U.S. Census is an example of this type of data gathering source. These data provide information on how many people, families, households, etc. may be classified in various ways, e.g., single parent, or low income. They will be particularly helpful in establishing the actual or potential scope of the policy's impact, that is in describing the background of the problem.

This category includes social indicators. These are measures of family and national well-being. They include such things as health status, suicide rates, and unemployment rates. It is important to examine these indicators over time, so as to understand how status is changing. For example, to know that the birth rate in 1974 was 1.86 for all American women provides some information, but to place this in the context of a decrease from 1.65 in 1960 adds considerably to one's knowledge about what is happening to family size. Expanding the information beyond fifteen years will add more knowledge, especially in the case of rates that are cyclical—that rise and fall in patterns of several years or decades. Looking at data in this way adds the important perspective of time to family impact analysis.

We plan to use time series and panel data as much as possible in all of the data categories listed here, but particularly in our examination of quantitative data. (Time-series data are collected at sequential points in time on different samples of people. Panel data are collected on the same group of people over time.) Both types will allow us to examine phenomena over time and to be aware of changes, trends, and cycles in society that affect families.

Once the quantitative background is established, we will try to determine why the situation is the way it is. To do this requires information from scientific research studies. These are examinations of issues in which a researcher began with a question or a hypothesis about an issue and devised a systematic way to study it. These examinations include laboratory studies, field experiments, and field studies. They range from research in a child development laboratory as to whether an infant cries when his mother leaves the room, to field experiments to determine if the provision of income support to families encourages them to break up or to stay together. It also includes observations of how people live generally when no "treatment" is interjected into the environment, as how informal social networks operate to support families in time of financial crisis. We plan to examine relevant studies from a variety of disciplines including psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics and history.

The third category of data is impact or evaluation research on the public program or policy on which the family impact analysis is being conducted. Evaluation research is becoming more prevalent and sophisticated as more and more agencies respond to demands for assessment of program effectiveness. However, in many cases no evaluations of the programs under study will exist (especially, of course, if the topic under analysis is proposed legislation). In this situation we plan to use studies of related or pilot programs and draw inferences from them.

Evaluation studies are often compromises between the methodological rigor of scientific research and the vagaries of research in the real world. Therefore, we plan to analyze their methodology carefully and be cognizant of the constraints imposed upon them by the situation. For example, while it is preferable that a study comparing two types of mental health treatment would have subjects randomly assigned to one treatment or another, this may not have been the case in the situation, and groups may have had to be "matched" with each other as closely as possible. These are the types of compromises of which we want to be aware.

Many evaluation studies are never published. They are performed by researchers under contract with a governmental agency and final reports are submitted only to them. Therefore we plan to request such documents from the agency.

1/ We recognize that there are extensive and strict requirements for what comprises "good" research, and to detail them would require a large text. When unsure of the quality of an individual study, it is important to seek an evaluation by someone with appropriate doctoral training in social sciences. The use of faulty research would invalidate much of the family impact analysis.
officials. If particularly relevant evaluations are found, we may also discuss the findings. The researchers themselves, especially if an area of particular interest to our analyses is not completely covered by the written report.

We have found that family impact analysis is often considered to be only program evaluation. While program evaluation is an important component, we see it as only one part of the analysis. Program evaluation provides information about the effects of a program and will be valuable at the point in the analysis at which the background has been described and assessment of impact can begin. However, it does not cover implied or potential impact nor interrelationships with other programs or policies. In our definition of family impact analysis, it is only one piece.

Attitudinal and experiential data comprise the fourth category of needed research. Interviews with families or individual family members, as well as those who serve families, are included here. This type of information will provide background on the attitudes of people toward their life situations. For example, a family impact analysis of teen-age pregnancy programs would need to identify teenagers' reactions to pregnancy and the programs designed to assist them with it, as well as the attitudes of their parents toward these programs. Rather surprisingly, there are not many surveys of this type available. While surveys of business and industry are often used in economic research, few groups (other than the public opinion polls) actually ask families for their opinions about their lives. Some of these few resources are listed in the Appendix.

Case studies and interviews with key resource people will also be valuable resources in this category. We plan to conduct such interviews ourselves to as great an extent as possible.

Cross-cultural and historical data can provide important perspectives to family-related issues. For example, historical information can provide background on how certain programs or policies originated and evolved from their original purposes. It can also define the status of American families in times before standardized data collection efforts were begun. Similarly cross-cultural research surveys add valuable breadth and additional perspective to the study of American policies. For instance, U.S. infant mortality rates may seem to be admirably low until examination of such data from other countries reveals that 16 nations have rates lower than ours.

The final, somewhat different, but very crucial type of information needed includes the legislation, legislative history, and regulations governing the public program under study. In order to determine the impact of a government program, it is, of course, necessary to know the guidelines by which the program is run. We recognize that in practice, these guidelines may be adhered to strictly, partially, or not at all. Therefore, we plan to develop ways—such as visits to local service delivery agents—to determine the extent to which program operations reflect the laws and regulations designed to govern it. (See Table I, p. 27)

The third dimension of the framework represents the forms in which data should be available to allow family relevant, in-depth analyses. In order to complete comprehensive family impact analyses, we feel it is important to examine data that are broken down by many variables. Therefore, we will search for data that first are categorized by family (or at least household) units, as well as by individuals. Beyond this, we will seek breakdowns by ethnic groups, types of family composition, income levels, ecological setting, and stages of the family life cycle. It is unlikely that many organizations involved in family impact analyses (including our own) would have the financial capacity to undertake extensive statistical re-analysis of existing data. Therefore, this multivariate approach for us must depend on data that have already been analyzed using these categories. We particularly want to determine if specific groups are over-represented or discriminated against in any category, that is to determine if the actual or potential impact of a program may differ for one group or another. An example is the high representation of Black and Hispanic children in the foster care system. Information like this will help particularly in determining the most valuable target group focus for a family impact analysis.

The drawing below illustrates how the three dimensions of the framework inter-relate. It may not be necessary or possible for us to fill each cell of the cube. However, it may be necessary to add categories (or dimensions). The framework is not meant to be a rigid structure prescribing our fact-finding, but more of a guideline to provide some direction in our search for data and to enhance the likelihood that the search will be efficient and comprehensive.

We believe that by categorizing the types of data needed in these ways, we will be better able to identify gaps and deficiencies in family-related data collected and analyzed on specific family impact issues in particular.
III. CURRENT FOCUS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PILOT FAMILY IMPACT STATEMENTS

Introduction

In order to test the feasibility of family impact analysis, and test the effectiveness of our evolving framework and working paper on data, we are conducting two pilot family impact analyses to serve as case studies for this process.

By examining "Government as Employer" and "Foster Care" in depth, we hope to be able to obtain initial evidence as to how applicable our analytical framework is. Given the wide variety of policies and impacts, we hope these two case studies will help us learn whether or not any single family impact framework could be a viable approach.

We have chosen "Government as Employer" as one of our policies because of the pervasive and fundamental influence which the world of work has on family life. Foster care was selected because it is a program directed specifically toward relieving stress in families with particular needs.

By conducting these analyses we hope to examine the feasibility of such undertakings in terms of time and expertise required, public and professional acceptance of the products, comprehensibility of the products, and relevance of the process to the analysis of other public policies. The results of the family impact analysis process should suggest to us whether such efforts have further potential.

Our family impact framework—while promising—is still an emerging and untested model, and the relevant data has seldom been collected or analyzed in the necessary ways. Thus, we do not expect to produce definitive or sophisticated family impact statements. Instead, the primary goal of these will be to learn by doing: to test and improve our preliminary framework by actually using it.
CHAPTER III. CURRENT FOCUS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PILOT FAMILY IMPACT STATEMENTS

A. GOVERNMENT AS EMPLOYER

The federal government as a case study

As part of its overall effort to develop a process for assessing the impact of public policies on families, the Family Impact Seminar chose to analyze the conditions of employment on the assumption that people's work lives have fundamental and complex effects on their family lives. We picked the federal government as a case study both because its employment practices are a public policy and because it employs the largest numbers of Americans in a wide range of jobs. Its policies, practices and example can influence other sectors of the economy.

Historical neglect of work/family interconnections

As sociologist Rosabeth Kanter, and others, have pointed out, until recently American social science and public policies have paid slight attention to the ways in which people's work experiences affect their family lives. In spite of widespread agreement that the family and the economy are linked in broad ways—for example, that family circumstances are closely tied to the financial earnings of workers—the specific intersections between work and family have been ignored in policies and treated in only a handful of studies. The transactions between occupations and families as connected organizers of experience, and as systems of social relations, have been virtually overlooked. Only a few studies consider the experiences of people in both their family and work situations by looking at them in both contexts. The myth of the separate worlds has prevailed in both scholarly and policy approaches to the topic.

Recent demographic trends in relation to work

Several recent social changes have fostered a current interest in looking at these issues more closely. Most prominently, the increased labor force participation of American women (now 48.5 per cent, the highest proportion since 1890 when the data was first collected) has dramatized the connection between work and family activities. The fact that nearly half of these working women have minor children has heightened concern about the extent to which work systems allow people to maintain effective participation in both worlds. Similarly, a rise in the number of single-parent families has directed attention to the question of bridging the two worlds. Currently, one in every six children under 18 years lives in a single-parent family; one out of ten times, the one parent is a mother who is often employed.

In addition to the concern with the conditions of work as they affect mothers of minor children, several other demographic trends also suggest the need to examine work family interfaces at this time. Many members of the fastest growing segment of the population—those over 65 years—wish to sustain their work lives in some fashion beyond mandatory retirement. Many younger people wish to have some employment while also taking academic courses, ideally jobs related to future long-term careers. Many handicapped workers would like work arrangements which allow less physical strain.

Competition between work and family time

To focus this topic for purposes of the Family Impact Seminar, we first identified the range of ways in which the federal government both as policy-maker and as employer affects workers' families, directly or indirectly. From this spectrum we pinpointed schedules, or hours of work, to examine in more depth. Among the ways in which work affects people's family lives—for example, the availability of jobs, family compensation, the quality of the work environment, etc.—hours of work are only one factor. But the competition between time for work and time for family has become a growing problem for an increasing number of Americans.

Most of the 95 per cent of employed Americans who work away from home also require non-work time—often particular segments of time—to manage, coordinate, and mediate family functions. Depending on what members of a particular family has at a particular life-stage, and what its income level and priorities may be, family needs may include child and household care, care for a grandparent, or other activities and interests. The flexibility with which people can schedule and take care of family responsibilities will ease or exacerbate the tensions created by scarce time. Thus, hours of work provides one perspective from which to observe and analyze the impact of one kind of public policy on American families.

Although little research has been done on these issues, a few recent findings suggest the importance of beginning to examine the competition between work time and family time in contemporary American families. In his large, six-country study on family stress, for example, Cornell sociologist Urie Bronfenbrenner found that inflexibility of working hours was one of the most stressful problems for families in his pilot group. In a "technology assessment" of alternative work

\[1\] For example, fiscal and monetary policies affecting availability of work; unemployment compensation; eligibility criteria for work through the civil service system; affirmative action; pay scales and advancement policies; job security; work locations; transportation; child care facilities; transfer policies; benefits; quality of work environment, etc.
Flexible schedules also may have even more subtle, indirect, and long-term effects on families which we may be able to explore in our family impact analysis. For example, starting to explore in our family impact analysis, we may be able to learn that working early in the morning, and leaving work later, may alleviate traffic tangles and delays for the commuter. This would allow the parent to participate in community activities, and to participate in the traffic flow, thus improving the mood of the parent. If the parent is a woman, she may be able to allocate more time to her family responsibilities. In the case of a housewife, for example, she may have more time to spend with her children, and to participate in their activities. In addition, the parent may be able to spend more time with their spouse, and to participate in joint activities. This may improve the parent's self-esteem, and may reduce stress on the family. In addition, the parent may be able to allocate more time to community activities, and to participate in community activities. This may improve the parent's self-esteem, and may reduce stress on the family. In addition, the parent may be able to allocate more time to community activities, and to participate in community activities. This may improve the parent's self-esteem, and may reduce stress on the family.
Family impact questions in terms of work schedules

In brief, the kinds of questions we hope to explore by way of investigating the differential effects of various work schedules on different families at various life stages would include some of the following:

- Which workers feel more involved in their family lives?
- Which workers feel they do better jobs as parents?
- Which workers report less difficulty in managing their responsibilities?
- Which workers share family responsibilities more equally with their spouses?
- Which workers have more positive interaction with their children?
- Which workers report less difficulty in managing their responsibilities?
- Which workers feel they have more control over their lives?

Timetable for developing family impact statements on work schedules in federal service

Our tentative timetable for work on this project is the following. In February and March, we have begun preparation of the design and instruments for the survey of the effects of work schedules on families. In May and June, we plan to conduct the field administration of the questionnaires. In September, we hope to draft preliminary statements about the impacts of standard and flexible schedules on various kinds of families, and during the fall of 1976, we hope to complete a report and recommendations on the topic. Throughout this process, we will benefit from the advice of our Advisory Committee on Work Schedules and Family Impacts, which includes members of the seminar and other individuals knowledgeable about work policies and family research.

ADDENDUM - ON FLEXITIME, PART-TIME AND OVERTIME IN CIVILIAN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

Flexitime

Within the federal government, "flexitime" refers to those programs which utilize "core time," when all employees must be at work, and "flexible time," when employees may exercise some choice about arrival and departure. Core times are usually mid-morning and mid-afternoon, for a total of five or six hours, and flexible time is usually at the beginning, middle and end of the day. Particular arrangements have been worked out at the local unit levels, ideally in a process which accommodates employer and employee needs. Since the concept was first introduced into the federal service in 1974, the civilian federal work force on flexitime has risen to 6.4 per cent (141,000 persons) as of May 1976. Evaluations of these government experiments, like those in the private sector, have reported high levels of satisfaction from employers and employees. Benefits cited usually include greater productivity; reduction in tardiness, turnover, and use of sick days; increased job satisfaction and morale; and longer service hours for the public. Widespread support exists for the legislation to expand flexitime, although some unions fear the loss of overtime opportunities for members.

Part-time

The variations on flexible scheduling called part-time, or part-week work, present related, but even more complex questions for analysis in terms of family impact. Only about 2 per cent of the federal civilian work force hold regularly scheduled ("permanent") part-time jobs. Moreover, most of these (86 per cent) are in the lower grade levels (GS 5 and below). Another 6 per cent of the federal force hold intermittent part-time positions. Taken together, these figures are lower than the 17 per cent of private sector workers who are employed part-time. Finally, three-quarters of federal part-time workers are women, and only a fraction of them are in the grade levels above GS 5. Again, there is no aggregate data on their ages or family circumstances, but knowledgeable government officials estimate that most of these women have minor children.

To see the part-time/full-time question in still wider perspective, it is also necessary to consider the issue in the context of a steady reduction of working time: 1) in the length of the working day from 1900-1940; 2) in the adoption of paid holidays and vacations; and more recently 3) in the reduction of lifetime hours of work through delayed labor force entry (by prolonged schooling) and earlier retirement. Looked at from an evolutionary standpoint, distinctions

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between part-time and full-time have meaning only within their historical moment. The bills to extend part-time career opportunities in government service would continue this historical trend by recognizing the imbalances in the way that work is distributed, both over a person's lifetime and among various members of society and by constituting concrete efforts to alter the patterns.

Pending legislation would modify personnel ceiling rules and would require that all federal agencies establish and maintain a program for part-time career employment. (Mandatory provisions, which would have required all agencies to make 2 per cent of their positions available annually to part-time workers until a 10 per cent level was reached, were eliminated in the version of the bill (HR 10126) which is awaiting approval in the House.)

The Civil Service Commission and the Office of Management and Budget opposed this earlier "quota" version of the legislation, but have not yet reported their views on the revised bill. In general they have felt that administrative authority already exists for expanding part-time work, if only more agencies would do so. Some unions object to the bills for fear that the increasing part-time work will 1) curtail promotional opportunities; 2) lower wages; 3) keep women marginal; and 4) reduce job security. Others object to the increased administrative costs for part-time (about 6 per cent more for two part-time vs. one full-time worker, although reduced overtime needs may produce net savings).

The part-time issue raises many complex family impact questions which might be usefully explored in an interview phase of our proposed survey of federal employees. For example, in terms of current conditions, just increasing the number of part-time positions may leave many equity questions unanswered between mothers and fathers. Because three-fourths of part-time workers are female and they are concentrated at low-level marginal positions, simply creating more part-time jobs proportionately in existing categories would not increase part-timers' access to higher level, higher paying jobs. Even though the proposed legislation for federal employees would require 2 per cent increases in each GS grade, reluctance of administrative authority to pay overtime which intrude on employees' family time have been reported (e.g. in a district office of the Social Security Administration in Michigan), the way in which overtime presents a problem in government service most of the time pressures and scheduling problems for single parents and two earner families, there are portions of the federal work force for whom overtime and overwork do present serious problems.

Although occasional pockets of supervisor-required overtime which intrude on employees' family time have been reported, a similar phenomenon in the private sector. In general, it is the work habits of aspiring and/or high level professionals who expect, and are expected, to work routinely for more than 40 hours a week to fulfill their assignments. Performance of these expectations, and willingness to accept increasing amounts of work, is one sine qua non of promotion to the level of responsibility and recognition they seek. For such professionals, the years of "proving" oneself and of striving for these greater opportunities coincide with the years of bearing and rearing young children. As increasing numbers of women aspire to such careers, and when two such professionals marry and become parents, the pressures on family life take quantum leaps.

Underlying the phenomenon of thousands of high level government professionals working very long hours are many other complex factors. The ethic of hard work is nurtured in people who reach these job levels throughout their formative years and educational training. This professional culture makes "work," for its own sake, the highest cause. Private attorneys, physicians, academics and executives in many fields exhibit the same tendencies to work intensively more of their waking hours in whatever enterprise they are engaged. In turn, these hard-driving professionals judge those who work with and for them by standards to which they hold themselves. Recreation, socializing, friendships, family—or any other concern—are less consuming and less valued for these people than work.

While it seem inevitable that these working patterns affect the family lives of such professionals, again there of the portion vary widely depending on whom one asks—we have opportunities to pursue this work time issue in family impact analysis because the form it takes is not primarily a public policy issue.

For the majority of federal employees, in fact, overtime represents a minor concern. On the basis of the overtime kept track of and paid, for employees covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the average overtime per person totals only twelve minutes per day. But in the same way that the reduction in the average length of the work week disguises the time pressures and scheduling problems for single parents and two earner families, there are portions of the federal work force for whom overtime and overwork do present serious problems.

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is little empirical data about the ways in which these effects are manifested in particular families. But in terms of the scope of the Family Impact Seminar, because these issues are not amenable to legislative or administrative policy actions, we will not explore them further in the context of our pilot statements.

For our study on the effects of work schedules on families we have received help from Seminar members Mary Jo Bane, Urie Bronfenbrenner, Beverly Crabtree, John Demos, Sheila Kamerman, Jerome Kagan, Rosabeth Moss Kanter, Luis Loeza, Robert Leik, Salvador Minuchin and Isabel Sawhill. Others who have contributed to our thinking on the survey so far are Fred Best, Ellen Ritter, Linda Tatum, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Washington, D.C.; Stanley Nolen, School of Business, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.; Chaya Piotrowski, New School for Social Research, New York City; Joseph Pleck, Division of Home Economics, University of Massachusetts; Mary Sue Richardson, Department of Counselor Education, New York University; Sharon Weinberg, Department of Math and Science, New York University; Richard Winett, Institute for Behavioral Research, Silver Spring, Maryland.

CHAPTER III

B. FOSTER CARE

Public foster care is a governmental response to family stress or breakdown in which the child is removed from its biological family, either voluntarily or coercively, and placed in a foster home, group home or children's institution until maturity, adoption, or reunification with the biological family takes place. Foster care was originally developed as a temporary response to the needs of homeless or neglected children, or children in danger of becoming delinquent. It now is often used as a permanent situation for children with living parents who by their own or society's determination are unable to care for these dependents. Children frequently drift in foster care for years when no alternatives are available of utilized to provide them with a permanent living situation.

Foster care is an area of especially appropriate study for the Family Impact Seminar as it represents one of the most direct ways in which government seeks to serve the needs of families. It provides a valuable service to those families who are unable to care for their children. However, it often has questionable results. While foster care is designed to provide immediate and direct relief to families under stress or to children in danger, it may also promote family dissolution, subject children to extended periods in the limbo of successive temporary placements, and impede efforts for family reunification. Therefore, the examination of its impact on families will be complex.

Foster care is a particularly relevant issue for study because there is current national interest and legislative activity in this area. There are variations in the attitudes and approaches of various ethnic groups to the needs of dependent children within these groups--differences to which public policy should respond. There are legal and ethical questions involved in the conjunctive issues of termination of parental rights, the child's right to permanency, increase in child abuse reporting, and the deinstitutionalization thrusts in mental health and juvenile justice.

These issues both complicate and enrich the topic of foster care as a subject for family impact analysis. Consideration of them will provide us with experience and insight in the examination of the effects of governmental programs on families.

Other organizations have examined the foster care system from the perspective of the child, the foster parents, or the governmental agency. The Family Impact Seminar analysis may be unique in its examination of the foster care
will be on the biological family of the fostered child, but we will also examine the impact of foster care on the foster family (especially if it is a relatively permanent placement), the adoptive family, and the extended family. The impact of foster care on the child is, of course, included here with the child as a family member being studied in that context. We will examine the ways in which the foster care system affects families of all these types.

Emphasis

The impact of federal foster care policy on the family is our primary interest. The pending legislation in this area will be a central concern in this analysis. However, we also hope to examine the operation of the foster care system at all three levels of government--federal, state and local. From our preliminary discussions and reading, it appears that there are strengths and weaknesses in the system at all levels. Provision of additional federal funds and regulations alone would not relieve the problems at the local level which stem from professional philosophies that are not supportive of biological families not oriented toward family reunification. Conversely, well-intentioned professionals at the local level can do little to provide these services if they are overloaded and underfunded. The three-tiered analysis will seek to examine the strengths and weaknesses at all government levels--most extensively at the federal level, but with at least a limited examination of program policy and implementation in one or two states and localities. We hope this will enable us to trace the effect of policies through the various layers of government. In this part of the analysis, we will use the components of policy implementation outlined in the Evolving Checklist, Table II, for guidance.

Advisory Committee

We have selected an Advisory Committee composed of seminar members, representatives of state governmental agencies that administer foster care services, representatives of service, advocacy, and research groups involved in foster care studies, a foster parent, and researchers with expertise in foster care. These individuals are assisting us in the identification of major family issues in foster care and in the selection of two of these issues on which to focus our study. They have also helped to more thoroughly examine the evolving analytic frameworks, making additions and revisions to them. On the advice of the Committee we have structured the study so that we will examine one topic in depth, obtain an evaluation of that analysis from the Committee, and then undertake a second topic for analysis.

In addition to the Advisory Committee members we have selected a group of "corresponding" committee members. These individuals receive all of our materials and respond to them by telephone or letter. They are a larger and even more diverse group of individuals, also with particular expertise in foster care. (A list of both groups follows.) Finally, and very importantly, will be a committee of foster parents, current or former foster children, and biological parents whose children are in foster care. These individuals will advise us on their experiences as consumers in the foster care delivery system, and will review and make recommendations regarding our work.

Analysis Process

As a first step in the analysis we undertook an extensive review of the foster care literature. We also interviewed a number of knowledgeable individuals in the field of foster care. From these two sources we developed a descriptive foster care background paper based on the evolving analytic framework. It describes the foster care system in general and its differential effects on families in particular. This document will serve as an overview for the final family impact statement on foster care.

Because the subject of foster care is so broad, we are focusing our analysis on two topics within the subject. The first topic will be the policies and practices which serve to encourage or inhibit the reunification of children in foster care with their biological families. The second will be chosen in the summer from the other topics which we are considering as possible subjects for study. All are important and would make worthwhile subjects for family impact analysis. They include assumption of family functions by governmental foster care agencies; adoption subsidies; psychological effects of foster care on children; the lack of appropriate training in foster care and adoption practices for social work students and the lack of appropriate in-service training for caseworkers; the unique experiences of Indian families involved in foster care placement; the phenomenon of children drifting in foster care; the over-representation of children from minority families in the foster care system; the effects of deinstitutionalization efforts in juvenile justice and mental health on foster care; the relationship of other social service programs to foster care; the role of the foster family in the foster care system; the use of formal periodic review procedures in foster care; foster care as an irreplaceable resource for families under stress; and the role of the courts in the foster care system.
Conclusion

Family impact analysis, while a topic of much national interest, is a relatively new concept. We believe the development of the family impact statement on foster care and the family impact analysis process used to produce it will be major contributions to the study of the feasibility of family impact analysis.

Once the foster care family impact statement is fully developed it will be widely circulated to cooperating organizations for their evaluations. Formal presentations and written drafts of the findings will be made to salient child welfare and foster care organizations. These comments will be appraised and incorporated into final documents. Evaluation, criticism and revision are critical components in the work of the seminar, and we actively seek and welcome such input.

FOSTER CARE ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Our committee includes Seminar members Nancy Amidei, Luis Laosa, Salvador Minuchin, Robert Mnookin and Martha Phillips. This study is funded by the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation. Peter Forsythe, Vice President of the Foundation, serves as Program Officer for this grant. Other Committee members are:

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Children's Defense Fund
Washington, D.C.

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Child Welfare League
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Gregory Cole
Associate Commissioner
N.Y. State Department of Social Services
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New York City

Ruth Ann Haussling
Foster and adoptive parent
Great Falls, Virginia

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Hattie Williams
Greater Minneapolis Day Care Association
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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This includes Seminar members William Daniel Jr., Nicholas Hobbs, Jerome Kagan and:

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Director, Quinault Social Services
Tahola, Washington

David Evans
Mississippi University for Women
Columbus, Mississippi

David Fanshel
Columbia University School for Social Work
New York City

Tom Falden
Chief of Licensing Services
Illinois State Department of Children and Family Services
Springfield, Illinois

Alfred Herbert
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American Association of Psychiatric Services for Children
Washington, D.C.

Trude Lash
Senior Scientist
Foundation for Child Development
New York City
APPENDIX A

Selected List of Federal Data Sources

The reader is reminded that listing of the following data sources does not imply unequivocal sanction of their use. Critical consideration of their strengths and weaknesses is suggested before analysis is based upon them. The major data sources located to date are listed below.

QUANTITATIVE DATA

A. Nurturant, Economic, and Membership Functions

1. U.S. Decennial Census -- number of persons in family, relationship, sex, age, race, marital status, income, children ever born, age at marriage, place of birth, residential history, educational attainment, language, citizenship, type, place and transportation to work, veteran status. Data available by census tracts, cities, counties, metropolitan areas, states, and the nation. (Available from Bureau of the Census, Publications Services, Room 1061, Building 4, Washington, D.C. 20233. Tel: (202) 783-5853.)

2. Current Population Survey -- same as above but conducted on a sample of the population, about 40,000 respondents. Additional questions asked, conducted annually. (Available from above address.)

3. Census Subject Reports -- reports from the Census in such areas as ethnic groups, migration, fertility, marriage and living arrangements, education, employment, occupation and industry, income and low income areas. (Available from above address.)

4. Supplementary Report Series -- special interest studies issued periodically on such topics as a survey of job-seeking activity, food stamp recipiency. Based on Current Population Survey. (May also be obtained from above address.)

5. Directory of Federal Statistics for Local Areas, 1966 -- last issue. (May be obtained from Bureau of the Census, as above.)

6. American Statistical Index -- a guide to statistical publications of the federal government. (Congressional Information Service, 7101 Wisconsin Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20014. Cost of annual issue is $400.)

7. Social Indicators, 1973 and 1976 -- an OMB and Census Bureau publication containing statistics which describe social conditions and trends in the U.S. in the areas of health, public safety, education, employment, income, housing, leisure, and recreation. (Government Printing Office, Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402. $7 per copy.)


B. Economic Functions of the Family: Employment and Income


2. Geographic Profiles of Employment and Unemployment -- annual series of the employed and unemployed in 19 states and 30 cities. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, Office of Data Analysis, 523-123.)

3. Publications also available from Bureau of Labor Statistics on workers receiving unemployment compensation, estimates of statistics. Also research is available on productivity, occupational safety, and health, prices and living conditions. (Available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics as above.)

4. The Consumer Income Series of the Bureau of the Census is derived from the Current Population Survey. Subjects covered include money income of families and persons, household and annual mean income, characteristics of the poverty population, for men in the U.S. for selected years. (Available from the Bureau of the Census.)

5. Five Thousand American Families--Patterns of Economic Progress: Analyses of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics by James Morgan. (Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, P.O. Box 1248, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.)

HOUSING

1. Decennial Housing Census -- contains information on specific
characteristics of housing structure from plumbing to home financing to presence of luxury appliances. Nationwide, a series of publications are available from this census. (Available from HUD Publication Services, 451 7th Street, S.W., B258, Washington, D.C. 20410. Tel: (202) 755-6420.)

2. Annual Housing Survey -- conducted annually by HUD based on a national sample. Information is similar to the Housing Census. Report number H-130/year. (Available from HUD address as above.)

3. Housing Vacancy Survey -- quarterly and annual reports on residential alternatives and repairs. Report 2-111. (Available from HUD as above.)

4. Survey of Market Absorption -- quarterly and annual reports on apartments, size, rent, vacancy rates, etc. Report 4-130. (Available from HUD as above.)

5. Current Construction Reports -- data on new housing starts. Report 5-C-41. (Available from HUD as above.)

6. Survey of Residential Child Care Facilities: a 1966 survey by Pappenport at the University of Chicago for the Department of Maternal and Child Health. (Available from the National Institute of Mental Health, 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland 20857.)

7. Patients in Public Institutions for the Mentally Retarded. (Available from the Census Bureau.)

8. Sourcebook of Criminal Justice -- chapter on "Juvenile Institutions, State and Local" pp. 194-199. (Available from the Bureau of the Census, 5660 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland 20857.)


C. Nurturance and Membership Functions of the Family: Mental Health

1. National Center for Health Statistics collects and analyzes health statistics and data on health resources and facilities. The Vital Statistics Data System covers births, deaths, infant, and maternal mortality, and low birth weights based on local and national health reporting. Surveys and studies produced also include the Health Interview Survey, Health Examination Survey, Master Facility Interview Survey, Health Examination Surveys, Inventory, National Inventory of Family Planning Clinics, Co-operative Health Statistics System, Health Manpower Inventory, Survey of Manpower in Hospitals, National Nursing Home Survey, System, and National Survey of Family Growth. (Available from National Center for Health Statistics, 3700 East-West Highway, Room 157, Center Building, Hyattsville, Maryland 20782. Tel: (301) 436-8300.)

2. Biometrics unit at the National Institute of Mental Health contains health data on children in group facilities. (Available from National Center for Health Statistics, 3700 East-West Highway, Room 157, Center Building, Hyattsville, Maryland 20782. Tel: (301) 436-8300.)

3. Medicaid Statistics -- annual publication which includes information on the number of recipients, distribution payments under Title XIX and average monthly payments. (Available from National Institute for Social Statistics, Administration for Public Service, HUD, Room 2118, 330 C Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20537.)


5. Center for Disease Control -- survey on epidemiology of childhood and other diseases, immunization rates, VD rates, mortality. (Center for Disease Control, Room 8-65, Parklawn Building, 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland 20857. Tel: (301) 443-2610.)

6. Survey of Children with Severe Mental Disturbances -- published by the National Center for Health Statistics. (Available from State Title I offices, State Education Departments.)

7. Survey of Children in Institutions for Neglected or Delinquent Children or Children in Adult Correctional Institutions -- Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title I Form E-4376. (Available from National Center for Health Statistics, 3700 East-West Highway, Room 157, Center Building, Hyattsville, Maryland 20782. Tel: (301) 436-8300.)

8. Annual Survey of Children in Institutions for Neglected or Delinquent Children or in Correctional Institutions -- Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title I Form E-4376. (Available from State Title I offices.)

9. Survey of Institutionalized Persons 1966 -- conducted by the Census Bureau for the Social and Rehabilitation Service. No one under 13 was interviewed although they were counted. (Available from the Census Bureau.)
Nurturance and Membership Functions of the Family: Education

1. National Center for Educational Statistics -- collects data from local and state education agencies. Studies and surveys include pre-primary, elementary and secondary school surveys and reports, higher education survey, adult and vocational education surveys, and developmental projects. (400 Maryland Avenue, S.W. Room 3147, Washington, D.C. 20202 or Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.)

2. National Assessment of Educational Progress -- Education Commission of the States for Office of Education selected and tested a sample of 9, 13 and 17 year olds on a range of subject matter areas. (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1860 Lincoln Street, Denver, Colorado 80203. Tel: (303) 861-4917.)


4. National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 -- an eight-year investigation into the education, job training, and vocational histories of a nationally representative sample of 22,000 young people who were high school seniors in 1972. (National Center for Educational Statistics, 400 Maryland Avenue, S.W. Room 3147, Washington, D.C. 20202. Tel: (202) 472-5710.)

5. Pre-primary Enrollments -- data on enrollments of children, ages 3 to 6, in pre-primary educational programs. Derives from the Current Population Survey. (Available from the National Center for Educational Statistics, address as above.)

Nurturance and Membership Functions of the Family: Child Care

1. National Child Care Consumer Survey 1975 (Available from Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, Day Care Division, P.O. Box 1182, Room 2726, Washington, D.C. 20013. Tel: (202) 755-7430.)

2. Survey of Hospitals Operating Child Care Centers 1970 (Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, 200 Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20210.)

3. Child Care Data and Materials 1974 -- Senate Finance Committee Study; survey of licensed day care centers and family care homes. (Senate Finance Committee, 2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510. Tel: (202) 224-3121. Enclose an address label.)


Nurturance and Membership Functions of the Family: Welfare

1. Children Served by Public Welfare Agencies and Voluntary Child Welfare Agencies and Institutions -- National Center for Social Statistics. (Although the National Center for Social Statistics no longer exists, copies of its publications can be obtained from Administration for Public Service, Room 1113, 330 C Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20201.)


3. Monthly AFDC and Foster Care Payments -- National Center for Social Statistics, obtainable as above.

4. Indian Child Welfare Survey -- published by the Association of American Indian Affairs for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20245. Tel: (202) 343-7445.)

5. Public Assistance Statistics -- includes data on programs of future expenditures (including time series analysis). (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20201. Tel: (202) 245-6451.)

Nurturance and Membership Functions of the Family: Nutrition

1. Food and Nutrition Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Data are compiled on participation in USDA school nutrition programs. (Food and Nutrition Information and Educational Materials Center, 100 Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20210.)

2. Survey of Hospitals Operating Child Care Centers 1970 (Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, 200 Constitution Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20210.)

3. Child Care Data and Materials 1974 -- Senate Finance Committee Study; survey of licensed day care centers and family care homes. (Senate Finance Committee, 2227 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510. Tel: (202) 224-3121. Enclose an address label.)


Nurturance and Membership Functions of the Family: Correction

1. Crime in the United States -- Federal Bureau of Investigation. Covers such topics as number of arrests. (F.B.I., J. Edgar Hoover 10553.)
2. Criminal Victimization in the U.S. -- a National Crime Panel Survey Report provides information only on those victimized by crimes in which the victim was over 12 years of age. (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 633 Indiana Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20531.)

Experimental research

Rather than listing experimental research studies on families (a mammoth task), the following list contains information on several federal and non-federal literature search systems which will assist the analyst in the location of relevant studies.

All of these search systems are computerized. This fact, of course, does not rule out the older technique used in literature searches of physically perusing indexes and abstracts for relevant titles. In fact, this method may be preferable when funds are short and volunteer (or student) labor is plentiful.

COMPUTERIZED INFORMATION SOURCES

1. Congressional Research Service -- SCORPIO system -- contains indexed information on bibliographies, book articles, government publications. It is designed for quick research work for congressional staffs. It can be operated at the request of a Congressman, Senator or authorized legislative branch agency. A resource book Federal Information Sources and Systems lists many of the sources contained in the SCORPIO system. (Congressional Research Service, 1st Street, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20540.)

2. Medlars (Medical Literature Analysis and Retrieval System) -- a system operated by the National Library of Medicine. It catalogs medical articles, drug information, and experimental techniques. (ADP and Telecommunications Resource Division, 200 Independence Avenue, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20201. Tel: (202) 245-6541.)

3. National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce -- a system designed for use by federal agencies and the public. It contains information on government-sponsored research, development and engineering reports and other analyses prepared by Federal agencies and their contractors or grantees from 1964 to the present. (National Technical Information Service, 585 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22151. Tel: (703) 557-4680.)


5. Smithsonian Science Information Exchange -- a clearinghouse for information about ongoing or recently terminated scientific research projects by federal and non-federal agencies. Contains 200 word abstracts. (Smithsonian Science Information Exchange, 1730 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 381-4211.)

6. Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information -- searches on any topic related to mental health. Surveys journals and books in the field. Over 75,000 entries. Available to the public and professionals but not to students, at no charge. (Mental Health Information Systems Section, Rockwall Building, Room 505, 11400 Rockville Pike, Rockville, Maryland 20852. Tel: (301) 443-4517.)

7. Interagency Research Information System (IRIS) -- operated by the Social Research Group at George Washington University. The system catalogs all ongoing research in early childhood and adolescence that is funded by the 26 member federal agencies or agency divisions. (Social Research Group, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037.)

8. ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) System -- a computerized research clearinghouse for published and unpublished educational research. Abstracts and documents available. (Available through most large university libraries.)

9. Psychological Abstracts -- computerized research clearinghouse for published psychological research. (Available through most large university libraries.)

10. Library of Congress Bibliographic Citation File (CITN) -- reference and bibliographic searches on library holdings in science and technology. Referral services on an indexed inventory of 6,000 information resources. (Library of Congress, 1st and Independence Avenue, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20201.)

11. RANN System -- National Science Foundation. The acronym stands for Research Applied to National Needs and covers policy analysis-related topics primarily concerned with environment, resources, productivity, and energy. (Division of Information Systems, 1800 G Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20550. Tel: (202) 612-7371.)

INFORMATION SOURCE REFERENCES

and information systems containing fiscal, budgetary, and program-related data and information and a brief description of their content. (Available from the Government Printing Office.)

2. Directory of Federal Statistics for States -- A Guideline to Sources 1967 -- lists types of data available on topics from population to agriculture, including education, health, income, labor, and welfare. (Available from the Census Bureau address as above.)


4. Directory of Computerized Data Files and Related Software Available from Federal Agencies -- guide to machine-readable data files, data bases, and related software. More than 500 files are listed including ones in education, population, consumer affairs, welfare services, vital statistics. (Available from the National Technical Information Service, address above.)

5. Statistical Services of the U.S. Government, Office of Management and Budget, 1975. A very general listing of the agencies and the types of data they collect. Includes such items as the census of population, housing. Also lists agency publications. (Available from the Government Printing Office.)

EVALUATION RESEARCH


2. Reports on Feasibility Studies, 76th Congressional Services. (From the Government Printing Office.)


4. Grants Management Information System, Office of Human Development, DHHS. Provides current information on all OHD-funded grants. (ADP and Telecommunication Resources Division, 200 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20201.)

Some evaluation references will also be contained in the computerized information retrieval systems listed earlier.

LEGISLATION AND REGULATIONS

1. The Federal Domestic Assistance Catalog -- a listing of all federal domestic programs, their authorization, and brief description of the program. (Available from the Government Printing Office.)

2. The United States Code -- this is the legal basis for programs; the laws as passed by the U.S. Congress, categorized by subject matter. (Available from the Government Printing Office.)

3. Statutes-at-Large -- listing of acts as passed by Congress prior to codification. (Available at law school libraries.)


5. Federal Register -- a daily publication of proposed regulations, agency rules. Presidential proclamations and Executive Orders. The publication by the Federal Register Protecting Your Right to Privacy notes which groups of people on which federal agencies have data. These include a variety of evaluation study and demonstration program participants. (Available from the Superintendent of Documents as above.)

ATTITUIONAL SURVEYS


3. Developmental Continuity Consortium Follow-up Study. Cornell University. Interviews with 1,000 low-income children and parents who are former participants in early educational intervention programs in 12 sites. Questions ranged from aspirations to self-evaluations to amounts of television watched. (Reports available from Research Division, Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, P.O. Box 1183, Washington, D.C. 20024.)

Parents interviewed on family needs for social services.

5. Roper and Gallup polls on issues affecting families. Survey Data for Trend Analysis -- An Index to Repeated Questions in U.S. National Surveys Held by the Roper Public Opinion Research Center. (Social Science Research Council, 1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036.)

HISTORICAL DATA


APPENDIX B

Selected Bibliography

We have listed below a broad selection of key books, journal articles and papers written by Seminar members and others that have been particularly influential in the approach and work of the Family Impact Seminar and which we believe may be of interest to others. Our emphasis is primarily on fairly recent publications and omissions, for example, numerous "classic" sociological texts and articles. This selection does not aim to be in any way comprehensive. However, several of the references listed below include excellent bibliographies.


CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND. Doctors and Dollars are Not Enough. (This is only one of a series of excellent and relevant reports. Other reports focus on children out of school, school suspensions, children in adult jails, and the EPSDT screening program.) Washington, D.C.: Washington Research Program, Inc., 1976.


EARLY CHILDHOOD PROJECT of the Education Commission of the States, Carnegie Council on Children, and Coalition for Children and Youth. The Children's Political Checklist. (This is a report designed...


HOBBS, Nicholas, Ed. The Futures of Children. San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1975. (This is the final report of the Project on the Classification of Exceptional Children, of which Dr. Hobs was the Director.)


TALBOT, Nathan B., Ed. Raising Children in Modern America: Problems and Prospective Solutions. (Of particular relevance are articles by Jerome Kagan, "The Psychological Requirements for Human Development," Patricia and Salvador Minuchin, "The
Policy and Families Research Centers

Listed below is a selection of research centers and programs whose primary focus is on families and that have a strong interest in policy issues which affect families. This list is not intended to be completely comprehensive, and was compiled solely on the basis of those centers which are known to the Seminar staff and members. Not included in the list are many university-based child and family development departments or centers, centers whose primary focus is on children or women, or centers that are mainly concerned with poverty, or ethnicity and pluralism. The work of all these other centers clearly has much relevance to policy issues regarding families.

Black Family Research Project
Westside Community Mental Health Center
1255 Port Street, Suite 900
San Francisco, Calif. 94109
Telephone: (415) 865-0300
Director: Wade Nobles

Center for the Family 1/
American Home Economics Association
2010 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone: (202) 862-8300
Director: Kinsey Green

Center for the Family
Division of Home Economics
Skinner Hall
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Mass. 01003
Telephone: (413) 545-2393
Associate Director: Joseph Pleck

Center for Research on Women, Program in
Studies on the Relationship between Families and Work,
Wellesley College, Cheever House
828 Washington Street
Wellesley, Mass. 02181
Telephone: (617) 235-6360
Director: Laura Lein

Center for the Study of Families and Children
Vanderbilt University
P.O. Box 151, Station B
Nashville, Tenn. 37235
Telephone: (615) 322-3535
Director: Nicholas Hobbs

Center for the Study of Family and the State
Duke University
4875 Duke Station
Durham, N.C. 27706
Telephone: (919) 684-2871
Director: Carol Stack

Cross-National Studies of Social Service Systems and Family Policy
Columbia University School of Social Work
622 West 113th Street
New York, N.Y. 10025
Telephone: (212) 280-5444
Co-directors: Alfred Kahn and Sheila Kamerman

Family Research Institute
113 Faculty Office Building
Brigham Young University
Provo, Utah 84602
Telephone: (801) 374-1211 Ext. 2948
Director: Howard Barr

Family Study Center
Division of Home Economics
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma 74074
Telephone: (405) 624-6697
Director: Mary C. Rainey

Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Public Policy and the Family Program
Brandeis University
Waltham, Mass. 02154
Telephone: (617) 472-2944
Director: Robert Perlman

Joint Center for Urban Studies
Studies on Social Policy and Family Welfare
(Harvard/M.I.T.)
53 Church Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138
Telephone: (617) 495-3825
Coordinator: Lee Rainwater

1/ There are a large number of research and development units which focus on families that are often based in home economics departments which we have not included. Many of these have strong policy interests and activities. The A.H.E.A. Center for the Family sponsored a survey of such family centers at 350 campuses. Information regarding the results of this survey may be obtained from Mary Rainey, Oklahoma State Family Study Center (see next page).
Additional Note

Two recently-established newsletters focus on families in the public policy arena:

1. **COFO Memo** is a publication directed toward the membership of the Coalition of Family Organizations which plans to give a quarterly report on developments within the federal government that are likely to affect family life. (The Coalition members are: The Association of Marriage and Family Counselors, The American Home Economics Association, Family Service Associations of America, and the National Council of Family Relations.) Inquiries should be addressed to Barbara Warden, Public Affairs, American Home Economics Association, 2010 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, Telephone: (202) 862-8300

2. "**The American Family: National Action Overview**" intends to be a bi-monthly newsletter serving as a clearing house for information on national family policies, programs, research and actions. Information from Howie A. Wakefield, Editor, Wakefield Associates, 1129 20th Street, N.W., Suite 551, Washington, D.C. 20036, Telephone: (202) 833-9880
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The following working papers are available on a limited basis:


Family Perspective on Mental Health by Theodora Ooms; prepared as a background paper for a meeting with the staff of the President’s Commission on Mental Health, June 24, 1977.


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