

**H.R. 1054, AUTHORIZING PRESIDENTIAL VISION:  
MAKING PERMANENT THE EFFORTS OF THE  
FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE**

---

**HEARING**  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE,  
DRUG POLICY, AND HUMAN RESOURCES  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON  
GOVERNMENT REFORM  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
ONE HUNDRED NINTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

ON  
**H.R. 1054**  
TO ESTABLISH THE OFFICE OF FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY  
INITIATIVES

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JUNE 21, 2005

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## **AUTHORIZING PRESIDENTIAL VISION: MAK- ING PERMANENT THE EFFORTS OF THE FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE**

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**TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 2005**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY,  
AND HUMAN RESOURCES,  
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM,  
*Washington, DC.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:35 p.m., in room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Mark Souder (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Souder, Gutknecht, Brown-Waite, Foxx, Cummings, Watson, Owens, Davis and Ruppersberger.

Staff present: J. Marc Wheat, staff director and chief counsel; Brandon Lerch and Naomi Seiler, professional staff members; Michelle Gress, counsel; Malia Holst, clerk; Denise Wilson and Richard Butcher, minority professional staff members; Cecelia Morton, minority clerk; and Christopher Davis, minority professional staff member.

Mr. SOUDER. The subcommittee will come to order.

Good afternoon and thank you all for coming. In particular, I welcome two distinguished colleagues on our first panel, Congressman Mark Green of Wisconsin and Congressman Bobby Scott of Virginia. Sometimes we talk to each other on other issues other than faith-based but the three of us have been engaging in this debate for some time and welcome you to this hearing today to talk about this legislation and in general, the subject.

We have two additional panels of eminent witnesses representing hundreds of years of total experience in service to others. I have no doubt the collective compassion of our witnesses generates its own electricity.

We have not held a hearing on the provision of community services since April 2004, but this is the subcommittee's 11th hearing on the topic. It is also our first legislative hearing.

Congressman Green's proposal to make the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives permanent, H.R. 1054, The Tools for Community Initiative Act, raises an important debate that policymakers have confronted for decades. Mr. Green's bill leads us to ask, how do we organize the executive branch to promote and extend efficient and effective care to Americans in their time of need.

As for the White House, itself, it has been at least 15 years since the West Wing dedicated office space to the cause of grassroots service. President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative has now been in existence for nearly 4 years. While providing for much political controversy, the Initiative has also fostered significant advances in the way government reaches Americans in their time of need.

If the aim of the Federal Government is to efficiently execute Federal programs, then it follows that these programs should make great efforts to collaborate with and assist those who are already so engaged. Most fundamentally, this is the goal of the Faith-Based Community Initiative.

The President's initiative began in 2001 by documenting discrimination by Federal grant programs against faith-based groups. Subsequently, President Bush issued Executive orders to ensure equal treatment of all grant applicants, regardless of their religious nature. Three additional Executive Orders No.'s 13198, 13280 and 13342, established 11 offices in the White House and 10 executive branch agencies in order to realize the intent of the equal treatment orders. Their work has focused on cooperation of the Federal bureaucracy, the grant programs themselves and on communicating these efforts to service organizations throughout the country.

H.R. 1054 seeks to make the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiative and its 10 agency offices permanent. Such a proposal, however, compels us to investigate the experience of previous White House Administrations and more simply, what other entities currently exist with similar missions. Moreover, the subcommittee will examine the successes and shortcomings of the President's faith-based and community initiatives to understand what these experiences may tell us about how far we have come and where we need to go.

The efforts of past Presidents clearly illustrate the Bush administration's effort to represent a common sense addition to at least a decade and a half of Presidential vision and leadership. In 1989, President George H.W. Bush created the White House Points of Light Office. After 4 years of national leadership in support of grassroots service organizations, President Bush passed a four-pillared White House office to President Bill Clinton. From 1993 to 2001, Clinton consolidated this office and eventually added AmeriCorps, and sent forth volunteer citizens to grassroots service organizations his predecessor had sought to bolster.

At the beginning of President George W. Bush's administration, establishing a new White House office appears like a reasonable next step. The White House Faith-Based and Community Initiative effort adds to previous efforts by trying to instill fairness in the Government grant system and ensure the rights of religious services groups.

While this is a logical and necessary step, it has not been entirely successful. For instance, in the areas of food stamps issuance and providing drug treatment, groups intended to be treated equally have ironically been punished. More troubling perhaps is that many potential programmatic successes have been blunted because of little or no cooperation from State and local governments.

As the subcommittee considers the merits of H.R. 1054, which has been assigned to this subcommittee, Members may consider additional changes to the law so that Americans in their time of need receive the greatest possible impact from the compassion of their neighbors.

Already existing White House offices, the Faith-Based and Community Initiative, and State and local efforts are uncoordinated, creating confusion and frustration amongst America's grassroots services groups. Creating a comprehensive compassion strategy through executive branch reorganization may be necessary for the long-term accomplishment of reaching our fellow Americans in their time of need.

I would ask if any other Members have opening statements? Congressman Owens, Congresswoman Watson.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Mark E. Souder and the text of H.R. 1054 follow:]

**Opening Statement  
Chairman Mark Souder**

**“Authorizing Presidential Vision:  
Making Permanent The Efforts of the Faith-Based and Community  
Initiative”**

**Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy,  
and Human Resources  
Committee on Government Reform and Oversight**

**June 21, 2005**

Good afternoon and thank you all for coming. In particular, I welcome two distinguished colleagues on our first panel, Congressman Mark Green of Wisconsin and Congressman Bobby Scott of Virginia.

We have two additional panels of eminent witnesses. Representing hundreds of years of total experience in service to others, I have no doubt that the collective compassion of our witnesses could generate its own electricity.

We have not held a hearing on the provision of community services since April of 2004, but this the Subcommittee’s eleventh hearing on the topic. It is also our first legislative hearing. Congressman Green’s proposal to make the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives permanent, H.R. 1054, the Tools for Community Initiatives Act, raises an important debate that policy makers have confronted for decades. Mr. Green’s bill leads us to ask, “How do we organize the executive branch to promote and extend efficient and effective care to Americans in their time of need. As for the White House itself, it has been at least 15 years since the West Wing dedicated office space to the cause of grassroots service.

President Bush’s Faith-Based and Community Initiative has now been in existence for nearly four years. While providing for much political controversy, the Initiative has also fostered significant advances in the way government reaches Americans in their time of need. If the aim of the federal government is to efficiently execute federal programs, then it follows that these programs should make great efforts to collaborate with and assist those who are already so engaged. Most fundamentally, this is the goal of the Faith-Based and Community Initiative.

The President’s Initiative began in 2001 by documenting discrimination by federal grant programs against faith-based groups. Subsequently, President Bush issued executive orders to ensure equal treatment of all grant applicants, regardless of their religious nature. Three additional executive orders (13198, 13280 and 13342) established eleven offices in the White House and 10 executive branch agencies in order to realize the intent of the

equal treatment orders. Their work has focused on the cooperation of the federal bureaucracy, the grant programs themselves, and on communicating these efforts to service organizations throughout the country.

H.R. 1054 seeks to make permanent the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiative and its 10 agency offices. Such a proposal, however, compels us to investigate the experience of previous White House Administrations and, more simply, what other entities currently exist with similar missions. Moreover, the Subcommittee will examine the successes and shortcomings of the President's Faith-Based and Community Initiative to understand what these experiences may tell us about how far we have come and where we need to go.

The efforts of past Presidents, in fact, clearly illustrate how the Bush Administration's efforts represent a commonsense addition to at least a decade and a half of Presidential vision and leadership. In 1989, President George H.W. Bush created the White House "points of light" office. After four years of national leadership in support of grassroots service organizations, President Bush passed a four-pillared White House office to President Bill Clinton. From 1993 to 2001, Clinton consolidated this office and eventually added the AmeriCorps, which sent forth volunteer citizens to the grassroots service organizations his predecessor had sought to bolster. At the beginning of President George W. Bush's Administration, establishing a new White House Office appears like a reasonable next step.

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As the Subcommittee considers the merits of H.R. 1054, Members may consider additional changes to the law so that Americans in their time of need receive the greatest possible impact from the compassion of their neighbors. Already existing White House offices, the Faith-Based and Community Initiative, and state and local efforts are uncoordinated, creating confusion and frustration amongst America's grassroots services groups. Creating a comprehensive compassion strategy through executive branch reorganization may be necessary for the long-term accomplishment of reaching our fellow Americans in their time of need.

109TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 1054

To establish the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 2, 2005

Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin introduced the following bill; which was referred to  
the Committee on Government Reform

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## A BILL

To establish the Office of Faith-Based and Community  
Initiatives.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Tools for Community  
5 Initiatives Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. ESTABLISHMENT.**

7 There is established in the Executive Office of the  
8 President the Office of Faith-Based and Community Ini-  
9 tiatives (hereafter referred to as “the Office”).

1 **SEC. 3. DIRECTOR.**

2 (a) DIRECTOR.—The head of the Office shall be the  
3 Director of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Ini-  
4 tiatives, who shall be appointed by the President.

5 (b) PAY OF DIRECTOR.—Section 5314 of title 5,  
6 United States Code, is amended by inserting after the  
7 item relating to the Administrator of the Centers for  
8 Medicare & Medicaid Services the following new item:

9 “Director of the Office of Faith-Based and  
10 Community Initiatives.”.

11 (c) INTERIM DIRECTOR.—The individual serving as  
12 the Director of the Office of Faith-Based and Community  
13 Initiatives on the date of the enactment of this Act may  
14 serve as Interim Director until such time as a Director  
15 is appointed by the President in accordance with sub-  
16 section (a).

17 **SEC. 4. RESPONSIBILITIES.**

18 (a) IN GENERAL.—The Director shall encourage  
19 faith-based and community initiatives and work to elimi-  
20 nate improper Federal barriers so as to allow faith-based  
21 and community entities to compete for Federal funding  
22 to the fullest opportunity permitted by law.

23 (b) SPECIFIC DUTIES.—In carrying out the respon-  
24 sibilities of the Office, the Director shall—

25 (1) develop, lead, and coordinate policies with  
26 respect to faith-based and community initiatives;



1           (2) support faith-based and community initia-  
2           tives, especially those serving at-risk youth, ex-of-  
3           fenders, the homeless and hungry, substance abus-  
4           ers, those with HIV and AIDS, and welfare-to-work  
5           families;

6           (3) work to expand the role of faith-based and  
7           community initiatives through executive action, legis-  
8           lation, regulation, and Federal and private funding;

9           (4) ensure that the policy decisions made by the  
10          administration and the Federal Government are con-  
11          sistent with stated goals with respect to faith-based  
12          and community initiatives;

13          (5) help to integrate policies affecting faith-  
14          based and other community organizations across the  
15          Federal Government;

16          (6) coordinate public education activities de-  
17          signed to mobilize public support for faith-based and  
18          community initiatives by encouraging volunteerism,  
19          special projects, demonstration pilots, and public-pri-  
20          vate partnerships;

21          (7) encourage private charitable giving to sup-  
22          port faith-based and community initiatives;

23          (8) advise the President on options and ideas to  
24          assist, strengthen, and replicate successful faith-  
25          based and community initiatives;

1           (9) provide policy and legal education to State,  
2           local, and community policymakers and public offi-  
3           cials seeking ways to support and encourage faith-  
4           based and community initiatives;

5           (10) develop and implement strategic initiatives  
6           in keeping with policies that will strengthen families,  
7           communities, and the institutions of civil society;

8           (11) showcase and herald innovative grassroots  
9           nonprofit organizations and civic initiatives;

10          (12) work to eliminate unnecessary legislative  
11          and regulatory barriers which impede the efforts of  
12          faith-based and community initiatives to solve social  
13          problems;

14          (13) monitor the implementation of policies  
15          with respect to faith-based and community initiatives  
16          by the Centers for Faith-Based and Community Ini-  
17          tiatives established within certain departments and  
18          agencies of the Federal Government; and

19          (14) work to establish high standards of excel-  
20          lence and accountability for faith-based and commu-  
21          nity initiatives.

22 **SEC. 5. ADMINISTRATION.**

23          (a) OFFICERS.—The President shall assign to the Of-  
24          fice such officers in addition to the Director, if any, as

1 the President, in consultation with the Director, considers  
2 appropriate to discharge the responsibilities of the Office.

3 (b) STAFF.—The Director may appoint such employ-  
4 ees as necessary to carry out the functions of the Office.

5 (c) RESOURCES.—The President shall, in consulta-  
6 tion with the Director, assign or allocate to the Office such  
7 resources, including funds and other resources, as the  
8 President considers appropriate in order to facilitate the  
9 discharge of the responsibilities of the Office.

10 (d) OBTAINING OFFICIAL DATA.—The Office may se-  
11 cure directly from any department or agency of the United  
12 States information necessary to enable it to carry out this  
13 Act. Upon request of the Director, the head of that de-  
14 partment or agency shall furnish that information to the  
15 Office.

16 **SEC. 6. DESIGNATED DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY LIAISON.**

17 (a) IN GENERAL.—The head of each designated de-  
18 partment or agency shall designate a liaison who shall be  
19 responsible for coordinating the activities of that depart-  
20 ment or agency with the Office.

21 (b) RESPONSIBILITIES OF LIAISON.—Each des-  
22 ignated department or agency liaison shall—

23 (1) conduct, in coordination with the Office, a  
24 review of the policies and procedures of the des-  
25 ignated department or agency to identify any bar-

1        riers to the participation of faith-based and commu-  
2        nity initiatives in the delivery of social services by  
3        such department or agency, including, but not lim-  
4        ited to, regulations, rules, orders, procurement, out-  
5        reach activities, and other internal policies and prac-  
6        tices that either facially discriminate against or oth-  
7        erwise discourage or disadvantage the participation  
8        of faith-based and other community organizations in  
9        Federal programs;

10        (2) coordinate a comprehensive effort to incor-  
11        porate faith-based and community initiatives in the  
12        programs and initiatives of the designated depart-  
13        ment or agency;

14        (3) propose initiatives to remove barriers identi-  
15        fied pursuant to the review conducted under para-  
16        graph (1);

17        (4) propose the development of pilot and dem-  
18        onstration programs to increase the participation of  
19        faith-based and community initiatives in Federal,  
20        State, and local initiatives; and

21        (5) develop and coordinate the outreach efforts  
22        of the designated department or agency to dissemi-  
23        nate information to faith-based and community ini-  
24        tiatives with respect to programming changes, con-  
25        tracting opportunities, and other initiatives.

1 (c) ANNUAL REPORT.—Not later than March 31 of  
2 each year, each designated department or agency liaison  
3 shall submit to the Office an annual report which shall  
4 include the following:

5 (1) A description of the efforts by the des-  
6 ignated department or agency liaison to carry out  
7 the responsibilities under subsection (b).

8 (2) A comprehensive analysis of the barriers to  
9 the full participation of faith-based and community  
10 initiatives in the delivery of social services pursuant  
11 to the review conducted under subsection (b)(1).

12 (3) A summary of information made available  
13 to faith-based and community initiatives under sub-  
14 section (b)(5).

15 (d) DESIGNATED DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY.—For  
16 the purposes of this subsection, “designated department  
17 or agency” means a department or agency of the Federal  
18 Government with a Center for Faith-Based and Commu-  
19 nity Initiatives, and shall include the following depart-  
20 ments and agencies:

21 (1) The Department of Education.

22 (2) The Department of Labor.

23 (3) The Department of Justice.

24 (4) The Department of Health and Human  
25 Services.

1 (5) The Department of Housing and Urban De-  
2 velopment.

3 (6) The Department of Agriculture.

4 (7) The Agency for International Development.

5 (8) The Department of Commerce.

6 (9) The Department of Veterans Affairs.

7 (10) The Small Business Administration.

8 **SEC. 7. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

9 It is the sense of Congress that—

10 (1) Federal financial assistance for social serv-  
11 ice programs should be distributed in the most effec-  
12 tive and efficient manner possible;

13 (2) the Nation's social service capability will  
14 benefit if all eligible organizations, including faith-  
15 based and other community organizations, are able  
16 to compete on an equal footing for Federal financial  
17 assistance used to support social service programs;

18 (3) in the administration or distribution of Fed-  
19 eral financial assistance, no organization should be  
20 discriminated against on the basis of religion or reli-  
21 gious belief;

22 (4) the Federal Government must implement  
23 Federal programs in accordance with the establish-  
24 ment clause and the free exercise clause of the first  
25 amendment of the Constitution;

1           (5) consistent with the free exercise clause and  
2           the free speech clause of the Constitution, faith-  
3           based organizations should be eligible to receive Fed-  
4           eral financial assistance and to participate fully in  
5           any social service program supported with Federal  
6           financial assistance without impairing their inde-  
7           pendence, autonomy, expression, or religious char-  
8           acter;

9           (6) any organization that receives Federal fi-  
10          nancial assistance to provide social services should  
11          be prohibited from discriminating against bene-  
12          ficiaries or potential beneficiaries of the services it  
13          provides on the basis of religion, religious belief, re-  
14          fusal to hold a religious belief, or refusal to partici-  
15          pate in a religious practice;

16          (7) an organization that engages in inherently  
17          religious activities, such as worship, religious in-  
18          struction, and proselytization, should be eligible to  
19          receive Federal financial assistance, provided that  
20          the organization offers such religious activities sepa-  
21          rately in time or location from any program or serv-  
22          ice supported with direct Federal financial assist-  
23          ance, and that participation in any such religious ac-  
24          tivity must be voluntary for any beneficiary of a so-

1 cial service program supported with Federal finan-  
2 cial assistance;

3 (8) any faith-based organization that receives  
4 Federal financial assistance should be able to retain  
5 its independence and to continue to carry out its  
6 mission, including the definition, development, prac-  
7 tice, and expression of religious beliefs, provided that  
8 it does not use Federal financial assistance to sup-  
9 port any inherently religious activity, such as wor-  
10 ship, religious instruction, or proselytization;

11 (9) any faith-based organization that receives  
12 Federal financial assistance should be able to use its  
13 facilities to provide social services supported with  
14 Federal financial assistance, without removing or al-  
15 tering religious art, icons, scriptures, or other sym-  
16 bols from these facilities; and

17 (10) any faith-based organization that receives  
18 Federal financial assistance should be able to retain  
19 any religious terms in the organization's name, take  
20 religion into account in selecting board members,  
21 and include religious references in any organization  
22 mission statements or other chartering or governing  
23 documents.

○



Mr. OWENS. I want to commend the chairman for holding this hearing and I appreciate the effort that is moving forward to codify a program that has been in existence now for more than 4 years which has attracted my attention because of the fact that I was formerly commissioner of a community development agency in New York which was responsible for the Community Action Program under the Economic Opportunity Act. The Economic Opportunity Act had at its center the community action programs which were designed to reach down into the communities and allow local community organizations to run programs for the benefit of the poor constituents.

Large numbers of churches participated in that program. Large numbers of churches sponsored programs and did them very well. During the time I was commissioner, we had a program which had 26 community corporations which had big contracts with sub-contracts under them to other agencies. The total number of agencies under the umbrella of my agency was about 500 agencies providing programs all the way from recreation and after school care programs to economic development programs, programs related to housing development, a whole range of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act. That knowledge and whole set-up is part of history but I assure you it is not lost. It is there in the archives for everyone to see.

I applaud the effort by the Bush administration to reach down to community groups; they have been starved for a long, long time. That program was discredited because it didn't have a proper power base, in my opinion, to keep it going, but it was a good program nevertheless. For small amounts of money, we got a return on programs run by local community groups, including church groups.

Now we have the same thing which has returned in another form. My great fear here is whereas the Economic Opportunity Act and all the parts under it were codified, were authorized by Congress, had a clear set of criteria, clear procedures as to how you applied, and a fair doctrine in terms of the distribution of the funds. The distribution started with identification of the areas in the country that had the highest poverty rate.

So a poverty area was clearly defined, the indices of poverty were clearly laid out and within that poverty area, choices were made by local advisory groups in connection with a designated community action agency. As I said, my agency was an agency for New York City. Each one of the 26 areas had a separate advisory body, a community corporation board that made the decisions for that local area.

I am saying all this because I think if you are passing out taxpayers' money, there ought to be a clear criteria, ought to be a clear set of priorities and my great concern about the present initiative, and I know there are many other concerns about the fact that you are using religious groups and giving them the privilege of selecting their personnel and a number of other issues which I don't belittle, they are important issues.

I am in favor of the program going forward and letting the Supreme Court decide the nature of those other issues because I think it is long over due that we had some kind of program that

returned to offering some kind of resources to local communities. Those resources ought to be distributed in a fair and open manner. There ought not be the present situation where it is generally felt in my community and large numbers of churches want to know what can they do to become a part of it and want to know, do you have to be a Republican, do you have to be one of the favored few, do you have to be smiled upon by certain political operatives. It is not clear what the answers are because the way the money has been distributed up to now, there has been no criteria.

The information about the program was rather scant for the first 3 years, I think. Lots of written information is available now, you can get information on the Web site now, but 2 or 3 years ago, I couldn't get the same information. It was all passed around in sort of closed circles. Large amounts of money were distributed, \$2 billion to \$3 billion was distributed without codification of the kind this bill proposes. It raises many issues.

There was an article in the New York Times that I think brings it home and with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to enter this article in the record for all who would like to understand my concerns. This is an article that appeared in the New York Times on May 3, 2005 and talked about "Hispanic Group Thrives on Faith and Federal Aid" and focused on one particular group but described how the whole program works.

At one point, this paragraph stuck out in my mind and I will close with this paragraph. It said, "A few months before last November's election, Labor Secretary Elaine Chao took Mr. Cortes' advice, flying to Florida to give his organization \$2.8 million for a youth employment program. In 2003, when the group began a housing initiative, a kick-off event attracted Mel Martinez, who at that time was the Federal Housing Secretary, who is running for Senator in Florida, and a \$300,000 contract followed to counsel homebuyers.

"The current issue of Nueva Esperanza's newsletter shows Senator Bill Frist, a Tennessee Republican and the Majority Leader, handing over a \$500,000 check from his charitable foundation for the group's work on preventing AIDS." That last sentence relates to a charitable contribution, it was not taxpayers' money.

The other sums that were mentioned were taxpayers' money. What criteria was used? How do you qualify? Do you compete with other people and why did it all come just before the election? These are the kinds of questions I think we ought to ask and answer.

As we go forward to provide a program which I think is very much needed, let us clean it up and make certain it is a program where the taxpayers' funds are made available on equal footing for everyone and that they are targeted to priority areas where you have the greatest need.

I ask unanimous consent to put this article into the record, New York Times, May 3, 2005.

Mr. SOUDER. I have unanimous consent that we will include that. [The information referred to follows:]

**News Article**[Print This Page](#)**May 03, 2005**

Hispanic Group Thrives on Faith and Federal Aid

Publisher: The New York Times

**By: Jason Deparle**

As a Baptist minister, the Rev. Luis Cortes has long sought to build a national network of Hispanic churches, one that would bring new power to an emerging minority. As an elected official, President Bush has long sought a more diverse Republican Party, one that would lure more blacks and Hispanics to a dominant conservative bloc. These days, the two are united by faith, friendship, and a line item in the federal budget called the Compassion Capital Fund.

A religion-based fusion of politics and policy, the fund is the president's most tangible effort to help those he calls the "armies of compassion," small religious groups with shoestring budgets that care for the downtrodden. Over the last three years, it has spent \$100 million to train such religiously motivated foot soldiers, and in some cases to give them small grants, on the theory that a bit of managerial coaching will mobilize new healing platoons.

Operating from a converted envelope factory in North Philadelphia, Mr. Cortes's organization, Nueva Esperanza Inc., has one of the largest contracts of the 44 groups chosen to provide the training to smaller organizations and distribute the federal cash. With \$7.4 million, it has worked with 180 small programs from Miami to Seattle, making Mr. Cortes one of the most prominent Hispanic evangelicals in politics, even though he has found it more difficult than he expected to bring fledgling programs to scale.

Viewed in one light, the compassion fund reflects decades of serious thought about fortifying civil society: by empowering grass-roots groups, it seeks a third way between cold government and cool indifference. Yet with much of the money flowing to conservative supporters of President Bush, the fund is also a tool of realpolitik, which Mr. Cortes readily invokes in mapping his partisan loyalties.

"I'm not red, and I'm not blue," Mr. Cortes said in a recent interview. "I'm brown."

"This is what I tell politicians," he said. "You want an endorsement? Give us a check, and you can take a picture of us accepting it. Because then you've done something for brown."

A few months before last November's election, Labor Secretary Elaine L. Chao took Mr. Cortes's advice, flying to Florida to give his organization \$2.8 million for a youth employment program. In 2003, when the group began a housing initiative, a kickoff event attracted Mel Martinez, who at the time was the federal

housing secretary, and a \$300,000 contract followed to counsel homebuyers. The current issue of Nueva Esperanza's newsletter shows Senator Bill Frist, a Tennessee Republican and the majority leader, handing over a \$500,000 check from his charitable foundation for the group's work on preventing AIDS.

Fulfilling a promise from the 2000 campaign, Mr. Bush has appeared at two National Hispanic Prayer Breakfasts, which Mr. Cortes holds and which have also attracted top Democrats like Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York.

Touring the programs that Nueva Esperanza tries to help, it is easy to see why religion-based social services have captured the political imagination. In a section of North Philadelphia nicknamed the Badlands, the Rev. Patrick Cabello Hansel runs the Goodlands photography project, providing children with cameras that turn streetscapes into art. From the blighted hills of Bethlehem to the Camden barrios, former addicts like the Revs. Jorge Navedo and Miguel Torres have ex-convicts seeking sobriety and pledging to "do life for Jesus."

The Seed --

Supporters of faith groups say that because they spring from a calling, not a federal financing stream, they are more cost-effective -- or more effective, period -- than their secular counterparts. But can training from intermediaries like Nueva Esperanza help such groups expand? Can it give them the skills to raise more money, serve more clients and strengthen the safety net?

Mr. Cortes says yes, but he also says the work has proved more challenging than he anticipated. "Some groups are never going to grow beyond where they are," he said. "If we could do it over, we would be harder on keeping people to the tasks."

The roots of the fund extend to the 2000 election, when Mr. Bush promised an array of measures that would bring religion-based groups \$8 billion a year. The bulk would have come from new tax laws to promote private giving, but Mr. Bush also called for new federal grants and new rules to make it easier for religious groups to apply for existing federal programs. When the ambitious plan failed in Congress, the president salvaged a modest compassion fund by including it in the budget of the Department of Health and Human Services.

After supporters of the religion-based initiative complained that it had languished, a White House report said religious charities received \$2 billion last year from 169 existing programs. But the compassion fund, which spent \$43 million last year, is the only source of new money specifically designated for religious groups. Community-based groups, like the United Way, can also apply.

Grants from the fund have gone to some marquee conservative names, including Operation Blessing, a food distribution program founded by the televangelist Pat Robertson, and Dare Mighty Things, a company led by former associates of Charles W. Colson, a Watergate figure who went to prison and now runs a prison ministry.

Scanning the list of recipients, critics said that the fund was rewarding old

Republican friends. But more interesting may be its potential to win new ones. Millions of dollars have gone to minorities in Democratic strongholds, like the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ in Milwaukee, whose pastor, Bishop Sedgwick Daniels, a longtime Democrat, switched his support to Mr. Bush in 2004. Religious charities can use federal grants to provide services, but not to promote religious views.

A federal judge found last year that one intermediary, Montana State University, unconstitutionally promoted religion by sharing office space, staff and financing with a nursing program engaged in proselytizing. "Religion permeates every aspect of the program," wrote Magistrate Richard W. Anderson, who noted in his decision that the program head, a state employee, put biblical passages at the end of his e-mail messages.

For Mr. Cortes, the federal fund fulfilled a longtime ambition. Growing up Puerto Rican in a black section of Harlem, he developed what might be called a case of institution-envy. There were dozens of black colleges and scores of black religious groups but, in his view, few Hispanic equivalents. After graduating from Union Theological Seminary, he tried twice to form a national network of Hispanic evangelicals, without success. In 1981, he started the Hispanic Clergy of Philadelphia, and Nueva Esperanza sprang up as its social services arm.

#### One Branch --

The group is now a social services empire, with a charter high school, a suburban summer camp and a community college. As president, Mr. Cortes earned about \$112,000 in salary and \$29,000 in benefits last fiscal year, a 68 percent increase over the two years since the group began receiving money from the compassion fund grant. His brother, Danny, ran the compassion fund program for the group and earned about \$95,000 in salary and benefits.

During the 2000 campaign, Tom Ridge, then the Pennsylvania governor, brought Mr. Bush by for a visit that stretched on for several hours. That was not enough to get Mr. Cortes's vote, which went to Ralph Nader. But after four years and more than \$10 million in federal contracts, Mr. Cortes had projects in more than a dozen cities and cast a ballot last year for Mr. Bush.

"I voted my self-interest," he said. "For brown, it means that we'll be able to grow our institutions."

Among those growing quickest is the Bethlehem Christian Training Center, in Bethlehem, Pa., whose leader, Marilyn Hartman, once did missionary work in Guatemala. In the constellation of Nueva Esperanza groups, Ms. Hartman's star shines brightly. She formed the group in her basement three years ago and now has a budget of \$200,000, a staff of six, and programs that train inmates, counsel homebuyers and provide children with after-school care. She recently bought an abandoned car dealership for \$1.2 million, which will house the center and its parent agency.

Ms. Hartman credits Nueva Esperanza's training for much of her center's growth. When an initial assessment found deficiencies in program evaluation and financial management, "I said, 'Ick, I've got to improve,'" she said. She was

diligent about attending Nueva Esperanza's two-day training sessions and was inspired by the professional standards the group promoted. Ms. Hartman said her center, which now serves nearly 200 people a year, would have grown anyway, "but it would have taken us twice as long."

Less encouraged, Felipe Castro speaks respectfully of the Nueva Esperanza training but says that his after-school program, Amparo de la Ninez, has gained nothing from it. A soft-spoken man from Puerto Rico, Mr. Castro came to Philadelphia with his wife, Myrtha, planning to learn English and return home. They said that in 1988 God ordered them to change their plans.

"He tells me, 'My sister, I am Jehovah, the one who calls you to work with the children -- don't be disobedient,'" Ms. Castro said.

With donations and program fees, they bought a modest row house where their programs serve about 130 children, and they scrape by on a joint salary of \$300 a week. "It's not easy," Mr. Castro said.

He joined the Nueva Esperanza training with hopes of learning how to raise more money, either from public or private sources. "But when I go to writing, forget it -- I no can write English," he said. Frustrated and busy with his daily work, he missed half of last year's four training sessions.

One lesson Mr. Cortes has drawn from the work is that "there more Felipes and fewer Marilys" -- more groups with a limited ability to grow.

David Wright, the director of the Roundtable on Religion and Social Policy at the State University of New York at Albany, said religious groups often had a strong sense of mission. But organizational growth requires different skills, and "these folks have a lot of other things on their plate," Mr. Wright said. "That's not to say they won't succeed with time."

Although a national study of the compassion fund is still under way, an evaluation of Nueva Esperanza's work offered good marks. Edwin Hernandez, a researcher at the University of Notre Dame, found that 55 percent of the groups trained by Nueva Esperanza moved up a notch on a one-to-four scale of organizational skill. After two years, 38 percent scored at the top two levels, up from 14 percent at the end of the first year.

"Overall, the program has been very successful," Mr. Hernandez said.

Yet his report also hints at the underlying challenges. Among groups without tax-exempt status, only 28 percent attained it within the first two years. About 40 of the 180 groups dropped out of training. And some groups acknowledge that they joined less for the training than for the chance to receive grants, which range up to \$30,000. Only 18 percent of the groups progressed enough to receive them, leading to frustration on both sides.

"I've been a little disappointed," said the project director, Danny Cortes. "Building organizational capacity is hard."

Nonetheless, he added: "In every city I've gone, I've seen the value of this work

in helping an organization do their work more efficiently. I don't see how that's not a good use of money."

Josue Figueroa, the Philadelphia field manager for Nueva Esperanza, said he was surprised that "some of the organizations haven't been more able to capitalize on the training. They're handing out 100 bags of food, and three years from now they'll be giving out 100 bags of food."

Taking Root --

Administration officials resist the idea that the fund is being used to court a political base -- applications are reviewed by outside experts -- but Luis Cortes delights in the thought. Mr. Bush's initiative has changed federal grant making "in such a way that allowed me to get in," he said. "Friends take care of friends -- that's politics."

Indeed, political leverage is one of the skills Nueva Esperanza seeks to teach. Scores of participants attend the Hispanic prayer breakfast in Washington each year, then fan out to meetings on Capitol Hill. In arming the new community of federal grant seekers, the compassion fund is a philosophical oddity -- a conservative program that explicitly encourages more petitions for federal aid. The fund, through its training, also encourages grass-roots programs to seek private support.

Collectively, intermediaries like Nueva Esperanza have worked with more than 6,000 grass-roots groups.

"Why are we getting 'greased'? There are more wheels squeaking now," Danny Cortes said. "Government responds to constituents."

And many of those constituents salute the president.

"I love Bush -- his strength, his faith, his principles," said Arnaldo Ortiz, the director of Casa Refugio, a drug rehabilitation program in Bethlehem, Pa.

"He's a man of prayer," said Ms. Hartman, of the training center.

But that support is not unanimous. Mr. Hansel, of the Goodlands photography project, disapproves so strongly of Mr. Bush's tax cuts and the war in Iraq that he skipped the Washington prayer breakfast last year, saying that he may not "be as charitable as I would like if Bush was in the room."

Nonetheless, Mr. Bush's standing among Hispanics has grown, with his demonstrations of faith a common explanation. Officially, surveys of voters leaving the polls last year showed Mr. Bush with 44 percent of the Hispanic vote, up from 35 percent in 2000. Some experts think sampling errors exaggerated Hispanic support for the president, but no one doubts that it grew.

For a glimpse of one of the political currents running through the program, consider the after-school effort run by Mr. Castro, where a group of schoolchildren recently convened for what might be described as a Pentecostal poetry slam.

Though they call themselves the Celestial Voices, their earsplitting version of Psalm 100 sounded more martial than ethereal. "Yes! He is God!" "It is he who makes us!"

"The songs get into your heart, and you feel like God really loves you," said Francesca Alequin, 11.

"You feel like God is hugging you," said Valerie Merced, 10.

Having performed at the Republican National Convention in 2000, the Celestial Voices are no strangers to politics, and their vehement views are easy to distill: George Bush is good, his opponents are not.

"President Bush is Christian," said Sade Melendez, 10, after a recent rehearsal. "He doesn't believe in abortion, and the other man does."

"John Kerry believes in lesbians," said Jorge Granados, 10.

"He said if the baby was in the stomach, you could kill the baby," said Krystalie Ocasio, 9.

"He stinks," Sade said.

Mr. Castro seemed surprised by the sharpness of the views, which he said were formed outside the program. "I'm not a political person," he said. "We just teach the Bible. We teach them God is real."

Close Window



Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for holding this hearing. I want to say from the very outset, that I am the son of two preachers, my mother and father, so these comments are made with a full appreciation for church. I am also one who, as a lawyer and before coming to the Congress, represented a lot of churches.

Today we begin the second hearing on faith-based program activity, specifically on H.R. 1054, legislation introduced by Representative Green to establish the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in the Executive Office of the President. The first hearing on H.R. 1054 was held last Tuesday, June 14 before the Subcommittee on Federalism and the Census.

H.R. 1054 would make permanent the Faith-Based Office within the White House and 10 agency offices. It would also express a sense of the Congress regarding the rules which should guide participation of faith-based organizations in Federal social service programs.

Let me be very clear. I do not object to the Federal Government finding ways to strengthen ties to faith-based organizations. I get very upset when this discussion comes up and some folk try to make it appear that there are Members of Congress that actually have something against faith-based organizations doing public type work. Nothing could be further from the truth. I would imagine if you polled the Congress, probably 99 percent of us now support the work that faith-based organizations have done and support them as long as the taxpayer dollar is being spent effectively and efficiently, and that those dollars are not used to discriminate against folks.

Faith-based, non-profit and community-based organizations have long been involved in addressing the needs of families, individuals and communities. Churches and other faith-based organizations in my congressional district continue to answer the call of those in distress, in need of a place to rest and a refuge away from drugs, addictions and other ills.

To support such efforts, we should encourage the good works of good people to help those who cannot help themselves. While encouraging good works, we need to carefully scrutinize and review services provided by faith-based organizations. We need to know the extent of services provided; we need to know who is and who is not being served; and we need to know if the services work, again, going back to effectiveness and efficiency.

Are they successful? The success of these programs remains an important issue to be determined. In September 2002, the Government Accountability Office released a report that I requested on charitable choice. The report found there is no data to support the opinion that faith-based organizations service providers perform as well as or better than others. It is 2005 and we still have no way to measure success of a faith-based program.

I also have serious concerns regarding the administration's approach to faith-based initiatives. In no uncertain terms, I object to the use of Federal funds to support religious discrimination. Religious discrimination in hiring for programs funded by the Federal Government is simply wrong.

It is equally objectionable for religious organizations to take Federal money, my money, my constituents' tax dollars, and turn away people because they do not subscribe to a particular religion or faith. I object to the entities receiving Federal funds if they cannot separate their religious activities from their secular activities or services. I object to the use of Federal funds to proselytize. I object to relaxing State licensing and certification standards for substance abuse counselors.

The poorest and least served deserve to receive the best treatment available in their time of need. They must not be used as guinea pigs by unlicensed professionals or subject to unproven methods. That is not to say that faith-based programs do not work. It is just that they should be to standards and we must be able to measure them.

Finally, I would object to diverting scarce funding from established public and non-profit organizations. Just recently, there was a conference of ministers where as we debated and were concerned, Mr. Chairman, about No Child Left Behind not having enough money, there comes a minister who was in charge of an organization telling preachers how they can get No Child Left Behind money. He has a business apparently doing that. I have said it before and I will say it again, this diversion will only serve to undermine current programs and create a smokescreen by seeming to do more with less.

I am also concerned that as we take dollars and give them to faith-based organizations, are we then taking \$10 or more away for things that are done the way they have been done in the past, in other words, by traditional organizations.

Taking away scarce Federal resources from current providers is a very real problem that can be devastating. This was recently highlighted in an article which appeared in the May 17, 2005 edition of the Washington Post entitled, "Two Fronts in the War on Poverty: Bush seeks more aid for church groups; others face uncertainty." The paper read as follows: "Here in Baltimore," and by the way, in my district around the corner from my house, a city noted for its unpretentious charm but also its deep social problems, "the Federal shift away from traditional community development programs has generated widespread uncertainty. While the anti-poverty groups are confronted with an uncertain future, church-based organizations that often provide similar services but often have less experience are flourishing."

Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank you again for holding this hearing. We need continued examination of the President's approach to faith-based initiatives and more specifically, whether we really need to establish a permanent Faith-Based Office within the Executive Office of the President.

With that said, we need to determine what works and find ways to better assess the participation of faith-based organizations in Federal social service programs. The American people have entrusted us in good faith to be responsible stewards with their hard-earned tax dollars. This demands that federally supported social programs, whether faith-based or secular in their orientation, be effective and efficient in carrying out their mission.

In the midst of that examination, let us also not forget our obligation to the principles of religious tolerance and non-discrimination. The struggle against discrimination and religious intolerance unfortunately remains with us. Even in this new century so rich with opportunity to right the wrongs of our past, we must ensure that H.R. 1054 is not a step in the wrong direction.

I want to take a moment to thank Mr. Scott for addressing this issue so many times all over the country and just trying to make sure that all are clear as to what these faith-based initiatives really mean.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Elijah E. Cummings follows:]

**OPENING STATEMENT OF**  
**THE HONORABLE ELIJAH E. CUMMINGS**  
**RANKING MEMBER, SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL**  
**JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY AND HUMAN RESOURCES**

**Hearing entitled, "Authorizing Presidential Vision: Making Permanent The Efforts of the Faith-Based and Community Initiative."**

June 21, 2005

Mr. Chairman:

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Let me be perfectly clear. I do not object to the federal government finding ways to strengthen ties to faith-based organizations. Faith-based, non-profit, and community based organizations have long been involved in addressing the needs of families, individuals, and communities. Churches and other faith-based organizations in my congressional district continue to answer the call of those in distress, in need of a place to rest, and a refuge away from drugs, addictions, and other ills. To support such efforts, we should encourage the good works of good people that help those who cannot help themselves.

While encouraging good works, we need to carefully scrutinize and review services provided by faith-based organizations. We need to know the extent of services provided, we need to know who is and is not being served, and we need to know if the services work. Are they successful?

The success of these programs remains an important issue to be determined. In September 2002, the Government Accountability Office (GAO) released a report I requested on charitable choice. The report found that there is no data to support the opinion that faith-based organizations service providers perform as well as or better than others. It is 2005 and we still have no way to measure the success of a faith-based program.

I also have serious concerns regarding the Administration's approach to faith-based initiatives. In no uncertain terms, I object to the use of federal funds to support religious discrimination. Religious discrimination in hiring for programs funded by the federal government is simply wrong. It is equally objectionable for religious

organizations to take federal money and turn away people because they do not subscribe to a particular religion or faith.

I object to entities receiving federal funds if they cannot separate their religious activities from their secular activities or services. I object to the use of federal funds to proselytize. I object to relaxing state licensing and certification standards for substance abuse counselors. The poorest and least served deserve to receive the best treatment available in their time of need. They must not be used as “guinea” pigs by unlicensed professionals or subject to unproven methods.

And, finally, I object to diverting scarce funding from established public and nonprofit organizations. I have said it before, and I will say it again. This diversion will only serve to undermine current programs and create a smoke screen, by seeming to do more with less.

Taking away scarce federal resources from current providers is a very real problem that can be devastating. This was recently highlighted in an article which appeared in the May 17, 2005, edition of “The Washington Post”, entitled “Two Fronts in the War on Poverty; Bush seeks more Aid for Church Groups; Others Face Uncertainty.”

Let me read you a paragraph that describes this quandary:

**“Here in Baltimore, a city notable for its unpretentious charm but also its deep social problems, the federal shift away from traditional community development programs has generated widespread uncertainty. While the antipoverty groups are confronted with an uncertain future, church-based organizations that often provide similar services but often have less experience are flourishing.”**

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I look forward to hearing testimony of today’s witnesses.

Mr. SOUDER. Any other Member wishing to make an opening statement? Congresswoman Watson.

Ms. WATSON. I want to add my thanks to those of the others for the Chair bringing this most timely issue up for a committee hearing.

I, like my colleagues, think that services in the community ought to be provided through those who provide them best and who show results. Believe me, in a district like mine, I have thousands of churches that do have programs, Head Start programs, after school programs, rehab programs, etc. I think they are entitled to Federal funds as well.

Here is where I draw the line. I feel that unless we very clearly state in the provisions and the regulations state that any group receiving Federal funds through a faith-based and community initiative cannot discriminate as far as color, creed, religion or sexuality. I believe if we are using public dollars, those are dollars from taxpayers, that we have to make it very clear because why should not someone who does not believe in religion but has a tremendous need be restricted from going in to a program if it is funded by Federal dollars. These are issues we have to think about, reflect on and come up with a fair policy.

I have another concern too. That is, I know that there is going to be proselytizing on the side. You walk into a facility and it is a Southern Baptist, so on and so forth, why would they not want to encourage the young people to take a serious look at their preachings? I am a Catholic. I am the granddaughter of someone who was in the convent for 13 years. Obviously, she came out. [Laughter.]

They do an excellent job of educating children. My grandmother did that in the home. There is never a time there is not a relationship to their religious principles, dogmas and beliefs.

So we have to analyze, we have to take an in-depth look at what we put into law, what policies we make when it comes to faith-based funding for those programs out there that are so direly needed.

I am very appreciative, Mr. Chair, that we have this opportunity to hear from our presenters, to raise the questions and to discuss this program.

Thank you, so much.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Gutknecht.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I apologize, I was not going to say anything but I want to attach myself to remarks that were just made at least in part because the point was made that really needs to be reminded here and that is, this is not so much a debate about how much is going to be spent; it is a debate about who gets to do the spending and who can do it the most efficiently.

I think we can have this discussion about discrimination, what level of discrimination is acceptable but I think we also have to understand there is going to be a certain level of discrimination. We discriminate every day and I don't think we should force organizations, let me say in my case, I don't think we should force Catholic schools to hire people who are anti-Catholic. At some point there

is some level of common sense that we have to use and that could be true of any organization.

I also want to share a quick story that I heard from John Fund who is an editorial writer for the Wall Street Journal. He used this analogy in front of an audience once and I have stolen this, and I try to give him credit for it.

He asked people to visualize that you go home from this meeting today and you open your mail and there is a letter there from an attorney's office from a long way away. You open up that letter and realize you have been named an heir to an enormous fortune, that you didn't even know existed.

All of a sudden you are wealthy beyond your wildest dreams and you think about that and think, I would like to do something to help people less well off than I, I would like to do something to help my fellow human beings. You think about that because this is a windfall and you would like to donate a significant portion of this. You think about that for a while and then he asked the audience, how many of you, the first thing you thought was, I know, I will give the money to a Federal program and you can almost hear snickers in the audience because we all know that if you really want to help people who are down and out, probably the least efficient thing you can do is run it through a Federal bureaucracy.

So the idea here, is there a way that we can use some of those institutions that are in the neighborhoods, that are in the communities, that are doing good things every day and they are doing it with very little overhead. They are doing it not because it is a job, but because it is a mission.

I don't know whether this can succeed. To be really blunt, I am not sure you can co-mingle Federal programs and the charitable instincts that most Americans have, but I think it is worth a try. I hope we don't all find our own little petty reasons to make certain that it doesn't succeed. Whether we know it or not, there are literally millions of Americans out there in all kinds of cities, towns and communities all around who are counting on these kinds of programs, and counting on religious leaders to help change their lives and change their futures.

This is a great experiment. We are going to find out if it can work.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Davis.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I will be brief and associate myself with some of the remarks already made by other members of the subcommittee.

Let me commend and congratulate both you and Mr. Cummings for the tremendous work that this subcommittee does. I know you have been all over the country holding hearings. I don't know any other subcommittee that has as much work activity as I have seen generated in this one. I simply want to appreciate the leadership that both of you have displayed as we wrestle with some of the toughest issues, questions and problems facing our country.

I come from a strong faith tradition like many other Members of the Congress. As a matter of fact, the church in my community is the primary provider of services, Catholic Charities, Catholic hospitals, Lutheran Family Services, Baptist College, Methodists for

Church Renewal. You could go on and on and on. That has been tradition in many communities throughout the country.

It is somewhat difficult to see what it is we are talking about changing. Most of those institutions apply for a not-for-profit chart, get themselves a 501(c)(3) tax exemption and they go ahead and run programs. There are some who argue about the provision of services and whether or not certain activities ought to be licensed or codified and even though I am a psychologist, I can attest to the fact that I have seen faith activities that I thought were more successful in helping people rid themselves of substance abuse or alcoholism, so I have no problem whatsoever with the methodology, with the concept or the structure.

I do believe that we are walking on shaky ground when we create opportunities and encourage institutions that are supposed to be the best in our land to discriminate against other people because they may not be the same in terms of their affirmation of faith. As a matter of fact, I recall one of the hearings suggesting if there was an institution that had some services to provide, that I could not work at because I did not profess that same kind of religious faith, then I don't want the service either.

I would rather that it go somewhere else. In the street, we call that help the bear. If I can't work there and I have all the credential, I meet all the requirements other than the fact that I don't express the same faith, to be denied that opportunity, then I would just as soon be denied the service.

I hope as we move this discussion and as we codify our institutionalize the concept of faith-based realities, that we not create a structure that encourages what should be the best institutions amongst us to become the worst institutions amongst us.

I thank the witnesses for coming to testify and certainly for the work they have done on this initiative. I applaud Representative Scott who has been passionate relative to the position that I hold.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SOUDER. Congresswoman Brown-Waite.

Ms. BROWN-WAITE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to express my appreciation for your holding this hearing to bring our attention to the current state of and some of the obstacles before the President's Faith-Based Initiative.

As you know, our country has a long tradition of assisting individuals, families and communities that have not fully shared in America's prosperity. I am very proud of this heritage as are so many Members of Congress and feel the burden of carrying on the noble tradition.

However, the Federal Government has the ability to better utilize its country's resources through hundreds of faith-based and community organizations to deliver effective care and assistance to those in dire need. In the past, the Federal Government has too often ignored or impeded the efforts of faith-based and community organizations through bureaucratic red tape and superficial obstacles, the Federal Government has hindered the delivery of services very often to communities in need. I applaud the efforts of the White House Office and the Centers for Faith-Based Initiatives that are working to support these essential organizations.



Let me tell you about a faith-based organization back home in my district. It is known as Jericho Road Ministries. I have been there, I have talked with the individuals who are served by this wonderful organization. It is a rescue mission designed to provide up to 3 nights monthly, emergency shelter to homeless men and women in central Florida. Jericho Ministries also provides a 36-week rehabilitation program designed to help men reclaim their lives from the despair of homelessness and/or drug or alcohol addiction. This single organization has succeeded where government previously has failed by reforming drug addicts and transforming them into productive citizens.

Let me tell you a brief story about a young man I met there. His name is Keith. Keith came to Jericho Road Ministries as a drug abuser without a job or a home, and certainly without hope. Today, after completing their rehabilitation program, he has worked his way up in just 3 short years to be the area manager of a major retail store. Guess what? On his days off, he comes back to Jericho Road Ministries and actually helps to counsel and inspire men seeking to reclaim their lives.

I represent this wonderful organization and could tell you about so many others in the community that the community supports. I agree with Mr. Gutknecht, when you think about helping an organization that is worthwhile in your area, you don't say, I am going to strike a check to the Federal or State Government but rather to one of those organizations out there that you know and trust, and that has proven itself in the community.

I certainly look forward to hearing the testimony of the distinguished panelists today so that we can join in our efforts in helping to continue the process of the faith-based and community organizations.

I yield back the balance of my time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOUDER. I thank everybody for their statements. It is good to know we all agree.

First, I want to ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days to submit written statements and questions for the hearing record and that any answers to written questions provided by the witnesses will also be included in the record. Without objection, so ordered.

I also ask unanimous consent that all exhibits, documents and other materials referred to by Members such as Mr. Owens did earlier may be included in the hearing record and that all Members be permitted to revise and extend their remarks. Without objection, so ordered.

Before we hear the first panel, I would like to ask unanimous consent that we also have some additional materials to insert that staff has prepared.

Our first panel consists of the Honorable Mark Green, a Member of the Congress from Wisconsin and the Honorable Robert Scott, a Member of Congress from Virginia.

It is our standard practice to ask witnesses to testify under oath. However, because Members of Congress have already taken an oath upon entering the House of Representatives, it is not necessary to repeat that here.

First, we would like to welcome Congressman Green. Thank you for joining us. You are recognized for 5 minutes to talk about the general subject of faith-based and also your particular bill that you have introduced.

**STATEMENTS OF HON. MARK GREEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF WISCONSIN; AND HON. ROBERT C. SCOTT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF VIRGINIA**

**STATEMENT OF HON. MARK GREEN**

Mr. GREEN. Thank you for the opportunity to testify here today.

The opening statements have all been very eloquent and I think in many ways laid out the issues that all of us must explore.

I would like to talk briefly about the implementation of the Faith-Based Initiative and our plans to make its principles permanent. When President Bush issued his Executive orders to establish the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, he said "Faith-based and other community organizations are indispensable in meeting the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighborhoods. Government cannot be replaced by such organizations, but it can and should welcome them as partners." I agree and I believe most Americans do as well.

This community-governmental-organizational partnership is a critical part of helping our communities find tools to deal with the problems that society faces. While in some ways this partnership has not developed as quickly as it could or should, great progress has been made on a number of fronts. In order to build on this success, we need to continue reaching out to community groups trying to help our citizens who need it the most.

Throughout history, faith-based organizations have shown that they understand the problems their communities are facing. After all, of course, they have relationships with the people they serve. They view those in need not as clients, but as neighbors. There are programs like Rawhide Boys Ranch in Waupaca County, WI, an organization that helps troubled boys straighten out their lives or Holy Redeemer in Milwaukee, WI, a church that helps feed the hungry and find shelter for the homeless. These are organizations that reach out to those in need, not in order to further a religious ideology but because their mission, quite simply, is to help their neighbors.

Unfortunately, faith-based groups have been unnecessarily restricted from serving the public as well as they could because of the beliefs that they hold. I say unnecessarily because as long as these organizations open their doors to everyone and do not require participation in their religious operations, they can and should be allowed to participate in Federal grant programs. Instead of closing doors to these groups, we should open them wider so that more people have additional opportunities to receive services and improve their lives.

We must honor and follow the first amendment to the Constitution when it says, "Government shall not establish a religion," but that same amendment also requires us to honor "religious liberty"

and that means allowing these groups to both practice their faith and serve their fellow Americans.

The Bush administration has tried to accomplish this through its Executive orders creating the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. The office and its liaisons and various agencies have the tools and relationships to break down barriers that hold these groups back unnecessarily. While more needs to be done, this Initiative has already helped people fight addiction, stop youth violence, find a home, stay out of prison and manage diseases like AIDS.

Another way the administration has helped is by creating the Compassionate Capital Fund. Since its launch 3 years ago, it has provided \$99.5 million in grants to 197 organizations and subgrants to over 1,700 grassroots organizations; provided nearly \$100 million for the Access to Recovery Program; provided new grant money to increase mentors for children of prisoners by 33,000 people. Overall, the office has increased grants to faith-based organizations by 20 percent.

This is excellent work that we must continue to build upon. Most importantly, we need to ensure stability within the program from one administration to the next. Furthermore, we must make sure that our offices are coordinating with their State liaisons to ensure that every State understands the opportunities that are available to them.

Incidentally, many States are beginning to recognize the value of State faith-based offices. Michigan Governor Jennifer Granholm, a Democrat, created a State Office of Community and Faith-Based Initiatives recently that will enlist religious organizations to recruit mentors for foster children, provide lower cost prescription drugs and fight substance abuse.

Unfortunately, many States haven't followed Michigan's example. Just over 25 States have created offices or established State liaisons to work with the White House Office of Faith-Based Initiatives. With increasing needs and budget concerns, States need these partnerships to help them maximize our communities to meet community needs.

There is little doubt that some groups will continue to attack faith-based partnerships and fight any Government partnership with any group that has religious connections. Governor Granholm responded to such criticism when she said, "This is not about a particular faith; this is about serving the citizens in the most effective way." Well said. This initiative is about serving people in the most effective way.

We must embrace the work these organizations can do and work with them and the States to help meet our community and social challenges. With this initiative, we are finding mentors of kids in need, homes for the homeless, help for those with AIDS and alternatives to gains. No one should stand in the way of organizations that are responsibly trying to help these kids just because they happen to be faith-based.

I am currently developing legislation that guarantees the Faith-Based Initiative will continue in the years ahead and that every organization that wants to help is able to. I believe we must show that government is committed to helping our citizens by making

the Faith-Based Initiative a statutory feature to ensure equal treatment for all. This long term commitment provides critical stability to community groups and lets them know this is not just a passing government enterprise that will abruptly end with a new President.

It also shows in statute what they can do consistent with the law and what they cannot do. There is more that the leaders of the Faith-Based Initiative have to do to better help those in need but they have done some great work to date. It is my hope this legislation will begin a larger debate about what new steps should be taken to help facilitate and foster the efforts of the Government and our Nation's benevolent service organizations.

Again, I appreciate your holding this hearing and for your time and consideration.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Mark Green follows:]

*Statement of Rep. Mark Green, WI-08  
House Committee on Government Reform,  
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources  
Legislative Hearing  
Authorizing the President's Vision: Making Permanent The Faith-Based and Community  
Initiative*

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member, thank you for inviting me to testify today.

When President Bush issued his executive orders to establish the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, he said, "Faith-based and other community organizations are indispensable in meeting the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighborhoods. Government cannot be replaced by such organizations, but it can and should welcome them as partners." I agree, and I believe most Americans do as well.

This government-community organization partnership is a critical part of helping our communities find tools to deal with the problems society faces. While, in some ways, this partnership hasn't developed as quickly as it could or should, great progress has been made on a number of fronts.

In order to build on this success, we need to continue reaching out to community groups that are trying to help our citizens who need it the most. Throughout history, faith-based organizations have shown that they understand the problems their communities are facing. After all, of course, they have relationships with the people they serve. They view those in need not as clients, but as neighbors. They are programs like Rawhide Boys Ranch, an organization in Waupaca County, Wisconsin, that helps troubled boys straighten out their lives; and Holy Redeemer in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a church that helps feed the hungry and find shelter for the homeless. These are organizations that reach out to help those in need, not in order to further a religious ideology, but because their mission is simply to help their neighbor.

Unfortunately, faith-based groups have been unnecessarily restricted from serving the public as well as they could because of the beliefs they hold. I say "unnecessarily" because as long as these organizations open their doors to everyone and do not require participation in their religious operations, they can and should be allowed to participate in federal grant programs. Instead of closing doors to these groups, we should open them wider so more people have additional opportunities to receive services and improve their lives.

We must honor and follow the first amendment to the Constitution when it says that government shall not establish a religion. But that same amendment also requires us to honor religious liberty. And that means allowing these groups to both practice their faith and serve their fellow Americans.

The Bush Administration has tried to accomplish this through its executive orders creating the White House Office on Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. The office, and its liaisons in various agencies, have the tools and relationships to help break down barriers that hold these groups back unnecessarily. While more needs to be done, this initiative has already

helped people fight addiction, stop youth violence, find a home, stay out of prison and manage diseases like AIDS.

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This is excellent work that we must continue to build upon. Most importantly, we need to ensure stability within the program from one administration to the next. We must also ensure our federal offices are coordinating with state liaisons to ensure that every state understands the opportunities that are available to them.

Incidentally, many states are beginning to recognize the value of state faith-based offices. Michigan Governor Jennifer Granholm created a state office of community and faith-based initiatives recently that will enlist religious organizations to recruit mentors for foster children, provide lower-cost prescription drugs and fight substance abuse.

Unfortunately, most states haven't followed Michigan's example. Just over 25 states have created offices or established state liaisons to work with the White House Office of Faith-based and Community Initiatives. With increasing needs and budget concerns, states need these partnerships to help them maximize opportunities to meet community needs.

There's little doubt some groups will continue to attack faith-based partnerships, and fight any government partnership with any group with religious connections. Governor Granholm responded to such criticism when she said, "this is not about a particular faith. This is about serving the citizens in the most effective way."

Well-said. This initiative is about serving people in the most effective way. We must embrace the work these organizations can do and work with them and the states to help us meet our community and social challenges. With this initiative, we are finding mentors for kids in need, homes for the homeless, help for those with AIDS and alternatives to gangs. No one should stand in the way of organizations that are responsibly trying to help these kids just because they are faith-based.

I am currently developing legislation that guarantees that the faith-based initiative will continue in the years ahead and that every organization that wants to help is able to. I believe we must show that government is committed to helping our citizens by making the faith-based initiative a statutory feature in our executive branch and ensure equal treatment for all. This long-term commitment provides critical predictability to community groups, and lets them know this is not a passing government enterprise that will end abruptly with a new president.

There's more the leaders of the faith-based initiative have to do to better help those in need, but they have done some great work to date. It is my hope my legislation will begin a larger debate about what new steps should be taken to help facilitate and foster the efforts of the government and our nation's benevolent service organizations.

Thank you for your time and consideration today.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Scott.

**STATEMENT OF HON. ROBERT C. SCOTT**

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you for allowing me to testify today.

I believe strongly that religious organizations can, they do and they should play an important and positive role in meeting our Nation's social welfare needs. It has already been pointed out that many faith-based organizations participate in Government contracts. The Catholic Charities gets about \$1 billion a year and has way before any faith-based initiative, so we are not talking about allowing faith-based organizations to participate; they already do.

There is a right and wrong way for Government to partner with religious organizations. So before we pass any legislation making permanent a faith-based and community initiative, we must ask and receive clear answers to the question of how does this initiative change present law.

It is one thing to just recite the good parts of the present law, but we should not camouflage what the changes are. And we are not fighting faith-based participation; we are talking about the changes that are being proposed.

To begin with, there are four issues we have to directly address and we need some straight answers to. First, does this initiative allow Government to directly fund a house of worship? Two, does the initiative permit a program using Federal funds to proselytize during the Government-funded program? Three, does the initiative change the law to permit discrimination in employment with Federal funds? Four, does the initiative change present law to permit the Government to award funds in a manner that displays favoritism to one particular religion over another religion or secular organization objectively more qualified to do the job? Until we get answers to those questions, we shouldn't be making anything permanent.

Let me go into those in more detail. First, the direct funding of a house of worship. Directly funding religious organizations is a Constitutional quagmire. My full remarks go into that in detail. But also, not only from a Constitutional point of view but a policy perspective, it has problems because direct funding indicates we might be regulating the churches, we might be subjecting the churches to Government scrutiny and audits, and we may undermine the vitality of churches and the community members who may be less inclined to dig a little deeper to pay for the services. Finally, it threatens interfaith peace by pitting one group against another. What happens when one faith beats out another on a 4-3 vote? Just how ugly is the next political campaign going to look?

Second, on proselytization, I think there is a clear consensus that you should not proselytize during the Government-funded program whether that proselytization is paid for or not with Government funds. We ought to make it clear that you can get the full benefit of the Government program without being proselytized and we should make that clear.

On employment discrimination, we have to be clear as to how the faith-based initiative changes present law. Since 1941, we have had a policy of no discrimination with Federal money. That was made clear 40 years ago in the 1960's, no discrimination with Federal

money. We have to also be clear that when you talk about religious discrimination, if you get a pass on religious discrimination, racial discrimination is essentially unenforceable.

Finally, we are suggesting a profound change in civil rights law. For the last 40 years, when an employer has a problem hiring the best person because of race or religion, the employer had a problem because the weight of the Federal Government is on the side of the victim of discrimination trying to get a job. Here we have a change in Government posture where they are now protecting not the victim of discrimination but trying to protect some right to discriminate.

We prohibit discrimination in employment because we have found that it is morally reprehensible to have someone apply for a job and be turned down just because of race or religion. If we allow discrimination in Federal contracts, we certainly lose our moral authority to impose racial and religious discrimination laws on individuals.

I take this personally because anybody my age who has been discriminated against, not being able to eat at the lunch counter, not being able to go to certain movies, getting stuck in the back of the bus, so when somebody suggests what is the problem with Catholics hiring Catholics or Whites hiring Whites or anything like that, I take it personally.

If someone is going to change the law and allow this discrimination, I just want to let them know that we are not going to be silent as they try to change those laws.

On the issue of favoritism and objective merit, right now faith-based organizations have the right to apply and compete. Does this or does it not allow favoritism for one religion over another? If you have another religious group and a secular group with objectively more qualified proposals, can you give favoritism to another organization or not?

Finally, let me say a quick word about vouchers. Many of the Constitutional issues that apply to direct funding do not apply to vouchers but you do have governance problems, one of which is it is virtually impossible to guarantee the availability of services where people with vouchers are coming and going and quality control is virtually impossible to apply.

Whatever the problems churches may have in getting Federal grants, all small organizations have so there may be some common ground on providing technical assistance, community action agencies or other ways to provide assistance to small groups trying to get Federal contracts, but they should not be able to discriminate as they do it.

We are not talking about expanding the number of people that can get contracts. Any organization that can sponsor a program under this faith-based initiative could do it anyway if it agreed not to discriminate in employment.

Again, I want to focus the attention on the four questions I asked: can you directly fund a church; can you proselytize during a program; what is the deal on discrimination; and favoritism. And how does this change present law because right now, faith-based organizations can and do apply for Federal grants and sponsor Federal programs and they do it like everyone else—they use the



money for which it was appropriated and don't discriminate in employment.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Robert C. Scott follows:]

Testimony of Congressman Robert C. "Bobby" Scott  
 House Committee on Government Reform  
 Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources  
 Hearing entitled "Authorizing Presidential Vision:  
 Making Permanent the Efforts of the Faith-Based and Community Initiative"  
 Tuesday, June 21, 2005 – 2:00 p.m.  
 2154 Rayburn House Office Building

Good afternoon. Thank you Chairman Souder, Ranking Member Cummings, and distinguished Members of the subcommittee, for allowing me to testify before you on this very important subject.

I strongly believe that religious organizations can, do and should play an important and positive role in meeting our nation's social welfare needs. But there is a right way to partner government with religious organizations and a wrong way. Before we pass any legislation making permanent the faith-based and community initiative, we must ask – and receive a clear answer to – the question: how does the initiative change present law? To begin a response to this inquiry, I think we need to examine four very fundamental areas: (1) does the initiative allow government to directly fund a house of worship; (2) does the initiative permit a program using federal funds to proselytize during the government funded program; (3) does the initiative change the law to permit discrimination in employment using public funds; and (4) does the initiative change present law to permit the government to award funds in a manner that displays favoritism for a particular religious program over an objectively more qualified program run by a different religion or a secular organization? Until we answer these questions, we should not be making anything permanent.

Direct funding of a house of worship

The first question to ask is whether the initiative permits government to directly fund a house of worship, and if so, under what circumstances. This question must be asked from both a constitutional and a policy standpoint.

The controlling judicial authority on the constitutional constraints on government aid to religious institutions is the concurring opinion of Justice O'Connor in *Mitchell v. Helms*.<sup>1</sup> Justice O'Connor's concurrence, joined by Justice Breyer, represents the balance of power of the Court and is therefore the narrowest grounds upon which we must examine Establishment Clause jurisprudence.<sup>2</sup>

A reading of Justice O'Connor's concurrence makes clear that she specifically rejected the plurality's single-minded and exclusive focus on neutrality and disputed the plurality's contention that direct government aid to a pervasively sectarian institution is constitutionally acceptable: "we have never held that a government-aid program passes constitutional muster solely because of the neutral criteria it employs as a basis for distributing aid ... I also disagree

with the plurality's conclusion that actual diversion of government aid to religious indoctrination is consistent with the Establishment Clause."<sup>3</sup>

In Justice O'Connor's view, a statute raises sensitive establishment clause concerns when it involves direct funding of religion. "In terms of public perception, a government program of direct aid to religious schools based on number of students attending each school differs meaningfully from the government distributing aid directly to individual students who, in turn, decide to use the aid at the same religious schools. . . . This Court has recognized special Establishment Clause dangers where the government makes direct money grants to sectarian institutions."<sup>4</sup>

In cases such as this, Justice O'Connor will look at a range of factors, including, notably, the constitutional safeguards present, and the degree of entanglement between government and religion. In Justice O'Connor's own words, "the program [should] include adequate safeguards"<sup>5</sup> and the funds should not "create an excessive entanglement between government and religion."<sup>6</sup>

Under these tests, there is a very real concern that the faith-based initiative would fail to pass constitutional muster.

From a policy perspective, it is simply a bad idea to give direct funding to a house of worship. Under the President's initiative, religious institutions face a series of unintended, and unappealing, consequences as a result of being fed by the hand of government.

First, the government always regulates what it finances. This occurs because public officials are obligated to make certain that taxpayer funds are properly spent. Once churches are financed by the public, some of their freedom will be placed in jeopardy because regulation is certain to follow.

Second, the privacy of houses of worship will be open to government – and public – scrutiny. Church books will be subject to audit or face regular spot checks by federal inspectors in order to ensure appropriate accountability.

Third, government handouts will undermine the vitality of our churches and community members. Millions of Americans are active with their local churches and houses of worship, making special contributions as a way to strengthen their ties to their faith traditions and increase personal piety. Once religious institutions are working in tandem with the government and are receiving tax dollars to carry out their work and provide services to the less fortunate, members may feel that their assistance is no longer necessary, or they may be less inclined to "dig a little deeper" to help with church expenses.

Finally, the faith-based initiative threatens interfaith peace by pitting faith groups against each other in competition for public funds. The synagogue a few miles away that offers counseling services is no longer a partner in your community involvement, but a competitor for

funding and attention. And after the competition, what will the political ramifications be? For example, my city, Newport News, has a Jewish mayor. The Jewish population in my hometown is maybe two or three percent. What happens when you have a Baptist, an Episcopalian, a Jewish, and a secular group all competing for the same contract to run a federally funded social service program? If the vote happens to come down four to three for the Jewish group, just how ugly is the next campaign season going to become?

#### Proselytization

There seems to be relative consensus that public funds may not be used for inherently religious activities, such as worship, religious instruction and proselytization, and that participation in religious activities must be separate from the government sponsored program and must be voluntary on the part of beneficiaries. However, if this is the case, then it must be made clear. Promulgated regulations are ambiguous at best. For example, some agency regulations simply state that such activities, if offered, must be separate, "in time or location," and that they be "voluntary for the program beneficiaries."<sup>7</sup>

This language would allow an organization to compartmentalize the delivery of services into, for example, fifteen-minute increments of time, and to alternate between religious and non-religious segments of the program, or to immediately follow the provision of services with a religious element, without ever distinguishing between the two. Moreover, the regulations often do not require that a beneficiary be informed of his/her option to abstain from religious activities, and therefore a beneficiary is not likely to know that he/she does not have to remain or participate. These loopholes should be closed.

#### Employment Discrimination

Under Title VII, religious organizations may discriminate in positions paid for with their own money. The question here is whether that exemption ought to extend to positions paid for with federal funds for entirely secular purposes. While the Administration and Majority clearly read this extension into Title VII,<sup>8</sup> there is no legal authority for that position. In addition, the overwhelming evidence at hearings is that religious organizations do not need to discriminate in order to operate successful programs. The fact is that anything that can receive funding under charitable choice could already receive funding prior to charitable choice if it agreed to not discriminate. For decades, religiously motivated organizations have been funded like all other private organizations are funded: they had use the funds for the purpose for which they were appropriated; they were prohibited from using taxpayer money to advance their religious beliefs; and they were subject to laws that prohibit discrimination in employment.

People should not be taxed to provide employment for which they are ineligible on religious grounds. I do not agree with the notion that it somehow undermines religious institutions if they are asked to associate with people of other religions in doing various good works. When religious services or directly religious activities are being carried on, shared

religion as a condition for certain forms of activity is clearly justified. But to argue that it would somehow undermine a particular religious group's sense of mission if it had to hire people of another religion for a secular service such as serving food, offering counseling, building housing, or doing maintenance services in a child care center, imputes to religions a narrowness of outlook which is unjustified and socially corrosive. Religious organizations are free to make employment decisions using religious criteria for programs run with their own money, but no citizen should have to pass someone else's religious test to qualify for a tax-funded job.

Furthermore, as Dr. Martin Luther King observed, the hour of worship is one of the most segregated hours in American society. This is sadly still true today. A law which by its silence is very likely to be interpreted as permitting religious discrimination in hiring will result in a great deal of racial discrimination as well. How many African Americans will be hired by Bob Jones University should they receive federal funds if employment is limited to the co-religionists of the recipient? How many white people will be employed as security guards in public housing by the Nation of Islam? And what of the many other religious organizations that are either overwhelmingly white or overwhelmingly black? We do not think that these groups should be empowered to hire only members of their own religion, which will in many cases also mean only members of their own race.

Consider also the extension of religious discrimination to gender discrimination. For example, a Catholic organization could claim religious exemption when it refuses to hire a single mother, whether due to divorce or premarital sex. And how will the organization know? Are we going to change privacy laws and allow employers to inquire into religious affiliation and levels of religious observance/adherence, marital and family status, etc.?

Several of the Administration and Majority attempts to further the faith-based initiative actually seek to roll back civil rights protections and statutes that are currently good law. The law of the land since shortly after the March on Washington has been that there is no discrimination with federal funds. The so-called "faith-based initiative" represents a profound change in policy.

Since 1965, if an employer had a problem hiring the best qualified applicant because of discrimination based on race or religion, that employer had a problem because the weight of the federal government was behind the victim of discrimination. But the faith-based initiative proposes to shift the weight of the federal government from supporting the victim to supporting the employer's so-called "right" to discriminate. That is a profound change in civil rights protection. And if we don't enforce discrimination laws in federal contracts, with secular programs, where is our moral authority to tell private employers, who may be devoutly religious, what they can do with their private money? A policy of religious discrimination in employment is wrong in the private sector; it is certainly wrong with federal funds.

There is no compelling reason to discriminate using federal funds other than that those seeking discrimination do not agree with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. If that is the case, then say

so and let's revisit that piece of legislation, rather than taking it apart piece by piece through social programs and statutes. Employment discrimination is ugly. You can put lipstick on a pig, but you can't pass it off as a beauty queen. And you can dress up "We don't hire Catholics, Jews, and Hindus" with poll-tested semantics and euphemisms, but you can't pass it off as anything other than ugly discrimination.

#### Objective Merit

The fourth question that needs to be answered is whether the government is going to be giving out public funds based on objective merit, or whether it is going to exercise favoritism in handing out these funds and choose a particular religious organization to receive funds over an objectively more qualified program run by either a different religion or a secular organization. If favoritism is the case, then the government should say so. If not, then what is the change to current law?

Now there is no dispute that preferential support for one religion over another is clearly unconstitutional under the Establishment Clause.<sup>9</sup> So if favoritism is the purpose, then we need to change the Constitution. If the purpose of the initiative is not favoritism, then the government needs to lay out the objective criteria it uses to determine which programs should receive funding.

And then we need to go back and ask: if the purpose is not favoritism, well then what is it? Religious organizations were already receiving government funds for social service programs even without the faith-based initiative. So what is the purpose of the law? This is an elementary question that should be answered before we create and enact any law.

#### Vouchers

I'd like to briefly discuss the issue of vouchers. Based on recent court rulings, many of the constitutional arguments I have discussed in my testimony do not apply to vouchers. However, vouchers do create problems of their own.

The Supreme Court decision in *Zelman v. Simmons Harris*,<sup>10</sup> which allowed the use of vouchers at religious schools, established a strict set of requirements that must be met in order to find a voucher program constitutional. According to the Court, a voucher program must be completely neutral with respect to religion, use of vouchers at a religious institution must be a wholly genuine and independent private choice, the vouchers must pass directly through the hands of the beneficiaries, the voucher program must not provide incentives to choose a religious institution over a non-religious one, there must be genuine and legitimate secular options, and there must be a secular purpose for the voucher program.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, any voucher program established by the government for social service programs must satisfy these criteria. And voucher programs would need to be limited to those areas in which wide-ranging secular options are available. Furthermore, beneficiaries should be notified of their options.

Administrative concerns are also raised by vouchers programs. One main concern is that under a voucher program, there is no way to ensure availability of services. Absent a direct funding stream to a particular organization, it is impossible to make certain that a particular type of service will be offered in any given area. Another concern is that vouchers jeopardize the financial stability of both religious and secular non-profit agencies by replacing the more reliable grant and contract funding they receive with unpredictable voucher funding. Finally, it is difficult to provide quality control over all of the programs that may want to partner with government. Quality control is necessary both to ensure that the public funds are being used for the purpose for which they were distributed and to ensure that those using the vouchers are receiving quality services.

#### Conclusion

Faith based organizations have been receiving government funding for social service programs for decades. It is true that there are many faith based organizations that are too small to have the administrative infrastructure to handle the logistics of partnering with government, but this is not unique to religious organizations; this is equally true of small, secular community organizations. If the government wants to better equip such organizations to partner with government in the provision of social services, then we need to figure out the best way to provide outreach and technical assistance to all such organizations, or we should use a community action agency structure to administer programs in partnership with local religious and community organizations. But the faith-based initiative in its current form is not the answer.

Finally, it is difficult to support legislation which purports to provide an enhanced ability to provide social services to those in need when the legislation itself does not authorize a single dollar in additional funds for social service programs. This fact, when combined with the severe cuts in the Administration's budget for social services, will place severe constraints on the ultimate viability of charitable choice programs. It is indeed ironic that at the same time the Administration and the Majority are touting to this country a commitment to values, the need for compassion and the benefit of making the faith-based initiative permanent, they have elected to slash the budgets of the very programs that are necessary to promote the welfare of the American people. Rather than cutting funds across the board and laying the responsibility on a few community churches, the government ought to focus on funding for everybody.

Thank you again for permitting me to testify before you. I would like to request that my full testimony be admitted for the record. And I would be happy to answer any questions you might have.

1. *Mitchell v. Helms*, 530 U.S. 793, 809 (2000).
2. The Justices in *Mitchell v. Helms*, 530 U.S. 793 (2000) joined in three different opinions. Justice Thomas wrote the plurality opinion, joined by Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justices Scalia and Kennedy. *Helms v. Mitchell*, *supra*, at 801 (Thomas, J., plurality opinion). Justice Souter, joined by Justices Stevens and Ginsburg, wrote a dissent. *Id.* at 868 (Souter, J., dissenting). Justice O'Connor, joined by Justice Breyer, wrote the determinative opinion in the case and the one that provides the most authoritative guidance on the current meaning of the establishment clause. *Id.* at 836 (O'Connor, J., concurring).
3. *Mitchell v. Helms*, 530 U.S. 793, 840 (O'Connor, J., concurring).
4. *Id.* at 842, 843.
5. *Id.* at 687.
6. *Id.* at 845.
7. See e.g., Charitable Choice Provisions and Regulations; Final Rules, 68 Fed. Reg. 56430, 56444, 56446-7 (Sept. 30, 2003) (codified at 42 C.F.R. pts. 54, 54a and 45 C.F.R. pts. 96, 260, 1050); Charitable Choice Provisions Applicable to Programs Authorized Under the Community Services Block Grant, 68 Fed. Reg. 56466, 56470 (Sept. 30, 2003) (codified at 45 C.F.R. pt. 1050); Charitable Choice Provisions Applicable to the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Program (68 Fed. Reg. 56449, 56465 (Sept. 30, 2003) (codified at 45 C.F.R. pt. 260).
8. See, e.g., Department of Justice memorandum dated June 26, 2001 ("We conclude, for the reasons set forth more fully below, that an FBO receiving direct federal aid may make employment decisions on the basis of religion without running afoul of the Establishment Clause, and that an FBO organized under section 501(c)(3) may invoke the title VII exemption and staff on a religious basis.")
9. See, e.g., *Larson v. Valente*, 456 U.S. 228, 244 (1982) ("The clearest command of the Establishment Clause is that one religious denomination cannot be officially preferred over another.")
10. *Zelman v. Simmons Harris*, 536 U.S. 639 (2002).
11. *Id.*



Mr. SOUDER. Thank you for your testimony.

If we can agree to disagree on some of fundamental characterizations, I believe that your statement proposes to discriminate against those who would practice a consistent faith and whether they should be eligible for Government grants may be another question. We will debate that. I believe for you to say a church must hire somebody who disagrees with that church in effect says a church that applies a consistent philosophy through their organization is not eligible, is not welcome to participate in antipoverty programs.

I understand that position; we have argued that many times on the House floor, many times in the Education Committee, you guys argue in the Judiciary Committee, but I wanted to focus very particularly on the legislation today and first ask Mr. Green a technical question.

It looks to me like in the Sense of Congress Section, Section 7, you would address some of the questions that Mr. Scott raised, but fundamentally your bill tries to put this in as a directorate. It would have to be debated as we went through the legislative process. Is that correct?

Mr. GREEN. You are correct. In the opening remarks of my esteemed colleague and some of the opening statement, references were made to profound changes in current law. That is not what we are doing here. We have the advantage of having had the Executive orders in place now for several years as the gentleman mentioned, and we have a history or track record. My goal with this legislation is largely to make sure it does not expire.

A lot of these organizations that are hoping to be able to utilize Federal funds to help lift lives and heal communities are now looking at the possibility that it may all go away in 3 to 3½ years' time. I hope to provide some stability and predictability.

Second, the other important reason for putting this into statute and codifying it is to create clear guidelines on what they cannot do, which I think is as important as anything. A number of Members have rightly raised concerns. I think the best way to address those concerns is to spell them out, as has been done in the Executive order but now give it the force of statute so it is there for everyone to see what an organization can do and more importantly, what it cannot and should not do.

Mr. SOUDER. In your opinion, in the Sense of Congress Section of this bill, Section 7, does this freeze the Executive orders or would a new President be able to issue other Executive orders within this framework?

Mr. GREEN. I don't know the answer to that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOUDER. Because in many of these, we deal with it bill by bill. For example, it may come up in the Head Start bill, it is part of welfare reform and the question is whether that will be continued. I think one of the fundamental questions we need to work through in your bill, because I see the arguments for both from our perspective codifying in the law more generally and on the other hand, would this apply to programs we have never legislated on? How do we work through the actual implementation?

I wanted to ask this of Mr. Scott. Ironically, one of the problems we have right now is it is fine to say we can't move this bill until

we get some answers from the administration. The administration refuses to testify. The reason they refuse to testify is because they say right now the office is under the White House directly, therefore, it is pre-decisional information. They are not subject to the Congress, that we can bring people forward from the different agencies but the different agencies with pressures from OMB and from the White House directly in many cases don't actually control the programs.

I find myself in a very ironic position. Personal friends with people who are administering the program, supportive of a particular program, but basically I have a Constitutional question right now. If programs are going to be directed directly out of the White House and by OMB, should there not be congressional oversight even if I happen to agree with them? Certainly I believe there should be congressional oversight should the White House change parties and then we are doing oversight but I am trying to be consistent enough to say I believe it ought to happen regardless of who is in charge, even if I like what is going on.

Do you have a fundamental opposition to what Mr. Green is trying to do by codifying this so we can actually get oversight?

Mr. SCOTT. You have asked a lot of different questions. One is how you get the prohibition against discrimination, where that came from, particularly in light of the exemption under Title 7. The prohibition against discrimination has been kind of a compilation of things but the most direct prohibition against discrimination has been in President Johnson's 1965 Executive order which expanded Executive orders going back since 1941.

Mr. SOUDER. Can I clarify what my comment was? In Congressman Green's bill in Title 7 under "Sense of Congress," things related to discrimination. The question is, this bill could theoretically be done two different ways. It could have the first six sections which look to me like they are mostly making the office permanent and then Section 7 which may or may not since it is the sense of Congress, have the effect of codifying the Executive orders. If we did that, you would have a problem with the bill?

Mr. SCOTT. Yes, I would have a real problem because it depends on which Executive order you codify. If you codify Johnson's Executive order, then that would be fine. President Bush, as you indicated, signed another Executive order which allowed discrimination. Some bills have specific prohibitions against discrimination. You mentioned Head Start and some others which have specific prohibitions against discrimination. You can't change statute with an Executive order. So if you allow discrimination in all programs, by statute, then you are right. You could not change that by Executive order.

It is interesting you mentioned it was under the White House and not under anybody's authority. It asks the question: why are these programs in the White House and not in the various agencies if you are funding certain programs? The agencies fund programs the old-fashioned way. You fund the best program by objective standards. If that is not what you are doing, what are you doing? Is it religious discrimination, is it favoritism, is it politics or what? Why is this thing run out of the White House? If it is a health pro-

gram, why isn't it run out of Health? If it is a housing program, why isn't it run out of Housing? Those are the real questions.

In response to another question you asked, why should someone of one religion have to work with somebody of another religion, whatever you think about it, I thought we had decided that in the 1960's where whether you like to or not, whether you are devoutly religious or not, even with your own private money, we have decided that religious discrimination was so odious that we decided it ought to be illegal. In the 1960's, we had the votes.

There is obviously a reconsideration of whether or not people ought to have to work with people of different religions and we are revisiting the question.

Mr. SOUDER. I was trying to avoid the argument but as you know full well, we have a difference of opinion on the interpretation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act as it relates to religious discrimination, the courts have not been consistent in how they have interpreted this and that is why we have had to do all sorts of things.

Mr. SCOTT. The courts have been consistent.

Mr. SOUDER. Oh, no. They have said that Catholic schools can get money for buses; they said Catholic schools can get money for computers even if they hire only Catholics. As you correctly pointed out in the vouchers, in the vouchers it is even more confusing. There it is more of a management question, they allow the vouchers but even in some direct funding, they allow discrimination to occur.

Mr. SCOTT. You mentioned discrimination. Title 7 gives them the right to discriminate. The Free Exercise Clause gives them the right to discriminate. When you are dealing with Federal money and the right to discriminate, President Johnson's Executive order has been the law of the land since 1965. If you are selling rifles to the Defense Department, if you discriminate in your manufacturing process, whether or not they are the best and cheapest rifles, the Defense Department won't buy them from you.

Mr. SOUDER. I am sure we will hear more and we will continue to argue that question.

Let me clarify because I don't agree with your interpretation. We have argued this on the floor and will continue to argue but the way I understood what you said was in effect, even if it wasn't codified in this bill, even if our view was not put in, you would have a philosophical problem with a codified White House, Office of Faith-Based Initiative because you think it ought to be run inside each agency as a health program and so on?

Mr. SCOTT. I think you ought to answer some questions so everybody knows what is going on. I have asked four questions and you can't get an answer to those questions.

Mr. SOUDER. Because it isn't codified?

Mr. SCOTT. I don't know why you can't get an answer. We have been struggling and it took us about 3 years to get an answer to the question, can you discriminate and you got all kinds of confusing, contradictory, evasive kinds of answers and finally after we had some rifle shot amendments that said no, you can't discriminate, then people had to kind of acknowledge I guess that is what is going on. You finally got an answer to that question but are

there favorites? Can you practice favoritism of one religion over another? If not, what are we talking about?

Mr. SOUDER. Whether this committee moves ahead with the bill or not and this is a challenge because we are having this with ONDCP too because in our ONDCP reauthorization, we had some similar debates because technically the Drug Czar is under the Office of the White House but it has been a codified office, so they have to respond. Can this bill be drafted where we could either put in certain things or can the bill be drafted such that there is an office that as a practical matter, yes, the Health, Education, Housing, all the different departments have an office of Faith-Based and the funding runs through that.

Everybody knows under every modern President, it doesn't matter whether it is a Democrat or Republican, that OMB is making a lot of the day-to-day decision type of input or you can lose your position, which is hard enough to oversee but we also know that in every White House, you have advisors to the President. The question is how much do those advisors to the President work as advisors to the President versus management, kind of line function? Is it a dotted line or a direct line that goes over to the different agencies?

To the degree that this office works as a more filled in direct line as opposed to a dotted line, it ought to have more congressional oversight. The question is, should we be moving a bill that tries to move it in that direction regardless of how the wording is?

Mr. Green and then I will yield.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Chairman, with this legislation, we simply took what we thought was the path of least resistance in terms of drafting it. We are open to changes. There is nothing magic about the terminology, the actual language. The goal here is to ensure the Faith-Based Initiative, forget the office, I view it as something separate, the Faith-Based Initiative continues on.

I recognize that Presidents are going to always want to implement and put things into practice in their own way in terms of where they put the offices and such. What we wish to codify are the principles of the Faith-Based Initiative. That, to me, is more important than the office and where that office is located, whether it is in the White House or in individual agencies. It is principles we hope to codify and certainly we are open to changes in this legislation and modifications.

Mr. SCOTT. Let me say briefly that is what we are trying to figure out, what principles we are trying to codify, the four questions, and we ought to talk about how this changes present law. Reciting the good parts of present law, that is nice but how will this bill change present law by instituting some policy, and then can you directly fund a church, can you proselytize during the program, can you discriminate and are we talking about favoritism? Get a straight answer to those questions, then we will know what we are talking about.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you.

Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I want to start with the last question Mr. Scott asked, the question of favoritism. Mr. Green, do you think faith-based organizations have been discriminated against in the past?

Mr. Scott says these organizations like Catholic Charities and some others have gotten all kinds of money. I am trying to figure out whether it is your belief that the system that has been used, however Catholic Charities and others get their moneys, is there something wrong with that system?

Mr. GREEN. First off, I guess I would disagree with the characterization that these organizations are getting money. Under the Faith-Based Initiative, there are pretty strict standards and accountability for how that money is spent. This is money that doesn't belong to an organization, nor does it belong to a Federal agency. This is money obviously that belongs to those in need, those who are being served.

Second, I think the problem has been not so much with the Catholic Charities and Lutheran Social Services of the world, those are large organizations, they have substantial staff to help them wade through the myriad of regulations and paperwork, bureaucracy and red tape that any organization has to go through.

The real target for the Faith-Based Initiative has been those smaller organizations that don't have those kinds of resources or the same ability to wade through the regulations and barriers. That is what we are hoping the Faith-Based Initiative will help, that we will cause small community and faith-based organizations around the country to take a look at what is being done, what Catholic Charities may be doing, a Rawhide or an Urban Help and say to themselves, that need exists in my community and we can do that. We don't know how to, where can we turn to for help and guidance? Who can assist us through this process? Who can help us out?

That is the idea to me behind the Faith-Based Initiative, creating a resource that these organizations can go to. Just as importantly as helping them affirmatively be able to serve those in need, it is absolutely as important to let them know what it is they cannot do, what those rules and restrictions are so they don't cross the lines that many have raised and should be raised. That is part of what the Faith-Based Initiative will do as well, show them what they cannot do.

Mr. CUMMINGS. So one aspect of it would be more or less counseling, is that what you are saying?

Mr. GREEN. Counseling, predictability, something that is there for them to be able to take a look so they understand.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I didn't mean to imply in any way they were getting money for themselves. I know the money is being used to carry out wonderful purposes. On one hand, there are those who really want to see these organizations do their thing and do these wonderful things but at the same time, can you understand the sensitivity with regard to discrimination.

I forget how Mr. Scott said it but there are many people, and our country is becoming more and more diverse every second, who have been discriminated against and who have been held back big time. Not only were they held back but their mothers, grandmothers, grandfathers, great grandfathers were held back because of discrimination. Can you understand that whenever discrimination raises its head, there are a lot of people who will get upset about it because they know what it feels like. I am just curious.

Mr. GREEN. Absolutely. First, let me say that I think part of reaching out to the community of faith, many of these organizations in neighborhoods that have specific needs and very special needs reaching out to them I think will ensure the services we deliver to these neighborhoods will be as effective as possible. I think we will do a better job in reaching out to heal neighborhoods and to work with those in need.

Second, again I come back to it, that is why I think it is so very important for us to spell out the rules for what cannot be done, so there isn't discrimination. I think that is very important indeed.

Third, I think an important point, there is also the concept of religious freedom and freedom of expression, and I am Catholic. To say that my church, the Catholic church, and I am not suggesting you are saying this, but is not able to participate in the wonderful work that Catholic Charities does because it is a male-only priesthood, none of us are suggesting that obviously. We recognize that there are concepts of religious freedom here, that the Constitution provides we must not discriminate on religious grounds. It also provides freedom of religious expression.

It is a sensitive area and an area where we have to tread carefully and it is an area where I think we have an obligation to all Americans to make sure we are very specific in those guidelines so that we don't creep into what you have rightly pointed out is a fear in this country, a well founded fear in too many places.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT. Very briefly. When you suggest there is no suggestion that any of this discussion has anything to do with what religious organizations do with their own money, the Catholic Church can do what it wants to, hire who it wants for a priest. That is not on the table for discussion. The question is whether or not they can participate in a federally funded program and take the Federal money and only hire men or only hire Catholics and deny employment opportunities with the Federal money, not with the church money, continue doing what they want with the church money, can they deny employment opportunities to people because of religion? As I indicated, if you have to pass on religion, you cannot enforce racial discrimination laws.

When you talk about the small organizations, the small churches, those problems in dealing with Federal contracts apply to small churches, apply to small organizations, the crime watch organization, all these other unincorporated associations, they are going to have problems dealing with the paperwork of a Federal grant. Maybe we need some technical assistance or maybe we need to use the CAP agencies, community action agencies, to help administer the money so they can perform their good work but not have to do all of the paperwork.

Again, I go back to the point on favoritism. How does this change present law? Are we going to allow organizations to be favored over more qualified organizations because we favor that religion or not? How does it change present law and the question of favoritism? Remember, any program that can get funded under the Faith-Based Initiative could be funded anyway if you agree not to discriminate in employment.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Scott, on the culture, President Bush in his State of the Union, I can't remember his exact words but basically he implied that if you are not allowed to discriminate, and I have heard it somewhat here today, if you are not allowed to discriminate, a religious organization, then it may affect the culture of the religious organization and what they are trying to do? I can't remember the exact words but I remember the impression.

Mr. SCOTT. We went through that in the 1960's in past legislation that no matter how religious or devout you may be, in your own business, you cannot discriminate against people because of their race or religion. That was controversial but we decided it was so invidious we were going to make it illegal. If you were devout, whatever your devotion is, you are hiring people with your own money, you cannot discriminate in employment.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Gutknecht.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. I don't want to wear this thing out but I think this is the crux of the problem. It seems to me we all have to come up with a way to define this because so far, we have been fortunate. It strikes me that we haven't had more lawsuits than we have.

I think we all share the notion that nobody in America should discriminate. I think we all agree on that but where it becomes problematic is when you start to define this in the statute, what is discrimination, what is not discrimination. Then it becomes incredibly complicated. We can all come up with examples whether it is this particular religion being forced to hire people to be part of this program who are very much opposed to the basic tenets of that religion. It is a very sticky wicket.

Maybe we can't do that. Maybe it can't be done but I think you are imposing something on an organization if you force a black Baptist church to hire people who are clearly opposed and have real strong feelings about whatever that the tenets of that church are or in any of these circumstances, I am not sure how we define this.

I think as has been indicated for the most part and there are some churches who have just said we are not going to play because if we go down this path, sooner or later we are going to be drawn into this web and we are going to be forced to play by a set of rules that begin to compromise the basic tenets of this faith. Maybe you can elaborate on that. Are you saying that a church should be forced to hire people who strongly disagree with certain teachings of that church?

Mr. SCOTT. Not with the church money, no. With the Federal money or for the Federal purpose, which I think people have agreed pretty much it is a secular purpose—yes, you have to play by the same rules as everyone else. I guess the question of the employer just doesn't want to hire the person because of their religion, whose problem is that?

You could be a devout whatever and you just don't like people of another religion and you are hiring people. Whose problem is that? Is that yours or is that the employee's problem? We decided in the 1960's, that is your problem. If you can't hire people of a different religion, then you are looking down the barrel end of a law-

suit. That is the way it has been since the 1960's. If you can't hire people, either you don't do business in the United States, you can't hire Title 7, I forget what the threshold number is, but if you hire more people than that, then you are looking at the barrel end of a lawsuit.

I don't care how devout you are, how much you hate somebody's religion, you have to hire the best qualified or you are looking at a lawsuit. That is what we decided in the 1960's. You are right, it was a sticky wicket. Some White people don't like Black people, why should they have to hire them, why should they have to work with them? We decided in that in the 1960's and I am glad they did. I don't want to go back to where they can say I don't want to work with those people. Maybe we need to revisit it. Maybe it is a sticky wicket but that is the way it has been and that is the way I like it. Maybe others want to revisit it but you are right, it is sticky. That is the way it is, you hire the best qualified regardless of race or religion in the United States.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. But in terms of qualifications, if somebody clearly doesn't agree with the basic tenets of a particular religion, then you say they still could be the best qualified person for that job?

Mr. SCOTT. You are doing a Federal job; you are not doing a church job. You are being hired with Federal money. We are not even discussing what you do with the church money. We are talking about a Federal contract with the money, like the Head Start Program. You are providing an educational service, you are not providing religious education. It is Head Start education and with the Federal money, so no, you shouldn't be able to discriminate. If you can't work with people of different religions, I believe if the sponsor of the program can't work with people of different religions in the Head Start Program, then yes, I think the employer has a problem.

If you have problems or you can't work with the people of different races and religions, maybe you ought not to be able to sponsor federally funded programs. This was debated. I was reading the Congressional Record and one of the Representatives from New York said, this is simple, stop the discrimination, get the money. Continue the discrimination, don't get the money.

Mr. GUTKNECHT. Mr. Green.

Mr. GREEN. It is an important discussion we are having but let me return us to where we are. We have now had an Executive order on the books for 3 years. It is being implemented and here aren't all the allegations that have been suggested by Mr. Scott. I am not aware of them having taken place. This is something we need to debate.

On the other hand, it seems to be working quite well. Common sense is being applied. There are guidelines to what you can and cannot do, there are guides put out for faith-based organizations, particularly smaller organizations which might not always have the same level of sophistication and it is working. So we are not talking about dramatic changes in law. We are talking about what is working right now and trying to ensure that it continues to work into the future.



This debate is an important one but many of these issues are being addressed quite effectively in the working world, the implementation of the Executive order. So that should give us some comfort here as we go forward.

Mr. SCOTT. May I make a quick comment on that?

Mr. SOUDER. Sure.

Mr. SCOTT. Some of this hasn't happened because State laws prohibit discrimination. Although it may not be prohibited under Federal law, there may be State laws that prohibit discrimination. There is a serious question on whether or not a pervasively sectarian organization can get direct funding anyway. When President Clinton signed some of these bills—and his name is always thrown around as supporting this—in his signing statement, he made it clear there was kind of a catch 22. If you are a pervasively sectarian organization, he doesn't think you can get funding. If you are not a pervasively sectarian organization, you don't have an exemption under Title 7. So anyone who ended up with the money couldn't discriminate.

I question whether or not people really think they have the right to discriminate and that is why we haven't seen the problems.

Mr. SOUDER. The question goes in order of seniority in the subcommittee. Mr. Davis has left, so it is Ms. Watson.

Ms. WATSON. Thank you very much.

I am reading the bill and apparently this is an attempt to make this a permanent program to establish an office and make it a permanent program. For the benefit of the audience, if passed and signed by the President, this becomes law and whenever you use the word shall it is a mandate and so I want to address this to Representative Green.

I am looking at page 3, line 13, subsection 5, "The Director shall help to integrate policies affecting faith-based and other community organizations across the Federal Government; shall coordinate public education activities designed to mobilize public support for faith-based and community initiatives." I really don't know what that really means and possibly it could be interpreted in a court of law.

I go on to on that same page, line 24, it says "Advise the President," this brings the President into the implementation of this program. It says, "Advise the President on options and ideas to assist, strengthen and replicate successful faith-based and community initiatives." It goes on to say on page 4, "to support and encourage faith-based and community initiatives." My interpretation would be to support the faith-based, faith-based initiatives rather than other kinds of community service programs.

It goes on to say, "Work to eliminate unnecessary legislative and regulatory barriers which impeded the efforts of faith-based." That means ease up the oversight and the responsibility we as selected officials have over the use of Federal programs.

I have questions on almost every page and every line but the ones that popped out at me, it says under Sense of Congress, "In the administration or distribution of Federal financial assistance, no organization shall be discriminated against on the basis of religion or religious belief." I didn't hear that in the debate. It is in this bill. So you can challenge if there is discrimination against someone who then would go into a program and ask to be hired be-

cause they were real qualified. I didn't hear that argument brought out.

Mr. GREEN. If I can respond to that, that is not the discrimination you are referring to. It is referring to discrimination against organizations which happen to be faith-based, saying those organizations may not participate in Federal grant programs because they are faith-based.

Ms. WATSON. I am going to go through all these concerns and then you can respond.

Then on page 9, lines 11 and 12, "Any organization that receives Federal financial assistance to provide social services shall be prohibited from discriminating against beneficiaries or potential beneficiaries of the service it provides." You need to know that piece is in there.

On page 10, line 4, "Any faith-based organization that receives Federal financial assistance should be able to retain its independence and to continue to carry out its mission including the definition, development, practice and expression of religious beliefs," that worries me, "provided that it does not use Federal financial assistance to support any inherently religious activities such as worship, religious instruction," and this says you can indoctrinate. We really have to look at the wording here.

On the same page, line 19, "Any faith-based organization that receives Federal financial assistance should be able to retain any religious terms in the organization's name, take religion into account in selecting board members and include religious references in any organization mission, statements or other chartering or governing documents."

This is a Federal policy that you want to codify on a permanent basis. This Federal money is derived from tax moneys, my tax moneys, yours and everyone in this room who pays taxes. I cannot support a faith-based program that would take a look at me, a Catholic and say you cannot work here regardless of how qualified I am. I would like to see something in this bill that prohibits discrimination based on a whole series of things.

I think it is unfinished and this is my point. Because you do not deserve my tax dollars if I am qualified and cannot work in your institution, I being a recipient and being a victim of discrimination over the years feel this very deeply, emotionally and passionately and anything that I have to do or vote on, I want to be sure there are protections so people like myself will not continue to be victimized only because we did not debate, discuss and think it through.

Thank you for giving us something we can look at and we can analyze and we can suggest. Maybe we can come up with some amendments that will address my concerns.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GREEN. I appreciate what the lady said. I think the lady should take comfort from one of the provisions she read. The provision you read says, "Any organization that receives Federal financial assistance, provides social services should be prohibited from discriminating against beneficiaries or potential beneficiaries on the basis of religion." That is what you have asked for.

Ms. WATSON. Exactly. I wanted to point that out. That gave me comfort but then as I read we are asking for a promotion of these faith-based programs, so I would like to see a provision in there.

Mr. GREEN. If that provision is in there, it would have the force of law which should give you comfort. The promotion we are talking about is letting organizations know that they have the opportunity to participate because for years they have been told they need not apply. These organizations for years have been pushed away from being involved in delivery of Federal services. They have not had the ability, at least in their minds, to be able to participate in Federal grant programs. Particularly those smaller organizations that don't have the same level of sophistication or assets, resources that some of the well-known organizations have, like Habitat for Humanity.

So that's the promotion that we're talking about. Many of the provisions that you have pointed to, again, are current Federal policy. And again, finally, I could not agree with you more with respect to the need for spelling out the clear policy and law that we cannot discriminate against beneficiaries on the basis of religion. That's why that provision is in there.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, could I say just a word? That is, there is no prohibition against these organizations participating now. We want to know what the change in the law will be. Any program that can get funded under this faith-based initiative could be funded without the faith-based initiative, as long as they agree not to discriminate in employment.

Second, there is a difference between beneficiary or potential beneficiaries and employment. Those are two different issues. I think there is a consensus that you shouldn't discriminate against beneficiaries, that is, students of the Head Start program. The question is whether you could discriminate in hiring teachers in the Head Start program.

And finally, the Section 7 is a sense of Congress. Switching hats to my Judiciary Committee, I am not sure a Sense of Congress is even enforceable. I don't know what the deal is.

Ms. WATSON. If I might just respond. I think we need to go over line and verse and then try to clarify, so that we don't end up having suits and tying up the implementation of such a law in court. Because I would be the first one in court, if I walked in and someone said to me, well, you're Catholic. I know what it says there, but you're Black.

Mr. GREEN. But it does say that. It does provide the protection that you've asked for. That protection is right—you just read through it.

Ms. WATSON. But I don't know what it means when it says, the Director shall advise the President how to promote a particular faith-based program, you see. I think we get into trouble with that.

So I think what we need to do is to re-look at the provisions that are already in the bill, discuss them like we are doing here, and I appreciate this opportunity to bring out some of my concerns.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you.

Mr. Owens. Mr. Davis.

Mr. DAVIS OF ILLINOIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Representative Green, you just indicated that the organizations would be strictly prohibited from discriminating on the basis of religion. What could they discriminate on the basis of?

Mr. GREEN. Well, it's a legal question, you would have to ask an attorney. Again, I think the legislation speaks for itself and makes it very clear that in terms of beneficiaries, that you cannot discriminate. Again, this doesn't change current law. This is an effort to codify existing policy and to make sure that what is taking place out there and is working continues beyond this administration. That's what this legislation seeks to do. It is not changing policy.

Mr. DAVIS OF ILLINOIS. Well, perhaps you or Mr. Scott could tell me, say, the difference between, let's say that I have the Davis Temple Baptist Church. And I take myself two or three of my members, my choir director and my deacon board and the trustee board, and we decide to incorporate ourselves into the Davis Temple Foundation and go and apply for a grant, apply to the Internal Revenue Service and get ourselves a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status and become the recipient.

What is the difference between the Davis Temple Foundation and the Davis Temple Baptist Church, and they are the very same people with the same mission, with the same motivation, with the same purposes? What is the difference?

Mr. SCOTT. If it is a separate organization, it would be looked at separately. Now, if you have a mission that is strictly religious, there would be very little difference. But usually, when you set up the separate 501(c)(3) organization, you set that up as a charitable organization, not a religious organization. When you receive money in the 501(c)(3), you are subject to the same law as everybody else is; when you receive money to perform a Government service, you have to use the money for which it was appropriated and you can't discriminate in employment.

That's why I said, any program—that Davis Temple whatever, whether it is under this, under that—any program that could get funded under this bill, under the faith-based policy, could have been funded anyway if you would agree not to discriminate in employment. You may have to set up a 501(c)(3) or whatever. But if you are running a program that could have been funded anyway if you would agree not to discriminate in employment.

So unless you're talking favoritism, basically in the faith-based initiative, all you're talking about is rolling back the clock on discrimination laws.

Mr. DAVIS OF ILLINOIS. That's kind of my feeling. There has to be some underlying reason or some underlying cause. I mean, I hear that the institutions don't know that they can apply. I just don't know any that don't know that they can become a charitable organization and follow the same rules and regulations as other charitable organizations. I don't know any institutions that can get any smaller than what we call the store-front churches in the community where I live and work and have spent all of my adult life.

It is difficult for me to rationalize the need to suggest that the only way these individuals are going to know that they can develop programs and apply for Federal resources is that we have a faith-based initiative operating out of the President's office. So I just have some serious difficulty understanding that, and think that

there must be some reason beyond what I am hearing and what I know for us to feel the need to codify such a program as it is outlined in this bill.

So I thank you gentlemen, but I just can't see the rationale. I can't see the logic. I yield back.

Mr. SOUDER. Ms. Norton.

Ms. NORTON. This is testimony I would have very much liked to hear. I was ranking member on another committee. I have followed this issue very closely, because when I chaired the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, we issued religious discrimination guidelines. And they were very important to spell out broadly the protection against religious discrimination.

And Title VII of the 1964 Act, which I administered and under which these guidelines were developed, of course, has very broad protection for religious organizations, essentially an exemption from the, in their activities from the discrimination laws. Not only their religious activities, but their secular activities, in their dealing with the money that is protected under the Constitution by the first amendment with their own religious-based money.

Of course, whenever we deal in this sensitive area, we are bound by the first amendment's establishment of religion clause, which prohibits Government-financed or Government-sponsored indoctrination of beliefs of a religious faith. So this bill has been held up for years, because even though the House and Senate are full of people who agree and who have seen faith-based organization Constitutionally administer public funds, there seems to be something more desired.

What particularly concerns me in my discussions over the years with Representative Scott is, of course, that we could see a great deal of public funds going to religious organizations which by their very nature are segregated. That is just out of tradition. Jews turn out to be mostly White. Black people go basically to churches which are mostly Black. Nobody has any criticism to be made of those.

Social services have been handled across these religious lines. So the notion of saying, you can handle my funds and hire only people of your religion, to handle my funds, to handle my taxpayers' funds, seems to me to be a slam dunk unconstitutional matter.

I would just like to ask this question. If we could get over the other issues that have been discussed here, would you agree that any such bill should clarify this matter right up front and say, any organization, any religious organization which in fact accepts public funds must not discriminate in the employment of people who are employed to distribute the services with public funds? That is my straight-out question.

Would you be willing to have any such legislation clarify that if a religious organization accepts public funds, it agrees not to discriminate on the basis of race and religion in its employment practices only in the distribution, only in administering services using these public taxpayer funds?

Mr. SOUDER. A brief answer by each one of you. We have 8 minutes left to vote.

Mr. GREEN. I am not sure it is possible to give a brief answer. The first important point, this legislation has not been held up for years. I drafted it for the first time last fall.

Ms. NORTON. I meant the legislation of this kind. I didn't mean to refer to your bill.

Mr. GREEN. This is different. And it is an important part of the response here. This is not a clean slate. This takes what is working well right now, and for which I have not heard allegations made, we have not seen lawsuits made, and would seek to codify them and to make sure that it exists beyond the expiration of this administration.

So that should give us all some reassurance here. We do have protections spelled out, we do have laws on the books——

Ms. NORTON. Would you agree that——

Mr. GREEN [continuing]. And so this——

Ms. NORTON [continuing]. To such language in your bill?

Mr. GREEN. I would be happy to work with the lady to look at what language is most appropriate. But I will not allow or I would not support language that forces faiths or religions to entirely surrender their religious independence and their religious expression. It is a fine line, and in my opening remarks we talked about how it is a sensitive area. We have a tightrope here that we have to walk. This goes back to the Clinton administration. They tried to draw a fine line. I think it is something that isn't easy that we need to do.

But again, there is not a clean slate here. We have something now in place that is working. So that should be a reassurance to yourself and to many of the Members here who have expressed concerns. We can take a look at how the current Executive order is being implemented and how it is working, and we can take a look at allegations, if there are indeed allegations of discrimination in hiring and those are things I think are appropriate to look at.

But again, this is not something new that we are creating here.

Mr. SCOTT. Just very briefly, you don't have to surrender anything if you sponsor a federally funded program. You can do what you want with your church funds.

With the Federal funds, any program that can get funded with Federal funds could be funded anyway if the sponsoring organization would agree not to discriminate. So that begs the question of, if that is all you are talking about. So there is no faith-based initiative without discrimination unless you are talking about favoritism, that is, that you could favor one religious organization over an objectively more qualified program sponsored by another religion or a secular organization. So unless you are talking favoritism, all you are talking about is discrimination.

Furthermore, you know from your work on the EEOC that if you can't, if you have a pass on religious discrimination, racial discrimination is essentially unenforceable.

Mr. SOUDER. I thank the gentlelady. I thank both of the gentlemen from Wisconsin and Virginia. We have five votes, it will be approximately 45 minutes and we will reconvene with the second panel.

The subcommittee stands in recess.

[Recess.]

Mr. SOUDER. The subcommittee is reconvened.

Our second panel is composed of Stanley Carlson-Thies, Director of Social Policy Studies at the Center for Public Justice; Mr. David

Kuo, former Deputy Director of the White House Faith-Based and Community Initiatives; and Bobby Polito, former Director of the Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives at the Department of Health and Human Services.

Since you are already here, if you will each stand and raise your right hands.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Mr. SOUDER. Let the record show that each of the witnesses responded in the affirmative.

Thank you for your patience. That was—the last vote did not even occur, it was a frustrating process over there. The clock was moving pretty slowly.

But now we don't plan to have any more votes the rest of this evening, so we should be able to get through the rest of the next few panels in an orderly manner. Thank you each for coming, for being willing to testify at this hearing, and we will start with Dr. Carlson-Thies.

**STATEMENTS OF STANLEY CARLSON-THIES, DIRECTOR OF SOCIAL POLICY STUDIES, CENTER FOR PUBLIC JUSTICE; DAVID KUO, FORMER DEPUTY DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE; AND BOBBY POLITO, FORMER DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVES, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES**

**STATEMENT OF STANLEY CARLSON-THIES**

Mr. CARLSON-THIES. Thank you, Chairman Souder, and the subcommittee, for the opportunity to comment on H.R. 1054.

I was on the original staff at the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, serving until May 2002, and I worked particularly with the Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. I am now with the Center for Public Justice. We subcontract with the HHS Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and the Corporation for National Community Service. I also consult with State governments.

I am glad to support this bill to codify the structure and principles of the faith-based initiative. I will suggest some changes.

I think the faith-based initiative is very important for revitalizing our society's help for the needy. Its importance cannot be measured by the relatively slow pace of change in the delivery of social services, a slow pace that we ought to expect, given the institutions and interests involved.

The faith-based initiative is a lever, decisively bending the Federal system so that faith-based providers have an equal opportunity to partner with the Government without suppressing their religious character. Of course, Government collaboration with religious organizations is not new, but I think the critics are wrong to say that the partnership needed no reform. One Constitutional scholar, reflecting on the restrictive conditions that often accompany Federal funds, called Federal grant programs "relentless engines of secularization."

Of course, the White House Report on unlevel playing fields documented a series of barriers and said that the chief problem was

“an overriding perception by Federal officials that close collaboration with religious organizations is legally suspect.” In the meantime, of course, the courts have shifted direction. In decisions that culminated with *Mitchell v. Helms* in 2002, the U.S. Supreme Court has shifted from the old “no aid to religion doctrine” to the concept of equal treatment which requires officials not to be biased against an applicant merely because of its religious character. The question is whether the applicant can provide the services while respecting the law.

Congress responded to that legal development by adopting charitable choice four times, and President Clinton signed the bills into law. But I think his administration did not decisively level the playing field for explicitly religious organizations. By contrast, President Bush has made reforms a high priority. Most significant are three actions. One of them was the creation of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and the Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives.

The second was a promulgation of charitable choice regulations to guide State and local officials. The third I think is the President’s December 2002 Executive order on equal protection for faith-based and community organizations which sets out equal treatment principles to cover Federal funds not governed by charitable choice and applies to State and local as well as Federal officials.

Some have said that this Executive order improperly sidestepped Congress. I believe it was the administration’s response to the Court’s equal treatment requirement. Thus the Federal Government, I think, has been given a very significant reorientation. I commend Jim Towey and the Center directors for this.

Yet more remains to be done. Let me note a few areas. First, the Federal Government should do more to inform State and local agencies about the equal treatment rules and to ensure their implementation. Without such leadership, it is no surprise that faith-based organizations often encounter local resistance. This problem also hampers the access to recovery program, which uses vouchers to offer a wider array of drug treatment services from a more diverse set of providers. Without sufficient Federal guidance, the pace of State innovation has been slow.

Second, more guidance should be offered to faith-based organizations that collaborate with Government. Otherwise, despite their best intentions, the organizations may violate important rules and land in trouble.

Third, the Federal Government should clarify whether a State or local government can restrict religious staffing, even when the Federal program rules have no such restriction. The confusion about this makes some faith-based organizations leery about collaboration.

Fourth, I think the Government should more vigorously promote vouchers and social service programs. Indirect funding empowers beneficiaries and eases church-State concerns.

I think these comments show the need for continued progress and not a change of direction. So I welcome this bill with its aim of further embedded institutions and principles of the faith-based initiative into the workings of the Government. But I would suggest just a few changes.



First of all, the bill should require not merely departmental liaisons, but actual centers for faith-based and community initiatives. Centers have authority within their departments to investigate problems, recommend changes and gain the cooperation of program officials. A department ought to regard its center as essential to achieving the department's mission and not as an outpost to the White House.

Second, I recommend modifications to the bill's equal treatment principles in Section 7. I think these principles should apply whether the Federal funds are administered by Federal, State or local officials. In paragraph 6, I think it ought to be modified so that participants in voucher-funded cannot sit out part of a social service, even if that is a religious part, because their religious liberty is protected by the choices of a voucher system itself. And the bill ought to authorize officials to use vouchers as appropriate.

Finally, I think the bill should state that when a Federal program honors a faith-based organization's Title VII exemption, its freedom to staff on a religious basis, then a State and local government cannot restrict that freedom. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Carlson-Thies follows:]

**Testimony****Stanley W. Carlson-Thies**

Director of Social Policy Studies, The Center for Public Justice  
 Legislative Hearing, "Authorizing the President's Vision: Making Permanent The Faith-Based  
 and Community Initiative"  
 Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources  
 U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Government Reform  
 June 21, 2005

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on President George W. Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative, in the context of HR 1054, the Tools for Community Initiatives Act.

I was a member of the original staff of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, serving from February, 2001, to May, 2002. While there, I worked on policy and legal matters and facilitated the organization and early work of the original five Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives at Health and Human Services; Housing and Urban Development; Justice; Education; and Labor. Before my White House service, and after it, I have been on the staff of the Center for Public Justice, a Christian public-policy, leadership-development, and citizenship-education organization that works on a nonpartisan and ecumenical basis. At the Center I have directed a number of projects on the faith-based initiative, including a project on Tracking the Implementation and Impact of Charitable Choice. The Center has been, and is, a subcontractor on several projects funded by the federal government, providing research and technical assistance products for the HHS Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, and training and technical assistance to state commissions and other partners of the Corporation for National and Community Service. I have also provided research and technical assistance on faith-based policy issues on contract to several states.

I am glad to support the goals of HR 1054, the Tools for Community Initiatives Act: codifying the institutional structure and equal treatment principles of the faith-based initiative. I will suggest below some changes to the bill.

**The Faith-Based and Community Initiative**

I regard what has come to be called the faith-based and community initiative, or, in common shorthand, the faith-based initiative, to be highly important for the federal government and in revitalizing our society's efforts to serve the needy and to strengthen families and communities.

Its importance is not to be measured by how much change there has been in the delivery of social services to families, individuals, and neighborhoods. There have been very significant policy advances, which I will discuss below. But it is too early, in my view, to expect major changes in the array of the government's partners or in the delivery of services. We should expect that kind of change to be slow, given the institutional complexities of our social service system, vested

interests, bureaucratic inertia, the length of grant and contract cycles, active and passive resistance to change by some officials inside government and some well-funded groups outside of government, a number of continuing legal uncertainties, and the skepticism of some faith-based and grassroots organizations—not to mention the considerable time it takes for nonprofit organizations that previously had no reason to consider collaborating with government to decide to explore the new possibilities, learn the complicated grants and contracts processes, strengthen their internal management and financial capabilities so that they can administer government funds, and expand their capacity so that they can provide services on the scale required by government.

The promise of the faith-based initiative is only beginning to be realized. It is, nonetheless, highly significant. It is, we might say, a catalyst or lever, decisively bending the direction of the federal government's social-service efforts.

What is the new direction? Shortly after taking office in January, 2001, President Bush said, "The indispensable and transforming work of faith-based and other charitable service groups must be encouraged. Government cannot be replaced by charities, but it can and should welcome them as partners. We must heed the growing consensus across America that successful government social programs work in fruitful partnership with community-serving and faith-based organizations—whether run by Methodists, Muslims, Mormons, or good people of no faith at all." And he outlined an "agenda to enlist, equip, enable, empower and expand the heroic works of faith-based and community groups across America."<sup>1</sup>

The President has, accordingly, used his bully pulpit to call attention to the vital work of "neighborhood healers"; called upon Congress to change the tax code in order to stimulate greater private giving to charitable organizations; and directed federal agencies to reach out more effectively, and provide more accessible information, to smaller organizations. And, most notably, he has with determination taken on the difficult challenge of reforming the government's policies and practices of financial collaboration with faith-based organizations—a difficult challenge because federal funds are involved and constitutional guidelines and disputes are at stake.

Government collaboration with religious organizations indeed is not new, as the critics say. But their claim that the partnership functioned well and needed no reform, I submit, is not correct. Official practices, regulations, or statutes sometimes did (and sometimes still do) exclude from participation in federally funded programs some faith-based organizations because they are deemed "too religious" to be a suitable partner. In other instances, religiously inspired organizations could take part but only on condition that they set aside or suppress important religious characteristics and practices.

Thus, for example, it currently remains the case that faith-based service providers that insist on the management practice—protected under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act—of taking account of religion in employment decisions<sup>2</sup> are ineligible to provide job training services funded by the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) and cannot take part in certain other programs, such as Youthbuild, a HUD program, because these programs require a partnership with WIA's One Stop Centers and mandatory partners must comply with WIA's employment restrictions.

Until a regulatory change made by the current administration, faith-based organizations deemed by HUD lawyers to be “primarily religious” were entirely excluded from helping to provide decent and affordable housing to low income individuals and families through the HOME program, barred from participating even to provide entirely secular activities.<sup>3</sup> A California church operating an effective program for at-risk youth was asked by the city to expand the program using CBDG funds, but the pastor refused because he could not certify, as the paperwork required, that “all religious influences” would be kept out of the program. Officials have sometimes demanded, as the price of receiving government funds, that religious organizations must eliminate religious terms from their names, make their governing boards be secular, or strip “God talk” out of their mission statements.<sup>4</sup>

While many religious organizations have nevertheless been able to join with the government in service to neighbors and community, these collaborations, as legal scholar Stephen Monsma has emphasized, have been subject to challenge because the legal basis for the partnerships was not solid. The resulting uncertainty—as he put it, the risk of being hit by lightning—itself dampened collaboration.<sup>5</sup> One constitutional scholar, reflecting on the restrictive conditions that often accompany federal funds, went so far as to call federal grant programs “relentless engines of secularization.”<sup>6</sup>

The 2001 White House report, *Unlevel Playing Field: Barriers to Participation by Faith-Based and Community Organizations in Federal Social Service Programs*, documented a series of impediments that have hampered faith-based groups seeking federal support. Many of the fifteen obstacles created difficulties indiscriminately for secular as well as religious applicants (e.g., the burden of paperwork or the requirement of IRS 501(c)(3) status when a statute specifies only that applicants must be nonprofit organizations), but the religious applicants confronted additional challenges, as well. The chief problem, the report noted, was “an overriding perception by Federal officials that close collaboration with religious organizations is legally suspect.”<sup>7</sup> Such worries led to regulations, funding decisions, and grant conditions that placed faith-based applicants at a disadvantage.

In the meantime, the courts have been shifting direction. The previously dominant interpretation of the First Amendment was the strict-separationist doctrine that required of the government “no aid to religion” and an effort to identify which faith-based groups are so “pervasively sectarian” as to be disqualified from government support. In a series of decisions over several decades culminating in *Mitchell v. Helms* (2002), the US Supreme Court has shifted to the concept of “neutrality” or “equal treatment.” According to this concept, government officials must not disfavor (or favor) an applicant merely because of its religious character. The key question is whether the applicant can provide the services while respecting applicable laws, not how religious or secular the organization might be.<sup>8</sup>

Congress responded to the legal changes and the growing consensus for expanded partnerships by adopting, on four separate occasions, Charitable Choice language that validates the inclusion of faith-based organizations in particular federally funded programs while protecting their religious character, safeguarding the religious liberty of beneficiaries, and honoring constitutional church-state guidelines.<sup>9</sup>

President Bill Clinton signed these bills into law. His HUD secretary opened a Center for Community and Interfaith Partnerships. In the 2000 presidential election campaign, Vice President Al Gore, the Democratic candidate, advocated the expansion of Charitable Choice to new federal programs.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, on balance it is fair to say that the Clinton administration was reluctant decisively to push ahead in the new direction of leveling the playing field for explicitly religious social-service organizations.

By contrast, President George W. Bush has made reform of federal programs and operations to ensure equal opportunity to faith-based organizations one of his key initiatives, including such action from the start in his management reform plans.<sup>11</sup> And although legislation favored by the administration to expand Charitable Choice and to revise the tax code to stimulate greater individual and corporate giving has not received congressional approval, the administration has taken many other initiatives, including creation of a Compassion Capital Fund to provide technical assistance and small capacity-building grants to smaller and novice organizations, departmental and White House outreach conferences, redesign of websites so that inexperienced groups can more easily locate information and help, and various pilot projects showing how, for example, local workforce boards can better partner with faith-based and community-based groups.

But most significant, I believe, have been three other initiatives, systemic changes that together are remaking the federal social-services structure and effort to be hospitable to faith-based organizations that desire to collaborate with the government.

The creation of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, and the counterpart Centers and Taskforces for Faith-based and Community Initiatives in ten federal agencies and the Corporation for National and Community Service, is among the most important initiatives in the Bush reform effort. These offices and their officials lead the process of identifying and removing legal and bureaucratic obstacles to expanded partnerships, organize training conferences and outreach efforts, and work with state and local officials to increase opportunities for faith-based and community-based programs. This institutional structure makes possible persistent attention to the principles, goals, and concerns of the faith-based initiative when policy is being developed, evaluated, and implemented—not only at the high level of the White House but in the actual workings of the administrative departments and agencies.<sup>12</sup>

A second key initiative was the promulgation of Charitable Choice regulations in 2003. The Clinton administration did little to inform state and local officials—the officials who actually administer almost all of the federal funds to which the new rules apply—about the provisions. Those officials now have federal regulations that clarify the requirements and the extent of their application.

Even more important, given that Charitable Choice governs only a few federal programs, is the President's December, 2002, executive order on the "Equal Protection of the Laws for Faith-Based and Community Organizations (Executive Order 13279). This presidential directive mandates equal opportunity for faith-based applicants, safeguards their religious character, establishes guidelines to prevent the diversion of government money from social services to "inherently religious activities" like prayer and evangelism, and protects the religious liberty of

beneficiaries. These equal treatment principles have now been encoded into the general administrative rules of various federal departments to govern all the federal funds that support social services, whether those funds are awarded by federal, state, or local officials (except for those funds governed by Charitable Choice).

Some have criticized the 2002 executive order as an improper sidestepping of congressional opposition to extending the reach of Charitable Choice to additional federal programs. This is incorrect. From the start the Bush initiative contemplated executive action as well as the value of new legislation.<sup>13</sup> I suggest that the Equal Protection Executive Order can better be understood as the administration's response to the development in legal doctrine, which now requires neutrality or equal treatment. More generally, I agree with the conclusion of constitutional scholars Ira Lupu and Robert Tuttle of the Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy: "The architects of the Faith-Based and Community Initiative deserve a tremendous amount of credit for collapsing the normal time lag between legal change and bureaucratic change. . . . [T]he federal officers running the Initiative have essentially forced the kind of consciousness-raising on bureaucratic and social service culture about the exclusion of faith organizations."<sup>14</sup>

Thus, if there have been few legislative triumphs so far and if the policy reforms that have been made are only beginning to transform governmental practice, nonetheless, in my view, a highly significant reorientation has been imparted to the governmental social-service effort. I agree with a recent assessment of the Bush faith-based initiative which judged that the President's vision of expanded opportunity for faith-based services "has been pervasively and methodically implemented in the workings of the federal government."<sup>15</sup>

### Continuing the Reform Effort

I commend Jim Towey, director of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, and the directors and staffs of the departmental centers and taskforces, for their persistence and determination in pressing forward the equal treatment reforms. Yet much remains to be done. Let me note seven areas for continued action.

**1. Promote State and Local Compliance.** Despite the Charitable Choice and equal treatment regulations, it appears that state and local officials often are not familiar with the new standards and often have not taken specific action to ensure that their contracting and grantmaking practices conform to those standards. The Center for Public Justice in 2000 documented poor state compliance with the 1996 Charitable Choice provision for welfare services, and more recent studies, including research by the GAO and the Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy, indicates continued lagging in knowledge and implementation.<sup>16</sup> Even some of the most reform-minded state officials I have spoken with over the past few months have been unaware that the administration has issued equal treatment regulations covering all federal social-service funds beyond those covered by Charitable Choice. Last summer, the community development and housing agency in a state that is widely regarded as a leader in the faith-based arena posted for public comment on its website revised regulations for the HOME program—reproducing in the proposed new regulations the ban on participation by "primarily religious organizations" that HUD a few months before had removed from the program regulations.

Federal departments, despite all their resources and myriad contacts, apparently have given insufficient guidance to their state and local counterparts about the new requirements and how to meet them. Because some 80-90% of federal social spending goes first to state and local agencies before being awarded to nongovernmental organizations, the new federal rules will have little practical effect on grants and contracts unless state and local policy and practice are conformed to the federal standards. The President has rightly said that improvements in this area are a priority for him. The current disjunction between the promulgation of federal equal treatment standards and the incomplete state and local conformity to those standards when expending federal funds surely is a major reason why many faith-based and community organizations say they have not seen changed practices and are inclined to think that the initiative is largely merely talk.

**2. Access to Recovery.** Access to Recovery (ATR) is an innovative program created by the Bush administration to provide additional, and different forms of, substance-abuse treatment and recovery-support services, using vouchers to pay for the services, and it is explicitly intended to incorporate faith-based providers that have not been part of the conventional federally funded treatment and prevention networks. To win an ATR grant, states had to promise to offer recovery-support services as well as their usual clinical-treatment programs, to recruit new providers, including faith-based programs, and to institute a voucher system to give addicts a choice of provider and to enable the providers they select to offer services incorporating religion, without violating the Constitution. But federal officials have not issued detailed and comprehensive guidelines for states about what constitutes equal opportunity for previously excluded faith-based treatment providers nor about the freedom they must give those providers to express religion in their programs. Without sufficient well-publicized and clear standards on church/state issues, it appears that, with some notable exceptions, states are not going very far to ensure the robust inclusion of faith-based and other nontraditional services and that at least in some states faith-based organizations have been hobbled by more stringent religious restrictions than required by the courts or contemplated by the ATR program. In response to specific questions and complaints, federal officials have recently issued some clarifying guidance and stepped in to facilitate discussion between faith-based groups and state officials. But success of ATR will require more extensive guidance and assistance from the federal government both to state officials and to faith-based and other nontraditional providers.

**3. Give Sufficient Guidance to Faith-Based Partners.** Insufficient guidance about the new standards has had another negative consequence. Federal, state, and local officials enthusiastic about welcoming new social-service partners have awarded grants and contracts to inexperienced faith-based organizations without sufficiently clarifying for them all of the accompanying requirements, such as the restrictions on religious expression when the government funds come directly rather than via vouchers. The standards are set forth in regulations and discussed in federal publications such as the White House document, *Guidance to Faith-Based and Community Organizations on Partnering with the Federal Government*. Yet the implications of the standards require further elaboration, particularly for faith-based organizations with little experience with federal funds and whose past clientele may have largely been of the same religious faiths as the organizations. The result has been several lawsuits resulting in decisions declaring that officials have permitted illegal practices by their faith-based service partners and

requiring an end to those partnerships. The faith-based organizations appear to have acted in good faith; they did not realize that some elements of their programs, though proper when the funding was private, could not be maintained without significant change once government money was accepted. Even some quite experienced religious organizations have expressed to me uncertainty about the detailed outworking of some of the standards and worries about inadvertently violating them.

**4. Secure the Religious Staffing Freedom.** Despite fierce opposition to the principle, the President and the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives have aggressively defended the freedom of faith-based organizations to take account of religion in hiring staff, emphasizing that groups that accept funds from most federal programs do not forfeit the freedom, instructing them how to use the Religious Freedom Restoration Act to maintain their freedom where there are federal statutory restrictions, and working with Congress to eliminate such restrictions.<sup>17</sup> However, as noted, almost all federal funds for social services pass through state and local officials before being awarded to private groups. And a significant number of states and many large cities require all grantees and contractors, including faith-based ones, to disregard religion when selecting staff. Under what circumstances must faith-based organizations obey a state or local ban on religious staffing even though the federal program that is the source of the funds does not limit the freedom? So far, regulations and other guidance from the federal government has not been sufficiently clear concerning this vital matter. This has left both faith-based organizations and government officials uncertain and their decisions vulnerable to legal challenge.<sup>18</sup>

**5. Expand Vouchers to Expand Religious Freedom.** When a faith-based organization's provision of social services is paid for by vouchers rather than a direct government grant or contract, the courts do not require that inherently religious activities be kept separate from the government-funded services. Vouchers thus ease church-state concerns, release faith-based providers from otherwise applicable restrictions on religious activities and expression, and enable beneficiaries to be able to choose from a greater diversity of services. Vouchers or certificates have been widely used since 1990 to provide federally funded child care, enabling the widespread participation of faith-based providers and honoring the desires of low-income parents who prefer child care that reflects religious perspectives and standards. The new Access to Recovery program also uses vouchers in order to expand the participation of faith-based organizations and to diversify the services available to people needing drug-treatment and recovery-support services. Furthermore, federal lower court and appellate court decisions in the Faith Works Milwaukee case<sup>19</sup> have suggested a way that contracting can be implemented such that beneficiaries have a genuine and independent choice of provider, as if actual vouchers were used, so that the usual religious restrictions are not necessary and beneficiaries can be afforded a greater range of choices. The administration favors greater use of indirect government funding. However, except for the creation of the Access to Recovery program, it seems that little has been done to encourage federal, state, or local officials to reconfigure programs to use vouchers or to redesign their contracting procedures to conform to the genuine choice standard. Greater use of indirect funding seems unlikely to occur without forceful federal leadership.

**6. Encourage Feedback.** The Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and the centers and taskforces are performing a vital service by responding to complaints and questions from



faith-based and other organizations who believe that they have encountered illegitimate obstacles or improper restrictions in their interactions with federal, state, and local officials. Faith-based organizations, for example, who have suspected that their states, in implementing the Access to Recovery voucher system, have improperly sought to enforce the religious restrictions that are required only when the funding is direct, have been able to obtain federal intervention to clarify the design of the ATR program and the appropriate legal standards.

I suggest that the administration consider further developing this function of the faith-based initiative's institutional structure. One of the best ways for the administration to uncover improper or incomplete conformance with the equal treatment and Charitable Choice standards by officials—federal, state, and local—is to make it as easy as possible for faith-based applicants for funding and faith-based organizations that are receiving government funds to make complaints, to seek clarification, and, if needed, to ask for intervention. This feedback mechanism exists, as noted above, but has not been widely publicized. In consequence, many faith-based organizations simply swallow their concerns rather than making a complaint, and take away the idea that the faith-based initiative is mainly about promises rather than actual changes. Because continuous reform is needed in every complex process, an institutionalized feedback mechanism is important to achieve the aims of the faith-based initiative.

**7. Highlight Restrictions.** Despite good intentions and the many changes that have been made, the playing field is not completely level for faith-based organizations. Unless Congress acts, programs such as the Workforce Investment Act, Head Start, and the national service programs operated by the Corporation for National and Community Service will continue to restrict the religious staffing freedom, thus excluding the participation of faith-based organizations that regard this freedom as essential. Until the scope of federal preemption of state and local restrictions in federally funded programs is clarified,<sup>20</sup> faith-based organizations that apply to participate in federal programs administered by state or local agencies may encounter unexpected restrictions on what they can do, or indeed, may discover that they are unable to participate at all.

Encountering such restrictions and barriers, which may become apparent only far into the application process or only after very careful study of fine print or of regulations that are merely cited rather than reproduced, is disconcerting, at best, to faith-based organizations that have heard for several years that their participation is now welcome and that obstacles have been cleared away.

To give fair warning, as well as to highlight the need for additional reforms, I suggest that federal funding announcements, program descriptions, and legal documents (such as grant and contract documents) should, upfront, explicitly, and in plain language list all conditions, restrictions, and freedoms that apply specifically to the participation of faith-based organizations.<sup>21</sup> An organization should not need to hire a lawyer in order to discover that, contrary to the promise of Charitable Choice, in this particular state or city it will not be allowed by officials to apply to provide welfare services unless it first agrees to end its religious staffing practices. An organization should not need to hunt far and wide in a federal agency's website to discover that the agency will try to work out an accommodation, if possible, if a faith-based applicant believes that a grant restriction wrongly impinges on its religious freedom.

### **HR 1054, The Tools for Community Initiatives Act**

As I noted above, these are seven areas for continued reform, seven ways to further solidify the equal treatment reform in the federal government's policies and practices and in the practices of its state and local partners. They show the need for continued progress, not for a change in direction. So I welcome HR 1054 and its aim of further embedding the institutions and principles of the faith-based initiative into the functioning of the government. I do wish to suggest some changes to the bill. I am not taking a position here on the wisdom of seeking to achieve this aim at this moment by means of this bill.

**White House Office of Faith-Based Initiatives and Department/Agency Liaisons.** The bill proposes to give the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (OFBCI) a statutory basis. However, rather than also provide a statutory basis for the existing Centers and Taskforces for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in various federal departments and agencies and at the Corporation for National and Community Service, the bill proposes only the creation of "designated department or agency liaisons" (sec. 6). I suggest that the bill should specify, instead, the creation or maintenance of Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives.

The White House OFBCI plays a vital role as the spearhead and coordinator of the faith-based initiative for the administration. However, the policies that need to be implemented, pilot projects that should be designed, the barriers that must be uncovered and eliminated, the regulations that should be reviewed and modified, the grantmaking and contract practices that need to be evaluated and improved, the opportunities for creative new partnerships that should be seized—these all are located in federal departments and agencies, and in the state and local agencies that are partners with those federal departments and agencies. A complaint about a Department of Commerce policy may most easily come to the OFBCI, as the highest-profile institution of the initiative, and resolving the problem may require its leadership, but in the final analysis what will have to change is internal to the Department of Commerce—its policies and practices. Similarly, if a state is continuing to lag in its conformance with the Charitable Choice rules that Congress included in the 1996 welfare reform, intervention by the OFBCI director may have some value, but what is most needed is appropriate, vigorous, and proactive training and technical assistance from HHS's regional and other officials who have regular contact with that state's officials.

What is needed are Centers, not simply liaisons—offices and not lone officials. Centers need to have sufficient staff and authority, under their secretaries or agency heads, to be able to investigate problems, recommend solutions, oversee the implementation of recommended changes, propose and oversee pilot projects, provide training and technical assistance inside the department or agency, and ensure that the department's or agency's training and technical assistance given to state and local officials and to nongovernmental agencies conforms to the equal treatment principles. And Centers need to be able to do these things on behalf of, as part of, and for the sake of the department or agency where each is located. For a Center's work to be most effective, the department or agency needs to own it—to see that the changes help the department or agency better fulfill its service mandates and fulfill its legal and constitutional obligations, and are not simply political directives from the White House.

**Equal Treatment Principles.** HR 1054 proposes adopting as “the sense of Congress” the equal treatment principles articulated in President Bush’s Executive Order 13279 on “Equal Protection of the Laws for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives.” I believe that such a declaration would be a useful confirmation of the administration’s conviction that court decisions and considerations of effective social-service delivery require that federally funded programs be administered in accordance with equal treatment principles and not the old “no aid to religion” principles. I wish to suggest several changes.

1. As does Executive Order 13279, the bill should explicitly state that the equal treatment principles apply whether the federal funds are expended or administered by federal, state, or local officials.
2. I recommend that paragraph (6) be modified. As written, it forbids an organization receiving any form of federal financial assistance from discriminating against a beneficiary or potential beneficiary not only on the basis of the person’s religious convictions but also the person’s “refusal to participate in a religious practice.” This is an appropriate standard in the case of direct government funding, according to current Supreme Court doctrine, which requires that inherently religious practices be separate from a directly funded service and voluntary for the beneficiary. However, current Supreme Court doctrine permits an indirectly funded organization to incorporate inherently religious practices into the government-supported service—for example, religious stories into voucher-funded child care or prayer into voucher-funded ATR recovery support services. If those practices are part of the service that is being offered by the organization, then it would be counterproductive to permit the beneficiary to refuse “to participate in [an incorporated] religious practice.” Moreover, since the funding is indirect—the beneficiary has a choice of provider—the beneficiary is safeguarded from religious coercion by being able to choose between providers and should not be able selectively to opt out of portions of the program that the beneficiary has chosen to enter.
3. Because of the importance of vouchers and other forms of indirect funding, not only for the greater freedom permitted to faith-based providers but also for the greater responsibility accorded to the beneficiary, I suggest that the principles should explicitly authorize federal, state, and local administrators to use vouchers and other indirect funding mechanisms where appropriate.
4. Because of the uncertainty concerning whether, in a federally funded program, a faith-based organization retains its freedom under federal law to staff on a religious basis if a state or local agency requires all participants in programs it administers to forswear religious staffing, I suggest that a paragraph be added to the principles stating that it is the intention of Congress that in federally funded programs the federal rules concerning religious staffing preempt more-restrictive state or local rules.<sup>22</sup>

#### **Other Congressional Action**

Finally, I wish to suggest several additional areas for congressional action—other ways to support the principles and goals of HR 1054 and the faith-based initiative generally.

**1. Religious Staffing Freedom.** As noted, the statutes for a number of federal programs include language restricting or forbidding religious staffing for organizations participating in the program, notwithstanding the Title VII exemption. I recommend that such restrictive language be removed whenever such laws are brought up for reauthorization or review. In addition, I recommend that the House continue to affirm the religious staffing freedom and the other features of the several Charitable Choice provisions when the laws containing Charitable Choice are before you for reauthorization.

**2. Alternative Educational Standards for Certification in SAMHSA Programs.** When Congress added Charitable Choice language to federal substance-abuse treatment and prevention programs operated by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) in 2000, a specific provision was included requiring states to give successful faith-based service providers an alternative to the conventional certification of educational qualification to provide such services.<sup>23</sup> The SAMHSA Charitable Choice regulations reiterate this requirement, and SAMHSA has conveyed it to states in additional ways. Yet, it seems that the requirement is universally being ignored by states. It is time for Congress to consider other measures to encourage states to be more flexible—without lowering standards—in certifying substance-abuse treatment providers.

**3. Vouchers.** In addition to providing generalized authorization to program officials to implement indirect funding when appropriate, the House may wish to add, where appropriate, specific language authorizing indirect funding as new social-service programs are created and existing programs are reauthorized.

**4. Intermediaries.** Intermediary organizations are increasingly being proposed and utilized in federal programs in order to deliver culturally appropriate training and technical assistance to faith-based and grassroots organizations and to serve as fiscal agents and program administrators on behalf of networks of grassroots organizations. I recommend that, when creating new social-service programs and reauthorizing existing programs, the House consider the appropriateness of intermediary organizations and supply any needed statutory guidance. Should a management fee be authorized for organizations that act as the fiscal agent for grassroots groups? Should statutory language authorize intermediaries to serve only grassroots organizations of the same philosophy or religion, rather than being required to provide services and make subgranting decisions as if the intermediary was a government agency rather than the hub of a network of culturally similar organizations?

**5. Evaluating Effectiveness.** Supporters as well as critics of the faith-based initiative have drawn attention to the issue of the comparative effectiveness of faith-based and secular service providers. Much more research is being done on the question of outcomes or effectiveness now than before the Bush administration highlighted faith-based organizations, although few reports have yet been published. As useful as such studies might turn out to be, they will not be of much help to government officials who have to choose between specific faith-based and secular applicants for grants or contracts. Perhaps through hearings or the allocation of funds to underwrite research the House can encourage the development of practical measures with which officials might better assess the likelihood that various applicants will operate successful

programs and with which officials might better monitor the performance of organizations while they are being supported by the government.

**6. Private Giving.** Individual donors, corporations, and foundations are a more important, and more flexible, source of support for nonprofit organizations, faith-based and secular, than government grants and contracts will ever be. The House and the Senate have both adopted similar measures to encourage greater private giving, but the measures have never made it through conferencing and onto the President's desk. One of the most important things the House can do to promote the faith-based and community initiative is to work with the Senate to adopt a measure to encourage greater private giving.

**7. Social-Service Spending.** Ineffective or counterproductive government social programs should be ended as soon as possible. Actual compassion is a matter of actual results and not mere large expenditures. At the same time, there remain in our society many places and circumstances with genuine needs that require large-scale or long-term action, action beyond that likely from charitable impulses alone. In such places and circumstances, simply ending ineffective programs is insufficient; better responses need to be devised and generously funded. As faith-based (and secular) organizations out on the front lines always remind me, creating equal opportunity in federally funded programs is important, but if there is insufficient funding, then even the most effective and well-qualified providers will be unable to do what is needed. The faith-based initiative is not all about money, but the armies of compassion cannot succeed if the federal government is unwilling to provide adequate funding.

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Thank you for the opportunity to testify on this important bill and this important initiative.

<sup>1</sup> The White House, *Rallying the Armies of Compassion* (January, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> See Carl H. Esbeck, Stanley W. Carlson-Thies, and Ronald J. Sider, *The Freedom of Faith-Based Organizations to Staff on a Religious Basis* (Center for Public Justice, 2004), pp. 25-54. The text is available at <<<http://esa-online.org/freedom/pdfs/freedom.pdf>>>.

<sup>3</sup> HOME program regulation, 24 CFR 92.257, now superceded by an equal treatment provision.

<sup>4</sup> For the name and governing board examples, see the Dec. 12, 2002 Associated Press story, "Bush Pushes 'Faith-Based' Measure," available at <<[http://www.beliefnet.com/story/118/story\\_11852.html?rnd=98](http://www.beliefnet.com/story/118/story_11852.html?rnd=98)>>, and *Faith-Based Initiatives: Four Catholic Views* (Washington, DC: Faith & Reason Institute, [2002]), p.7. The mission statement example was related to me by the director of a faith-based inner-city homeless shelter in a New England state.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Monsma, *When Sacred and Secular Mix: Religious Nonprofit Organizations and Public Money* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1996). For an early inventory of inappropriate federal, state, and local statutory and regulatory restrictions on faith-based organizations, see Carl H.

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Esbeck, *The Regulation of Religious Organizations as Recipients of Governmental Assistance* (Washington, DC: Center for Public Justice, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> Michael W. McConnell, "Equal Treatment and Religious Discrimination," in Stephen V. Monsma and J. Christopher Soper, eds., *Equal Treatment of Religion in a Pluralistic Society* (Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> The White House, *Unlevel Playing Field: Barriers to Participation by Faith-Based and Community Organizations in Federal Social Service Programs* (August 2001), p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> See Carl H. Esbeck, Senior Counsel to the Deputy Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice, *Statement Before the United States House of Representatives Concerning Charitable Choice and the Community Solutions Act*, Subcommittee on the Constitution of the House Judiciary Committee (June 12, 2001), reprinted at 16 NOTRE DAME J. OF LAW, ETHICS & PUB. POLICY 567 (2002).

<sup>9</sup> Charitable Choice was adopted in 1996 to cover the newly created TANF program; the same language covered the Welfare-to-Work program adopted in 1997. In 1998 Charitable Choice language was added to the Community Services Block Grant program when it was reauthorized. In 2000, Congress twice adopted Charitable Choice language to govern drug treatment and prevention programs operated by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration in HHS. Charitable Choice does not represent the first time Congress deliberately wrote legislation to create a welcoming environment for religious social-service providers. Earlier examples include the Child Care and Development Block Grant Act of 1990, created with a child-care certificate or voucher option to enable participation by religious organizations, and the Adolescent Family Life Act of 1981, which specifically contemplated the involvement of religious organizations in providing abstinence-education services. For background on Charitable Choice, see Stanley W. Carlson-Thies, "Charitable Choice: Bringing Religion Back into American Welfare," in Hugh Heclo and Wilfred M. McClay, eds., *Religion Returns to the Public Square: Faith and Policy in America* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2003), pp. 269-97; and Ronald J. Sider, "Evaluating the Faith-Based Initiative: Is Charitable Choice Good Public Policy?" The Sorenson Lecture, Yale Divinity School (October 15, 2002).

<sup>10</sup> "Remarks as Prepared for Delivery by Vice President Al Gore On the Role of Faith-Based Organizations," Monday, May 24, 1999. The text can be accessed at <<[http://www.cpjjustice.org/stories/storyReader\\$384](http://www.cpjjustice.org/stories/storyReader$384)>>.

<sup>11</sup> Note the inclusion of the "faith-based and community initiative" in *The President's Management Agenda, Fiscal Year 2002* (Office of Management and Budget).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Kathryn Dunn Tenpas, "Can an Office Change a Country? The White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, a Year in Review," (Brookings Institution, July, 2002, updated October, 2002).

<sup>13</sup> See Carl H. Esbeck, "A Retrospective on the Bush Initiative, 2001-04, and On Turning Obstacles into Opportunities, 2005-08," a speech for the conference of the Religious Liberties Practice Group of the Federalist Society, "A Post-Election Look at Charitable Choice and the President's Faith-Based and Community Initiative," Washington DC, Feb. 10, 2005; text available at <<[www.fed-soc.org/Publications/Transcripts/faithbased.pdf](http://www.fed-soc.org/Publications/Transcripts/faithbased.pdf)>>.

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<sup>14</sup> The Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy, transcript, “Opening Remarks and Plenary Session, Thursday, December 9, 2004, State of the Law 2004,” 2004 Annual Conference, Washington, DC, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Anne Farris, Richard Nathan, and David Wright, *The Expanding Administrative Presidency: George W. Bush and the Faith-Based Initiative* (Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy, August, 2004), Executive Summary.

<sup>16</sup> Center for Public Justice, *Charitable Choice Compliance: A National Report Card*; GAO, *Charitable Choice: Federal Guidance on Statutory Provisions Could Improve Consistency of Implementation* (Sept. 2002), GAO-02-887; Mark Ragan, et al., *Scanning the Policy Environment for Faith-Based Social Services in the United States: Results of a 50-State Study* (Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy, Oct. 2003).

<sup>17</sup> White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, *Protecting the Civil Rights and Religious Liberty of Faith-Based Organizations: Why Religious Hiring Rights Must Be Preserved* (2003). For a complete discussion of the issue and the administration’s views and actions, see Esbeck, et al., *Freedom of Faith-Based Organizations to Staff on a Religious Basis*.

<sup>18</sup> Esbeck, et al., *Freedom of Faith-Based Organizations to Staff on a Religious Basis*, pp. 65-85.

<sup>19</sup> *Freedom From Religion Foundation v. McCallum*, 214 F.Supp. 2d 905 (W.D. Wis. 2002), aff’d 324 F.3d 880 (7th Cir. 2003).

<sup>20</sup> See Esbeck, et al., *Freedom of Faith-Based Organizations to Staff on a Religious Basis*, pp. 65-85.

<sup>21</sup> I am adapting an idea from the Working Group on Human Needs and Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, *Harnessing Civic and Faith-Based Power to Fight Poverty* (Search for Common Ground, April 2003), p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> In creating the Washington DC school-voucher program, Congress included a provision specifically overriding the prohibition of religious staffing in a municipal ordinance. DC School Choice Incentive Act of 2003, adopted as part of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2004, H.R.2673, 108<sup>th</sup> Congress.

<sup>23</sup> 42 USC 290kk-3.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Kuo.

**STATEMENT OF DAVID KUO**

Mr. KUO. Chairman Souder, distinguished members of the subcommittee, thank you for inviting me to testify this afternoon, and thank you for your perseverance in wading through the not-so-easy areas of religion and politics.

My perspective on the topics we discuss today is informed by various vantage points on faith, politics and social service I have had during the past 15 years. I was John Ashcroft's policy director in the Senate when we wrote Charitable Choice. I founded and for 3 years built a charitable organization to objectively determine the efficacy and efficiency of social service organizations. And for 2½ years, I served as special assistant to the President as Deputy Director of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives under President George W. Bush.

But more than anything, my views are informed by a certain philosophical perspective. I believe in Government's inviolable duty to help the poor. This is not just a political philosophy for me, it is also theology. I believe that Jesus' commands to care for the least among us means that we have to bring to social problems every available resource and every best effort. No country can do that better than America, and no country needs to do it better than America.

What seems like a long time ago, in a galaxy far, far away, a Texas Governor gave one of the great political speeches of this generation in Indianapolis, IN. In it, Governor George W. Bush talked about how the promise of America was a distant dream for too many who were addicted to drugs, dependent on alcohol and trapped in despair. He said that the answer didn't lie in trillions of new Washington dollars spent on big bureaucracy to end poverty as we know it. He also said the answer didn't lie in shrugging our collective shoulders and simply letting the private sector handle it, devoid of new resources.

What America needed to do, he said was to embrace and generously fund social service organizations, faith-based and secular, to help hurting Americans. His prescriptions were straightforward. Certain laws, rules and regulations amounted to Government-sanctioned discrimination against faith-based groups. They needed to be changed.

Social service groups needed to know that they were welcome to apply for funds. At the same time, he added passionately, it is not enough for conservatives like me to praise charitable efforts. Without more support and resources, both public and private, we are asking charities to make bricks without straw.

On that day, he proposed \$8 billion per year in new spending and charitable tax incentives and sent the unmistakable message that charity, compassion and care for the poor were to be cornerstones of his domestic policy. A great deal of what he has envisioned has come to pass. There is a White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and there are coordinating centers in most major Federal agencies.

Tens of thousands of people have been educated about how to apply for Government grants and what they can and cannot do



with those funds if they receive them. Grants have been given out to scores of different organizations and small pilot projects to assist children of prisoners, mentoring programs and drug addicts.

Most importantly, an irreversible message has been sent across the country. Faith-based groups are fully welcome, fully legal and absolutely necessary to America's fight against poverty. Were it not for President Bush's vision, we would not be meeting here today.

At the same time, the core funding commitment he made in Indianapolis has not been fulfilled. Four years later, rather than \$32 billion in new spending and tax incentives for the poor, we have seen at best a few hundred million. There is a chasm between what was promised and what has been delivered, and it cannot be glossed over by any new White House reports, initiatives, policies, conferences, speeches, pronouncements or purportedly objective data collection intended to make that failure look better. It can only be bridged by the fulfillment of the original promise. That promise must still be fulfilled.

The failure to deliver the promised financial support for the poor lies equally on the executive and the legislative branches of Government. The White House could certainly have done more and hopefully will do more to push through needed funding increases to address record American poverty. But at least the White House has tried.

From where I sit, I cannot say the same thing about most of Congress. I have been saddened by widespread congressional apathy and the desire for political gamesmanship rather than substantive aid. Why hasn't Congress been the compassionate advocate on behalf of charities and the poor in the midst of an economic crisis, a downturn in charitable giving and a dramatic upturn in social service needs?

When the President announced the creation of the Faith-Based office in 2001, he was attacked by some Democratic Members of Congress as trying to destroy the wall of separation between church and State. Still others said he was simply trying to create a Bob Jones University America. Other said he was trying to simply discriminate against racial minorities, women or members of the GLBT community.

Even when distinguished Members stood up against this bombast and sided with President Bush, they were threatened by members of their own caucus that their personal campaign funds would be cut, someone else would be supported in a primary against them and that they would have to publicly retract their support. It seemed like the President's bold support of this initiative was seen by many as simply a chance to hurt him and label him as a religious zealot, and the poor were used as pawns in a greater political game of power.

At the same time, many members of the President's own party expressed equal parts apathy and antipathy toward this agenda. Money for the poor? Why, it will just get wasted, they said. We just need to cut the funds and let the private sector take over. We don't need more funds, all we really need to do is make sure that we have a huge political fight over religious charities' right to hire and fire based on their own faith. That way, as I have heard time and time again, Republicans will be seen as fighting for religions and

Democrats will be seen as fighting against it. It is a good fight to have, I heard time and again, from both Democrats and Republicans.

A good fight for partisanship, perhaps, but less good for the poor. Some people have said that this is just the way of modern Washington. We haven't seen the promises fulfilled, because for the White House, for Democrats, for Republicans, for liberal and conservative special interest groups, there is more to be gained by fighting than by solving. I don't believe that this is true. Everything that hasn't yet been accomplished can still be accomplished. Funding for things like CBDG can be returned to their needed levels. The Compassion Capital Fund can receive the \$200 million per year that it was promised, rather than the \$99.5 million over 4 years that it has received.

Tax incentives to aid the poor can be put in place. There is no such thing as too late, because there are always lives that can be helped. Impossible? Hardly. The mere fact that we are meeting together today demonstrates this subcommittee's passion for the poor and willingness to stand up to opposition from those who do not want hearings like this to occur.

I would like to make three specific suggestions for moving forward before I close. First, the subcommittee should seek to expand its oversight on the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. There are important questions that need to be answered about how decisions are made there regarding funding, what relationship that office has in directly controlling the activities of other Federal agencies, as well as examining the veracity of reports claiming that a certain amount of money is going to faith-based groups. These are important matters that need to be examined.

Second, I encourage the subcommittee to begin looking at information in different ways. To date, charities have been judged primarily by how well their accountants make it look like all the money is going to serve targeted populations. Why? Because that is how efficient charities are judged and ranked by media like U.S. News and World Report. Unfortunately, this mindset has prevented us from asking a more important question: how well? Efficacy is far more important and relative to gauge than efficiency. We need to begin asking charities and our Government to tangibly measure how well they are doing their jobs, not just how efficiently.

Third, do not be distracted by the so-called discrimination issue. The facts are fairly simple. No one can be discriminated against when it comes to receiving services. Faith-based groups have been receiving Federal funds for years and have long ago learned how to deal with the issue on the ground.

As one woman told us as we scoured the country looking for examples of groups dogged by religious discrimination issues, "Honey, if you can't hire someone without asking them their faith, you're a fool."

Ultimately, I think that codifying the faith-based initiative is a good idea, especially if it allows for easier oversight. But any faith-based initiative success will ultimately be determined by a White House's commitment.

I want to close again by thanking you, Chairman Souder, and Representative Cummings, and the subcommittee for continuing to examine the complex issues surrounding the Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. The debates are vigorous, and that is the way it should be.

Thank you.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you.

Mr. Polito.

#### **STATEMENT OF BOBBY POLITO**

Mr. POLITO. Thank you, Chairman Souder and Congressman Cummings, for inviting me here today.

I would like to try to sum up my comments real quickly, as I look at the clock. As an Italian, the dinner bell is a loud one in my family. So I would like us all to get back at a reasonable hour.

For the last 3 years, I have been the director of the Faith-Based Office at HHS. And I would like to comment quickly on process, how does it work at a Federal agency, how does it work specifically in a very large Federal agency. I want to come and agree that H.R. 1054 should be enacted for the purposes of the organizations that we are talking about.

My key role as the director, my staff's key role under me was to be a beacon of hope in a bureaucracy where groups can go for questions and get real answers. I remember when I was a rescue mission director, and I called HUD, I called HHS, I called everybody to find out what was available for the people that I served, either direct funds from my organization or individual subsidies for the people that I served. And I never got my phone calls answered, I never got an agreement for a meeting down here in this wonderful city.

So I think just for that purpose alone, if it was just a place where organizations can make phone calls to, can visit with, somebody in Washington is going to meet with them and help them understand hey, there is funding available for what you do, hey, the things that your drug addicts are struggling through, there are programs in your city that you can apply for for them, and help them get over their dependencies.

At our center, we had a game plan. I was a former athlete in a different life, and we talked about it as an inside game and an outside game. Our inside game was to try to change the way the bureaucracy ran, that favored the people that were already there. Funding questions being answered by, well, let's just fund the folks that we have always funded, because we haven't gotten into any trouble lately. And things are going OK. Sort of status quo stuff.

So we had our inside game. We had internal barriers report that we showed, some anecdotal information on why groups couldn't get in, what happened when they did get in, were they stripped of their religious character, couldn't they hire, couldn't they do the things that they needed to do. And their understanding of the problem, as we used to say, on the street. So that was our inside game, to work with the 65,000 Federal officers at our department to get them squared away on where we wanted to go with this program.

Our outside game was in my opinion more important. Because it opened the Federal doors so that pastors, lay workers, social work-

ers could come into an office, sit down, have a cup of coffee and understand what this initiative was all about, understand what the different program areas we had at HHS, we had 11 program areas and 300 grants programs.

So if you were doing it, you probably could get funded out of our department. The problem was that they didn't know, they didn't know where to go, they didn't know when the RFP was coming out, they don't read Federal Registers to get information. So we acted as a beacon.

And if we don't have that moving forward, the people, in my opinion, who serve the poor the best, the community folks and the religious folks on the street, I call them street saints, those folks who walk the street at 3 a.m., and pick up people and throw them over their shoulder and have a place for them to go, those folks don't read Federal Registers. And those folks don't have Government offices in Washington to lobby for them. So somebody's got to look out for them.

I am afraid that if we don't have this as a practice in our Government that it would be a flash in the pan. Thank you for allowing me to share my thoughts with you today. I would love to answer any questions.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you. I have a series of questions. I first want to thank each of you for your long-time work in this area. I will try not to call you by your first names, because I have known most of you for so long.

Let me start with Mr. Kuo. I take issue with a couple of things in your statement, and I feel compelled to point out in the record that I believe Congress and the White House both share blame, and I believe the White House has some things that are commendable. It is also true that the White House opposed the Compassion Capital Fund, that the House leadership had to jam it down their throats. And I don't know what in the world the White House was doing abandoning something internally when publicly they were speaking the other way.

And the historical staff record of the people in the conference from the leadership will show that, and whether the President was being reflected correctly by his people who are doing the negotiating is another question. I am not arguing that the White House Office of Faith-Based Initiatives took that position. I am not even arguing that the President himself took that position. And as you and I both know, and all of you here know, I have multiple former staffers who are in key positions, and this is a very awkward hearing for me, because they are in key positions related to all this kind of stuff. I have tried to kind of not talk about business sometimes in a private way, because my job is oversight.

But I have been very disappointed, as have some people inside the White House, including you, with some of what's happened. I think a second thing I want to say on this same part is, were you aware, because I want to establish whether you were aware of this, it is a fact, that the White House specifically asked me to hold back on my bill on the \$500 tax credit and additional funding for support of the type Mr. Polito was just talking about, institutional building, that I had Bobby Scott on, Chet Edwards on, Jerry Nadler on and Barney Franks' support, that also had the support of

Tom Daschle, and they asked me to hold back my bill because they wanted to go after the public funding part, because it was in effect what would be called Santorum Light, it would have been the tax credit part in the institutional building, but would have not had the direct funding? Were you aware that the White House asked me that?

Mr. KUO. Yes, Mr. Chairman, I was aware.

Mr. SOUDER. And that doesn't mean that they wanted to try to win the public funding part, which is a battle that they have carried on valiantly and fought over. But we lost our moment on the tax part. And the truth is, we wouldn't have had this big debate up here on this panel today and wouldn't have the continuing debates on the public funding part if we would have taken that tax credit part, which I don't know if we will ever get again. Because it was time and tax relief.

The reason I raise both of those, it has been very disappointing to me, because we were able to broker two-thirds of the bill. And we also heard today, Mr. Scott said he raised a different question on the vouchers, he didn't raise the legal question on the vouchers, he raised the technical follow-through question on the vouchers. So we have three prongs here they theoretically we could move forth.

The question is, I think you were accurate in stating, as we heard some of the opposition to this, the criticisms which I believe are wrong, but let's not spare the administration in some of this, too. I know you said you criticized the administration, but you criticized the Congress more aggressively. I agree benign neglect on the part of the majority Congress is correct. But in fact, we had brokered a compromise that would have moved us substantially, then we could have continued to fight the public funding. But we lost the moment.

Mr. KUO. Mr. Chairman, if I cut back on my commentary on the White House, it is only because I believe that over the past several months I have made my position on the White House's not so benign neglect of this issue, of its political use of this issue. I thought I had made that clear, and I just meant in the interest of time to keep that short.

But I agree, Mr. Chairman, with what you said. I was in part of the conversations in which the discussions came forward about how to politically handle the bill. Because what happened ultimately was, this was a political question. There was a political benefit to not having a bill like yours pass, because there was great political benefit to be gained by having issues, by having the religious issues, the hiring issues, the discrimination issues out there so that we could be on the right side of these issues for key constituents.

Mr. SOUDER. And I believe strongly those issues, it is a great debate to have, and I believe it is an important debate. I am on the side of the administration on the debate.

But we lost what I felt were the stronger, more winnable parts in the continuing fight that I don't even know if we can sustain after President Bush. That is part of the problem here. We have to have a longer vision than just this Presidency.

Now, you also stated in your testimony, and I actually have a couple of questions I want to do, but I wanted to get a couple

things on the record here as we are starting. Because I believe part of our problem, and I believe you said it eloquently in your testimony, is that we played a zero sum game with this process. And the zero sum game is a legitimate debate, who can best effectively deliver public services, and can the private sector partly do that.

But we argued that we were going to increase the pool of money for the poor. And in fact, all we have done is fight over a relatively frozen pool.

Mr. KUO. A shrinking sum.

Mr. SOUDER. Particularly in inflation adjusted dollars, in that has put those of us in an awkward position who argued this for many years, because we didn't mean it to be a zero sum game, in that we are now into that. And there, Congress deserves at least 50 percent of the blame. I am not saying we don't. Because it is very hard, quite frankly, for some Republicans to argue putting more dollars into what are Democratic districts, and then the Democratic Members opposing the money that was supposed to go to their districts.

But if it is no new money, they have no incentive to come on board. And our guys didn't want to give them additional money, and we got into this political logjam that now we are trying to take apart here in this hearing that in fact has put the long term range of this program at risk.

Yet a third part of this is, and Mr. Kuo was with this from early on, from Senator Ashcroft's side as I was doing the work on the House side, and has worked on this for years, and the other witnesses here have worked with this for a long time, both at the grassroots level. But was it not your understanding when we started this that a lot of the goal here was to reach the people like Mr. Polito was directly talking about, in that those were predominantly small Black and Hispanic organizations in the neighborhood, as my friend Bob Woodson has said for years, in the zip code, who lived in the zip code.

And how in the world did this program turn into a program that was a mix of multiple?

Mr. KUO. A mix of what, sir?

Mr. SOUDER. Of suburban churches going after it, I mean, the faith-based initiative is seen so broadly any more, it is like it is money for faith-based organizations rather than targeted. It was supposed to be specifically targeted as an alternative way to delivering goods to the highest risk population and to getting more dollars there.

I first want to confirm that is what you thought the initiative was, and that I know this has been an internal debate in the administration. But those of us who worked for it for years, in fact, when Steve Goldsmith first sat down with Senator Santorum and Joe Pitts and I, way back when he was first committed to then-Governor Bush running for the Presidency, and said, why is this so hard, we predicted what the problem was going to be, and that is that the base we were trying to reach with a program of compassion was not historically Republican, which meant that in the approach we were using was not historically Democrat. Therefore, it was going to be a very difficult sell.

I first wanted to establish on the record that you believe that is how the Office started. You were there from the beginning, as was John DeIulio. That was our goal, it was Mike Gerson's original description when he was with Senator Coates, in that how, I first want to establish that is what the thrust of the program was conceived.

Mr. KUO. My understanding of the President's compassion conservative vision as first laid out in the Duty of Hope speech, was that his fundamental approach to poverty was to embrace social service organizations, including faith-based organizations. As a fundamental part of his approach to dealing with the poor, with the addicts, with those needing welfare, needing job training and so forth and so on was to include faith-based groups.

Within that was a \$200 million per year commitment for the Compassion Capital Fund. The Compassion Capital Fund was to be aimed specifically at small organizations that Bobby talked about, that you just referred to, the ones on the ground, the ones like Bob Woodson has dealt with for decades. That was what it was intended for. It was never intended or designed to go to large institutions that would hold conferences and talk about this some more and fly people across the country and bring them together for roundtable discussions. This was never the idea behind the Compassion Capital Fund.

Mr. SOUDER. I have a concern. I have worked with several Black pastors' groups in my home town who have organized around the way that we originally said, they pulled together multiple churches, they have gone to the Chicago conference, they have gone to other conferences. I have sent multiple members of my staff to the different conferences, and what Mr. Polito described of being a way like we do for small contractors to figure out Federal contracting, quite frankly, neither my staff nor the individuals who went for the conferences can figure it out. Nor can they figure out how to do it. The question is, why?

And the questions we heard today about, were there inside deals, is on the street on almost every city in the country. We have done hearings across the country. There is a tremendous frustration among grassroots groups about who gets invited to what, about how decisions are made.

I want to ask a couple of technical questions for the record, and I am going to ask one other thing, just so we aren't here all night, that because you all are a fount of information and we aren't allowed to have any White House witnesses. Mr. Towey was willing to come but was told he couldn't come, and others, that we may do a written form of some question and answer to try to draw out a more historic thing here than we have hours to do tonight, both on the legal questions that we heard earlier today, how the offices were structured. Because this will be a good hearing record of the process.

But I raise the importance of oversight. You all addressed it. To what degree were the centers in the agency managed directly by the White House, for example, did the White House control the Compassion Capital Fund or did the agencies?

Mr. KUO. I do not think that it is possible to give a blanket answer to that. But I think that if you are going to apply a legal test,

preponderance of the evidence would suggest that the bulk of the Compassion Capital Fund was either controlled by the White House Faith-Based Office or was attempted to be controlled by the White House Faith-Based Office. I think Mr. Polito would probably—

Mr. SOUDER. I am going to ask him the same question.

Mr. KUO. That would be my answer, that the fundamental desire from the moment—there is a history of the office that is important to bring into context here. One is, there is the office that existed from January or February 2001 basically through September 11th. That was when John DeJulio was there, Stanley was there, I was there for part of that time.

Then in early 2002, when Jim Towey came on, it was a fundamentally different office. It was run differently, and it was run differently because there were different things at stake. The first stage had been a research phase, to come up with the Uneven Playing Field report that Stanley wrote.

But then when it came to implementation and there were some dollars on the table, it became a different operation. It also became a different operation because the office itself had been essentially demoted. John DeJulio had come on as an intimate of the President. He was an assistant to the President, the proximity of the Faith-Based Office, it was nicely positioned in the Old Executive Office Building. It was sent outside the White House gates to Jackson Place. So when Jim Towey came on, there was a different dynamic that I think is important to understand here.

So the desire was, our desire internally was to prove the viability of the office. And one of the best ways to prove the viability of the office is to control, frankly, the only thing that existed out of the President's faith-based initiative promises, which were \$10 million, \$20 million, \$30 million, \$40 million in the Compassion Capital Fund.

So in 2002, as Mr. Polito will talk about, it was run largely through the Faith-Based Office. There were grantees who were eliminated from the list, for specific reasons. So the answer is yes on that. But there was a huge back and forth fight between HHS and the White House. It was a fairly ugly thing.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Polito, would you agree it was a fairly ugly thing, and this is on top of the OMB management?

Mr. POLITO. Well, David is right, the Compassion Fund was the first thing out of the gate. We were able to establish three new programs in 3 years. The Compassion Fund was first at about \$30 million. The Mentoring Children of Prisoners was second at \$10 million, I believe, and now brought up to about \$50 million. Last, the Access to Recovery program.

Everybody was real open to including everybody's view on how new programs should run, how they should look, who should be getting the money, how it should be structured. The Compassion Fund, for example, because of the nature of the largeness of the Federal bureaucracy, even grants go out in large sizes. So we wanted to really get to your question about how do we get to the small, and requiring these big organizations to give a sub-grant out. I believe the testimony earlier by Congressman Green was 1,700, I don't know the exact number off the top of my head. But 1,700



small, little community-based, faith-based, non-faith-based groups got 1,700 small little grants.

So that was the agreed-upon way of getting to the small guy. And I think because it wasn't what everybody asked for, it became the focus, at times became the only thing the initiative had to talk about.

But I think over time, including this data collection that we have now, we can see that the initiative is larger than the Compassion Fund. More religious groups are getting money out of the Community Health Center grant than the Compassion Fund Grant, for an example. So to label this the President's initiative is the Compassion Fund and that's it and if you didn't get Compassion Fund money you didn't get faith-based money and—we have been trying to dispel that in my whole tenure.

If you are a faith-based group and you run a community health center, there is a grant for that, let me help you, show you where the RFP is, let me introduce you to current grantees who can help you with the process. Let me tell you about if there are any conferences coming up. Not “you need to get into this Compassion Fund.”

So on the new programs, sure, there was a lot of discussion, too much focus on the new programs coming online, not enough focus on the established programs that are there using the faith-based representatives that are already there, Catholic Charities, the Lutheran Social Services, to teach the smaller guys on how to get into this process. So sure, there were times where it wasn't the most fun.

Mr. SOUDER. I want to introduce into the record the Snapshots of Compassion, and also ask you two more questions.

[The information referred to follows:]

## Snapshots of Compassion

BY TOPIC

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services  
Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives

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Center for Faith-Based  
Community Initiatives

Adoption Opportunities (ACF)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN DAYTON, OH

### Elizabeth's New Life Center

59 Forest Ave. Suite 105 • Dayton, Ohio 45405

937-228-2222 hotline • 937-226-7414 • [www.elizabethhelps.com](http://www.elizabethhelps.com) • [www.saveitsendit.com](http://www.saveitsendit.com)



#### SNAPSHOT

#### Alex's Story

Alex had a controlling boyfriend whom she slept with once after dating for three months. She says that one sexual experience changed her life. The two broke up a month later, and Alex took a pregnancy test that was positive. She told three trusted friends and her ex-boyfriend who started acting differently, says Alex. "He said we had to get married if I was pregnant. I didn't want that! I didn't love him anymore than a friend," she says. Luckily one of her friends' mothers gave her a second pregnancy test that was negative. Taking a sexual abstinence class through Elizabeth's New Life Center opened Alex's eyes. "I decided after that, that sex was not a good idea until I was married. I wasn't going to let another mistake like that happen again! I didn't want to ruin my dreams!" says Alex.

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, more like Alex can receive abstinence-based education. The \$667,004 grant is helping the center spread the message to more than 15,000 students a year.

#### Program Overview

Elizabeth's New Life Center offers valuable options to those facing a crisis pregnancy. It offers free pregnancy tests, limited ultrasounds, peer and professional counseling and medical consultations. In addition, referrals are made to area agencies. The center is interested in helping those who are pregnant in any way possible. The center also offers parenting options, STD information, and special services for men.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Vivian Koob

**Year Founded** 1989

**Mission** to empower individuals to achieve sexual integrity and make healthy life choices respecting the value of each person

**Annual Budget** \$1.7 million

**Organization Size** about 40 employees

**Program Grant** SPRANS Community-Based Abstinence Education Grant through HHS/HRSA

**Award Size** \$684,364

**Award Date** 2002

**Funds Will Be Used** to build and improve its sexual abstinence curriculum

**Project Duration** three years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN DAYTON, OH

Elizabeth's New Life Center



A \$667,004 three-year grant from HHS is helping a center teach abstinence-based sexual education to more than 15,000 students a year.

Alex is one of more than 15,000 students throughout the Dayton area who received sexual education classes thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The Community-Based Abstinence Education Grant allows Elizabeth's New Life Center Empowered by Truth department to teach its curriculum to a seven-county area.

### THE GRANT PROCESS

Officials at the Elizabeth New Life Center heard about the grant through a Colorado conference. They were concerned that taking federal funding could harm their faith-based organization. "WE HAD HEARD HORRIBLE STORIES ABOUT THOSE WHO GOT FUNDING AND SACRIFICED THEIR CHRISTIAN IDENTITY. THAT WAS TOO HIGH A PRICE TO PAY FOR US. WE WERE DISCOURAGED," says Director of Education Rachel Sacksteder. The Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives explained that the center did not have to stop being a Christian organization and could maintain its integrity; however, center workers had to be responsible in not proselytizing.

The center knew it needed a program that focused on prevention rather than intervention. Prior to receiving funding, the center offered services for those experiencing unwanted pregnancies. Patients were overwhelmed by the difficult choices they needed to make regarding their pregnancies. "WE REALIZED PRETTY SOON IT WAS DIFFICULT DECISION. WE THOUGHT IF ONLY WE COULD SPEAK TO WOMEN BEFORE THEY WERE SITTING IN OUR OFFICES AND LOOKING AT A POSITIVE PREGNANCY TEST," says Sacksteder. The idea of starting a sexual abstinence curriculum was born.

The center received its first funding through the state health department's Welfare Reform Act. Sacksteder was a volunteer who was hired to develop the abstinence program. One health class with 13 students learned Chastity by Choice, a three-day program that highlighted sexual abstinence. Throughout the program's development, Sacksteder noticed that many students who had divorced parents could not picture themselves married. "A GOOD MARRIAGE DOESN'T HAVE TO COME BY LUCK," says Sacksteder. The curriculum encouraged students to develop a positive vision of the future and to know that sexual purity can encourage that process.

The program grew to more than 5,000 students in three years. Once HHS and HRSA awarded its \$684,364 three-year grant to the organization in 2002, almost 16,000 were reached with the abstinence message. Sacksteder predicts about 20,000 will hear the message by the year's end.

The SPRANS grant provided enough funding for the clinic to launch a multi media campaign. They produced a Web site, [www.saveitsendit.com](http://www.saveitsendit.com), and four television commercials. The group also created a CD Rom compilation of students' stories on 12 different topics including marriage, commitment, STDs, and more. Sacksteder says that when the students create their own media campaign, they realize they are not alone in their commitment to stay chaste.

Grant funds expanded the class from three to five days and from sixth to 12th grade and an after-school program. The program also spread from Montgomery County to a seven-county area. More staff members were hired and efforts to spread the message to the community ensued.

#### **ELIZABETH'S NEW LIFE CENTER'S STORY**

Ironically, Elizabeth's New Life Center began near an abortion clinic in 1989. Vivian Koob and her husband opened a crisis pregnancy center a few blocks away. In 1994 the center purchased the vacant building next door to the abortion clinic, and it was renovated into the Women's Center with medical service capabilities. This was to mark the beginning of phenomenal growth for the organization. The center is a medical facility with doctors, a prenatal clinic, free ultrasounds, STD testing, free pregnancy tests and an array of services for those dealing with an unplanned pregnancy. The clients who opt for a free ultrasound see a persuasive demonstration of the value of life. Koob says about 80 percent of those who enter the center by mistake choose to carry their babies to term.

In December 2000, the abortion clinic on Main Street closed its doors after more than 20 years. At about that time, the women's center purchased and moved to the Forest-Neal Medical Building, which now holds the center's administrative offices, the Women's Center, Holy Family Pediatrics and Holy Family Prenatal Care. At this facility, there are also two classrooms, a nutrition center, two babysitting rooms and a chapel; which is accessible to staff, volunteers and clients.

\* Names have been changed to ensure privacy.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN BETHEL PARK, PA

Pregnancy Resource Center of  
the South Hills

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U.S. Department of Health and Human Services gives a one-year planning grant to help build an educational program that shows teenagers the positive benefits of sexual abstinence.



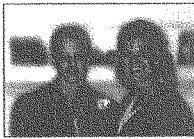
## Snapshot of Compassion

IN BETHEL PARK, PA

### Pregnancy Resource Center of the South Hills Crisis Pregnancy Center

104 Broughton Road • Bethel Park, PA 15102  
412-833-7445 • fax 412-851-9111 • 24 Hour Hotline 800-395-HELP • [www.cpc.org/southhills](http://www.cpc.org/southhills)

#### SNAPSHOT



LORI SZALA WITH HER SON JUSTIN

#### Lori's Story

Lori Szala knows what it's like to be in a crisis. At 17, she became pregnant after her second week of her senior year in high school. Lori says she can now use her life with her son Justin as a means to identify with other teens who are struggling with sex before marriage. Lori now teaches abstinence education through the Pregnancy Resource Center of the South Hills in Bethel Park, PA. Thanks to a planning grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and HRSA, Lori can now reach more students with her message. The SPRANS grant gave Lori the resources to implement the Navigator abstinence education program in nine public schools and 11 youth groups in the South Hills community. And Lori, now married and a mother of three including Justin, wants kids to get the education she never had. "I was never educated about abstinence, and there may have been a different outcome in my life if I had. I think that this is God's message, and I want children to grow up knowing that abstinence is a choice that they have."

#### Program Overview

The Pregnancy Resource Center of the South Hills, a faith-based organization, is committed to seeking out women who have experienced the trauma of abortion and bringing them to recovery. The center also offers to help those in a crisis pregnancy by giving free services such as ultrasounds, counseling, adoption and parenting information. Those experiencing a crisis pregnancy can also receive maternity clothing, baby clothing, and furnishings. Referrals for prenatal care, adoption, legal assistance, maternity housing and social services are also available. The center believes that those involved in a crisis pregnancy or those who are sexually active can receive compassionate care and education in a welcoming environment.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Patty Becker

**Year Founded** 1990

**Mission** Provide resources for crisis pregnancies

**Funds Will Be Used** to build an effective abstinence education program

**Annual Budget** \$235,573

**Number of Staff** one full time and six part time

**Program Grant** HRSA Special Projects or Regional and National Significance (SPRANS) abstinence education planning grant

**Award Size** \$58,671

**Award Date** 2002

**Project Duration** one year

**People Served** 23,000 students, 400 through the center



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

IN BETHEL PARK, PA

### Pregnancy Resource Center of the South Hills Crisis Pregnancy Center

104 Broughton Road • Bethel Park, PA 15102

412-833-7445 • fax 412-851-9111 • 24 Hour Hotline 800-395-HELP • [www.cpc.org/southhills](http://www.cpc.org/southhills)

#### LORI'S STORY

Lori Szala knows what it's like to have a crisis pregnancy. Two weeks into her senior year in high school, Szala became pregnant. She was removed from school, tutored, and she gave birth to a baby boy at age 17. She now uses her life with her son Justin as a means to identify with other teens who are struggling with sex before marriage.

Szala teaches abstinence sex education through the Pregnancy Resource Center of the South Hills in Bethel Park, PA, which offers emotional and medical support to those experiencing a crisis pregnancy. Thanks to a planning grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and HRSA, Szala can now reach more students with her message. The Special Projects of Regional and National Significance (SPRANS) Abstinence Education Planning Grant allowed Szala to hire a researcher to help her identify the community's needs and to buy a new curriculum and equipment to implement the abstinence program to more middle- and high-school students.

"KIDS ARE BECOMING STATISTICS, AND THIS PROGRAM WILL SHOW THEM THAT THERE IS ANOTHER POSITIVE CHOICE WITH A POSITIVE OUTCOME AVAILABLE," says Szala, who became the center's full-time abstinence program director through the abstinence funding.

Szala continues to use her life message as a motivator for other teens. She is pleased that Justin also embraces her teaching. When Szala spoke to his class during his eighth-grade year, Justin encouraged his peers to listen to their story. And Szala received such a positive response from the students that she continues to teach at his school to this day.

And Justin lives the abstinence message his mom teaches. At 13, he made a commitment through the program True Love Waits to abstain from sex until marriage. He now wears a ring on his finger as a sign of this commitment.

Szala, now a married mother of three including Justin, wants kids to get the education she never had. "I WAS NEVER EDUCATED ABOUT ABSTINENCE, AND THERE MAY HAVE BEEN A DIFFERENT OUTCOME IN MY LIFE IF I HAD. I THINK THAT THIS IS GOD'S MESSAGE, AND I WANT CHILDREN TO GROW UP KNOWING THAT ABSTINENCE IS A CHOICE THAT THEY HAVE."



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EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS



### GETTING THE GRANT

Szala learned about the abstinence grant through an email she received from the Abstinence Clearing House, an affiliate with the crisis center. When Szala and the center's executive director Patty Becker read the email describing how to apply for the grant, they knew they had found a resource to meet their needs. The center had been supporting abstinence education for years, but their program wasn't in a lot of schools at that time. They were especially attracted to the grant because it was offered to faith-based organizations. Szala always felt that the federal grant process was biased because pro-abortion agencies such as Planned Parenthood regularly received funding for teaching sex education, not abstinence education.

"THE GOVERNMENT WAS TRYING TO EVEN OUT THE PLAYING FIELD WITH THIS GRANT. WE WERE WAITING TO GET FUNDS TO TEACH ABSTINENCE UNTIL MARRIAGE EDUCATION. AND WE FELT WE WOULD FINALLY QUALIFY FOR THOSE FUNDS," says Szala.

Szala also felt God was calling her to teach abstinence education full time. She wanted her program to grow into more schools, and the clinic could no longer rely on donations. Meanwhile more teenagers kept coming to the center for help.

"WE SEE SO MANY KIDS COME INTO THE CENTER. AND THEY SAY NO ONE IS TELLING THEM THIS MESSAGE OF SEXUAL ABSTINENCE. INSTEAD OF COMING INTO THE DOORS FOR A CRISIS PREGNANCY OR STD INFORMATION, WE REALLY WANT TO EDUCATE THEM BEFOREHAND," says Szala.

She teaches the abstinence program Game Plan to middle-school students that underscores peer pressure and the positives of waiting. Developed in cooperation with NBA star A.C. Green, the curriculum uses a sports-themed approach to understanding the benefits of abstinence until marriage. Szala's Navigator program focuses on more mature content for high-school students. The program accentuates the positive benefits of sexual abstinence. Students understand that the self control to remain abstinent is the same self control that is necessary to accomplish their academic and professional goals.

### PUTTING THE ABSTINENCE GRANT TO WORK

In 2002, Szala and Becker applied for and were awarded a \$58,671 one-year planning grant to build an effective abstinence education program for the local school, church and youth groups that would reach 23,000 teenagers. With this extra funding Szala moved from part-time to full-time. She was able to purchase a laptop computer, printer, PowerPoint, a projector, and office furniture. The grant also enabled her to purchase and examine different curricula such as Game Plan and Navigator to form an educational program to meet the community's needs. She began teaching her new abstinence program this fall.

"IT GAVE US ALL OF THE TOOLS YOU NEED TO PUT TOGETHER A FANTASTIC PROGRAM," says Becker. "OUR REPUTATION WAS ALWAYS

GOOD, BUT THE GRANT DEFINITELY MADE US BECOME MORE PROFESSIONAL, MORE POLISHED WITH THIS PROGRAM. THIS ADDS MORE CREDIBILITY TO OUR ORGANIZATION."

Before the grant funds, Szala taught at three public schools and seven church youth groups. Now the program has expanded to nine public schools and 11 youth groups. The Pittsburgh Project for inner city students and the McMurray House, affiliated with Three Rivers Youth for troubled teens, have also joined in on the program. One of the county's health departments also offered information about Szala's classes to those interested.

But the program is hitting walls. Szala says many teachers do not believe in sexual abstinence until marriage, so they are reluctant to allow her program in their classrooms. Some public schools were also afraid to take on anything controversial, says Becker. These problems ultimately led to the dismissal of the clinic's application for the abstinence implementation grant. Collaboration with city schools was needed to prove that the clinic's program was successful enough to warrant more funding.

#### THE CENTER'S MISSION

The Pregnancy Resource Center of South Hills was founded in 1990 to provide spiritual, emotional, and physical support to the child, parents, and associated families of a crisis pregnancy. The center is committed to seeking out women who have experienced the trauma of abortion and bringing them to recovery.

The center offers information about abortion procedures and the risks involving abortion. Abortion alternatives such as adoption and parenting information are also available. Referrals for prenatal care, adoption, legal assistance, maternity housing and social services are available through the one full time and six part-time staff members.

About 450 people a year have received help from the center including free ultrasounds, counseling, adoption and parenting information. Women can also receive maternity clothing, baby clothing, and furnishings.

The center's \$235,573 annual budget also helps provide the emotional support for the baby's father and other male friends and family members who may often feel left out of the process. Trained male volunteers will meet with men who need someone to hear their apprehension or anticipation regarding prospective fatherhood.

More than 2,300 students hear about abstinence education through the center's programs. Reaching public and private schools, after-school programs, and teen crisis centers is the program's goal. Each year more schools are opening their doors to allow students to hear that abstinence is a viable option for planning a productive future.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN KANSAS CITY, MO

Sparrow Community

Development Corporation

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A \$235,170 grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. grant will help hundreds of Kansas City students learn the value of sexual abstinence.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN KANSAS CITY, MO

### Sparrow Community Development Corporation

1400 Paseo Blvd • Kansas City, MO 64109

816-561-3619 • fax 816-5761-1218



#### SNAPSHOT



SELEAH SAYS ABSTINENCE IS THE BEST WAY TO STAY SAFE.

#### Seleah's Story

Seleah Jimenez says she understands the consequences of having sex outside of marriage. The 13-year-old comes from a single-parent family, and she has two unwed sisters who have four children.

Her oldest sister, 29, has three children ages 11, 8 and 7. She's engaged, but none of her children are her fiancé's. She struggled to support her children without a GED — she left school because she was pregnant. Seleah's 18-year-old sister has a one-year-old. She's working weekends and trying to get her GED.

Through the Abstinence for Purpose curriculum at Lee A. Tolbert Community Academy, more students like Seleah can learn the positive aspects of sexual abstinence. The Sparrow Community Development Corporation started the program through a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The grant will help the Sparrow Community Development Corporation implement the curriculum to hundreds of Kansas City students.

#### Program Overview

Sparrow Community Development Corporation's vision as a community development organization is to reach out to Kansas City's inner-city community and provide measurable and meaningful positive changes that impact the property values and quality of life of each resident. Sparrow Community Development Corporation is committed to the revitalization of this area to produce a thriving, prosperous community.

#### Vitals

**President & CEO** Mark C. Tolbert

**Year Founded** 1992

**Mission** to revitalize the inner-city community

**Annual Budget** \$3.5 million

**Organization Size** 77

**Program Grant** SPRANS Community-Based Abstinence Education grant through HHS/HRSA

**Award Size** \$235,170

**Award Date** 2003

**Funds Will Be Used** to build an effective abstinence education program

**Project Duration** three years

**People Served** 500



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## Compassion at Work

IN DAYTON, OH

### Elizabeth's New Life Center

359 Forest Ave. Suite 105 • Dayton, Ohio 45405

937-228-2222 hotline • 937-226-7414 • [www.elizabethhelps.com](http://www.elizabethhelps.com) • [www.saveitsendit.com](http://www.saveitsendit.com)

#### ALEX'S STORY

\*Alex is a high school student who took a class on sexual abstinence. Here is her story, captured in a letter written to her teacher:

Dear Mrs. Smith,

I would like to thank you for coming to our class this week and talking to us about abstinence.

Hearing your story on why you encourage abstinence almost made me cry because I know I became very close to making the same mistake you did.

I had a boyfriend who was very controlling. After three months we had sex. We only did it once, but that one time changed my life. You see, me and that guy broke up soon after. About a month and a half later, I realized my period was very late, which never happens to me. I got a pregnancy test. It came up positive. Scared to death, I told three of my most trusted friends and my ex-boyfriend. He totally acted different. He was my really good friend, but once I told him, he got very controlling like he used to when we went out. He said we had to get married if I was pregnant. I didn't want that! I didn't love him anymore than a friend. Luckily my friend's mother found out and got me another test. Thankfully it came up negative!

I decided after that, that sex was not a good idea until I was married. I wasn't going to let another mistake like that happen again! I didn't want to ruin my dreams!

Well, I just wanted to share my story with you and thank you for reaching out to all the kids in these schools so they don't get themselves in such a situation. What you are doing is great. It's so sad to see 13 and 14-year-olds pregnant or with STDs. There really need to be more people like you on this earth — more people that care about what happens to this world's future generation. Thank you so much again.

Your supporter,

Alex

PS. I encourage you to read my letter to maybe help students not make the mistake I made!



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

IN KANSAS CITY, MO

### Sparrow Community Development Corporation

3400 Paseo Blvd • Kansas City, MO 64109  
816-561-3619 • fax 816-5761-1218

#### SELEAH'S STORY

Seleah Jimenez says she understands the consequences of having sex outside of marriage. The 13-year-old comes from a single-parent family, and she has two unwed sisters who have four children.

Selah's mom had all of her children while single. And Selah's sisters followed the same path.

Selah's oldest sister, 29, has three children ages 11, 8 and 7. She's engaged now, but none of her children are her fiancé's. She struggled to support her family without a GED — she had to leave high school because of her pregnancy. The men she was involved with often did not help the children. The third child's father did provide some relief by taking care of all three for a time, until he met another woman and left. She now lives with her fiancé, but his support can wane, says Selehah. Her 18-year old sister has a one-year-old. She's working weekends and trying to get her GED. Another family member had sex at 14, remains sexually active, and says it is a positive experience. "IT SEEMS LIKE IT'S SO EASY. BUT PEOPLE TELL ME THAT IT'S HARD TO STOP ONCE YOU START," counters Selehah.

Seleah was never close to her father because he left the family when she was 5. "I ALWAYS FELT MORE SECURE WITH MY MOM. SINCE HE WAS NEVER THERE, I NEVER FELT THAT HE REALLY KNEW ME."

Although the bond between mother and daughter is positive, Selehah says they do not talk about sex. "I JUST LEARN FROM MY SISTERS. I GUESS THAT MY MOM THINKS THAT SINCE I'VE SEEN MY SISTERS GO THROUGH A HARD TIME, I WOULDN'T THINK ABOUT DOING IT," she says.

Through the Abstinence for Purpose curriculum at her school, Selehah has learned that premarital sex can not only cause unwanted pregnancies, but it can also lead to sexually transmitted diseases. The curriculum shows her how to avoid the temptation of sexual experimentation. She's learned how to protect herself from bad influences, and she's learned the positive aspect of group dating. The Sparrow Community Development Corporation started the abstinence education program at Lee A. Tolbert Community Academy this year which reaches about 200 teens.



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS



This positive education has helped Seleah make her own decisions about sex, because she gets mixed messages from her family. Her sisters are protective. "THEY TELL ME THAT I CAN NEVER, EVER, DO IT. THEY SAY EVEN WHEN I'M MARRIED, DON'T HAVE SEX. THEY HAD SUCH A BAD EXPERIENCE WITH IT, THAT THEY SAY YOU SHOULDN'T HAVE IT AT ALL. SOMETIMES THEY TELL ME THAT I SHOULD STAY IN SCHOOL AND SETTLE DOWN BEFORE DOING THINGS BIG. IT'S BETTER THAT I JUST WAIT UNTIL MARRIAGE," she says.

She is glad that her school teaches abstinence. "I KNOW THE CLASS HAS HELPED ME IN A LOT OF WAYS. I'M GLAD THE PROGRAM IS HERE - I KNOW IT COULD HAVE HELPED MY FAMILY."

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, more teens like Seleah can make informed decisions about sex. The \$235,170 grant from HHS and the Health Resources and Services Administration will help the Sparrow Community Development Corporation implement the curriculum to hundreds of Kansas City students.

#### PUTTING THE GRANT TO WORK

Sparrow Community Development Corporation applied and received the Special Projects of National and Regional Significance (SPRANS) Community-Based Abstinence Education grant in 2003. The Community Development Corporation knew the abstinence grant would suit the community's need. "WE HAVE PREACHED ABOUT IT FOR YEARS. AND WE FOUND SOMEONE THAT WANTS TO PUT UP THE MONEY TO HELP US OUT, SO WE THOUGHT, LET'S GO FOR IT," says Joyce Scales, program manager and school media specialist. The church had been teaching abstinence through two different classes that involved family issues, dating and relational skills.

"WE ABSOLUTELY BELIEVE IN ABSTINENCE UNTIL MARRIAGE. WHY WOULD YOU PLAY WITH YOUR LIFE THAT WAY? WHY WOULD YOU DERAIL YOUR FUTURE WITH SOMETHING THAT YOU HAD CONTROL OVER? SOME THINGS HAPPEN IN LIFE THAT YOU HAVE CONTROL OVER. BUT IT IS A CHOICE THAT YOU MAKE," says Scales.

The grant funds allow Sparrow Community Development Corporation to help the community understand abstinence-based sex education. "NOW WE CAN GO THROUGH THE COMMUNITY AND TEACH THIS TO PEOPLE WE COULD NOT REACH BEFORE," she says.

The grant helped Sparrow Community Development Corporation pay for 10 educators. Funds also helped buy student workbooks, teaching kits and educational material such as the A. C. Green Game Plan and Project Reality. The funds also offer incentives such as movie passes or gift cards when they complete the program. Scales says she will be implementing two new programs next year. She also plans to have well-known speakers at local rallies. Others are

planning to portray the abstinence message in a movie — educators could make a film while students write the script.

Scales says students she teaches at the academy are receptive. “KIDS WANT DIRECTION. THEY NEED TO HEAR SOMEONE TALK TO THEM ABOUT SOMETHING THAT’S ALREADY ON THEIR MIND WITHOUT BEING JUDGMENTAL.” The program helps classmates build self esteem, character, responsibility and the power to make responsible decisions.

Scales insists the program does not teach that sex in itself is bad. “WE DON’T TELL THEM SEX IS BAD AND NASTY. SEX IS SO WONDERFUL AND SO GOOD THAT YOU WANT TO SAVE IT FOR THAT ONE SPECIAL PERSON.” says Scales.

All SPRANS Abstinence Education grantees must develop programs consistent with Section 510 federal guidelines that teach the social, psychological and health gains made by abstaining from sexual activity. It also teaches abstinence from sexual activity is the only certain way to avoid out-of-wedlock pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and other health problems. A mutually faithful, monogamous relationship in the context of marriage is the expected standard of sexual activity, according to the curriculum. It also agrees that having children outside of marriage can have harmful consequences for the child, the child’s parents and society.

Scales hopes the community will continue to support the initiative. Her goal is to expand the program to at least three more schools and 10 community centers in three years. “IF WE CAN KEEP SOMEONE FROM AN UNWANTED PREGNANCY OR AN INCURABLE DISEASE, IT WILL BE WORTH IT.”

#### **SPARROW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION 'S STORY**

The “Dixie” Re-development Corporation was founded in 1992 as a faith-based, not-for-profit organization to impact the deteriorating conditions in Kansas City. Gradually this effort evolved into the Sparrow Community Development Corporation. The Community Development Corporation was founded to create sustainable neighborhoods and focus on uplifting and rebuilding the community.

Sparrow Community Development Corporation’s vision as a community development organization is to reach out to Kansas City’s inner-city community and provide measurable and meaningful positive changes that impact the property values and quality of life of each resident. Sparrow Community Development Corporation is committed to the revitalization of this area to produce a thriving, prosperous community.

For many years, residents have felt it was impossible to tackle issues contributing to deteriorating neighborhood conditions because many people were abandoning the inner city and moving to the suburbs. “EVERYTHING IS GROWING ON THE OUTSIDE, BUT NOT IN THE MIDDLE — LIKE A DOUGHNUT,” says Scales. She notes that high insurance and taxes contribute

to the inner-city decline, and residents must travel outside of the community to find grocery stores or shopping malls. Scales says there is enormous economic potential in America's inner-city communities. Sparrow Community Development Corporation wants to do something that will positively impact this current dilemma.

In 1998, Sparrow Community Development Corporation helped build the Lee A. Tolbert Community Center as a community outreach project. It then helped open Lee A. Tolbert Community Academy in 1999. Current Sparrow Community Development Corporation projects include offering Before & After-School Extended Day programs, sponsoring the Marching Cobras Drill Team and planning a Senior Citizen Housing Complex. The Community Development Corporation also helps repair or replace blighted homes with adequate and affordable housing. It also offers home buyer education, fair housing training and community activity centers.

AdoptUSkids

ACE - Children Bureau

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN RICHMOND, VA

Virginia One Church,  
One Child

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Virginia OCOC received a five-year grant totaling more than \$2 million to operate a national adoption network and to support diverse communities needing adoption programs.

## Snapshot of Compassion

RICHMOND, VA

### Virginia One Church, One Child

1214 West Graham Road, Suite 2 • Richmond, VA 23220  
804-329-3420 • 800-440-5090

#### SNAPSHOT

##### The Bell Family's Story

When Patricia Coker-Bell saw a photograph at Mt. Tabor Baptist Church in Richmond, VA, her life changed. It was a photograph of three children standing in front of their temporary home. They were looking for a family to adopt them.

"I saw the picture, and I thought – these are my children!" says Patricia. She was sitting in the church, listening to Cassandra Calender-Ray talk about Virginia One Church, One Child (OCOC) – a program that encourages churches to support its members in adopting at-risk children. Patricia wasn't planning on adoption; she and her husband hadn't talked about it. She also knew it would be difficult to take care of more children because she was 40 and already had a 2-year-old son, Isaac Patrick.

When she and her husband read the profiles of Joseph Alexander, 7, Martavia Alexis, 5, and Ebony Patrice, 4, they knew that the children could become their own. Through the help of Virginia OCOC and its executive director Calender-Ray, Patricia and her husband Alexander adopted the children in 1998.

With the help of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families, more families like the Bells will receive assistance through Virginia OCOC in adopting children. HHS gave the organization an Adoption Opportunities grant to help the program expand to other churches so more children can be placed in foster or adoptive homes.

##### Program Overview

The mission of Virginia OCOC is to recruit families to adopt African-American children and to support those families. To fulfill this mission, Virginia OCOC encourages churches to identify caring, loving and safe families who are willing to adopt or serve as foster parents to at least one child.

The Virginia OCOC offers a challenge to every African-American church in the country: "If one African-American family in every church will adopt an African-American child, there will be no African-American children awaiting permanent homes."

##### Vitals

**President** Wilbert Talley

**Year Founded** 1985

**Mission** to recruit and support families who adopt African-American children

**Funds will be used** to operate a national network; identify and support diverse communities needing adoption programs

**Annual Budget** \$430,000

**Organization Size** six full time, three part time, and five volunteers

**Program Grant** Adoption Opportunities National Adoption Advocacy grant HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$250,000 the first budget period; \$500,000 for each subsequent periods

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** five years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
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## Compassion at Work

RICHMOND, VA

### Virginia One Church, One Child

1214 West Graham Road, Suite 2 • Richmond, VA 23220  
804-329-3420 • 800-440-5090

#### THE BELL FAMILY'S STORY

When Patricia Coker-Bell saw a photograph at Mt. Tabor Baptist Church in Richmond, VA, her life changed. It was a photograph of three children standing in front of their temporary home. They were looking for a family to adopt them.

"I SAW THE PICTURE, AND I THOUGHT - THESE ARE MY CHILDREN!" says Patricia. She was sitting in the church, listening to Cassandra Calender-Ray talk about Virginia One Church, One Child (OCOC) — a program that encourages churches to support its members in adopting at-risk children. Patricia wasn't planning on adoption; she and her husband hadn't talked about it. She also knew it would be difficult to take care of more children because she was 40 and already had 2-year-old son Isaac Patrick.

Patricia herself has five siblings, and she imagined the heartbreak the children would feel if they were separated into different foster families. "I JUST COULDN'T LEAVE THEM," she says. "THEY CAME AS A PACKAGE." When she and her husband read the profiles of Joseph Alexander, 7, Martavia Alexis, 5, and Ebony Patrice, 4, they knew that the children could become their own. Through the help of Virginia OCOC and its executive director Calender-Ray, Patricia and her husband Alexander adopted the children in 1998.

Virginia OCOC's mission is to recruit families to adopt African-American children and to offer these families support throughout the process. To fulfill this mission, Virginia OCOC encourages churches to identify caring, loving and safe families who are willing to adopt or serve as foster parents to at least one child. The program encourages the adoption of special needs children — those who are African American, are 4 years and older, are part of a sibling group, have behavioral problems, are developmentally delayed, or have physical or emotional challenges. One or more of these attributes may delay a child's placement in a permanent home.

Patricia and her husband understand the need for churches to help in the adoption process. Alexander is the assistant pastor of Grove Baptist Church in Portsmouth, VA, and Patricia is the associate minister of the church's Sunday Church School and Vacation Bible School. The Virginia OCOC has been such a success in their lives that they are going to implement the program in their multicultural congregation this year.



Patricia says that using the church as a platform for helping in the adoption process fits its Biblical calling. "THE CHURCH IS SET UP LIKE A FAMILY ITSELF BECAUSE WE ARE CHILDREN OF GOD," she says. "WHEN PEOPLE JOIN THE CHURCH, THEY ARE WELCOMED AS FAMILY. THEREFORE, WITH ADOPTION, THE CHURCH WELCOMES THE CHILDREN AS A PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL PART OF THE CONGREGATION."

"WE ARE ALL GOD'S CREATION. IT TELLS US IN GOD'S WORD THAT WE SHOULD LOOK AFTER ONE ANOTHER," says Patricia. "IF WE SAY WE ARE RELIGIOUS, IF WE SAY WE ARE FAITH-BASED, THEN WE SHOULD LOOK AFTER THOSE WHO HAVE NO MOTHERS OR FATHERS OR THOSE WHO CAN NO LONGER TAKE CARE OF THEMSELVES."

With the help of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families, more families like the Bells will receive help through Virginia OCOC in adopting needy children. HHS awarded the organization with an Adoption Opportunities grant to operate a national network of adoption advocacy programs that are modeled on the OCOC program.

#### GETTING THE GRANT

When Wilbert Talley heard about the five-year grant totaling more than \$2 million, he knew it could meet his ministry's needs. Talley, Virginia OCOC president, knew that responding to federal funding was a viable way to help those in his community. "WE DON'T COMPROMISE OUR RESPONSE TO THE NEEDS OF OTHER PEOPLE," he says. "IT'S ABOUT THE CHURCH RESPONDING TO THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES, WHICH IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT BECAUSE THAT'S NORMALLY WHO THE CHURCH SERVES. IT'S FUNDAMENTAL TO THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH."

Talley knew the funds would help the church educate the community and interested families about the adoption process. He also thought the funds could be used to recruit new families who might not have considered adoption. "SOME PEOPLE JUST DON'T KNOW THAT IT'S POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO ADOPT AND TO TAKE ON A CHILD," says Talley. "THEY MAY LISTEN IF IT'S COMING THROUGH THE CHURCH. THEY MAY MISTRUST SOMETHING THAT HAS A GOVERNMENT NAME ON IT."

The primary role of the church and Virginia OCOC is to inform its congregations of the hundreds of African-American children waiting to be adopted, identify at least one family in the congregation interested in adopting a child, disseminate adoption literature throughout the church community, and provide support through guidance and counseling to the family once a child has been placed.

Virginia OCOC conducts statewide activities that promote adoption awareness and recruits families to adopt Virginia's waiting African-American children. The OCOC offers a simple challenge to every African-American church in America:



"IF ONE AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY IN EVERY CHURCH WILL ADOPT AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILD, THERE WILL BE NO AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN AWAITING PERMANENT HOMES."

The Virginia OCOC offers advocacy on behalf of families and children through a statewide clergy Board of Directors and member churches. The organization also offers community and public education presentations on the adoption process and the needs of waiting children. The ministry sponsors Virginia's largest annual adoption conference and distributes the Adoption Resource Exchange of Virginia's photo listing of waiting children and other recruitment material to a statewide network of 320 churches.

#### **ACHIEVEMENTS THROUGH THE GRANT**

While Virginia OCOC will be using grant funds to improve its state program, it will also be working with other adoptive groups across the country. The new grant will help Virginia OCOC operate a national network that will identify diverse communities across the country needing programs that promote adoption and to create and support programs in these locations that recruit and develop a pool of adoptive families.

Grant funds will be used to help Virginia OCOC apply its ministry to different communities in need. Although the state organization focuses on the adoption of African-American children, the grant will help Virginia OCOC recruit in different racial and cultural communities such as Latinos and Caucasians, says Calender-Ray. "WE WILL STILL WORK ON BEHALF OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN, BUT IT WILL GIVE US THE CHARGE AND CHALLENGE IN OTHER COMMUNITIES," she says. The program will also help build a national network to facilitate similar ministries in other states or regions where OCOC does not exist.

The Virginia OCOC will establish the national adoption advocacy network that will include at least 75 organizations operating in 30 states. The organization will also provide technical assistance to 23 current OCOC programs across the nation. Assistance will include education in church recruitment, fundraising, and collaboration with other organizations to strengthen its outreach.

#### **VIRGINIA ONE CHURCH, ONE CHILD'S STORY**

In 1980, Father George Clements of Holy Angels Catholic Church founded the first One Church, One Child program in Chicago, IL, upon learning of the number of children waiting to be adopted. Clements challenged African-American churches of various denominations to take responsibility for recruiting at least one family for one waiting child. He wanted to strengthen the church's role in the foundation, structure and fabric of African-American family life, and his challenge developed into a nationwide recruitment campaign for adoptive services. Since

its inception, One Church, One Child has placed more than 100,000 African-American and biracial children in permanent homes.

The Virginia OCOC began in 1985 under the direction of a statewide board of pastors in cooperation with the Virginia Department of Social Services. The core program is funded by the Virginia Department of Social Services. Additional support is provided by donations from churches, individuals, and private foundations.

The National Black Child Development Institute, the North American Council on Adoptable Children, and the department of social services have helped OCOC rally support from hundreds of churches and private foundations to recruit families for the state's waiting children.

Child Care Bureau  
(ACF)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN SHELBYVILLE, TX

Bennett Chapel Family  
Outreach Ministry

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A \$4,000 one-year mini grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families is helping a support group understand and invest in their adopted children.

## Snapshot of Compassion

SHELBYVILLE, TX

### Bennett Chapel Baptist Church

P.O. Box 243, Shelbyville, TX 75973

(936) 368-7195 • [www.bcministry.beliefnet.com](http://www.bcministry.beliefnet.com)

Bennett Chapel Family Outreach Ministry • P.O. Box 1147, Center, TX 75935 • 936-591-0442



#### SNAPSHOT

#### Theresa's Story

Bennett Chapel Baptist Church has a way of getting people to do the extraordinary. With the guidance of Pastor W.C. Martin and his wife, Donna, the church in Shelby County, TX, has made a tremendous impact on their small community called Possum Trot. The couple has six children – four adopted and two biological. Due to the couple's example, their church has taken up the challenge of adopting and fostering more than 70 children that had endured physical and emotional abuse.

Theresa was moved to adopt five sisters — Shereatha, 14, Shenequa, 12, Rashundria, 10, and twins Shameria and Tameria, nine. She also takes care of her two biological children and her nephew; she is considering adopting three more.

She attributes much of her success for maintaining a positive home life to Bennett Chapel Saving a Generation Support Group that helps adoptive parents and their children receive the help they need to have a better future. A mini grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families is helping support group members better understand their children. As a result, Theresa's children have improved their grades and are building self esteem.

#### Program Overview

Bennett Chapel Baptist Church has gained worldwide recognition of its adoption initiative. The placement of more than 70 children in such a small community has caught the attention of local and national media. Martin and his church members have been featured by NBC, Texas Monthly, Family Circle, Extra, Hardcopy, the 700 Club, TBN, Good Morning America and The Oprah Winfrey Show.

#### Vitals

**Pastor** W.C. Martin

**Year Founded** about 118 years ago

**Funds will be used** to increase the capacity of Bennett Chapel Saving a Generation Support Group

**Organization Size** 10

**Program Grant** Mini-grant through AdoptUSKids, a five-year federally funded initiative of the Children's Bureau

**Award Size** \$4,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** one year



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

SHELBYVILLE, TX

### Bennett Chapel Baptist Church

P.O. Box 243, Shelbyville, TX 75973

(936) 368-7195 • (936) 591-0442 • [www.bcministry.beliefnet.com](http://www.bcministry.beliefnet.com)

Bennett Chapel Family Outreach Ministry • P.O. box 1147, Center, TX 75935

#### THERESA'S STORY

Bennett Chapel Baptist Church has a way of getting people to do the extraordinary. With the guidance of Pastor W.C. Martin and his wife Donna, the church in Shelby County, TX, has made a tremendous impact on their small community called Possum Trot. The couple has six children — four adopted and two biological. Due to their example, their church has taken up the challenge of adopting and fostering more than 70 children that have endured physical and emotional abuse.

Donna Martin's best friend Theresa Lathan would watch as the church's ministry continued to grow. Theresa wasn't moved to adopt at that time. "I JUST LISTENED TO DONNA'S STORIES ABOUT HER CHILDREN. I SAID, 'GIRL! I'LL HELP YOU TAKE CARE OF YOURS!'" Her heart quickly changed and she decided — maybe she was the right kind of person to adopt children. Two weeks into the church's eight-week training course on adoption, Donna saw a photograph of five girls that would change her life.

After discussions with a hesitating husband, the couple agreed to let social services bring them over for a weekend visit. At the end of the weekend, the children didn't want to leave, and Theresa and her husband wanted the five girls to become part of their family.

Theresa has eight children in her care now — the five girls Shereatha, 14, Shenequa, 12, Rashundria, 10, and twins Shameria and Tamera, nine. She also takes care of her two biological children and her nephew, and she is considering adopting three more.

She attributes much of her success for maintaining a positive home life to Bennett Chapel Saving a Generation Support Group that helps adoptive parents and their children receive the help they need to have a better future. A mini grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families is helping support group members better understand their children.

As a result, Theresa's children have improved their grades and are building self esteem. And she is learning the importance of spending individual time with each of her children. Her oldest girl had low self esteem before entering the support



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives

EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

group. The quiet and sensitive teen took criticism to heart; she even refused to wear clothes that her peers disliked. "I SEE NOW THAT SHE'S NOT AFRAID TO STEP OUT AND TRY SOMETHING DIFFERENT," says Theresa.

Theresa benefits most from the speakers and educators that discuss current problems guardians may have. She was surprised that many families shared the same thoughts and emotions that she experienced. She has learned how to keep on top of a child who lies about homework, how to maintain an open relationship with a child's teacher, and more.

She is so impressed with the support group that she calls to remind about 12 families and 30 youth of each month's meeting. If they do not attend, she follows up with a phone call. She'll even pick up children when their parents can't make it to the meeting. Attendance is going strong, she says, because the mini grant funds are making a lasting difference.

### THE GRANT PROCESS

Before the mini grant, the church had a small support group with about seven people. The reverend wanted to do more to help the community's children, but the church couldn't afford it. The church applied and received the \$4,000 one-year grant in 2003. It was the first time the church had received federal funding.

"THIS IS THE FIRST ONE THAT I'VE GOTTEN. IT WAS MIND BLOWING AND SURPRISING THAT WE GOT ONE. I WANT TO SEE THIS IN A GREATER DEGREE BECAUSE ALL STATES AND CHURCHES AND COMMUNITIES NEED TO BE IN THE BUSINESS OF SAVING CHILDREN," says Martin, who heard about the mini grant through the state's Child Protective Service.

The mini grant funds help pay for implementing new support groups for both foster and adoptive families, educational supplies and materials for group activities, travel stipends for families to attend enrichment activities and travel expenses for student tutors coming from Stephen F. Austin University.

The funds helped Martin bring in counselors to talk with the parents that meet each week at the church for the support group. The sessions have been so successful that the group has grown from a handful before the mini grant to about 20 after. They discuss children's issues with the adoptive parents during the support group session. Martin says it has helped the parents understand their children's thoughts and actions "SO WE CAN DO ALL WE CAN TO TRANSFORM THEIR MINDS" to help them live positive, self-assured and productive lives.

Some of the children have endured multiple losses and insecurities in their young lives and come from difficult backgrounds; as a result, they can have difficulty with behavioral issues. Lying, stealing or acting out from sexual abuse are some of the problems both the youth and parents must control through the help of counselors, says Martin. "WE HAVE LEARNED AND UNDERSTOOD THINGS

THAT WE NEVER THOUGHT OF. WE'RE NOT RAISING JAIL BAIT. WE'RE RAISING CHILDREN FOR THE LORD," says Martin.

While the parents meet for support, their children are receiving an education as well. More than 50 youth are separated into two classes by ages 6-13 and ages 13-17. Mini grant funds pay some expenses for college students to help the youth with homework. Funds also allow children to meet with counselors, career professionals, special education teachers and juvenile probation officers. The children have even taken a field trip 60 miles away to see and understand the dangers of drugs.

Martin says that with the mini grant's help, the support groups for both parents and youth have been the most effective measure to help those in need that he has seen. He knows the program helps the youth think better about their future.

"I CAN SEE THE CHANGE, HEAR IT IN THEIR CONVERSATION, AND SEE IT IN THEIR REACTIONS. I SEE THEM NOT BEING SO HOSTILE AND CAUGHT UP IN THEIR OWN WORLD. THEY ARE HUMBLING THEMSELVES, MELLOWING DOWN AND ACCEPTING LIFE WHERE THEY ARE. IT'S DIFFICULT TO DO, BUT IT'S REWARDING," says Martin.

There are a large number of children available for adoption in their region. Most of them are age six and older, and there is a desperate need for families willing to take teens and sibling groups. Funds are available to help with regular care until the child turns 18, special care should the children ever need special treatment or counseling, and for legal fees. Especially needed are families interested in adopting or fostering black and biracial children.

One of the mandates of The Collaboration to AdoptUSKids, a five-year federally funded initiative of the Children's Bureau, is to provide support to new and existing adoptive parent organizations around the country. AdoptUSKids.org, an initiative of the Bush Administration, is the first federal adoption Web site and internet adoption photo-listing service. The site provides prospective adoptive parents the opportunity to see photos and short descriptions of foster children who are waiting for a family. The family can then register their interest in a given child and this message is instantly sent to the child's social worker. For families living in rural areas, this service can be helpful because they would otherwise have to travel to adoption agencies to see information on waiting children. Social workers receive the inquiries from families who are approved to adopt and can respond to them instantly through the site. In the first 18 months of the operation, about 3,000 children who had been featured on the site were adopted.

The collaboration with AdoptUSKids is supported through a cooperative agreement between the Children's Bureau and the Adoption Exchange Association. Through a competitive Request For Proposal process, AdoptUSKids awarded 35 mini-grants to parents' groups in 23 states in 2003, its first year of operation. Collaboration partners include the Child Welfare League of America,



the University of Texas at Austin School of Social Work, the Northwest Adoption Exchange, Holt International Children's Services and The Adoption Exchange Inc.

More than 130,000 of the 565,000 American children in foster care, ranging in age from toddlers to teenagers, are waiting to be adopted. On average, these children have been in foster care for almost four years. Most of these children have special needs that limit their ability to be adopted, such as being part of a sibling group that wishes to stay together, belonging to a particular ethnic group, or having physical or emotional challenges. Recruiting a family that can meet the special needs of a particular child can be challenging, especially when the right family may live in a different state or county.

#### **BENNETT CHAPEL BAPTIST CHURCH'S STORY**

Bennett Chapel has gained worldwide attention through its adoption initiative. The placement of more than 70 children in such a small community has caught the attention of local and national media. Rev. Martin and his church members are featured by NBC, Texas Monthly, Family Circle, Extra, Hardcopy, the 700 Club, TBN, Good Morning America and The Oprah Winfrey Show.

Martin and his wife, Donna, have received the Inspirational People of the Year award announced by Beleafnet.com. They have been keynote speakers for various adoption banquets around the nation. Martin recently accepted the Essence Awards 2000 presented by Bill Cosby and Oprah Winfrey.

Mentoring Children of Prisoners (ACF)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MATTHEWS, NC

Christ Our Shepherd Ministries



Parents receive child care subsidy vouchers each year that allow them to enroll their children in faith-based child care programs like Christ Our Shepherd Ministries.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MATTHEWS, NC

### Christ Our Shepherd Ministries

30 W. John St. • Matthews, NC 28105  
704-845-HOPE (4673) • fax 704-844-1233 • [www.COSMinistries.org](http://www.COSMinistries.org)

#### SNAPSHOT



MELISSA IS PROUD HER BOYS  
RECEIVE A CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.

#### Melissa's Story

Melissa Powley wanted her children to receive an education that she never had. She grew up in a home that didn't stress Christian beliefs. "I didn't want that for my children. I wanted them to have more than I had — more faith and a Christian education," she says.

When her income status changed after her divorce, there was no way to afford child care with two boys and one income. Powley chose Christ Our Shepherd Ministries for its scholarship, voucher program and child care services. The program taught Christian values — her boys, ages 4 and 6, were able to pray before mealtimes, learn Bible stories and use a faith-based curriculum. She also knew that state funding was given to eligible parents to access a child care program, including faith-based providers, in the form of a childcare subsidy, also called a voucher. Now both boys share a new understanding of the Bible, thanks to their education at COS Ministries, and their mother has found a deeper faith while gaining financial stability.

#### Program Overview

COS Ministries Child Care center, a four-star state rated program, believes that children should be nurtured, loved and educated. Its developmental program has a yearly curriculum with weekly study units, including Christian principles. The center accepts vouchers through the child care subsidy program. To be eligible for the program, a child must reside with a parent who is working, employed or enrolled in a training program. Families must also meet their state eligibility income guidelines.

Most voucher recipients in COS are single parents or a family with a parent out of work. Within certain limits, faith-based providers may give preference to members of their own denomination in employment. Those faith-based providers using vouchers may retain the religious nature of their program including religious instruction, worship, prayers and curriculum.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Belinda Kirby

**Year Founded** 1996

**Mission** to serve the needs of single parents and two-parent households where both are required to work

**Funds Will Be Used** to offer a variety of high-quality educational programs for children and families

**Annual Budget** \$ 1.4 million

**Number of Staff** 65 full-time, 20 part-time employees



**Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives**  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

IN MATTHEWS, NC

### Christ Our Shepherd Ministries

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704-845-HOPE (4673) • fax 704-844-1233 • [www.COSMinistries.org](http://www.COSMinistries.org)

#### Melissa's Story

Melissa Powley wanted her children to receive an education that she never had. She grew up in a home that didn't stress Christian beliefs. "I DIDN'T WANT THAT FOR MY CHILDREN. I WANTED THEM TO HAVE MORE THAN I HAD — MORE FAITH AND A CHRISTIAN EDUCATION," she says.

When her income status changed after her divorce, she had to work, but there was no way to afford child care with two boys and one income. Her mother-in-law recommended Christ Our Shepherd Ministries for its scholarship, voucher program and child care services. Although Powley looked at two other centers in the area, Powley chose COS Ministries because the staff was genuinely kind and caring. She also liked that the program taught Christian values — her boys were able to pray before meals, learn Bible stories and use a faith-based curriculum. She also knew that state funding was given to eligible parents to access child care in a form of a childcare subsidy, also called a voucher. The voucher program allows an eligible parent to enroll children in any child care program that accepts the voucher, including faith-based providers.

Powley put her children in COS Ministries' care once she received financial help from the state's voucher program and a scholarship from the center. Her oldest son, now 6, flourished in the child care program. The outgoing, artistic child quickly adapted to the program that emphasizes exposure to education in non-intrusive measures. He has now outgrown the program, which is for ages 3 months to 5 years old. He now participates in the ministry's after-school program, which doesn't accept vouchers.

The youngest son, 4, started in the program when he was 20 months old. Known as the "drama queen of the family," His temper often flared, but soon he learned how to overcome his theatrics. He's a charmer, too, working people to his advantage. His mom says he loves the program. "IF I MOVED HIM OUT OF THERE, HE WOULDN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH HIMSELF."

As a result of this faith-based teaching, Melissa became interested in visiting Matthews Baptist, a church that partners with COS Ministries to help those in need receive care for their automobiles. Now both boys share a new understanding of the Bible, thanks to their education at COS Ministries, and their mother has found a deeper faith while gaining financial stability.



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

### The Grant Process

When COS Ministries first began in 1996, officials learned about the subsidy when applying for its license. Because the ministry was trying to help single parents, Executive Director Belinda Kirby contacted the state about how her facility could become eligible to accept the child care subsidy vouchers. COS Ministries discovered they could accept certificates from eligible parents if the center was licensed. About 10-20 of the center's families now receive the funds each year. "WE WOULD TRY TO FIND ANYTHING WE COULD TO HELP THOSE IN NEED," Kirby says.

COS Ministries receives about \$3,000 each month from the state for reimbursements from the certificates, depending on the number of children enrolled. If the center has a certain number of "voucher kids" in its program, it also gets an additional subsidy from North Carolina. This year COS Ministries will receive an \$8,000 bonus.

To be eligible in North Carolina, children must live with a parent who is working or attending a job training or educational program and whose family income does not exceed the state's limit for eligibility.

Most voucher recipients in COS Ministries are single parents or a family with a parent out of work. The voucher gives the family flexibility to choose among any legally operating provider including faith-based organizations. Within certain limits, faith-based providers may preference members of their own denomination in employment. Those faith-based providers using vouchers may retain the religious nature of their programs including religious instruction, worship, prayers and curriculum.

Kirby says that her motivation is to give children an early start learning Biblical principles that can help them through what might be a difficult home situation. She says exposing the children to the Bible at school is beneficial because they may not hear it anywhere else.

She also believes in helping struggling parents. "WE JUST BELIEVE THAT IF YOU CAN HELP PEOPLE OUT, YOU SHOULD. SO MANY HAVE BEEN PUT INTO A SITUATION NOT BY CHOICE, AND THEY HAVE TO ENTER THE WORK FORCE. THEY WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO WORK WITHOUT CHILDCARE."

COS Ministries Child Care center, a four-star state rated program, believes that children should be nurtured, loved and educated. Its developmental program has a yearly curriculum with weekly study units. As they progress through the program, they learn letters, numbers and colors. This knowledge is not taught classroom-style but incorporated into daily activities, says Kirby. For example, they count how many forks they put on the table for meal time or they count how many blocks they can stack before they fall.

Kirby says child care gives children the upper hand in social skills before starting school. "IF YOU HAVE A CHILD THAT'S NEVER BEEN EXPOSED TO A STRUCTURED SITUATION, THEY'RE LOST," she says. Learning how to share, line up and sit still takes about three months to attain. The children who attended preschool are then at an advantage.

### History

COS Ministries was started by Aana Lisa Whatley who had been a single parent and saw the need for affordable child care. She bought the future ministry's campus from her church, Christ Covenant. She remodeled the place, hired a caretaker and recruited five children. A church also sponsored the group until 1988 when the organization became a 501-C3. She is now a board member and the center's landlord.

COS employees must be Christians and active church members. The center also partners with First Baptist Matthews, Christ Covenant and Central Church of God. The churches offer services, such as car maintenance and repairs, to those in need.

Since COS Ministries opened the doors of its Child Care Center in 1996, it strives to serve the modern day "widows and orphans" of society — families with only one parent that are struggling to survive in today's economy.

Parents have been able to obtain jobs to support their children through the help of their scholarship program that gives them temporary financial support while waiting for the subsidy. Those who are interested in the scholarship must apply for the subsidy and be qualified to be on its waiting list. Those who didn't qualify for the voucher can also apply for a scholarship, depending on their financial needs.

COS Ministries offers several programs for children and their parents:

- Respite Night Out program allows parents to have free time on Friday by providing baby sitting services.
- Angel Food program provides the community an opportunity to buy a box of food for \$21.
- Scholarship Fund program provides parenting classes for single parents funded by the organization's benefactor.

COS Ministries' core values are used in staff recruitment, parental interaction and guest services. The ministry created an acronym that it hopes all can see evidenced in the COS Ministries family... S.M.I.L.E:

- Seek and foster community relationships with a passion for evangelism and regional spiritual revival.

- Mercy ministry focus, understanding that the ministry's purpose is to serve others. The ministry does this through a genuine interest in the nurturing and care of others. Ministry workers serve as regional resource providers to help people and families by giving of themselves through people, resources and prayer.
- Integrity in every practice associated with the service and administration of COS Ministries. It pursues with relentless vigor the highest degree of integrity in all relationships, finances and activities.
- Love for others, always mindful that participants' actions represent Jesus Christ.
- Excellence perceived as a ministry that impacts lives of many. With this as its cornerstone, COS Ministries will represent the cause of Christ with excellence.



Shelter/Support for Homeless Youth  
(SAMHSA)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN EVERETT, WA

Volunteers of America

Western Washington

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A Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The grant for \$165,000, renewable for three years, will help other children of prisoners find a mentor match.

## Snapshot of Compassion

EVERETT, WA

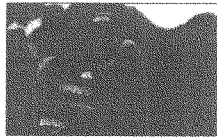
### Volunteers of America Western Washington

2802 Broadway • Everett, WA 98201

425-259-3191 • fax 425-258-2838 • www.voaww.org



#### SNAPSHOT



MONIQUE SEES A BETTER FUTURE  
WITH HER MENTOR NIESHA.

#### Monique and Niesha's Story

Before she met her mentor Niesha Fort, Monique Evans had a difficult time in school. Her grades were dropping, she struggled with ADD and she was about to be held back a grade.

When she was matched with mentor Niesha Fort through Volunteers of America Western Washington's Mentoring Children of Promise program, her life changed. Fort showed her the future rewards of staying in school and receiving a college degree.

"She's a positive role model for me," says Monique. "I like the fact that she's educated, she knows right from wrong. I know that I can trust her and that I'm safe with her. She won't let anything happen to me when I'm with her."

Others like Monique will get a new outlook on life thanks to a Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The grant for more than \$100,000, renewable for three years, will help other children of prisoners find a mentor match.

#### Program Overview

Since 1898, Volunteers of America WA has engaged its staff and volunteers in the local development and operation of broad-based human service programs. The agency tailors programs that respond to each community's unique needs and offers the tools and support necessary for individuals to reach self-reliance.

#### Vitals

CEO Gilbert Saparto

Year Founded 1898

**Mission** to be a Christian human service organization dedicated to reaching, uplifting and empowering the diverse individuals, families and communities served

**Funds Will Be Used** to provide mentors to children of prisoners

**Annual Budget** \$16 million

**Number of Staff** more than 325 employees and 400 volunteers

**Program Grant** Mentoring Children of Prisoners through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$165,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** renewable for three years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

EVERETT, WA

### Volunteers of America Western Washington

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#### Monique and Niesha's Story

Before she met her mentor Niesha Fort, Monique Evans had a difficult time in school. Her grades were dropping, she struggled with Attention Deficit Disorder and she was about to be held back a grade in school.

The high-spirited 12-year-old's father has been in prison since she was two weeks old. She visits him occasionally, and he calls collect once a month. Her mother struggles to give Monique a different view of life because she doesn't rely on her father as a positive role model.

Monique doesn't like her father's advice that he gives when he sees her — he tells her not to make the same mistakes that he did. But, as typical teenagers do, she questioned his wisdom. "HOW IS HE GOING TO TELL ME WHAT TO DO WHEN HE'S IN PRISON?" she asks.

After she was matched with mentor Niesha Fort through Volunteers of America Western Washington's Mentoring Children of Promise, Monique began to reconsider her attitude towards her own future. Her grades shot up once she learned that school is the key to a successful future.

The two go to street fairs, the museum and library; Niesha teaches her about finances, cooking and repairing items such as her car. These activities give the girl confidence.

"SHE'S A POSITIVE ROLE MODEL FOR ME," says Monique. "I LIKE THE FACT THAT SHE'S EDUCATED. SHE KNOWS RIGHT FROM WRONG. I KNOW THAT I CAN TRUST HER AND THAT I'M SAFE WITH HER. SHE WON'T LET ANYTHING HAPPEN TO ME WHEN I'M WITH HER."

Niesha considers her work a calling. She hopes Monique will attend college and become a mentor as well. She tells her to "GO OUT AND GET IT BECAUSE IT MAY NOT COME TO YOU."

Others like Monique will get a new outlook on life thanks to a Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. The grant for more than \$100,000, renewable for three years, will help other children of prisoners find a mentor match.



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

### The Grant Process

Program Manager Jennifer Eugene saw the need for Mentoring Children of Promise a year ago while operating a different program, called Words Travel, for prisoners and their children. This program offers children and incarcerated parents the chance to communicate through literature. Parents would read children's books on video and their children watched it at home. Volunteers of America WA also offered craft classes for the parent and child. Once monthly the volunteers bussed the children to the Monroe Correctional Complex and Washington Correction Center for Women. There, the children could visit with their parents and work on an art project together. Eugene utilized the Words Travel classes to promote the new mentoring program that was made available by the Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant for \$165,000 a year, renewable for three years. "IT ALLOWS US TO BUILD TRUST IN THAT POPULATION. WE'RE NOT TRYING TO SEND REPLACEMENT PARENTS," she says.

Other recruitment methods include presentations to intervention specialists or school counselors. Eugene also proposed mass e-mailings to case workers and contacting families directly. As a result, the program has 50 children ages 5-15 and it plans to increase the number of those served to 110 by the end of this fiscal year. Approximately 65 percent of all prisoners come from the five counties the ministry serves.

"WORDS TRAVEL REALLY OPENED THE DOOR TO RECRUITING FAMILIES. WE SAW A LOT OF KIDS WHOSE LIVES WERE FULL OF CHAOS," says Eugene.

The Volunteers of America WA's Mentoring Children of Promise tried to calm that chaos. The children that were matched had so much emotion they wanted to release once they discovered they had a safe place to talk.

The mentoring program takes great care to ensure that the children find the most compatible, safe mentor available. Both the child and mentor are interviewed about their likes and dislikes, hobbies and background. The mentor is then matched with the child who has the most similarities.

When Eugene thinks about the children and mentors and how perfectly they fit together, she gets goose bumps. She knows a match is right when she gets the "goose-bump check." "IF YOU MAKE GOOSE BUMPS WHEN YOU MAKE A MATCH, YOU JUST KNOW IT IS MEANT TO BE. EVERY TIME I MAKE A MATCH, YOU CAN FEEL IT THROUGH EVERY PIECE OF YOUR BODY THAT IT WAS JUST MEANT TO BE."

Sunna Kraushaar, Eugene's mentor coach manager puts it this way — "WE'RE JUST A MESSENGER OF MATCHES DIVINELY MADE."

Not only did the grant help pay for this screening process, it also helped pay Eugene and Kraushaar's salaries. Support and training for mentors, recruitment

and quarterly events for the children were also helped with the grant. Eugene estimates that the cost of serving one child is about \$1,500 each year.

Eugene first heard about the grant through a family corrections network and the Volunteers of America national office's weekly newsletter. Thanks to President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative, Eugene knew she had a good chance of applying and competing for federal funds.

"IT FEELS REALLY GOOD THAT WHEN PEOPLE DO NOT HAVE PLACES TO TURN, THERE IS A RESOURCE THAT'S OUT THERE THAT IS MEETING A NEED," she says.

#### **Volunteers of America Washington's story**

All across western Washington, Volunteers of America provides those in need with the support necessary to attain self-reliance. The hungry are fed. The homeless find shelter and clothing. The troubled receive counsel. The willing are educated and trained for meaningful work. Dignity, self-respect and hope can be restored through its programs that have the flexibility to address unique needs, such as mental health and disabilities, education and employment, dispute resolution and mediation.

Since 1898, Volunteers of America WA has engaged its staff and volunteers in the local development and operation of broad-based human service programs. The agency tailors programs that respond to each community's unique needs and offers the tools and support necessary for individuals to reach self-reliance.

Volunteers of America WA operates with efficiency and productivity through the efforts of more than 325 employees and 800 volunteers. The organization is chartered to serve all western Washington counties from Canada to Oregon, and currently delivers services to communities in Snohomish, Skagit, Pierce, King, San Juan and Island counties.

The Washington organization is part of the national Volunteers of America group. Nationwide, Volunteers of America employs more than 14,000 professionals and 70,000 volunteers to serve 1.8 million people a year. It is one of the nation's largest and most comprehensive charitable nonprofit human services organizations.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN WEST ALLIS, WI  
Big Brothers Big Sisters  
of Metro Milwaukee

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Big Brothers Big Sisters of Metro Milwaukee can help match more children of prisoners with a mentor thanks to a \$400,000 grant each year for three years from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

## Snapshot of Compassion

WEST ALLIS, WI

### Big Brothers Big Sisters of Metro Milwaukee

8415 W. Greenfield Ave. West Allis, WI 53214

414-258-4778 • fax 414-607-0156 • www.bbbsmagic.org



#### SNAPSHOT



CORY AND CASSANDRA HOPE THEY ARE POSITIVE ROLE MODELS FOR HOLLY AND JOHN.

#### A Family's Story

Holly and John Masakevich struck it rich when they got their matches for a Big Brother and Big Sister – their mentors are husband and wife Cory and Cassandra Hughes. The four are forging relationships through Big Brothers Big Sisters of Metro Milwaukee's Amachi program that will help the children have a more positive outlook on life.

Cassandra says Holly, 9, is outgoing and constantly thinking. Cory tries to take John, 6, outside and let him play freely in a park. The boy lives in a neighborhood where children don't play outside much because it is unsafe.

Amachi was developed because children who have an incarcerated parent have a 70 percent chance of following the same path in life. John and Holly's mother and father are incarcerated.

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, more children like John and Holly can be matched with a mentor and see their future in a different light.

#### Program Overview

Big Brothers Big Sisters of Metro Milwaukee is a private, nonprofit organization that provides caring, responsible adult mentors to children aged 7 to 17 on a one-to-one "match" basis for consistent, long-term relationships. The agency serves Milwaukee and Waukesha counties.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** India McCanse

**Year Founded** 1975

**Mission** to match children of an incarcerated parent to a mentor

**Funds Will Be Used to** provide capacity building

**Annual Budget** \$2 million

**Organization Size** 50

**Program Grant** Mentoring Children of Prisoners through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$400,000 a year

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** three years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS



## Compassion at Work

WEST ALLIS, WI

### Big Brothers Big Sisters of Metro Milwaukee

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(414) 258-4778 • fax (414) 607-0156 • [www.bbbsmagic.org](http://www.bbbsmagic.org)

#### A FAMILY'S STORY

Holly and John Masakevich struck it rich when they got their matches for a Big Brother and Big Sister — their mentors are a husband and wife, Cory and Cassandra Hughes. The four are forging relationships through Big Brothers Big Sisters of Metro Milwaukee's Amachi program that will help the children have a more positive outlook on life.

Cassandra says Holly, 9, is outgoing and constantly thinking. She seems to stand back and take a look at the situation around her before she decides to join in. Right now she is feeling out her Big Sister to see if she can trust her. Worrying about her family and wanting everyone to be happy is her main concern.

Amachi was developed because children who have an incarcerated parent have a 70 percent chance of following the same path in life. John and Holly's mother and father are incarcerated. The Amachi motto, People of Faith Mentoring Children of Promise, represents the opportunity to break the cycle of incarceration through friendships that show children a different way. The Amachi mentor must be concerned with the well-being of a child, able to commit to at least one hour a week for a year, and a member of a faith-based institution.

Cory tries to take John, 6, outside and let him play freely in a park. The boy lives in a neighborhood where children don't play outside much because it is unsafe. John doesn't have many male influences, which is similar to Cory's background. The Little Brother is like his Little Sister — he takes in everything and wants to learn about the world around him. He will snag any bit of knowledge he can. Cory took him to the lake and he wanted to know everything — the depth of the lake, the types of fish, the habits of birds. Cory has to watch everything he does in front of his Little Brother — one day when Cory was picking Johnny up at his home for an outing, the boy greeted him wearing the same hairstyle as Cory's. "YOU REALLY HAVE TO BE CAREFUL BECAUSE HE PICKS UP EVERYTHING," says Cory.

The couple does not ask many questions about the children's parents. They want to give the children some emotional privacy. "I DON'T WANT TO MAKE HER FEEL AS IF I'M BEING NOSY," says Cassandra. Adults come in and out of the children's lives so much that Cassandra wants to provide a safety net for Holly. She also tries to show her Little Sister the arts and educational activities



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so she will know more than just what's in her neighborhood. Holly would like to be a doctor, and Cassandra is planning to help her Little Sister's dream become a future career path. Currently she is planning a trip to the local hospital so Holly can talk to the doctors. "SHE LIVES IN A SMALL TOWN AND IS LIMITED TO WHAT SHE CAN DO, BUT SHE WANTS TO SEE PAST HER OWN NEIGHBORHOOD BLOCK -- SHE WANTS TO SEE THE WORLD," says Cassandra.

Cory says they hope to be in their lives for "MANY, MANY YEARS."

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, more children like John and Holly can be matched with a mentor and see their future in a different light.

Amachi is a one-to-one mentoring program that matches young people ages 5-17 of incarcerated parents with volunteers from the faith-based community and is offered in 16 U.S. cities. Amachi is a partnership of faith-based congregations, Big Brothers Big Sisters of Metro Milwaukee and other supportive organizations. Amachi volunteers are from the faith-based community who provide supportive friendships that encourage children to reach their full potential. Big Brothers Big Sisters Amachi is the only congregationally-based program in the country to offer a proven and effective program of mentoring for children of incarcerated parents.

Big Brothers Big Sisters is not just a feel-good social cause. National research has proven that its volunteers make a lasting impact in the lives of the children they mentor.

Public and Private Ventures, a nationally recognized program development and research organization, conducted a comparative study that revealed that kids matched with Big Brothers or Big Sisters are more likely to show positive behaviors in school and at home than children not in the program. The children who met with their mentors regularly for about a year were less likely to start using drugs and alcohol and to engage in violent behavior. They also improved their school attendance, performance and attitudes toward schoolwork, and improved their peer and family relationships.

#### THE GRANT PROCESS

India McCanse, president and CEO of the Milwaukee Big Brothers Big Sisters program, first heard of the Amachi program from Amachi founder The Reverend Dr. W. Wilson Goode Sr. She knew that Milwaukee was a segregated city. Those in the city center were usually African Americans living in high crime, low income and drug-infested places where not all of the community was involved in helping these children.

She also noted that several young people beat to death a 35-year-old man in the same area. Of the children involved in the killing, 10 had parents who had been or were incarcerated. She knew Milwaukee was primed to help children of prisoners.

Wisconsin ranks highest in the number of incarcerated African Americans in the nation. African Americans are only five percent of the state's total population, but they make up nearly 50 percent of the prison population. Wisconsin also leads the nation in exporting prisoners, which makes it almost impossible for young people to visit their parents.

"WE WANT TO HELP KIDS IN THE HARDEST PLACE THERE IS," says McCanse. She notes that children of incarcerated parents feel abandoned and ashamed. They can also suffer from the knowledge that there is a parent in their life who is unreachable. There are no records of children who have incarcerated parents because no federal or state prison keeps a record, which left McCanse with the dilemma — how does she find these young people who need help? She found connections with incarcerated mothers through the help of the HHS grant.

When HHS announced it was taking proposals for the grant, "WE BOUNCED ALL OVER IT," says McCanse. She had been following the Grants.gov Web site and the National Big Brothers Big Sisters organization — both had announced the funding for children of prisoners. Knowing that 70 percent of young people who have an incarcerated parent would also go to prison without positive intervention, McCanse applied for the grant. The program received \$400,000 in funds each year for three years. Currently 75 young people have been matched with a mentor since the grant became available to Big Brothers Big Sisters of Milwaukee. Workers are trying to reach 50 more.

The grant also allowed the organization to reach out to incarcerated mothers to find young people available for a mentor match. McCanse recalls a touching moment when a prison warden allowed her to discuss the program with a room filled with incarcerated mothers. Guilt, shame and remorse poured from the women as they talked about their children. "THEY WERE IN TEARS, AND THEY WERE SO INSISTENT. 'PLEASE, WILL YOU GO AND SEE MY CHILD? TELL THEM I LOVE HER AND THAT I MISS HER.'" All of the women signed their children up for the mentor program. "WE WALKED IN AND PROVIDED SOME HOPE. THAT'S WHAT AMACHI DOES," says McCanse.

Grant funds helped build 41 church partnerships to recruit volunteers. Also funded were public relations, marketing and advertising campaigns to recruit volunteers. Staff was also expanded to 11 with the hiring of case managers and recruitment professionals. A Spanish-speaking staff member was hired to help the Hispanic population while the staffing structure changed to reach more volunteers. As a result, Big Brothers Big Sisters of Milwaukee has about 200 volunteers signing up to help the young people. Mentoring Children of Prisoners is funded through the Family and Youth Service Bureau.

#### **AMACHI BIG BROTHERS AND BIG SISTERS OF MILWAUKEE AND WAUKESHA'S STORY**

Amachi Big Brothers Big Sisters is a new initiative that Big Brothers Big Sisters started in Philadelphia in 2000. There are 2.5 million children in this country who

have an incarcerated parent, and research shows that a large percentage of them will end up in prison unless some type of intervention occurs. The Amachi Big Brothers Big Sisters program is now underway in 25 communities and 11 sites around the country.

The Philadelphia program's local success, which produced more than 700 matches since its creation in 2001, helped spur the organization to take the local model national. Big Brothers Big Sisters of America provided seed money to each of the sites, including Milwaukee, and is providing technical assistance to them in setting up and funding their local programs.

Big Brothers Big Sisters of America is the oldest, largest and most effective youth mentoring organization in the country. Founded in 1904 its goal is to match one million Big and Little Brothers and Sisters by the year 2010. In 2002, more than 250,000 children were served in 5,000 communities across the country. The national office is in Philadelphia.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN SAN ANTONIO, TX  
Big Brothers Big Sisters,  
Alamo Area

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A \$487,500 Mentoring Children of Prisoners program grant, renewable each year for three years, from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help Big Brothers Big Sisters Alamo Area reach more than 600 children of incarcerated parents.

## Snapshot of Compassion

SAN ANTONIO, TX

### Big Brothers Big Sisters, Alamo Area

02 Baltimore Ave. • San Antonio, TX 78215  
210-225-6322 • [www.bigmentor.org](http://www.bigmentor.org)

#### SNAPSHOT



RAINA HOPES HER LITTLE SISTER ARIEL WILL DEVELOP HER OWN DREAMS FOR THE FUTURE.

#### Ariel and Raina's Story

Raina Taylor was tired of "living in a bubble." The 24-year-old didn't want to keep to herself and just go to her job with the Air Force. She wanted to make a difference in someone's life. She turned to Big Brothers Big Sisters, Alamo Area for a match with Ariel Duque, an 11-year-old who was eager to see the world through her Big Sister's eyes.

The Alamo area's Children of Promise program matches children of incarcerated parents with a Big Brother or Big Sister. Ariel lives with her aunt, Rita Duque, because her mother is incarcerated. Ariel was born addicted to crack and had to stay in the hospital for a month fighting the effects of substance abuse. She has lived with her aunt since she was 15 months old and considers Rita her mother.

With the help of a U.S. Department of Health and Human Services grant, more children of incarcerated parents can develop influential relationships with a Big Brother or Big Sister. The grant will help Big Brothers Big Sisters Alamo reach more than 600 children like Ariel each year during the next three years.

#### Program Overview

Big Brothers Big Sisters promotes the positive development of at-risk youth by providing opportunities for them to experience healthy, one-to-one relationships with caring volunteers. The Alamo area's Children of Promise program matches children of incarcerated parents with a Big Brother or Big Sister.

#### Vitals

**President and CEO** Elizabeth F. Myers

**Year Founded** 1996

**Mission** helping children in need reach their potential through one-to-one mentoring relationships with volunteers

**Funds Will Be Used** to support services that match children of incarcerated parents with mentors

**Annual Budget** \$1.1 million

**Number of Staff** 20 full-time employees

**Program Grant** Mentoring Children of Prisoners  
Program grant through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$487,500

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** renewable for three years



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## Compassion at Work

SAN ANTONIO, TX

### Big Brothers Big Sisters, Alamo Area

202 Baltimore Ave. • San Antonio, TX 78215  
(210) 225-6322 • [www.bigmmentor.org](http://www.bigmmentor.org)

#### Ariel and Raina's Story

Raina Taylor was tired of "living in a bubble." The 24-year-old didn't want to keep to herself and just go to her job with the Air Force; once she remembered a high school friend who had an influential mentor, she thought about doing the same.

"I LOVED THE CONCEPT OF SOMEONE BEING AROUND JUST FOR YOU. I DON'T THINK A LOT OF KIDS GET THAT KIND OF ATTENTION," she says. She turned to Big Brothers Big Sisters, Alamo Area for a match with Ariel Duque, an 11-year-old who was eager to see the world through her Big Sister's eyes.

Raina's goal has been to expose Ariel to opportunities that will help her create a positive, productive future. "I WANT TO SHOW ARIEL THAT GOING TO COLLEGE IS A REAL POSSIBILITY AND TO HELP HER ACHIEVE THOSE MILESTONES THAT ONE MUST GO THROUGH TO GET THERE. I WANT TO SHOW HER THAT HER DREAMS CAN BECOME A REALITY AND THAT THEY DON'T END."

She also knows that Ariel does not know many people who have attended college, and she most likely thinks she has nothing in common with them.

"I'M HERE TO SAY 'LOOK, YOU AND I AREN'T SO DIFFERENT. PURSUING HIGHER EDUCATION IS SOMETHING ANYONE AND EVERYONE CAN DO, INCLUDING YOU.'"

Raina tries to get her Little Sister involved in reputable programs that will improve her academics and hopefully peak her interest in art, sports and more. "I WANT HER TO EXPERIENCE DIFFERENT THINGS SO SHE CAN HAVE A BETTER IDEA OF WHAT SHE WANTS TO DO FOR THE REST OF HER LIFE." The two have attended plays and art functions. They speak bits of Spanish to each other. And they do the usual activities friends do: swim, go to the movies, work on homework and talk about the latest music videos.

Big Brothers Big Sisters promotes the positive development of at-risk youth by providing opportunities for them to experience healthy, one-to-one relationships with caring volunteers. The Alamo area's Children of Promise program matches children of incarcerated parents with a Big Brother or Big Sister. Ariel lives with her aunt, Rita Duque, because her mother is incarcerated. Ariel was born addicted to crack and had to stay in the hospital for a month fighting the effects



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of substance abuse. She has lived with her aunt since she was 15 months old and considers Rita her mother.

The presence of a Big Sister in the Duque family has been positive. Raina attended a family gathering when Ariel's other aunt died in October, and she went to a shower for Rita's new baby. "SHE'S ONE OF MY BEST FRIENDS," says Ariel.

With the help of a U.S. Department of Health and Human Services grant, more children of incarcerated parents can develop influential relationships with a Big Brother or Big Sister. The grant will help Big Brothers Big Sisters Alamo reach more than 600 children like Ariel each year for the next three years.

Big Brothers Big Sisters is a mentoring program with proven results. A Philadelphia-based independent research firm, Public/Private Ventures, studied children in Big Brother Big Sister mentoring relationships and compared them to a group of their peers without mentors. The study concluded that Little Brothers and Little Sisters were less likely to begin using drugs and alcohol and less likely to skip school. They also showed increased confidence in schoolwork performance and developed better relationships with their family members and peers.

#### **The Grant Process**

Big Brothers Big Sisters Alamo applied and received the \$487,500 Mentoring Children of Prisoners program grant in 2003, which is renewable for three years. Officials found an announcement for the grant through the federal register, where they were obtaining regular announcements regarding grants. The organization had applied for the U.S. Department of Justice's Juvenile Mentoring Program and the U.S. Department of Education's mentoring programs before, but did not receive funding. President and CEO Elizabeth Myers says the HHS grant was an "attractive proposal" because Big Brothers Big Sisters Alamo had key partners with six different Big Brother Big Sister agencies and community faith-based programs. She decided that the organization was a natural fit to be the primary grant applicant. The group also felt confident in receiving and managing the federal funds because their church partners would not be using the money for proselytizing. Big Brothers Big Sisters Alamo has several partnerships with faith-based organizations. The Holy Spirit Catholic Church and Catholic Charities spearhead most of the religious groups' involvement in providing services and mentors for its program.

The funding, which is their first HHS grant, has helped Big Brothers Big Sisters of Alamo attain the resources needed to recruit, screen, train, match, supervise and monitor mentors. Funds also provided employee training, volunteer recruitment, office supplies, and accounting and clerical staff.

Denise Barkhurst, executive vice president, says what is most exciting about the grant is that all of the area's agencies now have the ability to reach more



children. Strong collaborations between community groups and prison systems give them the opportunity to recruit incarcerated parents who can then enroll their children in the mentoring program.

#### **Big Brothers Big Sisters, Alamo Area's Story**

Ernest Coulter, a court clerk from New York City, started New York Big Brothers, which would later become Big Brothers Big Sisters of America. The suffering and misery of the thousands of children who came through the court increasingly appalled him. So in late 1904, Coulter appeared before a group of civic and business leaders. He recruited influential men to mentor delinquent boys who came before him. He described a boy about to be jailed:

"THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY TO SAVE THAT YOUNGSTER, AND THAT IS TO HAVE SOME EARNEST, TRUE MAN VOLUNTEER TO BE HIS BIG BROTHER. TO LOOK AFTER HIM, HELP HIM DO RIGHT, MAKE THE LITTLE CHAP FEEL THAT THERE IS AT LEAST ONE HUMAN BEING IN THIS GREAT CITY WHO TAKES A PERSONAL INTEREST IN HIM — SOMEONE WHO CARES WHETHER HE LIVES OR DIES. I CALL FOR A VOLUNTEER!"

Before he had finished encouraging his fellow community members to befriend this child in a one-to-one relationship, Coulter motivated nearly 40 men to volunteer their time to help troubled youth. Coulter was the first individual to use the term "Big Brother" in connection with this movement.

Since 1978, dedicated volunteers in the San Antonio area have worked together to help children from single-parent families by matching them with role models to provide support, guidance and friendship. The program opened a satellite office in Kerrville, TX, in 1996 to meet the needs of at-risk youth in Kerr County. It expanded again in 2000 and opened branches in New Braunfels and Seguin through a grant from the Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services to reach the at-risk youth in Guadalupe and Comal counties.

On average, the agency serves more than 1,300 youth each year. Other programs include:

- **Community-Based Program** — In this program, the volunteer visits with the child about once a week, and often they perform community activities. The program encourages volunteers to have visits that incorporate the child into their daily routine such as running errands, grocery shopping and cooking dinner.
- **Site-Based Programs** — Volunteers 18 and older are able to meet with their Little Brother or Little Sister once a week for an hour at the child's school. Volunteers and children can share activities together such as eating lunch, playing games or visiting the library. High school students interested in volunteering can be matched with elementary and middle school children. These students work in a group setting with the children to build different characteristics and qualities.

- Boys and Girls Club Program — Volunteers work at the Westside or Eastside Boys and Girls Club with a number of activities available for the volunteers and children. During weekly visits, matches have access to all of the clubs' facilities including an indoor heated pool, basketball courts, foosball tables, computers and more.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN ST. LOUIS, MO

Big Brothers Big Sisters  
of Eastern Missouri

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A \$193,000 Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services is helping young people improve their future through a relationship with a Big Brother Big Sister of Eastern Missouri mentor.

## Snapshot of Compassion

ST. LOUIS, MO

### Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri

4625 Lindell Blvd. Suite 501 • St. Louis, MO 63108

314-361-5900 • www.bbbsemo.org



#### SNAPSHOT

#### Erica and Jacque's Story

A support system that brings together facets of the community is a positive experience for any teenager. For Erica, who has an incarcerated mother, the benefits of having a stable support system have increased her ability to create a positive self identity and a renewed sense of empowerment.

Like those in need for support from their community, Erica turned to Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri. Jacque Morgan, who had just volunteered through her church to help mentor a child, quickly became friends with the 15-year-old. As a Big Sister, Jacque gets together with her Little Sister about once a week to run errands, window shop at the mall, work on Erica's homework, and watch movies (but only after the homework is finished). The two became the organization's first Amachi match. Amachi is a one-to-one mentoring program that matches young people ages 5-17 of incarcerated parents with volunteers from the faith-based community.

#### Program Overview

Big Brothers Big Sisters is the oldest and largest mentoring program in the world, with country-specific programs that recruit, train, and supervise volunteers in one-to-one mentoring relationships with children-at-risk of not reaching their potential because of family or environmental constraints or limitations. The Big Brothers Big Sisters model has been evaluated and proves that an ongoing friendship with a young person has a significant impact.

#### Vitals

**President** Becky James-Hatter

**Year Founded** 1914

**Mission** through friendships, we help young people succeed

**Funds will be used** to help support the Amachi program

**Annual Budget** \$2.2 million

**Organization Size** 41 full-time and four part-time

**Program Grant** Mentoring Children of

Prisoners through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$193,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** renewable for three years



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## Compassion at Work

ST. LOUIS, MO

### Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri

4625 Lindell Blvd. Suite 501 • St. Louis, MO 63108  
(314)361-5900 • [www.bbbsemo.org](http://www.bbbsemo.org)

#### ERICA AND JACQUE'S STORY

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One of Jacque's goals is to improve the teenager's grades. The two have spent many nights at the library researching or typing reports. Jacque ensured that she was in touch with her Little Sister's academic progress by visiting her school and introducing herself to Erica's teachers.

Erica knows her Big Sister's involvement is helping her stay out of trouble. And her grandmother brags about the difference Jacque has made in all of their lives.

Approximately 2.4 million American young people like Erica have one or more incarcerated parents. In Missouri, 40,000 children are affected by a parent incarceration. These young people are six times more likely to enter the correctional system or to become incarcerated.

According to Becky James-Hatter, Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri president, the success of the local St. Louis affiliate, which matched 1,626 children with Big Brothers and Big Sisters in 2002, will be enhanced by the Amachi program, thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. She notes statistics show more than two-thirds of juveniles in the criminal justice system are children of prisoners. An independent study of the Big Brothers Big Sisters program proves that 46 percent of children matched with a Big Brother or Sister were less likely to start using drugs, 52 percent less



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likely to skip school and 33 percent less likely to engage in violent behavior.

"MENTORING WORKS, AND WE ARE VERY EXCITED TO BRING THIS MODEL TO THE ST. LOUIS COMMUNITY," says James-Hatter.

#### **THE GRANT PROCESS**

Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri's goal is to provide at least 300 children with a consistent, caring and supportive adult this year with the help of grant funds. The \$193,000 grant, renewable for three years, marks the first time Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri is the lead organization in writing and receiving a federal grant. The organization is working with faith-based and community organizations to recruit more mentors. Workers have also established a partnership with local and state agencies to talk with parents in prison who can then refer their children directly to the Amachi program.

Partnerships with churches are the primary source of recruitment for Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri, says James-Hatter. For example, Greater Mount Carmel Baptist Church's congregation recruits mentors and other churches for involvement and support. With the help of the new grant, James-Hatter believes two more churches may become involved with the program. She hopes 15-25 more faith-based organizations will become Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri partners.

Grant funds also allow James-Hatter to hire more staff to monitor the mentors' social activities, criminal background checks, and other services that average \$1,000 per match each year. "IT'S A BIG, BIG STEP FORWARD FOR US," she says. Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri has added so many people to the program that they now need new computers, office equipment and office space.

The Amachi program was developed through Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri, St. Louis Family Court, Mothers and Children Together and local faith-based organizations. Amachi is offered in 16 U.S. cities.

#### **BIG BROTHERS BIG SISTERS OF EASTERN MISSOURI'S STORY**

When a young businessman in Cincinnati stopped by his office in July 1902, he observed an impoverished boy rummaging for food in a garbage can. The man was so deeply touched by what he saw that he introduced himself to the boy, eventually developing a long-time friendship. The man urged his friends to do the same for other disadvantaged youth in the area, and several took him up on the challenge. When one youth referred to his mentor as "my big brother," the name stuck.

The Big Brothers Organization emerged in St. Louis in 1914, when Juvenile Court Judge Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. expressed dismay at the number of youth moving daily through his courtroom. Hennings believed in the power of a positive role model in a child's life. The Big Brothers Organization eventually merged in

1976 with the Big Sisters agency to become Big Brothers Big Sisters of Greater St. Louis.

In 2000 Big Brothers Big Sisters of Greater St. Louis opened offices in St. Charles County and Cape Girardeau County. Although Big Brothers Big Sisters had long served St. Charles County, the agency made a formal commitment to provide increased services by opening their first office in St. Peters and employing a staff of two people. In Cape Girardeau County, Big Brothers Big Sisters opened an office with three staff members and a commitment to serve, for the first time, the children of Cape Girardeau County. The agency then changed its name to Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri.

In 2002 Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri adopted "Little Moments. Big Magic," a plan that will take the agency through 2008. This plan calls for the agency to grow from 1,000 mentors to 10,000. The plan's framework has four critical strategies:

- Put people first — focus on building a powerful board of directors and associated auxiliaries that can provide the organization with necessary resources.
- Build a power brand — emphasize Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri's success stories and leverage partnerships and collaborations.
- Master relationship and partnership building — stress the importance of building positive long-term relationships, expand volunteer enrollment and the "match life span," and expand the agency's fund-raising capacity.
- Drive innovation — focus on the agency's need to maximize technological opportunities, engage local colleges and universities in evaluating programs and create organizational behaviors and practices that encourage and reward innovation.

The next seven years will be an exciting time for the organization as it works to increase the number of young people served. Big Brothers Big Sisters of Eastern Missouri is affiliated with Big Brothers Big Sisters of America, United Way of Greater St. Louis and Area Wide United Way of Cape Girardeau.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN COLUMBIA, MD

U.S. Dream Academy

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With the award of a \$420,000 grant in 2003 over three years, the U.S. Dream Academy will help 3,000 children of incarcerated parents receive the skills they need to have a successful future.



## Snapshot of Compassion

IN COLUMBIA, MD

### U.S. Dream Academy

0400 Little Patuxent Parkway • Columbia, MD 21044  
800-USDREAM (873-7326) • fax 410-772-7146 • [www.usdreamacademy.org](http://www.usdreamacademy.org)



#### SNAPSHOT



TALIA STUDIES AT THE  
DREAM ACADEMY

#### Talia's Story

Talia wants to become a doctor just like her mentor Tonya Matthews. The sixth grader at Collington Square School in East Baltimore is a member of the Dream Team, a mentoring and academic program through the U.S. Dream Academy. Talia's mother suffers from substance abuse and her father is incarcerated. As a result, Talia's school attendance and academic achievements faltered. Since Talia was matched with her mentor Tonya, her life has changed. Her grades have improved significantly, as well as her attendance — to date she has had perfect attendance for this school year. She says the Dream Academy's mentoring program has helped her become successful.

Thanks to a \$420,000 Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families, more children like Talia can receive the social, emotional, and academic skills they need to have a successful future.

#### Program Overview

In 1998, Wintley Phipps formed the U.S. Dream Academy to give children who have had a family member behind bars mentoring, academic tutoring, and exposure to computers and the Internet. The Dream Academy believes that emotional support and academic advancement will help children of incarcerated parents achieve academic and social success. The Dream Academy plans to achieve this goal through its eight Learning Centers located in seven cities throughout the country.

#### Vitals

**President** Wintley Phipps

**Year Founded** 1998

**Mission** to empower at-risk children and youth to maximize their potential through mentoring

**Funds will be used** to provide mentoring to children of incarcerated parents

**Annual Budget** \$2.2 million

**Organization Size** Eight full time and 24 part time

**Program Grant** Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$420,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** three years

**People Served** 3,000



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## Compassion at Work

IN COLUMBIA, MD

### U.S. Dream Academy

10400 Little Patuxent Parkway • Columbia, MD 21044

800-USDREAM (873-7326) • fax 410-772-7146 • [www.usdreamacademy.org](http://www.usdreamacademy.org)

#### TALIA'S STORY

Talia wants to become a doctor just like her mentor Tonya Matthews. The sixth grader at Collington Square School in East Baltimore is a member of the Dream Team, a mentoring and academic program through the U.S. Dream Academy. The Dream Academy seeks to empower children of prisoners to maximize their potential by providing them with academic and social-values enrichment through supportive mentoring and the use of technology.

Talia's mother suffers from substance abuse and her father is incarcerated. As a result, Talia's school attendance and academic achievements faltered. Since Talia was matched with Tonya, her life has changed. Her grades have improved significantly, as well as her attendance — to date she has had perfect attendance for this school year. She says the Dream Academy's mentoring program has helped her become successful. "ME AND MISS TONYA DO A LOT OF FUN THINGS TOGETHER, AND I ALWAYS COME TO SCHOOL HOPING THAT SHE WILL COME," says Talia. She now aspires to be just like her mentor — Tonya is an accomplished poet, and she will receive a Doctorate in Biomedical Engineering from The Johns Hopkins University in May.

Through aggressive and innovative academic enrichment and mentoring, the Dream Academy is working to build the dreams of the children of prisoners like Talia. The program recruits partnerships from those who have a family history of incarceration and who have a high risk of underachievement that may perpetuate a legacy of criminal behavior.

Thanks to a \$420,000 Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families, more children like Talia can receive the help they need to improve their social and academic skills. Many of these children have developed major socialization problems at home and at school, poor academic performance, and delinquent behavior. Others experience fear, anxiety, guilt, loneliness, embarrassment and depression. The Dream Academy hopes to break the cycle of recidivism between an incarcerated parent and child. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, about 2.2 million youths 17 or younger have a parent in prison, and more than half of these children are younger than 10. Two-thirds of juveniles in the criminal justice system have a relative in prison.



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### GETTING THE GRANT

In 2003, the Dream Academy received the three-year grant to help expand its mentoring program. When Dream Academy workers heard about the opportunity to apply for the federal funding, they knew their program was a good match. "IT WAS AN EASY FIT," says DeAnn-Sarah Brady, Dream Academy national program director. "THIS IS OUR MISSION. THIS IS PART OF WHY WE WERE CREATED - TO HELP CHILDREN OF PRISONERS THROUGH MENTORING."

The mentoring component gives them positive role models they are lacking. Mentors shower the children with love and positive reinforcement. "I BELIEVE THAT I'M HELPING CHILDREN TO LIVE OUT THEIR OWN DREAMS. TO FIND THEIR OWN VOICE AND THEIR OWN PATH IN LIFE," says Wintley Phipps, Dream Academy president.

The grant will also help maintain mentor matches for at least one year to increase effectiveness of the mentoring relationship. The mentoring program will build critical life skills such as reading, writing, and math skills, and the program will also provide support and resources to families separated due to incarceration. The approach includes a plan to identify, screen and recruit more mentors. The Dream Academy will also dedicate resources to supporting caretakers and other children in the family, train mentors, match mentors to children, and supervise the mentoring process.

### ACHIEVEMENTS THROUGH THE GRANT

The Dream Academy believes that emotional support and academic advancement will help children of incarcerated parents achieve academic and social success. The Dream Academy's \$2.2 million annual budget will be used to achieve this goal through its eight Learning Centers located in seven cities throughout the country.

The Learning Centers offer instructional approaches to the development of personalized learning strategies. The centers' "Learn to Learn" program seeks to enhance the academic performance and capacity of youths who are experiencing difficulty in school by offering valuable tutoring and academic support. The program provides students the computer skills necessary to succeed in today's technology-focused society. The Dream Academy hopes the program will build stronger families and communities through outreach and leadership development.

Through the Learning Center, children work after school four days a week for four hours on academic enrichment. Through the use of the Internet, the students improve skills in reading and math. The youths' mentors join them in the classroom on the fifth day. Together the adult and child will complete group activities to build social skills. The mentor-child team will then work on an academic challenge together. This one-on-one time creates a closer mentor-child relationship, says Brady.

The grant will help the learning center's mentoring program match 3,000 children with a mentor in three years. Funding will help recruit, train and conduct background checks on each new mentor. Partnerships between colleges, churches, corporations, and community organizations such as Prison Fellowship Ministries will be encouraged through the grant funds. The funds will also help implement components specifically designed to assist children of prisoners. For example, an incarcerated parent can send videotape messages to a child. In the video, the parent can participate in activities such as reading the child a book. After the guardian parent has approved the video, the child will receive the book to read alongside the parent as the video plays. Creative interventions such as the video-taped reading can help re-establish communication between the incarcerated parent and child. Working with the mentor, the children will be able to talk about the parents' video visit. The mentor will help the children understand their feelings, and the mentor will work with the family members to build on that communication.

### HISTORY

"OUR MOTTO IS A CHILD WITH A DREAM IS A CHILD WITH A CHANCE," says Phipps. "AND THE OPPOSITE IS ALSO TRUE. A CHILD WITHOUT A DREAM DOES NOT STAND A CHANCE IN THIS WORLD." Twenty years ago, a friend brought Phipps, an accomplished musician, to a prison to sing to the inmates. When he encountered his wife's pregnant niece in a prison, Phipps says he started to think about the prisoners' children and became concerned about their future.

"ALL OF MY WIFE'S SEVEN BROTHERS AND SISTERS HAVE EITHER BEEN IN JAIL OR INCARCERATED AT SOME POINT IN THEIR LIVES," says Phipps. "BETWEEN 60 AND 70 PERCENT OF CHILDREN OF PRISONERS WILL BECOME PRISONERS THEMSELVES. I HAD TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT."

In 1998, he created a program to help break the cycle he had seen in his own family. Phipps formed the Dream Academy to give children who have had a family member behind bars mentoring, academic tutoring, and exposure to computers and the Internet. "JUST THE COMPUTERS THEMSELVES ARE NOT GOING TO TRANSFORM THE LIVES OF THESE KIDS," he says. "THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF OUR PROGRAM IS REALLY THE CARING, LOVING ADULTS WHO SURROUND THEM."

A small staff, headquartered in Columbia, MD, directs the Dream Academy, reports to a national 19-member board, and oversees the work of each Learning Center. The national office staff also helps create new programs, curricula, learning modules, and continuing training for staff and volunteers.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN PHOENIX, AZ  
MentorKids USA

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In 2003, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services awarded a \$225,000 grant over three years to help establish the program Restoration One on One to match mentors with kids who have an incarcerated parent.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN PHOENIX, AZ

### MentorKids USA

730 W. Orangewood Ave. • Phoenix, AZ 85051  
602-841-9007 • fax 602-841-0960 • [www.phoenixmatchpoint.org](http://www.phoenixmatchpoint.org)



#### SNAPSHOT



SUSSIE AND HER MENTOR  
MANUELA SHEEHAN

#### Manuela and Sussie's Story

Manuela Sheehan knew she had a challenge when she met Sussie. The teen was a high-school dropout who needed lots of love and encouragement. Most of Sussie's family — several of her cousins, aunts, uncles and her brother — had been incarcerated. Her father had left the family; her mother was physically unable to take care of Sussie and her siblings.

Manuela became Sussie's mentor through MentorKids USA, a faith-based organization that matches adult mentors with selected youths at risk of becoming criminal offenders. A deep bond developed between the two, and Sussie has become a confident teen who is dreaming about a college education.

Thanks to a \$75,000 three-year grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families, more youths like Sussie can reach their unrecognized potential. The grant will help MentorKids USA establish a program — Restoration One on One — to match mentors with kids who have an incarcerated parent.

#### Program Overview

MentorKids USA believes that children most likely to end up in trouble are disconnected from the influence of positive adults in their lives. The mentoring program involves men and women 21 and older setting aside two to three hours a week to love a youth who desperately needs an adult friend. The new mentoring program will have the same philosophy, but it will match an adult to a young person who has an incarcerated parent. Mentors and their matches participate together in activities designed to build friendships, trust, and constructive values. The 16-member staff also coordinates the involvement of families, churches, schools, juvenile justice agents/courts, social services and others who can have a stake in the youths' success, and who can reinforce the goals of the program and address related issues.

#### Vitals

**President** Jon Gibson

**Year Founded** 1997

**Mission** to be the presence of Christ in vulnerable youths through mentoring relationships

**Funds will be used** provide more than 40 mentors for children of incarcerated adults

**Annual Budget** \$524,000

**Organization Size** 50

**Program Grant** Mentoring Children of Prisoners, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and Administration for Children and Families

**Award Size** \$225,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** 3 years

**People Served** 400



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

IN PHOENIX, AZ

### MentorKids USA

2730 W. Orangetown Ave. • Phoenix, AZ 85051

602.841.9007 • fax 602.841.0960 • [www.phoenixmatchpoint.org](http://www.phoenixmatchpoint.org)

#### MANUELA AND SUSSIE'S STORY

As a case manager for MentorKids USA, Manuela Sheehan saw hope and a challenge when she met Sussie. She was hard, isolated, and she didn't know who to trust. Her father wasn't a part of her life; her mother was shot by her boyfriend and is now physically unable to care for Sussie and her siblings.

"I THOUGHT TO MYSELF, 'I CAN NEVER BRING A MENTOR INTO THIS SITUATION.'" says Manuela, who works with MentorKids USA, a faith-based organization that matches screened and trained Christian adult mentors with selected youths at risk of becoming chronic criminal offenders. MentorKids USA believes most of these youths hunger for a trusted adult who could lead them through the confusion of "growing up" in a culture that affords many wrong choices.

Manuela was visiting Sussie's house to find her a mentor in the program. She could see that drugs were used in the home. And most of Sussie's family had been in and out of jail. A few of her cousins, aunts, uncles and two brothers had been incarcerated.

Sussie was shut down – she would shrug off compliments and isolate herself from others. She needed a dedicated mentor who would be patient and give her a lot of love. And Manuela decided to take on that challenge – she became Sussie's mentor rather than her case manager.

Manuela soon learned that Sussie dropped out of seventh grade after the first week. "NO ONE COULD MAKE SUSSIE GO BACK TO SCHOOL," remembers Manuela. "AFTER WORKING HARD TO BUILD A RELATIONSHIP WITH HER I WAS ABLE TO ENCOURAGE HER TO START EIGHTH GRADE THE NEXT YEAR. SHE ONLY WENT TWO DAYS BEFORE DROPPING OUT AGAIN." Tests showed that Sussie was at a third or fourth-grade academic level, and she still struggled with school. She became discouraged.

During this time, Manuela strengthened their relationship by taking Sussie ice skating, hiking, and rollerblading. The two would watch movies, go to the zoo, or just hang out at the house. Through her mentor's encouragement, Sussie attended a faith-based youth camp and dedicated her life to God. The once shy girl was coming out of her shell, but Manuela was still discouraged about Sussie's difficulties with school.



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"I FELT LIKE GIVING UP," Manuela said, "BUT I REMEMBERED ALL THE THINGS I TELL OTHER MENTORS WHEN THEY CALL ME AS THEIR CASE MANAGER. I UNDERSTOOD HOW FRUSTRATED OUR MENTORS CAN BE BY DIFFICULT KIDS."

Manuela began asking other case managers and specialists about alternatives to traditional schools. One of them told her about Project Challenge — a no-nonsense, military environment that equips kids with self-discipline as well as academics. Sussie accepted the challenge. "SHE TOLD ME THAT SHE DESERVES AN EDUCATION SO SHE CAN SUCCEED IN LIFE," says Manuela.

Thanks to a grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families, more at-risk youths can reach their unrecognized potential. The \$225,000 grant to be given over three years in \$75,000 increments will help MentorKids USA establish a program called Restoration One on One to match mentors with children of parents who have been incarcerated.

Now Sussie is succeeding thanks to Manuela's unwavering commitment to MentorKids USA and the structure of Project Challenge. She can see the look of pride and achievement in Sussie's eyes. Manuela knows that she is determined to make it through. She now wants to do something with her life and is even talking about college. "ALL THIS FROM A GIRL WHO WOULDN'T EVEN LOOK UP WHEN I FIRST STARTED WORKING WITH HER. THE CHANGE IS UNBELIEVABLE," says Manuela.

And Sussie now knows the commitment Manuela made to become her mentor three years ago is still steadfast. "SHE UNDERSTANDS ME A LOT. SHE'S LIKE MY SECOND MOM," Sussie wrote in a letter from her new school.

Sussie is not the only one who has been changed by their relationship. "WORKING WITH SUSSIE HAS TAUGHT ME SO MUCH ABOUT RELATIONSHIPS," says Manuela. "IT'S TAUGHT ME WHAT IT MEANS TO INVEST. EVEN WHEN I WOULD BECOME ANGRY AT HER, I COULDN'T GIVE UP. I KNEW I WAS TO BE FAITHFUL AND TO RELY ON PRAYER TO HELP CHANGE MY ATTITUDE."

The result is a deep relationship with Sussie. "I KNOW THAT SUSSIE CAN DO ANYTHING, AND I WILL BE SO PROUD TO SEE WHAT SHE ACCOMPLISHES WITH HER FUTURE."

#### **MENTORING CHILDREN OF PRISONERS STORY**

In October MentorKids USA received the grant to help kick off Restoration One on One for matching mentors with children of prisoners. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and ACF awarded the three-year Mentoring Children of Prisoners grant to jumpstart the program which will be modeled after MentorKids USA.



MentorKids USA believes that children most likely to end up in trouble are disconnected from the influence of positive adults in their lives. The mentoring program involves men and women 21 and older setting aside two to three hours a week to love a youth who desperately needs an adult friend. The new mentoring program will have the same philosophy, but it will match an adult to a young person who has an incarcerated parent.

MentorKids USA mentors are rigorously screened, including state and federal background checks. Mentors receive comprehensive initial training, additional in-service training and have regular contact with a case manager. Mentors will be required to make at least a one-year commitment and to meet at least once weekly with their match. They will also be encouraged to form a relationship with the whole family in order to ease the transition when the incarcerated parent is released. The grantees will monitor and assist the mentors on an ongoing basis.

According to ACF, between 1991 and 1999 the number of children with a parent in a federal or state correctional facility increased by more than 100 percent, from about 900,000 to about 2,000,000. Fewer than 50 percent of prisoners receive regular visits from their children, either because the children's caregiver chooses not to visit or because the distance is prohibitive. Studies show that children with incarcerated parents have a seven times greater chance than the general population to become incarcerated themselves.

MentorKids USA uses its \$524,000 annual budget to help youths between 8 and 15 (16-18 year olds may be considered in exceptional circumstances). All youths must demonstrate two of the following risk factors:

- Coming from a family with a parent or sibling in prison
- Living in a single-parent home
- Having any type of court contact
- Displaying evidence of substance abuse
- Lagging behind in school or has dropped out
- Living below the poverty line
- Displaying a history of physical and/or sexual abuse

Mentors and their matches participate together in activities designed to build friendship, trust, and constructive values. The 16-member staff also coordinates the involvement of families, churches, schools, juvenile justice agents/courts, social services and others who can have a stake in the youths' success and can reinforce the goals of the program and address related issues.

#### **PUTTING THE GRANT TO WORK**

Executive Director Daryl Reese says the new grant meets a growing need within the MentorKids USA program. When MentorKids USA workers applied for the grant, they knew that between 40-45 percent of all youths in the program have a parent in prison. A wish to help both the parents and child grow in their

relationships motivated MentorKids USA to start its new mentoring children of prisoners program.

Grant funds have been used to hire Manuela as its full-time program manager. The money will also increase case manager time to take on 15 to 40 mentors and kids. The youths will also be able to participate in more social activities — in the past, they have attended camps, baseball games, and gazed at stars with an astronomer. More services for families will also be provided, such as assessment and case management for the home parent and inmate.

Reese hoped to have more than 40 new kids in the grant's first year, but now he dreams of having 100. Partner Neighborhood Ministries had 40 kids already committed to the new mentoring program, and once it heard about the new grant, the ministry expanded its reach to another 40.

Others within the community have responded quickly to the new program. One week after the local paper printed a story about the new grant, six people contacted MentorKids USA to become mentors. Reese also hopes to create more community awareness of the program through radio advertisements and to draw more participants through 20 community churches.

#### MENTORKIDS USA OVERVIEW

By the age of 78, most people are enjoying retirement. Orv Krieger, however, was just getting started. Twenty-five years in prison ministry opened his eyes to the critical needs of youth reared without caring, adult guidance. With the help of Chuck Colson and Prison Fellowship Ministries, Krieger brought MentorKids USA, originally called Phoenix MatchPoint, to the Valley in May 1997. His passion and commitment rallied a board, staff, and dozens of churches to join him in his mission to deter kids from taking a lonely path to prison. His ministry has touched the lives of more than 500 youths.

The MentorKids USA ministry model has four distinctive elements:

- **Target Population** The MentorKids USA target population consists of youths who are at risk of becoming chronic juvenile offenders. Without intervention, these youths are at risk of spending their lives in and out of prison.
- **Philosophy** The MentorKids USA ministry model is grounded in a philosophy that identifies alienation as the underlying cause of juvenile crime. Intervention strategies address this underlying problem by focusing on the restoration of youths. MentorKids USA is based on a Christian foundation.
- **Strategy** MentorKids USA addresses the physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual aspects of life. The key to this holistic approach lies in recruiting dedicated mentors who establish significant relationships with youths. They model the love of Christ in those relationships.
- **Partnership** MentorKids USA is a collaborative effort between Prison Fellowship and MentorKids USA affiliates, local churches, and/or Christian organizations.

Transitional Living Program  
Runaway and Homeless Youth  
(ACF)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN PHILADELPHIA, PA

Covenant House Pennsylvania



Two 2003 grants from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services are helping homeless young people at Covenant House Pennsylvania achieve their goals of becoming self sufficient..

## Snapshot of Compassion

PHILADELPHIA, PA

### Covenant House Pennsylvania

417 Callowhill St. • Philadelphia, PA 19123-4018

215-923-8350 • fax: 215-923-8370 • [www.covenanthousepa.org](http://www.covenanthousepa.org)

#### SNAPSHOT



CHRISTOPHER, ONCE HOMELESS, HAS ACHIEVED SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND SELF-ASSURANCE.

#### Christopher's Story

Christopher Vaughn was a street kid. He had been dropped off at an abandoned house when he was 19 - his caretaker didn't want him under her roof. He was old enough to take care of himself, she said.

The teenager was on the streets for two years selling drugs. He lived on the brink of destruction without rules and without self respect. It wasn't until he reached Covenant House of Philadelphia that he understood that he had the potential to change his life for the better.

The program Christopher participates in is Rights of Passage, a transitional living program for young adults. The goal of the program is to help young adults acquire the skills they need to live on their own in a self-sufficient and healthy manner.

Two grants from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help those like Christopher receive the services they need from Covenant House Pennsylvania. The grants aid in sustaining its programs and funding staff.

#### Program Overview

Covenant House is a non-profit, multi-service agency that has a mission to serve runaway, homeless and at-risk youth 21 and younger. Covenant House was established in 1968 and now has 21 programs throughout North and Central America. Covenant House Pennsylvania was incorporated in February 1999 and is the largest provider for services to at-risk youth in Philadelphia.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Jerome Kilbane

**Year Founded** 1999

**Mission** to serve runaway, homeless and at risk youth 21 and younger

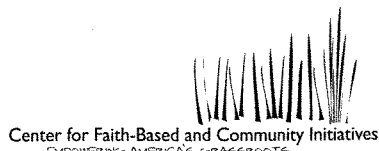
**Funds Will Be Used** to maintain support staff for homeless facilities

**Annual Budget** \$4.5 million

**Number of Staff** 60 full-time; about 30 volunteers and interns

**Program Grant** Transitional Living Program grant for \$160,000 every year for three years and a one-year \$496,750 SAMHSA Shelter/Support for Homeless Youth grant

**Award Date** 2003



## Compassion at Work

PHILADELPHIA, PA

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The teenager was on the streets for two years selling drugs. He lived on the brink of destruction without rules and without self respect. As a child, Christopher endured pain as well. His mother was stabbed 35 times by her boyfriend and died when he was five years old. Since that time, he has been shuffled from home to home, living with his grandmother until she was put into a nursing home. Then he went to his aunt who kicked him out of her home and dropped him off on the streets; Christopher was never the same.

He was afraid to ask people for help. Christopher knew that there were certain things that he should have known to do while becoming an adult. He knew he should be able to read, write in cursive and get a job. He just thought people were born with self-education — it wasn't until he reached Covenant House of Philadelphia that he understood that he had the skills and potential to change his life for the better.

"I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD MAKE IT. THE TYPE OF LIFE I WAS LIVING HAD NO FUTURE IN IT. I WAS JUST THINKING ABOUT WHAT I HAD TO DO FOR TODAY, NOT FOR TOMORROW. BUT NOW I WALK MY OWN PATH," he says.

Christopher obtained his first job at the local thrift store placing price tags; he then worked up to stocks and maintenance within six months. He is currently in a Covenant House culinary arts training program, cooking for as many as 60 shelter occupants.

He attributes his personal growth to his taking advantage of the opportunities Covenant House Pennsylvania offered. Covenant House is a non-profit multi-service agency whose mission is to serve runaway, homeless and at risk youth under 21. It is the largest provider in terms of the number of beds offered and young people served in Philadelphia. The program Christopher participates in is Rights of Passage, a transitional living program for young adults. The goal of the program is to help young adults acquire the skills they need to live on their own in a self-sufficient and healthy manner.



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives

EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

Covenant House Pennsylvania's program offered Christopher the opportunities and the love he needed to develop a sense of self worth and pride with a vision for his future. He wants to live on his own and become a chef. "YOU HAVE TO SEE THE PAST TO THE PRESENT. I AM LOOKING TOWARDS MY FUTURE," Christopher says.

Two grants from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help those like Christopher receive the positive support they need from Covenant House Pennsylvania. The grants aid in sustaining its programs and funding staff.

### The Grant Process

The \$160,000 Transitional Living Program 2003 grant is renewable for three years and helps support the Rights of Passage program. Executive Director Jerome Kilbane says that the services Covenant House Pennsylvania offers are invaluable. "IT IS A GOD-GIVEN RIGHT THAT EVERY YOUNG PERSON LIVES INDEPENDENTLY," he says. His program provides a "safety net" so the young people can make mistakes and live through them. They are required to obtain a job to maintain self sufficiency. They must pay "rent" that's reimbursable for down payment on an apartment or for savings. Those who work in the eight-bed house teach budgeting, shopping, communication and money management. Kilbane says the program's primary therapeutic tool is the relationship between staff and the young people — they are the force of change in their lives. The grant pays for five full-time staff members who help these young people make their dreams come true.

The organization also received a one-year, \$496,750 SAMHSA Shelter/Support for Homeless Youth grant the same year. The grant funds a portion of its 51-bed Crisis Center, a shelter where young people in need can receive help with no questions asked. Once they are provided with immediate needs such as food and clothing, they are challenged to make short-term and long-term goals. Shelter workers always try to help the young person reunite with his or her family, and they also offer educational, medical, vocational, counseling, psychiatric, recreational, legal and pastoral services. The Crisis Center costs about \$1.5 million to run, and the grant covers one third of the center's social workers' and youth advisers' salaries.

Covenant House used to ask for federal dollars through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, says Kilbane, but he stated that HUD is a popular place to receive funds for many organizations so he looked at other program announcements for funds. He knew that Covenant House Pennsylvania served more than 5,000 young people and sheltered more than 500 with no federal, city or state funding before receiving their first HHS grants. As the only program in the state serving youth 21 and younger, Kilbane knew he needed extra dollars to keep his organization running smoothly.

He knew his chances were good in getting the funds because Covenant House Pennsylvania served the same areas of need that were addressed in the grants.

Because Covenant House is a national organization, it is used to working with federal agencies, notes Kilbane, so the grant application process was not difficult for the faith-based organization. Kilbane is grateful President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative does not shy away from religious organizations. "IT'S GOOD TO BE RECOGNIZED AS A FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATION. OUR FAITH IS THE REASON WHY WE DO OUR WORK. IT'S ABOUT BEING A SERVANT," he says.

Many who come to Covenant House Pennsylvania have a sense of worthlessness. Kilbane says he wants to tell them they are loved regardless of who they are or what they believe. Many with Covenant House Pennsylvania are those who were rejected from foster care once they turned 18. Some have suffered physical and sexual abuse. Others have parents who have either left them or have died. These young people must feel loved and learn to become independent and successful. They must learn to have a dream of who they want to become, says Kilbane.

#### **Covenant House Pennsylvania's Story**

Covenant House is a non-profit multi-service agency that serves runaway, homeless and at risk youth 21 and younger. Covenant House was established in 1968 and now has 21 programs throughout North and Central America. Covenant House Pennsylvania was incorporated in February 1999. Because the program does not turn anyone away, some homeless youth come from across the country to find shelter with Covenant House.

Covenant House Pennsylvania's services began with a Community Outreach Center that worked predominately with street youth. Young people were offered a place to eat, do laundry and get referrals for more complex needs such as housing and medical care. Services soon needed to be expanded because large numbers of homeless youth came to the organization's doors with no place to go.

Today Covenant House Pennsylvania has grown to a diverse agency that provides a full continuum of services to meet the complex needs of homeless and runaway youth. These include Street Outreach, a 51-bed Crisis Center, the transitional living programs Rights of Passage and Rights of Passage Apartment Living, and Community Service Center.

During fiscal year 2003 the organization contacted 1,733 young people on the street and provided shelter and support services to another 425 youth in the Crisis Center. Through community based programs Covenant House Pennsylvania worked with another 3,244 youth. In total Covenant House Pennsylvania served more than 5,300 young people through residential and non-residential services from July 2003-June 2004.

Outreach efforts consist of two programs: The first is Street Outreach, where staff members contact youth and offer services aimed at getting young people to



leave the streets. The second program is the Community Outreach Center. Here youth can come in for services that meet basic needs such as food, clothing, a shower or laundry as well as medical, counseling and referral.

The Community Service Center is designed to provide a range of support services to help youth achieve their short and long-term goals. Services include substance-abuse counseling, educational assistance, and job placement and skills training.

## Compassion for Families

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN PHILADELPHIA, PA

Covenant House Pennsylvania



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EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

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"I NEVER THOUGHT I WOULD MAKE IT. THE TYPE OF LIFE I WAS LIVING HAD NO FUTURE IN IT. I WAS JUST THINKING ABOUT WHAT I HAD TO DO FOR TODAY, NOT FOR TOMORROW. BUT NOW I WALK MY OWN PATH," he says.

Christopher obtained his first job at the local thrift store placing price tags; he then worked up to stocks and maintenance within six months. He is currently in a Covenant House culinary arts training program, cooking for as many as 60 shelter occupants.

He attributes his personal growth to his taking advantage of the opportunities Covenant House Pennsylvania offered. Covenant House is a non-profit multi-service agency whose mission is to serve runaway, homeless and at risk youth under 21. It is the largest provider in terms of the number of beds offered and young people served in Philadelphia. The program Christopher participates in is Rights of Passage, a transitional living program for young adults. The goal of the program is to help young adults acquire the skills they need to live on their own in a self-sufficient and healthy manner.



**Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives**  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

Covenant House Pennsylvania's program offered Christopher the opportunities and the love he needed to develop a sense of self worth and pride with a vision for his future. He wants to live on his own and become a chef. "YOU HAVE TO SEE THE PAST TO THE PRESENT. I AM LOOKING TOWARDS MY FUTURE," Christopher says.

Two grants from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help those like Christopher receive the positive support they need from Covenant House Pennsylvania. The grants aid in sustaining its programs and funding staff.

### The Grant Process

The \$160,000 Transitional Living Program 2003 grant is renewable for three years and helps support the Rights of Passage program. Executive Director Jerome Kilbane says that the services Covenant House Pennsylvania offers are invaluable. "IT IS A GOD-GIVEN RIGHT THAT EVERY YOUNG PERSON LIVES INDEPENDENTLY," he says. His program provides a "safety net" so the young people can make mistakes and live through them. They are required to obtain a job to maintain self sufficiency. They must pay "rent" that's reimbursable for down payment on an apartment or for savings. Those who work in the eight-bed house teach budgeting, shopping, communication and money management. Kilbane says the program's primary therapeutic tool is the relationship between staff and the young people — they are the force of change in their lives. The grant pays for five full-time staff members who help these young people make their dreams come true.

The organization also received a one-year, \$496,750 SAMHSA Shelter/Support for Homeless Youth grant the same year. The grant funds a portion of its 51-bed Crisis Center, a shelter where young people in need can receive help with no questions asked. Once they are provided with immediate needs such as food and clothing, they are challenged to make short-term and long-term goals. Shelter workers always try to help the young person reunite with his or her family, and they also offer educational, medical, vocational, counseling, psychiatric, recreational, legal and pastoral services. The Crisis Center costs about \$1.5 million to run, and the grant covers one third of the center's social workers' and youth advisers' salaries.

Covenant House used to ask for federal dollars through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, says Kilbane, but he stated that HUD is a popular place to receive funds for many organizations so he looked at other program announcements for funds. He knew that Covenant House Pennsylvania served more than 5,000 young people and sheltered more than 500 with no federal, city or state funding before receiving their first HHS grants. As the only program in the state serving youth 21 and younger, Kilbane knew he needed extra dollars to keep his organization running smoothly.

He knew his chances were good in getting the funds because Covenant House Pennsylvania served the same areas of need that were addressed in the grants.

Because Covenant House is a national organization, it is used to working with federal agencies, notes Kilbane, so the grant application process was not difficult for the faith-based organization. Kilbane is grateful President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative does not shy away from religious organizations. "IT'S GOOD TO BE RECOGNIZED AS A FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATION. OUR FAITH IS THE REASON WHY WE DO OUR WORK. IT'S ABOUT BEING A SERVANT," he says.

Many who come to Covenant House Pennsylvania have a sense of worthlessness. Kilbane says he wants to tell them they are loved regardless of who they are or what they believe. Many with Covenant House Pennsylvania are those who were rejected from foster care once they turned 18. Some have suffered physical and sexual abuse. Others have parents who have either left them or have died. These young people must feel loved and learn to become independent and successful. They must learn to have a dream of who they want to become, says Kilbane.

#### **Covenant House Pennsylvania's Story**

Covenant House is a non-profit multi-service agency that serves runaway, homeless and at risk youth 21 and younger. Covenant House was established in 1968 and now has 21 programs throughout North and Central America. Covenant House Pennsylvania was incorporated in February 1999. Because the program does not turn anyone away, some homeless youth come from across the country to find shelter with Covenant House.

Covenant House Pennsylvania's services began with a Community Outreach Center that worked predominately with street youth. Young people were offered a place to eat, do laundry and get referrals for more complex needs such as housing and medical care. Services soon needed to be expanded because large numbers of homeless youth came to the organization's doors with no place to go.

Today Covenant House Pennsylvania has grown to a diverse agency that provides a full continuum of services to meet the complex needs of homeless and runaway youth. These include Street Outreach, a 51-bed Crisis Center, the transitional living programs Rights of Passage and Rights of Passage Apartment Living, and Community Service Center.

During fiscal year 2003 the organization contacted 1,733 young people on the street and provided shelter and support services to another 425 youth in the Crisis Center. Through community based programs Covenant House Pennsylvania worked with another 3,244 youth. In total Covenant House Pennsylvania served more than 5,300 young people through residential and non-residential services from July 2003-June 2004.

Outreach efforts consist of two programs: The first is Street Outreach, where staff members contact youth and offer services aimed at getting young people to

leave the streets. The second program is the Community Outreach Center. Here youth can come in for services that meet basic needs such as food, clothing, a shower or laundry as well as medical, counseling and referral.

The Community Service Center is designed to provide a range of support services to help youth achieve their short and long-term goals. Services include substance-abuse counseling, educational assistance, and job placement and skills training.



## Snapshot of Compassion

IN ST. LOUIS, MO

Covenant House Missouri



A \$200,000 renewable five-year grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help more homeless teenagers begin their journey to creating a healthy, successful life.

## Snapshot of Compassion

ST. LOUIS, MO

### Covenant House Missouri

1 S. Newstead • St. Louis, MO 63108

314-533-2241 • www.covenanthousemo.org

#### SNAPSHOT



MIKE GOT THE HELP HE NEEDED TO START HIS LIFE AGAIN.

#### Mike's Story

Mike, 19, had problems with his family. His troubles caused him to leave home, and soon he was living in his car. He needed help to get back on his feet. With the intervention and concern of a faith-based organization, a homeless teenager found shelter, food and the strength to start again. Covenant House Missouri answered the call with its Rights of Passage Transitional Living Program. He got a full-time job working at a gas station on his first day with Covenant House Missouri.

Mike lived with Covenant House Missouri just three months. By the time he left, he had saved enough money to move into his own apartment. He is still working at his job, frequently pulling double shifts; he's still in his apartment, and his debts are almost resolved.

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, more teenagers like Mike can begin their journey to stability and recovery.

#### Program Overview

Covenant House Missouri reaches out to thousands of homeless, runaway, throwaway and at-risk youth each year. It offers hope and opportunities to change their lives for the better. Covenant House Missouri's mission is based on faith and in the belief that all children and youth have a right to love, respect and genuine concern. In June 2001 Covenant House Missouri opened its Rights of Passage transitional living program, with 16 beds for young men and women needing a safe, stable place to live while working on the skills needed for successful independent living.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Christina Fagan

**Year Founded** 1998

**Mission** to serve suffering children of the street; to protect and safeguard all children

**Funds Will Be Used** to provide support for a living program for homeless youths

**Annual Budget** \$2.4 million

**Number of Staff** 21 full-time, 17 part-time

**Program Grant** Transitional Living Program through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$200,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** renewable for five years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
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## Compassion at Work

ST. LOUIS, MO

### Covenant House Missouri

11 S. Newstead • St. Louis, MO 63108

(314) 533-2241 • [www.covenanthousemo.org](http://www.covenanthousemo.org)

#### Mike's Story

Mike, 19, had problems with his family. His troubles caused him to leave home, and soon he was living in his car. With the intervention and concern of a faith-based organization, the homeless teenager found shelter, food, and the strength to start again. Covenant House Missouri answered the call with its Rights of Passage Transitional Living Program.

He got a full-time job working at a gas station on his first day with Covenant House Missouri. The organization's Advocacy Department referred Mike to a lawyer because he was having legal trouble from tickets he received while living in his car. Mike got the legal advice he needed, and he created a schedule to pay off his fines.

Mike became a model resident, always doing his chores and being a wonderful example for the other residents, according to Covenant House Missouri employees.

Mike lived with Covenant House Missouri just three months. By the time he left, he had saved enough money to move into his own apartment. He is still working at his job, frequently pulling double shifts; he's still in his apartment, and his legal fines are almost resolved.

Mike's story exemplifies what a transitional living program can do for its clients. Most of the young people Covenant House Missouri serves have even more underlying issues than Mike, and they require more time to start again. But whether it's for three months or 18 months, Covenant House Missouri lends a helping hand to kids who need it.

Covenant House Missouri reaches out to thousands of homeless, runaway, throwaway and at-risk youth each year. It offers hope and opportunities to change their lives for the better. Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, more teenagers like Mike can begin their journey to a healthy, successful life.

#### The Grant Process

Covenant House Missouri received its first HHS grant award, the \$200,000 Transitional Living Program grant, in 2003. Covenant House workers heard about the grant, which is renewable for five years, through the HHS Web site and its RFP page for funding announcements. They had used the site in the past for



funding research and grant applications. Teri Champion, director of development, said that the Living Program grant seemed specifically targeted to Covenant House Missouri's services. "WE REALLY HAVE AN EXCELLENT PROGRAM – THE DEPTH OF SERVICES THAT WE HAVE TO OFFER STRENGTHENED OUR PROPOSAL THE MOST," says Champion.

Christina Fagan, Covenant House Missouri executive director, says that the faith-based organization was not afraid to apply for federal funds. She knew receiving money from the government would not compromise the center's open intake policy. "THAT IS NEVER AN ISSUE. WE TAKE THAT PERSON REGARDLESS OF THEIR FAITH – WHERE THAT PERSON IS AT IN THEIR LIFE IS WHERE WE ARE FOR THEM," she says.

Covenant House Missouri's mission is based on faith and in the belief that all children and youth have a right to love, respect and genuine concern. Individual and shared spiritualities will permeate all activities. The organization makes every effort to reunite kids with their families. It also collaborates with community agencies and associations and participates in community efforts to improve the condition of families and children. Covenant House Missouri advocates with and on behalf of youth to raise awareness in the community about their suffering.

One of the grant benefits is that program staff are now able to network. Site audits made the center stronger in its best practices. "FINANCIALLY, IT IS A WONDERFUL COMFORT," Fagan says. The organization no longer must solely rely on individual donations that totaled about \$800,000 a year.

The grant provides a framework for GED training, tutoring, counseling, life skills classes, employment services and more. Grant funds help pay for operational costs such as personnel, equipment, food, utilities and other services required to run the Rights of Passage program.

Without the grant's help, house participants would have to go elsewhere to receive these services, says Colleen Carpenter, grant writer. "WE ARE REALLY ABLE TO PROVIDE OUR KIDS FULLY INTEGRATED RESIDENTIAL AND SUPPORT SERVICES THROUGH THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES GRANT," she says.

Covenant House Missouri has two buildings to house Passage residents. The Geyer House, located in the Soulard neighborhood, provides living arrangements for up to eight girls. The Itaska House, near Dutchtown, is St. Louis' first residential program for homeless boys ages 17-21, and houses eight youths. Covenant House Missouri housed 75 last year.

The Itaska and Geyer houses are open 24 hours a day, seven days a week and provide a stable living environment for kids who are working on the skills needed for successful independent living. Components of the Passage Program include not only shelter, but also counseling, life skills, employment assistance and

educational and recreational outings. Residents in the Passage Program may remain in housing for up to 18 months.

### **Covenant House Missouri's Story**

Covenant House Missouri is an affiliate of Covenant House International, which began in 1969 in a small apartment in Manhattan's East Village. From this modest beginning, Covenant House has grown into the largest shelter program for homeless kids in the Americas. Throughout more than three decades and across 21 sites in the United States, Canada and Central America, the mission has remained constant — to give all kids the unconditional love and respect they may not have experienced and to help them reach their potential.

Covenant House came to St. Louis in 1998; it started as a small outreach program and expanded to a Community Service Center in 1999, where multiple direct services are provided for at-risk young people ages 17 to 21. Too old for youth services, yet too young for the adult missions, these youths slip through the cracks of the social service system. Without help, most will join the swelling ranks of the homeless, become dependent on welfare and possibly enter the court systems and prisons.

Other programs include:

- Street outreach — A warm coat, a snack, a listening ear — the outreach team provides these and more to kids on the streets of St. Louis. Staff and volunteers patrol neighborhoods in a Covenant House Missouri van trying to build rapport with young people. They find kids on the street — sometimes sleeping in abandoned cars or buildings — and offer them alternatives to life on the streets.

The Outreach team also responds to Covenant House Nineline calls from kids in crisis needing immediate assistance. The Nineline is a toll-free number (1-800-999-9999) answered by trained counselors that can help kids in trouble 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Last year, Outreach worked with 1,675 youth in the St. Louis area.

- In-school program — Covenant House Missouri and St. Louis City Public Schools partner to provide Covenant House counselors at two high-risk schools. Services provided include case management, group and individual counseling, and dropout and prevention sessions. Runaway prevention presentations are also made for any city school that requests them.

Covenant House Missouri also provides the alternative suspension program Working Resolutions and Possibilities. Suspended students from city public schools may come to the Community Service Center to spend their suspensions. They are provided with support to do their schoolwork, counseling for the issues that caused their suspension, and in some cases, may be able to reduce the length of their suspensions.

Last year, in-school programs served 228 youth through counseling and WRAP. An additional 1,261 received runaway prevention and other educational presentations.

- **Advocacy and legal services** — A crucial part of the organization's mission states "commitment calls Covenant House Missouri to serve suffering children of the street and to protect and safeguard all children." One way it carries out this mission is through advocacy. Covenant House Missouri promotes legislative advocacy through public policy, programs and services that support and protect the rights and well being of children, youth, homeless individuals and families. To further these efforts, Covenant House Missouri collaborates with local, state, regional and national organizations that advocate on behalf of the youth served.

Another important part of the organization's efforts lies in teaching youth to become their own advocate and learn that they do have a voice. Whenever possible, the program provides youth with opportunities to speak directly with lawmakers and policy makers on both a local and state level. Youth are also involved with projects like the Annual Voter Registration Drive as well as speaking at board meetings and our Annual Candlelight Vigil.

- **Job training and placement** — Job classes help youth get and keep a job — teaching them to prepare resumes, coaching them on how to interview, and assisting with placement.
- **Service management** — Clients are assigned a service manager who works with them to create a plan for their lives and to offer services to reach their goals.
- **Street Smarts** — In this Life Skills series, youth are helped with budgeting, time management, and other things they need to know to be successful.
- **CHAMPS** — Covenant House Addiction Management Program Services is a substance abuse program for youth struggling with drug or alcohol issues. It includes assessment, education, prevention, 12-step meetings and referrals.
- **Health care** — Free off-site health care is offered by the Institute for Research and Education in Family Medicine.
- **Garden Rangers** — This lawn and landscaping program helps kids learn practical skills while earning a paycheck. The program also teaches them about balancing budgets and running a business.

Covenant House Missouri is an active member of important advocacy groups including National Network for Youth, Missouri Association for Social Welfare and Missouri Coalition of Budget and Policy Priorities. Covenant House Missouri is also involved with organizations such as Child Welfare League of America, St. Louis City and County Homeless Service Providers Network, Citizens for Missouri's Children, St. Louis City Downtown Homeless Task Force, St. Louis Leaders on Advancing the Agenda for Children, and the Older Homeless Adolescents Legal Project.

Family Support (A to A)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN SANTA ANA, CA

Templo Calvario Community  
Development Corporation

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A \$75,000 one-year Economic Development Grant will help Templo Calvario's Community Development Corporation increase community employment.



## Snapshot of Compassion

IN SANTA ANA, CA

### Templo Calvario Community Development Corporation

2617 W 5th St. • Santa Ana, CA 92703

714-834-9331 • fax 714-541-5541 • www.tccdc.org

#### SNAPSHOT



STEVEN GOT A JOB AFTER WORKING WITH TEMPLO CALVARIO

#### Steven's Story

Steven Menchaca began working at Templo Calvario's food pantry after he lost his job. Within two months, a church member helped Steven find a job that matched his growing skills as a warehouse worker in the food pantry. Steven is now a supervisor at a distribution company, and he helps his grandmother pay her grocery and power bills. "I feel that is an accomplishment in itself," he says.

Steven is surprised that he thrived through Templo Calvario's ministry. "It was blessing in disguise." He knew that those who are spiritually and financially wounded find help through the church. "People come in brokenhearted and torn apart, and you see a change in their life. Amazing things happen when you walk through these doors."

A grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help the unemployed like Steven obtain jobs. The \$75,000 one-year Economic Development Grant will help Templo Calvario's Community Development Corporation provide work for about 40.

#### Program Overview

Working with key community leaders, Templo Calvario serves families and solves community needs through education, economic development, affordable housing and offering senior and youth services.

#### Vitals

CEO Lee de Leon

Year Founded 2002

Mission to meet the community's educational, housing and economic needs

Annual Budget \$1.5 million

Organization Size 11 full-time, 11 part-time, 65 volunteers

Program Grant Economic Development grant HHS/ACF/OCS

Award Size \$75,000

Award Date 2003

Funds Will Be Used to provide jobs for the underserved

Project Duration 1 year

People Served more than 40



## Compassion at Work

IN SANTA ANA, CA

### Templo Calvario Community Development Corporation

2617 W 5th St. • Santa Ana, CA 92703

714-834-9331 • fax 714-541-5541 • [www.tccdc.org](http://www.tccdc.org)

#### STEVEN'S STORY

Steven Menchaca came to Templo Calvario unemployed and needed respite about two years ago. He tried to keep his mind off of filing out numerous job applications by volunteering with the church's food pantry, an Obras de Amor ministry.

Soon he was helping unload food trucks and keeping the warehouse clean. Within a month, church members were so impressed with Steven's work that they gave him more responsibilities at the pantry, which gives about 600,000 pounds of food each month to about 65,000 neighbors in need. He filled orders, packed food, drove a forklift and stocked shelves eight hours a day, four days a week.

Within two months, a church member helped Steven find a job that matched his growing skills as a warehouse worker. Steven applied and was hired as a worker for Mark Roberts, a distribution company. Steven's finances improved — he bought a truck and began saving some of his money. After working for the company for more than one year, Steven became a supervisor. He now helps his grandmother pay her grocery and power bills. "I FEEL THAT IS AN ACCOMPLISHMENT IN ITSELF," he says.

Steven is surprised that he thrived through Templo Calvario's ministry. "IT WAS BLESSING IN DISGUISE." He knew that those who are spiritually and financially wounded find help through the church. "PEOPLE COME IN BROKENHEARTED AND TORN APART, AND YOU SEE A CHANGE IN THEIR LIFE. AMAZING THINGS HAPPEN WHEN YOU WALK THROUGH THESE DOORS."

The work opportunities strengthened Steven. He says he has more self esteem and a rich prayer life. "I DON'T KNOW WHAT I WOULD HAVE DONE WITHOUT GOING THROUGH OBRAS DE AMOR AND THE FOOD PANTRY."

A grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help the unemployed like Steven obtain jobs. The \$75,000 one-year Economic Development Grant will help Templo Calvario's Community Development Corporation provide work for about 40.

Steven, who is still a food pantry volunteer, hopes he can work with the corporation's potential project to aid senior citizens with housework. "I WANT TO



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GIVE BACK WHAT THE CHURCH HAS GIVEN ME," he says. He also hopes to start his own business.

Templo Calvario has more than 6,000 members, and in November 2002, it established the Templo Calvario Community Development Corporation that assists in economic development, education, affordable housing, and senior and youth services.

#### PUTTING THE GRANT TO WORK

Lee de Leon, Templo Calvario Community Development Corporation CEO, heard about the grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, emails and listservs focusing on grant funds for faith-based organizations. We Care America and Christian Reformed World Relief Committee were also active in informing de Leon about the grant.

De Leon hopes that the grant will help the Community Development Corporation begin to develop a plan to meet the community's economic needs. Templo Calvario has had a heart for the community for at least 25 years. At that time, the church began to serve the community's poor. The staff became overwhelmed by the number of those who came to the church for help. Templo Calvario then formed Obras de Amor to focus on relief work such as food, clothing and emergency assistance funding.

Obras de Amor then created the Community Development Corporation after Templo Calvario members became concerned that they weren't addressing the community's long-term needs such education, economic development and housing. "WE CAN GIVE SOMEBODY FOOD TODAY, BUT WE NEEDED TO GIVE THEM STABILITY IN THEIR JOB SITUATION," says de Leon.

And the region's social needs continue to grow. Poverty is at an all-time high, and the impact on families has kept many from realizing the dream of a better life. Santa Ana ranks first in the state in overcrowding with more families per household than anywhere else in the state. Santa Ana also has a high number of high-school dropouts, and 31 one percent of children in Orange County live in poverty.

Because the Community Development Corporation's primary purpose is economic development, de Leon knew that the one year pre-development grant could help the Community Development Corporation create jobs for a senior home care business. De Leon plans to draw potential workers from the large Latino community. Many are young mothers who need jobs that pay above minimum wage. "THIS PROVIDES US WITH A GROUP THAT WE CAN TRAIN AND MOBILIZE IN THIS FIELD," says de Leon. He also wanted to start a sustainable business that can serve a growing community of retiring baby boomers.

Grant funds will help develop a feasibility study for the home care business. Templo Calvario is reviewing the plans for the business, and it hopes to make a decision this year. The goal is to have two full-time office staff members and to hire 40 people to work about 20 hours a week.

"WE DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE FUTURE YET. WE ARE TESTING THE MARKET BEFORE EXPANSION. FROM ALL THAT WE KNOW, THERE IS AN INCREDIBLE NEED (FOR SENIOR SERVICES). AND WE EXPECT IT TO GROW THROUGH THE YEARS," says de Leon.

The senior home care business will hire individuals to help seniors with basic needs such as meal preparation, medication supervision and basic house chores. Employees would begin the home care service with the goal of learning skills that will transfer to other jobs. De Leon hopes they will learn enough home care skills that he can provide future training in medical services.

De Leon says his goal is to reach the community through the church. "CARING WITH THE CHURCH IS A CALLING. CHURCH MEMBERS TAKE IT MUCH TO HEART. I HOPE PEOPLE DO NOT SEE THIS JUST AS A JOB. BUT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE," he says.

#### TEMPLO CALVARIO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CENTER'S STORY

For more than 75 years, Templo Calvario has served Santa Ana and the surrounding cities by providing vital services for families in need. Through the years, thousands of families have been served by the various ministries of the church. Obras de Amor, the benevolent arm of the church, serves more than 300 families and children through its grocery distribution program, after-school centers and a number of other programs.

In 1998, Obras de Amor established the Kingdom Coalition, a network of 60 churches and other civic groups that provide assistance to more than 80,000 Southern California families.

The Community Development Corporation launched several programs last year including:

- Project Esperanza (Empowerment Zone) — In the next three years, Templo Calvario will help 60-75 organizations that serve residents in areas the Federal government says have little economic development. They will provide technical assistance and help with business development, training and fundraising.
- Education — Because Santa Ana has one of the lowest number of high school graduates in the nation, the Community Development Corporation stresses academics. The Community Development Corporation opened the charter school Edward B. Cole Academy in September. "WE INTENTIONALLY

STARTED WITH K-3 SO THAT WE CAN MOLD THEM CORRECTLY FROM THE BEGINNING," says de Leon.

- Youth Services — The Community Development Corporation also created three after-school centers to assist about 120 children each week with homework and reading, math and writing skills.
- Santana Credit Unions — The Community Development Corporation will create a plan to develop credit unions to serve low-income residents in Santa Ana and Orange County residents.

Healthy Marriage (ACF)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN ROCHESTER, NY

The Kinship Care Resource Network  
Catholic Family Center



A \$200,000 National Family Caregiver Support Program grant helps the Kinship Care Resource Network provide services to family members raising another family member's child.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN ROCHESTER, NY

### The Kinship Care Resource Network Catholic Family Center

87 N. Clinton Ave. • Rochester, NY 14604  
585-262-7048 • fax 585-454-6286 • lmarshall@cfcrochester.org • www.parentsagain.com



#### SNAPSHOT

##### Sharon's Story

Sharon\* and her husband John didn't expect to become parents again. At ages 52 and 63, the couple was concerned that they were too old to care for their grandson Timothy. Sharon's daughter had been diagnosed and hospitalized with a mental illness, and the grandparents wanted to care for her child.

Sharon searched for help and encouragement while she learned to take care of her grandson. She and a friend would drive about an hour to participate in a support group because there were none in their hometown. Sharon finally took her needs to local service organizations and asked for help. The Catholic Family Center answered the call and created a support group about eight years ago. Sharon now is a mentor and support group member with the Kinship Care Resource Network that offers a variety of services to caregivers.

A National Family Caregiver Support Program grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help more caregivers like Sharon and John become a cohesive family. Sharon is amazed how the program's support group has grown through the grant. "It's so different. Now when I go to the meetings, someone new will come, and they can get help immediately and not flounder around helpless as I did."

\* Names have been changed to ensure privacy.

##### Program Overview

Kinship Care is a collaborative effort designed to create an accessible, comprehensive continuum of services for Kinship Care families, especially grandparents raising grandchildren. A kinship caregiver is any family member who is raising another family member's child such as a niece, nephew or grandchild. The program mostly helps grandparents who are raising their grandchildren.

##### Vitals

**CEO and President** Carolyn Portanova

**Year Founded** 2001

**Mission** to help caregivers receive needed resources to sustain healthy families

**Annual Budget** \$17 million

**Organization Size** 350

**Program Grant** National Family Caregiver Support Program through Older Americans Act Title III E HHS/Administration on Aging

**Award Size** \$200,000 a year

**Award Date** 2001

**Funds Will Be Used** to create comprehensive services for Kinship Care families

**Project Duration** three years



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## Compassion at Work

IN ROCHESTER, NY

### The Kinship Care Resource Network Catholic Family Center

87 N. Clinton Ave. • Rochester, NY 14604  
585-262-7048 • fax 585-454-6286 • lmarshall@cfcrochester.org • www.parentsgain.com

#### Sharon's Story

Sharon\* and her husband John didn't expect to become parents again. At ages 52 and 63, the couple was concerned that they were too old to care for their grandson Timothy. But Sharon's daughter, Julia, had been diagnosed and hospitalized with a mental illness, and she asked her parents to care for her child.

When Julia was discharged from the hospital, she placed the baby in foster care. Sharon and John visited often, and many times they cried all the way home because they disliked leaving Timothy. They then decided to establish legal residence with the court and raise the boy as their own.

Timothy's guardian recommended Sharon and John apply for Timothy's health and social service benefits including the Women, Infant and Children's Program. He also advised them to hire an attorney as they pursued guardianship of Timothy. During the next 12 years, Sharon and John went to court many times to become the boy's legal guardians. Private attorney fees were high — it took the couple three years to pay what they owed.

During this time, Sharon and John continued to run their farm while keeping their grandson close at all times. "HE WOULD TAKE PLAYPEN NAPS RIGHT WHEREVER WE WERE. TO THIS DAY MANY PEOPLE ASK ABOUT THE 'LITTLE FELLA IN THE PLAYPEN,'" says Sharon.

They hired private daycare services and enrolled Timothy in preschool and summer Bible school. When he became old enough, they enrolled him in kindergarten at a Catholic School. They tried to give consistent support when the boy had difficulty going back and forth with visits to Mom and Dad.

Sharon and John's social lives became nonexistent except for family gatherings.

"SOMETIMES I FELT ESTRANGED FROM OUR OTHER CHILDREN AND NOT AS CLOSE AS WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE BEEN WITH OUR OTHER GRANDCHILDREN," Sharon says. But family relationships continued to grow.

Sharon searched for help and encouragement during this life-changing role of becoming a parent again. She and a friend would drive about an hour to participate in a support group because there were none in their hometown. Sharon finally took her needs to local service organizations and asked for help.



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The Catholic Family Center answered the call and created a support group about eight years ago.

The teenage years seemed easier for Sharon the second time around. She is able to develop deeper communication with her grandson as he grows older. "I THINK I'M DOING A BETTER JOB WITH MY GRANDSON THAN I DID WITH MY OWN SIX."

Timothy has had his share of swimming lessons, soccer, baseball, basketball and cross-country. He and his grandparents enjoy family-type vacations to Canada and the Finger Lakes. They also enjoy fishing, sometimes with other family members.

Sharon's grandson has taught her a few things along the way. "ONE DAY HE ASKED ME WHY I WORRY SO MUCH ABOUT HIM, AND HE SAID, 'YOU KNOW GOD'S ALWAYS WITH ME.'" Sharon remembers people used to ask him about his kindness, and he credited his grandparents. He has learned about love, respect and self-discipline, and he shares their faith in God.

"THIS IS OUR BOY, WE ARE HIS PARENTS. NO ONE ELSE CAN RELATE TO HIM THE WAY WE DO, AND NO ONE UNDERSTANDS — NOT OUR CHILDREN, OUR GRANDCHILDREN, OR OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS. IN MANY WAYS, IT IS A BITTERSWEET JOURNEY."

A grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help more caregivers and children like Sharon and John become a cohesive family. The grant has helped the CFC's Kinship Care Resource Network give Sharon and other caregivers support in raising a child. Today Sharon participates in support groups through Kinship Care and plans to become a mentor. She is amazed at how the program has grown. "IT'S SO DIFFERENT NOW. NOW WHEN I GO TO THE MEETINGS, SOMEONE NEW WILL COME, AND THEY CAN GET HELP IMMEDIATELY AND NOT FLOUNDER AROUND HELPLESS AS I DID."

Kinship Care is a collaborative effort designed to create an accessible, comprehensive continuum of services for Kinship Care families, especially grandparents raising grandchildren. A kinship caregiver is any family member who is raising another family member's child such as a niece, nephew or grandchild. The program mostly helps grandparents who are raising their grandchildren.

More than 10,000 children in Monroe County are raised by grandparents. New York has more than 413,000 grandparent-headed households. In more than 140,000 of these households grandparents are solely responsible for the well-being of their grandchildren. "THIS ISSUE KNOWS NO BOUNDARY," says Laurie Marshall, program manager. "ANY GRANDPARENT CAN BECOME RESPONSIBLE FOR RAISING A GRANDCHILD REGARDLESS OF WHERE YOU LIVE, YOUR INCOME, YOUR EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OR YOUR ETHNICITY."

### The Grant Process

The Kinship Care Resource Network was funded in 2001 through a \$200,000 HHS grant renewable for three years. The National Family Caregiver Support Program grant is given through the Older Americans Act Title III E and the Administration on Aging.

Kinship Care coordinates a community-wide effort to improve family stability and overall family well-being within the individual kinship care family system. The center protects the rights and privacy of each family member and child to achieve optimum personal well-being and potential. Kinship Care advocates and coordinates a scope of services to meet family needs.

Grant funds help Kinship Care offer monthly clinics to assist clients with the guardianship and "Child Only Grant" applications. Periodically the network offers clinics to help potential guardians through the legal process. The Kinship Care Resource Guide is a comprehensive manual of agencies that can provide services to those interested in raising a child. The organization also creates outings to museums and the planetarium. Holiday parties, pizza-making socials and a week-long intergenerational summer camp give caregivers and children opportunities to socialize. The organization also offers advocacy, case management, counseling and referrals for new parents.

Many children at Kinship Care suffer the loss of a parent through a tragic accident, violence, suicide, drug and alcohol abuse or mental illness. Feelings of loss and grief are profound, and many caregivers are not prepared to become parents again, says Marshall. They may use their retirement savings or second mortgages to keep the child with them. Some may have to move from their senior community because it does not allow children. "THEY REALLY FEEL THAT IF THEY DON'T TAKE CARE OF THE CHILDREN, WHO WILL?" says Marshall.

"THE POSITIVE OUTCOME IS THAT MOST GRANDPARENTS HAVE A RICH LIFE EXPERIENCE, AND THEY ARE ABLE TO BRING UNCONDITIONAL LOVE TO THESE CHILDREN. THEY FEEL MUCH BETTER ABOUT THEIR PARENTING SKILLS THE SECOND TIME AROUND," says Marshall.

Kinship Care served 125 caregivers and 168 children in 2003. Seventy five percent of the caregivers live below poverty level. Service partners include Brookdale Grandparent Law Center, the Catholic Youth Organization, the Community Place of Greater Rochester Foster Grandparent Program, Family Resource Centers of Rochester, Monroe County Legal Assistance Corporation, the University of Rochester and the Urban League of Rochester.

### Kinship Care's Story

For the past seven years, the Catholic Family Center of Rochester has been facilitating a support group for kinship caregivers known as Parents Again. Realizing that this population had many unaddressed needs, the CFC expanded its work more than two years ago through roundtable discussions with

grandparents and professionals who shared ideas and resources to help kinship families. This group has evolved and is now known as the Kinship Care Alliance. The Alliance is a broad group of community agencies that continue to meet to work on issues affecting kinship. Alliance members are committed to respecting and upholding the rights of every kinship caregiver, family member and child. The Alliance's goal is to help each individual in the family system to reach physical, mental, social and spiritual well being. The Alliance's chief mission is to ensure safety and permanence of families through education, advocacy and seamless continuum of available services.

In October 2001, the Catholic Family Center received a grant from the Administration on Aging and HHS to establish the KinshipCare Resource Network. In June 2002, the CFC received Help for the Caretaker Relatives Grant from the NYS Office of Children and Family Services to expand the availability of services to kinship care families.

\* Names have been changed to ensure privacy.

## Compassion For Communities

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MILWAUKEE, WI

Holy Redeemer Institutional  
Church of God in Christ

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With more than \$1.6 million in grant funds from three ACF programs in 2003, Holy Redeemer will feed the needy; help low-income persons save for a home, and help strengthen other social service ministries.

## Snapshot of Compassion

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209  
414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org

#### SNAPSHOT



BOB RUDNICK STANDS IN FRONT OF HIS  
NEW APARTMENT COMPLEX

#### Bob's Story

As an apartment manager, Bob Rudnick thought he was well versed in the property-buying process. As a full-time employee of the Greater Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs, he was eligible to receive \$500 towards his home purchase through the club's Employee Assisted Housing Program. The program showed Bob how to reduce lender fees and discover how much of a home to purchase. Bob will be closing on an apartment complex this month.

The assisted housing program will be used as a model for a new program with Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ. This new program will help only low-income families of children involved in the club (rather than Boys & Girls Clubs employees) purchase a home, start a business, or pay for education through a \$1 million grant from the HHS and ACF. Through the Individual Development Account grant, for every dollar eligible families deposit into a savings account, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar 2 to 1 up to \$2,000.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded** 1986

**Mission** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used** to provide funds towards a home purchase, business startup, or post-secondary education

**Organization Size** more than 10,000

**Program Grant** Individual Development Account through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size** \$1 million

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** five years

**People Served** about 425



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Snapshot of Compassion

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

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#### SNAPSHOT



CALANDRA HAYNES RECEIVED FOOD FROM  
HOLY REDEEMER WHILE UNEMPLOYED

#### Calandra's Story

When Calandra Haynes heard about the Food Distribution Center at Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ, she knew her immediate needs could be met. As an unemployed single mother, Calandra struggled to make ends meet. She turned to the church's center that provides food and nutritional education services to those with financial needs.

The church gave Calandra and her boys, 10 and 7, food, household products, toiletries, and more. She was able to save money for the first time to pay regular expenses such as her utility bills. Now Calandra works full-time in Holy Redeemer's accounts payable office. She encourages people to use the program as a tool to get back up on their feet.

Holy Redeemer plans to help more of those in need like Calandra through a \$50,000, one-year Community Food and Nutrition grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration of Children and Families. The funds will help the current food pantry program stretch its reach to more than 1,200 in the community each year.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor:** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded:** 1986

**Mission:** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used:** for food distribution and nutrition classes

**Organization Size:** more than 10,000

**Program Grant:** Community Food and Nutrition through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size:** \$50,000

**Award Date:** 2003

**Project Duration:** one year

**Number of Clients:** more than 1,200



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS



## Snapshot of Compassion

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209  
414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org

#### SNAPSHOT



PASTOR DAVID HIGHTOWER

#### David's Story

Pastor David Hightower knows how to help his community. While his small church expanded its membership from four to 100 in five years, he developed a number of initiatives to help his community. Thanks to the help of a neighboring church's outreach programs, David's Pentecostal Church of God in Christ has developed a reputation for meeting people's needs within Beloit, WI.

Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ taught David people skills and helped him learn about researching grants, writing proposals, compiling financial records, and managing staff for community outreach programs. Now the church is getting a reputation within the community that it can meet people's needs. Holy Redeemer will be able to help many more community leaders like David thanks to a one-year, \$626,598 grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and Administration for Children and Families. The Compassion Capital Fund grant, awarded in 2003, will equip Holy Redeemer to help faith- and community-based organizations increase their effectiveness and grow their organizations to meet those in need.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded** 1986

**Mission** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used** to help faith-based and community organizations provide social services to those in need

**Organization Size** more than 10,000

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size** \$626,598

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** three-year project funded annually



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
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## Compassion at Work

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

3500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209  
414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org

#### STORIES OF COMPASSION

Pastor David Hightower knows how to help his community. While his small church expanded its membership from four to 100 in five years, he developed a number of initiatives to help his community. Thanks to the help of a neighboring church's community outreach programs, David's Pentecostal Tabernacle Church of God in Christ has developed a reputation for meeting people's needs within Beloit, WI.

Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ showed David how to implement his newest service, a senior citizens feeding program, which gives hot meals to the elderly six times a week. Holy Redeemer helped David discover how to manage the program's funds. The church also helped David prepare for meetings with the city's Council on Aging to get the program's proposal approved. As a result, the feeding program will begin just in time for Christmas.

Through Holy Redeemer's human resources department and the Council of Bishops' seminars, David says he has received invaluable training to help his church grow in community outreach programs. He was amazed that a lot of the issues he was facing were addressed in the classroom. "I THINK THEY WERE JUST A GODSEND," he says. "WE PROBABLY HAD THE LOVE OF THE COMMUNITY, BUT GOING ABOUT ACTUALLY HELPING THEM ARE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS WE HAD TO LEARN HOW TO HELP PEOPLE," says David.

Holy Redeemer taught David people skills and helped him learn about researching grants, writing proposals, compiling financial records, and managing staff for these programs. David also learned how to make his congregation feel good about the church and enthusiastic about expanding their ministry into the community. Now the church is getting a reputation within the community that it can meet people's needs.

David's new food pantry feeds 250 families each year. Holy Redeemer also taught the church how to make the recipients feel at ease and improve their self esteem while struggling with their low incomes. The church also has a youth outreach ministry and an after-school program complete with three computers.

David's church has also received help for its foster parent ministry. About 30-35 parents participate in the program with 80 percent representing single-family homes. Pentecostal Tabernacle helps these parents improve their relational



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

skills with their foster children, and the church helps in the mediation between biological and foster parents.

Holy Redeemer will be able to help many more community leaders like David thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families. The Compassion Capital Fund grant, awarded in 2003, will equip Holy Redeemer to help faith- and community-based organizations increase their effectiveness and grow their organizations to meet community members who are in need.

Holy Redeemer continues to help David through this growth in the community. He calls about two to three times a month for random advice. "I DON'T BELIEVE IN REINVENTING THE WHEEL WHY TRY TO STRUGGLE TO GET IT DONE AGAIN IF THEY ALREADY KNOW HOW TO GET IT DONE?" David says. "SO WE CALL THEM TO HELP US."

David believes his ministry would still be struggling over small issues without Holy Redeemer's help. "BY THEM STEPPING IN, THAT KNOCKED OFF AT LEAST TWO YEARS ON OUR STRUGGLES. I WILL ALWAYS RECOMMEND THEM TO OTHER CHURCHES," says David.

"THROUGH THEIR HELP, I CAN ONLY SEE ENDLESS POSSIBILITIES," he adds.

When Calandra Haynes heard about Holy Redeemer's Food Distribution Center, she knew her immediate needs could be met. As an unemployed single mother with two boys, Calandra struggled to make ends meet. She turned to the church's center that provides food and nutritional education services to those with financial needs.

Holy Redeemer plans to help more of those in need like Calandra through a Community Food and Nutrition grant. The funds will enable the current food pantry program to stretch its reach from more than 1,200 in the community each year.

The church gave her food, household products, hair supplies, cough drops, toiletries, and more. Her boys, 10 and 7, enjoyed getting weekly goodies such as cookies and graham crackers as well as necessities. Calandra was amazed at the amount of food she received — "IT'S A GREAT MEAL YOU CAN EAT FOR TWO WEEKS OFF OF THIS," she says. In addition, Calandra was able to save money for the first time to pay regular expenses such as her utility bills.

Now she works full-time in Holy Redeemer's accounts payable office. She encourages people to use the program as a tool to get back up on your feet. "IT WAS AWESOME IF YOU ARE STRUGGLING AND YOU DON'T HAVE ENOUGH TO MAKE ENDS MEET, IT'S AN EXCELLENT PROGRAM."

Bob Rudnick is another who has benefited through programs in the Milwaukee area. Bob had owned and managed an apartment complex since he was 18. Now 25, Bob decided it was time to build equity in owning a new home.

As a full-time employee of the Greater Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs, he was eligible to receive \$500 towards his home purchase through the club's Employee Assisted Housing Program. The program showed Bob how to reduce lender fees, research violations the city cited on select homes, and discover how much of a home to purchase. As a result, Bob will be closing on an apartment complex this month.

The Boys & Girls Clubs will use this program as a model for a new program with Holy Redeemer. This new program will help only low-income individuals (rather than Boys & Girls Clubs employees) purchase a home through a new \$1 million, five-year grant from HHS and ACF. Through the Individual Development Account grant, the Boys & Girls Clubs hopes to help low-income families of children involved in the club purchase a home, start a business or pay for post-secondary education. Eligible families will have the opportunity to open a savings account. For every dollar deposited, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar two to one up to the program limit of about \$2,000.

Bob now sees relief living in a safe, quiet neighborhood. Many kids from the Boys & Girls clubs attend area schools, so Bob is excited about seeing them outside of work. The neighborhood's white picket fences, nearby lake, and trendy resale shops make Bob feel he is finally at home.

#### **COMPASSION CAPITAL FUND**

The Compassion Capital Fund helps faith-based and community groups build capacity and improve their ability to provide social services to those in need. The CCF reflects President Bush's recognition that faith-based and community organizations are uniquely situated to partner with the government in serving poor and low-income individuals and families.

The fund is designed to help build the capacity of faith-based and community organizations to enable them to provide increased services to low-income and other vulnerable populations. The CCF also is designed to help faith-based and community organizations compete more effectively for private and public resources, including federal sources of funding such as HHS. Holy Redeemer will use the grant to help those in Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, and Green Bay, WI, and in the Rockford area of Illinois.

Holy Redeemer's CCF is through its Compassion Capital Initiative that assists faith- and community-based organizations in increasing their effectiveness, enhancing their ability to provide social services, expanding their organizations, diversifying their funding sources, and creating collaborations to better serve those most in need. This will be accomplished through a series of seminars, workshops, and one-on-one coaching. Examples of help include financial planning, board development, legal services, needs assessments, business management, and human resources development. Holy Redeemer will also award at least 25 percent of their grant money to grassroots organizations to

build their capacity to assist individuals with particularly serious problems such as homelessness, addiction or incarceration of a parent.

Since receiving the \$626,598 one-year grant, Holy Redeemer advertised the program throughout the city — agencies interested in learning more about CCF attended a forum and completed an inquiry form. Holy Redeemer workers are now sifting through about 150 inquiries to see what groups would suit the church's program.

The church decided to apply for the grant due to years of success from similar programs disseminated in the community. Holy Redeemer has worked with about 300 social service and faith-based agencies in the last two and a half years. “

WE ARE EXPERTS,” says Hattie Daniels-Rush, church administrator. “WE HAVE BEEN DOING IT FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. WHEN WE LOOKED AT THE PREREQUISITE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE GRANT, IT WAS REALLY RIGHT IN OUR BALLPARK.” She cited a local faith-based youth center that she helped run more effectively through examining funding options, proposals, and more.

With the new grant, Holy Redeemer will be partnering with the Boys & Girls Clubs and local law firm Quarles & Brady. The Boys & Girls Clubs will give guidance on building an agency board while the law firm will provide legal assistance to agencies. Grant funds are also being used to hire about 11 personnel, increase advertisement and training and to pay for postage, office supplies, travel expenses and conference space.

#### COMMUNITY FOOD AND NUTRITION

The goal of Holy Redeemer's Community Food and Nutrition Initiative is to deliver direct benefits to disadvantaged individuals and families through food distribution and nutritional/credit education services. Holy Redeemer aims to improve the overall health and well being of all program participants. Individuals and families eligible for assistance are the homeless, elderly, displaced workers, welfare recipients, and income-qualified individuals, single parents or families. Activities included in the grant are: coordinating private and public food assistance resources to better serve low-income populations, assisting low-income communities to identify potential sponsors of child nutrition programs, initiating such programs in underserved areas, and developing innovative approaches at the state and local level to meet the nutritional needs of low-income individuals.

Holy Redeemer's Food Distribution Center is well seasoned in helping locals in need — they have operated the food pantry for about 16 years. With the \$50,000 one-year grant, Holy Redeemer will be able to hire more staff and, as a result, acquire more food. They used to feed about 300 people quarterly before the grant. But with the new funds, Robert Randolph hopes to feed that number every month.

The distribution center is open every day as needed. With the church's mission to have a holistic approach to healing souls, Holy Redeemer workers get contact information from recipients and tell them about other ministries within the church.

"WE LET THEM KNOW WE ARE THERE TO PROVIDE THAT SUPPORT AND OTHER SERVICES TO EMBRACE THEM AND EMPOWER THEMSELVES," says Randolph, the church's director of social services.

Holy Redeemer also helps individuals with nutrition information. Partnering with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Holy Redeemer provides a state-funded five week class on nutrition to low-income individuals. The church hopes to get 400-600 people helped through the program.

A credit-management class is also offered through Holy Redeemer Credit Union — a federally insured credit union housed on the church grounds. The credit management class is a part of the Food Distribution Center program, says Randolph. Through this class, Holy Redeemer hopes to educate those who are impoverished or have a low income. Workers want to lift the restrictions that bind those with low credit to give them financial empowerment. The one-day seminar helps participants understand credit reports and how to understand bad credit.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR CHURCH IS TO EMPOWER PEOPLE PHYSICALLY, SPIRITUALLY, AND MENTALLY. WE TRY TO EMPOWER INDIVIDUALS TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE NEGATIVE SITUATIONS AND TURN IT AROUND. WE SEEK TO SUPPORT THEM WHILE THEY ARE DOING THAT," says Randolph.

For those in disadvantaged situations, Randolph says, "WE CAN GIVE THEM A BUFFER, SUSTAIN THEM, AND KEEP THEM GOING. BY DOING THAT, WE ALLOW THEM ONE LESS THING THEY HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT."

#### INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNT

The goal of Holy Redeemer's Individual Development Accounts Initiative is to help disadvantaged working families accumulate assets and to help stabilize and improve the community in which the families live. These investments have the potential to bring a new level of economic and personal security to families and communities. The hope is to encourage participants to develop and reinforce strong habits for saving money.

Through the Holy Redeemer Individual Development Accounts Initiative, eligible families will have the opportunity to open a savings account with the Holy Redeemer Credit Union, in which the participants can begin making regular monthly deposits into that account. For every dollar deposited, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar two to one up to the program limit of about \$2,000. Each participant has up to two years to save the program maximum.

Funds accumulated can only be used to purchase a house or build a first home, to start a business, or to cover the cost of post-secondary education. In addition to the matched savings account, participants will have access to credit management classes to help them increase their credit rating. Households eligible to participate in the project are those eligible for the Earned Income

Tax Credit or whose income the previous year was less than 200 percent of the poverty line.

With the \$1 million grant, Holy Redeemer has five years to help 428 individuals and families save through an IDA and purchase an asset. The church will utilize existing employees while partnering with the lead agency – the Boys & Girls Clubs. Dave Knutson, director of grants administration, says the non-profit agency for children encouraged the IDA idea.

Knutson says the national Boys & Girls Clubs office decided to expand its scope to helping not only children but also their families. The idea is that helping families achieve financial stability can make a positive impact on children's lives.

The organization had helped its own employees with home ownership through the year-old Employee Assisted Housing Program, which has 10 participants. Now the Boys & Girls Clubs will be using the housing program's \$10,000 annual budget toward establishing the IDA program, says Knutson.

The Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs is partnering with Select Milwaukee, a local nonprofit that focuses on low-and moderate-income home ownership. Select Milwaukee will help IDA recipients with credit, the preapproval process, mortgages, and more. Knutson hopes the University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee and Milwaukee Area Technical College will assist clients interested in funding post-secondary education.

Milwaukee's Boys & Girls Clubs' mission is to inspire and empower all young people, especially those from disadvantaged circumstances, to realize their full potential as productive, responsible and caring citizens. The Milwaukee clubs run about 20 facilities throughout the metro area and serve about 22,500 kids per year.

#### THE GRANT PROCESS

Randolph says the triple grants are the culmination of staunch preparation for applying and receiving federal funding. Randolph says Holy Redeemer members conducted research, attended meetings, made countless phone calls, and traveled to conferences to receive grant planning advice.

"WE NEEDED TO PLAN, STRATEGIZE, SO THAT WHEN WE DID SUBMIT THE GRANT PROPOSALS, WE KNEW HOW TO DO IT RIGHT," says Randolph. This is the first time that the church has received funding on the federal level, and the first time it has received grants from HHS. He says the grant preparation was worth the reward. "WE BELIEVE THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE MISSION IN OUR CHURCH TO EMPOWER INDIVIDUALS TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN OUR COMMUNITY AND TO A PERSON'S SPIRITUAL, PHYSICAL, AND MENTAL WELL-BEING."

Randolph adds that he is pleased with the HHS grants. Although, he adds, no matter how large or small the amount is, the church is appreciative and uses the money to its fullest extent. "THE GRANTS OVERWHELM US, BUT WE ARE THANKFUL. FOR THE LAST 17 YEARS WE HAVE PROVIDED THESE

SERVICES FOR THE COMMUNITY, BUT NOW WE ARE ABLE TO DO IT IN A GREATER WAY."

### HISTORY

At Holy Redeemer, the church is more than a Sunday event. It's a seven-day-a-week experience. The church hopes to touch lives, to heal the sick, feed the hungry and comfort the needy. "FACED WITH SO MUCH NEED, THAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK BUT THE CHURCH TRAINS ITS DISCIPLES TO DO THE IMPOSSIBLE, TO 'THINK OUT OF THE BOX' BECAUSE, WITH GOD, ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE."

Holy Redeemer's mission is to serve the community as a holistic ministry that touches the mind, body, and spirit. It is to be a group of unique people who are disciplined for the purpose of life enhancement, participating in a Pentecostal experience of God and fellowship.

Created from a commitment to faith, family and community, Holy Redeemer has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church is a site for community meetings, events and functions. It is also a provider of education, housing, and social services. It is a place for guidance and healing, for nurturing the family and mentoring the young.

The three programs funded through the HHS grants are a part of Holy Redeemer's Community Empowerment Initiatives ministry. The ministry's goal is to enhance the ability of faith- and community-based organizations to provide quality community services through capacity building, training, and coaching. The church also hopes the ministry will enhance the quality of life for disadvantaged individuals by providing education, motivation, and asset building programs.



## Snapshot of Compassion

IN JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

**FreshMinistries**

Center for Creative and Effective Ministries

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U.S. Department of Health and Human Services partners with Faith-Based Organizations to help low-income families realize their dreams of home ownership.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN JACKSONVILLE, FL

### FreshMinistries

Center for Creative and Effective Ministries

1131 North Laura Street • Jacksonville, FL 32206  
904-355-0000 • fax 904-355-3004 • www.FreshMinistries.com



#### SNAPSHOT



CHANTEL BATTLES, RIGHT, IS WORKING WITH COORDINATOR DOCEAL SANTANA, LEFT, TO ACHIEVE HER DREAM OF OWNING HER OWN HOME.

#### Chantel's Story

Chantel Battles lives in public housing and has never owned a home. In the past she suffered from depression and low self-esteem. Today the 30-year-old divorced mother of two is fully employed and has begun to save money to buy her first home. Her savings tool? The Individual Development Account, a federal program made possible by FreshMinistries, 22 partner agencies, Wachovia Bank and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. For every dollar Chantel saves toward her home purchase, she gets two matching dollars — one from the IDA and one from Families FIRST, a FreshMinistries partner administering the program in Ravenwood Apartments, a public housing neighborhood. Because of the IDA grant, FreshMinistries has helped six people like Chantel to begin finding their dream homes. Through the course of their grant, FreshMinistries hopes to help as many as 100 more people achieve their dreams.

#### Program Overview

FreshMinistries, a faith-based organization, is committed to help transform the future of Jacksonville, FL's declining neighborhoods. The ministry hopes to show what the urban community can offer in the way of diversity, economic opportunity, and urban life. Its mission includes core city redevelopment, youth and internship opportunities, spiritual reconciliation, job training skills for recovering alcohol and substance abusers, and pilgrimage missions across the globe. Chartered as an incubator of initiatives, FreshMinistries strives to establish programs and foster them until they are strong enough to stand on their own.

#### Vitals

**Chairman** The Rev. Dr. Robert V. Lee, III  
**Year Founded** 1994  
**Mission** Inner city outreach  
**Funds Will Be Used** to help individuals save for homes  
**Annual Budget** \$1.2 million in assets  
**Number of Staff** 15 full-time employees  
**Program Grant** HHS/ACF Individual Development Account (IDA)  
**Award Size** \$1 million  
**Award Date** 2002  
**Project Duration** five years  
**People Served** 425



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S WEEDROOTS

## Compassion at Work

IN JACKSONVILLE, FL

### FreshMinistries

#### Center for Creative and Effective Ministries

1131 North Laura Street • Jacksonville, FL 32206  
904-355-0000 • fax 904-355-3004 • [www.FreshMinistries.com](http://www.FreshMinistries.com)

#### GEORGETTA'S STORY

Georgetta Reed knows exactly what she wants. It's her dream home — brick with a screened-in back porch that overlooks a large lawn on a corner lot. There's a bedroom for each of the four boys she is raising, and she hopes to one day make it all her own.

She's been saving to make her dream come true through a program at Ravenwood, a public housing community. Through the help of the non-profit agency Families FIRST, when she paid her rent on time and lived there a minimum of three years, five percent of her total rent went towards the purchase of a new home.

Now Georgetta can achieve her dream even faster through the federal Individual Development Account program made possible by the faith-based organization FreshMinistries and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. For every dollar she saves toward her home purchase, she gets two matching dollars — one from the federal program and one from FreshMinistries partner Families FIRST. Participants must be working and must save from their earned income. She also has committed to taking courses in managing personal finances and the different financial tools that are available to her. In two years, she hopes to save \$6,000.

"THE PROGRAM MADE ME WANT TO DO IT SOONER. I FIGURED THAT WAS MORE THAN ENOUGH HELP," says Georgetta.

Although her monetary goal is a year or two away, Georgetta's already looking for her special home. She's not planning on moving out of the neighborhood, because her mother lives nearby. Georgetta's thinking of her family's needs first — if her mother becomes ill, Georgetta plans on letting her stay in the home.

"I DON'T WANT TO PUT HER IN A NURSING HOME. THIS IS SHOWING HER MY GRATITUDE FOR WHAT SHE DID - FOR MAKING ME STRONG TO DO THE THINGS I AM NOW DOING."



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EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

Saving for her dream home isn't easy. Her boys often see the short-term gratification of dressing in trendy clothes instead of finding satisfaction in a growing savings account. "I HAVE TO SAY, 'OKAY - DO YOU WANT THIS HOUSE, OR DO YOU WANT THE JORDANS OR THE NAUTICA SHIRT?' USUALLY THEY GO WITH WHAT I SAY, AND THEY'LL WAIT," says Georgetta.

Her oldest son, Lamont, understands the commitment she is making to own a home. "HE'S HAPPY FOR ME BECAUSE YOU DON'T SEE TOO MANY SINGLE PARENTS MAKING IT. HE SAID IF I COULD DO IT, THERE'S NOTHING HE COULDN'T DO."

### THE FRESHMINISTRIES STORY

FreshMinistries began in 1994 when a group of citizens mobilized to restore a run down Victorian house in a low-income neighborhood in Florida. The 118-year-old house became the first symbol of the ministry's commitment to help transform the future of Jacksonville, FL's declining neighborhoods. The house is now FreshMinistries' office, and it stands as a symbol of hope of what the urban core can offer in the way of diversity, economic opportunity, and urban life.

In 2002, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services for the first time awarded FreshMinistries an Individual Development Account grant through the Office of Community Services to create a Jacksonville Individual Development and Equity program. The Jacksonville savings program is designed to help poor families acquire the assets necessary to make a down payment on a home, pay for higher education, or capitalize a small business. Families participating in the program save a percentage of their earned income every month. The amount these families save is matched with public and private funds to help them build a stronger financial future. Participants, many of whom never saved before, are provided compulsory money management classes and the dream of a better future.

FreshMinistries' target area has a 71 percent poverty rate and a median household income of \$15,200. For many living in these neighborhoods, saving \$100 a month is a scary commitment. The IDA program bolsters their courage and triples their investment with a match of their savings (each \$100 is matched with \$200) until they reach the program cap of \$6,000.

The ministry is encouraging the private sector to participate in the program. Banks that sponsor IDAs attracted new customers who became loan holders. Through the program, FreshMinistries leverages private sector resources, fights poverty and builds community.

### PUTTING THE IDA GRANT PROGRAM TO WORK

FreshMinistries believes sustainable economic change in the community cannot occur without coalition building. When the organization became aware of the IDA program during a conference in Orlando, FL, Michael Bryant knew that

he had found the tools to improve his community. Bryant, director of Urban Ministries, says there is no single source of funding that you can count on – the local government can't handle a community's rehabilitation alone; it flourishes with federal assistance. "IT'S A GOOD EXAMPLE OF WHERE THE FAITH BASED OFFICE OF COMMUNITY INITIATIVES MAKES SENSE IN INCREASING AWARENESS OF FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS AND FUNDING."

Bryant's department of FreshMinistries applied and was awarded a \$1 million grant in 2002 for five years to assist 425 in gaining financial freedom. Most of Bryant's first year with the program has been exploring various sources for matching funds. FreshMinistries has received assistance from the city of Jacksonville and the United Way. Wachovia has agreed to open bank accounts, assist customers, and locate matching funds. The local Habitat for Humanity will kick off the program next year, and Goodwill, Catholic Charities, and the local public housing authority are joining the coalition.

The ministry's first partnership was formed with Families FIRST, a non-profit corporation that provides affordable housing for Northeast Florida families. Executive Director Mary Parker Lamm is pleased the IDA fits Families FIRST's mission to offer quality affordable housing and use innovative social programs to educate and integrate residents into the workforce. Families FIRST will be using one of its five apartment communities as an IDA pilot program. They are working with non-profit partners to match funds that five select families will receive along with financial literacy and money management training. "WE ALREADY HAD A HOME PURCHASE PROGRAM. THE IDEA PROVIDED THAT EXTRA STEP THAT IS SO IMPORTANT TO US, AND IT SEEMED LIKE A NATURAL THING – A NO BRAINIER – BECAUSE YOU CAN PROVIDE A BETTER VENUE FOR PEOPLE TO SAVE MONEY," says Lamm.

Bryant also says that Families FIRST residents who participate in the program will realize that they can ease their financial burdens and start making their home-buying dreams a reality. "THEY CAN SAVE AND GOOD THINGS HAPPEN INCLUDING MATCHING MONEY. IT IS HOPE – IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE LIKE IT WAS." Some participants wonder if the program is a scam because it sounds too good to be true. "IF SOMEONE CALLED TO TELL YOU – I'LL MATCH EVERY TWO TO ONE DOLLAR YOU'VE GOT, WOULDN'T YOU BE SUSPICIOUS OR SKEPTICAL?" asks Bryant.

His goal is to help more people realize the program isn't a dream, and he hopes that more will learn about the program's benefits. He wants to have 1,500 people involved in the program before funding is maxed out. "WE DREAM WE WILL BE APPLYING FOR MORE AS THE COMMUNITY BECOMES MORE AWARE OF IT. WE ARE CONFIDENT THIS WILL HAVE GREAT WORD OF MOUTH. PEOPLE WILL PLUNK THEIR MONEY DOWN, AND THEY WILL BE TELLING EVERYBODY WHAT HAPPENED."

### FRESHMINISTRIES OVERVIEW

In 1994, The Rev. Dr. Robert V. Lee, III, set into motion a mission that would help repair the community infrastructure of Jacksonville, Florida. He set out to make a difference in Jacksonville's inner city through ministry and mission. Today Lee is chairman of FreshMinistries, which has \$1.2 million in assets. FreshMinistries has grown to 15 full-time employees to help meet the city's needs, and it has broadened its mission to include core city redevelopment, youth and internship opportunities, spiritual reconciliation, job skills for recovering substance abusers and global pilgrimage missions. Chartered as an incubator of initiatives, FreshMinistries strives to establish programs and foster them until they are strong enough to stand on their own. With this mission in mind, FreshMinistries works through four core ministries to answer the needs of the Jacksonville community.

#### Four core programs:

- Urban Ministries focuses its attention on economic growth in Jacksonville's inner city. Through a variety of programs, such as city revitalization, youth and internship opportunities, and job and housing assistance, this FreshMinistries project strengthens families and businesses in the core city. The Urban Ministries intern program alone has provided more than 60 college students the opportunity to find solutions to inner-city needs.
- Reconciliation Ministries bridges different racial, spiritual and social gaps through the theme of common worship. One way of beginning this process has been the "twinning" of churches — matching congregations in the African-American and white communities for worship and fellowship. Through this twinning program, more than 7,500 congregation members have taken steps toward understanding and appreciating people through worship.
- Worldwide Pilgrimage Ministries offers clergy, youth leaders and congregations customized pilgrimages to more than 10 countries. Designed to help pilgrims strengthen their spiritual selves, Worldwide takes travelers to the Holy Land, Turkey, Israel, England, Italy, South Africa and more. Profits from Worldwide Pilgrimage Ministries provide grants to organizations like St. George's College in Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Children's Hospital. The Rev. Marsha Bacon Glover of White Plains, New York, speaks for many: "I EMERGED FROM THIS PILGRIMAGE WITH AN INCREDIBLE SENSE OF HOPE THAT IN GOD'S TIME, THERE WILL BE GOD'S PEACE ON EARTH AND GOD'S GOOD WILL FOR ALL."
- The Emergency Action and Relief Services project networks with all houses of faith to assist in the long-term emergency relief of countries in times of natural disaster. This extension of the Episcopal Church has helped Andrew and Floyd hurricane victims, provided clean water to residents in Cuba, and aided the people of Turkey after its 1999 earthquake.

Compassion Capital Fund  
(ACF)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MINNEAPOLIS, MN

**Greater Minneapolis  
Council of Churches**

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Thanks to a \$532,000 three-year Compassion Capitol Fund Demonstration Program grant, more faith-based and community groups will be able to improve its services from sub-awards granted by the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches.



## Snapshot of Compassion

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

### Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches

P.O. Box 7509 (1001 East Lake St.), Minneapolis, MN 55407-0509  
612-721-8687 ext. 333 • fax 612-722-8669 • [www.gmcc.org](http://www.gmcc.org)



#### SNAPSHOT

#### Bob's Story

Director Bob Hulteen knows that his Twin Cities Religion and Labor Network is about to lurch into its mission with more force and progress than he has seen in years. The network, which gives immigration and refugee families assistance in their work, will become more diverse in its community leadership development.

The network applied and received a \$11,000 one-year sub-award through the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches, a Compassion Capital Fund grant recipient. The grant will help the network develop an advisory board to help improve services. He plans to talk with experts and learn how to establish and operate a board, develop a public relations strategy to inform the city of its services and develop a network of relationships to help improve services. Hulteen wants to make sure the most vulnerable people in the city are not overlooked.

As much as the grant award will help build the network's capacity, the opportunity to network with organizations is equally valuable to Hulteen. There are experiences that each organization can share with others such as employment and family issues, he says, which will help create a broader network of services.

Thanks to the CCF grant, more than 44 groups like Hulteen's will receive sub-awards from GMCC in the future.

#### Program Overview

Founded in 1905, the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches operates a family of social service programs and recruits support across denominational lines to help Minnesota families living in poverty. The nonprofit feeds hungry families, helps needy seniors with household chores, tutors inner-city kids, educates volunteers about urban poverty, helps discouraged parents find and maintain jobs, and awards Twin Cities faith and community groups grants and training to create programs that target the unique struggles of low-income families in their neighborhoods.

#### Vitals

**President** Dr. Gary B. Reiersen

**Year Founded** 1905

**Mission** to unite people of faith and serve people in need

**Funds will be used to** increase capacity building of GMCC grantees

**Annual Budget** \$5 million

**Organization Size** 67 employees, 30,000 volunteers

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund

Demonstration Program through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$532,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** three years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

### Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches

P.O. Box 7509 (1001 East Lake Street), Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407-0509  
(612) 721-8687, extension 333 • fax (612) 722-8669 • [www.gmcc.org](http://www.gmcc.org)

#### BOB'S STORY

Director Bob Hulteen knows that his Twin Cities Religion and Labor Network is about to lurch into its mission with more force and progress than he has seen in years. The network, which gives immigration and refugee families assistance in their work, will become more diverse in its community leadership development.

The network applied and received a \$11,000 one-year sub-award through the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches, a Compassion Capital Fund Demonstration Program grant recipient. The grant will help the network develop an advisory board to help improve services.

He plans to talk with experts and learn how to establish and operate a board, develop a public relations strategy to inform the city of its services and develop a network of relationships to help improve services. Hulteen wants to make sure the most vulnerable people in the city are not overlooked.

His network helps provide immigrant and refugee workers with an environment where they can work with safety and confidence. Many workers are low-paid and work overtime. They receive old guidelines and work forms that may not be in their language. The network ensures workers that they will be treated fairly.

The use of government funds to help faith-based organizations is helpful, says Hulteen. Many immigrants and refugees have problems accessing government help on their own because they are used to their own country's practices. A welcoming faith-based organization can provide needed information and comfort, he says.

The GMCC did a tremendous amount of outreach before selecting sub-award recipients for its \$532,000 three-year CCF grant. "THEY FOUND EVERY CORNER. COLLABORATION AND NETWORK AND GOT THE WORD OUT," says Hulteen. More than 400 diverse groups turned out for a training session on how to apply for the sub-award through GMCC.

Hulteen's network knows that it has more work than anticipated when they applied for the grant. "IT GREW FASTER THAN PLANNED, AND WE WERE OPERATING ON INTUITION." As much as the grant award will help build the network's capacity, the opportunity to network with organizations is equally valuable to Hulteen. There are experiences that each organization can share with



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

others such as employment and family issues, he says, which will help create a broader network of services.

Thanks to the CCF grant, more than 44 groups like Hulteen's will receive sub-awards from GMCC in the future.

#### THE GRANT PROCESS

The GMCC has succeeded in bringing together the resources of the faith community to serve people in need. Particularly in the last quarter century — long before “faith-based initiatives” were being discussed in Washington — GMCC has taken the lead in bringing together churches and volunteers to feed the hungry, care for young children and the elderly, visit the imprisoned, empower the powerless, build the dependent’s self-sufficiency, combat racism, and be an advocate for those who are most vulnerable and those who have been left behind.

It has done this through innovative initiatives such as Minnesota FoodShare, Metro Paint-A-Thon, Division of Indian Work, Discover Support Groups and Learning Centers, HandyWorks, Correctional Chaplaincy, Church and Community Initiatives, Congregations Concerned for Children, and Urban Immersion Service Retreats. The success of these cost-effective programs has been staggering. For example, FoodShare provides roughly half of the food in the state to those in need.

In September 2003 GMCC was awarded a \$532,000 three-year CCF grant from the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services and the Administration of Children and Families. The grant was one of only 10 in the nation, and the only one in Minnesota, awarded to intermediary organizations in 2003 working with faith-based and community groups. This grant money is now being passed down to local Twin Cities groups after an exhaustive application process. In all, 305 community- and faith-based groups applied to GMCC.

The CCF is part of President Bush’s Faith-Based and Community Initiative to help faith-based and community organizations increase their effectiveness and enhance their ability to provide social services to those most in need. The CCF Demonstration Program funds intermediary organizations that provide faith-based and community organizations training, technical assistance, and capacity-building sub-awards.

GMCC’s grants are supported by the McKnight Foundation, Medical Foundation, the Metropolitan Health Plan, as well as HHS. The council awards grants of up to \$25,000 to groups working in specific areas such as organizations, churches and agencies. CCF has given 44 sub-awards totaling \$350,000 from the HHS grant.

Specifically, GMCC will award grants to qualifying faith- and community-based groups in the Twin Cities that expand or create neighborhood programs targeting the three emerging issues. GMCC will assist the new groups with behind-the-scenes help such as volunteer recruitment, accounting, grant writing/fundraising, and risk management; which will allow the faith and community-based groups to focus on their actual grassroots direct-service programs. GMCC grantees

also will receive training to ensure they establish a solid program design with measurable outcomes.

"WITH THIS GENEROUS GRANT WE WILL TARGET THREE EMERGING ISSUES IN OUR COMMUNITY — AFTERCARE FOR OFFENDERS TO REDUCE RECIDIVISM, PREVENTATIVE HEALTH CARE FOR LOW-INCOME CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS, AND HELP FOR NEWLY ARRIVING AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES — ESPECIALLY THOSE FROM WEST AFRICA — OFTEN OVERLOOKED AND A GROWING IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN MINNESOTA," says Gary Reiersen, GMCC president.

"I THINK THAT CCF IS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP PARTNERSHIPS WITH ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE THE ABILITY TO SERVE SOME OF THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUES. THE FAITH COMMUNITY REACHES SOME SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION THAT OTHERS CAN'T REACH."

Federal funding is not new to GMCC — its Division of Indian Work applied and received a \$50,000 one-year Community Food and Nutrition grant in 2002. The grant helped about 6,000 families receive nutrition education. The Division of Indian Work provided five eight-week classes to show participants how to cook healthy meals; it also provided two community forums to promote nutrition, diabetes and cardiovascular health. Fliers and a quarterly newsletter put in grocery bags also informed food-shelf participants of ways to maintain a healthy diet.

Ethnic diversity is stressed by GMCC — the Division of Indian Work recognizes that half of the 50,000 American Indians in Minnesota live in the twin cities area. The council is helping two Jewish groups and four Muslim faith-based organizations. The council's CCF grantees also are from 10 different denominations and one interfaith church. The grantees are also diverse in ethnicity with 19 African-American groups, two Asian, two Latino, one American Indian, three West African immigrants, one Somalian, 10 Caucasian and six multi racial.

GMCC partners with Hamline University's Nonprofit Management Institution to assist grantees with behind-the scenes instruction in areas such as volunteer recruitment, accounting, grant writing, fundraising and risk management. This assistance helps GMCC grantees develop the capacity to become effective and accountable service providers. GMCC grantees also will receive training to ensure they establish a solid program design develop sense of mission, a mission statement, strategic training and measurable outcomes. It will also train the groups to understand the relational capacity building — the ability to network, become part of the community and work well with other groups.

Reiersen says he is grateful for the funds. "THE FACT THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES AND SUPPORTS THE IMPACT CONGREGATIONS HAVE ON THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS FACING OUR SOCIETY SPEAKS VOLUMES. THE FAITH COMMUNITY IS PASSIONATE

ABOUT, AND IN THE BUSINESS OF, HELPING NEIGHBORS IN NEED. BUT WE CAN'T DO IT ALONE. AND THIS GRANT RECOGNIZES THAT," he says.

#### **GREATER MINNEAPOLIS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' STORY**

Since 1905, the GMCC has battled poverty in Minnesota. It operates a successful family of social service programs and recruit support across denominational lines to help struggling Minnesota families remain self-reliant. GMCC is the largest council of churches in the nation and the largest direct-service volunteer organization in the state.

The council serves nearly 500 corporations and foundations, 700 individuals, and 300 congregations. The United Way, and numerous government agencies fund the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches.

Some programs that GMCC supports are:

- **Minnesota FoodShare** — restocks 261 food shelves each year by directing the largest annual food and cash drive in the state. The effort feeds about 660,000 Minnesotans each year.
- **Metro Paint-A-Thon** — rallies volunteers to paint the homes of low-income seniors and people with disabilities, which helps more than 100 seniors each year remain in their homes and beautifying neighborhoods throughout the seven-county metro area.
- **HandyWorks** — match seniors struggling to stay in their homes with people who can help with housekeeping, minor home repairs, and outdoor chores. HandyWorks serves more than 3,000 seniors each year in Hennepin, Ramsey, and Anoka counties.
- **Discover Support Groups** — operate weekly support groups for low-income mothers working to better the lives of their children. The women set job and home-life goals and lean on one another as they work toward those goals. The mothers learn positive child discipline techniques, find stable employment, or go on to college or job training.
- **Division of Indian Work** — offers award-winning parenting and nutrition classes to young American Indian mothers and fathers who want the best for their children. It also operates an apartment house for American Indian mothers in need of a safe, affordable place to raise their children. In addition, workers counsel hundreds of American Indian women, children, and men impacted by violence in the home. Finally, it operates a loving home for American Indian foster children. Workers also prepare chronically unemployed and under-employed American Indian adults for the responsibilities of a job by promoting good work habits and offering job-hunting, resume-writing, and job-interview strategies. About 90 individuals are helped each year.

- Discover Learning Centers — teach inner-city kids that 'hitting the books' can be both fun and rewarding. With the help of 150 volunteers, they offer 200 students weekly after-school tutoring in reading, writing, math, and science.
- Urban Immersion Service Retreats — operate weekend and week-long retreats to educate people about real-life urban poverty and turn that knowledge into action. Each year, its workers train 1,500 volunteers to serve meals at shelters, renovate housing for needy families, do chores for low-income seniors, and reach out to children in homeless and battered women's shelters.
- Correctional Chaplaincy — offers offenders in Hennepin County correctional facilities counseling, worship, and aftercare to help them reconnect to the community in healthy ways. Each year, its chaplains conduct 5,000 counseling visits.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MILWAUKEE, WI

Holy Redeemer Institutional  
Church of God in Christ

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With more than \$1.6 million in grant funds from three ACF programs in 2003, Holy Redeemer will feed the needy; help low-income persons save for a home, and help strengthen other social service ministries.

## Snapshot of Compassion

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

1500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209  
414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org

#### SNAPSHOT



BOB RUDNICK STANDS IN FRONT OF HIS NEW APARTMENT COMPLEX

#### Bob's Story

As an apartment manager, Bob Rudnick thought he was well versed in the property-buying process. As a full-time employee of the Greater Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs, he was eligible to receive \$500 towards his home purchase through the club's Employee Assisted Housing Program. The program showed Bob how to reduce lender fees and discover how much of a home to purchase. Bob will be closing on an apartment complex this month.

The assisted housing program will be used as a model for a new program with Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ. This new program will help only low-income families of children involved in the club (rather than Boys & Girls Clubs employees) purchase a home, start a business, or pay for education through a \$1 million grant from the HHS and ACF. Through the Individual Development Account grant, for every dollar eligible families deposit into a savings account, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar 2 to 1 up to \$2,000.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor:** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded:** 1986

**Mission:** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used:** to provide funds towards a home purchase, business startup, or post-secondary education

**Organization Size:** more than 10,000

**Program Grant:** Individual Development Account through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size:** \$1 million

**Award Date:** 2003

**Project Duration:** five years

**People Served:** about 425



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## Snapshot of Compassion

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209

414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org



#### SNAPSHOT



CALANDRA HAYNES RECEIVED FOOD FROM HOLY REDEEMER WHILE UNEMPLOYED

#### Calandra's Story

When Calandra Haynes heard about the Food Distribution Center at Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ, she knew her immediate needs could be met. As an unemployed single mother, Calandra struggled to make ends meet. She turned to the church's center that provides food and nutritional education services to those with financial needs.

The church gave Calandra and her boys, 10 and 7, food, household products, toiletries, and more. She was able to save money for the first time to pay regular expenses such as her utility bills.

Now Calandra works full-time in Holy Redeemer's accounts payable office. She encourages people to use the program as a tool to get back up on their feet.

Holy Redeemer plans to help more of those in need like Calandra through a \$50,000, one-year Community Food and Nutrition grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration of Children and Families. The funds will help the current food pantry program stretch its reach to more than 1,200 in the community each year.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor:** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded:** 1986

**Mission:** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used:** for food distribution and nutrition classes

**Organization Size:** more than 10,000

**Program Grant:** Community Food and Nutrition through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size:** \$50,000

**Award Date:** 2003

**Project Duration:** one year

**Number of Clients:** more than 1,200



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Snapshot of Compassion

MILWAUKEE, WI

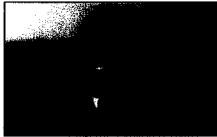
### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209

414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org



#### SNAPSHOT



PASTOR DAVID HIGHTOWER

#### David's Story

Pastor David Hightower knows how to help his community. While his small church expanded its membership from four to 100 in five years, he developed a number of initiatives to help his community. Thanks to the help of a neighboring church's outreach programs, David's Pentecostal Church of God in Christ has developed a reputation for meeting people's needs within Beloit, WI.

Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ taught David people skills and helped him learn about researching grants, writing proposals, compiling financial records, and managing staff for community outreach programs. Now the church is getting a reputation within the community that it can meet people's needs. Holy Redeemer will be able to help many more community leaders like David thanks to a one-year, \$626,598 grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and Administration for Children and Families. The Compassion Capital Fund grant, awarded in 2003, will equip Holy Redeemer to help faith- and community-based organizations increase their effectiveness and grow their organizations to meet those in need.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded** 1986

**Mission** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used** to help faith-based and community organizations provide social services to those in need

**Organization Size** more than 10,000

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size** \$626,598

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** three-year project funded annually



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

3500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209

414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • [www.hrcogic.org](http://www.hrcogic.org)

#### STORIES OF COMPASSION

Pastor David Hightower knows how to help his community. While his small church expanded its membership from four to 100 in five years, he developed a number of initiatives to help his community. Thanks to the help of a neighboring church's community outreach programs, David's Pentecostal Tabernacle Church of God in Christ has developed a reputation for meeting people's needs within Beloit, WI.

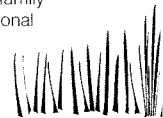
Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ showed David how to implement his newest service, a senior citizens feeding program, which gives hot meals to the elderly six times a week. Holy Redeemer helped David discover how to manage the program's funds. The church also helped David prepare for meetings with the city's Council on Aging to get the program's proposal approved. As a result, the feeding program will begin just in time for Christmas.

Through Holy Redeemer's human resources department and the Council of Bishops' seminars, David says he has received invaluable training to help his church grow in community outreach programs. He was amazed that a lot of the issues he was facing were addressed in the classroom. "I THINK THEY WERE JUST A GODSEND," he says. "WE PROBABLY HAD THE LOVE OF THE COMMUNITY, BUT GOING ABOUT ACTUALLY HELPING THEM ARE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS. WE HAD TO LEARN HOW TO HELP PEOPLE," says David.

Holy Redeemer taught David people skills and helped him learn about researching grants, writing proposals, compiling financial records, and managing staff for these programs. David also learned how to make his congregation feel good about the church and enthusiastic about expanding their ministry into the community. Now the church is getting a reputation within the community that it can meet people's needs.

David's new food pantry feeds 250 families each year. Holy Redeemer also taught the church how to make the recipients feel at ease and improve their self esteem while struggling with their low incomes. The church also has a youth outreach ministry and an after-school program complete with three computers.

David's church has also received help for its foster parent ministry. About 30-35 parents participate in the program with 80 percent representing single-family homes. Pentecostal Tabernacle helps these parents improve their relational



**Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives**  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

skills with their foster children, and the church helps in the mediation between biological and foster parents.

Holy Redeemer will be able to help many more community leaders like David thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families. The Compassion Capital Fund grant, awarded in 2003, will equip Holy Redeemer to help faith- and community-based organizations increase their effectiveness and grow their organizations to meet community members who are in need.

Holy Redeemer continues to help David through this growth in the community. He calls about two to three times a month for random advice. **"I DON'T BELIEVE IN REINVENTING THE WHEEL WHY TRY TO STRUGGLE TO GET IT DONE AGAIN IF THEY ALREADY KNOW HOW TO GET IT DONE?"** David says. **"SO WE CALL THEM TO HELP US."**

David believes his ministry would still be struggling over small issues without Holy Redeemer's help. **"BY THEM STEPPING IN, THAT KNOCKED OFF AT LEAST TWO YEARS ON OUR STRUGGLES. I WILL ALWAYS RECOMMEND THEM TO OTHER CHURCHES,"** says David.

**"THROUGH THEIR HELP, I CAN ONLY SEE ENDLESS POSSIBILITIES,"** he adds.

When Calandra Haynes heard about Holy Redeemer's Food Distribution Center, she knew her immediate needs could be met. As an unemployed single mother with two boys, Calandra struggled to make ends meet. She turned to the church's center that provides food and nutritional education services to those with financial needs.

Holy Redeemer plans to help more of those in need like Calandra through a Community Food and Nutrition grant. The funds will enable the current food pantry program to stretch its reach from more than 1,200 in the community each year.

The church gave her food, household products, hair supplies, cough drops, toiletries, and more. Her boys, 10 and 7, enjoyed getting weekly goodies such as cookies and graham crackers as well as necessities. Calandra was amazed at the amount of food she received — **"IT'S A GREAT MEAL YOU CAN EAT FOR TWO WEEKS OFF OF THIS,"** she says. In addition, Calandra was able to save money for the first time to pay regular expenses such as her utility bills.

Now she works full-time in Holy Redeemer's accounts payable office. She encourages people to use the program as a tool to get back up on your feet. **"IT WAS AWESOME IF YOU ARE STRUGGLING AND YOU DON'T HAVE ENOUGH TO MAKE ENDS MEET, IT'S AN EXCELLENT PROGRAM."**

Bob Rudnick is another who has benefited through programs in the Milwaukee area. Bob had owned and managed an apartment complex since he was 18. Now 25, Bob decided it was time to build equity in owning a new home.

As a full-time employee of the Greater Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs, he was eligible to receive \$500 towards his home purchase through the club's Employee Assisted Housing Program. The program showed Bob how to reduce lender fees, research violations the city cited on select homes, and discover how much of a home to purchase. As a result, Bob will be closing on an apartment complex this month.

The Boys & Girls Clubs will use this program as a model for a new program with Holy Redeemer. This new program will help only low-income individuals (rather than Boys & Girls Clubs employees) purchase a home through a new \$1 million, five-year grant from HHS and ACF. Through the Individual Development Account grant, the Boys & Girls Clubs hopes to help low-income families of children involved in the club purchase a home, start a business or pay for post-secondary education. Eligible families will have the opportunity to open a savings account. For every dollar deposited, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar two to one up to the program limit of about \$2,000.

Bob now sees relief living in a safe, quiet neighborhood. Many kids from the Boys & Girls clubs attend area schools, so Bob is excited about seeing them outside of work. The neighborhood's white picket fences, nearby lake, and trendy resale shops make Bob feel he is finally at home.

#### **COMPASSION CAPITAL FUND**

The Compassion Capital Fund helps faith-based and community groups build capacity and improve their ability to provide social services to those in need. The CCF reflects President Bush's recognition that faith-based and community organizations are uniquely situated to partner with the government in serving poor and low-income individuals and families.

The fund is designed to help build the capacity of faith-based and community organizations to enable them to provide increased services to low-income and other vulnerable populations. The CCF also is designed to help faith-based and community organizations compete more effectively for private and public resources, including federal sources of funding such as HHS. Holy Redeemer will use the grant to help those in Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, and Green Bay, WI, and in the Rockford area of Illinois.

Holy Redeemer's CCF is through its Compassion Capital Initiative that assists faith- and community-based organizations in increasing their effectiveness, enhancing their ability to provide social services, expanding their organizations, diversifying their funding sources, and creating collaborations to better serve those most in need. This will be accomplished through a series of seminars, workshops, and one-on-one coaching. Examples of help include financial planning, board development, legal services, needs assessments, business management, and human resources development. Holy Redeemer will also award at least 25 percent of their grant money to grassroots organizations to

build their capacity to assist individuals with particularly serious problems such as homelessness, addiction or incarceration of a parent.

Since receiving the \$626,598 one-year grant, Holy Redeemer advertised the program throughout the city — agencies interested in learning more about CCF attended a forum and completed an inquiry form. Holy Redeemer workers are now sifting through about 150 inquiries to see what groups would suit the church's program

The church decided to apply for the grant due to years of success from similar programs disseminated in the community. Holy Redeemer has worked with about 300 social service and faith-based agencies in the last two and a half years. “WE ARE EXPERTS,” says Hattie Daniels-Rush, church administrator. “WE HAVE BEEN DOING IT FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS. WHEN WE LOOKED AT THE PREREQUISITE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE GRANT, IT WAS REALLY RIGHT IN OUR BALLPARK.” She cited a local faith-based youth center that she helped run more effectively through examining funding options, proposals, and more.

With the new grant, Holy Redeemer will be partnering with the Boys & Girls Clubs and local law firm Quarles & Brady. The Boys & Girls Clubs will give guidance on building an agency board while the law firm will provide legal assistance to agencies. Grant funds are also being used to hire about 11 personnel, increase advertisement and training and to pay for postage, office supplies, travel expenses and conference space.

#### COMMUNITY FOOD AND NUTRITION

The goal of Holy Redeemer's Community Food and Nutrition Initiative is to deliver direct benefits to disadvantaged individuals and families through food distribution and nutritional/credit education services. Holy Redeemer aims to improve the overall health and well being of all program participants. Individuals and families eligible for assistance are the homeless, elderly, displaced workers, welfare recipients, and income-qualified individuals, single parents or families. Activities included in the grant are: coordinating private and public food assistance resources to better serve low-income populations, assisting low-income communities to identify potential sponsors of child nutrition programs, initiating such programs in underserved areas, and developing innovative approaches at the state and local level to meet the nutritional needs of low-income individuals.

Holy Redeemer's Food Distribution Center is well seasoned in helping locals in need — they have operated the food pantry for about 16 years. With the \$50,000 one-year grant, Holy Redeemer will be able to hire more staff and, as a result, acquire more food. They used to feed about 300 people quarterly before the grant. But with the new funds, Robert Randolph hopes to feed that number every month.

The distribution center is open every day as needed. With the church's mission to have a holistic approach to healing souls, Holy Redeemer workers get contact information from recipients and tell them about other ministries within the church.

"WE LET THEM KNOW WE ARE THERE TO PROVIDE THAT SUPPORT AND OTHER SERVICES TO EMBRACE THEM AND EMPOWER THEMSELVES," says Randolph, the church's director of social services.

Holy Redeemer also helps individuals with nutrition information. Partnering with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Holy Redeemer provides a state-funded five week class on nutrition to low-income individuals. The church hopes to get 400-600 people helped through the program.

A credit-management class is also offered through Holy Redeemer Credit Union — a federally insured credit union housed on the church grounds. The credit management class is a part of the Food Distribution Center program, says Randolph. Through this class, Holy Redeemer hopes to educate those who are impoverished or have a low income. Workers want to lift the restrictions that bind those with low credit to give them financial empowerment. The one-day seminar helps participants understand credit reports and how to understand bad credit.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR CHURCH IS TO EMPOWER PEOPLE PHYSICALLY, SPIRITUALLY, AND MENTALLY. WE TRY TO EMPOWER INDIVIDUALS TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE NEGATIVE SITUATIONS AND TURN IT AROUND. WE SEEK TO SUPPORT THEM WHILE THEY ARE DOING THAT," says Randolph.

For those in disadvantaged situations, Randolph says, "WE CAN GIVE THEM A BUFFER, SUSTAIN THEM, AND KEEP THEM GOING. BY DOING THAT, WE ALLOW THEM ONE LESS THING THEY HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT."

#### INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNT

The goal of Holy Redeemer's Individual Development Accounts Initiative is to help disadvantaged working families accumulate assets and to help stabilize and improve the community in which the families live. These investments have the potential to bring a new level of economic and personal security to families and communities. The hope is to encourage participants to develop and reinforce strong habits for saving money.

Through the Holy Redeemer Individual Development Accounts Initiative, eligible families will have the opportunity to open a savings account with the Holy Redeemer Credit Union, in which the participants can begin making regular monthly deposits into that account. For every dollar deposited, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar two to one up to the program limit of about \$2,000. Each participant has up to two years to save the program maximum.

Funds accumulated can only be used to purchase a house or build a first home, to start a business, or to cover the cost of post-secondary education. In addition to the matched savings account, participants will have access to credit management classes to help them increase their credit rating. Households eligible to participate in the project are those eligible for the Earned Income

Tax Credit or whose income the previous year was less than 200 percent of the poverty line.

With the \$1 million grant, Holy Redeemer has five years to help 428 individuals and families save through an IDA and purchase an asset. The church will utilize existing employees while partnering with the lead agency – the Boys & Girls Clubs. Dave Knutson, director of grants administration, says the non-profit agency for children encouraged the IDA idea.

Knutson says the national Boys & Girls Clubs office decided to expand its scope to helping not only children but also their families. The idea is that helping families achieve financial stability can make a positive impact on children's lives.

The organization had helped its own employees with home ownership through the year-old Employee Assisted Housing Program, which has 10 participants. Now the Boys & Girls Clubs will be using the housing program's \$10,000 annual budget toward establishing the IDA program, says Knutson.

The Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs is partnering with Select Milwaukee, a local nonprofit that focuses on low-and moderate-income home ownership. Select Milwaukee will help IDA recipients with credit, the preapproval process, mortgages, and more. Knutson hopes the University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee and Milwaukee Area Technical College will assist clients interested in funding post-secondary education.

Milwaukee's Boys & Girls Clubs' mission is to inspire and empower all young people, especially those from disadvantaged circumstances, to realize their full potential as productive, responsible and caring citizens. The Milwaukee clubs run about 20 facilities throughout the metro area and serve about 22,500 kids per year.

#### THE GRANT PROCESS

Randolph says the triple grants are the culmination of staunch preparation for applying and receiving federal funding. Randolph says Holy Redeemer members conducted research, attended meetings, made countless phone calls, and traveled to conferences to receive grant planning advice.

"WE NEEDED TO PLAN, STRATEGIZE, SO THAT WHEN WE DID SUBMIT THE GRANT PROPOSALS, WE KNEW HOW TO DO IT RIGHT," says Randolph. This is the first time that the church has received funding on the federal level, and the first time it has received grants from HHS. He says the grant preparation was worth the reward. "WE BELIEVE THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE MISSION IN OUR CHURCH TO EMPOWER INDIVIDUALS TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN OUR COMMUNITY AND TO A PERSON'S SPIRITUAL, PHYSICAL, AND MENTAL WELL-BEING."

Randolph adds that he is pleased with the HHS grants. Although, he adds, no matter how large or small the amount is, the church is appreciative and uses the money to its fullest extent. "THE GRANTS OVERWHELM US, BUT WE ARE THANKFUL. FOR THE LAST 17 YEARS WE HAVE PROVIDED THESE



SERVICES FOR THE COMMUNITY, BUT NOW WE ARE ABLE TO DO IT IN A GREATER WAY."

### HISTORY

At Holy Redeemer, the church is more than a Sunday event. It's a seven-day-a-week experience. The church hopes to touch lives, to heal the sick, feed the hungry and comfort the needy. "FACED WITH SO MUCH NEED, THAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK BUT THE CHURCH TRAINS ITS DISCIPLES TO DO THE IMPOSSIBLE, TO 'THINK OUT OF THE BOX' BECAUSE, WITH GOD, ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE."

Holy Redeemer's mission is to serve the community as a holistic ministry that touches the mind, body, and spirit. It is to be a group of unique people who are disciplined for the purpose of life enhancement, participating in a Pentecostal experience of God and fellowship.

Created from a commitment to faith, family and community, Holy Redeemer has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church is a site for community meetings, events and functions. It is also a provider of education, housing, and social services. It is a place for guidance and healing, for nurturing the family and mentoring the young.

The three programs funded through the HHS grants are a part of Holy Redeemer's Community Empowerment Initiatives ministry. The ministry's goal is to enhance the ability of faith- and community-based organizations to provide quality community services through capacity building, training, and coaching. The church also hopes the ministry will enhance the quality of life for disadvantaged individuals by providing education, motivation, and asset building programs.

CCF Targeted Capacity Building Mini-Grants  
(ACF)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MINNEAPOLIS, MN  
Greater Minneapolis  
Council of Churches

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Thanks to a \$532,000 three-year Compassion Capitol Fund Demonstration Program grant, more faith-based and community groups will be able to improve its services from sub-awards granted by the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches.

## Snapshot of Compassion

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

### Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches

P.O. Box 7509 (1001 East Lake St.), Minneapolis, MN 55407-0509  
612-721-8687 ext. 333 • fax 612-722-8669 • [www.gmcc.org](http://www.gmcc.org)



#### SNAPSHOT

##### Bob's Story

Director Bob Hulteen knows that his Twin Cities Religion and Labor Network is about to lurch into its mission with more force and progress than he has seen in years. The network, which gives immigration and refugee families assistance in their work, will become more diverse in its community leadership development.

The network applied and received a \$11,000 one-year sub-award through the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches, a Compassion Capital Fund grant recipient. The grant will help the network develop an advisory board to help improve services. He plans to talk with experts and learn how to establish and operate a board, develop a public relations strategy to inform the city of its services and develop a network of relationships to help improve services. Hulteen wants to make sure the most vulnerable people in the city are not overlooked.

As much as the grant award will help build the network's capacity, the opportunity to network with organizations is equally valuable to Hulteen. There are experiences that each organization can share with others such as employment and family issues, he says, which will help create a broader network of services.

Thanks to the CCF grant, more than 44 groups like Hulteen's will receive sub-awards from GMCC in the future.

##### Program Overview

Founded in 1905, the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches operates a family of social service programs and recruits support across denominational lines to help Minnesota families living in poverty. The nonprofit feeds hungry families, helps needy seniors with household chores, tutors inner-city kids, educates volunteers about urban poverty, helps discouraged parents find and maintain jobs, and awards Twin Cities faith and community groups grants and training to create programs that target the unique struggles of low-income families in their neighborhoods.

##### Vitals

**President** Dr. Gary B. Reiersen

**Year Founded** 1905

**Mission** to unite people of faith and serve people in need

**Funds will be used to** increase capacity building of GMCC grantees

**Annual Budget** \$5 million

**Organization Size** 67 employees, 30,000 volunteers

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund

Demonstration Program through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$532,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** three years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

### Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches

P.O. Box 7509 (1001 East Lake Street), Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407-0509  
(612) 721-8687, extension 333 • fax (612) 722-8669 • [www.gmcc.org](http://www.gmcc.org)

#### BOB'S STORY

Director Bob Hulteen knows that his Twin Cities Religion and Labor Network is about to lurch into its mission with more force and progress than he has seen in years. The network, which gives immigration and refugee families assistance in their work, will become more diverse in its community leadership development.

The network applied and received a \$11,000 one-year sub-award through the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches, a Compassion Capital Fund Demonstration Program grant recipient. The grant will help the network develop an advisory board to help improve services.

He plans to talk with experts and learn how to establish and operate a board, develop a public relations strategy to inform the city of its services and develop a network of relationships to help improve services. Hulteen wants to make sure the most vulnerable people in the city are not overlooked.

His network helps provide immigrant and refugee workers with an environment where they can work with safety and confidence. Many workers are low-paid and work overtime. They receive old guidelines and work forms that may not be in their language. The network ensures workers that they will be treated fairly.

The use of government funds to help faith-based organizations is helpful, says Hulteen. Many immigrants and refugees have problems accessing government help on their own because they are used to their own country's practices. A welcoming faith-based organization can provide needed information and comfort, he says.

The GMCC did a tremendous amount of outreach before selecting sub-award recipients for its \$532,000 three-year CCF grant. "THEY FOUND EVERY CORNER, COLLABORATION AND NETWORK AND GOT THE WORD OUT," says Hulteen. More than 400 diverse groups turned out for a training session on how to apply for the sub-award through GMCC.

Hulteen's network knows that it has more work than anticipated when they applied for the grant. "IT GREW FASTER THAN PLANNED, AND WE WERE OPERATING ON INTUITION." As much as the grant award will help build the network's capacity, the opportunity to network with organizations is equally valuable to Hulteen. There are experiences that each organization can share with



others such as employment and family issues, he says, which will help create a broader network of services.

Thanks to the CCF grant, more than 44 groups like Hulteen's will receive sub-awards from GMCC in the future.

#### THE GRANT PROCESS

The GMCC has succeeded in bringing together the resources of the faith community to serve people in need. Particularly in the last quarter century — long before "faith-based initiatives" were being discussed in Washington — GMCC has taken the lead in bringing together churches and volunteers to feed the hungry, care for young children and the elderly, visit the imprisoned, empower the powerless, build the dependent's self-sufficiency, combat racism, and be an advocate for those who are most vulnerable and those who have been left behind.

It has done this through innovative initiatives such as Minnesota FoodShare, Metro Paint-A-Thon, Division of Indian Work, Discover Support Groups and Learning Centers, HandyWorks, Correctional Chaplaincy, Church and Community Initiatives, Congregations Concerned for Children, and Urban Immersion Service Retreats. The success of these cost-effective programs has been staggering. For example, FoodShare provides roughly half of the food in the state to those in need.

In September 2003 GMCC was awarded a \$532,000 three-year CCF grant from the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services and the Administration of Children and Families. The grant was one of only 10 in the nation, and the only one in Minnesota, awarded to intermediary organizations in 2003 working with faith-based and community groups. This grant money is now being passed down to local Twin Cities groups after an exhaustive application process. In all, 305 community- and faith-based groups applied to GMCC.

The CCF is part of President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative to help faith-based and community organizations increase their effectiveness and enhance their ability to provide social services to those most in need. The CCF Demonstration Program funds intermediary organizations that provide faith-based and community organizations training, technical assistance, and capacity-building sub-awards.

GMCC's grants are supported by the McKnight Foundation, Medical Foundation, the Metropolitan Health Plan, as well as HHS. The council awards grants of up to \$25,000 to groups working in specific areas such as organizations, churches and agencies. CCF has given 44 sub-awards totaling \$350,000 from the HHS grant.

Specifically, GMCC will award grants to qualifying faith- and community-based groups in the Twin Cities that expand or create neighborhood programs targeting the three emerging issues. GMCC will assist the new groups with behind-the-scenes help such as volunteer recruitment, accounting, grant writing/fundraising, and risk management; which will allow the faith and community-based groups to focus on their actual grassroots direct-service programs. GMCC grantees

also will receive training to ensure they establish a solid program design with measurable outcomes.

"WITH THIS GENEROUS GRANT WE WILL TARGET THREE EMERGING ISSUES IN OUR COMMUNITY — AFTERCARE FOR OFFENDERS TO REDUCE RECIDIVISM, PREVENTATIVE HEALTH CARE FOR LOW-INCOME CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS, AND HELP FOR NEWLY ARRIVING AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES — ESPECIALLY THOSE FROM WEST AFRICA — OFTEN OVERLOOKED AND A GROWING IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN MINNESOTA," says Gary Reiersen, GMCC president.

"I THINK THAT CCF IS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO DEVELOP PARTNERSHIPS WITH ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE THE ABILITY TO SERVE SOME OF THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUES. THE FAITH COMMUNITY REACHES SOME SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION THAT OTHERS CAN'T REACH."

Federal funding is not new to GMCC — its Division of Indian Work applied and received a \$50,000 one-year Community Food and Nutrition grant in 2002. The grant helped about 6,000 families receive nutrition education. The Division of Indian Work provided five eight-week classes to show participants how to cook healthy meals; it also provided two community forums to promote nutrition, diabetes and cardiovascular health. Fliers and a quarterly newsletter put in grocery bags also informed food-shelf participants of ways to maintain a healthy diet.

Ethnic diversity is stressed by GMCC — the Division of Indian Work recognizes that half of the 50,000 American Indians in Minnesota live in the twin cities area. The council is helping two Jewish groups and four Muslim faith-based organizations. The council's CCF grantees also are from 10 different denominations and one interfaith church. The grantees are also diverse in ethnicity with 19 African-American groups, two Asian, two Latino, one American Indian, three West African immigrants, one Somalian, 10 Caucasian and six multi racial.

GMCC partners with Hamline University's Nonprofit Management Institution to assist grantees with behind-the scenes instruction in areas such as volunteer recruitment, accounting, grant writing, fundraising and risk management. This assistance helps GMCC grantees develop the capacity to become effective and accountable service providers. GMCC grantees also will receive training to ensure they establish a solid program design develop sense of mission, a mission statement, strategic training and measurable outcomes. It will also train the groups to understand the relational capacity building — the ability to network, become part of the community and work well with other groups.

Reiersen says he is grateful for the funds. "THE FACT THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES AND SUPPORTS THE IMPACT CONGREGATIONS HAVE ON THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS FACING OUR SOCIETY SPEAKS VOLUMES. THE FAITH COMMUNITY IS PASSIONATE

ABOUT. AND IN THE BUSINESS OF HELPING NEIGHBORS IN NEED. BUT WE CAN'T DO IT ALONE, AND THIS GRANT RECOGNIZES THAT," he says.

#### **GREATER MINNEAPOLIS COUNCIL OF CHURCHES' STORY**

Since 1905, the GMCC has battled poverty in Minnesota. It operates a successful family of social service programs and recruit support across denominational lines to help struggling Minnesota families remain self-reliant. GMCC is the largest council of churches in the nation and the largest direct-service volunteer organization in the state.

The council serves nearly 500 corporations and foundations, 700 individuals, and 300 congregations. The United Way, and numerous government agencies fund the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches.

Some programs that GMCC supports are:

- Minnesota FoodShare — restocks 261 food shelves each year by directing the largest annual food and cash drive in the state. The effort feeds about 660,000 Minnesotans each year.
- Metro Paint-A-Thon — rallies volunteers to paint the homes of low-income seniors and people with disabilities, which helps more than 100 seniors each year remain in their homes and beautifying neighborhoods throughout the seven-county metro area.
- HandyWorks — match seniors struggling to stay in their homes with people who can help with housekeeping, minor home repairs, and outdoor chores. HandyWorks serves more than 3,000 seniors each year in Hennepin, Ramsey, and Anoka counties.
- Discover Support Groups — operate weekly support groups for low-income mothers working to better the lives of their children. The women set job and home-life goals and lean on one another as they work toward those goals. The mothers learn positive child discipline techniques, find stable employment, or go on to college or job training.
- Division of Indian Work — offers award-winning parenting and nutrition classes to young American Indian mothers and fathers who want the best for their children. It also operates an apartment house for American Indian mothers in need of a safe, affordable place to raise their children. In addition, workers counsel hundreds of American Indian women, children, and men impacted by violence in the home. Finally, it operates a loving home for American Indian foster children. Workers also prepare chronically unemployed and under-employed American Indian adults for the responsibilities of a job by promoting good work habits and offering job-hunting, resume-writing, and job-interview strategies. About 90 individuals are helped each year.



- Discover Learning Centers — teach inner-city kids that ‘hitting the books’ can be both fun and rewarding. With the help of 150 volunteers, they offer 200 students weekly after-school tutoring in reading, writing, math, and science.
- Urban Immersion Service Retreats — operate weekend and week-long retreats to educate people about real-life urban poverty and turn that knowledge into action. Each year, its workers train 1,500 volunteers to serve meals at shelters, renovate housing for needy families, do chores for low-income seniors, and reach out to children in homeless and battered women’s shelters.
- Correctional Chaplaincy — offers offenders in Hennepin County correctional facilities counseling, worship, and aftercare to help them reconnect to the community in healthy ways. Each year, its chaplains conduct 5,000 counseling visits.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MILWAUKEE, WI

Holy Redeemer Institutional  
Church of God in Christ

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With more than \$1.6 million in grant funds from three ACF programs in 2003, Holy Redeemer will feed the needy; help low-income persons save for a home, and help strengthen other social service ministries.

## Snapshot of Compassion

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209  
414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org



#### SNAPSHOT



BOB RUDNICK STANDS IN FRONT OF HIS NEW APARTMENT COMPLEX

#### Bob's Story

As an apartment manager, Bob Rudnick thought he was well versed in the property-buying process. As a full-time employee of the Greater Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs, he was eligible to receive \$500 towards his home purchase through the club's Employee Assisted Housing Program. The program showed Bob how to reduce lender fees and discover how much of a home to purchase. Bob will be closing on an apartment complex this month.

The assisted housing program will be used as a model for a new program with Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ. This new program will help only low-income families of children involved in the club (rather than Boys & Girls Clubs employees) purchase a home, start a business, or pay for education through a \$1 million grant from the HHS and ACF. Through the Individual Development Account grant, for every dollar eligible families deposit into a savings account, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar 2 to 1 up to \$2,000.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded** 1986

**Mission** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used** to provide funds towards a home purchase, business startup, or post-secondary education

**Organization Size** more than 10,000

**Program Grant** Individual Development Account through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size** \$1 million

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** five years

**People Served** about 425



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Snapshot of Compassion

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209  
414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org



#### SNAPSHOT



CALANDRA HAYNES RECEIVED FOOD FROM HOLY REDEEMER WHILE UNEMPLOYED

#### Calandra's Story

When Calandra Haynes heard about the Food Distribution Center at Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ, she knew her immediate needs could be met. As an unemployed single mother, Calandra struggled to make ends meet.

She turned to the church's center that provides food and nutritional education services to those with financial needs.

The church gave Calandra and her boys, 10 and 7, food, household products, toiletries, and more. She was able to save money for the first time to pay regular expenses such as her utility bills. Now Calandra works full-time in Holy Redeemer's accounts payable office. She encourages people to use the program as a tool to get back up on their feet.

Holy Redeemer plans to help more of those in need like Calandra through a \$50,000, one-year Community Food and Nutrition grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration of Children and Families. The funds will help the current food pantry program stretch its reach to more than 1,200 in the community each year.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded** 1986

**Mission** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used** for food distribution and nutrition classes

**Organization Size** more than 10,000

**Program Grant** Community Food and Nutrition through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size** \$50,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** one year

**Number of Clients** more than 1,200



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## Snapshot of Compassion

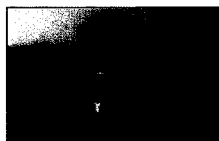
MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209  
414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org



#### SNAPSHOT



PASTOR DAVID HIGHTOWER

#### David's Story

Pastor David Hightower knows how to help his community. While his small church expanded its membership from four to 100 in five years, he developed a number of initiatives to help his community. Thanks to the help of a neighboring church's outreach programs, David's Pentecostal Church of God in Christ has developed a reputation for meeting people's needs within Beloit, WI.

Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ taught David people skills and helped him learn about researching grants, writing proposals, compiling financial records, and managing staff for community outreach programs. Now the church is getting a reputation within the community that it can meet people's needs. Holy Redeemer will be able to help many more community leaders like David thanks to a one-year, \$626,598 grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and Administration for Children and Families. The Compassion Capital Fund grant, awarded in 2003, will equip Holy Redeemer to help faith- and community-based organizations increase their effectiveness and grow their organizations to meet those in need.

#### Program Overview

Born of a commitment to faith, family and community, the Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church has strengthened the capacity of faith-based and community organizations in the Milwaukee and southeastern Wisconsin area for the past 17 years by providing these agencies with training and technical assistance.

#### Vitals

**Pastor** Bishop Sedgwick Daniels

**Year Founded** 1986

**Mission** to serve the Milwaukee community as a holistic ministry

**Funds will be used** to help faith-based and community organizations provide social services to those in need

**Organization Size** more than 10,000

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund through HHS/ACF/OCS

**Award Size** \$626,598

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** three-year project funded annually



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
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## Compassion at Work

MILWAUKEE, WI

### Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ

3500 W. Mother Daniels Way • Milwaukee, WI 53209  
414-466-1800 • fax 414-466-9294 • www.hrcogic.org

#### STORIES OF COMPASSION

Pastor David Hightower knows how to help his community. While his small church expanded its membership from four to 100 in five years, he developed a number of initiatives to help his community. Thanks to the help of a neighboring church's community outreach programs, David's Pentecostal Tabernacle Church of God in Christ has developed a reputation for meeting people's needs within Beloit, WI.

Holy Redeemer Institutional Church of God in Christ showed David how to implement his newest service, a senior citizens feeding program, which gives hot meals to the elderly six times a week. Holy Redeemer helped David discover how to manage the program's funds. The church also helped David prepare for meetings with the city's Council on Aging to get the program's proposal approved. As a result, the feeding program will begin just in time for Christmas.

Through Holy Redeemer's human resources department and the Council of Bishops' seminars, David says he has received invaluable training to help his church grow in community outreach programs. He was amazed that a lot of the issues he was facing were addressed in the classroom. "I THINK THEY WERE JUST A GODSEND," he says. "WE PROBABLY HAD THE LOVE OF THE COMMUNITY, BUT GOING ABOUT ACTUALLY HELPING THEM ARE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS WE HAD TO LEARN HOW TO HELP PEOPLE," says David.

Holy Redeemer taught David people skills and helped him learn about researching grants, writing proposals, compiling financial records, and managing staff for these programs. David also learned how to make his congregation feel good about the church and enthusiastic about expanding their ministry into the community. Now the church is getting a reputation within the community that it can meet people's needs.

David's new food pantry feeds 250 families each year. Holy Redeemer also taught the church how to make the recipients feel at ease and improve their self esteem while struggling with their low incomes. The church also has a youth outreach ministry and an after-school program complete with three computers.

David's church has also received help for its foster parent ministry. About 30-35 parents participate in the program with 80 percent representing single-family homes. Pentecostal Tabernacle helps these parents improve their relational



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skills with their foster children, and the church helps in the mediation between biological and foster parents.

Holy Redeemer will be able to help many more community leaders like David thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families. The Compassion Capital Fund grant, awarded in 2003, will equip Holy Redeemer to help faith- and community-based organizations increase their effectiveness and grow their organizations to meet community members who are in need.

Holy Redeemer continues to help David through this growth in the community. He calls about two to three times a month for random advice. **"I DON'T BELIEVE IN REINVENTING THE WHEEL. WHY TRY TO STRUGGLE TO GET IT DONE AGAIN IF THEY ALREADY KNOW HOW TO GET IT DONE?"** David says. **"SO WE CALL THEM TO HELP US."**

David believes his ministry would still be struggling over small issues without Holy Redeemer's help. **"BY THEM STEPPING IN, THAT KNOCKED OFF AT LEAST TWO YEARS ON OUR STRUGGLES. I WILL ALWAYS RECOMMEND THEM TO OTHER CHURCHES,"** says David.

**"THROUGH THEIR HELP, I CAN ONLY SEE ENDLESS POSSIBILITIES,"** he adds.

When Calandra Haynes heard about Holy Redeemer's Food Distribution Center, she knew her immediate needs could be met. As an unemployed single mother with two boys, Calandra struggled to make ends meet. She turned to the church's center that provides food and nutritional education services to those with financial needs.

Holy Redeemer plans to help more of those in need like Calandra through a Community Food and Nutrition grant. The funds will enable the current food pantry program to stretch its reach from more than 1,200 in the community each year.

The church gave her food, household products, hair supplies, cough drops, toiletries, and more. Her boys, 10 and 7, enjoyed getting weekly goodies such as cookies and graham crackers as well as necessities. Calandra was amazed at the amount of food she received — **"IT'S A GREAT MEAL YOU CAN EAT FOR TWO WEEKS OFF OF THIS,"** she says. In addition, Calandra was able to save money for the first time to pay regular expenses such as her utility bills.

Now she works full-time in Holy Redeemer's accounts payable office. She encourages people to use the program as a tool to get back up on your feet. **"IT WAS AWESOME IF YOU ARE STRUGGLING AND YOU DON'T HAVE ENOUGH TO MAKE ENDS MEET, IT'S AN EXCELLENT PROGRAM."**

Bob Rudnick is another who has benefited through programs in the Milwaukee area. Bob had owned and managed an apartment complex since he was 18. Now 25, Bob decided it was time to build equity in owning a new home.

As a full-time employee of the Greater Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs, he was eligible to receive \$500 towards his home purchase through the club's Employee Assisted Housing Program. The program showed Bob how to reduce lender fees, research violations the city cited on select homes, and discover how much of a home to purchase. As a result, Bob will be closing on an apartment complex this month.

The Boys & Girls Clubs will use this program as a model for a new program with Holy Redeemer. This new program will help only low-income individuals (rather than Boys & Girls Clubs employees) purchase a home through a new \$1 million, five-year grant from HHS and ACF. Through the Individual Development Account grant, the Boys & Girls Clubs hopes to help low-income families of children involved in the club purchase a home, start a business or pay for post-secondary education. Eligible families will have the opportunity to open a savings account. For every dollar deposited, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar two to one up to the program limit of about \$2,000.

Bob now sees relief living in a safe, quiet neighborhood. Many kids from the Boys & Girls clubs attend area schools, so Bob is excited about seeing them outside of work. The neighborhood's white picket fences, nearby lake, and trendy resale shops make Bob feel he is finally at home.

#### **COMPASSION CAPITAL FUND**

The Compassion Capital Fund helps faith-based and community groups build capacity and improve their ability to provide social services to those in need. The CCF reflects President Bush's recognition that faith-based and community organizations are uniquely situated to partner with the government in serving poor and low-income individuals and families.

The fund is designed to help build the capacity of faith-based and community organizations to enable them to provide increased services to low-income and other vulnerable populations. The CCF also is designed to help faith-based and community organizations compete more effectively for private and public resources, including federal sources of funding such as HHS. Holy Redeemer will use the grant to help those in Milwaukee, Racine, Kenosha, and Green Bay, WI, and in the Rockford area of Illinois.

Holy Redeemer's CCF is through its Compassion Capital Initiative that assists faith- and community-based organizations in increasing their effectiveness, enhancing their ability to provide social services, expanding their organizations, diversifying their funding sources, and creating collaborations to better serve those most in need. This will be accomplished through a series of seminars, workshops, and one-on-one coaching. Examples of help include financial planning, board development, legal services, needs assessments, business management, and human resources development. Holy Redeemer will also award at least 25 percent of their grant money to grassroots organizations to



build their capacity to assist individuals with particularly serious problems such as homelessness, addiction or incarceration of a parent.

Since receiving the \$626,598 one-year grant, Holy Redeemer advertised the program throughout the city — agencies interested in learning more about CCF attended a forum and completed an inquiry form. Holy Redeemer workers are now sifting through about 150 inquiries to see what groups would suit the church's program

The church decided to apply for the grant due to years of success from similar programs disseminated in the community. Holy Redeemer has worked with about 300 social service and faith-based agencies in the last two and a half years. "WE ARE EXPERTS," says Hattie Daniels-Rush, church administrator. "WE HAVE BEEN DOING IT FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS WHEN WE LOOKED AT THE PREREQUISITE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE GRANT, IT WAS REALLY RIGHT IN OUR BALLPARK." She cited a local faith-based youth center that she helped run more effectively through examining funding options, proposals, and more.

With the new grant, Holy Redeemer will be partnering with the Boys & Girls Clubs and local law firm Quarles & Brady. The Boys & Girls Clubs will give guidance on building an agency board while the law firm will provide legal assistance to agencies. Grant funds are also being used to hire about 11 personnel, increase advertisement and training and to pay for postage, office supplies, travel expenses and conference space.

#### COMMUNITY FOOD AND NUTRITION

The goal of Holy Redeemer's Community Food and Nutrition Initiative is to deliver direct benefits to disadvantaged individuals and families through food distribution and nutritional/credit education services. Holy Redeemer aims to improve the overall health and well being of all program participants. Individuals and families eligible for assistance are the homeless, elderly, displaced workers, welfare recipients, and income-qualified individuals, single parents or families. Activities included in the grant are: coordinating private and public food assistance resources to better serve low-income populations, assisting low-income communities to identify potential sponsors of child nutrition programs, initiating such programs in underserved areas, and developing innovative approaches at the state and local level to meet the nutritional needs of low-income individuals.

Holy Redeemer's Food Distribution Center is well seasoned in helping locals in need — they have operated the food pantry for about 16 years. With the \$50,000 one-year grant, Holy Redeemer will be able to hire more staff and, as a result, acquire more food. They used to feed about 300 people quarterly before the grant. But with the new funds, Robert Randolph hopes to feed that number every month.

The distribution center is open every day as needed. With the church's mission to have a holistic approach to healing souls, Holy Redeemer workers get contact information from recipients and tell them about other ministries within the church.

"WE LET THEM KNOW WE ARE THERE TO PROVIDE THAT SUPPORT AND OTHER SERVICES TO EMBRACE THEM AND EMPOWER THEMSELVES," SAYS Randolph, the church's director of social services.

Holy Redeemer also helps individuals with nutrition information. Partnering with the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Holy Redeemer provides a state-funded five week class on nutrition to low-income individuals. The church hopes to get 400-600 people helped through the program.

A credit-management class is also offered through Holy Redeemer Credit Union — a federally insured credit union housed on the church grounds. The credit management class is a part of the Food Distribution Center program, says Randolph. Through this class, Holy Redeemer hopes to educate those who are impoverished or have a low income. Workers want to lift the restrictions that bind those with low credit to give them financial empowerment. The one-day seminar helps participants understand credit reports and how to understand bad credit.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR CHURCH IS TO EMPOWER PEOPLE PHYSICALLY, SPIRITUALLY, AND MENTALLY. WE TRY TO EMPOWER INDIVIDUALS TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE NEGATIVE SITUATIONS AND TURN IT AROUND. WE SEEK TO SUPPORT THEM WHILE THEY ARE DOING THAT," says Randolph.

For those in disadvantaged situations, Randolph says, "WE CAN GIVE THEM A BUFFER, SUSTAIN THEM, AND KEEP THEM GOING. BY DOING THAT, WE ALLOW THEM ONE LESS THING THEY HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT."

#### INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNT

The goal of Holy Redeemer's Individual Development Accounts Initiative is to help disadvantaged working families accumulate assets and to help stabilize and improve the community in which the families live. These investments have the potential to bring a new level of economic and personal security to families and communities. The hope is to encourage participants to develop and reinforce strong habits for saving money.

Through the Holy Redeemer Individual Development Accounts Initiative, eligible families will have the opportunity to open a savings account with the Holy Redeemer Credit Union, in which the participants can begin making regular monthly deposits into that account. For every dollar deposited, Holy Redeemer will match that dollar two to one up to the program limit of about \$2,000. Each participant has up to two years to save the program maximum.

Funds accumulated can only be used to purchase a house or build a first home, to start a business, or to cover the cost of post-secondary education. In addition to the matched savings account, participants will have access to credit management classes to help them increase their credit rating. Households eligible to participate in the project are those eligible for the Earned Income

Tax Credit or whose income the previous year was less than 200 percent of the poverty line.

With the \$1 million grant, Holy Redeemer has five years to help 428 individuals and families save through an IDA and purchase an asset. The church will utilize existing employees while partnering with the lead agency – the Boys & Girls Clubs. Dave Knutson, director of grants administration, says the non-profit agency for children encouraged the IDA idea.

Knutson says the national Boys & Girls Clubs office decided to expand its scope to helping not only children but also their families. The idea is that helping families achieve financial stability can make a positive impact on children's lives.

The organization had helped its own employees with home ownership through the year-old Employee Assisted Housing Program, which has 10 participants. Now the Boys & Girls Clubs will be using the housing program's \$10,000 annual budget toward establishing the IDA program, says Knutson.

The Milwaukee Boys & Girls Clubs is partnering with Select Milwaukee, a local nonprofit that focuses on low-and moderate-income home ownership. Select Milwaukee will help IDA recipients with credit, the preapproval process, mortgages, and more. Knutson hopes the University of Wisconsin- Milwaukee and Milwaukee Area Technical College will assist clients interested in funding post-secondary education.

Milwaukee's Boys & Girls Clubs' mission is to inspire and empower all young people, especially those from disadvantaged circumstances, to realize their full potential as productive, responsible and caring citizens. The Milwaukee clubs run about 20 facilities throughout the metro area and serve about 22,500 kids per year.

#### THE GRANT PROCESS

Randolph says the triple grants are the culmination of staunch preparation for applying and receiving federal funding. Randolph says Holy Redeemer members conducted research, attended meetings, made countless phone calls, and traveled to conferences to receive grant planning advice.

"WE NEEDED TO PLAN, STRATEGIZE, SO THAT WHEN WE DID SUBMIT THE GRANT PROPOSALS, WE KNEW HOW TO DO IT RIGHT," says Randolph. This is the first time that the church has received funding on the federal level, and the first time it has received grants from HHS. He says the grant preparation was worth the reward. "WE BELIEVE THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE MISSION IN OUR CHURCH TO EMPOWER INDIVIDUALS TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN OUR COMMUNITY AND TO A PERSON'S SPIRITUAL, PHYSICAL, AND MENTAL WELL-BEING."

Randolph adds that he is pleased with the HHS grants. Although, he adds, no matter how large or small the amount is, the church is appreciative and uses the money to its fullest extent. "THE GRANTS OVERWHELM US, BUT WE ARE THANKFUL. FOR THE LAST 17 YEARS WE HAVE PROVIDED THESE

SERVICES FOR THE COMMUNITY, BUT NOW WE ARE ABLE TO DO IT IN A GREATER WAY."

## HISTORY

At Holy Redeemer, the church is more than a Sunday event. It's a seven-day-a-week experience. The church hopes to touch lives, to heal the sick, feed the hungry and comfort the needy. "FACED WITH SO MUCH NEED, THAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK BUT THE CHURCH TRAINS ITS DISCIPLES TO DO THE IMPOSSIBLE, TO 'THINK OUT OF THE BOX.' BECAUSE, WITH GOD, ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE."

Holy Redeemer's mission is to serve the community as a holistic ministry that touches the mind, body, and spirit. It is to be a group of unique people who are disciplined for the purpose of life enhancement, participating in a Pentecostal experience of God and fellowship.

Created from a commitment to faith, family and community, Holy Redeemer has been ministering to others since 1986. Through the leadership of Bishop Sedgwick Daniels and the Daniels family, Holy Redeemer serves the Milwaukee community not only as a place of worship, but also as a multifaceted resource. The church is a site for community meetings, events and functions. It is also a provider of education, housing, and social services. It is a place for guidance and healing, for nurturing the family and mentoring the young.

The three programs funded through the HHS grants are a part of Holy Redeemer's Community Empowerment Initiatives ministry. The ministry's goal is to enhance the ability of faith- and community-based organizations to provide quality community services through capacity building, training, and coaching. The church also hopes the ministry will enhance the quality of life for disadvantaged individuals by providing education, motivation, and asset building programs.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN TACOMA, WA

Northwest Leadership Foundation

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A \$740,000 Compassion Capital Fund grant renewable for three years through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help more leaders of faith- and community-based organizations receive the funds they need to secure a more productive future in four U.S. cities

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN TACOMA, WA

### Northwest Leadership Foundation

119 Martin Luther King Jr. Way • Tacoma, WA 98405  
253-272-0771 • fax 253.682.1071 • www.northwestleadership.org

#### SNAPSHOT



GLEND A TANNER RECEIVED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THAT HELPED HER SECURE \$68,000 IN NEW FUNDS.

#### Glenda's Story

As founder and executive director of the rapidly-growing Proud African American Youth Society, Glenda Tanner knew she had to search for more efficient ways to conduct her ministry. She applied for and received \$4,000 in extra financial aid through the Northwest Leadership Foundation's Compassion Capital Fund's Four-City Demonstration Project (4CD) in 2003.

Glenda has implemented a new staff development program that focuses on team building. Officials have also written public grant requests, secured \$68,000 in new funds and created a domestic violence and sexual assault awareness program.

Thanks to a \$740,000 Compassion Capital Fund grant renewable for three years through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, more leaders of faith- and community-based organizations like Glenda's can receive the funds they need to secure a more productive future through the 4CD project.

#### Program Overview

The Northwest Leadership Foundation is a faith-based, locally-driven nonprofit organization established to serve the Tacoma/Seattle region. Its mission is to build working relationships across faith and community groups, develop joint ventures that rebuild lives and neighborhoods and build the capacity of participating organizations.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** David Hillis

**Year Founded** 1986

**Mission** to encourage, strengthen and develop leadership for the city's spiritual and social renewal

**Annual Budget** \$2 million

**Organization Size** 18

**Program Grant** Compassion Capitol Fund through HHS

**Award Size** \$740,000 renewable each year for three years

**Award Date** 2003

**Funds Will Be Used** to increase capacity building for more than 100 organizations

**Project Duration** three years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
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## Compassion at Work

IN TACOMA, WA

### Northwest Leadership Foundation

419 Martin Luther King Jr. Way • Tacoma, WA 98405

253-272-0771 • fax 253.682.1071 • [www.northwestleadership.org](http://www.northwestleadership.org)

#### GLENDAS STORY

The issues plaguing local African Americans in the late 1980s drove Glenda Tanner to establish the Proud African American Youth Society in Tacoma two decades ago. She hoped her ministry could address the city's gang violence, the large number of youth in state foster care and the lack of reintegration opportunities for youth after detention.

The organization now provides mentoring, tutoring and lessons on self esteem and gang resistance skills. It has expanded to also include domestic violence and sexual assault education, foster care, and other youth development activities.

As Glenda's organization grew, she realized its infrastructure had not grown as quickly as its programs. As founder and executive director, she knew she had to search for more efficient ways to conduct her ministry. She applied for and received \$4,000 in extra financial aid through the Northwest Leadership Foundation and the Compassion Capital Fund's Four-City Demonstration Project (4CD) in 2003. "I FELT LIKE THERE WAS SOMETHING BEING OFFERED TO NON-PROFITS THAT DIDN'T COST THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS. MY ORGANIZATION HAS THE SAME TRAINING AND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT NEEDS AS ANY CORPORATE ENTITY... AND DONORS DON'T WANT TO PAY FOR DIRECT SERVICES ONLY," she says. She understood that her funds for capacity building were low and her ministry would not be able to help more youth unless she received financial aid.

The Northwest Leadership Foundation's capacity-building program provides free technical assistance to help organizations like Glenda's begin thinking about organizational transition, aligning programs with the ministry's mission and developing inexpensive and ongoing staff training. Since being in the program, Glenda has implemented a new staff development program that focuses on team building. Foundation workers have also written public grant requests, secured \$68,000 in new funds and created a domestic violence and sexual assault awareness program.

Thanks to a \$740,000 Compassion Capital Fund grant renewable for three years through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, more leaders of



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

faith- and community-based organizations like Glenda's can receive the funds they need to secure a more productive future through the 4CD project.

### THE GRANT PROCESS

The 4CD's goal is to increase the program and organizational capabilities of more than 100 small faith-based and community organizations in four cities that serve at-risk youth, homeless, prisoners re-entering the community, children of prisoners, addicts, elders in need, families moving from welfare to work and couples working to form and sustain healthy marriages.

To form the 4CD project, the Northwest Leadership Foundation in Tacoma partnered with the Memphis Leadership Foundation, the Collaboration for a New Century in Phoenix and the Knoxville Leadership Foundation.

The project is providing \$300,000 in sub-awards to the four cities through a competitive process. Organizations participating in the demonstration project apply individually for sub-awards up to \$30,000 or as a service network for awards up to \$60,000. The 4CD plans to increase the program and organizational capabilities in each city so that services expand, funding increases, programs become more effective and stronger collaborations are formed to address specific community needs.

Through the oversight of Project Director Patricia Talton during the next two years, the 4CD will provide free training workshops, individualized technical assistance and sub-awards to help small faith- and community-based organizations build their capacity to apply for, partner with, and manage federal grants and other resources. The 4CD collaborates with the executive director of each local leadership foundation, the 4CD local project directors for each city, the Amherst foundation and local consultants.

During the grant's first year, the 4CD selected 20-30 organizations in each city for participation in the project and conducted initial orientation and training sessions in each city. The project also provided organizational assessments and developed plans to improve performance. In February 2004, the 4CD selected 125 faith- and community-based organizations, including the Proud African American Youth Society, to receive free technical assistance training, and some received grants from \$2,000 - \$15,000 to assist with building organizational capacity. In March, the oversight team selected its first round of sub-award grant recipients. Across all four cities, 44 grants were awarded to local faith-based and community-based organizations, totaling \$300,000.

The project offers training and mentoring in areas such as program development, evaluation, financial management, board development, fundraising strategies, human resource management, marketing and collaborations. The training is offered to all of the organizations within the 4CD — 20 in Knoxville, 20 in Memphis, 50 in Phoenix and 35 in Tacoma. Project officials believe the training



strengthens each organization and prepares them for partnerships with the federal government.

The CCF Demonstration Fund matches the Northwest Leadership Foundation's mission and goals, says Talton. "IT IS EXACTLY WHAT THE NORTHWEST LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION DOES. WE EXIST TO HELP SMALL FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS DO WHAT THEY DO BETTER. SO IT WAS RIGHT UP OUR ALLEY." she says.

The 4CD currently serves 125 organizations across four cities. Talton hopes to increase that number to 200 during the three-year grant. "IT'S SO IMPORTANT TO BE A RESOURCE TO THE COMMUNITY. THROUGH THIS CCF GRANT, WE HAVE A WAY TO USE OUR OWN DOOR OF ACCESS TO HELP OTHERS. THAT MIRRORS WHAT THE CCF WAS SET UP TO DO — TO PROVIDE ACCESS TO THOSE WHO DON'T HAVE IT."

#### **NORTHWEST LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION'S STORY**

The Northwest Leadership Foundation was established in 1989 after Bud Bilsma, a former Young Life member, saw a need in the Pacific Northwest to start a local leadership foundation in Seattle. The Northwest Leadership Foundation is a part of Leadership Foundations of America, which is a national network of local leadership foundations dedicated to the physical and spiritual transformation of communities. As people of faith, foundation members seek to unify people from all walks of life — business, religious, neighborhood, and government leaders — to renew their communities. The national foundation has a particular concern for the poor, the vulnerable and the marginalized.

Leadership Foundations of America was established in 1993 to strengthen and expand this network of local leadership foundations. With more than 30 leadership foundations throughout the nation, millions of people have been helped through their work with the community to build literacy programs, housing, employment, self-sustaining businesses, health care, food programs, mentoring, drug and alcohol rehabilitation centers and more. The Leadership Foundations of America serves as a civic and spiritual catalyst working to help local leaders establish new leadership foundations. It also strengthens the work of local leadership foundations through peer accreditation, cross-city learning, national partnerships that bring new resources to cities, leadership development, training and providing a national voice. It also helps build the capacity of small community groups such as the Proud African American Youth Society to better serve their communities.

The local leadership foundations are committed to positive change through theological insight. It offers educational opportunities to enhance a biblical understanding of the city, relevant forums that address the multi-faceted nature of urban life, and training that helps support local efforts by urban ministries.

The Northwest Leadership Foundation is committed to creative solutions through social capital. Members believe the city's strength can be found in relationships. For more than a decade, the foundation has been committed to forging a growing network of trusting relationships across the spectrum of urban and suburban churches and communities. It is this commitment that uniquely positions the foundation to analyze the landscape of the city and help provide creative, community-based solutions for its places of need. It brings churches and community organizations together that are relationally committed to the city, helps the different facets of the city move toward a common goal, and develops initiatives and philosophical principals that help the church and the community think and work together. By 2005, the Leadership Foundations of America expects to have in place effective local leadership foundations that will serve cities and regions with half the U.S. population.

# Compassion Capital Fund Sub-Awards (ACF)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN DES MOINES, IA

St. Paul AME

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A \$50,000 Compassion Capital Fund Grant will help St. Paul AME Church expand its capacity and improve its after-school program.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN DES MOINES, IA

### St. Paul AME Church

201 Day St. • Des Moines, IA 50314  
515-283-0940 • fax 515-283-0348



#### SNAPSHOT



JALEN'S READING SCORES JUMPED TWO GRADES LAST YEAR.

#### Jalen's Story

Jalen Bundy, 7, is a model student for St. Paul's AME after-school program. The second grader, who was faltering in his reading skills a year ago, is now reading on a fourth-grade level. With the help of a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, St. Paul AME Church was able to hire additional staff members this past year through the Safe Village After-School Tutoring and Mentoring Program. They have helped improve social and educational skills of its children.

He is now reading at home, and his mother is starting to buy him new books. He also practices reading in front of his after-school class each Wednesday, and it doesn't make him nervous.

Thanks to the grant from HHS and the Administration of Children and Families, more students like Jalen can improve their social and educational skills, and more volunteers can be recruited and teachers can be hired, through the Safe Village program.

#### Program Overview

Safe Village program offers youth a healthy alternative to drug, alcohol and tobacco use, as well as criminal activity and other high-risk behaviors. The free program focuses on reading and math materials that will enhance a student's academic levels. The program has helped youth improve their overall academic achievement and develop better social skills.

#### Vitals

**Program Manager** Kimberly Jackson

**Year Founded** 1872

**Mission** evangelism, good stewardship, strong preaching and Christian education will be used to impact all individuals in Des Moines and surrounding areas, regardless of socio-economic, racial and educational status

**Funds Will Be Used** for capacity building of the Trinity Alliance to provide a quality after-school youth program

**Annual Budget** \$320,000

**Organization Size** four employees

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund Targeted Capacity Building Program grant through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$50,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** one year



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EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

IN DES MOINES, IA

### St. Paul AME Church

1201 Day St. • Des Moines, IA 50314  
515-283-0940 • fax 515-283-0348

#### JALEN'S STORY

Jalen Bundy, 7, is a model student for St. Paul AME Church's after-school program. The second grader, who was faltering in his reading skills a year ago, is now reading on a fourth-grade level. With the help of a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, St. Paul AME was able to hire additional staff members this past year that have, in turn, helped improve the social and educational skills of its children.

The church's Safe Village After-School Tutoring and Mentoring Program has helped Jalen improve his work through encouragement and creative strategies. Jalen says it's fun for him to learn to read more advanced books. Last year, he was reading short stories; now he is reading 60-page chapter books.

He is now reading at home, and his mother is starting to buy him new books. He also practices reading in front of his after-school class each Wednesday, and it doesn't make him nervous. "I LIKE TO GO THERE BECAUSE IT HELPS ME LEARN A LOT MORE, AND I CAN DO MORE FUN STUFF!" he says.

The after-school program also teaches math skills — Jalen is learning how to count money and use fractions. They also improve their social skills — Fun Fridays allow the children to play games like musical chairs and Jeopardy.

Jalen is also learning history through the books he loves to read. His favorite series, the Magic Tree House, takes a brother and sister back in time which teaches Jalen about other countries and cultures such as Egypt.

Thanks to the HHS grant, St. Paul AME hopes about 100 students like Jalen can improve their social and educational skills; more volunteers can be recruited and teachers hired through the Safe Village program.

#### THE GRANT PROCESS

St. Paul AME applied and received the \$50,000 Compassion Capital Fund grant in 2003. The one-year funding from HHS and the Administration of Children and Families is designed to help build the capacity of faith-based and community organizations and to help them provide increased services to low-income and other vulnerable populations. The fund is in response to President Bush's call for a faith-based and community initiative to remove barriers to these organizations in applying for federal funds.



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

Debra Carr says when she heard about the grant through local resources, she knew it was a perfect fit for St. Paul AME. She knew the churches that partnered with St. Paul AME had limited resources as well, and the churches wanted to help more at-risk youth while expanding the program, says Carr, director for Economic Development at the Institute for Social and Economic Development.

Carr did not have reservations about working with federal funds; however, St. Paul AME members wondered if the funds would benefit the church. They were concerned that getting involved with the government might take away some religious freedom, but their pastor viewed the grant as an opportunity to expand his vision to have the church more involved with the community.

St. Paul AME is the lead partner in the Trinity Alliance; its goal is to offer at-risk youth a healthy alternative to drug, alcohol and tobacco use, criminal activity and other high-risk behaviors through its Safe Village program.

The Safe Village program has an average of 22 children enrolled, and about 15 attend daily. The free program focuses on reading and math materials that will enhance a student's academic levels. The program has helped youth improve their overall academic achievement and develop better social skills. The program also collaborates with the public school system to check up on the students' grades.

Stephanie Jackson, after-school program director, oversees six trained volunteers and a retired teacher who help educate the children in kindergarten through sixth grade Monday through Friday from 3-6 p.m. Jackson was a volunteer with the program, but grant funds allowed her to work as a part-time employee. Funds also helped David Moore become a full-time St. Paul AME youth director, and he works hand-in-hand with Jackson.

The after-school program's heart is not only to help children become better students, but to also give them assurance and love. Carr says that some children who come to the program have behavioral issues that must be addressed in class. She says the Safe Village program is steadfast in allowing the children to change through time.

Carr's vision is to expand the program's work into the community. "WE BELIEVE CHILDREN DO BETTER IF PARENTS DO BETTER. WE WANT TO MODEL AND SHARE INFORMATION WITH OTHERS TO CREATE HOLISTIC WELL-BEING IN OUR COMMUNITY -- SPIRITUALLY, MENTALLY, FINANCIALLY AND PHYSICALLY."

St. Paul AME is a member of the Trinity Alliance with two other faith-based institutions, Bethel AME Church and Kyles AME Zion Church. The Trinity Alliance partners with the ISED for consultation, training and fiscal management for the CCF project. ISED is a non-profit organization that is providing technical assistance to the Trinity Alliance for preparing grants and other reports. Its

mission focuses on alleviating poverty and strengthening the social and economic well being of individuals and communities.

Through the grant funds, St. Paul AME has developed staff and volunteer position descriptions, and the church now has the capability of checking all staff and volunteers against the child abuse registry. The church was also able to see what kind of software and hardware it needs for the future, thanks to a technical evaluation. Policies are also being established for reporting office data and fiscal management.

The Trinity Alliance, funded through the United Way, established partnerships with the Boy Scouts of America and Gatchel Church. A new Boy Scout troop will be established that will include a number of youth enrolled in the Safe Village program. In addition, Gatchel Church will provide information to their congregation regarding programs and services available through Safe Village.

Staff will continue learning at the Nonprofit Management Institute that offers classes to those wanting to start a non-profit business, and the staff will participate in the Advanced Youth Development Training. This training will foster the understanding of youth dynamics and how to design and deliver effective youth programs. The Trinity Alliance also anticipates future partnerships that will expand its youth services.

#### **ST. PAUL AME'S STORY**

St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in 1872, had pioneering leaders who encouraged development in Des Moines. Historically, the AME church has supported education, entrepreneurship and stewardship.

Carr says the AME church as a whole has a broader perspective than most.

"THE AME CHURCH HAS LED COMMUNITIES IN A NUMBER OF COMMUNITY ISSUES IN WHICH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HAS HISTORICALLY BEEN AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE CHURCH'S WORK."

St. Paul AME has both internal and external ministries that touch both church members and the community. Some of the ministries include:

- Bible studies
- Men's and women's ministries
- Couple's ministry
- Computer classes
- Summer camp programs
- Feeding the homeless
- Urban ministries for the elderly
- Missionary society
- Transportation ministry



## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MIAMI, FL

Peacemaker Family Center

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Thanks to a \$50,000 Compassion Capital Fund grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Peacemaker Family Center will be able to help more children like Roger in Miami-Dade County.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MIAMI, FL

### Peacemaker Family Center Trinity Church

P.O. Box 680820 • 655 NW 125th Street • Miami, FL 33168  
305-685-8923 • fax 305-688-9129 • [www.peacemakers.com/PM5/main.htm](http://www.peacemakers.com/PM5/main.htm)



#### SNAPSHOT



ROGER IMPROVED HIS GRADES WITH AFTER-SCHOOL DIRECTOR MEGAN MARSH'S HELP

#### Roger's Story

Roger Boucard, 10, used to have an attitude problem. He was withdrawn, angry and threw tantrums. "I used to hate school," he says. He was making mostly C's and D's and disliked studying. But once he started attending KidCare America Afterschool Program in August, his demeanor and class performance improved. Roger jumped to the top 10 in his class at school. And he may be placed in the gifted program next year. His behavior at home changed too — Roger does his chores, has become interested in church, and is considering attending Saturday school.

The Peacemaker Family Center is committed to providing youth with the tools to achieve excellence in their lives. Thanks to a \$50,000 Compassion Capital Fund grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children and Families, the PFC will be able to help more children like Roger in Miami-Dade County.

#### Program Overview

The Peacemaker Family Center operates as a social service ministry of Trinity Church — a 42-year old, ethnically-diverse congregation with more than 3,100 members. The center has helped more than 4,500 low-income, working poor, and unemployed families with a variety of services including food, clothing, day care summer camp, legal services, crisis counseling, job readiness training, and housing and utility assistance since January 2001.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Linda Freeman

**Year Founded** 1999

**Mission** to serve and mentor individuals and families in transition

**Funds will be used for** capacity building

**Annual Budget** \$500,000

**Organization Size** more than 10 full-time and 34 part-time employees, and 80 part-time volunteers

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$50,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** one year

**People Served** 5,100 families; 700 people weekly



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### Peacemaker Family Center

Trinity Church

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#### ROGER'S STORY

Roger Boucard, 10, used to have an attitude problem. He was withdrawn, angry and threw tantrums. "I USED TO HATE SCHOOL," he says. He was making mostly C's and D's and disliked studying. But once he started attending KidCare America Afterschool Program in August, his demeanor and class performance improved. Roger jumped to the top 10 in his class at school. And he may be placed in the gifted program next year, says his mom, Lakeisha Graham, 27. His behavior at home changed too — Roger does his chores, has become interested in church, and is considering attending Saturday school. "I WANT TO LEARN, AND I WANT TO BE AN 'A' STUDENT," he says.

A lot of Peacemaker Family Center's after-school students are high-risk, and many have faltering family support systems, says After-School Program Director Megan Marsh. Roger came to the after-school program with burdens from the past. When he was 2, his father was incarcerated, and he never returned home. In August 2000 the boy was in a coma for seven days after he ran across the street, and was struck by a truck. His recovery was quick — he attended therapy and counseling, and in three months, he was back in school. But the difficulties from his childhood remained.

Roger is one of 32 children who participate in the KidCare America program, which features nutritious snacks, computer learning, tutoring, homework assistance, sports activities and fine arts enrichment. Roger's mother says that she is grateful for the program because it gave Roger the skills he needed to become a better student. "THEY SHOW A LOT OF LOVE AND CONCERN. THEY ALWAYS GO THE EXTRA MILE IN HELPING THEM SUCCEED," she says.

The PFC operates as a social service ministry of Trinity Church — a 42-year old, ethnically-diverse congregation with more than 3,100 members. The center has helped more than 4,500 low-income families with a variety of services including food, clothing, day care summer camp, legal services, crisis counseling, job readiness training, and housing and utility assistance since January 2001.

The center is committed to providing youth with the tools to achieve excellence in their lives. Thanks to a Compassion Capital Fund grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration for Children



and Families, the PFC will be able to help more children like Roger. The grant will help increase the PFC's capacity to serve the needs more of at-risk youth in Miami-Dade County.

#### PUTTING THE GRANT TO WORK

PFC Executive Director Linda Freeman says the grant will give needed support to Trinity Church. "EVEN THOUGH OUR CHURCH IS LARGE, IT CANNOT SUPPORT THE SOCIAL SERVICES IN OUR COMMUNITY," says Freeman. The church's social service programs sprouted from its benevolence ministry, and it grew so fast that it almost overwhelmed the congregation. Freeman knew that federal funds could help give Trinity the boost it needed to help a growing community. "MANY NON-PROFITS GET GRANTS AND THAT'S HOW THEY SERVE THE COMMUNITY. AND WE THOUGHT - WHY CAN'T WE COMPETE?" says Freeman.

For the past five years, Freeman and other PFC workers tried to bring the center to a level that could compete with other secular programs for federal funds. "BECAUSE WE DO HAVE THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE, IT MAY LOOK AS IF IT'S EASIER TO GET FUNDS. BUT THAT'S NOT TRUE. IT'S JUST PLAIN HARD WORK. IT'S VERY COMPETITIVE," says Freeman. Once the PFC got its first state-funded program through the Department of Labor, it started building partnerships within the community to build stronger social service programs that had the capacity to manage Federal funds.

Freeman says the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives has helped government agencies and the public understand that faith-based organizations can receive government funds to provide community social services. "WHEN WE GOT STARTED, THERE WERE MANY AGENCIES THAT WOULD NOT FUND FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS. THEIR POLICIES SAID THAT FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS WOULD BE INELIGIBLE TO APPLY. THE CONCEPT WAS THAT THEY COULDN'T POSSIBLY SUPPLY A SERVICE WITHOUT MAKING IT A RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY," says Freeman. "THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE HAS REMOVED BARRIERS SO THAT WE COULD COMPETE FOR FUNDS."

The PFC applied and received the \$50,000 Compassion Capital Fund grant in 2003. The grant will help improve sustainability and integration of comprehensive neighborhood services for at-risk youth through Trinity Church, Berry University, and River of Life Youth Services. Berry University is involved with Trinity's Esther Project, which targets teen moms and adult women with children who have exhausted their public assistance cash benefits. River of Life provides faith-based services for the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice; it also provides living, detention and residential treatment for at-risk youth.

Funds will help the three groups improve capacity, sustainability and service delivery through donor development and outcome tracking programs. The grant

allowed the PFC to become one of six neighborhood resource centers in Miami and Dade County. The funds have also allowed Freeman to hire new staff which gives her more time to look for funds and build partnerships within the community.

#### **PEACEMAKER FAMILY CENTER'S STORY**

The Peacemaker Family Center has served thousands since its beginning in 1997. The center offers a range of neighborhood-based services and programs. Examples are:

- **SunCity Day Camp** — In the summer of 2003, SunCity Day Camp ran for five weeks with an average of 150 children per day. The majority of the children served came from low-income or working-poor families. As a result, Trinity Church was able to obtain a grant through the USDA entitled "Miami-Dade County Summer Lunch Program." More than 5,000 lunches were served to summer campers and youth staff at no cost in 2003. In the summers of 2000 and 2001, Trinity's summer camp program was funded through a contract with South Florida Workforce.
- **The Esther Project** — In July 2003, Trinity Church launched this ambitious social service program in cooperation with Barry University, funded through a contract with South Florida Workforce. The program helps at-risk teen moms and adult women receive job readiness training, a personal life coach, a part-time job with a local business and GED classes. This comprehensive program combines the resources available through Trinity Church, Barry University, South Florida Workforce, various non-profit organizations and private businesses to eliminate barriers welfare-to-work mothers commonly face.
- **Trinity Christian Academy** — Trinity Church's on-site 72-slot day care center is operated under license with the Florida Department of Children and Families. More than 90 percent of the children are low-income voucher recipients. In response to community need and feedback, TCA expects to increase its daycare slots to 150 this year and expand its hours of operation to accommodate "second-shift" workers by adopting a 6 a.m. to midnight daycare schedule five days a week.
- **Urban Mercy Clinic** — Established in 1999, the Urban Mercy Clinic is a free, appointment-based primary care clinic operated in partnership with the Christian Medical and Dental Society. The center provides primary care and free health screenings to about 30 patients each week.
- **Peacemakers Food Bank** — The Food Bank provides bulk food, hot meals and toiletries to community residents in crisis. Trinity Church has been a Farm Share, Inc. Distribution Site since 2000. Last year the food bank served the equivalent of 100,000 meals through its bulk food distribution program and soup kitchen.

- KIDS ZONE Children's Ministry & Discovery Reading Club — A free literacy program for all children in grades K-5. They are assisted by volunteers and staff trained to utilize various engagement methods and instill a love of reading in each child.
- Family Counseling Services/Crisis Counseling Center — The center offers free counseling on bereavement, marriage problems, depression, anxiety, conflict mediation and pre-marital skills.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN SALEM, OREGON

Salem Leadership Foundation

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A \$48,876 Compassion Capital Fund grant will help Salem Leadership Foundation build bridges between secular and faith-based community organizations

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN SALEM, OREGON

### Salem Leadership Foundation

P.O. Box 7384 • Salem, OR 97303  
503-315-8924 • fax 503-361-0098



#### SNAPSHOT



GREG, A FORMER GANG MEMBER,  
DIRECTS A COMMUNITY CENTER

#### Greg's Story

Greg Sjolander was an unusual candidate for church leadership. He had tattoos and piercings; he used alcohol and drugs. And he was a gang member. But that didn't stop his community from trying to get him off the streets and into church. Through the help of Salem Leadership Foundation, his College Park Metro Church started a community center for at-risk youth.

The former drug user and gang member is now the center's director. He also wants to get his GED, attend community college and become a policeman. "I used to be out there. If I can take one person off the streets, that would be the happiest day of my life," he says.

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, SLF will be improving its capacity for helping the community. SLF plans to develop and operate a menu of programs for at-risk youth, involve churches in emergency shelter operations, and build a six-church coalition for neighborhood programs to help more people like Greg in the future.

#### Program Overview

Salem Leadership Foundation is the product of cooperative dialogue and vision sharing among churches, schools, government agencies, the legal system, businesses and community organizations. SLF is a catalyst, a collaborator and a bridge builder. By linking people, ideas and resources, SLF hopes to improve the quality of life for kids, families and neighborhoods.

"Our philosophy is that we are going to help the church do this work – the sacred art of servanthood. We've forgotten how to love our neighbor as ourself. We try to activate this," says Sam Skillern, SLF executive director.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Sam Skillern

**Year Founded** 1996

**Mission** to engage people of faith and good will to collaboratively seek Salem's transformation

**Funds will be used** for capacity building

**Annual Budget** \$165,000

**Organization Size** two full-time employees

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund through HHS/ACF

**Award Size** \$48,876

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** one year

**People Served** more than 1,000



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS



## Compassion at Work

IN SALEM, OREGON

### Salem Leadership Foundation

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503-315-8924 • fax : 503-361-0098

#### GREG'S STORY

Greg Sjolander was an unusual candidate for church leadership. He had tattoos and piercings; he used alcohol and drugs. And he was a gang member. But that didn't stop his community from trying to get him off the streets and into church.

A neighbor invited him to College Park Metro Church. Greg was interested, but he didn't know who to trust. His gang was like his family. He'd been shuffled in and out of foster homes since age 8. He'd started the drugs and gang activities at 13, and he wasn't sure who he wanted in his life.

College Park Metro Church had its eye on the community. Working with Salem Leadership Foundation, the church was trying to build a safe harbor for kids through opening a community center. The church hoped it could help with Salem and Marion County's high per-capita rates for crime, drug use, teen pregnancy and homelessness.

Greg decided to give the church a try, and the church, in turn, saw that he had an affinity for leadership. One member saw Greg's potential and chose him to train as an apprentice for the community center. "I WANTED TO PICK THOSE WHO WOULDN'T BE CONSIDERED CONVENTIONAL LEADERS. I SAW PAST HIS HISTORY TO THE POTENTIAL HE HAD," says Tammy Chatfield. Greg became a Christian and considered the church his new family. A year later, he became the community center director.

The center's after-school program offers activities for about 30 first- through eighth-graders each Wednesday. Greg helps them with homework, crafts, group games and Bible studies. Greg knows that being involved in his church has given him inner peace. He says he used to feel unsafe in the community. But being involved in the church, "TAKES A LOT OF WORRIES AND STRESS OUT OF MY HEAD," Greg says.

The former drug user and gang member now wants to get his GED, attend community college and become a policeman. "I USED TO BE OUT THERE. IF I CAN TAKE ONE PERSON OFF THE STREETS, THAT WOULD BE THE HAPPIEST DAY OF MY LIFE," he says.

Thanks to a grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, SLF will be improving its capacity for helping the community. SLF plans to



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EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

develop and operate a menu of programs for at-risk youth, involve churches in emergency shelter operations, and build a six-church coalition for neighborhood programs. Funds will also help SLF hire new staff members and purchase office equipment and office space. SLF has hired Tammy to become its new program coordinator, and she hopes she can help more people like Greg in the future.

SLF's vision statement is that "SALEM WILL BE THE HEALTHIEST COMMUNITY IN OREGON - A CITY OF SHALOM." The organization's mission statement and methodology are "TO ENGAGE PEOPLE OF FAITH AND GOOD WILL TO COLLABORATIVELY SEEK THE CITY'S TRANSFORMATION BY BRINGING COMMUNITIES OF RESOURCES TOGETHER WITH COMMUNITIES OF NEED. OUR ADVOCACY CONNECTS THE TABLES OF POWER TO THE STREETS OF PAIN."

The foundation focuses on inter-denomination relations, racial reconciliation, homelessness and housing, empowering the powerless, children and family health, and neighborhood revitalization.

It's well known that Salem is a wonderful place to live and work. Less publicized is that Salem is a magnet for people in need. For more than 120 years, the Oregon constitution required that all institutions for care and incarceration be located in Salem and Marion County. Today it struggles with crime, drugs, gang activity and teen pregnancies. The area ranks as one of the highest in methamphetamine production and distribution, and nearly 3,000 school kids are homeless.

SLF is the product of cooperative dialogue and vision sharing among churches, schools, government agencies, the legal system, businesses and community organizations. SLF is a catalyst, a collaborator and a bridge builder. By linking people, ideas and resources, SLF hopes to improve the quality of life for kids, families and neighborhoods.

"OUR PHILOSOPHY IS THAT WE ARE GOING TO HELP THE CHURCH DO THIS WORK - THE SACRED ART OF SERVANTHOOD. WE'VE FORGOTTEN HOW TO LOVE OUR NEIGHBOR AS OURSELF. WE TRY TO ACTIVATE THIS," says Sam Skillern, SLF executive director.

#### **PUTTING THE GRANT TO WORK**

In 2003, SLF applied and received a \$48,876 one-year, Compassion Capital Fund grant. The CCF helps faith-based and community groups build capacity and improve their ability to provide social services to the needy. The funds were used to hire Tammy who will help facilitate group meetings, help churches run consistent programs, conduct background checks on volunteers, and help with training, fundraising, and facilitating community meetings. A part-time person will also be hired for clerical work. The money will also help SLF attain larger offices and purchase more computers and telephones. It also buys technical assistance from other organizations for accounting and recording information.

Grant funds will also help develop a partnership of Salem-area churches to establish the CaN Centers Project. The CaN Centers will provide a community-based venue for after-school programs, mentoring and tutoring, sports programs, job training activities, and ESL, GED and parenting classes. SLF will also help the CaN partners access resources, assess program priorities, and develop strategies to sustain the program operations. SLF then plans to involve four of the CaN Centers in its Interfaith Hospitality Network emergency shelter operations for homeless families. Funds will also be used to develop and operate a menu of programs that engage at least 400 at-risk youth in leisure, skill-building, and educational activities.

Skillern says he has been familiar with the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives for some time. Skillern was looking for an open attitude of collaboration between the government and faith-based organizations that fit in with SLF's mission. A White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives conference in Portland sparked Skillern's interest in applying for federal funding.

"I ADMIT I WAS A LITTLE UNSURE IF OUR GOVERNMENT WAS EMBRACING THIS OR IF IT WAS A VISION OF A FEW PEOPLE. I WAS WATCHING TO SEE IF THIS WAS REALLY EMBEDDED OR JUST A PHILOSOPHY," Skillern says. He learned the concept of faith-based initiatives was understood, well thought out, and well articulated. "PEOPLE HAD INTERNALIZED AND ACCEPTED THIS CONCEPT. IT MOVED US FORWARD TO MEET OTHER PEOPLE, AND IT GAVE US MORE CONFIDENCE THAT IF WE WENT FOR IT, IT WOULD BE SOMETHING GOOD."

Skillern believes the faith community is the greatest under-tapped resource in most American cities. The foundation believes decades of disdain between people from the church and state created a gap between community needs and church resources. SLF works to bridge that gap with innovative, powerful collaborations. People of faith can serve without proselytizing; churches can be assets without force-feeding religion. The result is a dynamically changed landscape of cooperation and results.

#### SALEM LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION'S STORY

SLF is part of the Leadership Foundations of America, a network of local, multi-city initiatives dedicated to the physical and spiritual transformation of communities. The Leadership Foundations of America is a faith-based network of local leadership foundations that:

- Build bridges and working relationships across a city's faith leaders, congregations, and ministries to improve the lives of the poor, vulnerable, and marginalized.
- Develop joint initiatives that rebuild lives and neighborhoods.

- Build the capacity of leaders and groups to bring larger-scale community renewal.

Leadership Foundations of America was established in 1993 and has more than 30 foundations throughout the nation, including Pittsburgh, Memphis, Fresno, Chicago, Seattle/Tacoma and Dallas. Foundation members and local partners have helped millions of people by working with the community to build literacy programs, housing, employment, self-sustaining businesses, health care, food programs, mentoring, drug and alcohol rehabilitation centers, and more.

SLF, established in 1996, has helped its community with the following programs:

- Church volunteers are the backbones of Fantastic Fridays and Reading Buddies, which have pioneered more after-school and literacy programs at local elementary schools serving nearly 1,000 at-risk students.
- A group of 25 churches and 600 volunteers have banded together to provide emergency shelter, permanent housing, and employment information for homeless families inside churches through the Interfaith Hospitality Network.
- SLF also raises resources for a variety of community initiatives. In the center's first five years of operation, it helped secure more than \$2.75 million for others. That is a sixfold return on the donations SLF received to support its program.
- The foundation partners in the coalition-building effort led by the county commissioner to join the faith, government, schools and law enforcement communities. "Reach the Culture" reaches out to youth who are at risk of drug use, dropping out, criminal behavior and gangs. A major faith-based mentoring program is in the works.
- SLF served as a founding member of Family Building Blocks, a child abuse/neglect program that ensures a child's safety and keeps families together.
- Active advocate for Capital Park Wesleyan's community center. This church's leadership sparked a renewal movement in Salem's highest crime neighborhood. Crime was up 28 percent in 1997, but is now down 25 percent since the center opened. SLF is now working to support 10 other Churches as Neighborhood Centers based on the Capital Park model.

Disability

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN HARVEY, IL

Family Christian Health Center

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A three-year \$649,707 grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help a local health clinic expand its services

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN HARVEY, IL

### Family Christian Health Center

5620 South Wood St. • Harvey, IL 60426  
708-596-5177 • drtom@familychc.org



#### SNAPSHOT

#### Jamie's Story

Jamie Delpino was unemployed and lived on public aid when she got sick with the flu in 1997. A physician referral service directed her to a small facility in Markham, IL. Dr. Lisa Green treated her sore throat, and the two quickly formed a bond. She was so impressed with Green's insight, that she and her family have been patients for the last eight years. "From that moment on, I never left her. I felt at peace when I was in her office," Jamie says. While at the Family Christian Health Center, Green diagnosed Jamie with an allergic reaction to sulfa gasses in well water that she was drinking — a feat that the city hospital couldn't diagnose. Jamie had gone to the emergency room swollen "like a balloon," and the doctors couldn't help her. But Green noted the allergic reaction to the water. Green has a master's degree in public health as well as her MD, so she is familiar with the community and its health hazards, says Jamie. Now Jamie is a nurse and her 8-year old son wants to be a doctor "just like Dr. Green."

#### Program Overview

The Family Christian Health Center is a nonprofit, tax-exempt corporation with the mission to provide primary health care to residents of the greater Harvey area regardless of income. Consistent with the community's socioeconomic profile, approximately 80 percent of FCHC patients are on Medicaid. The physicians and staff are committed to not only providing high quality health care to this population, but also to providing health care in a manner that respects an individual's dignity.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Dr. William Crevier  
**Year Founded** 2000

**Mission** to provide quality care regardless of an individual's ability to pay

**Annual Budget** \$1.5 million

**Organization Size** 17 full-time employees

**Program Grant** New Start Community Health Center Grant through HHS/HRSA

**Award Size** \$649,707

**Award Date** 2003

**Funds Will Be Used** to expand FCHC's medical services

**Project Duration** three years



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## Compassion at Work

IN HARVEY, IL

### Family Christian Health Center

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#### JAMIE'S STORY

Jamie Delpino was unemployed and lived on public aid when she got the flu in 1997. A physician referral service directed her to a small facility in Markham, IL, where Dr. Lisa Green treated her sore throat, and the two quickly formed a bond. "SOMETHING ABOUT HER PERSONALITY CLICKED WITH MINE. YOU CAN JUST TALK TO HER FOR HOURS ABOUT ANYTHING AND EVERYTHING," says Jamie. She observed Green's positive demeanor and keen perception of patients and their illnesses. Her ability to easily communicate and respect a patient despite their economic status was also a plus for Jamie. She was so impressed with Green's insight that she and her family have been patients for the last eight years.

"FROM THAT MOMENT ON, I NEVER LEFT HER. I FELT AT PEACE WHEN I WAS IN HER OFFICE," Jamie says. "I'VE WORKED WITH PLENTY OF DOCTORS OVER THE YEARS, AND SHE'S THE BEST."

Since that time, Green diagnosed Jamie at the Family Christian Health Center with an allergic reaction to sulfa gasses from well water she drank — a feat that the city hospital couldn't diagnose. Jamie went to the emergency room swollen "like a balloon." Her hands blew up like a rubber glove, her knees were four times its regular size, and she could barely walk. The ER doctors couldn't help, but Green did. She prescribed a steroid, and within a few days, Jamie was well. Green has a master's degree in public health as well as her MD, and she is familiar with the community and its health hazards, adds Jamie.

Green sent Jamie immediately to the hospital when symptoms of a heart attack arose this year. The emergency was culled when physicians said that the incident was stress-related rather than a heart attack. The FCHC has prayed for Jamie's mother during a physical emergency. Green even recommended a book that helped Jamie's family during a troubled time. She now keeps the book on her bedside table for encouragement.

Now Jamie is a nurse, and her 8-year old son wants to be a doctor "JUST LIKE DR. GREEN."

Now more like Jamie can receive quality care through the FCHC. A new grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Health



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Resources and Services Administration will help the medical center build a larger facility to treat more patients and to add more staff.

#### THE GRANT PROCESS

FCHC officials applied and received the New Start Community Health Center Grant in 2003. Executive Director Dr. William Crevier heard about the \$649,707 three-year grant through the Illinois Primary Health Care Association and two local health centers that had become grantees. Crevier saw the success that the centers had with the federal funds, and FCHC decided to study the grant's provisions.

FCHC doctors were concerned receiving direct federal funds would compromise the center's mission. Crevier then learned grant recipients can not use federal money for any religious activities. "WE FELT WE WOULDN'T BE COMPROMISING WHAT WE WERE DOING. WE COULD STILL COMMUNICATE GOD'S LOVE TO PEOPLE WITHOUT NEGLECTING AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPAND SERVICES FOR OUR COMMUNITY," says Crevier.

"IT'S TREMENDOUS. WE ARE GOING TO BE ABLE TO SERVE MORE PEOPLE. IT'S GOING TO BE POSITIVE. WE WOULDN'T BE ABLE TO DO WHAT WE ARE DOING RIGHT NOW IF IT WEREN'T FOR THE GRANT," says Crevier.

The health center's grant is one of 100 new access point awards granted in 2003 totaling nearly \$11 million to help communities provide comprehensive health care services to an estimated 150,000 people, including many without health insurance.

The grants continue President Bush's five-year initiative to expand health centers. Launched in 2002, the initiative will add 1,200 new and expanded health center sites across the nation and increase the number of people served annually from about 10 million to 16 million by 2006.

HRSA manages the Consolidated Health Centers Program, which funds a national network of community health centers, migrant health centers, health care for the homeless centers and public housing primary care centers.

The grant allowed the center to develop 21,000 square feet of space to serve 20,000 patients annually. Officials hope the new center will be completed by September 2004. The grant funds allow the center to increase its primary care, obstetrical/gynecologic and mental health services. It will also add on-site dental services. An on-site social worker will be added to assist the uninsured and impoverished in accessing care. Language barriers will be addressed by additional bilingual staff. The center will also be able to offer health and nutrition counseling as well as transportation services. FCHC will hire a new administration assistant and a chief financial officer to help enhance the program.

The majority of FCHC's patients are young women and children like Jamie and her son. Services for pediatric patients include well and sick child care,

immunizations, screening for lead levels, tuberculosis, sickle cell disease, hearing and vision screening, and development assessment.

#### **FAMILY CHRISTIAN HEALTH CENTER'S STORY**

FCHC is the largest non-profit outpatient community health center in the Harvey area dedicated to the health needs of the poor. Its physicians have served the community for more than six years; they are well known for the quality of care and the degree of compassion they provide to their patients. Consistent with the community's socioeconomic profile, approximately 80 percent of FCHC's patients are on Medicaid. The physicians and staff are committed to not only providing high quality health care to this population, but also to providing health care in a manner that respects an individual's dignity.

Five years ago, a handful of doctors met to discuss the community's medical needs. The doctors had been working with underserved people and were drawn by what the Bible teaches about taking care of the poor. In the fall of 1999, they started planning the creation of the FCHC. Nearby Ingalls Hospital indicated interest in providing financial support, and several grant proposals helped establish the FCHC, which opened in 2000. With the help of the Illinois Primary Health Care Association and others, the center was granted Federal Quality Health Center status the same year. This enabled FCHC to create a funding plan to stimulate growth.

FCHC's patient base is about 6,500 to 7,000, and it had approximately 12,500 patient visits its first year. Of these patients, 80 percent are either medically indigent or on Medicaid, and about 63 percent are impoverished. All patients are seen, regardless of their ability to pay, and FCHC has a sliding-fee scale to address the needs of the uninsured.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN PERTH AMBOY, NJ

Jewish Renaissance Medical Center

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Through 2002 and 2003, the medical center has received more than \$1.2 million in grant funds to provide medical services for the uninsured and underserved in Perth Amboy.

## Snapshot of Compassion

PERTH AMBOY, NJ

### Jewish Renaissance Medical Center

49 Kearny Avenue • Perth Amboy, NJ 08861  
732-324-2114 • fax 732-324-0256 • www.jrfmed.org



#### SNAPSHOT



JRMC FOUNDER DR. ALAN GOLDSMITH  
AND PATIENT LOURDES ILLA

#### Alejandrina and Lourdes' Story

When Alejandrina Santiago retired, she lost her medical insurance. Her primary care physician didn't accept Medicare, and she was without medical help. Alejandrina's daughter, Lourdes Illa, a single mom and a diabetic, also had difficulty getting proper medical care.

Alejandrina and Lourdes credit the Jewish Renaissance Medical Center for helping them during their time of need. The medical center has improved the family's quality of life, says Lourdes. She was so impressed with the medical center that she obtained a job as the community outreach director for an affiliate organization, and she began taking her teen-aged daughter Alejandrina Riggins for regular checkups.

Through 2002 and 2003, the Jewish Renaissance Medical Center has received \$1,258,333 from the Community Health Center grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Health Resources and Services Administration. The funds will help others like Lourdes and her mother receive quality health care.

#### Program Overview

The JRMC in Perth Amboy, NJ, is a non-profit, non-sectarian organization founded by individuals compelled to act upon the teachings of the Jewish faith. The JRMC believes, as citizens in a democratic society, that they must respond to the needs of their neighbors and share their talents and resources. The JRMC is committed to helping families, which are the basic unit of our society.

The medical center was one of the first faith-based community health centers to receive funding since President Bush launched his Faith-Based and Community Initiative. The center is devoted to providing primary care services to the community without regard to race, ethnicity, or income.

#### Vitals

**Founder** Dr. Alan Goldsmith

**Year Founded** 2001

**Mission** to provide access to the medically needy and indigent

**Funds will be used** to help establish a new medical center and provide care for the uninsured and underserved

**Annual Budget** \$1,700,000

**Organization Size** 100

**Program Grant** Community Health Center grant through HHS/HRSA

**Award Size** \$1,258,333

**Award Date** 2002-2003

**Project Duration** 23 months

**People Served** 20,000



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## Compassion at Work

PERTH AMBOY, NJ

### Jewish Renaissance Medical Center

149 Kearny Avenue • Perth Amboy, NJ 08861

732-324-2114 • fax 732-324-0256 • [www.jrjmed.org](http://www.jrjmed.org)

#### ALEJANDRINA AND LOURDES' STORY

When Alejandrina Santiago retired, she lost her medical insurance. Her primary care physician didn't accept Medicare, and she was without medical help. Alejandrina's daughter, Lourdes Illa, a single mom and a diabetic, also had difficulty getting proper medical care.

Alejandrina and Lourdes credit the Jewish Renaissance Medical Center for helping them during their time of need. The medical center has improved the family's quality of life, says Lourdes. She credits Dr. Melanie Fleischmann with helping her and her mother gain mental and physical strength. Lourdes and her doctor have developed a close bond — she tells the doctor about her troubles meeting her daughter's college financial needs, and the doctor is always a phone call away in emergencies.

Lourdes was so impressed with the medical center that she obtained a job as the community outreach director with an affiliate organization. She now helps female single parents find childcare and housing resources through Women of Nobility. Through the program An Answer for You, she helps teenagers talk about family and relationship problems. She also helps the center provide housing, transportation, support groups, and medical supervision to those with HIV.

Lourdes has seen great improvements in her health since becoming a JRMC patient. Her HMO required too many referrals when she was severely ill — by the time she saw a specialist, the sugar content in her blood would rise to more than twice her normal level. She got headaches, became dizzy, thirsty and fatigued. She was unable to work. If left unchecked, Lourdes' kidneys would become damaged. A nurse practitioner at her childcare office told her about the JRMC in Perth Amboy, NJ, a facility devoted to providing primary health care to the underserved and uninsured without regard to race, ethnicity, or income.

Lourdes was delighted to find that her wait time to see primary care physician Dr. Fleischmann was minimal. When her diabetes symptoms flared, the center took two days or less to get her to a specialist. As a result, Lourdes' health stabilized. She was so impressed with the center that she began taking her teen-aged daughter Alejandrina Riggins for regular checkups.



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Through 2002 and 2003, the JRMCM has received \$1,258,333 from the Community Health Center grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Health Resources and Services Administration. The funds will help others like Alejandrina and Lourdes receive quality health care.

#### GETTING THE GRANT

The JRMCM was one of the first faith-based community health centers to receive funding since President Bush launched his Faith-Based and Community Initiative. The JRMCM was selected by HRSA as one of 10 agencies in the country to conduct a "social reconnaissance" program to investigate the delivery of primary health care and decrease disparities due to race, socio-economic status and ethnicity in Perth Amboy and its neighboring communities. This program was a response to the HHS goal of providing 100 percent access to healthcare with zero percent disparities.

This "social reconnaissance" revealed the need to establish a healthcare center in Perth Amboy. Dr. Alan Goldsmith knew there was a tremendous need for health care in the Perth Amboy community because about 40 percent are uninsured and 45 percent are Medicaid recipients. Goldsmith worked with his staff to establish that Perth Amboy was a medically underserved population, which is the first step in creating a community health center.

When the center opened in 2002, it was small and limited in its ability to help patients in all areas of health. As a result, Goldsmith applied for the Community Health Center grant in hopes of expanding the types of medical care those in the community received. "WE WANTED TO START WITH A HIGH-QUALITY HEALTH CARE ONE STOP SHOP," says Goldsmith.

As a faith-based organization, Goldsmith knew that it would be difficult to receive federal funding. He felt that most grants were given to large-capacity hospitals. His organization operated on a small budget and a small staff.

But Goldsmith knew that President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative helped groups like his receive federal funding. "IT OPENED THE DOOR TO US THAT WAS NEVER OPENED BEFORE. IT GAVE US AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR FUNDING AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO BE ON AN EQUAL BASIS WITH OTHER HOSPITALS AND ORGANIZATIONS," says Goldsmith.

When applying for the grant, Goldsmith knew he had to overcome the stigma that some incorrectly thought the Jewish Renaissance Medical Center only helped Jewish people. The center reflects the community's diversity with Latino, African American, Caucasian, and other races comprising its medical staff and board of directors.

Goldsmith believes his center has a different mission than most. "ALTHOUGH WE ALL WANT TO GIVE THE BEST HEALTH CARE, THERE IS A DEEPER MEANING IN THE STAFF WE HIRE. GOD WANTS US TO HELP OUR NEIGHBOR AND LOVE OUR NEIGHBOR, AND THAT'S WHAT OUR MISSION REALLY IS," he says.

#### ACHIEVEMENTS THROUGH THE GRANT

With the help of HHS and HRSA, the center will expand to a \$2 million state-of-the-art medical facility next year. One half of the four-story 40,000 square-foot center will provide primary care services such as dental, pediatrics, internal medicine, geriatrics, OBGYN, and mental health services. A lab, pharmacy, and X-ray center will also allow patients to have most of their medical needs quickly met on site.

Specialists will lease the center's other half so the primary care physicians can refer patients to specialists within the same building. Goldsmith plans to house a rehabilitation center and to provide ancillary services such as a cardiologist, urologist, ENT, podiatrist, chiropractor, epidemiologist and MRI equipment.

Before the JRMC received the HHS grant, it had one doctor and nurse practitioner who worked 12 hours a day, six days a week and saw about 5,000 patients a year. Goldsmith hopes the new center's 100 employees will serve 20,000 patients with 80,000 visits annually.

The grant helps provide funds for current staff members, lab work, X-rays, rent, medical equipment and insurance. Funds also helped purchase the new \$2 million center and the \$5 million for refurbishment and medical equipment.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MEMPHIS, TN

Christ Community Health Services

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Thanks to a \$650,000 grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Health Resources and Services Administration, the center can expand its medical program to serve more low-income and uninsured patients.



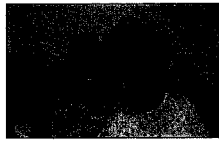
## Snapshot of Compassion

IN MEMPHIS, TN

### Christ Community Health Services

953 Broad Avenue • Memphis, TN 38112  
901-260-8500 • fax 901-260-8599

#### SNAPSHOT



CHRIST COMMUNITY PROVIDES CARE TO  
LEONA MARSHALL AND HER DAUGHTER NIKITA

#### Leona's Story

Leona Marshall had no insurance and could not hold down a job when she came to Christ Community Health Services to find help for her special-needs daughter Nikita. The 25-year-old is developmentally delayed and displays autistic behavior.

The last doctor Leona saw didn't seem concerned when Nikita developed polyps in her sinuses and she had difficulty breathing. But Christ Community took Nikita's condition seriously and immediately referred her to a specialist for surgery. The center has also helped Leona with her own well being. Medical workers found a cyst and a lump in her breasts which were quickly removed.

Thanks to a grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Health Resources and Services Administration, Christ Community can take care of more patients like Nikita and Leona. The \$650,000 three-year grant will help expand the center's medical program to serve more low-income and uninsured patients in Memphis.

#### Program Overview

Christ Community Health Services is a Christian community-based health services program that provides more than 24,000 patient visits annually to Memphis residents in two inner-city neighborhoods. Christ Community's hope is that by providing disease prevention and health education to the most medically underserved population in their city, they can reduce the differences in health status among their city's residents. In addition, by keeping churches informed of health events in the community, providing churches with health screenings, and establishing linkages between the local churches and Memphis' healthcare agencies, they can improve overall access to health care.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** Burt Waller

**Year Founded** 1995

**Mission** Improve the health status of the medically underserved

**Funds Will Be Used** help increase the number of patients served

**Annual Budget** \$3,475,000 in unaudited expenditures

**Number of Staff** 85

**Program Grant** New Delivery Sites and New Starts in Programs funded under The Health Centers Consolidation Act

**Award Size** \$650,000

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** three years

**People Served** more than 20,000



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## Compassion at Work

IN MEMPHIS, TN

### Christ Community Health Services

2953 Broad Avenue • Memphis, TN 38112  
901-260-8500 • fax 901-260-8599

#### LEONA'S STORY

Leona Marshall had been living in Memphis, TN, for eight years with no luck in finding good medical care for her special needs daughter. The divorced mother of four had no insurance and could not hold down a job while she took care of Nikita. Born with an umbilical cord wrapped around her neck, the now 25-year-old is developmentally delayed, displays autistic behavior, and often becomes aggressive when frightened.

The last doctor Leona saw didn't seem concerned when Nikita developed polyps in her sinuses and she had difficulty breathing. The doctor was slow to refer her to a specialist, and Nikita wound up in the emergency room for a related illness. The physician then declined to continue treating Nikita due to her behavioral problems.

Leona says many physicians don't know how to deal with her daughter's illness. But she believes the faith-based Christ Community Health Services is the exception, and Nikita has responded positively to the medical staff. **"SHE LIKES THE CLINIC. SHE LIKES THE DOCTORS THAT SEE HER BECAUSE THEY TREAT HER LIKE SHE'S A HUMAN BEING,"** says Leona.

The two found the center through a national health network referral. Christ Community took Nikita's condition seriously and immediately referred her to a specialist for surgery. **"THANK GOD WE FOUND THIS CLINIC BECAUSE THEY ARE MEETING HER NEEDS,"** says Leona. And the center continues to care for Nikita's well being by monitoring her progress through repeated visits and CAT scans.

Thanks to a grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Health Resources and Services Administration, Christ Community can take care of more patients like Nikita and Leona. The \$650,000 three-year grant will help expand the center's medical program to serve more low-income and uninsured patients in Memphis.

Christ Community, a Christian, community-based health services program, is using the grant to help Memphis residents in two inner-city neighborhoods. Christ Community's hope is that by providing disease prevention and health



**Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives**  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS



education to the most medically underserved population in their city, the center can reduce the differences in health status among city residents.

The center has helped Leona with her own well being. A breast exam at the clinic showed that Leona was in good health. But a practitioner insisted on a second mammogram and found a lump in her left breast. Leona was then referred for surgery, and her new doctor found a cyst in her right breast. Both abnormalities were quickly removed. Leona credits her rapport with the doctors for the quick analysis and treatment.

Leona continues to take care of Nikita while she struggles with her own health. Because she is the primary caretaker for her daughter, Leona cannot work full time to obtain a job with benefits. Christ Community is now trying to find a day program for Nikita which will give her mother time to find a full-time job.

Finding financial relief while maintaining high-quality medical care is a slow process for the mother and daughter. But thanks to Christ Community, **"THEY ARE WORKING WITH ME AND ARE CONCERNED,"** says Leona. And that's all the encouragement she needs to achieve her goals.

#### **ACHIEVEMENTS THROUGH THE GRANT**

In 2003, the center applied and received a New Delivery Sites and New Starts in Programs grant funded under The Health Centers Consolidation Act. The grant, awarded through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Health Resources and Services Administration, is intended to provide additional funding to serve uninsured or low-income patients.

The grant is allowing Christ Community to sustain its ability to serve more patients. When Executive Director Burt Waller applied for the grant, his goal was to add more doctors and nurse practitioners to its three health centers in downtown Memphis, thus attracting more patients. At the time Waller applied for the grant, the clinics had 35,000 primary care visits and wanted to increase that number to 48,900. In the grant's first year alone, Christ Community will exceed those goals by 10 percent in visits and individuals served.

Funds will also improve Christ Community facilities, such as adding prenatal care equipment and acquiring more nurses and clerks. The first of the three centers, the Third Street clinic, is undergoing renovations thanks to the grant funding. Third Street offers services such as internal and family medicine, pediatrics, obstetrics, and dentistry, as well as all centralized management and financial functions. Expanding the center's medical records office and moving physicians' offices to another location will create more space for patient care.

The success in increasing the number of patient visits creates a challenge, says Waller. Christ Community struggles to recruit new physicians to handle the greater patient load. Waller admits that it takes a special type of physician to devote time to the center. They must give up a more lucrative career to treat those who live in one of the city's poorest areas. It is often difficult to find those

who feel called to enter into this ministry, says Waller. But those that do join the clinic's staff find satisfaction in caring for the underprivileged.

### THE GRANT PROCESS

Waller was attracted to the HRSA grant because it could help the center become more self sufficient. "WE'VE ALWAYS OPERATED FINANCIALLY ON THE EDGE - THERE HAVE BEEN OCCASIONS WHEN WE DIDN'T KNOW HOW WE WERE GOING TO SURVIVE FINANCIALLY. GOD PROVIDED FOR OUR NEEDS. BUT WE HAVE A DESIRE TO GROW AND TO SERVE MORE PEOPLE, SO THE GRANT BECAME THE MECHANISM THAT WE WERE CONVINCED WOULD SUSTAIN OURSELVES MORE FULLY," says Waller.

When Waller contemplated applying for the grant, he was concerned about his organization's faith-based status. He didn't know if Christ Community could be faithful to its mission to provide health care to the underserved Memphis community and at the same time be a governmental grant recipient. Once Waller talked to other faith-based organizations that received funding through the same grant, he was convinced that Christ Community could maintain its religious status while receiving funds.

"THERE WAS NOTHING IN THE GRANT THAT WOULD PREVENT US FROM DOING WHAT WE FELT CALLED TO DO. AS A FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATION, OUR APPROACH IS TO BUILD RELATIONSHIPS WITH PATIENTS OVER TIME, AND OUT OF THOSE RELATIONSHIPS WE CAN FOCUS ON THEIR EMOTIONAL AND SPIRITUAL NEEDS AS WELL AS PHYSICAL. WE DIDN'T FIND ANYTHING IN THE GRANT THAT WAS INCOMPATIBLE TO THAT," says Waller.

Waller first heard of the grant through the Tennessee Primary Care Association, of which Christ Community is a member. The association's executive director said the grant would match Christ Community's needs. The White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives also encouraged Waller to apply and write a high-quality, competitive grant. Networking through the Christian Medical and Dental Association, Christian Community Health Fellowship, and Lawndale Christian Health Center in Chicago helped Waller understand the grant's provisions. A workshop conducted by the National Association of Community Health Centers in New Orleans helped Waller understand the nuances of writing a successful grant application. As a result, Christ Community created such an outstanding proposal that the center received the grant after its first application.

### THE CENTER'S STORY

Christ Community provides Christ-centered community-based quality care to some of the least served neighborhoods of Memphis. The center began operations in southwest Memphis in September 1995 with four physicians. Since that time the provider staff has grown to 50 employees serving more than 20,000 patients.

The center establishes long-term relationships in disadvantaged neighborhoods where essentially no other healthcare providers are located. Christ Community serves all who enter the clinics, regardless of race, language, religion, or job status by dealing with the physical, emotional, and spiritual wholeness of the patients. Medical services include prenatal and obstetrical care, pediatrics, and adult primary care through physicians board-certified in family medicine, internal medicine, and pediatrics.

Christ Community uses some of its \$3.4 million in expenditures to help coordinate programs which seek to enhance the health of the urban neighborhoods served. Chief among them is Memphis Healthy Churches program, a project run jointly with Baptist Memorial Health Care Foundation. Memphis Healthy Churches involves lay volunteer health representatives in a variety of health outreach programs targeted at their peers in the context of their own churches. More than 70 churches have been involved in a variety of activities, and they meet regularly to share ideas and gather new information that might increase the health of their congregations.

The center's Safe Against Sexual Assault outreach program builds collaborative relationships between churches and governmental agencies in addressing this significant community health issue in the city's high-crime neighborhoods.

An abstinence training program is also being implemented for teens. Christ Community providers see a large number of sexually transmitted disease cases and teen pregnancies each year. Christ Community hopes the abstinence training program will show a decrease of as much as 50 percent in teen pregnancies with those involved.

An economically reproducible model for medical care to the urban poor is also one of the center's goals. The model includes: a revenue stream primarily dependent on TennCare (Tennessee's version of Medicaid); physicians who view their work as ministry, thus working for a fraction of what they would earn elsewhere; inexpensive inner-city real estate; and philanthropic support for ministry and outreach projects, capital, and equipment.

Collections from services provided to patients represent 75 percent of cash flow. The remaining funds are derived from grants and donations. The Assisi Foundation, LHS Inc., and the Baptist Health Care Foundation, as well as numerous individuals and other foundations have provided major financial support for capital and equipment, ministry projects and indigent care.

Christ Community receives philanthropic support from corporations, foundations, churches and individuals. Its 10-member board is comprised of individuals who live or work in the neighborhoods served by the center, individuals from the church, and donor supporters. The majority of the board includes both African-Americans and Latinos; all are Christians and are active in their own churches.

Native American

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN PHILADELPHIA, PA  
Esperanza Health Center

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A \$468,224 renewable grant from the Department of Health and Human Services will help Esperanza Health Center provide outpatient early intervention services for those with HIV/AIDS.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN PHILADELPHIA, PA

### Esperanza Health Center

Markview MOB-Lower Level • 1331 E. Wyoming Ave. • Philadelphia, PA 19124-3895  
215-831-1100 • fax 215-831-0500 • [www.esperanzahealthcenter.org](http://www.esperanzahealthcenter.org)



#### SNAPSHOT

#### Kim's Story

Kim\* knew she had HIV. She'd taken the test years ago, and it was positive. Kim had been hooked on drugs. She also lived with a man who was sexually involved with other partners.

She did not feel comfortable at the city clinic where she got tested. She wanted someone, like a doctor or nurse, whom she could turn to for medical advice and comfort.

Because she was in such pain and needed financial help, Kim decided to take the chance to find better medical care at Esperanza. Kim said her new doctor was kind, sweet, attentive and encouraged confidentiality. Feeling safe and comforted, Kim finally told her doctor about her past HIV test.

That day, Kim retook the test and faced the reality of living with HIV. Esperanza, in turn, became her safe haven for her emotional and physical needs. Now she doesn't feel tired, and she's gained weight. She has improved emotionally by attending church and improving her lifestyle.

A grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help more like Kim receive the care they need. The grant will help Esperanza provide outpatient early intervention services to those in Kim's community.

\* Names in the story have been changed to ensure privacy.

#### Program Overview

Esperanza's main program is the operation of a community health care clinic to treat and prevent injury and disease. It has a full-time board certified staff of bilingual physicians, nurses, nurse practitioners and physician assistants specializing in cardiology, pediatrics, women's health, family medicine, internal medicine and infectious diseases. Health Partners, Inc. deemed Esperanza a "Center of Excellence" for the diagnosis and treatment of HIV/AIDS.

#### Vitals

**Executive Director** David Winningham

**Year Founded** 1987

**Mission** to provide physical, emotional and spiritual health to Philadelphia's Latino community

**Annual Budget** \$2.1 million

**Organization Size** 37 full time and 13 volunteers

**Program Grant** Ryan White Care Act Title III through HHS/HRSA

**Award Size** \$468,224 renewable for two years

**Award Date** 2003

**Funds Will Be Used** to provide outpatient early intervention services

**Project Duration** two years



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## Compassion at Work

IN PHILADELPHIA, PA

### Esperanza Health Center

Parkview MOB-Lower Level • 1331 E. Wyoming Ave. • Philadelphia, PA 19124-3895  
215-831-1100 • fax 215-831-0500 • [www.esperanzahealthcenter.org](http://www.esperanzahealthcenter.org)

#### KIM'S STORY

Kim\* knew she had HIV. She'd taken the test years ago, and it was positive. She was shifting from her New York home with her children to her mother's home in Puerto Rico for financial help. During that time, Kim got hooked on drugs. She also lived with a man who was sexually involved with other partners.

She never felt comfortable at the city clinic where she got tested. "EVERYBODY GOES TO THE CITY CLINIC, AND I WANTED MY PRIVATE LIFE PRIVATE." She also wanted someone, like a doctor or nurse, whom she could turn to for medical advice and comfort.

A co-worker told her about Esperanza Health Center in Philadelphia, the city where Kim had finally moved and settled in to with her four children. There, she had dropped her drug habit but developed gallbladder problems and shingles. The co-worker encouraged Kim to try the center because the doctors were kind, bilingual and took her insurance.

Because she was in such pain, Kim decided to take the chance to find better medical care at Esperanza. Kim remembered feeling an atmosphere of warmth and kindness while she sat in the center's waiting room. She saw posters and books of comfort, and she read signs that encouraged HIV testing.

Kim said her new doctor was kind, sweet, attentive and encouraged confidentiality. Feeling safe and comforted, Kim finally told her doctor about her past HIV test. Dr. Smith encouraged her to take it again. "IF IT DOES COME OUT POSITIVE, WE WILL GET YOU INTO TREATMENT," she said.

That day, Kim retook the test and faced the reality of living with HIV. Esperanza, in turn, became her safe haven for her emotional and physical needs.

Kim, 50, enjoyed her career as a junior supervisor for 12 women, but she began to suffer in her health. She was tired and couldn't concentrate. Her teeth were so bad they had to be removed. She either had diarrhea or she was constipated. The once perky career woman was sometimes weak. "I DIDN'T KNOW WHAT THE NEXT DAY WOULD BRING. IT WAS HARD FOR ME BECAUSE I WAS ALWAYS AN ACTIVE PERSON, AND I STARTED TO ALWAYS FEEL WEAK."



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

Her doctor encouraged Kim to leave her job. She needed time and rest to heal from her illnesses. With Esperanza's help, Kim applied for disability and Social Security, and now she rests at home.

Her medical treatment has improved her health. She doesn't feel tired, and she's gained weight. She has improved emotionally by attending church and improving her lifestyle.

Kim's four adult children and 11 grandchildren remain close to her. Most know of her condition, and they worry often. Kim has not told her mother about her HIV status. "SHE WOULDN'T UNDERSTAND — I WANT HER TO LIVE HER LAST YEARS NOT WORRYING ABOUT ANYTHING BUT HERSELF AND HER HEALTH," says Kim.

Kim still shies away from community events. She says she is amazed at the gossip she overhears from those talking about AIDS patients. "I DON'T WANT THEM POINTING THEIR FINGERS AT MY KIDS AND SAYING, 'YOUR MOM HAS THIS.' A LOT OF PEOPLE STILL THINK THEY CAN GET AIDS AND HIV BY HUGGING AND TOUCHING A PERSON," says Kim.

"NO ONE IN THE STREET WOULD KNOW I HAD AIDS, BUT IF THEY WERE TO KNOW, THEY WOULD TREAT ME AS IF I NEEDED TO BE APART FROM THE WHOLE GENERATION."

Esperanza has become a second family for Kim. "I BELIEVE THAT THEY KNOW HOW TO TALK TO PEOPLE AND ENCOURAGE THEM IN THEIR REALITY BECAUSE THEY ARE A CHRISTIAN FACILITY, THEY ARE LOVING, CARING AND VERY CONCERNED."

Kim calls Esperanza with any kind of problem. She remembers the center even helped her pay her gas and electric bills when finances were tight. They've paid for medical procedures, and they've even sent food to her home.

Compelled by Christian faith, in cooperation with the church and others, Esperanza seeks to change lives by providing healthcare oriented to the physical, emotional and spiritual needs of Philadelphia's Latino community.

Esperanza's ("Hope" in Spanish) main program is the operation of a community health care clinic to treat and prevent injury and disease. It has a full-time board certified staff of bilingual physicians, nurses, nurse practitioners and physician assistants specializing in cardiology, pediatrics, women's health, family medicine, internal medicine and infectious diseases. Health Partners, Inc. deemed Esperanza a "Center of Excellence" for the diagnosis and treatment of HIV/AIDS.

A grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help more HIV patients like Kim receive the care they need. The grant will help Esperanza provide outpatient early intervention services to those in Kim's community. With the government's help, more will receive the same comfort, encouragement and superior health care Kim needed to survive.

### PUTTING THE GRANT TO WORK

Anita Ortiz, administrator of Esperanza's HIV services, says the center has received funding for its HIV/AIDS program in the past through the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act. The CARE act is federal legislation that addresses the unmet health needs of persons living with HIV by funding primary health care and support services. The CARE Act was named after Ryan White, an Indiana teenager whose courageous struggle with HIV/AIDS and against AIDS-related discrimination helped educate the nation.

Like many health problems, HIV disease disproportionately strikes people in poverty, racial/ethnic populations, and others who are underserved by healthcare and prevention systems. HIV often leads to poverty due to costly healthcare or an inability to work that is often accompanied by a loss of employer-related health insurance. CARE Act-funded programs are the "payer of last resort." They fill gaps in care not covered by other resources. Most likely users of CARE Act services include people with no other source of healthcare and those with Medicaid or private insurance whose needs are not being met.

CARE Act services are intended to reduce the use of more costly inpatient care, increase access to care for underserved populations and improve the quality of life for those affected by the epidemic. The CARE Act works toward these goals by funding local and state programs that provide primary medical care and support services; healthcare provider training; and technical assistance to help funded programs address implementation and emerging HIV care issues.

Esperanza has been a grantee since 2001, and they hoped applying for a new Ryan White Title III grant would help expand its program. Esperanza's former program director was at a faith-based conference when he learned about the opportunity to receive federal funds, and the director knew that Title III would help meet more needs in the community. At that time, Esperanza had three staff members providing limited services to HIV/AIDS patients. The center had 91 active patients last year — 47 percent of those patients were HIV positive, and 53 percent had AIDS. Most get the illness through injections or heterosexual contact, says Ortiz.

Esperanza struggled for a few years with the idea of receiving Federal funding for a faith-based organization, says Ortiz. Federal funds, they realized, gave Esperanza the tools and support to provide needed services.

The Title III \$468,224 grant Esperanza received helps develop early intervention services. Esperanza is now able to help with patient advocacy, case management and its outreach program. Patients can now receive education regarding their diseases, receive HIV testing, counseling and nutrition.

Funds help Esperanza find those who don't know their status. Located in a part of Philadelphia with high drug trafficking and prostitution provides a challenge for Esperanza workers to educate the community.

"WE ARE ABLE TO CREATE AWARENESS OF HIV CARE IN THE COMMUNITY, AND WORD OF MOUTH BUILDS UP FOR PEOPLE TO COME. OUR GOAL IS TO GET AS MANY POSSIBLE TREATED – TRY TO GET PEOPLE TESTED AND TO LINK THEM TO CARE. WE WANT THEM TO HAVE A BETTER QUALITY OF LIFE," says Ortiz.

#### **ESPERANZA HEALTH CENTER'S STORY**

Esperanza Health Center began under the leadership of Dr. Carolyn Klaus in 1987. Klaus, working with a number of concerned health professionals from several urban churches, discerned a need for a Christ-centered, high quality and culturally sensitive health care center in North Philadelphia. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, along with support from the mostly Hispanic community, provided a start-up matching grant to bring the much-needed clinic to fruition.

While Esperanza is temporarily located in Parkview Hospital in northeast Philadelphia, officials plan to relocate in an area known as "the badlands." This inner-city area is one of the highest in drug trafficking in the Delaware Valley where incidents of infectious diseases, such as AIDS, are three times that of the entire city.

Latinos represent about 78 percent of the population within its census tract. Fifty four percent of the families subsist below the poverty level. Many Hispanics cannot access health care services because of cultural, language and financial barriers. About 75 percent of Esperanza patients are below the federal poverty line. No one is turned away from Esperanza because they cannot pay for medical care.

\* Names in the story have been changed to ensure privacy.

300

Refugee

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN BUFFALO, NY

GROUP Ministries

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GROUP Ministries received a four-year \$324,349 grant in 2003 to develop peer-to-peer recovery support services to help former drug and alcohol addicts live successfully in their community.

## Snapshot of Compassion

BUFFALO, NY

### GROUP Ministries

1333 Jefferson Ave • Buffalo, NY 14208  
716-883-4367 • fax 716-883-4449



#### SNAPSHOT

#### William's Story

William McCoy, 58, used to drink the equivalent of 13 cans of beer and use heroin and cocaine three times a day. During his 37-year addiction, William went to 15 treatment centers to find help.

Last year, he attended detox for six days and rehab for 28 days at Erie County Medical Center. The day after his release, he came to GROUP Ministries, a peer-driven recovery program.

William used to get high with a lot of the people who are now clean and sober GROUP workers who counsel him. "There's nothing fake about what they are saying. They're telling the truth." "His friends' destructive behavior was replaced with freedom. He knew if they could get off drugs, he could too. He's been clean since Sept. 29, 2003.

GROUP Ministries will be able to help more like William thanks to a \$324,349 grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. The grant, awarded in 2003, is renewable for four years and will help GROUP expand its services in the Buffalo area.

#### Program Overview

GROUP Ministries, a faith-based organization, is a multi-faceted, peer-driven human services agency serving Buffalo, NY. The ministry believes that those who have overcome difficult circumstances can help others who struggle with issues such as low-income housing, HIV education, food distribution, and substance abuse awareness. GROUP Ministries has 23 employees with more than 100 volunteers. The support of clergy, elected officials, local businesses and the community has enabled the budget to reach \$1.2 million and has expanded into several programs including the Prison Ministry, Hospital Ministry and Feed-Educate-Direct to help the community.

#### Vitals

**CEO** Rev. Arthur Boyd

**Year Founded** 1992

**Mission** to help recovering addicts through peer advocacy

**Funds will be used** to help provide services for those recovering addiction

**Annual Budget** \$1.2 million

**Organization Size** 23 employees, more than 100 volunteers

**Program Grant** Recovery Community Services Program grant HHS/SAMHSA

**Award Size** \$324,349 each year for four years

**Award Date** 2003

**Project Duration** four years

**People Served** 50



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

BUFFALO, NY

### GROUP Ministries

1333 Jefferson Ave • Buffalo, NY 14208  
716-883-4367 • fax 716-883-4449

#### WILLIAM'S STORY

William McCoy grew up in Birmingham, AL, attending church and achieving awards for his athleticism in football, baseball and track. After his father moved the family to Buffalo, NY, William decided to work a year in a steel factory before starting college. That's when his life began to change.

The athlete from the South found himself attracted to the "fast life." He started hanging out in bars and succumbed to trying a hit of Heroin when he was 21. "FROM THE FIRST TIME I TRIED IT, I WAS HOOKED," says William. He knew he wasn't reared to be drug dependant. "YOU DON'T GROW UP SAYING 'I WANT TO BECOME A DRUG ADDICT.'"

Soon he used heroin and cocaine three times a day and drank the equivalent of 13 cans of beer a day. He was jailed several times, with his longest stint being two months served for stealing a car in New York and driving it to New Orleans, LA. He was married to two women at the same time. He is now divorced from one, and none of his children are close to him. "I HAVE BURNED A LOT OF BRIDGES. I HAVE NOT BEEN A GOOD ANYTHING BECAUSE OF DRUG ABUSE," he says.

William, 58, went to more than 15 treatment centers to tame his addiction. He tried conventional medicine developed to help subdue addiction, and he even took trips back to his boyhood home trying to run away from his habit. During his 37 years of drug abuse, William was clean once for one year. That's because he was on probation, and if he relapsed, he'd have to go back to jail. The withdrawal pains during that time were almost intolerable, he says. "IT'S LIKE YOUR SOUL WAS BEING SNATCHED FROM YOUR BODY."

Last year, he attended detox for six days and rehab 28 days at Erie County Medical Center. During that time, William attended a mandatory AIDS education meeting given by a non-profit, faith-based agency called GROUP Ministries. William saw something different about this ministry because the speaker, who was a former addict, was clean and seemed to be at peace with himself. "YOU KNOW HOW YOU CAN SEE PEACE IN A PERSON?" William asks. "IT JUST IMPRESSED ME. I MADE UP MY MIND THAT I WANTED THAT PEACE I SAW IN HIM."





William was released from the hospital Sept. 29, 2003, and he came to GROUP Ministries the next day. GROUP Ministries helps those who are addicted recover through peer counseling and education. The majority of GROUP workers are former addicts. William used to get high with a lot of the people who are now clean and sober GROUP workers. "THERE'S NOTHING FAKE ABOUT WHAT THEY ARE SAYING. THEY'RE TELLING THE TRUTH." His friends' destructive behavior was replaced with freedom. He knew if they could get off drugs, he could too.

Through counseling and group meetings, William realized he couldn't conquer his drug habit alone. He says once he realized his helplessness and gave his life to God, his life began to change. "ONCE YOU FIND A HIGHER POWER AND YOU GET THAT PEACE AND SERENITY, YOU CAN DO ANYTHING," he says.

William says he is growing stronger each day. He is learning how to reach out to others within GROUP ministries. He is learning how to repair broken family relationships, and he is taking better care of his health.

"I LIKE MYSELF MORE TODAY. WHEN I WAS ON DRUGS, I COULDN'T STAND TO LOOK AT MYSELF IN THE MIRROR IN THE MORNING. I HATED MYSELF. THE HOPELESSNESS, THE SHAME, THE GUILT. IT WAS JUST WRITTEN ALL OVER MY FACE," he says. "YOU CAN NOW SEE SUCH A DRASTIC DIFFERENCE THAT YOU WOULDN'T BELIEVE."

With the help of a grant through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, other people like William can receive the help they need to overcome addiction. The funding will help GROUP Ministries' Recovery Community Services Program find additional staff and improve its services to reach more addicts in the Buffalo area.

#### GETTING THE GRANT

GROUP Ministries applied and received the \$324,349 Recovery Community Services Program grant in 2003. The grant allows GROUP Ministries to develop and deliver innovative peer-to-peer recovery support services in community settings through its recovery program. These services are intended to help prevent relapse; promote timely re-entry into treatment when relapse occurs; and promote sustained recovery and an enhanced quality of life for participants.

The grant is renewable for four years and will aid the development of peer support services for people recovering from alcohol and drug use disorders. The services that will be developed through the grant are expected to expand the capacity of the treatment delivery system by providing peer-to-peer services that help prevent relapse and promote long-term recovery for participants. The program shows former addicts how to live drug-free in their community.

Alfred Houston, RCSP program coordinator, says President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative helped GROUP Ministries receive this federal funding by creating a level playing field between faith-based and secular services.

"I THINK IT HAS LOOSENED THE PURSE STRINGS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. AND IT HAS MADE SERVICE PROVIDERS MORE AWARE THAT THEY AREN'T THE ONLY ONES HELPING PEOPLE," says Houston.

Houston says the government is understanding that peer-driven recovery programs are successful, secular or not. "THIS GRANT SHOWS THAT THE GOVERNMENT REALIZES SOMEONE WHO HAS BEEN THERE AND DONE THAT IS MORE EQUIPPED EMOTIONALLY AND WITH EMPATHY TO HELP SOMEONE. IT'S LIKE CLIMBING OUT OF A BOTTOMLESS PIT AND REACHING OUT BEHIND YOU AND HELPING THE OTHER PERSON OUT AS WELL."

#### ACHIEVEMENTS THROUGH THE GRANT

When GROUP Ministries started RCSP in April 2003, there were few personnel or resources to maintain a successful program. "THE INFRASTRUCTURE WAS IN PLACE, BUT WE COULDN'T PUT ANY MEAT ON THOSE BONES," says Ken Smith, RCSP program director. The 23 employees were seeing about 60 people a week to help support former addicts in living and socialization skills and vocational and educational training.

The program offers substance abuse support groups three times a week and a class on living skills each week. Job development is also offered. RSCP members learn computer skills in Microsoft Access, Word, and Excel. The program also refers many to the community's Buffalo Education and Training Center where they can obtain a GED and go to junior college. The program also helps family members of former addicts receive support and understand their addiction.

Grant funds will help broaden the program's reach to more who are struggling with addiction. Houston and Smith say they have been able to purchase more films on drug awareness for RSCP classes. Funds also help participants pay for bus transportation to and from meetings. They have also purchased eight computers and hired a trainer to teach computer classes twice a week part-time.

Houston and Smith hope that the funds will help identify more participants. They are putting their program in manuals to help others in neighboring communities.

"THE WORD IS GETTING OUT. WORKERS ARE LETTING PEOPLE KNOW ABOUT COMMUNITY LONG-TERM SOBRIETY. THEY ARE STARTING TO TRICKLE IN AND BECOME A PART OF THIS BIG FAMILY THAT WE HAVE IN BUFFALO. I SEE A LOT OF LIVES TURNED AROUND FROM THIS GRANT," says Houston.

### GROUP MINISTRIES' STORY

In 1992 GROUP Ministries, Inc. opened its offices in the midst of a drug-ridden community that was receptive to the program's mission. While clergy, elected officials, friends and visitors celebrated the ministry's grand opening, the phone rang. "MY NAME IS ZACK. I CAN'T STOP USING DRUGS. I NEED SOME HELP" — from that point on, the phones have not stopped ringing. The number of personal contacts made is more than 150,000.

The work started with three employees, two full-time and one part-time, with a combined salary of \$400 a week. Today, GROUP has 23 employees with more than 100 volunteers. The support of clergy, elected officials, local businesses and the community has enabled the budget to reach \$1.2 million and has expanded into several programs including the Prison Ministry, Hospital Ministry and Feed-Educate-Direct to help the community.

The Prison Ministry helps court advocacy workers act as a liaison between judges, courts and the probation department on behalf of those in need. The ministry's Street Wise program also helps stop recidivism as participants move into mainstream society. The program offers weekly workshops on spirituality, morality, responsibility, preventive education and more.

GROUP's Hospital Ministry shows compassion to those society may overlook such as substance abusers, prostitutes, HIV positive persons and the homeless. The ministry works with a volunteer staff at three hospitals to supply patients with spiritual counseling.

Since GROUP began, workers would go out into the city streets and feed the homeless and hungry. The program Feed-Educate-Direct Community Oppressed has served more than 26,000 meals since its inception. The ministry has also given more than 25,000 food bags through to families in need through its food pantry.

## Supportive Communities

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN WILSALL, MT

Shields River Health Ministry

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Thanks to a sub-award from the Compassion Capital Fund, Shields River Health Ministry will be able to provide needed health care to a rural Montana community.

## Snapshot of Compassion

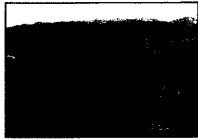
IN WILSALL, MT

### Shields River Health Ministry

P.O. Box 374 • Wilsall, MT 59086  
406-578-2219



#### SNAPSHOT



BERNIECE AND GRACE'S LIVES HAVE IMPROVED THROUGH SHIELDS RIVER HEALTH MINISTRY.

#### Berniece and Grace's Story

Berniece Hossler sneaks into her sister's room at night to make sure she's breathing. It's a routine now. Her sister Grace Lemon, who is hypoglycemic, has severe highs and lows of her blood sugar level. If her sister's condition is left untreated, she will become severely ill.

Thanks to a sub-award from Montana State University's Compassion Capital Fund grant, Shields River Health Ministry will be able to give some relief and encouragement to the sisters. The \$11,000 award is helping the ministry strengthen its capacity to help those in need.

When Berniece, 75, couldn't get her sister to eat, she called the ministry that then showed her how to squirt sustenance into the mouth without her choking. Berniece sometimes becomes depressed about taking care of her loved one, and she will turn to the ministry for encouragement.

And Grace, 78, is starting to trust the ministry as well — when Berniece got took her first vacation in 13 years, she ensured that the ministry called Grace every day until she returned home.

#### Program Overview

Established in 2003, the Shields River Health Ministry's goal is to help all people with health needs. Because the service area is rural and some distance from medical facilities, the ministry's goal is to provide "whole health" — body, mind and spirit — for the community through health and wellness, education and counseling.

#### Vitals

**Director** Dr. Rosemary K. Newman

**Year Founded** 2003

**Mission** to facilitate health care in a caring manner to all residents of the Shields Valley area

**Annual Budget** \$8,000

**Organization Size** eight

**Program Grant** Compassion Capital Fund sub-award from Montana State University

**Award Size** \$4,800 first year; \$11,000 second year

**Award Date** 2003-2004

**Funds Will Be Used** to provide rural residents access to health resources and education

**Project Duration** two years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
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## Compassion at Work

IN WILSALL, MT

### Shields River Health Ministry

P.O. Box 374 • Wilsall, MT 59086  
406-578-2219

#### Berniece and Grace's Story

Berniece Hossler sneaks into her sister's room at night to make sure she's breathing. It's a routine now. Her sister Grace Lemon, who is hypoglycemic, has severe highs and lows of her blood sugar level. If her sister's condition is left untreated, she will become severely ill from her diabetes.

Berniece recalls instances when she found Grace's blood sugar dropped to a dangerous low during the night. "SHE IS LIKE A ZOMBIE. MANY TIMES AT NIGHT I RUB SYRUP ON HER GUMS BECAUSE SHE'D BE LIKE SHE WAS DEAD. I'VE CALLED A NEIGHBOR TO HELP HER IF WE NEEDED TO GO TO THE HOSPITAL. BUT BY THE TIME THE NEIGHBORS GOT THERE, SHE WAS COMING OUT OF IT. I JUST PRAY TO THE LORD THAT I CAN TAKE CARE OF HER," says Berniece.

Thanks to a sub-award from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Compassion Capital Fund grantee Montana State University, Shields River Health Ministry will be able to give some relief and encouragement to the sisters. An award totaling \$15,800 is helping the ministry strengthen its capacity to help those in need.

When Berniece, 75, couldn't get her sister to swallow her food or sit up in bed to sip some orange juice, she called the ministry that then showed her how to squirt sustenance into the mouth without her choking. Grace, 78, has a difficult time allowing people to take care of her, which is a struggle for her sister. Often Berniece will become depressed or frustrated about taking care of her loved one, and she will turn to Shields River Health Ministry for encouragement.

The ministry has welcomed Berniece into diabetes classes where she can receive education as well as encouragement from those in similar situations. And Grace is beginning to feel at home as well — when Berniece got to take her first vacation outside of Montana in 13 years, she made sure that the ministry called Grace every day until she returned home to her sister.

#### The Grant Process

Led by the Montana Office of Rural Health at Montana State University, 15 different faith and health entities form the Montana Faith-Health Cooperative. The cooperative's mission is to foster and promote productive faith-health



partnerships across Montana. The purpose of the sub-awards is to assist small grassroots faith- and community-based organizations' capacity building and enhance their ability to provide health and social services to the underserved and needy in Montana.

Dr. Rosemary K. Newman says she knew the sub-award would benefit her ministry. Her previous work with grants gave her the background needed to quickly write her proposal. "THIS IS SOMETHING THE COMMUNITY IS ENTITLED TO," she says. "WE ALL PAY TAXES, SO WE SHOULD HAVE THE BENEFITS. RURAL AREAS HAVE GREAT NEEDS THAT URBAN AREAS CAN'T MEET. HERE THE ONLY HELP WE HAD WERE FRIENDLY NEIGHBORS. NOW WE ARE ABLE TO PROVIDE PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AND ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE."

Newman says it is hard to portray her potential service area as a Compassion Capital Fund sub-award recipient. "IT'S HARD TO VISUALIZE WHAT RURAL REALLY MEANS," she says. The 300-population community is mostly rural, so the nearest neighbor is about 10 miles away, says Newman. Shields Valley has only two small towns, Wilsall and Clyde Park. The nearest physician offices, pharmacies, clinics or hospitals are in Livingston and Bozeman, between 25 and 60 miles from residents of the area. Elderly and/or low-income families and individuals have limited access to transportation for doctors' visits, therapy, diagnostic tests or treatments. Snowy, icy roads can be a serious deterrent for elderly drivers from fall to spring.

All medical care requires travel to Livingston, Bozeman or other centers of choice, such as Billings, for specialized treatment. Although acute and/or emergency illness care and treatment is usually attained because of urgency, follow-up or ongoing therapy is likely to be ignored or limited. Diagnostic screening tests such as for cancer, diabetes and cardiovascular disease; chronic illness care such as eye and foot exams; and physical therapy are often unattainable. Prescription medications to manage illness are apt to be neglected for periods of time due to lack of transportation.

Health education and social service programs were non-existent in this area, except for annual blood screening by the Livingston Memorial Hospital. Monthly blood pressure checks were offered at the Wilsall Senior Center and a local Alcoholics Anonymous group. There were no systems in place for health counseling or referral to treatment centers or specialists. This lack of needed services led to the establishment of Shields River Health Ministry in March 2003 in an effort to meet the health needs of the community.

Newman then conducted a survey of all P.O. boxes in the area. Most requests were for weight management. She soon had a nurse teaching 12 residents weight management each week. Nutrition and exercise are discussed as permanent weight loss solutions, and group camaraderie is stressed. The sub-award allowed the ministry to pay for a part-time volunteer coordinator.



The sub-award grant also enables the ministry to conduct home visits, take blood pressure, hire two dieticians and give medical information via phone. Workers have also identified, through blood glucose screenings, two people who have diabetes.

They have also purchased a computer, installed telephone lines and an internet connection. Other basics, such as chairs, a computer table and educational materials were also bought.

Members of the ministry's steering committee are now able to attend faith health summits. Others can take parish nursing courses through Carroll College in Helena.

The sub-award got the ministry "on its feet" so they were able to obtain a supplementary grant to reimburse volunteers for travel funds when transporting clients to doctors' offices and treatment centers.

Future goals include spreading the ministry to the community's four churches. Newman wants to continue ongoing educational programs and conduct more home visits, such as taking meals, offering rides and picking up prescriptions for the ill. Newman also wants to reassure the community that the ministry is capable of handling their needs. "RURAL PEOPLE ARE VERY INDEPENDENT, AND THEY ARE SOMETIMES SUSPICIOUS OF HELP. THERE'S A TENDENCY TO SAY 'I DON'T NEED THIS. I CAN GET AROUND. I WILL JUST CALL MY NEIGHBOR.' I THINK IN TIME THEY'LL REALIZE THAT WE ARE THEIR NEIGHBOR."

#### **Shields River Health Ministry's Story**

Established in 2003, the Shields River Health Ministry's goal is to help all people with health needs. Because the service area is rural and some distance from medical facilities, the ministry's goal is to provide "whole health" — body, mind and spirit — for the community through health and wellness, education, counseling and service.

The ministry gives referrals to medical care. It has screenings for blood pressure, glucose, and oxygen saturation. Diabetes and nutrition counseling are offered. In-home visits and telephone calls to the ill are also emphasized. It also offers seminars, teaching and training in weight control and nursing.

Senior Medicare Patrol Project  
(AoA)

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MI

Jewish Federation of  
Metropolitan Detroit

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A \$441,263 grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services will help the elderly live independently in their own communities.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MI

### Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit

735 Telegraph Road • P.O. Box 2030 • Bloomfield Hills, MI 48303-2030  
248-642-4260 • [www.thisisfederation.org](http://www.thisisfederation.org)

#### SNAPSHOT



ANN SHEEHAN'S SOCIAL LIFE HAS IMPROVED IN HER COMMUNITY.

#### Ann's Story

Ann Sheehan used to be lonely. She would not eat, and she stayed alone in her apartment that she's had for 30 years. But once a service agency offered socials in her apartment complex and access to better nutrition, Ann, 90, flourished.

The Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit's Supportive Communities Program got Ann interested in socializing during a meet and greet last year. Now she has access to affordable groceries, goes to parties, plays games and visits her new friends.

And she'd rather stay in her apartment community the rest of her life. "Where would I go? I haven't even thought about it," she says.

Supportive Communities helps older adults live independently in their homes, promotes physical and emotional well-being and reduces isolation.

A Discretionary grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services through the Administration on Aging will help more like Ann receive services they need to continue living in their own homes.

#### Program Overview

The Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit raises and allocates funds to provide life-saving and life-enhancing humanitarian assistance to those in need. Its Supportive Communities program assists older adults with health promotion, social activities, volunteer opportunities, and other services to help them thrive in their own homes and communities.

#### Vitals

**CEO** Robert P. Aronson

**Year Founded** 1899

**Mission** Supportive Communities helps older adults to age in their own homes and communities

**Annual Budget** about \$9 million overall

**Organization Size** 100 full-time and part-time employees

**Program Grant** Discretionary through HHS/AOA

**Award Size** \$441,263

**Award Date** 2003

**Funds Will Be Used** to sustain services to help the elderly live in their own communities

**Project Duration** 17 months



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## Compassion at Work

IN BLOOMFIELD HILLS, MI

### Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit

6735 Telegraph Road • P.O. Box 2030 • Bloomfield Hills, MI 48303-2030  
248 642-4260 • [www.thisisfederation.org](http://www.thisisfederation.org)

#### ANN'S STORY

Ann Sheehan used to be lonely. She used to not eat, and she stayed alone in her apartment that she's had for 30 years. But once a social service agency started offering socials in her apartment complex, Ann, 90, hasn't stopped partying.

"I DON'T FEEL SO LONESOME ANYMORE. IT'S LIKE GOING TO A PARTY ALL THE TIME," says Ann. She also adds, "IT KEEPS YOUR BRAIN WORKING A LITTLE BIT TOO!"

The Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit's Supportive Communities Program offered its first "meet and greet" in her apartment building last December. It got Ann interested in socializing. Now she goes to parties, plays games and visits her new friends. The former Elizabeth Arden Red Door Salon manicurist still practices her trade on willing toes. She takes walks twice a day around her apartment and talks with her friend Martha about the past, politics and the upcoming November presidential election. She hasn't decided whom she will vote for.

And she'd rather stay in her apartment community the rest of her life. "I'M NOT REAL PICKY. I'M EASY TO GET ALONG WITH, AND I HATE TO MOVE. WHERE WOULD I GO? I HAVEN'T EVEN THOUGHT ABOUT IT," she says.

The Jewish Federation believes Supportive Communities will help older adults live in their own communities rather than retreating to retirement homes. The program understands that removing older people from a familiar setting can be a shock because they have to make new friends and learn new routines. And if they do become ill, they have a better chance of recovery if they are in their own homes.

Many in the Supportive Communities program have lived in their homes for years. When Ann's husband died in 1960, she moved from their New Jersey home to Detroit. She found an apartment in one of the area's first high rises and became one of its first tenants. She hasn't moved since. "I'M TOO LAZY TO MOVE! IT WAS AS GOOD AS YOU COULD GET AT THAT TIME," she adds.

When Supportive Communities social worker Becky Eizen first visited Ann, she was concerned about the little amount of food Ann ate. A typical day's menu would be a slice of bread and jelly, a small salad or an omelet.



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

And Ann is not one to ask for help, says Becky. "SHE WAS IN DENIAL OF HER SITUATION, BUT SHE'S COMING OUT OF HER SHELL." The program was able to help Ann out with her tight budget and provide food and coupons to a local grocery store.

Frequent visits from the social worker and a list of social activities keep Ann going.

"IN THE TIME THAT I'VE KNOWN HER, SHE LOOKS FORWARD TO MY COMING. EVERY RESIDENT THAT I HAVE SPOKEN TO KEEPS ASKING HER WHEN I'M COMING NEXT," says Becky.

An Administration on Aging Discretionary grant will help more like Ann receive services they need to continue living in their own community. The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration on Aging awarded the grant in 2003.

### THE GRANT PROCESS

The Jewish Federation knew about similar projects in New York and Israel during the last five years. Officials liked the idea of helping older adults while strengthening the community. They knew a similar program could empower senior citizens to make their own decisions about their care.

Linda Blumberg, Commission on Jewish Eldercare Services director, knew that the grant could help the Jewish community reach out to all within Detroit regardless of religion or ethnic origin.

The 17-month \$441,263 grant will help seniors remain independent in the communities in which they live. The Jewish Federation's Commission on Jewish Eldercare Services will work with older adults and community groups such as home and building owners, religious congregations, local municipalities, service providers and businesses.

The grant will help test and evaluate new methods in assisting the elderly age in their own homes and communities. The demonstration grant focuses on providing access to and linking health and supportive services for seniors who are aging in place, removing existing barriers to those services, and developing innovative strategies to enhance the quality of life of residents. Detroit patterned its project from similar efforts around the country.

The Administration on Aging believes older people who want to remain independent need nutrition, transportation, health promotion and support for family caregivers. Providing the elderly with greater choices through community-based services like the Supportive Communities program is a major goal of the Bush administration.

Supportive Communities is a collaboration between the Jewish Federation's ElderLink Network of Services and community businesses, organizations, religious congregations, homeowners, building associations and local

municipalities. ElderLink is a network of services for older adults provided by member agencies of the Commission on Jewish Eldercare Services.

The Supportive Communities program believes that treating older adults with dignity and respect is imperative. The premise behind the program is that older adults thrive in their own homes, they know what they need and they are an integral component of a viable community. Social ties and active involvement with others in the community leads to a better quality of life and health.

Its goals are to assist older adults to live independently in their homes, promote physical and emotional well-being and reduce isolation. The program provides social workers to assist with planning and connecting residents with services and resources, intergenerational and community social and recreational activities, and volunteer opportunities. Health promotion, health screenings, transportation, translation and interpretation services are also provided. All services are provided within the community center, houses of worship, apartment communities and other neighborhood areas that have a large population density of older adults aging in place.

Officials hope the Detroit area program will enable older adults to remain living in their homes for as long as possible. The program will provide a greater quality of life while involving the community.

#### **JEWISH FEDERATION OF METROPOLITAN DETROIT'S STORY**

As the major instrument of Jewish philanthropy and volunteerism in the Detroit area, the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Detroit is a person-to-person, community-driven organization dedicated to the health, education, spiritual and cultural identity of Jews worldwide.

The Jewish Federation raises and allocates funds to provide life-saving and life-enhancing humanitarian assistance to those in need and to translate Jewish values into social action on behalf of the nearly 100,000 Jews in the Detroit area. Locally, the Jewish Federation supports a family of 19 social service agencies and schools. Funding impacts the lives of thousands of Jews throughout Israel, the former Soviet Union and in 60 countries around the world.

The following are other programs and services supported and provided by the Jewish Federation:

- Jewish Federation's Alliance for Jewish Education — This program brings together leaders and professionals in education to create and implement a strategic vision for Jewish education in the community.
- Leonard N. Simons Jewish Community Archives — The Archives collect, preserve and make available for research the historical record of the Jewish Federation, the United Jewish Foundation, and the Jewish Federation's

partner agencies, local organizations and individuals. The collection includes photographic and biographical records.

- Michigan Jewish Conference — The conference serves the political and community relation needs of the statewide Jewish community through legislative advocacy, coalition building with other statewide religious and social justice organizations, and fostering communication among member communities.
- Ben Teitel Israel Incentive Savings Plan — Since 1991, this program has helped make trips to Israel affordable for more than 1,200 teenagers.
- Yom HaZikaron (Israeli Memorial Day) — Every year the Jewish Federation sponsors a community-wide program that commemorates the Israeli soldiers that died defending Israel and those who died in terror attacks.
- Yom Ha'Atsmaut (Israeli Independence Day) — The Jewish Federation sponsors this community-wide annual event to celebrate the birth of the state of Israel.
- Partnership 2000 — The Michigan-Central Galilee Partnership 2000 encourages and fosters enduring relationships between Jewish communities in Michigan and Central Galilee.
- PACT in Netanya — In September 2001, the Jewish Federation entered into a new partnership with JDC and the city of Netanya.
- Project OTZMA — Project OTZMA is a 10-month program that offers Jewish adults ages 20-25 an opportunity to live and volunteer in Israel in a variety of settings. The Jewish Federation sponsors participants from the metro Detroit area every year.
- Jewish Renewal in Kiev — The Jewish Federation's initiative in Kiev is dedicated to renewing Jewish communal life in a city with a Jewish population of more than 90,000.



# Womens Health

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN WICHITA, KS

Via Christi Foundation



A \$78,293 grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration on Aging will educate seniors about Medicare and Medicaid.

## Snapshot of Compassion

IN WICHITA, KS

### Via Christi Foundation

1622 W. Central (Riverside campus) • Wichita, KS 67203  
316-946-5029 • fax 316-946-5034 • www.via-christi.org

#### SNAPSHOT



PARISH NURSING HELPED RUTH LINDAMOOD MAINTAIN HER INDEPENDENCE.

#### Ruth's Story

Ruth Lindamood knew something was wrong with her health five years ago. She was upset about simple things in her life, and she didn't have the energy to dust, cook or shop. Intense emotional problems were crushing Ruth's will to survive on her own; she had a panic attack and developed depression and anxiety.

Joan Aldridge had been a deacon with Ruth at their First Presbyterian Church. The two knew each other through various social activities, but it wasn't until Joan helped Ruth through her illness that they became friends.

Taking a bath, seeing the doctor and giving ideas about exercise were simple comforts Joan gave Ruth during her illness. Even when she was hospitalized for a panic attack, Joan was by her side.

Now Joan is helping more seniors through a Senior Medicare Patrol Project with the Via Christi Foundation. A grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration on Aging will help create an educational program for seniors in need.

#### Program Overview

The Via Christi Medicare Patrol Project will teach the elderly how to address suspected fraud and abuse. Volunteer seniors and registered nurses will provide in-person, community-based educational events that focus on benefits and reporting problems with Medicare and Medicaid provisions. The Patrol Project volunteers and nurses will also teach people how to read billing statements, spot billing errors and know what entitlements they have with their medical policies. Via Christi hopes 5,500 will receive information through a minimum of 150 nurses and volunteers within three years.

#### Vitals

**President and CEO** Randall Nyp

**Year Founded** 1995

**Mission** to help the underprivileged and those in need

**Annual Budget** \$15.5 million

**Organization Size** 7,000

**Program Grant** Discretionary Grants program through HHS/AOA

**Award Size** \$78,293 renewable for three years

**Award Date** 2003

**Funds Will Be Used** to establish the Via Christi Medicare Patrol Project

**Project Duration** three years



Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

## Compassion at Work

IN WICHITA, KS

### Via Christi Foundation

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#### Ruth's Story

Friendships can be forged during difficult times, according to Ruth Lindamood, 89.

Ruth, a retired schoolteacher, knew something was wrong with her health five years ago. She was upset about simple things in her life, and she didn't have the energy to dust, cook or shop. Intense emotional problems were crushing Ruth's will to survive on her own; she had a panic attack and developed depression and anxiety.

Joan Aldridge had been a deacon with Ruth at their First Presbyterian Church. The two knew each other through various social activities, but it wasn't until Joan helped Ruth through her illness that they became friends.

Joan had just become a parish nurse for their church when she began seeing Ruth. Taking a bath, seeing the doctor and giving ideas about exercise were simple comforts Joan gave Ruth during her illness. Even when she was hospitalized for a panic attack, Joan was by her side.

After two weeks in the hospital, Ruth understood that assisted living would help her maintain some independence; Joan agreed and helped her get into Presbyterian Manor. The two often called, visited or saw each other at church while Ruth's health improved. Now she not only washes her own hair and exercises, but she also founded of the manor's book club.

The two remain close. When a friend of Ruth's died, Joan came to the manor to help her grieve. "I FELT SO CLOSE TO HER. SHE WOULD COME ANYTIME. I FELT THAT I HAD A FRIEND THAT I NEEDED," says Ruth.

The relationship the two built encouraged Joan to continue parish nursing. Now she is helping more seniors through the Senior Medicare Patrol Project with the Via Christi Foundation. A grant from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services and the Administration on Aging will help create an educational program for seniors in need. Joan will use her status as a parish nurse to educate those in the community to understand Medicare and Medicaid provisions. She believes her relationship with Ruth made her want to expand her knowledge to help seniors not only with health problems but also with finances.



**Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives**  
EMPOWERING AMERICA'S GRASSROOTS

### THE GRANT PROCESS

Martha McCabe, Via Christi Foundation grants coordinator, knew the need to help the elderly in Kansas was great. According to the U.S. Census, in 2000 Kansas had 359,000 residents 65 or older, which is higher than the national average. The Kansas Department of Aging projects that by the year 2030, this age group will grow to approximately 605,000.

McCabe heard about the grant through HHS announcements, and the vice president of Via Christi's outreach programs knew that the grant would benefit those in the community. The foundation had no reservations about faith-based funding and applied for the grant.

"WHEN THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION STARTED THE INITIATIVE, WE THOUGHT THAT WAS A VERY GOOD THING BECAUSE WE, LIKE CHURCHES AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, HAVE BEEN HELPING PEOPLE THROUGH OUR PROGRAMS. BUT WE WERE NOT ALLOWED TO APPLY FOR FUNDING IN THE PAST," says McCabe.

She knew that many seniors were having a problem with understanding Medicare and Medicaid. Parish nurses, who were taking care of the elderly in the community through Via Christi, told McCabe that many seniors wanted more information about their medical provisions. They were unsure about billing practices and fraud. McCabe also knew that many who use Medicaid or Medicare don't know about their coverage until they are sick. When the patient needs to understand their medical provisions, they are too stressed trying to recover or worried about the cost to understand their policies.

The foundation applied and was awarded the Medicare patrol project grant in 2003. The \$78,293 grant, renewable for three years, is helping the foundation establish the program to help seniors understand Medicare and Medicaid policies. "EVERY DOLLAR THAT IS LOST TO FRAUD IS A DOLLAR WE LOSE TO SERVICES WE CAN PROVIDE TO PEOPLE. EVERYBODY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT," says McCabe.

### ACHIEVEMENTS THROUGH THE GRANT

The Via Christi Medicare Patrol Project will teach the elderly how to address suspected fraud and abuse. Volunteer seniors and registered nurses will provide in-person, community-based educational events that focus on benefits and reporting problems with Medicare and Medicaid provisions. The patrol project volunteers and nurses will also teach people how to read billing statements, spot billing errors, and know what entitlements they have with their medical policies.

The project volunteers and nurses will be trained on basic Medicare and Medicaid provisions. The foundation hopes that participants may feel more comfortable talking with a nurse or peer volunteer rather than a Medicare, Medicaid or local health provider. As a result, participants will feel at ease asking

questions during educational sessions, calling a fraud hotline or deciding to file a complaint of suspected abuse or fraud.

The patrol project plans to use the best resources available to help participants. The parish nurses that can become a patrol project member participate in Via Christi's Congregational Health Ministry Network of Via Christi. Since its beginning in 1996, the Health Ministry has provided volunteer and retired registered nurses in churches and parishes across the state. This program provides free health screenings and wellness programs for people regardless of income and circumstance. Activities that promote disease prevention and change of at-risk health behaviors are the focus of this networking program. The network provides free blood pressure checks, cholesterol screenings, immunizations and breast, cervical and prostate cancer screenings. Nursing assessments include not only physical and emotional status, but also spiritual needs when requested. Those who receive services are not required to be members of the church or parish where wellness clinics and health education events are conducted.

The patrol project's trained parish nurses and volunteers will provide information and support to those in at least 15 counties, with the majority in rural areas. Via Christi hopes 5,500 will receive information through a minimum of 150 nurses and volunteers within three years.

The Via Christi Regional Medical Center (VCRMC), in collaboration with the Kansas Department on Aging, will form a steering committee representative of organizations, agencies, educational institutions and service providers committed to improving beneficiary abilities to detect and stop health care error, fraud and abuse. This project will complement the existing Senior Health Insurance Counseling for Kansas (SHICK) program and fraud prevention hotline services. SHICK offers older Kansans an opportunity to talk with trained, community volunteers and get answers to questions about Medicare and other insurance issues. The program's volunteers are trained on Medicare, Medicare Supplemental Insurance, Long-Term Care and other health insurance issues. The goal of the program is to educate and assist the public to make informed decisions in selecting health care insurance and health care providers.

The patrol project would utilize local SHICK volunteers alongside trained registered nurses because of their wealth of knowledge of the Medicare program. The goal of this project is to complement and enhance current programs such as SCHICK, not to duplicate services currently available to beneficiaries.

The patrol project has become popular. The foundation has almost surpassed its first year goals within the first few weeks of volunteer training, says McCabe. Forty-eight volunteers arrived at the first training session — the foundation was hoping to get close to that number within in the first year, not the first week.

**Via Christi Regional Medical Center's Story**

The Via Christi Foundation is a nonprofit subsidiary of the Via Christi Regional Medical Center. The foundation's mission is to secure funding for its operations.

The VCRMC is the largest not-for-profit healthcare facility serving Kansas. Headquartered in Wichita, the medical center and foundation were formed in 1995 during a merger of two hospitals. VCRMC operates an extensive regional health care delivery system of inpatient, outpatient, emergency, primary care and specialty services that primarily benefit central and south central Kansas residents.

Along with three acute hospital facilities, the VCRMC also operates the only inpatient psychiatric facility within a 200-mile radius of Wichita and an extensive rehabilitation hospital. In September 2002 Via Christi Hope, the Senior Services Division of Via Christi, opened the first Kansas Program of All-Inclusive Care for the Elderly. This PACE program was the first in the nation to open as a permanent provider dually certified by Medicare and Medicaid. The Via Christi Health System operates retirement communities in Wichita, Pittsburg and Manhattan, KS, and Ponca City, OK. It is the largest home health agency in the state.

Mr. SOUDER. One, you were asked to collect data on grantmaking. Can you give us some idea of how much time you spent, whether that was useful, how we might look at fixing that. And the second is, do you work to evaluate the planned State and local government cooperation and did you do a report on that, when was it complete, and did you get any good information on that?

Mr. POLITO. Sure. The data collection, in my opinion, should have always been driven by OMB. They do that well on everything else. And having center directors and interns in our offices looking down sheets and saying faith-based, not faith-based, was insane. And I think there could be a better process.

My opinion is it should be a directive from OMB, the way that they direct TANF on how many case loads there are, or community health centers, how many people were served. Community health centers get funded by the amount of people that they serve. So it is not new to the Federal Government to count this kind of stuff. It just was a bizarre way of doing that.

The second question?

Mr. SOUDER. State and local, did you have that analysis?

Mr. POLITO. State and local. We did a report on that. Stanley actually helped us on that, did a great job on helping us on that report. I believe since my departure that report has been printed and can, I'm sure you can obtain a copy of that report through the Secretary or through the mechanisms at the department. The department owns that document, and it was our department's idea for the initiative that's the next new thing that we really need to address, is how do we really get into State and local funding. We counted 80 percent of our funds go out in block grants.

So to focus on a \$50 million Compassion Fund or even 20 percent discretionary funding, let's look at the 80 percent of block grant funding and see what we can do to influence the process of who gets that money, how that money is disbursed, helping our small, local folks understand that process and point them in those directions, training State and local administrators, TANF officials, for example, on how they could encourage smaller players and faith-based players into that process I think is where this initiative really needs to go next.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you. I will have a couple more followup. I will yield to Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. This is a very interesting line of questioning. I am trying to figure out, let me break it down another way. Let's say I am an African-American church, have 5,000, 6,000 members, I am not presently in the drug treatment area, but I hear about money available and I come to you. What happens there? I mean, I call there trying to figure out—what would happen?

Mr. POLITO. I would invite you, if you are from Baltimore, I would either invite you to come down to my office and we could have it out, talk it through, or I could send somebody to Baltimore to do a site visit. We have done that at times. Most of the time, if people are in town, we would meet with them. We pretty much help the organizations decipher what they do and who do they serve. If you can answer those two questions, I can tell you about a grant that's available. What do you do, who do you serve.



Mr. CUMMINGS. What about what will I do? Because don't forget, what I have said is, it is a person that they aren't even in it yet. They hear about this money and they know that the money is out there. So they say, well, let me see if I can get some of this flowing to my church, or——

Mr. POLITO. I understand what you are saying. Most churches in that capacity, a 5,000 member African-American church does stuff other than church. And a lot of that stuff is fundable at our level. You don't have to create a new program to get funded. That would be my posture with you, what do you do already and who do you serve, do you serve TANF-eligible clients, do you serve single moms, do you serve AIDS victims, who do you serve. Because I want them to show me their experience in doing that, and then I will give them, they will leave with an understanding of how to apply, who to apply to and when to apply.

Mr. CUMMINGS. All right, now, let's take it, I want to get to the 1,700 folks, and folks that I think Mr. Souder—I don't know, I am trying to figure out, he talked about smaller. You talked about smaller, you are talking about the 1,700 smaller churches. Now, we have that one church, they are in business, they get a nice grant. And then three smaller churches, in my district there is a church on almost every corner. So they hear about the big church, they want to be like the big church.

So then they get together, the four or five other churches and they say, look, we know you just gave the big church some money, how do we get money, because we want to be like the big church. What I am getting to is this subcontracting concept that you just talked about. I had never even heard of that. Explain that to me.

Mr. POLITO. OK. In the Compassion Fund, it was decided by lots of different folks that we would fund large, what we call intermediaries or go-betweens to then sub-grant out to the small guys. So in a sense, the large church would get the block of the money, but it was mandated that they give away half of it to smaller churches. They would run a competition program that we would approve on how they are going to disburse out that money. Because we didn't think quickly, at least in the first year, we didn't think that those small storefront churches would be successful in applying for a large Federal grant.

Mr. CUMMINGS. And who was training those small churches?

Mr. POLITO. That big church. That's what we paid them to do, to train them, to give them a sub-grant and then eventually help them go get the grant for themselves.

Mr. CUMMINGS. And so who would measure their progress? In other words, most Government things, there is some kind of measurement. How was their progress measured? One of the things that I have seen is people who have gotten Federal money go to prison—let me finish—when they didn't do what they were supposed to do with the money. Now, where is the accountability in that formula? Is it the big church? Is it still within the Federal Government? Where is the accountability coming in?

Mr. POLITO. The program sits under the administration for Children and Families. It sits in a program office, not the White House, not the Secretary's office, so that it could run like all the other programs at ACF. So Wade Horn and his staff have Federal account-

ability over those programs, and they run those programs the same way they run all the other programs.

But they hold first the large group accountable and then the smaller group accountable, because their relationship is with the big group.

Mr. CUMMINGS. OK, now, I guess it was Mr. Kuo, when the decisions go down with regard to whether these—it seems that there has been some targeting toward Black churches, is that right, would you agree with that?

Mr. KUO. Explain what you mean.

Mr. CUMMINGS. African-American churches, in other words, trying to appeal to African-American churches, that is with these faith-based efforts. Come on, Mr. Kuo, now, please.

Mr. KUO. The answer—

Mr. CUMMINGS. Please, sir, I have been an elected official for a long time. I see what is happening. You know what is happening.

Mr. KUO. Excuse me?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Let me tell you. I will tell you what's happening, just in case you don't know.

Mr. KUO. Why don't you let me answer the question first, sir?

Mr. CUMMINGS. OK, you acted like you didn't know what I was talking about.

Mr. KUO. No, sir, I know what you are talking about.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, all right.

Mr. KUO. What you asked is, the implicit question you are asking is, did the White House hand out money to Black churches to buy votes. That is really what you are asking. The answer is, no.

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is not what I was asking.

Mr. KUO. The White House, what we set out to do in the Office, sir, was to try and educate, we tried to do whatever we could given the extraordinarily tight parameters that we had. Because the fact of the matter was, very few people in the West Wing cared a jot or tittle about this initiative. The biggest press this got was when Members of your caucus, Members of the Democratic Party, critics like Americans United for Separation of Church and State, would launch these large attacks against it saying how much was being done, how radical it was, how really crazy it all was.

And we would laugh, because in the Office, we know how little was being done. We started a set of conferences around the country, because it was one way that we could go and try and fulfill the President's vision. And the President's vision, as Bobby just talked about, was to try and educate small social service organizations about how to apply for Government funds.

Now, we were specifically targeting organizations that served people who were drug addicts, who were alcoholics, who needed job training, who did day care, who did mentoring for children of prisoners. Fortunately, most of the people who do that are people of faith. Because they are the ones who are motivated to do it. Most of the ones who do that well happen to be African-American churches and Hispanic churches.

That just happens to be the demographic. This was not done intentionally to reach out to African-American or Hispanic churches. It was done because those are the organizations that serve those populations.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, did it make, was it a big deal when suddenly an African-American pastor of a large church, just before the election, comes around who used to be a head Democrat, now decides to, he just so happened to get a substantial grant, by the way, so now he decides that he is going to be, have a conversion and become the No. 1 person for the President?

Mr. KUO. Of course that has political appeal. We live in Washington, right? Pure motives are really hard to find. Every politician that I know of does something that they think is right, but they are happy that there are political benefits that happen because of it.

Mr. CUMMINGS. So you are saying that is one of the reasons for the program?

Mr. KUO. Was it one of the reasons for the program, was it for political benefit?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Mr. SOUDER. For the record, he already said that some people used it for political benefit. But that is different than saying why the program was created.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I understand.

Mr. KUO. I do not believe, to the core of my being, that this program was created for political benefit.

Mr. CUMMINGS. But it turned out to be, to be political benefit?

Mr. KUO. There were political benefits that were derived. Absolutely.

Mr. CUMMINGS. And what I was asking you for, what I was asking you is that you said that the White House, it didn't mean a hill of beans, whatever you said, a tick or whatever, what did you say? I had never heard that term.

Mr. KUO. Jot or tittle.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Jot or tittle.

Mr. KUO. It is technically in the Bible.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Oh, OK. All right. A jot or tittle.

Mr. KUO. King James Version. [Laughter.]

Mr. CUMMINGS. King James Version, all right. Amen. [Laughter.]

Mr. KUO. He speaketh correctly.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Anyway, what I am asking you is, then that must have meant something to somebody in the White House. You said it turned out that they had political advantage, you get this pastor, Sunday before election, who has never supported a Republican, he jumps and says, I love the President, support him, I've had this conversion. In other words, did you get any brownie points, I guess, in your Office?

Mr. KUO. I left the White House in December 2003.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Do you think you would have gotten some?

Mr. KUO. We left the White House in December 2003. I can tell you that the West Wing was more pleased with White House conferences that went out and talked to tens of—or brought in tens of thousands of people than it was with any other single thing that we did.

Now, if you go and you look at where those conferences were held, I think you will get some sense of the answer, because a lot of those conferences were held in States like Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, and the ones that were not held in those States were

held in places like Boston, because you could hit both Maine and New Hampshire at the same time. [Laughter.]

So the answer is, yes, there was a political benefit to be derived. But here is the other fact, which is, every major urban center was targeted with these conferences. It would be really easy, I think all of us want to be able to say, it is all this or it is all that. It is all good or it is all bad. I wrestled for a year and half with whether to say anything at all. I want to be able to say yes or no. I can't.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I understand. Is it Polito?

Mr. POLITO. Correct.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Polito, going back to what you did, what I am confused about, I am trying to figure out, so in today's world, there would be an advantage, you talked about these little organizations, small churches that may not have had the expertise to do certain things, right? You talked about that. And that is one of the reasons why you felt that you all were significant to them.

Mr. POLITO. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, I have a whole lot of organizations in my district that are not faith-based that would love to have an opportunity to get involved in some of these things. Do we have comparable programs for them? In other words, if I called you and I said, look, I am not a faith-based guy, I am an atheist, say somebody called and said, I am an atheist. But I want to do some drug counseling. What would you do then?

Mr. POLITO. I would honestly, sir, ask the same two questions that I ask the pastor: who do you serve and what do you do. And if you can answer those two questions, I can direct you to the Federal grant at HHS that does that. I could tell you the day and time it comes out that you have to apply to it, I could tell you the three conferences around the country that those bureaucratic career staff run those conferences to get people to come so they can learn.

The problem with the atheist or the church, if they are not a player in Washington, if they do not have a Government relations office here, or if they do not read the Federal Register every day, they do not know that stuff. And the Federal Government has not been very good about announcing that stuff. So that was the value that I saw in my office, was to be a place where somebody, anybody could walk in and say, this is who I serve, this is what I do, is there any assistance for a group like that in this bureaucracy, and I would be able to answer that question for them.

Mr. CUMMINGS. And so would that person, the person who was a faith-based organization, with the faith-based organization, they would have to some degree, some advantage I guess, because there is supposedly some money set aside, is that supposed to be?

Mr. POLITO. No. That is the big mystery, that there has never been any money set aside—

Mr. CUMMINGS. And that is the interesting thing, because that is what people think.

Mr. POLITO. Right.

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is what people think. The question becomes, who put that out there?

Mr. POLITO. I don't know.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Because let me tell you something. Let me tell you. Everywhere I go, people say, gee, that was really nice of the

President to put all that extra money out there for faith-based. I am assuming that is not just falling from the sky.

Mr. KUO. May I respond, sir?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Mr. KUO. The answer is, the White House has put that out there. Now, earlier, I believe it was Representative Owens who said, there's \$2 billion or \$3 billion now going to faith-based groups. Earlier, Representative Green said that's a 20 percent increase from year over year. The problem is, the data on which that is based would not stand up to any scrutiny. The reason that we tasked Bobby Polito and the other centers to come up with data was to cover ourselves, because the President's promise of \$8 billion a year in new spending and tax incentives had not come through and because we wanted to have a figure that was out there.

Now, the reason that the figure is out there now is because no one had ever asked it before. We still do not know how accurate those figures are. Those figures are not very accurate.

But the point is that in talking to any number of social scientists, any number of people who have looked at the field of faith-based initiatives the last 20 years, they say, well, probably the \$2 billion or \$3 billion figure that they came up with this year, that is probably lower than it was 10 years ago or 15 years ago, simply because the pot of money is smaller.

Mr. SOUDER. Let me add something to that. When I was Republican staff director of the Children and Family Committee years ago, in the early 1980's, we had a staffer, Dr. Jim Gimple, who now teaches at the University of Maryland, who went through the Hobbes Report. Everybody acts like this stuff is new. But Hobbes had looked at this under Reagan, when he was Governor of California, and when he came to Washington, he looked at the private sector groups. They put out 100 groups that were supposedly free of Government that were doing charitable work, mostly faith-based.

But it is faith-based and community organizations, Congresswoman Watts had asked the question earlier, why is community in there. Well, that is why. It is a Compassion Capital Fund for faith-based and community-based organizations. It isn't just faith-based.

But when he went through, he found that 33 percent of the people in Hobbes' report got more than half the funding from Government sources, Federal and State. Even back in the early 1980's. So while there are wrinkles to today, there has been so much political spinning it is hard to get down here and figure out how to do a bill, how to sustain this. Because it has actually been part of the U.S. Government for a long time.

Yes, we have a battle over one sub-part of should churches that only hire inside their faith be part of this program. But that is different than whether there should be a program——

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Mr. SOUDER [continuing]. And how it is set up and how we reach minority groups that are too small.

And I could add one more thing. One of my frustrations, and I want to make sure before we close this panel that Dr. Carlson-Thies can respond to this, about at the State and local level and the Federal level, we do this in other categories. In SBA, when I was a graduate student, through SCORE and through a program

through graduate business schools, we went out, when people would apply to Small Business Administration for loans, we as graduate students would go out and do an analysis.

The SCORE centers are retired executives who go out and do analyses. We have small business centers in the urban areas where they will share a phone, where they will have the information books with which to go and help small businesses seek grants, that when we do defense contracting, in my area we have set this up for defense contractors, because it is hard to figure out defense contracting.

Why has there not been a sub-structure of setting up for social service agencies pooled centers, like incubation centers, where there is information, where it is free, it does not depend on who you know, it is public, it is there, anybody can have access to it. Because right now, when we were doing these field hearings, up until our second to last one in Los Angeles, we didn't even discover the main intermediary organizations that you were working through, the big one in Philadelphia, the Hispanic group there. And there was one in Colorado.

It took us a year and a half with professional staff, with me knowing the subject for 20 years, to figure out the pattern. Now, how in the world is somebody on the street going to figure out this pattern unless there is a substructure that is set up that is gradual? Yes, we do not have enough money to do it rapidly.

But a substructure that is set up much like we do other categories of Government to encourage, I mean, that's how we had the \$1,000 toilets and the \$500 hammers, because only a few people who were traditionally bidding did it. Unless you can get more people bidding to do drug treatment, unless you can get more people who are bidding to do juvenile delinquency, it is just like Reverend Rivers says, you can tell who is getting it, because they come in, into the urban center, and leave at 5:30. Because if you only have one or two people bidding, then you are not going to have this diversity. It doesn't mean that you are going to get the money.

But what Mr. Polito is saying is, we need more basically bidders. The more bidders we get, the better services we will get, because you will have less overhead and less corruption.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I've got you.

Mr. KUO. Mr. Chairman, if I might?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Go ahead, please.

Mr. KUO. If I might also add, there is a need for more bidders, but there is the objective need for a significant influx of funds. Because the core argument that Governor Bush made was that this conservatism was not going to be the leave us alone coalition, we don't need a social safety net, it was not going to be the Government can solve it all. It was going to say, we need more money, but we need it to go to the best groups.

Again, this 1,700 group figure, the amount of money these 1,700 groups got, what, \$5,000, \$10,000? We are not talking about very large sums of money here. We have very tiny sums of money. For political purposes, it sounds great for the White House to have \$3 billion out there, 1,700 groups out there, it sounds good, it looks like all of this stuff is being done. And the sad part about it is that everybody who works in the Faith-Based Office is sad about it. The

Faith-Based office has done an extraordinary job working against the White House.

Mr. SOUDER. Dr. Carlton-Thies has something to say about it.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Please.

Mr. CARLTON-THIES. If I may just say one or two things. I believe that long before the centers and the White House started counting the number of dollars, in their inaccurate way, there was this rumor around about money floating out there. I think it is partly because, when you start talking about faith-based groups have been excluded, now there is going to be an effort to include faith-based and also community groups, then everybody says, well, what does that mean. Well, everybody thinks that must mean, you create a budget for them, to include them.

But instead, this was an effort to make sure that in existing programs they would have a fair shake. But that doesn't sound very interesting to very many people. So I continually got asked by reporters about the \$80 million or \$50 billion or whatever that supposedly was out there. So that rumor has been around for a long time. It is because of a certain conception of what this is all about, that it is targeted money for religion, that I think is inaccurate.

When it comes to counting, one of the reasons why it has been difficult, I think, is because early on, when we talked, the Faith-Based Office talked with OMB about getting some statistics, we realized that the Government does not ask organizations if they are faith-based or not. So we thought, one thing we could do is try to devise some definition, because everybody wants to know how much money goes to faith-based organizations.

But any definition that anybody talked about was so legally problematic. That is to say, there was a worry on the part of OMB and I think the White House and certainly the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, that if grant managers could identify the groups that were faith-based who were applying, they would either steer money toward them if they were favorable or steer it away if they were against them, and that would not be a good thing for the competitive process.

So an effort to draw up a definition of faith-based that could be used to gather statistics was turned down in 2001. So the consequence is that interns sit around and look at the names of organizations and say, well, this one must be religious, this one isn't. And they are bogus numbers. But it is partly for Constitutional reasons, that is to say that the Government ought not to be going out there and selecting out faith-based groups to give them money. So we do not know if they are faith-based or not in any reliable way.

Mr. CUMMINGS. So therefore, making statements that we have given X amount of dollars to faith-based organizations sounds, just based on what you just said, it has to be inaccurate, because basically what you have said is it is impossible to count.

Mr. CARLSON-THIES. I would say it is not probably a proper question to ask in any case. Because if the faith-based applicant is a great competitor, they ought to get the money, and if they are not, they should not.

Mr. CUMMINGS. But my point is a much higher point than what you just made. What I am saying is that there is this perception

out there, numbers have been thrown out, this is the first time I have ever heard of the 1,700. You could come in here and say, look, we have serviced 10,000. And if there was no way to even know that they were faith-based organizations, what my point is, how could you even make the assertion? That's all.

Mr. CARLSON-THIES. Although I think the 1,700 applied to the mini-grants that have been given to small organizations.

Mr. POLITO. We could count that. We could count that. We can count how many mini-grants went out. That is not hard to count.

Mr. CUMMINGS. What do these people do with \$5,000? I'm sorry?

Mr. POLITO. These are small grants for capacity building, buy a computer, get some training so that you could figure out the grant system, improve your management structures. These were not operating grants, by and large, to provide services. These were to buildup the capacity of the organization.

Mr. CUMMINGS. So these were not operating grants. Some people went out and bought some computers.

Mr. POLITO. They increased their capacity to be able to offer services.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Say that again?

Mr. POLITO. They increased their capacity to be able to offer services. They could now better compete for private funds, Government funds, they could run their programs according to Federal standards because they had better accounting, things like that.

Mr. SOUDER. One of the problems you have with a lot of street organizations is little churches and little community organizations, unlike big suburban churches, often don't have CPAs there, they do not have attorneys there, they don't even know what books are there. Part of it is just to do capacity building.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Souder didn't know this, Mr. Souder, my mother pastored a church that started off with seven people. So I know about small churches. [Laughter.]

Mr. SOUDER. My church had 100 in it, and I thought I was a big church.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOUDER. Ms. Foxx, do you have any questions for this panel?

Ms. FOXX. No, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOUDER. I want to thank particularly Mr. Kuo, if your wife was watching, she might have had the baby just watching us question you. But I know she's overdue and I appreciate your—

Mr. KUO. I kept the phone on. [Laughter.]

Mr. SOUDER. Thank each of you. We will be doing some followup written questions and probably verbal questions. This has been a fascinating discussion, a very challenging question as we try to move ahead with this and make sure that the whole concept has legs. Thank you all for your years of service in this.

We will go to the third panel. Thank you all for your patience.

If you will all please stand and raise your right hands.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Mr. SOUDER. Let the record show that each of the witnesses responded in the affirmative.

Once again, I appreciate your patience, and we are going to start with Mr. Gregg Petersmeyer, vice chairman, Board of Trustees, at America's Promise, and also served on the senior White House staff



under George H.W. Bush, Bush 41, and was the founding person of the original Points of Light Office. Thank you for your years of leadership in public and community service.

**STATEMENTS OF GREGG PETERSMEYER, VICE CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, AMERICA'S PROMISE; BOB WOODSON, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CENTER FOR NEIGHBORHOOD ENTERPRISE; DENNIS GRIFFITH, DIRECTOR, TEEN CHALLENGE IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA; RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN, DIRECTOR, RELIGIOUS ACTION CENTER OF REFORM JUDAISM; AND REVEREND C. WELTON GADDY, PRESIDENT, INTER-FAITH ALLIANCE**

**STATEMENT OF GREGG PETERSMEYER**

Mr. PETERSMEYER. Thank you, Congressman. Thank you very much for inviting me to testify.

My remarks and experience relate to the value of a permanent White House office on community initiatives, not in any way limited to faith-based initiatives. I look forward to responding to your questions, but first I would like to offer a brief opening statement framing two issues that I believe are relevant to your consideration of a permanent White House office.

First, if the current President and his two immediate predecessors are guides, it is safe to say that the future Presidents will bring their own perspectives to this work. However, I believe we can frame useful principles that might underpin a permanent White House office focused on community initiative.

Second, with respect to Presidential leadership in this area, I believe it is useful to think about the President more in his role as national leader than as Federal leader. By that, I mean primarily as a leader of the Nation rather than as Chief Executive of the Federal Government.

When I came to Washington to join the White House staff in January 1989, I had known the President for almost 20 years and had every reason to believe that he shared several fundamental beliefs with me. One was that America is a Nation of communities. And if America is to be a great Nation, it has no choice but to be a Nation of great communities.

A second belief was that within the tens of thousands of communities that make up America, very, very serious challenges exist. Last, we believe that while the ability to overcome these challenges far exceeds the capacity of Government alone, and even Government in combination with market forces, it does not exceed our national capacity, the potential energy and talent of millions upon millions of Americans of all ages, acting purposefully both as individuals and as leaders and members of organizations in every community across America. This speaks more about what kind of Nation we are and more about the quality of the American civilization than about what kind of government we have.

Following his inauguration in January 1989, the only two structural changes President Bush made in the organization of the White House were to establish a White House office to strengthen the President's leadership of the civic engagement of Americans in the Nation's problemsolving, and to commission an assistant to

lead that work. The objective of that new office, and my work as that assistant to the President, was to increase the volume and effectiveness of the work of citizens in helping to solve serious social problems in the tens of thousands of communities that exist across America.

The actual strategy that the first Bush White House used was a classic strategy of a movement. The focus was the public beyond Washington, not office holders within the Federal Government. The strategy had five parts. First, changing attitudes in ways that would call every American to engage in helping to solve our most critical social problems and that would convince all Americans that a life which includes serving others is meaningful, adventurous and successful.

Second, identifying what works and bringing that news to places everywhere. Third, discovering, encouraging and developing leaders from all walks of life who could lead by example and lead others forward. Fourth, reducing volunteer liability so that one of the key fears of engaging in voluntary activities would not have a deterrent effect on people acting on the call they heard to help others.

And finally, building supporting infrastructure within every community to link people who care and their institutions to people in need. To carry out this strategy, new or reformed institutions were necessary. As you can see in my prepared statement on exhibit A, we created four institutions during that 4-year period: The White House Office of National Service in 1989; the Points of Light Foundation in 1990; the Commission on National and Community Service in 1991; and the National Center for Community Risk Management and Insurance in 1992. The four institutions were unified by a common vision, but had individual missions and distinct strategies and programs that together worked to achieve that shared vision.

If the current President and his two immediate predecessors are guides, I think it is safe to assume that, as I said, they will bring their own perspectives to this work. I believe, however, that the beliefs which guided the establishment of the first White House Office on National Service and the principles which comprised the movement-based strategy we developed should be included among the underpinning principles of future initiatives. I believe a permanent White House Office should reflect the fact that the vast majority of Americans support the best contributions of each of the last three Presidents of the United States and the Congress in this area.

However, most important of all, in considering a permanent White House office, I would argue, is that the President has two important domestic roles to help the Nation achieve key objectives. One role is to be the Chief Executive of the Federal Government. The other is to be the leader of the Nation. The establishment of this office would help the President fulfill this second role.

Rather than being focused on the capacity of the Federal Government to create programs to assist communities, former President Bush's work in this area was focused on the capacity of individuals and organizations across the Nation to create and advance their own community-based solutions. That is what I mean by the Presi-

dent acting more in his capacity as the leader of the Nation, rather than as leader of the Federal Government.

It was about calling everyone to think differently about themselves and one another, about making room for people to step forward, about leading one another by example, about recognizing that every problem is being solved somewhere, about honoring people in the application of their personal gifts for the benefit of others. It is part of why we used the Point of Light metaphor and instituted the first daily recognition program by a President in American history.

Far from preaching to people about what they should do, which of course nobody likes or responds well to, this tactic sought to influence by example, to encourage everyday Americans to reveal to one another what is possible by the evidence of their own experience. This was the strategy because it is the only way to really build the volume of people working, to discovering and releasing the human energy required to actually solve some of the most pressing challenges facing tens of thousands of communities.

At the very time when there was ever-increasing focus on credentialism and the need for more professionals, ours was a strategy that called for far more amateurs to step forward and help. There is simply no other way for us as a Nation or as a people to reach the volume of community engagement that is necessary to overcome our challenges.

I believe that the power of culture has far more influence than that of politics on the behavior of individuals in communities. Every President can and should play the indispensable role of helping the culture define one of the most powerful ideas there is; namely, what it means to live a successful life. It will always be all the more powerful if that definition is framed by the President to include serving others, and if the President calls relentlessly on all people, wherever they live, to serve others to the best of their ability.

That is why in the very early days of the former President's Presidency, I drafted for him a sentence that by President Bush's own admission he publicly stated more than any other during his Presidency; namely this: "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

I would close by offering a final comment. At a time of deep partisanship in this city, with no change in sight, community initiatives is a dimension of American life that could hold the greatest promise for bringing us together. I know that the American people who live in the tens of thousands of communities of this country believe we can all do much better as a Nation and as a people in working together in our communities.

I look forward to responding to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Petersmeyer follows:]

**Statement by C. Gregg Petersmeyer  
Vice Chair of America's Promise – The Alliance for Youth - and  
Former Assistant to the President and  
Director of the White House Office of National Service**

United States Congress Legislative Hearing  
The Committee on Government Reform and Oversight  
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources  
Concerning "Authorizing the President's Vision:  
Making Permanent The Faith-Based and Community Initiative"  
H.R. 1054: The Tools for Community Initiatives Act

Tuesday, June 21<sup>st</sup>, 2005

**Introduction**

My name is Gregg Petersmeyer. I am the Vice Chair of America's Promise – The Alliance for Youth. I served for four years on the first President Bush's senior White House staff. I was an Assistant to the President and founding Director of the first White House Office of National Service, better known then as the Points of Light Office. I was then a Visiting Scholar at Indiana University's Center on Philanthropy where I conducted research on what might be called the common journey of social entrepreneurs, individuals who start their own community-based initiatives. In 1996 I was asked to be the lead architect of the Presidents' Summit for America's Future held in Philadelphia in 1997, an historic gathering of Presidents Clinton, Bush, Carter, and Ford and Mrs. Reagan representing President Reagan as well as other leaders and community delegations from across the nation. The Presidents and others convened because of their belief that children and youth must be among our urgent national priorities and they committed the nation to a Five Promises framework of essential resources every young person needs to succeed and become an engaged citizen. General Colin Powell chaired the Presidents' Summit and then its follow-on organization, America's Promise, which with him I helped found and develop.

Thank you for inviting me to testify today. I look forward to responding to your questions but first I would like to offer a brief opening statement framing two issues that I believe are relevant to your consideration of a permanent White House office providing presidential support to community initiative.

- First, with respect to Presidential leadership in this area, I believe it is useful to think of the President more in his or her role as national leader than as federal leader, by that I mean primarily as leader of the nation rather than as chief executive of the federal government.
- Second, if the current president and his two immediate predecessors are guides, it is safe to say that future presidents will bring their own perspectives to this work. However, I believe we can frame useful principles that might govern a permanent White House office focused on community initiative.

### The President as National Leader

When I came to Washington to join the White House staff in January 1989, I held several fundamental beliefs that I suspect most other Americans would have held if they had moved into the White House to do the job I was asked to do.

- One fundamental belief was that America is a nation of communities and if America is to be a great nation it has no choice but to be a nation of great communities.
- A second belief was that within the tens of thousands of communities that make up America, very serious challenges exist. These include challenges in communities where parents desperately need greater help in preparing their children to be responsible and successful adults; challenges in communities where physical safety to live, raise families, work, play and worship is a problem; and challenges in communities where many individuals struggle with addictions of one kind or another or struggle to overcome some other grave personal challenge and need the help of others to change their lives and in turn the lives of their families for the better. In other words very serious challenges exist in every community.
- A third belief with which I came to Washington was that our ability or inability to meet these kinds of challenges as a people living in communities with one another says more about what kind of nation we are and more about the quality of the American civilization than what kind of government we have. And I came to Washington believing that while the ability to overcome these challenges far exceeds the capacity of government alone and even government in combination with market forces, it does not exceed our *national capacity*. By national capacity I mean the potential energy and talent of millions upon millions of Americans of all ages acting purposefully both as individuals and as leaders and members of organizations in every community across America.

By January 1989, at the time of his inauguration, I had known the President for almost twenty years and had every reason to believe that he shared these basic beliefs. Moreover, when I was sworn in as a member of his senior staff when he was inaugurated, he became the first President in American history to establish a White House office to strengthening the President's leadership of the civic engagement of Americans in the nation's problem solving and to commission an assistant to lead that work. In fact, these were the only two structural changes that the new President made in the organization of his White House staff.

What then was the objective of this new office and my work as an assistant to the President? The objective was to increase the volume and effectiveness of the work of citizens in helping to solve serious social problems in the tens of thousands of communities that exist across America. What kind of work am I referring to? The variety of examples is almost endless and includes individuals mentoring one another; tutoring in reading, English, math or science; caring for foster children; helping individuals stay sober or remain free of some other addiction; coaching young people in after school sports; developing internships in businesses; renovating or building homes for low income families; providing meals or companionship to shut-in senior citizens; or providing hospice care to the terminally ill.

These are not acts of random value. They are in fact exactly the kinds of indispensable ingredients that create positive environments in which children and young people can thrive and that underpin parts of the strategic framework of the Presidents' Summit on America's Future and America's Promise. Similarly, they are essential ingredients to making a community whole and good for all of its members regardless of their ages.

The main point is that former President Bush's work in this area was focused on the capacity of individuals and organizations across the nation to create and advance their own community-based solutions rather than to be focused as President on the capacity of the federal government to create programs to assist communities. This is what I mean by the President acting more in his capacity as the leader of the nation rather than as leader of the federal government.

Therefore the actual strategy of the first Bush White House was a classic strategy of a movement. The focus was the public beyond Washington, not office holders within the federal government. The strategy had five parts:

1. **Changing attitudes** in ways that would call every American to engage in helping to solve our most critical social problems and that would convince all Americans that a life which includes serving others is meaningful, adventurous and successful.
2. **Identifying what works** and bring that news to places everywhere.
3. **Discovering, encouraging and developing leaders** from all walks of life who could lead by example and lead others forward.
4. **Reducing volunteer liability** so that that one of the key fears of engaging in voluntary activities would not have a deterrent effect on people acting on the call they heard to help others.
5. **Building supporting infrastructure** within every community to link people who care and their institutions to people in need.

To carry out this strategy, new or reformed institutions were necessary. As you can see from Exhibit A, we created four institutions during that four year period: the White House Office of National Service in 1989; the Points of Light Foundation in 1990; the Commission on National and Community Service in 1991; and the National Center for Community Risk Management & Insurance in 1992. The four institutions were unified by a common vision but had individual missions and distinct strategies and programs that together worked to achieve that shared vision.

But the main point was not the institutional arrangements but rather the belief that everyone has a gift to give that can make a real difference in their community. That was why the metaphor of a "Point of Light" was so important. It was about calling everyone to think differently about themselves and one another first, about making room for people to step forward, about leading one another by example, about recognizing that every problem is being solved somewhere, about honoring people in the application of their personal gifts for the benefit of others. This was the strategy because it is the only way to really build the volume of people helping, to discovering and releasing the human energy required to actually solve some of the most pressing challenges facing tens of thousands of communities. At the very time when there was ever increasing focus on credentialism and the need for more professionals, ours was a strategy that called for far more *amateurs* to step forward and help. There is simply no other way for us as a nation to reach the volume of community engagement that is necessary to overcome our challenges.

Here I want to make the important point that I believe that culture more than politics influences behavior. Therefore, in the very early days of former President Bush's presidency, I drafted for him a sentence that by President Bush's own admission he publicly stated more than any other during his presidency, namely this: "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

As you may remember, to give concrete meaning to that statement and to deliberately define the term "point of light" on an ongoing basis, each day from the White House a "public storytelling" occurred in the form of public recognition by the President. Between November, 1989 and January, 1993 a total of 1,020 individuals or groups were formally recognized as a "Daily Point of Light" from the White House and were thanked by the President on behalf of the nation. The storytelling also helped advance the related and very important strategic notion that every problem is being solved somewhere in America. Far from preaching to people about what they should do, which of course nobody likes or responds well to, this tactic sought to influence by example. It was not about talking down to people but about everyday Americans revealing to one another what is possible by the evidence of their own example. This relentless storytelling was the first daily recognition program by a President in American history. It was deliberately the most public part of the President's work and a key tactic in the larger strategy that included the significant institutional change that is described on Exhibit A.

#### **Principles to Consider in Looking Forward**

Looking forward, let me say a word about useful principles that might govern a permanent White House office from my perspective given that if the current president and his two immediate predecessors are any guides, I think it is safe to assume that future presidents will bring their own perspectives to this work.

- First, rather than focusing on the different strategies for making a difference which one can argue has been a distinction among the last three presidents, I believe it would be useful at this stage to focus on the outcomes – the thriving indicators if you will – that we all seek for the maximum number of children, adults and families in every community in America.
- Second, I would argue that if we were honest about the enormity of the challenges that communities across the country face in achieving these kinds of outcomes, most Americans would look favorably on each of the building blocks that the last three presidents and Congress have put in place over the last 16 years. The fact is most Americans know that their own communities have a number of big mountains to climb and that for their communities to climb those mountains they need many different paths – the path of faith-based work, the path of government supported service, the path of voluntary action. They also believe that each path needs to be crowded with Americans of every age contributing as best they can to the vital work of their community.
- To be more specific, I believe a permanent White House office should reflect the fact that the vast majority of Americans support the best contributions of each of the last three Presidents of the United States and the Congress in this area. They support the work of

former President Bush as he encouraged broad based voluntary civic engagement and created several new institutions to help achieve that objective. They support adding to the work of volunteers the work of other American citizens who as a result of a stipend are able to provide direct service to meet unmet education, human service, public safety and environmental needs. They support the efforts of Congress in encouraging the authority and ownership of this federally funded work to increasingly reside where local private nonprofit agencies determine the work of the corps members and corps members leverage the participation of volunteers. And they support eliminating improper federal barriers so as to allow faith-based entities to compete for federal funding to the fullest opportunity permitted by law.

- But most import of all in considering a permanent White House office, I would argue that the President has two important domestic roles to help the nation achieve key objectives. One role is to be the chief executive of the federal government. The other is to be the leader of the nation. The establishment of this office would help the President fulfill this second role.
- Finally, the President as leader of the nation involves the power of culture in affecting the behavior of individuals in every community. Here every President can and should play the indispensable role of helping the culture define one of the most powerful ideas there is, namely what it means to live a successful life. It will always be all the more powerful if that definition is framed by the President to include serving others and if the President calls relentlessly all people wherever they live to serve others to the best of their ability.

I would close by offering a final comment. At a time of deep partisanship in this city with no change in site, we are discussing today a dimension of American life that could hold the greatest promise for bringing us together. I know that the American people who live in the tens of thousands of communities of this country believe we can all do much better as a nation and as a people in working together in our communities.

I look forward to responding to your questions. Thank you.



## Points of Light Institutions

|                       | The White House Office of National Service<br>(Established in 1989)  | The Points of Light Foundation<br>(Established in 1980)  | The Commission on National and Community Service<br>(Established in 1991)   | National Center for Community Risk Management & Insurance<br>(Established in 1992)   |
|-----------------------|--|--|---|--|
| <b>Shared Vision:</b> | To build a national movement that established community service as central to life in America.<br>All citizens and all institutions would engage in direct and consequential services focused on solving serious social problems.  |  |   |  |
| <b>Mission:</b>       | To use Presidential leadership to make community service national policy of the highest order.   | To call all Americans to engage in service and to cause leaders of organizations to mobilize members to serve.   | To simulate community service programs that meet critical human and environmental needs, and that transform the lives of young people and others who serve.   | To reduce the deterrent effect of legal liability on community service, and to help community-serving programs control risks, improve insurance arrangements, and make informed insurance decisions.   |
| <b>Strategies:</b>    | <p>Define the importance and nature of Points of Light to the public in terms that are compelling.</p> <p>Identify and recognize successful problem-solving leaders and initiatives ("What works")</p> <p>Enlist Americans to contribute their leadership to the effort (including Executive Branch officials)</p> <p>Call for and support new institutions and policy initiatives that build and strengthen the Points of Light movement.</p> | <p>Provide leaders with compelling reasons, ideas and tools for mobilizing those they influence to serve.</p> <p>Stimulate creation of community Points of Light Mobilization Centers that provide leaders with assistance and coalition-building and technical help.</p> <p>Increase media coverage and national leadership support of outstanding service efforts in order to create a public environment that changes people's attitudes about the benefits of service.</p> | <p>Encourage promising community service programs to develop proven models, and foster widespread replication.</p> <p>Develop and support the leaders and infrastructure necessary to build a strong, diverse, innovative national movement.</p> <p>Provide and support visionary, coalition-building leadership in promoting the community service movement.</p> | <p>Dispel misconceptions about insurance liability through publications and workshops.</p> <p>Propose changes in liability law and insurance programs.</p> <p>Identify and help replicate successful insurance programs throughout the country.</p> <p>Encourage corporate risk managers to voluntarily assist community programs.</p> <p>Encourage expansion of insurance group purchasing and risk pooling arrangements.</p> |
| <b>Programs:</b>      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presidential leadership activities</li> <li>• Daily Points of Light recognition</li> <li>• Contributing leader mobilization</li> <li>• Community of Light challenge</li> <li>• New institution support (POLF, Commission, Risk Management Center)</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local POL Mobilization Centers</li> <li>• Points of Light PSAs</li> <li>• ServLink</li> <li>• Youth Engaged in Service (YES)</li> <li>• Standards of Excellence / Sector Outreach</li> <li>• Points of Light Foundation Initiatives</li> <li>• Awards / Recognition (including President's Annual POL Award)</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Serve-America</li> <li>• Higher Education Innovative Projects for Community Service</li> <li>• American Conservation and Youth Corps</li> <li>• National and Community Service</li> <li>• Innovative and Demonstration Projects</li> <li>• Presidential Youth Service Award</li> </ul>                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Workshops and presentations</li> <li>• Educational publications</li> <li>• Model waiver forms and other liability protection materials for volunteer groups</li> <li>• Public policy recommendations</li> <li>• Technical assistance and advice to administrators of community service programs</li> </ul>  |

## National Infrastructure for Achieving National Goals for Communities and Youth

### White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives

- Great goals for the nation – with measurable outcomes.\*
- The President serving as the Nation Leader to
  - Inspire and incite people to action
  - Insist on collaboration and working together
  - Keep the nation focused on its national goals.
- Resources deployed most efficiently to maximize impact.\*\*

#### Points of Light Foundation (Established in 1990)

- Supports the nation's volunteer infrastructure.
- National network of community-based volunteer centers.
- Web-based resources to help connect citizens with volunteer opportunities and help nonprofit organizations raise funds.

#### Corp. for National and Community Service (Established in 1993)

- AmeriCorps: 75,000 members serving in 900 faith and community based organizations, recruiting 600,000 community volunteers to directly serve 2 million children and youth.
- Learn and Serve America: Nearly 2 million children engaged in service-learning.
- Senior Corps: 500,000 seniors serving through more than 74,000 local organizations.

#### America's Promise – The Alliance for Youth (Established in 1997)

- Alliance of businesses, local/state governments, and youth organizations providing youth with the Five Promises.
- Hundreds of communities receiving training, guidance and tools to more effectively collaborate and provide youth with the Five Promises.
- Measuring and reporting the status of the nation's youth; and how communities are supporting them.

#### Community Serving Organizations

- Faith-based organizations
- The many other effective nationally affiliated and independent community based organizations
- United Way
- Community foundations and other philanthropic entities
- Business supported local service initiatives

#### Federal Policy and Departments

- Federal youth programs across 12 departments.
- Faith-based Offices in federal departments.
- Federal funding for community infrastructure and development: Community Development Block Grant, Social Services Block Grant, and others.

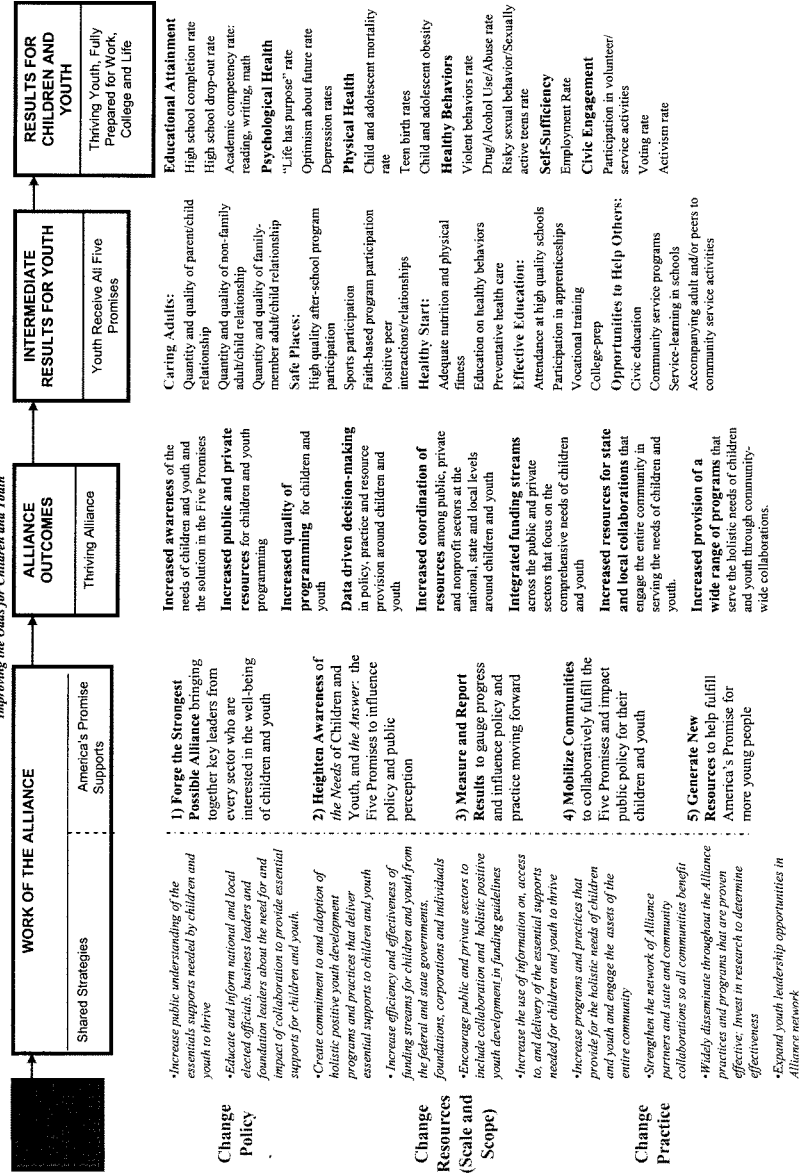
\*\*\* FY06 Budget Request proposes a significant restructuring of CBG.

#### Note:

- Great goals for youth exist but are not fully adopted or measured by the federal government.
- Great goals need to be developed for strengthening communities.
- \*\* Federal resources for youth can be much more efficiently utilized according to the White House Task Force for Disadvantaged Youth. The Federal Youth Coordination Act (H.R. 856/S. 409) would help significantly to achieve this goal.

# *The America's Promise Alliance* Improving the Odds for Children and Youth

EXHIBIT C



# **Fulfilling Each Child and Young Person's Promise** EXHIBIT D

| <b>Common Vision and Aspiration *</b>                | <b>Caring Adults</b>   | <b>Safe Places</b>  | <b>Healthy Start</b>  | <b>Effective Education</b>   | <b>Opportunities to Serve Others</b>   |
|--|--|---|---|--|--|
| <b>Examples of Community Problems**</b>              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ongoing relationships with caring adults – parents, mentors, tutors, coaches</li> <li>Breakdown of the family</li> <li>Teen pregnancy</li> <li>Child abuse and neglect</li> <li>Inadequate parenting skills</li> <li>Teen suicide</li> <li>Youth turning to crime</li> <li>Lack of quality child care</li> <li>Low self-esteem/direction</li> </ul>                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Safe places and structured activities during non-school hours</li> <li>Shortage of affordable housing</li> <li>Crime and drug infested neighborhoods</li> <li>Gang violence</li> <li>Lack of safe and good recreation opportunities</li> <li>Homelessness</li> <li>Environment / pollution problems</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Adequate nutrition, exercise, and health care for healthy bodies, minds and habits</li> <li>Infant illnesses and mortality</li> <li>Lack of health insurance</li> <li>Inadequate access to affordable, quality health care</li> <li>Lack of proper nutrition and recreation</li> <li>Childhood obesity</li> <li>Substance abuse</li> <li>AIDS</li> <li>Physical and sexual abuse / domestic violence</li> <li>Alienation of children and young people with disabilities</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Education that helps make the transition from school to work successful</li> <li>Children starting school not ready to learn</li> <li>Limited parental involvement in child's education</li> <li>Low proficiency in reading, science and math</li> <li>Poor learning environment</li> <li>Lack of proficiency in English</li> <li>Lack of individual attention</li> <li>Lack of competing goals</li> <li>School drop-outs</li> <li>Lack of job skills</li> <li>Limited contact with career role models</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Opportunities to give back through helping others</li> <li>Failure to complete school</li> <li>High victimization rates during out of school hours</li> <li>Lack of self worth and being valued among youth</li> <li>Lack of sense of being connected to community</li> <li>Deficit of life skills and marketable skills including social competencies</li> <li>Lack of leadership opportunities</li> <li>Unfulfilled volunteer opportunities</li> <li>Low voter turnout</li> </ul> |
| <b>Examples of Individual Action and Solutions**</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mentoring / positive role model</li> <li>Regular recreational activities with adults</li> <li>One on one counseling / education programs</li> <li>Ongoing tutoring</li> <li>Programs promoting parental participation</li> <li>Parenting skills training</li> <li>Surrogate families / family counseling</li> <li>Child care alternatives</li> <li>Hotlines and support groups</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recreational opportunities outside of school</li> <li>Alternatives to gang activities</li> <li>Mentoring activities</li> <li>Tutoring after school</li> <li>Informal community libraries</li> <li>Housing and neighborhood improvements</li> <li>Assistance to low income families</li> <li>Assistance to the homeless</li> <li>Local drug / crime prevention groups</li> <li>Practical assistance to crime victims</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prenatal care</li> <li>Early childhood intervention</li> <li>Child care classes for parents</li> <li>Substance abuse education and recovery</li> <li>Proper vaccinations and immunizations</li> <li>Regular nutritional meals</li> <li>Regular exercise and physical fitness</li> <li>Access to providers and facilities</li> <li>Services for the abused</li> <li>Support for the ill and their families</li> <li>Hotlines and support groups</li> </ul>                          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mentoring / positive role models</li> <li>Programs supporting parental support of education</li> <li>Tutoring</li> <li>Institutional partnerships supporting schools</li> <li>Additional study areas outside of school</li> <li>Tutoring in English</li> <li>One to one skills and life counseling</li> <li>Adult literacy</li> <li>Apprenticeships, summer jobs and job skills training</li> <li>Employment counseling</li> <li>Entrepreneurial opportunities</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mentoring / positive role models for younger children</li> <li>Tutoring</li> <li>Recreational opportunities with other young people</li> <li>Assistance to low income families and neighborhoods</li> <li>Positive alternatives to gang activities</li> <li>Giving back through service learning</li> <li>Environmental education / activities</li> <li>Activities with the disabled and seniors</li> <li>Other opportunities for youth to give back</li> </ul>                     |

# EXHIBIT E

## Creating Communities Whole and Good

| Common Vision and Aspiration *  | Children & Families  | Work & Economic Security  | Homes & Safety   | Learning & Teaching   | Health & Wellness  |
|---|--|---|--|---|--|
| Children are highly valued, families strong and people help one another | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Breakdown of the family</li> <li>- Teen pregnancy</li> <li>- Child abuse and neglect</li> <li>- Inadequate parenting skills</li> <li>- Teen suicide</li> <li>- Youth turning to crime</li> <li>- Lack of quality child care</li> <li>- Low self-esteem/direction</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Meaningful work, good jobs and the hope of economic advancement</li> <li>- Limited contact with career role models</li> <li>- Lack of job skills</li> <li>- No hope for economic advancement</li> <li>- Limited job or career opportunities for people with disabilities</li> <li>- Recent immigrants unaware of job opportunities</li> <li>- Lack of skills in managing household finances</li> <li>- Lack of skills for obtaining jobs such as resume writing, interviewing, etc.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Decent homes and the feeling of safety and security in one's environment</li> <li>- Shortage of affordable housing</li> <li>- Crime and drug infested neighborhoods</li> <li>- Gang violence</li> <li>- Lack of safe and good recreation opportunities</li> <li>- Homelessness</li> <li>- Environment / pollution problems</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Learning opportunities that are highly valued and lifelong for everyone</li> <li>- Limited parental involvement in child's education</li> <li>- Low proficiency in science and math</li> <li>- Children starting school not ready to learn</li> <li>- School drop-outs</li> <li>- Poor learning environment</li> <li>- Lack of proficiency in English</li> <li>- Education is not valued with disabilities</li> <li>- Special needs of children with disabilities</li> <li>- Lack of individual attention</li> <li>- Lack of compelling goals</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Healthy choices and health that is nurtured and protected for all</li> <li>- Substance abuse</li> <li>- Alienation of people with disabilities</li> <li>- AIDS</li> <li>- Infant mortality</li> <li>- Isolation of terminally ill and their families</li> <li>- Inadequate access to affordable, quality health care</li> <li>- Physical and sexual abuse / domestic violence</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Examples of Community Problems</b>                                   |  |   |  |   |  |
| <b>Examples of Individual Action and Solutions</b>                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mentoring / positive role model</li> <li>- Counseling / education programs</li> <li>- Child care alternatives</li> <li>- Parenting skills training</li> <li>- Surrogate families / family counseling</li> <li>- Community service efforts that bring people together</li> <li>- Teen hotlines and support groups</li> <li>- Recreational opportunities</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Employment counseling: resume writing, interviewing skills, support groups</li> <li>- Job search assistance</li> <li>- Apprenticeships and job skills training</li> <li>- Personal and family budgeting counseling</li> <li>- Friendship, guidance and job counseling for immigrants</li> <li>- Entrepreneurial opportunities</li> <li>- Mentoring / career role models</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Renovating / building affordable housing</li> <li>- Community crime prevention groups</li> <li>- Community anti-drug groups</li> <li>- Environmental education / awareness</li> <li>- Safe recreational opportunities</li> <li>- Safe havens</li> <li>- Positive alternatives to destructive gang activities</li> </ul>               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tutoring</li> <li>- Volunteer teaching assistants</li> <li>- Mentoring / positive role models</li> <li>- Alternative places to study</li> <li>- One to one counseling</li> <li>- Informal community libraries</li> <li>- Individual and group tutoring in English</li> <li>- Partnerships among schools, universities, businesses and other groups</li> <li>- Children's programs requiring parental involvement</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Substance abuse education and rehabilitation</li> <li>- Companionship and assistance for seniors</li> <li>- Prenatal care and parental education</li> <li>- Hospice care / bereavement groups</li> <li>- Fulfilling activities for people with disabilities</li> <li>- Support for AIDS patients and their families</li> <li>- Free medical clinics and mobile medical units</li> <li>- Shelter, counseling, hotlines and public awareness for abused women and children</li> </ul> |

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you. Our next witness is Mr. Bob Woodson, president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise.

I want to make a brief statement about him at this point, because it illustrates several things. When I first came to Washington with the Children and Family Committee and heard about some of his work, and he treated me with moderate disdain and basically said, you are not going to be another one of these guys who comes in here and pronounces on the problems of our urban centers and does not look for the good stories. You need to go out and see the success stories. I said, OK, introduce me.

And I think the particular word was, don't be another White guy who sits on his duff pronouncing what's going on in our urban centers. [Laughter.]

The challenge there, there are a couple of interesting things about that. That was 1985, nearly 20 years ago, meaning this stuff is not brand new, this debate, and that you have been working with it a long time. Second, even as Mr. Petersmeyer came in, this was before the Points of Light. In effect, you didn't tell Points of Light, he said, go find the Points of Light and build that.

And as we look at how we are going to continue this and work through it, I first wanted to pay tribute to you and also illustrate in several ways that what we are debating today, as we heard from the first witnesses and we are about to hear again, this is kind of old news. What we are doing is packaging it in new forms.

#### STATEMENT OF BOD WOODSON

Mr. WOODSON. Thank you, Congressman. Let me also say that you are a breath of fresh air in this Congress, one of the few people over here that puts principles above party and ideals above ideology. I want to applaud you for that, and I am honored to have an opportunity to present my testimony.

The National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, which I founded 23 years ago, we have served about and trained about 2,000 grassroots leaders in 39 States, dating back to 1981. We are deeply supportive of the President's faith-based initiative. You know that in the history of it, in 1994, the 104th Congress convened and asked the National Center to bring the views and opinions of grassroots leaders to the table. It was based upon this that the Community Renewal Act was signed into law by President Clinton.

In June 1995, the Texas Teen Challenge chapter was attacked by the State regulators under then-Governor Bush. We were able to reach the Governor with our concerns, and as a consequence, he convened a task force to look at barriers to faith-based organizations. Within 6 months, he signed into law a rule that exempted the 200 faith-based drug and alcohol treatment programs in the State of Texas from State law.

None of those groups received a dime of State money. But the State was still trying to regulate them out of business because they didn't have trained professionals as drug counselors, they were using ex-drug addicts as counselors, and they were, as one evaluator from the State said, what you're doing is better than anybody than I have seen, but you're doing it the wrong way. [Laughter.]

So the deal that was cut then is that the Teen Challenge and the other groups would not compete for State funds, so they were not

interested in the money, they just wanted government off their backs. So we offered this advice later on to then-candidate Bush, and as a consequence, we were there at the beginning of the Faith-Based Office.

But as someone we were, however, most disappointed in, the thrust of the Office when they emphasized grants. I would cringe every time I would hear the President speak of the faith-based initiatives as an attempt to get Government money directly into faith-based organizations.

This was not the reason that we came to the table. What we wanted Government to do was use the bully pulpit to end the discrimination that not only Government has toward faith-based groups but also corporations. I have spoken to about 1,000 heads of foundations and corporate giving officers in this country. When you ask them how many contribute a dime to faith-based groups, about 20 percent of them will raise their hands.

And when you ask the others, well, why don't you contribute, they say, because of separation of Church and State. I say, you're not the State, you're a private entity. But that's how pervasive the discrimination is in the marketplace against supporting things of faith.

So we hoped that the President would use the bully pulpit to go and speak to some of these corporate leaders and say to them, you should support faith-based groups.

But let me give you some idea of what is missing in this whole dialog. Many of the groups, as I said, we support, want the discrimination against these groups. And Mr. Cummings, you know, as a veteran of the Civil Rights movement, as I am, that one of the ways that we discriminate is develop surrogate ways of discriminating, like a poll tax or literacy tax to prevent people from coming to the polls.

Well, the same moral equivalent exists in many of the cities. For instance, in the whole issue, we believe that what this administration should support are tax credits, as Mr. Souder said. We were appalled that the administration did not support it, because that is what our groups want, tax credits to empower individual givers to give to people in those communities. Seventy percent of all American taxpayers have a tax liability of between \$300 and \$500. Low-income people give a higher proportion of their income to charity than rich people. That means that if you had tax credits, people could give directly without any church-State issues.

The second point we emphasize was vouchers, like food stamps or the G.I. Bill of Rights, where the individual is empowered to select a provider, rather than the Government selecting the provider and funding it. We think the provider ought to be selected by the people suffering the problem. The customer should select the provider, not some Government or entity selecting it.

But what has happened, and I just want to rattle off a few of these barriers. Food stamps. A lot of our groups don't want money, but individuals receive food stamps. Right now, under this administration, many of our groups, like Teen Challenge and others in States, have been told that because they are not sanctioned or licensed by the State, they are prohibited from continuing to receive

food stamps. We are continuing to try to get clarity on that, and that makes a big difference.

Another is one of the Government programs forbids the grant recipients from hiring ex-offenders who are coming out of prison. Now, on the one hand, the Government is saying to the business community, we want you to hire ex-offenders, but yet you can't hire them on Government money. So that's a barrier.

The third barrier has to do with giving the choice to the drug addict and the offender. For instance, under the old administration, it is interesting, ironically, under the Clinton administration's policies, if a person came to the door of a faith-based group and said, I am an alcoholic, and I want help, and they said, well, if you want to accept help here, you've got to take the bed and the Bible. Under the old policies, that person would be given another option, saying, you can go down the street to the secular program, and that was acceptable.

This administration, through Executive order, changed that to say that if a person comes to the door and says, I want the bed but not the Bible, you must offer it. And this has had a crippling effect. The other barrier is on access to recovery, they required any organizations that received access to recovery voucher, has to be licensed by the State and have certified people. This is a big barrier, and I have to take issue with Congressman Cummings, who assumes that certification is the same as qualification when it comes to treatment of people.

The very fact that there are 55 public agencies that hire exclusively people with masters degrees to take care of children are facing court-ordered receivership because of incompetence. There are studies that I point to in my testimony of some of the initiatives that were developed by well-trained people, for instance, a 5-year effort to discourage kids from taking drugs that was developed by NIH's behavioral scientists, all Ph.Ds. Well, a study last year revealed that the children that were viewing these ads on television had a higher incidence of drug and alcohol abuse as a consequence. I am on the NIDA board, I can send you that study that NIDA has produced.

So it seems to me that what the Faith-Based Office, if it is to truly serve the people, it should really do something about these barriers. Let me just offer some recommendations. The first is the White House Office should act as an ombudsman for faith-based and community organizations around the country, and play an active role in solving and resolving some of these regulatory barriers that prevents them from participating.

Second, we should de-emphasize direct funding that gets you all mired into hiring issues and go back to the original effort of emphasizing vouchers, tax credits. The third was pass charitable tax credits legislation. That is most important. And the fourth, I suggested the subcommittee could set up an e-mail address to field complaints from groups around the Nation about the kinds of barriers that they face so that we can really move and empower our organizations.

Some of these groups, Mr. Cummings, that we support in your district, in Southwestern High School, we have just started an initiative in Baltimore that has put ex-offenders in there as hall mon-



itors under a training program. These are faith-based people, and as a consequence, Southwestern High School is turning around. I testified before your city council, Sheila Dixon's committee last week. And we are going back to expand that effort in other Baltimore schools. Because we are judged by the amount of change we produced. Outcome oriented. And so I would like to share some of that with you and discuss that with you at another time, Mr. Cummings.

Thank you for your time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Woodson follows:]

## **The Faith-Based Initiative: Impacts and Recommendations**

### **Testimony before the House Government Reform Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources**

**By Robert L. Woodson, Sr.**

Founder and President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise  
June 21, 2005

The National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, which has trained more than 2000 leaders of faith-based and community organizations in 39 states since its founding in 1981, is deeply supportive of the intent of the President's Initiative on Faith-Based Organizations. The National Center has advocated for many years for a relationship between government and these organizations that would make it possible for all Americans to secure the services that would most effectively address their needs—whether those services be offered through a faith-based or secular provider. We believe that promoting an equal choice will greatly improve the plight of those in need, and make it possible for them to attain some lasting remedies for problems such as addiction and homelessness.

Let me make it clear at the outset that the National Center and the grassroots network of organizations that we work with believe that on the whole, the Faith-Based Initiative has been beneficial. It has certainly raised public awareness of faith-based programs and this has increased support for them. It brought faith-based programs to the policy table, providing some opportunities for them to receive consideration when programs and policies are being formulated. The Compassion Capital Fund Demonstration Project—in which NCNE is participating for the second year as an intermediary organization—has brought needed technical assistance and some capacity-building grant funding to hundreds of small organizations. This is making it possible for these organizations to achieve new levels of management ability, and financial accountability, so that they can greatly improve and expand their services to their communities. We applaud and are grateful for these efforts. We support the continuation of the Initiative. The legislative proposal offered by Rep. Mark Green affords an opportunity bring some wider thought to the role of the White House Office.

I would like first to go back into a little history of this movement, assess some of its impacts as we see them, and then suggest some steps that we think should be taken to ensure that the original intent is preserved. As with any medicine, no matter how successful, there may be some unintended consequences that could be addressed to make it more effective.

#### **Early Legislation:**

NCNE came to the realization that faith could be central to the effectiveness of some programs in 1991 and 1992, when we began canvassing the country to find out What Works and Why—a format NCNE created to elicit the best practices of community-based groups. We held seven conferences at locations all across the country, inviting community groups within 500 miles of each location. We asked them “What works to save people’s lives? What gets them off drugs, into jobs, and away from violence? The answer was startling even to us. For more than 98% it was: “Faith works.” This changed NCNE, lost us some funders, and set us on a new course. But we are outcomes-based and we recognized that faith-based programs were producing significant and lasting positive results.

In 1994, NCNE was asked by the leadership in the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress to convene some of the nation's most effective community and faith-based programs to provide their recommendations on welfare reform, and how their services could partner with government to better address pressing problems such as substance abuse, homelessness, youth violence, and deteriorating neighborhoods. Some of the participants included Victory Fellowship, Teen Challenge, and Youth Challenge. These three organizations have some of the most impressive results in helping free individuals from their addictions and returning them to productive lives. We presented a report to the Congress, which was received by then Speaker Newt Gingrich. This report became the basis of the Renewal Communities Act, which became law in the New Markets/Renewal Communities Act signed by President Clinton in 2000. It included a provision allowing states to consider faith-based programs in supporting substance abuse programs. The report also contained a recommendation which was embodied in legislation by then-Senator John Ashcroft, which he called Charitable Choice. It also called for individual development accounts (IDAs), which did become law, and charitable tax credits, which have been proposed to the Congress but have never been acted upon.

#### **Seeds of the Faith-Based Initiative:**

In June 1995, in Texas, a Teen Challenge chapter was attacked by the state regulatory board, the Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse (TCADA), regarding staff training and credentialing issues. After appealing to no avail to the government, NCNE staged a rally at the Alamo with hundreds of saved addicts wearing tee-shirts and carrying signs with messages such as “Jesus is the Answer.” This produced news coverage, and I was then invited to meet with Governor George W. Bush. The paramount issue was the end assault on faith-based programs through the regulatory process. Few, if any, faith-based programs were getting state money. Teen Challenge and Victory Fellowship, which had undergone a similar assault a year or so previously, did not receive any government funds.

The state regulatory commission (TCADA) was demanding that faith-based organizations’ staff members should have master’s degrees, psychiatrists, nurses, and other credentials that had nothing to do with the effectiveness of the faith-based programs. When Governor Bush learned about the situation, he created a commission on faith-based substance abuse programs and eventually introduced and signed legislation creating a separate category for faith-based substance abuse programs in Texas.

This was the environment into which the faith-based initiative was born—to keep state governments from closing down faith-based programs. Government was most effective in assisting faith-based programs when it focused on removing barriers in the form of requirements that are irrelevant to either what they do or to the protection of the participants. Amazingly, a number of states that impose regulatory requirements on private programs, exempt their own state, secular agencies from these requirements.

President George W. Bush brought this perspective of regulatory reform to Washington. Among the first steps he took as President was to issue two Executive Orders. One established the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, the second established the Executive Department Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in five Federal agencies. The stated purpose of the latter was to “coordinate department efforts to eliminate regulatory, contracting, and other programmatic obstacles to the participation of faith-based and other community organizations in the provision of social services.” He also charged the departments with conducting “a department-wide audit to identify all existing barriers to the participation of faith-based and community organizations...including but not limited to regulations, rules, orders, procurement, and other internal policies and practices, and outreach activities that either facially discriminate against or otherwise discourage or disadvantage the participation of faith-based and other community organizations in Federal programs.”<sup>1</sup>

**Focus Shifted to Money:**

Unfortunately, as it was implemented by the White House, the Faith-Based Initiative emphasized direct funding of institutions in the form of grants as opposed to assisting individuals. The National Center has believed and said publicly from the beginning that while faith-based groups are almost always in need of resources, direct grants or contracts from the government should be the option of last choice. We strongly believe that the Initiative should never have been presented as a program to help institutions. It should have been presented instead as focusing on the approaches that people themselves choose when they are in need, because they can make a difference in their lives. It should empower individuals—by giving them vouchers—to make a choice among approaches, secular or faith-based.

Moreover, an Executive Order of December 2002 indicated that in any program receiving Federal funding, a participant’s participation in religious activities must be voluntary. This Executive Order directly contradicts the language of the Renewal Communities Act which was negotiated between a Republican Congress led by Speaker Hastert and Democratic President Bill Clinton. We fully believe that this Act protects individual religious freedom by allowing individuals to choose whether they wish to participate in a faith-based or secular treatment program. The December 2002 Executive Order contradicts existing law and forces faith-based programs to retain individuals who would not fully participate in all aspects of their program.

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<sup>1</sup>George W. Bush, Executive Order, January 29, 2001, “Agency Responsibilities with Respect to Faith-Based and Community Initiatives,” The White House, Washington, DC.

The Executive Order was implemented into regulations issued by the Department of Health and Human Services in May 2003.<sup>2</sup> Our faith-based groups say that the impact of the 2003 HHS regulation is that 1) the individuals involved would not receive the benefits of their programs; 2) the presence of individuals who are not participating fully in the program would be highly disruptive to the functioning of their programs; and 3) it would be impossible for the program to offer and provide an alternate track of secular counseling.

Frankly, we do not understand why self-imposed roadblocks were placed before faith-based programs that subvert the work they do and contradict what we believe President Bush had stood for.

Because of this and other barriers to direct funding to faith-based programs, NCNE strongly supports the concept of providing individuals with vouchers so that funding follows individuals rather than institutions. This route was employed in the G.I. Bill and in child care programs. We believe it should have wide application across government social service programs.

However, the regulatory reform issue then becomes even more critical, since many state and Federal programs are raising the barrier of licensing as a requirement for participation.

**Licensing: Certification vs. Qualification:**

In our opinion, the single most crippling barrier faced by faith-based and community groups is that erected by the professional service providers “cartel,” and their insistence upon professional credentials as the only criteria for who may qualify to serve the poor and disadvantaged. This barrier cuts across everything community-based groups do. The standards promulgated by the professional service providers find their way into all federal and state rules, and even into third-party arrangements such as health insurance.

The policies that govern who is qualified to provide services for the most part are controlled by the academic/therapeutic industry. Standards are determined by university-based departments and written into state law requiring that organizations must have college trained professionals, and/or have certified special training that may have little relevance to how faith-based programs achieve results and can be costly and extremely time consuming. They require degreed professionals, such as psychiatrists, psychologists, and masters of social work. They often exclude ex-addicts or those with a criminal record as certified counselors, despite the evidence that some of the most effective counselors are those who come from the same backgrounds and have themselves suffered and overcome the same problems. These requirements affect even those programs that do not receive or even seek government funding, since in many instances state licensure

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<sup>2</sup> Restriction on Religious Activities by Organizations that Receive Funding Directly from SAMSHA, p. 6, 7, and 8, (Charitable Choice statutory provisions of Section 581-584 and Section 1955 of the Public Health Service Act, applicable to the Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment (SAPT) Block Grant program, the Projects for Assistance in Transition for Homelessness (PATH) formula grant program, etc.) May 2003

is required for them to operate at all. Some states simply prohibit faith-based programs from licensure, period.

In Texas, Governor Bush was instrumental in removing this barrier by introducing legislation that exempted faith-based substance abuse programs from the state licensing requirements that applied to therapeutic programs. Despite this, several federal agencies in his Administration have incorporated state licensing requirements into the criteria used to determine whether faith-based organizations are eligible to participate in certain benefit programs.

**Does Certification Guarantee Effectiveness?:**

The question that must be asked is whether licensing—and reliance on professional credentials—produces the best outcomes. Instead of arguing over whether the program is religious or not, we should be arguing over what are the merits of someone who is "credentialed" vs. one who is not. What is the relationship between qualification and certification? Who is best qualified to serve? Who produces the best results?

In the substance abuse treatment area, a report published in the Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment questioned "Can the National Addiction Treatment Infrastructure Support the Public's Demand for Quality Care?" The study found that there was "extreme instability of the workforce at all levels within the national treatment system..." In the 16 months previous to the study in February, 2003, 15% of the nation's drug and alcohol treatment facilities had either closed or stopped offering addiction counseling, one-fourth had been reorganized under a different administrative structure, and 54% of the directors had been in their positions for less than one year. Other problems included a lack of information services, email, or voice mail systems necessary to assist in data collection and reporting requirements. The authors concluded: "These findings are disturbing and call into question the ability of the national treatment system to meet the complex demands of both the patients that enter this system and the agencies that refer to it."<sup>3</sup>

A nationwide survey several years ago said that adolescents treated by traditional programs actually increased their use of crack cocaine and alcohol after treatment. The Services Research Outcomes Study (SROS) sponsored by the U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Agency was the first nationally representative study of substance abuse treatment outcomes. It surveyed 1,799 individuals from a nationwide sample of 99 drug treatment facilities. All were interviewed five years following discharge, and according to the study, "are representative of the 976,012 individuals discharged from treatment in 1990." The overall drop in substance abuse was only 21%. Further, "Adolescents were the exception, showing a 13 percent increase in alcohol abuse and a 202 percent increase in crack use following treatment."<sup>4</sup> There are other discouraging reports from licensed programs that are replete with fully credentialed staff.

<sup>3</sup> CESAR FAX, March 8, 2004, referring to an article in the Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment 25(2):117-121, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Services Research Outcomes Study, released 2002.

We can find no report from a secular program that shows success rates that compare with those of faith-based programs like Victory Fellowship, Teen Challenge, and Youth Challenge. While their studies are admittedly small—their focus is on their mission and not on evaluation—they show success rates of 60 to 80 percent, at costs of perhaps \$60 a day compared with the therapeutic industry's costs of \$600 a day and more.

Substance abuse is irrational. If information were the problem, why would PhDs, chemists, and physicians become drug abusers? I believe that an irrational problem requires an irrational solution. Faith is irrational—and it works.

Faith-based programs are successful because their goal is not rehabilitation, but transformation. They seek to engender change in the hearts of the people they serve, thereby changing the choices they make and the actions they take. A “rehabilitated” individual returned to the environment he or she came from is likely to fail. A transformed person can return to a dysfunctional environment and be a catalyst for change.

I have proposed a simple evaluation: First, let us create a panel of “experts,”—five from the therapeutic community, and five from the faith-based program community. Let them come up with criteria as to what constitutes success. Then let’s go to any major urban center and take 200 addicts off the street. One hundred can go into traditional secular chemical dependency treatment programs, the other 100 into a faith-based substance abuse program. At the end of one year, measure the results. The program that succeeds the best should receive the recognition and the funding.

What is needed is a new view of public policy that looks for success rather than accreditation. We need to be looking at secular outcomes rather than religious inputs. We should be measuring how many people are freed from their problems and helped to self-sufficiency and independence—not how they have been processed by those with academic and professional training credentials.

In determining how we should go forward to empower faith-based initiatives, we also need to stop focusing on the question of money, and focus instead on the real barriers that inhibit them from wider service. Faith-based programs, just as any other service-providing organization, must be required to be fiscally responsible. But there are other requirements—usually imposed to protect the professional industry—that need to be carefully scrutinized. An elitism that pervades both left and right has prevented us from utilizing effective grassroots remedies. We should be applying the principles of the marketplace, rewarding those programs that have the ability to produce positive results. We should stop funding unsuccessful programs and focus our private-sector payments, philanthropic resources, and government support on those that work.

#### **The Food Stamp Issue:**

Licensure appears to have emerged as an obstacle to the participation of faith-based substance abuse programs in the Food Stamp Program. The U.S. Department of

Agriculture's Food and Nutrition Service (FNS) has told several state agencies responsible for administering the Food Stamp Program that faith-based programs in those states must be licensed before their participants may receive food stamps. For instance, in Texas, the very state where then-Governor Bush successfully abolished licensing requirements for faith-based programs, FNS has taken the position that faith-based residential substance abuse programs must be licensed by the Texas Department of Alcohol and Drug Abuse before participants in such programs may receive food stamps.

To date, FNS has not clarified the underlying source of this licensing requirement. FNS regulations state that only those drug and alcohol treatment facilities eligible to receive or use block grant funds for substance abuse prevention and treatment under Title XIX of the Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 300x et seq. can be certified for participation in the Food Stamp Program. This regulation has the effect of denying food stamps to residents of faith-based substance abuse programs wherever federal or state regulations or policy require licensing as a prerequisite to a substance abuse program's receipt or use of Title XIX block grant funds. Federal and state decisions regarding the eligibility of substance abuse programs for the receipt of Title XIX block grants funds often involve considerations wholly unrelated to food stamps, which, unlike block grant funds, are intended to aid the individual and not any specific program or class of programs.

We do not believe that this regulatory structure is justified. The criteria used to determine what substance abuse programs an individual indigent person may designate as the ultimate recipient of that person's food stamp benefits should reflect the fact that these benefits belong to the individual person. When a person is attempting to overcome addiction and change his or her life, those benefits should not be denied because the person has chosen a faith-based substance abuse program that may not conform to the therapeutic model embodied in state licensing standards.

**Voucher Programs—Access to Recovery:**

Voucher programs were created to provide individuals with freedom of choice. The GI Bill of Rights has been an excellent example of a successful voucher program that provided benefits and protected individual freedom by allowing veterans to attend the educational institution of their own choice—whether a state university, private college, Yeshiva University, Notre Dame, or any other sectarian or secular institution. The GI Bill provided an equal choice among these institutions.

However, as it is being implemented, we fear that the new Access to Recovery voucher program does not provide such an equal choice between a faith-based or secular treatment program. In one state, for instance, an individual may get an all-inclusive voucher to go to a residential licensed chemical dependency treatment program. But if the person wants to get services from a faith-based program, he or she must get individual vouchers for such things as transportation to medical services, job training, etc. There is no single residential voucher for treatment at a faith-based center.

Why shouldn't individuals who are proved to be eligible for vouchers have an equal choice? Wasn't this the intent of voucherizing these programs?



Teen Challenge, with 185 chapters across the United States, is a very effective faith-based residential recovery support program. It is so demonstrably effective that at least 20% of its several thousand residents at any given time have been referred there by the courts. But while the judges, probation, and parole officers refer individuals to Teen Challenge, no public funding follows the addict. Teen Challenge must, and does, accept them all and endeavor to find resources to accommodate them. If one compares a year of free treatment at Teen Challenge with the \$35,000 or \$40,000 a year it would cost to incarcerate each individual, the magnitude of the faith-based program's contribution to the community is evident.

Despite this, such programs keep losing what meager resources they may have been receiving -- such as the food stamps of the individuals in the programs—and new barriers keep being erected, intentional or not, to their operations.

#### **Recommendations Regarding the White House Office:**

##### **The White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives should:**

*-- Take a stronger role in examining government regulations and acting as an advocate for faith-based programs that have encountered specific problems or barriers. The Office should be an ombudsman for faith-based programs with an 800 number to receive calls. And calls should not just be referred to the agencies, but should be addressed at both the White House and agency level. This would not only help faith-based programs, but provide a tool for the Initiative to monitor the effectiveness of its policies and programs..*

*--Take a stronger role in giving guidance to government agencies so that policies are more uniform across the government.*

*--Provide stronger guidance and information to state offices and agencies receiving Federal funds so that there are not 50 diverse interpretations of policy.*

##### **General Recommendations Regarding the Faith-Based Initiative***First, resolve to do no harm. Remove harmful regulations.*

This includes allowing individual choice between a secular and a faith-based program to be made at the door of an institution rather than within the program. It also means looking at an alternative to licensing that emphasizes demonstrated ability to serve rather than professional credentials.

##### **Food Stamps and Medicaid:**

The eligibility regulations for food stamps and Medicaid should be scrutinized to ensure that participants in faith-based programs are not prohibited from using them.

##### **Voucherize Federal and state funding:**

While faith-based groups are always in need of resources, direct grants or contracts from the government should be the option of last choice. Funding should follow the individual's choice rather than the institution.

*Pass the Charity Tax Credit Legislation:*

A crucial public policy issue is to allow individual taxpayers to support the programs of their choice through their donations. Statistics indicate that 70% of all individual taxpayers fill out the short form. Further, lower income people give a higher proportion to charity than others. A charitable tax credit would empower these individuals to make donations, and enable faith-based groups to recruit funders within their own families, churches, and communities. Apply the market test to these programs—allowing those who are closest to them to vote with their pocketbooks.

*Third-party payments--Insurance:*

Many individuals have insurance through their public or private sector employment. Those in need of services should be able to have a choice of faith-based as well as secular programs, and they should receive full reimbursement comparable to what the insurance program would pay government certified service deliverer. This is a move that would affect individuals of all income levels. Insurance companies, after all, should have no "church-state problem." The White House could use the bully pulpit to bring together companies to discuss this potential. It could benefit the companies through lower costs and effective service.

*Philanthropy:*

The philanthropic community has increasingly emphasized results and measurable outcomes. With no church/state problem, foundations should examine barriers to funding of faith-based programs and promote venture philanthropy initiatives to invest in and build capacity of faith-based programs.

I respectfully thank each Member of the Committee for the opportunity to submit our views on this very important matter.

**Biographical Information: Robert L. Woodson, Sr.**

*Robert L. Woodson, Sr., is founder and president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise (NCNE), an empowerment organization that helps low-income self-help groups. Since its founding in 1981, NCNE has provided training and technical assistance to more than 2000 faith-based and community organizations in 39 states, as they work to reduce crime and violence, restore families, create economic enterprise and revitalize low-income communities. Often referred to as the godfather of the movement to empower neighborhood-based organizations, Bob Woodson's social activism dates back to the 1960's, when as a young civil rights activist, he developed and coordinated national and local community development programs. During the 70's he directed the National Urban League's Administration of Justice division and then served as a Resident Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. For more than 30 years Woodson has been a source of guidance and support for grassroots organizations around the world. He was instrumental in paving the way for resident management and ownership of public housing, and brought together task forces of grassroots groups to advise the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Pennsylvania Legislature, and the Wisconsin Assembly. He is consulted by numerous governors, members of Congress, business leaders, and the news media. He has worked with youth*

*intervention and violence prevention programs since the 1960's and has written several books on the subject. Among the many awards he has received is the prestigious John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Fellowship, often referred to as the "genius" award. He is the author of hundreds of articles and several books, including *The Triumphs of Joseph: How Community Healers are Reviving Our Streets and Neighborhoods*, published by The Free Press in January, 1998, and available in bookstores around the country.*

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you.

Our next witness is Mr. Dennis Griffith, director of Teen Challenge in southern California. He has been accompanied here today and I would like to recognize them, by Jerry Nance, president and CEO of Teen Challenge of Florida-Georgia; Mike Hodges, senior executive director of Teen Challenge, National Pacific Northwest; Randy Rowe, executive director, Teen Challenge Northern California-Nevada; Rodney Hart, president, Teen Challenge New England; Rev. Manuel Barega, executive director, Teen Challenge Maryland; and Phil Cookes, director of Los Angeles County Teen Challenge.

We welcome the members of your organization here at our hearing to watch the lovely business of Congress conducting debates. But it is very informative, and hopefully they have learned a lot as well. Thank you for your willingness to testify.

#### STATEMENT OF DENNIS GRIFFITH

Mr. GRIFFITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the subcommittee.

As executive director of Teen Challenge of southern California, I welcome this opportunity to discuss President George W. Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative and its effect on faith-based substance abuse recovery programs like Teen Challenge.

Teen Challenge supports and greatly appreciates this administration's Faith-Based Initiative, but we continue to see barriers to faith-based programs such as ours. Congressman Green's legislative proposal affords an opportunity to discuss the role of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives.

Let me start by saying that various elements of the Faith-Based Initiative have been very helpful to Teen Challenge. President Bush, in fact, has publicly recognized Teen Challenge on numerous occasions, helping to raise the visibility of the organization. Some of the Teen Challenge chapter leaders have attended conferences organized by the White House Office and have benefited from those conferences.

In addition, the White House Office and some of the agency offices have provided useful introductions and networking opportunities between Teen Challenge and various departments of the Government. We have also benefited by being involved in a meaningful dialog concerning the President's access to recovery initiative with SAMHSA and the State of California and others.

The mission of Teen Challenge is to provide youth, adults and family with an effective and comprehensive faith-based solution to drug and alcohol addiction. Our objectives are to enable individuals to find freedom from addictive behavior and to become socially and emotionally healthy, physically well and spiritually alive. Through committed staff and effective programs, Teen Challenge strives to produce graduates who function responsibly and productively in society and who have healthy relationships in the workplace, family, church and community.

Since its founding in 1958, our faith-based network has grown into the largest of its kind in the world. Teen Challenge now operates 185 centers here in the United States, and an additional 370 in 85 countries around the world. Teen Challenge has a well established track record and is recognized as one of the largest and most

effective faith-based substance abuse prevention and recovery programs in the country. More than 2,000 men and women graduate annually from our 1-year residential recovery programs just here in the United States.

Anywhere from 20 percent to as much as 50 percent of the participants in the 1-year residential recovery program have been assigned to us by the courts. The fact that so many judges, probation and parole officers make referrals to Teen Challenge is just one indication of the recognized effectiveness of the Teen Challenge program.

Throughout our history, Teen Challenge has contended that the fundamental reason for our success in helping people with life-controlling problems through our residential program, typically drug addiction, is because these individuals have had a spiritual transformation experience as an act of God's grace. This perspective produces a sense of dignity, self-worth, hope, and personal empowerment. This is the foundation and core of our residential program.

Typically 1 year in length, it offers an environment of therapeutic support and spiritual formation. The program, into which entry has always been voluntary, requires discipline, responsible decisionmaking and accountability. Students participate in daily devotions, chapel, church services and outreach activities. These are essential elements for what we do and why we have been so successful. In addition, throughout the 1-year experience, students are equipped with functional tools, including job skills and vocational-technical training to assist them in re-entering society as productive and healthy people.

As I mentioned, entrance into these programs is always voluntary, and each prospective student clearly understands the program's distinctiveness.

Teen Challenge fully understands and recognizes that most of our residential programs will not be eligible for direct Government support. However, it is our understanding that the concept of indirect funding would allow individuals who qualify for certain entitlements, such as food stamps or access to recovery vouchers, to use these benefits in the institution of their choice.

However, faith-based organizations like Teen Challenge are prevented from fully participating in these voucher programs because they cannot meet the State licensing or certification criteria. At present, only 5 percent of the 185 Teen Challenge centers are licensed by the State. The methods and strategies employed by Teen Challenge differ considerably from those of traditional clinical programs. As a result, Teen Challenge chapters, although effective, cannot meet licensing standards that only recognize traditional clinical programs.

Because the vast majority of our chapters are not licensed, they face difficulties in qualifying for federally supported voucher programs. In addition, because these programs cannot obtain a license, they are often not recognized as a drug and alcohol program by Federal and State agencies. For example, the lack of recognition affects the ability of our program's participants to access even indirect benefits such as food stamps.

For many years, Teen Challenge chapters in Texas and Massachusetts had been able to receive food stamps for their qualified

participants. Recently, in Texas and Massachusetts, State agencies told Teen Challenge that the Federal Department of Agriculture required the licensing of all programs for eligibility purposes. Those Teen Challenge programs in Texas and Massachusetts were taken off the eligibility rolls to receive food stamps.

In addition, licensing requirements and the resulting lack of recognition of programs like Teen Challenge have prevented us from fully participating in the access to recovery initiative.

Clearly, certification standards appropriate for clinical or traditional treatment programs are not wholly adequate for their faith-based counterparts. A new category of residential recovery support programs would take into account the mission and method of faith-based recovery programs and would provide Teen Challenge equal access to recovery resources available to traditional treatment programs. Most importantly, it would offer those in need of addiction relief an equal choice between traditional approaches and faith-based recovery programs.

In conclusion, I want to stress that we support the President's Faith-Based Initiative and desire that efforts related to the Initiative continue. Significant progress can still be made to help level the playing field and remove barriers.

As you will be able to see, on an attached DVD, I enclosed a DVD with my written testimony, as you can see on the attached DVD, our country's leadership has been involved in faith-based programs for many years. These efforts should be a permanent part of our Government's effort.

I applaud all the President's efforts to help those who hurt, even those who have made mistakes in life concerning drugs and alcohol. Each time the President mentions this topic, he lifts the spirits of recovering drug addicts and alcoholics across America, giving them hope and a sense of dignity and for that, I am eternally grateful.

I also want to express my appreciation to Director Charles Curry of SAMHSA and John Walters with ONDCP and the members of the California Access to Recovery effort who have aided and welcomed faith-based organizations.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, thank you for this opportunity to appear before you today, and I would be happy to answer any questions at a later time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Griffith follows:]

**Dennis Griffith, Executive Director,  
Teen Challenge International, Southern California**

**Testimony before the  
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources  
Washington, DC  
June 21, 2005**

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, as Executive Director of Teen Challenge of Southern California, I welcome this opportunity to discuss the merits of President George W. Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative and its effects on faith-based substance abuse recovery programs like Teen Challenge to help people who want to get off drugs. Let me state at the onset – Teen Challenge supports and deeply appreciate this Administration's Faith-Based Initiative, but we continue to see barriers erected for faith-based programs such as ourselves. Congressman Green's legislative proposal, I think, affords an excellent opportunity to discuss the continuing role of the White House's Office on Faith-Based Initiatives.

Various elements of the Faith-Based Initiative have been very helpful to Teen Challenge. President Bush, in fact, has publicly recognized Teen Challenge on numerous occasions helping to raise the visibility of this organization. Some of the Teen Challenge chapter directors have attended the conferences held around the country on how to partner with the government, and they have found the information useful, although almost all of our chapters do not receive any government funding. The White House office and some of the Agency offices have provided useful introductions and networking with educational and other institutions. These introductions led to a relationship between the Substance Abuse Mental Health Services Administration (SAMSHA) and Vanguard University to sponsor a conference entitled Strategies for Assessing

Faith-Based Approaches to Substance Abuse Recovery and Prevention. The tools developed in that conference could be helpful in developing assessment protocols. The federally sponsored Center for the Application of Substance Abuse Technologies at the University of Reno has been working with Vanguard University of Southern California on a curriculum and training materials for Teen Challenge recovery providers, and we look forward to the completion of these materials.

Teen Challenge also has benefited from SAMHSA's development of prevention materials, which are consistent with Teen Challenge's work in educating young people in schools, churches, and other locations. We have made use of the educational aids, promotional materials, databases, and clearinghouses which SAMHSA provides free of charge. In addition we have benefited by the materials developed by the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, Media Campaign.

We have also benefited by being involved in meaningful dialogue concerning the President's Access to Recovery Initiative with SAMHSA, the State of California, and others.

**Teen Challenge: A Faith-Based Substance Abuse Recovery Program**

The mission of Teen Challenge is to provide youth, adults and families an effective and comprehensive faith-based solution to drug and alcohol addiction and other life controlling problems. Our objectives are to enable individuals to find freedom from addictive behavior, and to become socially and emotionally healthy, physically well and spiritually alive. Through



committed staff and effective programs, Teen Challenge's programs and staff wish to produce graduates who function responsibly and productively in society, and who have healthy relationships in the work place, family, church and community. Teen Challenge offers assistance to people from all backgrounds, but especially target the urban poor, women and ethnic minorities.

Since its founding by David Wilkerson in 1958, our faith-based network has grown into the largest of its kind in the world. Teen Challenge operates 185 centers here in the United States and an additional 370 centers in 85 countries throughout the world.

Teen Challenge has a well-established track record, and is recognized as one of the largest and most effective faith-based substance abuse prevention and recovery programs in the country. More than 2,000 men and women graduate annually from our one-year residential recovery programs in the United States alone. Anywhere from 20% to as much as 50% of participants (depending upon the chapter) in the one-year residential recovery programs have been assigned to us by the courts.

The fact that so many judges, probation and parole officers make referrals to Teen Challenge is just one indication of the recognized effectiveness of the program.

**The Teen Challenge Organization and Program:**

The Teen Challenge network is a confederation of autonomous local centers each with its own volunteer board of directors. Local centers tailor programs to meet the contextual needs of their respective communities and generate operating funds from local individuals, churches, community organizations, businesses and their own work programs. Thousands of volunteers recruited largely from local churches, contribute valuable time and skills, thus making it possible for Teen Challenge centers to operate with extremely low overhead.

The Teen Challenge National Office is located in Springfield, MO, and supports the network of local chapters by monitoring agreed-upon uniform accrediting standards, providing training and materials, and creating opportunities for the chapters to share information and support through conferences held each year.

Throughout our history, Teen Challenge has contended that the fundamental reason for our success in helping people with life controlling problems through our residential program, typically drug addiction, is because these individuals have had a spiritual transforming experience as an act of God's grace. This perspective produces a sense of dignity, self-worth, hope and personal empowerment. That is the foundation and core of our residential program. In addition to this, Teen Challenge provides a range of outpatient and prevention services and a variety of holistic approaches to substance abuse prevention and recovery that include:

- Outpatient recovery programs
- Life and job skills training

- Prevention services
- Formal and informal support structures
- Out-of-school learning centers and clubs, mentoring, camping, recreational and cultural activities for children-at-risk and their families.

Most of the residential programs are for adults; the preventions programs target teens and adolescents. A central focus of the Teen Challenge centers is the residential program. Typically one year in length, it offers an environment of therapeutic support and spiritual formation. The program, in which entry and enrollment is always voluntary, requires discipline, responsible decision-making and accountability. Students receive instruction in the fundamental tenets of Christian living, and participate in daily devotions, chapels, church services and outreach activities. Those enrolled in the program are taught how to translate creed into conduct; faith into practice; and doctrine into daily living. Throughout their one-year experience they are equipped with functional tools - including job skills and vocational technical training - to assist them in re-entering society as productive and healthy people. Entry into these in-residence program is voluntary, and each prospective student clearly understands the program's distinctiveness, recovery models and services, intensity, duration and expectations.

By developing the self-esteem of formerly drug-addicted persons, by providing hope and arming them with skills applicable to the larger social system, Teen Challenge enables graduates to take part in the larger social and economic struggles for a better life and more secure future when they re-enter society. Ultimately, by empowering people who were previously alienated from their families and communities, with a horizontal linkage from life in the more sheltered environment

of the Teen Challenge center, to the arena of daily life where they will have direct access to educational, vocational, and social opportunities within society, Teen Challenge has proved to be a significant agent of social and spiritual change.

**Teen Challenge Staff:**

Many of our most effective workers are former drug addicts and graduates of the Teen Challenge recovery program. They undergo a rigorous training program and are supervised by Teen Challenge chapter directors who also are fully trained in management, leadership, human resources, financial accountability, and the Teen Challenge accreditation standards and curriculum. Profiles of the staff demonstrate people of unusual commitment and devotion. Their work demands focus, and a willingness to invest themselves in the lives of people afflicted with horrific problems. They consistently go beyond the reasonable requirements of the line of duty, receive minimal compensation, and do so often at great personal sacrifice. This cross-section of people and personalities, who have shaped the character of the program, are the rank and file staff of every Teen Challenge center.

On a personal note, let me say that I am a Teen Challenge graduate. I made serious mistakes earlier in my own life. Through Teen Challenge I was given an opportunity to change and become a productive citizen. Not many youth are so fortunate. Like other Teen Challenge program directors, I've dedicated my life to help these children, youth, and adults reach their potential in life and avoid those same mistakes that I made.

Because our directors and staff are an integral part of the grassroots communities we serve, they understand the structural factors - the environment and the personal challenges faced by individuals - that move people toward drug addictions and other life-controlling problems. In response, we have produced programs and strategies that provide these youth, adults, and families with faith-based solutions to their seemingly insurmountable problems.

**Direct vs. Indirect Funding and the Licensing Dilemma:**

Teen Challenge fully acknowledges, understands, and recognizes that most of our residential programs will not be eligible for direct government support. However, it is our understanding that the concept of indirect funding would allow individuals who qualify for certain entitlements— such as food stamps, Access to Recovery vouchers, etc.—to use these benefits at institutions of their choice. It is further our understanding that such indirect funding programs do not raise any Constitutional church/state issues.

However, even as there is an effort to create voucher programs to allow such individual choice —such as the Access to Recovery program—, additional barriers emerge. There has been extensive debate about the “licensing or certification” of faith-based substance abuse and recovery residential programs, such as Teen Challenge. At present only 5 percent of our 185 Teen Challenge Centers are licensed by the state, even though we emphasize both accountability and demonstrated effectiveness. As many of you know, the regulations for residential programs vary widely from state to state, but even more challenging is the lack of recognition by federal and state agencies. Since a distinct classification for residential recovery programs like Teen

Challenge has never been established, "recognition" has been illusive. Subsequently, Teen Challenge, for the most part, is not a "recognized" drug and alcohol program for Federal purposes and the process to qualify for federally supported grant programs or vouchers is extraordinarily complex. Ironically, over 30% percent of all Teen Challenge clients are referred by the courts despite our lack of recognition.

Teen Challenge would like to resolve these licensing and credentialing issues in a manner that safeguards the integrity of our mission and objectives.

Moreover, the licensing or recognition issue affects the ability of our program participants to access even indirect payments such as food stamps. Teen Challenge chapters in Texas, Massachusetts, Florida, Oregon, and other states have been denied food stamps because they are not "licensed." Teen Challenge chapter in some of these states, like Texas and Massachusetts, had been able to receive Food Stamps from qualified participants for many years, but just recently were taken off the eligibility rolls. The reason State governments gave for taking them off, we were told, was because "it was a policy of the Federal Department of Agriculture to require licensing of all programs to meet eligibility requirements." Clarification of this issue from the U.S. Department of Agriculture has been difficult. In Florida, the licensing requirement for participation in the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program has become more restrictive, making it impossible for the Teen Challenge chapter there to continue providing TANF program support services. As a result of these new barriers and the rationale given for them, we are concerned about the implementation of the Access to Recovery voucher program.

On the one hand the Faith-Based Initiative encourages faith-based organizations to become more involved with the government in addressing social welfare issues. On the other hand, Federal, state, and sometimes local government keep raising the bar to our involvement, or don't have a system in place that recognizes our type of faith-based program.

In the field of substance abuse recovery, the methods and strategies implemented by Teen Challenge to achieve our goals and objectives differ considerably from those of clinical or traditional programs. While we recognize the need to consider the meaning, value and significance of outside accreditation, the components of recognition and classification should focus on the leadership, management, strategies, and also performance outcomes suitable for a faith-based approach to drug recovery.

For example, curriculum should reflect the essence of Teen Challenge's mission and objectives: content that is contextual and applicable; training that is appropriate for their methods and strategies; and programs that are suitable for the purpose for which they are intended. In short, assessment and recognition should focus upon the capacity of Teen Challenge to carry out with competence, the programs and strategies that correspond to their expressed aims and objectives. Similarly, evaluation and assessment should measure whether staff members have received the appropriate training that develops the skills and tools enabling them to implement the strategies that fulfill their goals.

Because of the scarcity of precedent models and the apparent lack of precise definitions of our essential character, the consequence has been that we struggle to participate in the Access to

Recovery initiative. In spite of the complexity, we feel that the time has come for a substantial action. It will not be easy to establish and assess flexible and acceptable standards, but Teen Challenge is anxious to work with qualified practitioners and scholars from our own faith-based traditions as well as experts from federal and state agencies in order to establish an adequate classification. At the end of the day, what could be learned from this collaborative process would serve as a diagnostic tool for Teen Challenge, benefit similar programs, and contribute to the larger field of substance abuse prevention and recovery.

We propose that a “residential recovery support program” definition be created that would make it possible for addicts to have a genuine choice among residential chemical dependency programs. We believe the criteria for this new category should be performance- or results-based. And without question, any program entrusted with affecting people’s lives should meet standards of health and safety and financial accountability, all of which are presently met by Teen Challenge chapters.

Such a residential recovery support program could provide services such as:

- Long-term residential drug and alcohol-free environment
- Peer to peer mentoring and coaching
- Life skills classes, money management parenting, social skills
- Education, GED classes, literacy, study skills, computer classes
- Career planning, job skills training, employment behavior, resume writing
- Exercise, music, drama, recreation, social activities



- Spiritual instruction and support
- Reentry assistance, housing, transportation, job search assistance
- Referrals

Clearly, certification standards appropriate for clinical or traditional treatment programs are not wholly adequate for the faith-based counterparts. A redefinition of certification standards that would take into account the mission and method of faith-based recovery programs would provide Teen Challenge the equal access to the recovery resources options available to traditional treatment programs. Most importantly, it would offer those in need of addiction relief an equal choice between traditional approaches and faith-based recovery programs.

### **Conclusion**

Teen Challenge has demonstrated our potential for enabling and empowering large numbers of people, formerly with life controlling problems, to re-enter society as productive citizens. In the process, we have also created institutional structures capable of performing various educational, vocational, and social service functions. This national network of autonomous community centers should stand at the vanguard--not at the margins--in efforts to address a national crisis of drug addiction. Teen Challenge looks forward to a collaborative effort that could lead to a formal recognition of our program by State and Federal government agencies.

In conclusion, I want to stress that we support the President's Faith-Based Initiative and desire that the efforts related to the initiative continue, but also be broadened. Significant progress can

still be made to help level the playing field and remove barriers. As you will be able to see on the attached DVD (see DVD, President Reagan Remarks on Teen Challenge) our country's leadership has been involved in Faith Based programs for many years and these efforts should be a permanent part of our government's efforts.

I applaud all of the President's efforts to help heal those who are hurt, even those who have made mistakes in life concerning drugs and alcohol. Each time the President mentions this topic, he lifts the spirits of recovering drug addicts and alcoholics across America, giving them hope and a sense of dignity. And for that I am eternally grateful.

I also want to express my appreciation to Directors Charles Curie (SAMHSA), John Walters (ONDCP), and the members of the California Access to Recovery Effort (CARE) who have aided and welcomed faith-based organizations.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today.

Dennis Griffith

Executive Director of Teen Challenge International, Southern California

Dennis Griffith is the Executive Director of Teen Challenge International, Southern California and has served the organization for 28 years. Under Griffith's leadership the Southern California organization has grown to be a dynamic network of 10 centers providing youth, adults and

families with effective and comprehensive drug prevention services including an acclaimed faith-based residential program for 500 young adults who are addicted to drugs or alcohol. On March 26, 2003, Dennis received a special honor and was appointed by President George W. Bush to the Advisory Commission on Drug-Free Community Programs in the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy. The eleven-member Commission advises the President through John Walters, the Director of National Drug Control Policy, on matters related to the prevention and treatment of substance abuse.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you.

Our next witness is Rabbi David Saperstein, director, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism. Thank you for your patience in this long hearing today and for sticking around, and we look forward to your testimony.

#### STATEMENT OF RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

Rabbi SAPERSTEIN. Thank you for your invitation and your attention to this important issue. I am deeply honored to be here with such a distinguished panel. I want to recognize my superb staff person, Eric Gold, who works on these issues, and my young son, Ari, who has attentively been listening to hours of testimony here.

Mr. Chairman, we urge you not to pass at this time the legislation which would codify the President's Faith-Based Initiative through the formal creation of a permanent White House Office on Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. Now, the creation of an office designed and dedicated to helping Government find appropriate ways to partner with religious organizations to deliver social services resonates powerfully with our religious sensibilities.

Thus, it is not for this reason we object to it but because of the actual history that you have discussed at length today and what the office does. So long as the centerpiece of this office is to get money directly to houses of worship, an endorsement of the office on the grounds that it does other good things would constitute endorsement of a Trojan horse, attractive on the outside, but support for a structure that will facilitate programs that violate the establishment clause, undercut good social services programs and infringe on the rights of beneficiaries.

To be perfectly clear, we agree wholeheartedly with the President's oft-cited remark that Government cannot always put hope in people's heart the way that religion can, therefore it is not surprising that almost all of our Reform Jewish synagogues across America have wonderful social service programs. However, we strongly oppose the central component of the Faith-Based Initiative that would involve direct Government funding of our synagogues; indeed, of any of America's pervasively sectarian institutions. Insofar as this office seeks to codify this so-called charitable choice into law, it is bad for religion, bad public policy, unconstitutional and socially divisive. Other than that, we have no objections. [Laughter.]

It is bad policy first because, with Government money comes Government rules, regulations, audits, monitoring, interference and control. Second, with Government money comes compromises in the religious mission of churches, synagogues and mosques in America. Reliance on Government funding creates the temptation to skew your program to attract the money and to mute the prophetic obligation of calling the Government to account.

Further, when there are limits placed on religious activity in Government-funded programs as the Constitution demands, those churches committed to including such activities as essential to their programs—I just heard Dennis Griffith speak about the spiritual enhancement that is at the core of what they are about. Those churches either must compromise their mission in order to obtain

the money or ignore the rules with potentially dire consequences to the beneficiaries of services and to the churches.

Third, by opening up our Nation's limited funding for social services to potentially scores of thousands of houses of worship, let me remind you, there are 300,000 houses of worship in America. Let's assume only a small number, but some scores of thousands of them compete for this limited, shrinking pot that you discussed before.

The result is going to be countless millions of dollars will be diverted and thus weaken what are widely regarded as the finest, most effective social service providers today, the superb, although albeit overwhelmed religiously affiliated social service providers, such as Catholic Charities, Jewish Federations, Lutheran Social Services, all of which abide by the vast majority of regulations applicable to other charities. Without a national commitment to substantial increases in funding, there is no guarantee that the Faith-Based Initiative will see one more needy person being helped.

Fourth, Charitable Choice will lead to increased social divisiveness in America as different churches compete for Government money and endorsement. The prospect of intense competition for limited funding, the politicizing of church affairs to obtain funds, the impact on those made to feel that they are outsiders when they fail to obtain funds, all this sectarian competitiveness leads to the very kind of sectarian divisiveness that has plagued so many other nations and which we have been spared because of the separation of church and State.

Fifth, such funding violates the religious rights of taxpayers. As Jefferson said, to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical. This helps explain why so many religious leaders, on the left and the right, oppose the program.

Now, there are a number of Constitutional concerns as well, here. First, in all the discussions of all the cases that you have heard here today, there is one central principle, one legal standard that must be kept in mind. The Supreme Court of the United States and the vast majority of lower courts have never upheld direct Government cash support for pervasively sectarian institutions. The Helms case, Mr. Chairman, that you referred to before, provided in-kind help. The busing cases provided services, but not direct payments.

In the most recent case, the Helms case, the controlling concurring opinion of Justice O'Connor noted our concern with direct monetary aid is based on more than just concern about diversion of tax-funded aid to religious uses. In fact, the most important reason for according special treatment to direct money grants is that this form of aid falls precariously close to the original object of the Establishment Clause's prohibition.

Second, the rights of beneficiaries would inevitably be infringed. In the real world, protecting beneficiaries will be difficult and I add, all but impossible. Look how integrated together in Teen Challenge and so many other wonderful programs is the secular and religious components of it. The notion that Government money will pay only for the secular parts and not for the religious parts integrated into that is almost impossible to monitor and to audit, but puts the beneficiary in a terrible situation.

People who come to the many of these services come at moments of crisis in their lives. They have so few choices, they grasp at straws. The notion that they can truly make a voluntary decision, whether to abide by all the stipulations in a part of your wonderful program, Mr. Griffith, is just unrealistic in the real world.

Third, churches and synagogues have rightly been exempted from many laws that would compromise their religious freedom, including the right to discriminate. We have two principles in tension: one, Government money should never be used to discriminate. We heard about that earlier. Second, if religious entities are to function with autonomy, they have to be able to hire people that subscribe to their beliefs. The way to balance them out is to say, protect those rights with private money, but if you want Government money, go after it only if you can provide secular services.

And finally, much has been argued that all the proponents of this money want is a level playing field. Just treat religion like everything else. God forbid. The framers did not do that; they accorded religion special status, special protections; only religion has an Establishment Clause. We have all kinds of privileges, protections, exemptions. If those who are willing to sell their birthright for the porridge of Government money do so on the basis that all we want is to treat religion just like everything else, then some day the Government and everyone else will listen, and it will be a disaster for America.

And it does not have to happen. There are better ways, and we heard about many of them, from Bob Woodson, from the chairman today, there are many Constitutional ways to achieve our goals, providing technical assistance, training programs for staff of all groups, best practice sharing, targeted research on how to improve programs, reducing and eliminating fees for small organizations, including churches and synagogues, to establish separately incorporated social service arms, to assist the poor with voucher programs for social service, providing better information to the public about available programs like you provide and encouraging charitable contributions through appropriate tax relief.

Mr. Chairman, I would finally just suggest to you, what is the answer to your question about why the administration did not support your bill that as I listened to it, your proposed bill, as I listened to it I can imagine a wall to wall religious coalition getting behind? Even people who differ on many of the core issues here today?

I think one reason you have to consider is that Representative Cummings might be right, that what is at stake is greater interest in delivering money to core constituents or potential supporters than it is about really helping the poor. If we are about helping the poor, then vouchers would have been at the core of this, then your suggestion would have been welcomed with open arms. With mutual respect and hard work, we can affirm religious liberty, even while we enhance the ability of religious institutions to provide social services.

[The prepared statement of Rabbi Saperstein follows:]

**Statement of Rabbi David Saperstein on the Constitutional Role of Faith-Based  
Organizations in Competition for Federal Social Service Funds**

**Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources of the U.S  
House of Representatives  
Committee on Government Reform  
Rayburn House Office Building 2154  
United States Capitol  
Washington, DC  
June 21, 2005**

Good morning Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Subcommittee. I am Rabbi David Saperstein, Director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism which represents the North American Reform Jewish Movement's 1,800 rabbis and 900 synagogues encompassing over 1.5 million members. I am an attorney and for many years have taught church-state law on the faculty of Georgetown University Law School.

I am honored to be here with you this morning and would like to express my appreciation both to the committee and to my fellow witnesses who, in their own right, are all leaders dedicated to making our world a more just and whole place. We all agree that more needs to be done to better the plight of the poor, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and assist our fellow citizens in finding meaningful, sustainable employment.

Mr. Chairman, we oppose the legislation under discussion here today, H.R. 1054, the "Tools for Community Initiatives Act," which would codify the President's Faith-Based Initiative through the formal creation of a permanent White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. The creation of an office especially dedicated to helping government find appropriate ways to partner with religious organizations to deliver social services resonates powerfully with our religious sensibilities. Thus, it is not for this reason that we object to this bill. Our primary objection to the Office is based in no small measure on the work of the Office since it was created. We believe that direct government funding of houses of worship is unconstitutional, bad public policy and bad for religion. Such funding seems to be a major focus of the Faith Based Initiative, this legislation and the Office. Endorsement of the office on the grounds that it does a number of good things and has the potential to do more good things that are constitutional would constitute endorsement of a Trojan Horse that will facilitate programs that violate the Establishment Clause, undercut good social service programs, and infringe upon the rights of beneficiaries. These concerns are embodied in the prescriptions and directives expressed in the latter half of the bill ("Sec. 7 - Sense of Congress") which pose grave consequences for the autonomy of religion and the integrity of government in America.

In Sec. 7, expressed through the Sense of Congress, what we see are the essential ingredients necessary in implementing the President's Faith-Based Initiative. In other words, this is not the mere creation of a physical office, but a vehicle through which government funds will flow directly and dangerously into our houses of worship thereby imperiling religious autonomy, civil rights and the rights of beneficiaries. The "Sense of

Congress” section *hints* at providing protections such as safeguarding the rights of beneficiaries and separating the time and location of “inherently religious activities” (a term, by the way, that has never once been recognized or adjudicated by the Courts), but the net result of distributing funds directly to houses of worship, without any legal firewall or protection is, by its very nature, problematic for religion and government.

Although I could envision a time when such an initiative might be appropriate, this is certainly not that time. There is simply no evidence that the current Office is all that effective. An analysis of faith-based organizations who received FY 2003 funding through the President’s Faith-Based initiative in 2005, conducted by the Associated Press, found, among other things, that many of the organizations do not even characterize themselves as “faith-based” organizations at all.<sup>1</sup> In reference to the promise that the Office would have a real and positive impact on social service provision in America, even David Kuo, who served in the White House for two-and-a-half years as a Special Assistant to the President and later as Deputy Director of the Faith-Based Initiative, lamented recently that “sadly, four years later these promises remain unfulfilled in spirit and fact.”<sup>2</sup>

To be perfectly clear, we agree wholeheartedly with the President’s often cited remark that government cannot always “put hope in people’s hearts” and give people “a sense of purpose” the same way that religion can.<sup>3</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that almost all of our synagogues run social service programs. They range from homeless shelters to day care for homeless children so that parents can look for or go to work; from feeding programs to health care provision; from transitional housing programs aimed at helping the homeless get off the streets to literacy programs for kids in our schools. We are enormously proud of these efforts and we commend the President for his call to strengthen this work and to create closer partnerships between the government and the faith community.

However, we strongly oppose that component of the Faith Based Initiative that would involve direct government funding of our synagogues, indeed of any of America’s pervasively sectarian institutions.

Codifying this so-called “charitable choice” into law, as this legislation in fact does, is bad for religion, bad public policy, unconstitutional, and socially divisive.

### **Directly Funding Houses of Worship is Bad Public Policy**

<sup>1</sup> “U.S. Gave \$1B in Faith-Based Funds in 2003” Laura Meckler, *Associated Press*. January 2, 2005

<sup>2</sup> “Shooting From the Heart: Please Keep Faith” David Kuo, posted on *Beliefnet*: <  
[http://www.beliefnet.com/story/160/story\\_16092\\_1.html](http://www.beliefnet.com/story/160/story_16092_1.html)>

<sup>3</sup> Remarks by President George W. Bush at Cityteam Ministries, San Jose, CA Oct 31, 2000 Qtd. in  
<[http://www.issues2000.org/Celeb/George\\_W\\_Bush\\_Welfare\\_Poverty.htm](http://www.issues2000.org/Celeb/George_W_Bush_Welfare_Poverty.htm)>



Before discussing the vital constitutional and legal reasons to oppose this broad and permanent attempt to codify charitable choice, I want to review a number of the policy reasons to be deeply alarmed about such government funding of houses of worship.

First, with government money come government rules, regulation, audits, monitoring, interference, and control. Your colleague Representative Chet Edwards has warned "it will be a religious nightmare to have federal agents, including IRS agents auditing the finance of churches, synagogue and mosques across the land."<sup>4</sup> And he's right. Even on the issue of the effectiveness of the programs there will be intrusive monitoring. President Bush, for one, has often stressed the importance of accountability, arguing that schools and other recipients of federal funds need to be held accountable for the results they achieve, or fail to achieve. And he's not wrong. Taxpayers do have a right to know what results are being achieved with what the President often reminds us is their money. How can we effectively hold these programs to account without jeopardizing the sacred autonomy of our houses of worship? And besides: who defines a "successful" program? The government or the church?

Second, with government money come compromises in the religious mission of the churches, synagogues and mosques of America. Reliance upon government funding, creates the temptation to mute the prophetic obligation of calling the government to account. Religious leaders, whose moral clarity and leadership have brought about the most important and fundamental reforms in government and society, will be reluctant to bite the hand that feeds them. Further, when there are limits placed on religious activity in government-funded programs (as the Constitution demands), those churches committed to including such activities as essential to their programs must either compromise their mission to obtain the money or ignore the rules with potentially dire consequences to the beneficiaries of services and to the churches. For example, visitors to the TMM Family Services in Tucson, AZ are greeted by a picture of Jesus and quotes from the Bible. Either the beneficiaries who feel alienated walking through the door lose out, or the religious mission of the group is jeopardized, notes the director of the program.<sup>5</sup> It's a lose-lose situation.

In addition to the threat to their traditional - and cherished - autonomy, government funding of houses of worship provides another, more subtle but equally alarming, danger: the undermining of the mission of the institution. To be sure, I don't think that erosion of the character of religious institution will be intentional or immediate. But it's likely nonetheless.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported an interesting example of the type of "mission creep" that is likely, perhaps inevitable, as religious institutions look to the government for

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<sup>4</sup> Representative Chet Edwards, Remarks at the Launch of the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life (Mar. 1, 2001), at <http://pewforum.org/events/print.php?EventID=5>.

<sup>5</sup> Meckler, *supra*

funding.<sup>6</sup> Massachusetts subsidizes a large portion of charitable work undertaken by Catholic Charities in that state. In the mid-1990's, the state began to shift its funding priority from other areas to substance abuse. As the funding shifted, so did the programs offered by Catholic Charities. Programs such as soup kitchens and childcare closed, and drug and alcoholic treatment centers opened. By 1995, Catholic Charities in Massachusetts spent 80% of its funds on substance abuse programs.<sup>7</sup>

Stanley Carlson-Thies, an original staff member of the President's White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and current director of social policy studies at the Center for Public Justice has termed this shift of emphasis "vendorism."<sup>8</sup> Vendorism, he notes, is a "process in which government grants end up diverting the priority of charities, changing their direction and turning them into mere vendors of government programs."<sup>9</sup> What a loss to our nation if our houses of worship were to become "vendors of government programs!"<sup>10</sup>

Third, by opening up our nation's limited funding for social services to, potentially, scores of thousands of houses of worship, countless millions of dollars will be diverted from, and thus weaken, what are widely regarded as the finest, most effective social service providers today - the superb (albeit overwhelmed) "religiously affiliated" social service providers (such as Catholic Charities, Jewish Federations, Lutheran Social Services etc.), all of which abide by the vast majority of regulations applicable to other charities. Without a national commitment to substantial increases in funding, there is no guarantee one more needy person will be helped by this ill-advised initiative.

Fourth, charitable choice will lead to increased social divisiveness in America. For Catholic charities and the Jewish federations to compete for grants is one thing. The local agencies they support are professional social service providers that, over the years, have worked out the pattern of funding and working relationships. Local houses of worship are altogether different. Choosing between them becomes like choosing between religions. Funneling the money directly to these houses of worship would pit them against one another -- the Episcopal Church, the AME Zion Church and the local mosque that are all competing for the same grant. One group gets the money, the others do not, and in all

<sup>6</sup> Robert A. Sirico, *Charities on the Dole*, WALL ST. J., Mar. 31, 1995, at A12, available at <http://www.acton.org/ppolicy/editorials/sirico/charitydole.html>.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*

<sup>8</sup> See Stanley Carlson-Thies, *Faith-Based Institutions Cooperating with Public Welfare: The Promise of the Charitable Choice Provision*, in WELFARE REFORM AND FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS 29, 36 (Derek Davis & Barry Hankins eds., 1999).

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* It should be noted that Carlson-Thies is a strong supporter of charitable choice, and while he lays out the problems, he also answers those challenges.

<sup>10</sup> For a broader discussion of how government funding can compromise the religious mission of providers, see CHARLES L. GLENN, *THE AMBIGUOUS EMBRACE: GOVERNMENT AND FAITH-BASED SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL AGENCIES* (2000). Glenn focuses less on the dangers of regulation and more on the impact that reliance on government funding and the requirements to professionalize staff can have in altering the religious mission of the provider. See also Steven K. Green, *The Ambiguity of Neutrality*, 86 CORNELL L. REV. 692 (2001) (reviewing GLENN, *supra*).

likelihood, it's the religious minority who loses out. It is no small point that particular religious groups will unfairly receive more funds than others. In a 2005 poll of Louisiana citizens, those who described themselves as "fundamentalist Christians" supported direct government-funded social service provision by an almost 3 to 2 margin over the average citizen polled.<sup>11</sup> Recent Pew Forum polls show that substantial majorities feel that Buddhist and Muslim social service providers should not receive federal funds.<sup>12</sup>

The prospect of intense competition for limited funding; the politicizing of church affairs to obtain funds; the impact on those made to feel they are the outsiders when they fail to obtain the funds - this leads to the very kind of sectarian competition and divisiveness that have plagued so many other nations and which we have been spared because of the separation of church and state. Already, since the time the President's Office was first created, we have seen an unprecedented and marked divisiveness take root in our religious communities. Only three months ago, the Central Church of God in Charlotte, NC withdrew its support for a food pantry serving the needy because that pantry "promoted Catholicism."<sup>13</sup> The same church also withdrew support from the Charlotte Rescue Mission because it had allowed three Muslim students from UNC Charlotte to help serve a meal.<sup>14</sup> Rev. Jerry Falwell has suggested that Islamic organizations should never be eligible for funding, because the "Muslim faith teaches hate."<sup>15</sup>

Fifth, such funding violates the religious rights of the taxpayers. Again, Rep. Edwards hit the nail right on the head when he stated just recently that "that kind of divisiveness that we see bitterly in the U.S. Congress every year during the appropriations process should not be exported to our houses of worship in America."<sup>16</sup> Even in cases where courts have held that taxpayers do not have standing to assert a free exercise claim to contest the use of their tax dollars for religious purposes, it still is wrong on a policy level and it exacerbates religious tensions. As Jefferson said: "[T]o compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical."<sup>17</sup> This helps explain why so many religious leaders - on the left and the right - oppose the program.

As a minority religious community in America, we have often been the targets of people who seek to convert us to their religion. At a hearing on this same type of legislation 4

<sup>11</sup> "Voters Split on Funds to Church Groups; 75% of Fundamentalists, 84% of Roman Catholics Favor Giving Tax Dollars." Barbara Schlichtman, *The Advocate* (Baton Rouge, LA). January 16, 2005.

<sup>12</sup> PEW FORUM ON RELIGION & PUB. LIFE & THE PEW RESEARCH CTR. FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS, FAITH-BASED FUNDING BACKED, BUT CHURCH-STATE DOUBTS AROUND (2001), at <http://pewforum.org/events/0410/report>.

<sup>13</sup> "Church Cuts Ties to Food Pantry Because of Catholics." *Associated Press*, March 19, 2005

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*

<sup>15</sup> Interview by Deborah Caldwell with Rev. Jerry Falwell, Jerry Falwell Ministries (Mar. 6, 2001), at [http://www.beliefnet.com/story/70/story\\_7040.html](http://www.beliefnet.com/story/70/story_7040.html).

<sup>16</sup> "Bush's Faith Money Won't Come Easily: Despite Opposition, President Pushes Ahead With Grants to Religious Groups." Lisa Zagaroli, *Detroit News* 13A. January 9, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom located at < <http://religiousfreedom.lib.virginia.edu/sacred/vaact.html>

years ago, the executive director of Teen Challenge, an acquaintance who I respect greatly, acknowledged that his program has the effect of converting (in his term, "completing") Jewish kids. Teen Challenge has every right to engage in this activity (as hurtful and wrong as I may think it is). But the notion that their efforts to convert our children will now be enhanced by our tax dollars which have freed up money to go about this work is, I hope, as troublesome to you as it is painful to us. That any taxpayer should fund her own discrimination or proselytization betrays every principle of our democracy.

### **Directly Funding Houses of Worship is Unconstitutional<sup>18</sup>**

Four constitutional and legal issues compel rejection of these charitable choice proposals.

First, in all the discussion of all the cases that you have heard here today, there is one central principle, one legal standard, that you must keep in mind. The Supreme Court of the United States (and the vast majority of the lower courts as well) has never upheld direct government cash support for pervasively sectarian institutions. Indeed, in cases (many of which have been alluded to here today) where the High Court and other courts have upheld some type of government support for religious institutions, they have gone out of their way to distinguish it from exactly the kind of direct government subsidy of houses of worship and religious ministries and parochial schools that is entailed in charitable choice.

In *Bowen v. Kendrick*<sup>19</sup>, the case that upheld government support for religious groups that provided pregnancy care services and prevention services,<sup>20</sup> the Court said: "Even when the challenged statute appears to be neutral on its face, we have always been careful to ensure that direct government aid to religiously affiliated institutions does not have the primary effect of advancing religion. One way in which direct government aid might have that effect is if the aid flows to institutions that are 'pervasively sectarian.' We stated in *Hunt* that:

[a]id normally may be thought to have a primary effect of advancing religion when it flows to an institution in which religion is so pervasive that a substantial portion of its functions are subsumed in the religious mission."<sup>21</sup>

In *Rosenberger v. Rector & Visitors of the University of Virginia*<sup>22</sup>, upholding the use of student fees at a state university to pay for publications,<sup>23</sup> including religious publications, the court observed:

The neutrality of this program distinguishes the student fees from a tax levied for the direct support of a church... The Court of Appeals

<sup>18</sup> See David Saperstein, "Public Accountability and Faith-Based Organizations: A Problem Best Avoided" *Harv L Review* 1353-1396 (2003)

<sup>19</sup> 487 U.S. 589 (1988).

<sup>20</sup> See *id.* at 594, 622.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* at 609-10 (quoting *Hunt v. McNair*, 413 U.S. 734, 743 (1973)).

<sup>22</sup> 515 U.S. 819 (1995).

<sup>23</sup> See *id.* at 822-27, 845-46.

(and the dissent) are correct to extract from our decisions the principle that we have recognized special Establishment Clause dangers where the government makes direct money payments to sectarian institutions.”<sup>24</sup>

The principle articulated in *Bowen and Rosenberger* was reaffirmed as recently as last year when a majority of the Court in *Mitchell v. Helms*<sup>25</sup> - two Justices who concurred in the holding allowing the loan of federally-funded computers to religious schools, joined by three dissenting Justices - noted the special concerns associated with the flow of government funds to pervasively religious organizations.<sup>26</sup> As Justice O'Connor noted in her concurring opinion, “Our concern with direct monetary aid is based on more than just [concern about] diversion [of tax-funded aid to religious uses]. In fact, the most important reason for accord[ing] special treatment to direct money grants is that this form of aid follows precariously close to the original object of the Establishment Clause's prohibition.”<sup>27</sup>

The Supreme Court has noted that in pervasively sectarian institutions, religion is so subsumed in the entire program that it cannot be separated out, and since funding is fungible, a major program of support to any part of the institution will constitute government funding of religion, thereby violating the Establishment Clause. Common sense says the justices are right. And because support to any part of the institution is support to all of it, such government funding violates what has been a first principle of the First Amendment. On February 28, 1811, James Madison sent a veto message to the House of Representatives explaining his rationale for vetoing legislation that would provide direct funding for the Baptist Church at Salem Meeting House: “Because the Bill, in reserving a certain parcel of land of the United States for the use of the said Baptist Church, comprizes a principle and precedent for the appropriation of funds of the United States, for the use and support of Religious Societies; contrary to the Article of the Constitution which declares that Congress shall make no law respecting a Religious Establishment.”<sup>28</sup>

Second, the rights of beneficiaries would inevitably be infringed. In the real world, protecting beneficiaries will be difficult, and, I might add, all but impossible. How can we ensure that the promise of a non-sectarian provider of social services is made real, especially given the challenge of providing such services in rural or inner-city areas? How can we ensure that beneficiaries have the right, not just in theory but also in

<sup>24</sup> *Id.* at 840–42.

<sup>25</sup> 530 U.S. 793 (2000).

<sup>26</sup> See *Mitchell*, 530 U.S. at 837–44 (O'Connor, J., concurring); *id.* at 867–69 (Souter, J., dissenting). Some scholars would take issue with this interpretation. See, e.g., IRA C. LUPU & ROBERT W. TUTTLE, GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIPS WITH FAITH-BASED PROVIDERS: THE STATE OF THE LAW 3 (2002), available at [http://www.religionandsocialpolicy.org/docs/legal/reports/10-23-2002\\_state\\_of\\_the\\_law.pdf](http://www.religionandsocialpolicy.org/docs/legal/reports/10-23-2002_state_of_the_law.pdf) (characterizing *Mitchell* as leaving unanswered the question of the constitutionality of cash payments by government to pervasively sectarian entities).

<sup>27</sup> *Mitchell*, 530 U.S. at 856 (O'Connor, J., concurring); see also *id.* at 873–75, 909 n.27 (Souter, J., dissenting).

<sup>28</sup> James Madison Veto Message to Congress, Feb. 28, 1811 Qtd. in vol. 3, The Papers of James Madison, Presidential Series, p. 193.

practice, to decline to participate in religious exercises without jeopardizing their benefits? No matter what kind of protections charitable choice legislation tries to create, without extensive government surveillance such abuses will continue. And such surveillance, of course, poses its own set of risks for religious institutions.

Third, churches and synagogues have been (rightly!) exempted from many laws that would compromise their religious freedom, including the right to discriminate in whom they hire on religious grounds. Major government funding for programs with such exemptions may be constitutional but such a program can be part of a campaign to weaken civil rights and will give government sanction for dividing America along religious lines.

Since the High Court has determined that these exemptions are not mandated by the Constitution but are rather a constitutionally permissible means for the legislative body to accommodate religion, this debate over whether the flow of government funds should result in a lifting of the exemption is a statutory and policy argument. (It should be noted that there is a constitutional argument that granting a "religion specific" exemption for government funded programs is a violation of the Establishment Clause under the second prong of the Lemon test i.e. primary effect of advancing religion, particularly as applied in the *Texas Monthly, Inc. v. Bullock* case<sup>29</sup>, prohibited the singling out of religion for a benefit. This remains an unresolved issue.)

So you are faced with a wrenching tension between two valid moral principles. The first is that government should accommodate the ability of religious organizations to function. To take the exemption away is to curtail that religious freedom in a manner that will threaten other exemptions. When religious groups buy into that they could be jeopardizing their birthright of a unique constitutional and legal status in exchange for the privilege of lining up at the public trough to fight among themselves over the porridge of government funds. The second is that government money should not be used to discriminate against protected classes of people. To grant the exemption, with anything more than incidental government funding behind it, is to turn back the clock on civil rights in this country, allowing for widespread discrimination on the basis of religious identity and practice. This is the approach of the recent reauthorization of the Workforce Investment Act (H.R. 27) passed only months ago by the House. The notion that a job notice could be placed in the newspaper seeking employees for a government funded social service program run by a Protestant church that reads "Jews, Catholics, Muslims need not apply" or "No unmarried mothers will be hired;" is deeply and profoundly troubling to many in the religious community, on Capitol Hill, and, according to a recent Pew Poll on this issue, to 78% of the American public.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> 489 U.S. 1 (1989).

<sup>30</sup> PEW FORUM ON RELIGION & PUB. LIFE, FAITH-BASED FUNDING BACKED, BUT CHURCH-STATE DOUBTS ABOUND (Apr. 10, 2001), at <http://pewforum.org/events/0410/report/execsum.php3>.

There is only one way to prevent this problem: don't violate the constitutional prohibition against direct government funding of sectarian organizations.

Only this will both protect religion and allow for robust, unqualified protections of civil rights. To give the money and then choose either to allow the exemption or to deny it, will pit many religious communities of America against the other civil rights communities. As was the case with the recent debate on exempting religious organizations from discriminatory hiring provisions in H.R. 27, this will foist on Congress an anguishing and politically explosive choice for the many Republican, Democratic, and Independent Members of Congress who are committed both to religious freedom and strong protections of other civil rights.

Finally, much has been made of the argument that all the proponents of charitable choice want is a level playing field, i.e., neutrality between religions and other groups. But it is not the opponents of charitable choice who concocted the idea of treating religion differently; it was the framers of the Constitution. Only religion has an Establishment Clause with all of the attendant protections and limitations that imposes. To abandon this idea in pursuit of "a level playing field" is a political time bomb for religion in America. To insist that religion be treated just like everything else is, again, to jeopardize the many special treatments and exemptions that religion enjoys. Why would those who intend to enhance religious protections advocate that? If we insist on treating religion "equally" to obtain funding, others will argue we should do so in all matters. This is particularly puzzling from some of my colleagues here who have been eloquent in arguing in the Free Exercise realm that facial neutrality, (i.e., treating religion like everything else), is not what is constitutionally called for. Rather the Constitution requires the functional neutrality of government towards religion. And the best way to achieve that is to keep government and religion separate even at the cost of direct government funding of religious institutions. For 200 years, the wall separating church and state has kept religion free of government interference, protecting the religious freedom of all, and allowing religion to flourish with remarkable vitality and strength. Taking the sledgehammer of government funding to the wall would be a major retreat from the vision of our founders.

### **A Better Path**

There is much to commend in the President's Faith Based Initiative and there are myriad ways that government and the religious community can partner to strengthen the religious community's social service work and, together, to better serve our nation's poor and needy.

There are many constitutional ways to achieve our common goals: providing technical assistance and training programs for staff of all groups; best practice sharing<sup>31</sup>; targeted research on how to improve programs; reducing, or even eliminating, fees for all small organizations, including churches and synagogues, to establish separately incorporated

<sup>31</sup> See Charity Aid, Recovery, and Empowerment Act of 2002, S. 1924, 107th Cong. § 502 (calling for sharing of best practices as well as legal assistance, technical assistance with grant writing, and capacity building resources).

501(C) social service arms to assist the poor; providing more and better information to the public about available programs; and encouraging charitable contributions through appropriate tax relief.<sup>32</sup>

Together, with mutual respect and some hard work, we can affirm religious liberty, protect our Constitution and our religious institutions, maintain religion's vital role in the public square, and promote the excellent work our religious institutions do in carrying out their prophetic mission to help those in need.

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<sup>32</sup> See *id.* § 101.



Mr. SOUDER. Thank you for maintaining your enthusiasm on this long day. [Laughter.]

Our last witness is Dr. C. Welton Gaddy, on behalf of the Interfaith Alliance. Thank you very much.

**STATEMENT OF REV. C. WELTON GADDY**

Rev. GADDY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Cummings. Thank you for the opportunity to present testimony on behalf of the Interfaith Alliance. With a membership of over 150,000 persons coming from 75 different faith traditions, the Interfaith Alliance is a non-partisan national grassroots organization dedicated to promoting the positive and healing role of religion in public life. Personally, in addition to serving as president of the Interfaith Alliance, I also serve as pastor for preaching and worship in Northminster Baptist Church in Monroe, LA.

Now, why would a religious leader, a Christian pastor, not want Federal money to do social services? My opposition to the Faith-Based Initiative comes not out of a lack of concern for the increased number of people living in poverty, battling hunger, people without medical insurance, a proliferation of people with other overwhelming needs. Mr. Chairman, I am deeply moved by your transparent passion for helping poor and hurting people.

My opposition to this program resides in a profound concern that the program as presently configured ultimately will hurt, not help, both the religious community and the civil community in their efforts to meet those needs and possibly impact adversely the people in need as well. Today I will only summarize and highlight a few of the specific reasons that I oppose the Faith-Based Initiative. Those reasons are elaborated at length in my written testimony submitted for the record.

First, the Faith-Based Initiative incorrectly assumes that faith-based social service providers are superior in delivering services. The fact is that some faith-based social service agencies do a better job than their secular counterparts, and some don't. In my first year in seminary, when my seminary notes were stolen, I learned that people in religious institutions represent a cross-section of society just as do people in other institutions. [Laughter.]

Second, the Faith-Based Initiative allows civil rights violations to be supported by taxpayers' money. Witness the dramatic deletion of civil rights guarantees in this year's version of the Workforce Investment Act.

As a Baptist minister, I have always valued the Government's understanding that houses of worship need to employ ministers who are within their own religious tradition. But when houses of worship agree to become contract employees of the Federal Government, that changes. They change their nature, their identity, their ministry. As a patriot as well as a pastor, I want Federal money to go to organizations that are faithfully in compliance with civil rights laws. I would suggest that expectation also qualifies as an expression of good religion.

Third, the Faith-Based Initiative endangers the integrity of religion, threatens to compromise the prophetic ministry of religion within our Nation and creates a possibility of harmful conflict, competition and division within the religious community of our Nation.

With all due respect, I cannot help but observe that this hearing, in this, the most religiously pluralistic Nation in the world, has included language that has not reached beyond the religions of Judaism and Christianity. I fear the relevance of that reality to the distribution of charitable funding by persons looking intently at majority opinions related to electoral politics.

Government-funded religion is as bad for religion as it is for the Constitution. In conclusion, let me say, I have many Constitutional concerns about this program. Those concerns are being articulated eloquently by many other people, David Saperstein being at the top of that list. But I speak to you today primarily focused not on what this program does to the Constitution of our religion, but what it does to the vitality and integrity of religion in our Nation. We are forgetting too easily the lessons of history. The institutions of Government need to stay out of the institutions of religion for the sake of religion.

Authentic religion requires a context of freedom. Even the most avid evangelists know that religion can never be pushed down a person's throat and come out as authentic religion. Viewed from that perspective, the piece of legislation that prompted this hearing epitomizes the problem. It would impose a faith-based office on future administrations. Our Government has no more business legislating the imposition of a faith-based office on future administrations than imposing religion on vulnerable persons through faith-based initiatives.

In virtually every testimony given to this committee today, I have heard serious concerns about the manner in which the present program functions. Why then any insistence on perpetuating a program flawed to such an extent that it would be better for us to replace it than attempt to continue it? If Congress wants a special office in the White House to assure that our Presidents are constantly aware of the Nation's responsibility to care for the weakest, poorest and most hurting among us, the Interfaith Alliance will work with enthusiasm to support that initiative.

But let me reiterate: we do not need a faith-based office in the White House. We have faith-based offices all over this Nation. And they are right where they belong; in synagogues and gurdwaras and mosques and churches, in temples and in storefront ministry centers.

Mr. Chairman, you began this hearing this afternoon—I think it was this afternoon—by asking how you could sustain this program. At the end of this hearing, personally, I don't think you can. But I don't believe you should.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Rev. Gaddy follows:]

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TESTIMONY

OF

REV. DR. C. WELTON GADDY

ON BEHALF OF

THE INTERFAITH ALLIANCE

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY,

AND HUMAN RESOURCES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REGARDING

“AUTHORIZING THE PRESIDENT’S VISION: MAKING PERMANENT THE

FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE”

JUNE 21, 2005

**INTRODUCTION**

Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Cummings, and members of the Subcommittee, thank you for this opportunity to present testimony on behalf of The Interfaith Alliance. With a membership of over 150,000 people from 75 different faith traditions, we are a nonpartisan, national grassroots organization dedicated to promoting the positive and healing role of religion in public life. In addition to serving as President of The Interfaith Alliance, I also serve as Pastor for Preaching and Worship at North Minster Baptist Church in Monroe, Louisiana.

The Interfaith Alliance, along with a large coalition of civil rights, religious, labor, education and other organizations, respects the important role that religious groups have played in providing assistance to those in need. However, we believe that the president's faith-based initiative – as well as recent attempts by the federal government to increase funding of religion through the faith-based initiative – is ultimately a bad way to do a good thing.

I am grateful for a government that is interested in the welfare of those in our society who are most in need. A partnership between religion and government in assisting the most helpless in our society is consistent with the heritage in this nation. However, current proposals for an expansion of charitable choice legislation and the establishment of faith-based initiatives point not to a viable partnership between religion and government, but rather to a contractual arrangement in which houses of worship become functionaries of the government in the delivery of certain services, this is an arrangement that is bad for religion, bad for government, and threatening to those to whom it would offer assistance. Indeed, it is an ill-conceived solution in search of a problem that does not exist.

Allow me the opportunity to jump ahead and anticipate your first question: “Why would a religious leader not want federal money to do social services? Given an increase in poverty, people without medical insurance and a proliferation of people in need, how can you justify not supporting this program given the desperate needs that keep multiplying in our nation?”

My opposition to this program comes not out of a lack of concern for the poor, the hungry, the abused, and those with other overwhelming needs. My opposition to this program comes out of a concern that the program, as presently configured, ultimately will hurt, not help, both the religious community and the civil community in their efforts to meet those needs.

**THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE IS THE WRONG WAY TO DO RIGHT AND CREATES MORE PROBLEMS THAN IT SOLVES UNDER THE GUISE OF HELPING PEOPLE.**

Let me offer you ten reasons why I do not want federal money to do faith-based social services as The White House based program is currently constructed. My observations stem not out of cynicism or an anti-religion bias but out of over 40 years of ministry involving interaction with a number of different religious organizations.

1. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE JEOPARDIZES RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.** To date, the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment of the Constitution has been interpreted to mandate that no federal or state tax dollars should fund “pervasively sectarian” organizations. Religious ministries that want to provide social services with government funds must: (1) incorporate separately from their sponsoring religious institutions; (2) refrain from religious activities and proselytizing during the government-funded program; and (3) provide an environment that is free from religious symbols and doctrine where they seek to operate their social service. The Clinton Administration explicitly cited the Establishment Clause as the guiding principle for the implementation of charitable choice programs.

The current president’s faith-based initiative is government involvement in religion in a manner unhealthy for religion as well as unconstitutional for the government. The Establishment Clause of the Constitution is no longer considered the guiding principle for the development of charitable choice programs. Indeed, the emphasis of the present initiative falls on encouraging the religious character of social service providers and using faith as a therapeutic tool. President Bush has spoken of how faith itself is the missing ingredient in many secular social service programs. According to Congressional experts, charitable choice, as a concept, challenges these restrictions and seeks to allow religious organizations to retain their religious character and to employ their faith in carrying out programs that are directly subsidized by the government.

From the day on which then President-elect Bush first announced this initiative in the First Baptist Church of Austin, Texas to the present moment, advocates of the program have chided those of us who express concerns about the program’s negative impact on church-state separation. In several discussions on charitable choice, I have listened with dismay as members of Congress urged ministers in local parishes and other members of their audiences to think about the pragmatics, not the principles involved here.

If we lose religious liberty by getting sloppy in our protection of its corollary, the institutional separation of religion and government, we will hurt both religion and government, jeopardizing seriously the democratic provision that has allowed the religious vitality in our nation that is so self-evident in current religions’ charities.

At this point, I think it is appropriate to cite Justice Hugo Black’s brilliant summary of the Establishment Clause (*Everson v. Board of Education*, 1947):

*The "Establishment of Religion" clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect "a wall of separation between church and State."*

2. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE FALSELY ASSUMES THAT FAITH-BASED SOCIAL SERVICE PROVIDERS ARE SUPERIOR AT DELIVERING SERVICES.** The President and supporters of his program like to say that faith-based organizations inherently do a better job at social reform than do their secular counterparts, functioning with more efficiency and effectiveness. That gross generalization bears all the flaws of any gross generalization. The fact is that some faith-based social service agencies do a better job than their secular counterparts and some do not. Frankly, we cannot even assume that a religious program or charity will be run with more integrity, efficiency, and accountability than other charitable programs. In my first year of seminary, when my seminary notes were stolen, I learned that people in religious institutions represent a cross section of the society that they serve.

A study was conducted recently (results released October, 2003) by Partha Deb (Lead Researcher, Department of Economics, Hunter College City University of New York) and Dana Jones (Indiana Manpower Placement and Comprehensive Training program Liaison, Center for Urban Policy and the Environment, Indiana University-Purdue University). They “examined the differences in job market outcomes of individuals who receive job training from faith-based versus secular providers...” They found that “faith-based and secular providers have the same rates of placement into jobs and that, conditional on employment, the jobs have similar wages.” They also found that “clients who have received training from faith-based providers are, conditional on employment, substantially less likely to work full time and substantially less likely to have health insurance through their employers.” They concluded by saying, “these findings suggest that secular providers of services may have access to job opportunities of better quality as compared to faith-based providers.”<sup>1</sup>

The researchers of this same study also note in their abstract that even though there is a belief that “religious providers are more effective than their secular counterparts, this belief has never been tested; indeed, there is comparatively little research on the efficacy of social welfare programs in general.” They add, “there is relatively little research in the area of provisional social services by faith-based organizations. We have not been able to find, however, any published literature that examines differences in outcomes of clients who receive social services from faith-based versus secular providers.”

3. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE CLEARS THE PATH TO VIOLATE CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS BY ALLOWING EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION WITH TAX-PAYER MONEY.** One year ago, (May 8, 2003), the House passed the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) reauthorization (H.R. 1261) by a vote of 220-204. Throughout its 21 year history, WIA contained a civil rights provision barring discrimination based on religion, among other protected classes, in federal job training programs. In fact, these protections were included in the original federal job training legislation that then Senator Dan Quayle (R-IN) sponsored. Senator Quayle’s legislation passed through a committee chaired by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT), and was signed by President Ronald W. Reagan. This civil rights provision never served as an obstacle to the participation of religiously affiliated organizations in federal job training programs. Indeed, many religiously affiliated organizations participate in WIA programs and comply with the same civil rights provision that applies to all other participants.

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<sup>1</sup> Full study was conducted through The Center for Urban Policy and The Environment. “Faith-Based Social Service Provision Under Charitable Choice: A Study of Implementation in Three State Final Results.”

However, in March 2005, The US House of Representatives passed the Job Training Improvement Act of 2005 (HR 27) which exempted religious organizations that receive Federal funds from the prohibition of discrimination that is standard practice for all other organizations that contract with the federal government. Specifically, under the subsections entitled "Prohibition of Discrimination Regarding Participation, Benefits and Employment," and "Exemption for Religious Organizations," the bill stated, that standard nondiscrimination policies "shall not apply to a recipient of financial assistance under this title that is a religious corporation, association, educational institution, or society, with respect to the employment of individuals of a particular religion..."

A religious organization that uses its liberty to do charity should not have to fear that its acts of charity will erode liberty both for itself and for the recipients of its services. Through this program federal funds can be used without compliance with civil rights legislation. The faith-based initiative violates basic principles of our democracy and the integrity of religion in the name of pragmatics. The two can be separated only at great expense to the vitality of democracy and the integrity of religion. We should not require a person to give up civil rights in order to go through a soup kitchen or attend job training programs.

You will hear arguments from those wanting religious organizations to use federal funds to discriminate against their employees that their position is consistent with a provision in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that generally permits religious organizations to grant preference to members of their own religion, and to exclude those who do not agree with their religion, when making employment decisions. As a Baptist preacher, I value those protective provisions traditionally granted primarily to houses of worship and pervasively religious organizations. However, they are constitutionally appropriate because these houses of worship and religious organizations receive no government funding. I am a patriot as well as a pastor, and as a patriot, I want federal money to go to organizations that are faithful in their compliance with civil rights laws. That expectation, too, is good religion.

4. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE USES TAX-PAYER MONEY TO PROPAGATE FAITH.** The president repeatedly has said that the strength of faith-based social services *is* faith. Sometimes he has even cited the program's orientation to and dependence on "the wonder working power of God." How can the government support faith-dependent services without supporting faith? It's hypocritical to suggest that it doesn't happen. In his state of the union addresses, President Bush has praised faith-based social services because of "the wonder working power" of them. We even saw the President in Baton Rouge, LA last year holding up a Bible and declaring it as the guideline for his faith-based initiative, promising that this program was about the work of transformation and conversion. Those truths resonate with what I should be doing in my ministry but not with what the government of this nation should be doing with public money.
5. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE ASSUMES THAT RELIGIOUS LEADERS UNDERSTAND, OR EVEN AGREE WITH, THE CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT.** In the study, "What Separation of Church and State? Constitutional Competence and the Bush Faith-based Initiative," conducted by Sheila Sues Kennedy<sup>2</sup> of Indiana University Purdue and Leda Hall of Indiana University South Bend, the researchers felt that since a large

<sup>2</sup> "Journal of Law and Policy" 2003. Study reprinted in The Center for Urban Policy and The Environment. "Faith-Based Social Service Provision Under Charitable Choice: A Study of Implementation in Three State Final Results."

amount of federal dollars were going directly to congregations, it was only fair to assess whether the leaders of congregations are “as familiar with those constitutional constraints, and as willing, or able, to operate within them.”

The researchers devised a simple Agree, Disagree, Don’t Know eleven question survey whose sole intent was to measure what congregational leaders know about the First Amendment’s religion clauses; this was arguably of relevance to their operations. The survey was conducted in the city of South Bend, Indiana because it was “large enough and diverse enough to be representative, but small enough to be manageable.” The survey was also conducted through a collaborative arrangement with the United Religious Community of St. Joseph, Indiana (URC). The URC had an interfaith list of 344 congregations and each one was mailed a survey. One hundred three usable surveys were returned (30% response rate).

Of the 103 responses, an astonishing 75 disagreed with the statement “The First Amendment and other provisions of the Bill of Rights apply only to government action.” The researchers noted that this type of response was “disheartening” and that the “concept of state action – the principle that the Bill of Rights constrains only action by agencies of government – is basic to any understanding of the operation of American constitutional principles.”

Even more troubling was 70 respondents disagreed with the statement “If a congregation has a contract with government to provide services, the congregation may not include religious instruction or prayer as part of the service funded under the contract.” Members of Congress interested in preserving the Constitution cannot assume that faith-based funding will not be used to support the imposition of religious rituals or even the practice of proselytizing among clients of those receiving these federal funds. I understand the passion for religion among providers. I share it. But the passion of this government should be to uphold its Constitution.

6. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE AND GOVERNMENT DIRECTLY FUNDING A HOUSE OF WORSHIP ENDANGER THE INTEGRITY OF RELIGION AND THE COMMUNITY OF WORSHIP.** When you bring public tax dollars into sanctuaries and educational rooms of a house of worship, religion is desacralized and religious leaders are compromised. Religion has made its greatest contribution to this nation as an independent voice of conscience calling the nation to the highest and best purpose in its founding vision. When religious leaders and houses of worship become dependent on government, they will think more than twice about speaking prophetically and risk losing their funding. This nation had better think more than twice before risking the loss of the voices of patriotic and religious prophets.

- a. **Government Is Irresponsibly Distributing Money With Lack Of Expectations Of Accountability, But Accountability Will Bring About An Entanglement Between Religion And Government.** Government funds never flow anywhere that regulations don’t occur. That means the government will be regulating our houses of worship and working through the budgets of congregations to assess accountability in spending. What a horrendous situation and the ultimate conundrum.

In addition, the faith-based initiative raises unrealistic funding expectations. As you are well aware, our government is looking at making cuts to programs in order to



deal with the federal deficit. As I travel the nation, I find scores of people with heightened expectations regarding religion's ability to be funded to offer them help. Yet the reality is simply that the pie is shrinking and funds are shifting from one provider to another.

- b. **Government Lacks An Operational Understanding Of Houses Of Worship.** One program instituted by Executive Order allows faith-based funding to be used for the construction of buildings related to houses of worship that can be used for the delivery of social services. Anybody who knows the practices of local houses of worship knows that congregations do not have the luxury of single-use buildings. My congregations have done a variety of social service programs in Sunday School Classrooms and other buildings in the church complex used for Christian education and worship. Social services will be provided in a setting that by its very design and decoration commends a particular faith to all who come within it.
- c. **Government Does Not Require Houses Of Worship To Establish Separate 501-C-3 Accounts When They Receive Federal Money.** There are many fine examples of faith-based providers, such as Catholic Charities, Lutheran Social Services and Jewish Family Services that take federal money. However, they set up separate 501-c-3 accounts that offer a set of rules to follow when using this money. When federal money flows directly into individual houses of worship, that constitutes the anti-constitutional practice of "establishing religion." What is so wrong with demanding that distributors of federal funds first become 501-c-3 organizations? Frankly, hesitancy to embrace this historic practice makes me question what this funding is really about.
  - i. **Government Is Turning Religious Institutions Into Contract Employees Of The Federal Government.** Houses of worship do not need contracts. We need a covenant of agreement that guarantees the church will do its part and the government separately will provide for the public welfare.
- d. **Government Places Itself In The Position Of Having To Define Religion And Judge The Religious Substance Of Organizations.** During the 2000 presidential campaign, Mr. Bush "made clear his aversion to the Nation of Islam during the 2000 election campaign: I don't see how we can allow public dollars to fund programs where spite and hate is the core of the message. Louis Farrakhan preaches hate," he declared.<sup>3</sup> The president never explained how the government would decide which groups preach "hate," and which preach "love." Ultimately, the government has no business telling us what is and what is not religion.
- e. **Government Is Making Religious Institutions Dependent On Government Funding And Thus Muting Their Prophetic Voice.** I am being intentionally redundant because of the importance of the truth involved. People who turn to the government for funding prioritize funding their social services programs more than protecting their independence. Ultimately, this compromises the prophetic voice of

<sup>3</sup> (The American Prospect, "Faith-Based Favoritism," 04-09-01 )

religion in this nation.

7. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE MAKES CLIENTS VULNERABLE TO RELIGIOUS PROSELYTIZING AS A PREREQUISITE TO RECEIVING HELP.** It has long been official policy of the United States that the government does not pay for proselytization and the spread of sectarian views. The faith-based initiative threatens and undermines this wise and longstanding policy. The Washington Post reported on January 31, 2001, "The social service programs funded by President Bush's 'faith-based initiative' could include religious content -- such as Bible reading -- as long as taxpayers' money was used only for lights, chairs or other nonreligious expenses, administration officials said yesterday as they released details of the plan they will send to Congress." Yet the same article also observed, "But the administration's acknowledgement that clients of faith-based programs may be encouraged to convert to a particular faith, even though no federal dollars would go to buy Bibles or crosses, could add to the concern of critics that the plan could breach the constitutionally ordained separation of church and state."

In an article by Marvin Olasky, the father of Compassionate Conservatism, in the evangelical magazine World discussed this issue in explicit terms. World observed, "But wait, say TeamBush sources: Carl Esbeck, senior counsel in the Department of Justice, drafted that 'giveaway' and many other provisions of H.R. 7, and Mr. Esbeck does not give away anything lightly. The Traditional Values Coalition's Mr. [Lou] Sheldon argues that H.R. 7's provisions will work: 'All it takes is a little bit of creativity.' One executive close to the White House said, 'Esbeck is a master at writing vague language that he knows how to get around.'" ("Rolling the Dice," World Magazine, August 4, 2001)

In fact, Mr. Olasky once chided me about my opposition to the faith-based initiative, citing that Jesus asked people to listen to him preach before he would give them bread. I had to remind Mr. Olasky that Jesus, not Herod was paying for the food.

A review of the Administration's final regulations across a spectrum of federal programs reveals that the rules that are supposed to prohibit the inclusion of religious activity in publicly funded programs are in fact a wink and a nod to encourage such activity. To say that they do not meet the current constitutional standard that is required for religious organizations operating publicly funded programs is an understatement. An independent, nonpartisan legal analysis on the final regulations by the Roundtable on Religion and Social Policy put it succinctly when it stated, "On the most important legal question - the extent to which government may directly finance religious activity - the rules perpetuate a fundamental misunderstanding of the law of the Establishment Clause."

It is critical that Congress make clear to the Administration that appropriate constitutional standards must be established and respected as it acts on its own to finance its faith-based initiative. To do otherwise does a disservice to our Constitution and violates the religious liberty rights of beneficiaries. It also raises serious questions about how government officials can pick and choose among programs sponsored by faith-based organizations when religious activity is intertwined in those programs.

8. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE CREATES INTER-RELIGIOUS COMPETITION.** The government has no business making decisions about which religion does the best job of providing social services, healing ministries, and the like. In the town in which I pastor, how much chance does a Baha'i group, a minority presence in the community, have in competition with Roman Catholics and Evangelical Christians? Politics already have divided religion in this nation to a point of near debilitation. Surely we do not want to worsen that situation under the guise of doing charity.
9. **THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE JEOPARDIZES CLIENTS BY:**
- a. **Confusing good intentions with professional standards.** I have listened to social service providers speak of their funding drying up as money is redirected to faith-based agencies. We are hurting the delivery of social services when we remove funding from people who, often motivated by their religion, trained for years to do their work only to discover that their jobs are being abolished so that people with no training but only good intentions can receive that money.
  - b. **Refusing to establish standards for a delivery of services.** Not even providing support for the teaching of faith is a justifiable rationale for eliminating basic regulations established to protect the most vulnerable in our society. The very thought compromises the responsibility of our government to take care of those who are not able to take care of themselves and offends a genuinely sensitive religious conscience.
  - c. **Failing to provide beneficiaries with adequate notice about their rights and backgrounds of providers.** Though one of the intentions of the faith-based initiative was to allow a greater diversity of providers so beneficiaries could "choose" amongst providers, the reality is that the initiative fails beneficiaries in a number of ways. When someone is seeking services and chooses a faith-based provider, they need to be informed up front what their rights are, including: they have a right to not be discriminated against; the right to not participate in religious activities; the right to receive services without regard to their participation in religious activities; the right to receive services, regardless of their religious affiliation; and the right to seek an alternative provider. The faith-based initiative fails to adequately inform beneficiaries of their rights and how to enforce them. More troubling, is that the initiative fails to give beneficiaries key information that may be vital to their "choice" among providers. For instance, the Access to Recovery program is a federally funded voucher program, and a Bush Administration initiative, for beneficiaries to access substance abuse treatment services. However, the initiative fails to ensure that their clients are aware that some faith-providers may be exempt from state licensing requirements.<sup>4</sup> It is vital to ensure that beneficiaries not only have information about the qualifications of these providers but also have in full hand what rights they have. This type of consumer protection is standard in many facets of our lives, yet as it stands now, the faith-based initiative offer no consumer protections.

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<sup>4</sup> Texas exempts faith-based providers from state licensing requirements.

10. THE FAITH-BASED INITIATIVE IS ABOUT SOMETHING OTHER THAN CHARITY AND RELIGION.

In 2000, Mr. Bush used the faith-based initiative as a major campaign issue in this run for the White House and in 2004, he kicked off his re-election campaign at a faith-based initiative rally on the West Coast.

In January of 2005, an article ran in the Los Angeles Times documenting, for the first time, that the faith-based initiative was in part, designed as a political tool. The article noted, "Bishop Sedgwick Daniels, one of this city's most prominent black pastors, supported Democrats in past presidential elections, backing Bill Clinton and Al Gore. This fall, however, the bishop's broad face appeared on Republican Party fliers in the battleground state of Wisconsin, endorsing President Bush as the candidate who "shares our views." What changed? After Bush's contested 2000 victory, Daniels felt the pull of a most powerful worldly force: a call from the White House. He conferred with top administration officials and had a visit in 2002 from the president himself. His church later received \$1.5 million in federal funds through Bush's initiative to support faith-based social services. Daniels' political conversion, and similar transformations by black pastors across the nation, form a chapter in the playbook of Bush's 2004 reelection campaign -- and may mark the beginning of a political realignment long sought by senior White House advisor Karl Rove and other GOP strategists."<sup>5</sup>

Several days later in a Washington Times opinion-editorial (January 25, 2005), Ken Mehlman, the new chairman of the Republican Party said, "In 2004, Mr. Bush received 530,000 more black votes than in 2000. In 2005, we will engage blacks as the nation debates whether faith-based organizations should have a seat at the table and whether public schools need to be more accountable and parents need more choices, and we will broaden the Republican Party with more black support."

And as reported in the Los Angeles Times, we see just how influential this strategy was. "In the last seven presidential elections, the GOP's share of the black vote ranged from 8% to 11% nationwide. But by courting conservative blacks in battleground states - reaching out through programs such as the president's faith-based initiative - GOP organizers believe they made the difference that secured Bush's victory in 2004. In Ohio, for instance, a concerted effort increased black support for Bush from 9% in 2000 to 16% in 2004, providing a cushion that allowed the president to win the pivotal state outright on election night. The Black Contract With America will be unveiled by Bishop Harry R. Jackson Jr., a registered Democrat from suburban Washington who backed Bush in 2004 after voting against him four years earlier. He was drawn, he said, to the GOP's social conservatism that he thought reflected the true values of black churches."<sup>6</sup>

Whether or not we agree that the faith-based initiative was an important component in the president's electoral strategy, the very perception that this is a possibility is a broadside to religious integrity.

<sup>5</sup> (LA Times, "Bush Rewarded by Black Pastors' Faith; His stands, backed by funding of ministries, redefined the GOP's image with some, 01-18-05)

<sup>6</sup> (LA Times, "GOP Sees a Future in Black Churches," 02-01-05)

Because of the reasons stated above, I believe that the faith-based initiative is a program whose founders continually re-evaluate its value, both programmatically and politically. In fact, the mayor of Indianapolis, Steve Goldsmith, who has been noted as one of the founders, told me in a public forum that the faith-based initiative was taking on dimensions that made it very problematic.

#### CONCLUSION

We do not need a faith-based office in the White House. We have faith-based offices all over this nation and they are where they belong—in synagogues and gurdwaras, in mosques and churches, in temples and store-front ministry centers.

Religions in this nation want a partnership with government. The federal government can be of immense help in relieving the suffering which we address every day. We need tax incentives for charitable giving and tax relief for the poor in our land who are carrying a part of the burden created by tax relief for the wealthy. We need a commitment to public education and funding for public education that assures every student quality preparation for exiting poverty through the doorway of meaningful employment. We need an interest in welfare that does not adjust the welfare rolls to cut funding but that adjusts funding to really cut the welfare rolls. Real compassion should be evident in every line item in the federal budget, not just at those places intended to promote the government's funding of religion.

Finally, the very purpose of this proposed legislation represents a problem at the heart of the faith-based initiative itself. This legislation would impose on future administrations a faith-based initiative office in the White House. That is not where religion works. Religion thrives on freedom, not on imposition. Even the most avid evangelists know that religion can never be pushed down a person's throat. The result is not authentic religion. We have no more business legislating the imposition of a faith-based office on future administrations than imposing religion on vulnerable persons through faith-based initiatives.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you.

I think one of the things that baffles a lot of us conservative Republicans, and particularly people of deep faith, particularly more whether it be orthodox Jewish, conservative Catholic or evangelical faith, is an exasperation at some of the tone of the criticism. Because basically, we were your natural alliance to try to help get more funds to address poverty. What you were asking us, but you have to include us at the table with these criteria.

Basically what we are being told is, you are not welcome if you have these criteria. What you do is you push us with the free market conservatives who say, OK, go it on your own. And the bottom line, that is in effect what is happening in our country right now. Because we were not able to build a coalition to increase poverty funds with the condition that we would be able to take our faith to the table, there has been no increase in poverty funds.

And as a practical matter, this is happening at every State level. It is much like when you go to a school bond issue, if you have the conservative predominantly Christians but would also include orthodox Jews, and for that matter conservative Muslims believing that faith is excluded, and you already have 50 percent plus of the people who don't have their kids in the schools, if you divide the people who have their kids in the school and basically shut those of us out who are conservative but admittedly a minority of the Republican party, what you have is no new school bonds, no support for school funding.

And if we can't figure out how we are going to address this and bring these two sides together, bottom line is, we will just continue in the path. It doesn't matter in our country right now whether you have a conservative Republican or a liberal Democrat, nobody is increasing Medicaid spending. Nobody is doing more for juvenile justice. Nobody is doing more in the different spendings, because in effect, you have cut out your natural allies, because of the approach.

I understand why, because it is somewhat inherently contradictory. Quite frankly, I have deep concerns about the entanglement of Government. But let me ask Rabbi Saperstein a question here, because I thought I heard you say this, because it was a great list where you said that we could work together. Did you say that you would support the tax credits?

Rabbi SAPERSTEIN. Yes. We would support either tax deductions that were targeted benefits for the poor or even tax credits. So I am very encouraged by hearing you suggest that.

Mr. SOUDER. Reverend Gaddy, did you agree with that?

Rev. GADDY. Yes, in fact, I was struck with what Mr. Woodson said about expectations going into this program early on, and the fact that he had hoped the President would use the bully pulpit to rally support among businesses and corporations for this program and also to make tax adjustments that would encourage charitable giving. We affirm that wholeheartedly.

Mr. SOUDER. Let me ask a tougher question, because I also thought I heard Rabbi Saperstein say vouchers. Now, Teen Challenge presents a very aggressive, problematic version of the vouchers. In other words, somebody has a voucher, and they are taking their voucher to an overtly religious organization, let's say in this

case food stamps. Should they be able to use a food stamp voucher to pay for the food that the people are eating at the program?

Rabbi SAPERSTEIN. It is an interesting question. We recognize that the court has recently upheld vouchers in fairly specific circumstances. We oppose that decision and we think it is bad public policy to use even indirect money allocated through vouchers to pervasively sectarian activity. But if you are talking about the secular parts of programs run by such institutions, we would probably lean toward doing it. It would depend on the specificity of the program, the specifics of the program.

If the vouchers are going to be used the way they are in parochial schools, to support the teaching and proselytization and worship that is at the center of religious activity, we would probably oppose it on public policy grounds. If it were relegated simply to the secular components of this, we would be open to looking at that program, might possibly oppose it.

My point to Mr. Woodson, who has always made this argument about vouchers being a better way of doing it is, if people want to avoid the Constitutional battle under the court's ruling there is a way to do it. And I have to ask, why isn't it happening? Why aren't people following what Mr. Woodson says?

Mr. WOODSON. Let me just say that this whole debate about vouchers took place back in 1943, as a preamble to the vote for the G.I. Bill of Rights, when the educational experts argued that to give money directly to G.I.s. would create an intellectual hobo jungle out of higher education. And we debated it. And the Congress voted to trust the opinions of the American people to make informed, individual choices.

As a consequence, the money went directly to the G.I.s. And over the course of that program, we educated 500,000 rabbis, Baptist preachers, Catholic priests, because they chose to use their money to educate. So we need to go back and look at that history. So I have to challenge you a little bit about somehow, on the one hand you are supporting individual choice, but then you are going to go in and prescribe and discriminate and say, but you can't use it for religious education.

We don't do this with Pell Grants. We don't say to kids who are poor, you can't use it at Catholic University, you can't use it at Southern Methodist. So I don't understand that.

One other point about your barriers, about protection, Pastor Gaddy. I have to challenge you too, because the groups that I support, 2,000 of them in 39 States, they didn't want Government money, but Government was coming down on their case like in Texas. We had volunteers, they have these drop-in centers that our gang members consider sanctuary. And we lead people out of gangs.

What is happening is that the local government and the State government is saying, because your volunteers are volunteers, they are technically employees of and therefore you must pay workmen's compensation. And because their cars are driven by them, not owned by the organization, you have to have a collective liability insurance. Insurance issues, and it is only done against these religious organizations.

So the licensing, all of those, they do require some protection from the Government. We are not asking for direct money. But we are asking for protection. That's why there needs to be some entity out there to help to protect these groups from the intrusion of Government into their operations.

And a final point is that we should stop using faith-based as synonymous with church. The devil has a church. But I think that there are a lot of faith-based organizations who are faith-based but are not churches. So I think that we need to honor that, too.

But I really think we need to look more deeply, and I am really pleased that I think we have a consensus on this panel that at least the charitable tax credits are a good thing. I have found this to be true throughout the country and I can't understand why the administration has a tin ear to listen to the thousands of grassroots groups on the left and right of center. There is a consensus, but somehow they are ignoring this consensus.

Mr. SOUDER. I want to kind of probe this voucher question just a little bit further, because it is always difficult, anything that says voucher panics everybody here, and I think Congressman Scott addressed part of that, and Mr. Woodson responded to some degree, and that is, do we actually trust people, are we going to have measurements, is it going to be too chaotic in the structure of the measurement system.

But there is this fundamental question of, with a voucher, you get to take a higher ed Pell Grant or whatever to whatever college you want, that includes proselytization, Rabbi Saperstein, you could address that. But the second thing is, the court also said in effect, in recent rulings, regarding Catholic schools, that the bus does not proselytize. The simplest way to say it is they allowed computers and said the computers did not proselytize but a software could.

Now, the question is, a food voucher does not proselytize either. In other words, a food stamp, what does that have to do with proselytizing, even under that question when you said you didn't believe food stamps should be used at a Teen Challenge? Because isn't that the same argument of yes, the bus and the computer still are vehicles with which people do go to an event where they get proselytized?

Rabbi SAPERSTEIN. Of course, we oppose the decision that came down in Helms. We agreed with the dissenters there. The court has upheld, until this time, that, and has never overruled this, that pervasively sectarian entities, meaning houses of worship and parochial schools, and some proselyting missions, have religion so infused through the entirety of it that you can't break out the secular and the religious. The court has always been resistant about direct funding, even through the Helms case. Even Justice Thomas, writing for the four-person plurality acknowledged it would be different if it would be direct funding to the institution.

So the court has always been hesitant about doing this. The term "faith-based organization" is a broad term. I couldn't agree more with Mr. Woodson than he me, that is not our doing. That is the President's doing. Over and over again he would say, we have got to get money to faith-based organizations, then he would turn around and say, like Catholic Charities. Well, Catholic Charities



gets money. There are all kinds of religious groups now getting money.

It is the limited category of the pervasive sectarian entities that we have to look at differently that raise special problems. So in light of the court's decision, we for instance have always upheld, you want to take your Medicare benefits, go to a religious hospital, you have the right to do that. Same kind of logic.

But the courts, in dealing with children, have always dealt differently than with adults. Children are more impressionable than adults, harder for prayer in the school, always different than prayer in this chamber, because you can see the difference of Government sponsorship. You can decide to leave, you are not compelled to be there. And educational settings are different than other kinds of settings.

Well, some of these social service programs, their strength lies in the fact that they are almost teaching, inculcating kinds of things. I think that is one of the foundations of the success of Teen Challenge. Hard to differentiate, is it pure social service or educational or a mix or both? Is it secular or religious, a mix of both? Vouchers in those situations are right on the cusp.

We are willing to take a look at that, much prefer it to direct funding. Because you don't have the same problem about Government intrusions, audits, monitoring, interference. You don't have the same problems here about tax dollars going by the Government's choice to pervasively sectarian entities, etc.

So we would be willing to look at it, but it is right on the cusp and problematic. We have not reached a decision. But certainly far better to do that than direct grants.

Mr. SOUDER. And I have said during our many debates on the faith-based, I believe direct funding prohibits proselytizing. I believe the court has already ruled. I believe that is a modern ruling, because in the old days, even the King James Bible was printed twice with Library of Congress stamped on it, and it is an avowed ruling. But it is a law of the land in that only indirect funding is at debate here, and how we work out the indirect funding and what constitutes indirect funding is really what we are trying to work through.

Let me yield to Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. First of all, I want to thank all of you for being here, and thank you for your testimony. I was just thinking about something that you said, Reverend Gaddy, that was very—it does not, we don't hear a lot about it, this whole issue of the damage that some of this may do to religion itself. It is a very, very powerful argument.

I was talking to my pastor, Dr. Walter Thomas. He was talking about how the church, he felt that the church, it is a Baptist church, but he felt that the church had to have a certain level of independence, so that no matter who is in politics, that the church could still speak up with integrity, without fear.

I heard what you said, Mr. Woodson, that all faith-based is not necessarily a church. But I want to just put it in this context, because you know, the church has, the church, I think, when it stands as the independent entity, and when I say church, I am talking about very broadly, they have a way of sort of policing—

I hate to say morality, because morality is relative. But the church has a way, with independence, to maintain a certain level of integrity. And I think that is what you were getting at. Correct me if I am wrong.

But the reason why it is such a powerful concept is because you want, you would hope that there would be something, some institution that would be able to honestly say, look, there is something wrong with this, and that it not be judged from the standpoint that, well, are they agreeing because of this or that? Do they get some money?

And I just think that is something, that is an argument that you do not hear a lot. I don't see how you could even have this discussion, to fully deal with this discussion, without bringing that up. And I thank you for doing that.

Rev. GADDY. May I respond briefly?

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

Rev. GADDY. Mr. Cummings, I think we have to look carefully at the way in which religion has best impacted this Nation through its history. And I would suggest to you that its best contribution to the whole American experience has been calling this Nation to fulfill its highest and best vision of how people ought to treat each other. It was behind that movement in the Civil Rights battle, it was behind that movement in issues of war and peace.

And my concern is, in relation to the subject here, that if the granting of funds is politicized, like we have politicized almost everything else, we are going to compromise the integrity of religion. Because here is what is at stake. People who are opposed to this particular legislation are just as compassionate about helping poor people and drug addicts as everybody else. We want to do it, but we want to do it the right way.

If you are out there in one of those storefront churches, or you are in a temple in the midst of a bad neighborhood and you are wanting to help, and you know there is a possibility that you could get some funding coming from the Faith-Based Initiative, say, and yet you want to raise a moral challenge to the politicians in your district or to the President of the United States, so intense is that compassion you are going to think twice before you do it. Because you are going to say, I do not want to speak truth to power if speaking truth to power may cost me money that I can use to help that family down the street that I know. We should not put religion in that bind.

And if we compromise the integrity of religion and its ability to speak truth to power, we will bemoan the day we did it.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Rabbi Saperstein.

Rabbi SAPERSTEIN. I would just add that at the core, Representative Cummings, of your observation, is the fact that some critics of the Establishment Clause, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, have foisted a myth on America that somehow separation of church and State is anti-God or anti-religion. Nothing could be further from the truth.

It is that wall that has kept Government out of religion, that has allowed religion to flourish with the diversity and strength in American unmatched anywhere in the democratic world, including every country that has a government-sponsored, government-pre-

ferred, government-established, government-supported religion. Far more people going regularly to worship, far, far more people believing in God and holding religious values central to their lives in America.

The autonomy of religion is protected by a strong wall separating church and State. In pursuit of money to tear down that wall would welcome Government into the life, the central life of the religious communities of America. It would be a disastrous change from that which has made America great for religion.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I was telling some of my staff members that I think religion is very, very, very important. Whatever your religion is, assuming that it is for the greater good of society, I don't mean some cultist out to destroy the world or something, to destroy people. Because I think what it does is it gives people some kind of a sense that there is something greater than they are. I think.

And I don't know all the religions, but I know a few, being a son of two preachers. I guess I am just trying to figure out, going to what you just said, Rabbi, do we throw the baby, just throw everything out because it is the money and lose all of those wonderful things? The thing that I was glad to hear that you said, Reverend Gaddy, is that you want us to respect all the religions, which is important. Because a lot of people, these arguments are made, but if somebody came up and said, OK, I am a Buddhist, I want some money, or I am a Muslim, then I do not know whether everybody would be as tolerant of that.

Are you following me? One of you all made the implication, somebody said something about Christianity and Judaism and how, when you get beyond that, what happens. It is just like right now, we are having a debate, and I will close out with this, a debate in Maryland about whether schools should be closed for Muslims.

So our board in Baltimore County decided no, it should not happen. So you wonder, at what point, I mean, we have to be careful, we have to make sure that we do everything in our power, I think, to maintain that moral high ground. The moral high ground, I guess, is best, has a better chance of existing if you do have some independence, like you all have been saying.

Mr. WOODSON. Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes, sir, Mr. Woodson.

Mr. WOODSON. If I may, just a comment on that. I think that the danger from some of my constituents is that not only separation of church and State, but making the State hostile to religion. To the point, my wife is a teacher in Montgomery County, and she is not permitted to even say, peace on Earth. In Pittsburgh, in the hill district, one of the most violence-prone areas, because a group wanted to have Bible study for some kids that everybody is neglecting, and we used a public school that was empty all summer, we get suits filed against us from the ACLU and others, saying separation of church and State.

But the ACLU and all these other groups are going to come down there and provide an alternative service for those kids. All they are concerned about is going back to their suburban homes and saying, well, we have protected the Constitution. What about protecting those kids?

So I don't think there has to be a tradeoff on this. But I really think that we ought to be very careful when we walk down that road, to make sure that we are not throwing the baby out with the wash, in this case not making the State hostile to religion. There are a lot of hostile actions that are taken in our low-income communities. Every time our groups want to do something to help a population of people that everybody has abandoned, the only time they hear from some of these groups is when they are in opposition to something that smells of separation of church and State.

Rabbi SAPERSTEIN. Except in point of fact, there is an answer to that, which is working together, we can actually defuse those problems. Let me remind the committee that when there were disputes on the issue of what was allowed religiously in the schools, an extraordinary coalition of groups, from the right to the left, Christian Legal Society over to the American Jewish Congress and the other Jewish organizations, the Baptist Joint Committee and others, all got together left to right to write guidelines that were then disseminated by the Department of Education in both administrations affirming what was allowed. Because there would be the folks who were so scared about separation of church and State they would do silly things that clearly are allowed under the law.

The way to deal with that is education. There is actually a robust amount of religious expression that is allowed. But don't solve the problem by going overboard in the other direction. Therefore, I am particularly concerned about the administration acting on its own. I think it was Representative Green who said, all we want to do is codify the existing law. Whose law? This Congress did not act. That is why the administration moved by Executive order to do it.

You have not reviewed this, you have not set down the guidelines that you would set down if you were implementing and developing such a program about it. The courts have not ruled on those issues. None of these things have yet made it up through the courts. It is not codifying. This bill that is before you is not codifying anything other than the administration's take on what politically it thinks will be helpful for it and we have heard criticism from the left and the right on that. That is one of the reasons we are urging you not to pass this bill.

Mr. CUMMINGS. As I close, let me just say this. As all of you were talking, I was just saying, I am so grateful that we have the freedoms that we have and that we have the independence that we have, so that you could even feel free to come here and feel comfortable to say what you just said.

Rev. GADDY. That's right.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I think we have to really be very careful that we guard those freedoms.

But thank you all very much for what you all do, for touching so many lives in so many ways. I am sure sometimes you feel like it is kind of a thankless job, I know. But the fact is that you are making a difference, not only for the people that you touch every day, but for generations yet unborn. Thank you.

Mr. SOUDER. I want to conclude with a couple of comments. First, clearly if you do religious freedom, it includes everybody, it includes Muslims, it includes Buddhists, and the Religions Freedom in the Workplace Act that I have, these bills, a lot of

evangelicals don't understand that. And their support might be less enthusiastic if they understood it.

But basically what's good for one is good for all. The question is, you are either for it or you are against it. But it does include all religions, even though overwhelmingly this is a Christian Nation, even with the influx of minority groups. The fact is that even among Christians, there are many different divisions. I come from an Anabaptist background, and was persecuted by everybody. [Laughter.]

So we tend to be skeptical of the State.

We also have a real fundamental problem with the private sector funders that Mr. Woodson addressed, because the Government funding has become a Good Housekeeping seal. Part of the reason that groups want it, because the foundations just say, well, if you don't get Government funds, then you don't deserve it. We do not have time to audit you, what weight do you have.

So we have to find, and it may be through these intermediary institutions that we develop a Government certified audit, if we can't get them direct funding, that says this group is behaving up to certain standards. Because the big money is in the private sector, not in the public sector right now. And yet these groups aren't there, aren't getting the private sector, because they are hanging it on the Government. And the same groups get the Government funds.

So what we have seen in the private foundations also, but in the private service sector, is that you are getting bigger, large boards. And the fundamental thing that drove this project, and it has been extremely exasperating to many of us that are involved in this, is when Mr. Woodson said, go out there and meet these individual people, what you see are very small, effective groups working from 5 p.m. to 5 a.m. on very little budget with no health care, with nothing else. The question is, how do we get them dollars?

Quite frankly, one of the things we did not mention in the tax thing is you have to have non-itemizers being able to do it, that's why the credit works as well. We have to figure out how to get dollars there.

But even so, without supplemental or private dollars, the question is, these groups, everybody believes, are effective. They are working the neighborhoods. How do we monitor them is one challenge. And the second thing is, how do we get them dollars. It was very easy then to look at the Federal dollars and if I can—but that has been one of the challenges.

It is really frustrating, because yes, this has gone political. Quite frankly, part of the reason it went political is because we can't sell it unless we can show some Republicans a political advantage to it, because it's not our base. If this was designed to win the Black vote, it was sure a miserable failure. I happen to believe it was designed for altruistic motives. I also think we might want to change it to community and faith-based. But if we don't institutionalize it, and community-based organizations have always had a high percentage of faith-based in it.

But let me point out, if we don't do this bill, it doesn't change the fact about the way it is going to function. Your points about the law, you may argue with the substance parts of the bill. The fact is, the administration opposes this bill. They don't want to re-

port to Congress with it. They don't want to have legislative descriptions of the language. And they can do whatever they please under the current thing.

So unless we do a bill, there will be no regulation of a faith-based office. So I do not understand the opposition to the bill. You may be opposed to components of the bill. But to say you are opposed to the bill means you believe they ought to do whatever they want.

Part of this is a difficult challenge for how we work. I want to insert at this point in the record the full Points of Light movement statement that Mr. Petersmeyer wrote and the President's report to the Nation. Because part of the reason we had him first in this panel is I believe if you look deeply, beyond what political people may have seen out of the current President Bush, that he's actually very reflecting of his father that was a deeper type of concern for service.

[NOTE.—The Points of Light report may be found in subcommittee files.]

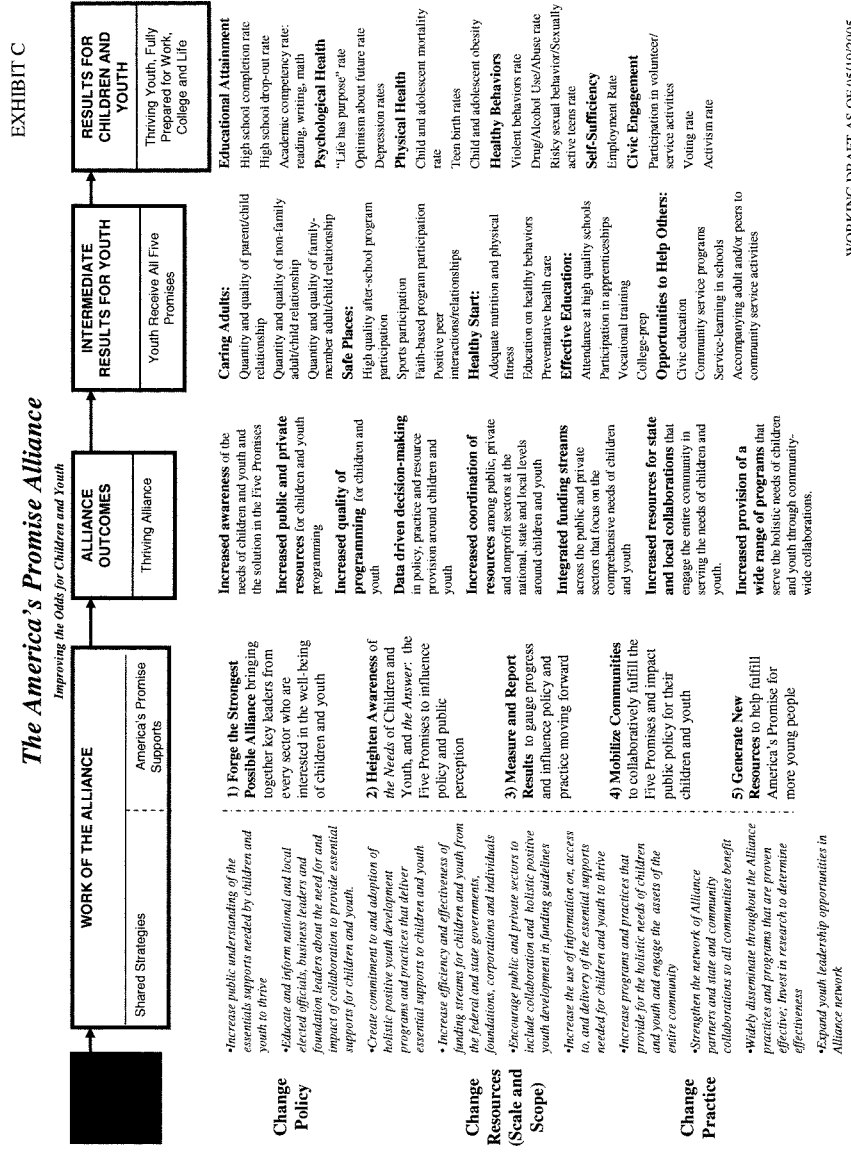
[The information referred to follows:]

**“The Points of light movement: the President’s report to the nation”** is a non-fiction book that can be purchased at many book stores, or borrowed from many libraries. Details can be found below.

**The Points of light movement : the President's report to the nation**

**Type:** English : Book : Non-fiction

**Publisher:** [Washington : Executive Office of the President, 1993]





# Fulfilling Each Child and Young Person's Promise

EXHIBIT D

| Common Vision and Aspiration *   | Caring Adults   | Safe Places  | Healthy Start  | Effective Education  | Opportunities to Serve Others  |
|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| Ongoing relationships with caring adults - parents, mentors, tutors, coaches | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Breakdown of the family</li> <li>- Teen pregnancy</li> <li>- Child abuse and neglect</li> <li>- Inadequate parenting skills</li> <li>- Teen suicide</li> <li>- Youth turning to crime</li> <li>- Lack of quality child care</li> <li>- Low self-esteem/direction</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Shortage of affordable housing</li> <li>- Crime and drug infested neighborhoods</li> <li>- Gang violence</li> <li>- Lack of safe and good recreation opportunities</li> <li>- Homelessness</li> <li>- Environment / pollution problems</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Infant illnesses and mortality</li> <li>- Lack of health insurance</li> <li>- Inadequate access to affordable, quality health care</li> <li>- Lack of proper nutrition and recreation</li> <li>- Childhood obesity</li> <li>- Substance abuse</li> <li>- AIDS</li> <li>- Physical and sexual abuse / domestic violence</li> <li>- Alienation of children and young people with disabilities</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Children starting school not ready to learn</li> <li>- Limited parental involvement in child's education</li> <li>- Low proficiency in reading, science and math</li> <li>- Poor learning environment</li> <li>- Lack of proficiency in English</li> <li>- Lack of individual attention</li> <li>- Lack of compelling goals</li> <li>- School drop-outs</li> <li>- Lack of job skills</li> <li>- Limited contact with career role models</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Failure to complete school</li> <li>- High victimization rates during out of school hours</li> <li>- Lack of self-worth and being valued among youth</li> <li>- Lack of sense of being connected to community</li> <li>- Deficit of life skills and marketable skills including social competencies</li> <li>- Lack of leadership opportunities</li> <li>- Unfulfilled volunteer opportunities</li> <li>- Low voter turnout</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Examples of Individual Action and Solutions**</b>                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mentoring / positive role model</li> <li>- Regular recreational activities with adults</li> <li>- One on one counseling / education programs</li> <li>- Ongoing tutoring</li> <li>- Programs promoting parental participation</li> <li>- Surrogate families / family counseling</li> <li>- Child care alternatives</li> <li>- Holidays and support groups</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recreational opportunities</li> <li>- Alternative places to study outside of school</li> <li>- Alternatives to gang activities</li> <li>- Mentoring activities</li> <li>- Tutoring after school</li> <li>- Informal community libraries</li> <li>- Housing and neighborhood improvements</li> <li>- Assistance to low income families</li> <li>- Assistance to the homeless</li> <li>- Local drug / crime prevention groups</li> <li>- Practical assistance to crime victims</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Prenatal care</li> <li>- Early childhood intervention</li> <li>- Child care classes for parents</li> <li>- Substance abuse education and recovery</li> <li>- Proper vaccinations and immunizations</li> <li>- Regular nutritional meals</li> <li>- Regular exercise and physical fitness</li> <li>- Access to providers and facilities</li> <li>- Services for the abused</li> <li>- Support for the ill and their families</li> <li>- Holidays and support groups</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mentoring / positive role models</li> <li>- Programs supporting parental support of education</li> <li>- Tutoring</li> <li>- Institutional partnerships supporting schools</li> <li>- Additional study areas outside of school</li> <li>- Tutoring in English</li> <li>- One to one skills and life counseling</li> <li>- Adult literacy</li> <li>- Apprenticeships, summer jobs and job skills training</li> <li>- Employment counseling</li> <li>- Entrepreneurial opportunities</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mentoring / positive role models for younger children</li> <li>- Tutoring</li> <li>- Recreational opportunities with other young people</li> <li>- Assistance to low income families and neighborhoods</li> <li>- Positive alternatives to gang activities</li> <li>- Giving back through service learning</li> <li>- Environmental education / activities</li> <li>- Activities with the disabled and seniors</li> <li>- Other opportunities for youth to give back</li> </ul> |

\* The Five Promises: framework of the Presidents' Summit for America's Future and the America's Promise Alliance for Youth.

\*\* © C. Gregg Petersen/Myer

## EXHIBIT E

## Creating Communities Whole and Good

| Common Vision and Aspiration *  | Children & Families  | Work & Economic Security   | Homes & Safety   | Learning & Teaching  | Health & Wellness  |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Children are highly valued, families strong and people help one another | Decent homes and the feeling of safety and security in one's environment   | Meaningful work, good jobs and the hope of economic advancement  | Learning opportunities that are highly valued and lifelong for everyone  | Healthy choices and health that is nurtured and protected for all  |  |
| <b>Examples of Community Problems</b>                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Breakdown of the family</li> <li>- Teen pregnancy</li> <li>- Child abuse and neglect</li> <li>- Inadequate parenting skills</li> <li>- Teen suicide</li> <li>- Youth turning to crime</li> <li>- Lack of quality child care</li> <li>- Low self-esteem/direction</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Limited contact with career role models</li> <li>- Lack of job skills</li> <li>- No hope for economic advancement</li> <li>- Limited job or career opportunities for people with disabilities</li> <li>- Recent immigrants unaware of job opportunities</li> <li>- Lack of skills in managing household finances</li> <li>- Lack of skills for obtaining jobs such as resume writing, interviewing, etc.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Shortage of affordable housing</li> <li>- Crime and drug infested neighborhoods</li> <li>- Gang violence</li> <li>- Lack of safe and good recreation opportunities</li> <li>- Homelessness</li> <li>- Environment / pollution problems</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Limited parental involvement in child's education</li> <li>- Low proficiency in science and math</li> <li>- Children starting school not ready to learn</li> <li>- School drop-outs</li> <li>- Poor learning environment</li> <li>- Lack of proficiency in English</li> <li>- Education is not valued with disabilities</li> <li>- Special needs of children</li> <li>- Lack of individual attention</li> <li>- Lack of compelling goals</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Substance abuse</li> <li>- Alienation of people with disabilities</li> <li>- AIDS</li> <li>- Infant mortality</li> <li>- Isolation of terminally ill and their families</li> <li>- Inadequate access to affordable, quality health care</li> <li>- Physical and sexual abuse / domestic violence</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Examples of Individual Action and Solutions</b>                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mentoring / positive role model</li> <li>- Counseling / education programs</li> <li>- Child care alternatives</li> <li>- Parenting skills training</li> <li>- Surrogate families / family counseling</li> <li>- Community service efforts that bring people together</li> <li>- Teen hotlines and support groups</li> <li>- Recreational opportunities</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Employment counseling: resume writing, interviewing skills, support groups</li> <li>- Job search assistance</li> <li>- Apprenticeships and job skills training</li> <li>- Personal and family budgeting counseling</li> <li>- Friendship, guidance and job counseling for immigrants</li> <li>- Entrepreneurial opportunities</li> <li>- Mentoring / career role models</li> </ul>                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Renovating / building affordable housing</li> <li>- Community crime prevention groups</li> <li>- Community anti-drug groups</li> <li>- Environmental education / awareness</li> <li>- Safe recreational opportunities</li> <li>- Safe havens</li> <li>- Positive alternatives to destructive gang activities</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tutoring</li> <li>- Volunteer teaching assistants</li> <li>- Mentoring / positive role models</li> <li>- Alternative places to study</li> <li>- One to one counseling</li> <li>- Informal community libraries</li> <li>- Individual and group tutoring in English</li> <li>- Partnerships among schools, universities, businesses and other groups</li> <li>- Children's programs requiring parental involvement</li> </ul>                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Substance abuse education and rehabilitation</li> <li>- Companionship and assistance for seniors</li> <li>- Prenatal care and parental education</li> <li>- Hospice care / bereavement groups</li> <li>- Fulfilling activities for people with disabilities</li> <li>- Support for AIDS patients and their families</li> <li>- Free medical clinics and mobile medical units</li> <li>- Shelter, counseling, hotlines and public awareness for abused women and children</li> </ul> |

\* Five Community Goals framed by former President George Bush in a White House address June 12, 1991

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# National Infrastructure for Achieving National Goals for Communities and Youth

EXHIBIT B

## White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives

- Great goals for the nation — with measurable outcomes.\*
- The President serving as the Nation Leader to
  - Inspire and incite people to action
  - Insist on collaboration and working together
- Keep the nation focused on its national goals.
- Resources deployed most efficiently to maximize impact.\*\*

### Points of Light Foundation

(Established in 1990)

- Supports the nation's volunteer infrastructure.
- National network of community-based volunteer centers.
- Web-based resources to help connect citizens with volunteer opportunities and help nonprofit organizations raise funds.

### Corp. for National and Community Service

(Established in 1993)

- AmeriCorps: 75,000 members serving in 900 faith and community based organizations, recruiting 600,000 community volunteers to directly serve 2 million children and youth.
- Learn and Serve America: Nearly 2 million children engaged in service-learning.
- Senior Corps: 500,000 seniors serving through more than 74,000 local organizations.

### America's Promise – The Alliance for Youth

(Established in 1997)

- Alliance of businesses, local/state governments and youth organizations providing youth with the Five Promises.
- Hundreds of communities receiving training, guidance and tools to more effectively collaborate and provide youth with the Five Promises.
- Measuring and reporting the status of the nation's youth, and how communities are supporting them.

### Community Serving Organizations

- Faith-based organizations
- The many other effective independent community based organizations
- United Way
- Community foundations and other philanthropic entities
- Business supported local service initiatives

### Federal Policy and Departments

- Federal youth programs across 12 departments.
- Faith-based Offices in federal departments.
- Federal funding for community infrastructure and development: Community Development Block Grant,\*\* Social Services Block Grant, and others.

\*\*\* FY06 Budget Request proposes a significant restructuring of CDBG

Note:

- \* Great goals for youth exist but are not fully adopted or measured by the federal government.
- \* Great goals need to be developed for strengthening communities.

- \*\* Federal resources for youth can be much more efficiently utilized according to the White House Task Force for Disadvantaged Youth. The Federal Youth Coordination Act (H.R. 856/S. 409) would help significantly to achieve this goal.

C. Gregg Petermeyer

Mr. SOUDER. And Mr. Petersmeyer, you told me a story about why you went to the daily Points of Light, and how hard it is to battle for these kinds of issues in the White House. I wonder if you would share that here, because it gives us a perspective that this is not a new battle. What you described I'm sure goes on every day there, it goes on in every one of our offices. I may have a real heart for this, but then insurance reps come in from the insurance industry and doctors come in and different industries come into my office that can be regulated or put out of business by it. And huge, billions of dollars at stake. And your schedule gets pushed around.

How did you address this? Shed light, so to speak, on the problem that we are facing.

Mr. PETERSMEYER. Thank you.

Well, I told you the story of the frustration in the early months of the Presidency that I felt, this was back in 1989, where I, as I said in my testimony, I knew President Bush well. I knew that he felt deeply that it was very important for us to actually solve these most serious social problems, and that he believed, as I did, that the only way that was going to happen was if we substantially increase the volume of people engaged, whether it is through churches or other faith-based groups or secular groups.

The challenge was that within the White House, there is tremendous crowding out that occurs on the President's daily schedule. Unless something is a big problem or seems to have a big payoff, it is very, very hard to maintain the leadership attention within the White House for anything that's beyond the next news cycle. I felt as did one or two other people, that even though he had started his Presidency by creating this office, as I said, the only structural change made, created a role for an assistant, that the bureaucracy of the West Wing was going to crowd out, even with the President of the United States' own best instincts and desires were.

So I realized, to put it in kind of graphic terms, that this issue would never be the most important issue of the day for him when he came to work, because of the crush of other things. But that we needed to find a way to have this seem to be important to his Presidency every day. I thought there was great integrity in that, because I knew personally this is what he wanted to do.

So we proposed what was quite a radical idea at the time, which was to name someone in the country every single day who was doing extraordinary work and who would lead by example. There was tremendous difficulty in getting approval of that idea within the White House, because of course people there are jealous of the President's time or distraction from their issue. And everybody around the Cabinet wants to be the most important person in the Government second to the President.

And it was clear that there were risks associated with this. What if we picked a pedophile on the third day? We pick somebody who we think is doing good work and then we learn that there is tremendous problems?

Well, we got it approved, and there was a good bit of blood on the carpet about it. I held my breath, as I told you, those first few weeks, that we would inadvertently choose somebody that would allow people to say, see, I told you, and yank it. We did run into one problem, there was a Point of Light that we named—and by

the way, Marian Wright Edelman and I were sitting next to each other about a year into this process, and we were naming five a week, and eventually moved to six a week. She was no friend of President Bush's as you know.

But she said, I don't know how you're doing it, but you're naming the right people. And they are all the kinds of people we have been talking about here. David knows this and others. They came over the transom and whatever.

But I think that over time, people began to see that, and this was of no interest in Washington, by the way, the White House press corps couldn't have cared less. But in communities, this was important. We found that every individual who was named generated four or five little stories in their own community, radio interviews and whatever, because it seemed that not just the President was thanking them, but that the Nation was thanking them for what they were doing.

My testimony has been quite different in character from the others in this, because I don't really, I'm not knowledgeable on the issues around the faith-based component of what you are talking about. But I do think that there was a mistake in naming the office the Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. I think they should have reversed it.

I think all of this attention around faith-based and the relationship between the Government is missing the point that I tried to make in my testimony, which is that we must find a way as a people, as a Nation, to solve these serious social problems in communities. We must find a way to get more and more people feeling that they can make a difference in their own back yards.

The more we lose time where the debate is, I would argue, about a tactic, it is about a tactic, one subset of one issue, and lose the opportunity to talk about the need to aspire to a handful of national goals, or the talk the President gave in June 1991, which I would like to have be put in the record, which was June 12, 1992, where he talked about what it means in America to have communities that are whole and good.

And he said, there are three engines that we have always relied on in this country to build our Nation of communities. One is an economy that is growing. And that is a terribly powerful engine. Another is the work of Government. The final is the work of non-profit and private organizations. He said, we must find a way for all three of these engines to move us forward as a Nation, because not a single engine can do it alone.

To me the great opportunity around, just in closing, around the White House office that drew me to this testimony is really not so much about the need for a faith-based piece as there is a need for a national strategy that only the President of the United States can lead, that calls people to be about this kind of work. I believe that we will not get where we need to get as a Nation unless the President of the United States, and frankly, several Presidents back to back, pound away relentlessly in the need for every American and every organization in America to claim some of these problems as their own. There is no other solution.

So I commend you, chairman, for your faithfulness to this idea, and I just hope that if there is a bill, that much of what we have

talked about today is really not so much the point as it is to have the President be encouraged permanently to be of the work of leading communities. Because we are a Nation of communities, and we need that kind of help. Because we can't get it from anywhere else.

Thank you very much.

[The information referred to follows:]

**PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES**

# George Bush



**1991**

(IN TWO BOOKS)

**BOOK I—JANUARY 1 TO JUNE 30, 1991**

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*June 12 / Administration of George Bush, 1991*

# Remarks on the Administration's Domestic Policy *June 12, 1991*

Thank you all very much. Thank you, but don't give up your daytime work. *[Laughter]*

Thank you all, and good evening. Members of our Cabinet here, Governor Campbell, and Governor Mike Castle. Honored guests: Dr. Benjamin Payton—and old friend—the president of Tuskegee University who brings a lifelong commitment to our historically black colleges and universities, welcome. Drew Batavia, winner of the 1988 Distinguished Disabled American Award, welcome to you, sir. To Robert Egger, founder of the D.C. Central Kitchen, and the 60 other Points of Light who are here tonight, your work inspires this nation. Mayor Hackett, of Memphis, is with us; Mayor Myrick, of Charlotte; County Commissioner Klinger, good to see you all again. And I see Paul O'Neill over here, the chairman of Alcoa, a dedicated advocate for educational excellence. And to the rest of this extraordinary gathering—leaders of businesses and veterans groups, associations, volunteer organizations, education partnerships, those who are working for home ownership—all those who make America the land of opportunity, welcome to the White House.

I might add that also with us is Anthony Henderson—I don't see him—there he is right there, my man. Anthony Henderson is a youngster from Barcroft Elementary School across the river there in Arlington. You may remember that when I visited his class, Anthony's the one who asked me to prove that I was the President of the United States. And here he is—*[laughter]*—I had to show him my driver's license and my credit card. *[Laughter]* Anthony, do you believe me now? All okay, all right. And welcome. I'm just delighted you're here.

Over the past 30 months, this world has changed at a dramatic pace. America has been called upon to meet one challenge after another. And meet them we did—each and every one of them. From Eastern Europe to Panama to the Persian Gulf, our country stands as a strong champion of free-

dom.

Ninety-eight days ago, I asked the Congress to tackle the urgent problems on the homefront with that same energy that we dedicated to tackling the crisis on the battlefield. I spelled out my domestic priorities—setting out, I'll admit, an ambitious agenda founded upon enhancing economic growth, investing in our future, and increasing opportunity for all Americans. I sent to the Congress literally hundreds of recommendations for legislative change. Then I specifically asked that Congress pass just two laws in 100 days, a comprehensive anti-crime bill and a transportation bill.

Now, you've heard a lot about that lately, but this kind of challenge is not new. Presidents as different as Johnson and Ford have a history of encouraging the Congress to meet a deadline. In fact, Lyndon Johnson, in his State of the Union Address in January of 1964, challenged the Congress to act on at least eight broad domestic issues, all within 5 months. And I thought 100 days was fairly reasonable. And I wasn't asking the Congress to deliver a hot pizza in less than 30 minutes. *[Laughter]* That would be revolutionary for a Congress. I only asked for two pieces of legislation in 100 days. It's now clear that neither will be on my desk by Friday.

And, look, I'm disappointed, but, frankly, I'm not surprised. Tonight I'd like to put this all in—try to put it in some perspective. I haven't asked you here to sit through a litany of programs and policies. We have a long list of legislative priorities already before the Congress, awaiting congressional action. I won't repeat that list here tonight. But rather, I'd like to do something different and describe to you how I personally see the shared strength and promise of America.

It is hard for the American people to understand, frankly, why a bill to fight crime cannot be acted on in 100 days; or why Congress can't pass a highway bill in 100 days. But, look, if it can't be done, if 100 days isn't enough, let me just ask this rhe-



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torical question: How many days are?

These are important issues, and there are many, many others. And most Americans believe fear of crime and violence threatens our most basic freedoms and denies us opportunity. They also believe that we must invest in our future to provide an infrastructure for those who come along after us. So they don't understand—the American people don't understand the complications and the inaction and the bickering, particularly when so many do understand what it takes to solve problems in their own neighborhoods: commitment, compassion, and courage.

I cannot fully explain this inaction to the American people. As I said, I'm disappointed, but not surprised. But I can say this as partial consolation: America's problem-solving does not begin or end with the Congress, nor with the White House.

Yes, it would help if Congress would do what people are asking of them. And I'll keep working with the Congress; my hand remains extended. But we cannot let Congress discourage or deter us from meeting our responsibilities.

I believe that the people gathered here tonight, under the twilight shadow of our magnificent Washington's Monument, understand this better than most. You are extraordinary Americans, representing thousands of others. You bring to life the genius of the American spirit. And it is through you and with you that we can solve our most pressing problems. Together we can transform America and create whole and good communities everywhere. Tonight, all Americans can help lead the way.

A great nation has the courage to be honest about itself. And we are—let's never forget it—we are a great nation. I believe that absolutely, as do you. We are indisputably the world's most powerful force for freedom and economic growth. Still, no one can deny that we have these enormous challenges. Not all Americans are living the American dream by a long shot. Many can't even imagine it.

There are impoverished Americans, the poor and the homeless, the hungry and the hopeless, many unable to read and write. There are Americans gone astray, the kids dragged down by drugs, the shattered fami-

lies, the teenage mothers struggling to cope. Then there are Americans uneasy, troubled and bewildered by the dizzying pace of change.

For many years I've crisscrossed this country, as many here have. As President, part of my job—and it really is an exciting part—is going to the small towns and the big cities and the schools, the neighborhoods, and the factories. Those are the places where you discover what's good and right about our country—and what's going wrong, too.

The state of our nation is the state of our communities. As our communities flourish, our nation will flourish. So we must seek a nation of whole communities, a nation of good communities—an America whole and good.

What defines such a community? First, it is one that cares for the needs of its young people by building character—values and good habits for life. Second, it's a community that provides excellent schools, schools that spark a life-long interest in learning. Next, there is opportunity and hope, rooted in the dignity of work and reward for achievement. Fourth, it's where people care about their health and their environment and where a sense of well-being and belonging is nurtured. And finally, all of its neighborhoods are decent and safe.

Because millions of Americans have chosen to lead the way, these are not simply dreams. Thousands of whole and good communities already flourish in America, communities where ordinary people have achieved the American dream. We should never in our anguish lose sight of that. America is the most productive, prosperous, enlightened nation on Earth—a nation that can do anything. And we can do even better.

We should be confident as a country about what lies ahead. America has a track record of success—success shaped with our own hands. Sometimes in our impatience, yes, we've made mistakes—but when we do, we dust ourselves off and go at it again. Every American should take pride in this country's fundamental goodness—decency. Each of us must resolve in our own hearts that for all the good we've done, it's time to

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do better—much, much better.

Conventional wisdom in our day once held that all solutions were in the hands of government—call in the best and the brightest, hand over the keys to the national treasury. Bigger government was better government: compassion was measured in dollars and cents, progress by price tag. We tried that course. As we ended the '70s, our economy strangling on inflation, soaring interest rates, and unemployment, America turned away from government as "the answer."

So, conventional wisdom then turned to the genius of the free market. We began a decade of exceptional economic growth and created 20 million new jobs. And yet, let's face it, many of our streets are still not safe, our schools have lost their edge, and millions—millions still trudge the path of poverty. There is more to be done, and the marketplace alone can't solve all our problems.

Is the harsh lesson that there must always be those who are left behind? America must have but one answer, and that answer is no. There is a better way, one that combines our efforts—those of a government properly defined, the marketplace properly understood, and services to others properly engaged. This is the only way—all three of these—to an America whole and good.

It requires all three forces of our national life. First, it requires the power of the free market; second, a competent, compassionate government; and third, the ethic of serving others, including what I call the Points of Light. These three powerful forces create the conditions for communities to be whole and free, and it's time that we harnessed all three of them.

In our complex democracy, power is fragmented. And that can be frustrating. But on balance, it's for the good. And power tends to move toward those who serve the greater good: entrepreneurs like John Bryant, a young self-starter who has built a multimillion-dollar enterprise and now helps rebuild inner-city Los Angeles; caring individuals like Mack Stolarski, a retired carpenter who now helps his student apprentices repair homes for the poor and disabled.

And because of the power of the free market, what so much of the world can

only imagine, we take for granted: abundant food on the shelves of our supermarkets, quality products at our shopping centers. Nothing beats the free market at generating jobs and income and wealth and a better quality of life.

The good news in communities is that the free market is now applying its resources and know-how to our social problems. Many companies, recognizing that tomorrow's workers are today's students, are leaders of a revolution in American education—partners in the exciting America 2000 strategy. Others are crusaders for environmental protection, while still others are innovators from health care to child care.

Transforming America requires not only the power of the free market, but also a dynamic government. To be the enlightened instrument of the people—the government of Jefferson and Lincoln and Roosevelt, and the embodiment of their vision—it must truly be a force for good.

I believe in this kind of government—a government of compassion and competence. And I believe in backing it up with action. Here tonight, for example, is Mrs. Lauren Jackson-Floyd, one of the first Head Start graduates. Now she teaches preschoolers in that same marvelous program. Her success is why we expanded Head Start by almost three-quarters of a billion dollars. And last year I signed our child care bill to expand parents' choices in caring for their children.

And we fought for a Clean Air Act that puts the free market in the service of the environment—and we won that one. And the Americans with Disabilities Act, the most important civil rights bill in decades, has brought new dignity and opportunity to our nation's disabled. Disability leaders like Justin Dart and Sandy Parrino and Evan Kemp were right here, right on this platform, when I signed it. And they're with us tonight.

Jack Kemp and I stood with Ramona Younger across the river in Charles Houston Community Center, over there in Alexandria. And if the Congress enacts our HOPE Initiative—H-O-P-E—these public housing tenants can become America's newest home owners. Dewey Stokes here,

*Administration of George Bush, 1991 / June 12*

President of the Fraternal Order of Police, wants to help make our neighborhoods safer, and that's why he supports our crime bill. And if we get a civil rights bill—and I want one—like the one I sent to Congress, we will take an important step against discrimination in the workplace.

This is not big government; this is good government.

→ And finally, along with the forces of the free market and the Government, we must add this ethic of voluntary service. We call it Points of Light. This is not a phrase about charity. It's about the light that is within us all, in our hearts, a light that brightens the lives of others and makes whole the lives of those who shine it. I love Randy Travis' new song. It says, "a ray of hope in the darkest hour."

→ Points of Light is a call to every American to serve another in need. But no one of us can solve big problems like poverty or drug abuse all by ourselves. Only the combined light from every school, every business, place of worship, club, group, organization in every community can dissolve the darkness.

Whether a company holds an after-hours literacy program for its workers, a police station counsels tough kids, or third-graders phone lonely homebound citizens—these senior citizens assigned to their rooms—Points of Light show those in need that their lives truly matter.

Government and the market, joined with Points of Light, will overwhelm our social problems. And this is how we must guarantee the next American century. Every person, every business, every school board, our associations, our clubs, our places of worship—we all have the duty to lead.

And only then—only then can we truly think and act anew. And now Congress, too, must understand the successes and the failures of the past and help us forge a certain future in America.

You people gathered here tonight represent those who refuse to rest easy. I look out and I see so much reflected in your faces—the strength, the conviction, the commitment. You represent those millions of Americans who use power to achieve a greater good. And I know because you brought me into your homes and your

neighborhoods and your schools and your churches.

And last year, I walked through a reclaimed crack house in Kansas City with Al Brooks, the leader of an anticrime coalition. And I learned more about how we can fight crime in 2 hours than in 2 months of TV news.

Another day I visited General Hospital here in DC, and held a tiny boarder baby in my arms, the child of cocaine addicts. And the remarkable dedication—I wish every one of you could have been with me—the remarkable dedication of the women who rescued these babies was just as moving. America needs to hear that story, too.

Just a few months ago, I dropped in on a little West Virginia school in a town called Slanesville. The National Teacher of the Year teaches remedial reading there. And her name is Rae Ellen McKee, and she's here tonight. And visiting her gave me the opportunity to say to the Nation, "Thank God for our teachers".

And just yesterday, Lamar Alexander—the Secretary—and I flew over, and I spoke before the graduating class of the James H. Groves Adult High School in Sussex County. And we were the guests of the Governor, Mike Castle. And I invited the class to join us tonight. And I went there with the Governor and the Secretary to honor these men and women who had the courage to go back to school and get their diplomas. And they honored us by telling America to be a nation dedicated to lifelong learning.

These are the Americans who love this country for what it is and for what it can become. These are the Americans who make this a nation of boldness, filled with problem solvers, gifted with the American tradition of living up to our ideals. And these are the Americans who prove that no one in America is without a gift to give, a skill to share, a hand to offer.

This is the genius of America: ordinary Americans doing extraordinary things.

The Congress can refer our proposals to its committees and tie itself up with debate, and produce complicated and sometimes expensive and sometimes unworkable legislation. But in the end, we and them must carry forward the magic of America. We

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must carry forward what is good and reach out and embrace what is best, and we must do the hard work of freedom. You see, I know you have. And I know you will. Through you, our country can become an America whole and good.

For that, our country is grateful. And because of that, our country—the greatest and freest on the face of the Earth—will prevail.

Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 8:02 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Carroll Campbell of South Carolina; Gov. Michael N.*

*Castle of Delaware; Richard C. Hackett, mayor of Memphis, TN; Sue Myrick, mayor of Charlotte, NC; Ann Klinger, county supervisor for Merced County, CA, and former president of the National Association of Counties; Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp; and Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. The audience of invitees, composed of elected officials, service organization representatives, and Point of Light award recipients, sang a chorus of "Happy Birthday" to the President when he appeared on the South Lawn. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

## Remarks on Childhood Immunization

*June 13, 1991*

*The President.* Let me just say at the outset of these remarks how proud I am of our Secretary, who is taking the lead in matters like immunization, the subject at hand today, and so many others, going across this country, the message of hope, recognizing our shortcomings, but also outlining programs that are essential to the health of this nation.

I'm delighted to see Chairman Whitten here, long interested in the health of our children, and Congressman Norm Lent and three Senators whose passion is this kind of caring for others. And I'm talking about Senator Bumpers, Senator Hatch, and Senator Chafee, all with us here today.

And I also want to just second the motion as to what Lou said about Assistant Secretary Mason and Surgeon General Novello and, of course, our old associate here who now heads the Center for Disease Control, Bill Roper. Welcome back, Bill. Glad to have you here.

And let me also salute, because this is vital to success of a program like this, the State and local health officials. And I'd be remiss if I didn't signal out this dressy bunch of kids here in the front row. They look great, and there's a certain symbolism of having them with us today. And thank you—their teachers and their families—for

bringing them our way. To them I say, I'll try to be brief. [Laughter] As with immunization, this will only hurt a little. [Laughter]

When we announced our national education goals, the very first was that by the year 2000 all children in America will start school ready to learn. And that's one reason we put such emphasis on our Healthy Start initiative. Every child deserves a chance. And in the 1990's, no child in America should be at risk to deadly diseases like diphtheria and polio or the one that Lou was stressing here today, measles.

A decade ago, we hoped to eradicate these threats. And thanks to those of you here today and many others across our country, we have made remarkable progress. And on behalf of a grateful nation then, let me thank all of you and others like you for what you have done by being in the leadership role in these important questions.

I urge you to get on now with the job at hand because, despite our successes, 1990 brought the largest number of measles cases since 1977–1977—a 50-percent increase over '89. And that's why I again commend the Secretary of HHS Dr. Sullivan, and Dr. Mason, Surgeon General Novello, and Mr. Roper and others for performing their HHS SWAT team to visit six major cities—Lou

Mr. SOUDER. I think I am going to let that be the conclusion. I appreciate all your testimony today. If you have any additional things you want to submit into the record, this will be a strong record of the debate and where I think we can find compromises to move ahead.

With that, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 8 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

[The prepared statement of Hon. C.A. Dutch Ruppersberger and additional information submitted for the hearing record follow:]

Congressman C.A. Dutch Ruppersberger  
*Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and  
Human Resources*

**“Authorizing the President's Vision: Making  
Permanent the Faith-Based and Community Initiative –  
H.R. 1054, The Tools for Community Initiatives Act”**

June 21, 2005

**Statement:**

Thank you Mr. Chairman for holding this subcommittee criminal hearing regarding the “Tools for Community Initiatives Act –H.R. 1054”.

When President Bush created the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives through the White House he stated in an Executive Order that the purpose of this effort was “to expand opportunities for faith-based and other community organizations and to strengthen their capacity to better meet social needs in America's communities.”

I feel that if indeed that is the case then the program sounds valid, but I would like to address the statement about their compassionate efforts of improving their communities have been needlessly and improperly inhibited by bureaucratic red tape and restrictions placed on funding.

Based on what I have gathered Congress has already taken some steps in the right direction since the establishment of

the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, including establishing a matching grant program to mentor children of prisoners, access to recovery, prisoner re-entry, as well as setting up a Compassion Capital fund to provide technical aid and start-up costs for small groups.

The reason we are here today is because legislation has been referred to this Committee seeking to make the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives permanent.

While I support the goals of such a program, I feel that the Committee must ensure that the Tools for Community Initiatives Act respects the separation between Church and State in American society, as well as our Democratic principal of separation of powers.

The permanent office would be set up as an office of the executive, and I have reservations about how appropriate, effective, and accountable this set up would be.

Consolidation of such power in the Executive Branch could set up the potential for a conflict of interest that might promote some groups over others. If that is indeed the case then I want to make sure that we are fairly representing all walks of faith and that the committee will fully understand what it is that you are asking for.

We need to seriously work to ensure that other programs that have the same types of goals and missions such as faith-based and community initiatives are equally able to

compete for Federal funding to the fullest opportunity permitted by law.

I look forward to hearing the testimony of the witnesses and asking questions.

Thank You.



***Harvesting Compassion***

**Roots of the Bush Administration's Faith-Based and  
Community Initiative**

*-Chairman's Report-*

*House Government Reform Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug  
Policy and Human Resources*

*U.S. House of Representatives*

*Congressman Mark Souder, Chairman*

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### **Executive Summary and Findings**

Chairman Mark Souder (IN) and Ranking Member Elijah Cummings (MD) led a series of hearings during the 107<sup>th</sup> and 108<sup>th</sup> Congresses to examine the procurement of compassion to Americans in their time of need. The Subcommittee has held ten hearings with testimony from 80 witnesses. Three hearings were held in Washington, DC, while seven were held in the field: Franklin, Tennessee; San Antonio, Texas; Chicago, Illinois; Charlotte, North Carolina; Los Angeles, California; Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Seattle, Washington.

This report seeks to examine a broader context for the state of compassion by viewing four factors: historical traditions, recent social movements, legislative evolution and Presidential leadership. In conclusion, this report recommends a few basic principles for securing the future of compassionate service in America.

This Chairman's report offers the following findings:

- The United States has a unique history and tradition of charity and care for one's neighbor which informs our current national debate. Before the New Deal and Great Society programs of the Roosevelt and Johnson Administrations, Americans practiced a much more fundamentalist war on poverty through community and religious institutions.
- Despite the New Deal and Great Society, social indicators continued to decline throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Although many Americans no longer served their neighbor as previous generations had before. These two government initiatives were created, movements were underway to reclaim responsibility for one's neighbor.
- The empowerment movement of the late seventies gradually turned into the family movement. Both these movements had leaders in the communities as well as in the government. While community leaders rallied new groups to vital causes, governmental leaders led a new debate on the use of federal programs.
- Through the work of these leaders and investigations by the Reagan Administration, it was recognized that government could not solve America's social ills by itself and many grassroots organizations did not have the resources to lead broad efforts. It was clear that close partnership were necessary to better reach people in their time of need.
- Each President since Reagan created their own White House office to better organize and support the nation's social needs. President Reagan created the Commission on Privatization. President George H.W. Bush created the White House Office of National Service and the Points of Light Foundation. President Clinton created AmeriCorps and signed Charitable Choice language into law. Now President George W. Bush has created the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives.
- Faith-based and other grassroots groups have slowly become recognized as the essential core of private service groups in the nation. To many community and governmental leaders, this simply meant recognizing their numbers. But many also realized a fundamental difference:

faith-based and many other grassroots programs seek transformation in an individual, while government programs aim only to maintain their participants.

- Presidents Clinton and Bush, along with the 104<sup>th</sup> through the 109<sup>th</sup> Congresses, led efforts to allow the fair treatment of faith-based service groups in application for federal grants. This has been primarily through charitable choice language in various federal support programs.
- President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative goes a step further in the government partnership with faith-based service groups. His program recognizes that most government grant programs have traditionally favored secular groups at the expense of faith-based ones. His Initiative based at the White House and at ten agencies seeks to give faith-based service groups a fair shot at government funding.
- Chairman Souder recommends four basic tenets for government partnership with all private service groups. First, give greater incentive for charitable giving through the tax code, especially to non-itemizing taxpayers. Second, spread service choice and intermediate programs throughout the federal bureaucracy. And thirdly, reorganize the executive branch to effectively and efficiently lead the federal effort to help Americans in their time of need.

*"If you're going to treat the man, you have to treat the total man. You have to treat the mind, the body, the spirit."*

Freddie Garcia, Victory Fellowship, San Antonio, Texas

#### **Early History: Understanding Who We Are**

The American charitable spirit of our forefathers is not far removed from the spirit of today. Only if we look back at our heritage can we understand ourselves in 2005. Our forefathers are still role models of compassion. The millions of Americans who helped to build this nation since the founding all contributed new building blocks to our spirit of charity today.

We remain a people fixated on giving to others. In 2003, Americans gave an amount of money greater than the annual economic production of such countries as Norway, Poland, Greece, or Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Put another way, if American charitable giving were recast as a sovereign national economy, its \$241 billion would represent the 21<sup>st</sup> largest Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the world.<sup>2</sup>

Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller set the international standard for modern corporate giving by donating nearly their entire fortunes. In the present day, even American sports teams embody the spirit of giving. The National Football League is a famous supporter of the United Way, while Major League Baseball is a generous supporter of cancer research.

<sup>1</sup> Americans gave \$241 billion to charity according to the American Association of Fundraising Counsel Trust annual giving report for 2003. Comparisons derived from the World Development Indicators database, World Bank, Sept. 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Comparing \$241 billion to the Real GDP of all countries, World Development Indicators Database, World Bank, Sept. 2004.

Even the country's bestselling books indicate an innate spirit of giving. The best selling book in the new century is *The Purpose Driven Life* by Rick Warren. While the basis of the book is Christian learning, the fundamental lesson is that this life is not meant to be self-serving.

The most dramatic example of the spirit of contemporary American compassion occurred following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Friends, strangers, neighbors and citizens from distant regions of the country joined together to provide food, shelter, medical services, and simple care to victims of the attacks. More than \$2 billion in private dollars was raised for relief of September 11 victims from 58% of all Americans.<sup>3</sup> Simply stated, when a need is identified, Americans rally with their time and their resources.<sup>4</sup>

All of this stems from a rich national heritage of benevolent service among the settlers of the continent and the founders of the nation.

### Early American History

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville wrote extensively about the compassion for one's neighbor typical throughout the United States. "Americans of all ages, all conditions, all minds constantly unite," he wrote. "They joined together to form thousands of 'associations'—some of them religious in nature."<sup>5</sup> De Tocqueville also noted that following a tragic event, Americans responded on a more personal level: "[s]hould some unforeseen accident come up on a public road, they come running from all around—whoever the victim may be; should some great unforeseen misfortune strike a family, the purses of a thousand strangers open up without trouble; modest but very numerous gifts come to its assistance in its misery."<sup>6</sup>

Long before the tragedy of September 11<sup>th</sup>, even before the United States was founded, many American religious groups demonstrated the power of coming together by establishing programs for the poor in their communities. In his book *The Newer Deal*, Ram Cnaan discusses the early development of faith-based social services in the United States.

*In the seventeenth century, those who fled religious and political persecution in Europe also left behind a tradition of the state as a social regulator and provider of those in need... Instead of relying on the state, [the colonists] relied increasingly on voluntary help grounded in their own religious beliefs and in the power of their communities—expressed most effectively through the religious congregations of the New World.*<sup>7</sup>

Cnaan goes on to describe some of the early church and religious-based charitable efforts.

In the early 1700s in Philadelphia, Quakers established the Friends Almshouse in order to provide for the city's destitute. In 1797, Philadelphia Catholics organized an orphanage for children whose parents were victims of a yellow fever outbreak. In 1835, the Young Catholic's Friend Society was formed in Boston to teach and provide in-kind aid to poor children.<sup>8</sup>

The notion of benevolent service in early America was so transcendent that those in need sometimes became the service providers. During the 1793 yellow fever epidemic, Philadelphia's freed slaves led a courageous effort to care for victims—regardless of their race. Only steps

<sup>3</sup> Ford Foundation, *The Philanthropic Response to 9/11* (2002).

<sup>4</sup> See generally Appendix I for testimony from Hearings of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources.

<sup>5</sup> Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* 489 (Harvey Mansfield & Delba Winthrop, eds., Publisher 2000) (1835-1840).

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* at 544.

<sup>7</sup> Ram Cnaan, *The Newer Deal* 112-113 (1999).

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* at 115-16 and 119.

from Independence Hall, Reverend Richard Allen led this unselfish effort from Bethel Church, the oldest African Methodist Episcopal Church in the nation. While most abandoned the city, these selfless benevolent servants remained.<sup>9</sup>

Marvin Olasky notes in his book *The Tragedy of American Compassion*, “by the 1830s, so much religious-based charitable activity was taking place that “American Christendom was said to be promoting a ‘Benevolent Empire.’”<sup>10</sup> Tellingly, in 1828, spending by a handful of benevolent societies almost outstripped US Government public works spending.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, in the late 1800s, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish charitable organizations surged in number in cities across America. It is estimated that tens of thousands of charitable organizations existed in 1890, with 2,000 alone in the cities of New York, Chicago, and Baltimore.<sup>12</sup>

Indicating the deep-seated cultural understanding of benevolent service, non-sectarian organizations were similarly numerous and successful. Clara Barton founded the American Red Cross in 1881 while expanding the scope of the international organization. Instead of serving only war relief and care of war wounded, Ms. Barton’s Red Cross also served peacetime disaster victims. The innovation was entirely American and not initially well-received by the International Red Cross, which had never served during peacetime.

Similarly, the Grange was founded in 1867 to serve the social needs of America’s agricultural community. Throughout the remote regions of rural America, the Grange provided farmers with medical care, financial assistance, and educational opportunities. Through the organization, farmers supported fellow members in their time of need. Even today, the Grange maintains a membership of nearly 300,000.

Government and benevolent service organizations, however, never followed a strict separation of church and state as we understand it today. Collaboration for the benefit of all was the higher priority. For instance, Anglican clergy in the colonial South were known to frequently administer government efforts in aid to the poor.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, in 1806, a religious “orphan asylum” in New York, was supported by the State to care for their abandoned charges.<sup>14</sup>

## 20<sup>th</sup> Century to The Great Society

At the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, a new optimism in man’s ability to transform society began to sow the seeds for the development of a federal welfare system. On Christmas Eve, 1899, the *New York Journal* declared, “With their mastery of nature the men of the twentieth century will learn how to master themselves. They will solve the social problem.”<sup>15</sup>

In January 1909, President Theodore Roosevelt brought together 200 men and women to attend a White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children. At the conference—the first of its kind—it was proposed that government provide financial assistance to “reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner.”<sup>16</sup>

<sup>9</sup> J. Worth Estes and Billy G. Smith, eds., *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation: The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic* (1997).

<sup>10</sup> Olasky, *supra* note 1, at 16.

<sup>11</sup> Mark A. Noll, *America’s God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*, 198 (2002).

<sup>12</sup> *Id.* at 80.

<sup>13</sup> Dave Donaldson & Stanley Carlson-Thies, *A Revolution of Compassion*, 36 (2003).

<sup>14</sup> Olasky, *supra* note 1, at 14.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.* at 135.

<sup>16</sup> *Id.* at 139.

Change did not happen immediately, but by 1919, 39 states had “mother’s pensions,” and in 1921, Congress passed the Maternity and Infancy Act, which established, for the first time, direct federal child welfare assistance.<sup>17</sup>

The economic impact of the Great Depression in the 1930s moved the nation further toward a system of direct public assistance. By 1932, one in four workers were unemployed, and the private charities that had always helped the able-bodied poor did not have the means to provide enough assistance.<sup>18</sup> As Donaldson and Carlson-Thies note, “[b]etween 1929 and 1932, a third of America’s private charities simply collapsed for lack of income.”<sup>19</sup>

### **New Deal and Great Society**

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt responded to the crisis with his New Deal. The Works Progress Administration, Social Security, and the Aid to Dependent Children programs expanded the involvement of the federal government in caring for the needs of impoverished Americans beyond just temporary relief of destitution.

Yet by the 1960s, even in a time of relative economic strength, President Lyndon B. Johnson led the charge to make government the primary provider of social services. His vision was for a “Great Society: a society of success without squalor, beauty without barrenness, works of genius without the wretchedness of poverty.”<sup>20</sup> President Johnson declared a “War on Poverty,” and from 1964 to 1965, his initiative led to the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, food stamp legislation, Medicare, Medicaid, public housing projects, and many other federal programs.<sup>21</sup>

Unwittingly prescient, the Johnson Administration’s characterization of poverty as protagonist revealed the Great Society’s central weakness. Poverty, it turns out, means something very different in 2005 than it did in 1965. As political economy researcher, Nicholas Eberstadt points out, America’s focus on poverty at home or abroad easily falls victim to the popular definition of the day. By contrast, the definition of a term such as “destitution” is relatively stable. For good or ill, “poverty” is often the tip of a political spear and remains frustratingly ambiguous for the mission statement of a multi-billion dollar federal program.<sup>22</sup>

Following the enactment of President Johnson’s Great Society programs, the government became the acknowledged first stop for Americans in their time of need. While many heralded a new era vacant of social ills, a humbling lesson was in the making.

### **Rising From Failure: From the Great Society to Empowerment**

In the years following the Great Society, Americans observed that the huge investment in social programs was not working as planned. In many cases, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), exacerbated the very problem of urban slums that the Great Society hoped to eliminate.<sup>23</sup> For example, in 1965, out-of-wedlock births occurred at the rate of 77 per

<sup>17</sup> *Id.* at 140 and 141.

<sup>18</sup> Donaldson and Carlson-Thies, *supra* note 14, at 37.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*

<sup>20</sup> Olasky, *supra* note 1, at 173.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.*

<sup>22</sup> Nicholas Eberstadt, *Foreign Aid and American Purpose*, 8-10 (1988).

<sup>23</sup> Milton Friedman & Rose Friedman, *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement*, 109-110 (1980).

1,000; in 2002, the out-of-wedlock birthrate stood at 340 per 1,000. Another good indicator is the number of violent crimes. In 1965, there were 2 violent crimes committed per 1000 Americans. Thirty-seven years after the conditions of crime were to be eliminated, five violent crimes were committed per 1,000.<sup>24</sup>

|                      | 1965<br>per 1,000 Americans | 2002<br>per 1,000 Americans |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Out-of-Wedlock Birth | 77                          | 340                         |
| Violent Crimes       | 2                           | 5                           |

While these problems would probably have grown even without new government programs, few scholars would disagree that these trends rapidly accelerated with the implementation of the Great Society. Indeed, while intended as a program born of moral responsibility, the programs actually reduced moral obligations for participants because the program had not been designed to reward moral behavior, such as remaining with one's family or finding a job. In fact, the immoral choices—leaving one's family or remaining jobless—were rewarded with more services.

While these failures were apparent to representatives on both sides of the aisle, satisfying legislative solutions never materialized. William Schambra, the director of the Hudson Institute's Bradley Center for Philanthropy and Civic Renewal, summed up the parties' malaise this way:

*Liberals and Democrats believed that we need[ed] to look to the state, to big government, for the solution to our problems...Yet conservatives and Republicans didn't offer much of an alternative. They were right that government programs weren't working, but their answer was based on individualism and the marketplace, on the idea that individuals had to make it on their own and rely on the workings of the free market, without assistance from the public sector.<sup>25</sup>*

### Empowerment

In 1981, a young man named Robert Woodson, Sr., wrote a book entitled *A Summons to Life: Mediating Structures and the Prevention of Youth Crime*. With his focus on the societal importance of the family, the church, neighborhoods, and voluntary groups, he once again drew America's attention to our natural compassion resources.<sup>26</sup>

Combined with writings on the same topic by Peter Berger and Father Richard John Neuhaus, Woodson helped spawn the "Empowerment" movement. Often identified with Former Congressman and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp, the movement

<sup>24</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, and Bureau of Justice Statistics and the National Center for Health Statistics

<sup>25</sup> William A. Schambra, Why Grassroots Groups Are Good Public Policy, Presentation to the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise (Jan. 30, 2004), at [http://pcr.hudson.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=publication\\_details&id=3220](http://pcr.hudson.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=publication_details&id=3220).

<sup>26</sup> See generally Appendix I for further discussion of the central role played by benevolent service organizations from recent testimony before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources.



identified and supported efforts to give Americans the greatest amount of leverage on their own lives.

These writings took time to be realized in policymaking circles, but after election to Mayor of Indianapolis in 1991, Stephen Goldsmith echoed empowerment principles:

*The soul of our city is in its neighborhoods, and government needs to remake itself around those neighborhoods. We need to break up large government. We need to look at more efficient ways to deliver services. We need to help citizens take back their neighborhoods, take back their government, take back their own responsibilities.*<sup>27</sup>

Members of Congress reacted to these tremors, too. The House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families was formed in 1982 by a bipartisan group of Members and chaired by Representative George Miller to assess the impact of government social programs on children and families across the country.

Throughout the 1980s the Select Committee held hearings around the country to examine the effectiveness of wide-ranging federal programs designed to reduce poverty, prevent drug abuse and recidivism and help the social well being of children and families. After nearly a decade of work, the committee heard the testimony of over 1000 witnesses.

### The Role of Religion

Ambassador Dan Coats, then a Representative from Indiana, served as the Republican leader of the committee from 1985-1989. In recounting his early efforts in evaluating social services, he cites two particular experiences that would influence his work long into the future. First, while at the site of a field hearing in Orange County, California, the committee visited a state-of-the-art juvenile detention program known to be the best of its kind. Ambassador Coats engaged in one-on-one discussions with youths who reported “no change” to their troubled lives. Fellow Committee member Congressman Frank Wolf heard the same message through his conversations. While the two recounted their bleak exchanges with each other, a young man identified himself as the one detainee who had changed and had hopes for a brighter future. The young man explained that he received a visit by Prison Fellowship, a faith-based prison re-entry program. Prison Fellowship introduced the youth to Christianity, which led him to a life-changing faith commitment.<sup>28</sup>

“It hit me like a lightning bolt,” Ambassador Coats recalls. A clear distinction arose between maintenance and transformation. Government services appeared only to maintain a participant while faith-based and community groups appeared to offer transformation.<sup>29</sup>

A similar message was delivered by Rev. Arnold McKinney, from Macedonia Missionary Church in Waycross, Georgia. At a hearing in Macon, Georgia, Rev. McKinney said, “The government is now learning what the church has always known. It is impossible to heal a person physically without ministering to the totality of the person.”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Ryan Streeter, *The Neighborhood Empowerment Initiative in Three Indianapolis Neighborhoods Practices as Principles, A Case Study*, in Stephen Goldsmith, *Putting Faith in Neighborhoods: Making Cities Work Through Grassroots Citizenship* (2002).

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix I, “Problem Definers,” for further discussion of efforts which emphasize transformation over maintenance from recent testimony before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources.

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix I, “Problem Definers,” for further testimony from Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources.

<sup>30</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Children Youth and Families* (April 21, 1986) (written testimony of Reverend Arnold McKinney, Program Coordinator, General Missionary Baptist Convention and Pastor of Macedonia Baptist Church Waycross, Georgia).

*The Faith of Benevolent Servants*

Observations such as Rev. McKinney's were rare and unheralded at the time. But there is little doubt that faith-based service organizations extended their reach throughout the 1980s.

One of the first and most surprising instances where faith-based groups emerged from amongst other service groups to work with government agencies was in response to the HIV/AIDS crisis of the 1980s. While fear of AIDS and its communicability drove away most benevolent servants, religious volunteers were less timid. In this case, the belief in eternal life allowed religious volunteers to care for those who others avoided. Various government entities recognized this and moved immediately to move resources to these groups.<sup>31</sup>

Bob Woodson made a similar discovery of how vital faith-based groups are to reaching Americans in their time of need. The National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise (NCNE), an organization Woodson founded in 1981, convened a series of forums entitled "What Works and Why." Defying expectation and conventional wisdom of the time, faith-based groups were overwhelmingly represented amongst all benevolent servants. Through these forums, in fact, Woodson found that more than 90 percent of the participants held that a belief in a higher power is the key factor to the success of any program. The finding was not only a departure from conventional wisdom, but also a departure from social policy "experts."<sup>32</sup>

**The White House and Congress Join the Movement**

**The Reagan Administration**

Reaction to the empowerment movement and similar trends throughout the country began in the first term of the Reagan Administration. And while Congress began to debate legislative proposals throughout the 1980s, the Reagan Administration used executive means to address social ills mainly through privatization and greater independence from government programs.<sup>33</sup>

In his 1986 State of the Union Speech, President Reagan cited the problems of the day and directed his Administration towards solutions.

*In the welfare culture, the breakdown of the family, the most basic support system, has reached crisis proportions...I am charging the White House Domestic Policy Counsel to present me an evaluation...of programs and a strategy for immediate action...*<sup>34</sup>

The resulting document, *Up From Dependency* became known as the Hobb's Report. Preparation of the report included meeting with grassroots organizations, social servants, participants and providers of every stripe. Combined with statistical and organizational analysis, these meetings led the report's authors to observe that despite remarkable economic growth and eight million new jobs since 1982, gains on poverty had not been realized.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See Appendix I, "Right Place at the Right Time" and "Finding a Way" for testimony from *Hearings of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources*.

<sup>32</sup> See generally Appendix I for testimony from *Hearings of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources*.

<sup>33</sup> Stuart Butler & Anna Kondratas, *Out of the Poverty Trap* (1987).

<sup>34</sup> Low Income Opportunity Working Group, Domestic Policy Council, A Report to the President, *Up From Dependency, A New National Public Assistance Strategy* (1986).

<sup>35</sup> *Id.*

During his second term, President Reagan created the Presidential Commission on Privatization. In 1988 the Commission issued a report entitled *Privatization, Toward a More Effective Government*. Amongst other recommendations, the Commission recommended vouchers for public housing residents in order to afford them their own choice amongst private housing providers.<sup>36</sup> This particular policy proposal spoke to the spirit of empowerment and foreshadowed discussions of today.<sup>37</sup>

#### **President George H.W. Bush**

While President Reagan focused on executive action and investigation to advance the best methods for helping Americans in their time of need, President George H.W. Bush expanded that work beyond Washington's beltway. "Points of light" was a phrase coined by the Bush Administration which itself indicated the national leadership role the President would undertake throughout his four years.

Shortly after taking office, President Bush created a position which would be within the circle of his closest advisors. This assistant would be charged with reporting to the President on utilizing community volunteerism to help address America's social ills. Once appointed to the position, Mr. Gregg Petersmeyer quickly founded the White House Office of National Service. Its simple but clear mission was to use the Presidential "bully pulpit" in order to elevate community service to a national priority.

After four years, President Bush created three additional entities under Mr. Petersmeyer, including The Points of Light Foundation (1990), The Commission on National and Community Service (1991) and the National Center for Community and Risk Management Insurance (1992). Each of these offices brought the weight of the highest elected representative in the land to a movement which had never before garnished such federal attention. Telling of the fundamental importance these offices represented, much of this infrastructure remained in the White House complex through the Clinton Administration and remains still today.

Despite such unprecedented organization within the White House, the Bush Administration is perhaps best known for its Daily Points of Light for the Nation. From November of 1989 to the last day of President Bush's term in January 1993, the White House Press Office issued a daily release recognizing American volunteers. From individuals to television stations to businesses, the Daily Points of Light drew national attention to leaders in benevolent service and the successful methods they use to care for their neighbors.

President Bush often exhorted his fellow Americans to serve their communities. In over 500 speeches, the President articulated a crystallized vision for helping those in their time of need:

*From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others.*<sup>38</sup>

Together with four new White House offices, President Bush raised the discussion of benevolent service from the federal level to the national level.

<sup>36</sup> President's Commission on Privatization, *Privatization: Toward More Effective Government* (1989).

<sup>37</sup> Please refer to the section Recommendations: Tenets for New Policy of this report for current policy ideas related to Empowerment.

<sup>38</sup> Remarks on the Administration's Domestic Policy, Pub. Papers (June 12, 1991).

### The Family Movement: Congressional Efforts from the 80s to the 90s

Keying off the work of the empowerment movement, the work of the Reagan Administration and the investigations of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, Members of Congress began assembling proposals to adjust American law to the needs of the nation. During the 99<sup>th</sup> Congress (1985-1986) Congressman Wolf and Congressman Coats created the Family Strengths Project. Designed to offer as much opportunity for the American family as possible, the project laid a foundation for future proposals.<sup>39</sup>

The 101<sup>st</sup> Congress gave birth to one of the first comprehensive legislative initiatives to address the social issues of the day. In 1988, the Republican Conference in the House of Representatives led by Congressman Jerry Lewis (CA) agreed to a slate of policy proposals. The Conference adopted a four-title bill, originally drafted by Rep. Dan Coats, known as the American Family Act or H.R. 2452. The bill was co-sponsored by twenty other Members including Rep. Bill Emerson (MO), Rep. Henry Hyde (IL), Rep. Bill Paxon (NY), Rep. Jim Bunning (KY), Rep. Duncan Hunter (CA) and Rep. Jon Kyl (AZ). The Act's substance was to reform the provision of federal human services by maximizing the use of vouchers and lending greater federal policy emphasis to the institution of family.

During the 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress, Congressman Wolf introduced H.R. 1950 which was designed to "provide assistance to families, enhance economic growth and opportunity and advance education reform." Substantively, the multi-titled bill aimed to hand back to citizens responsibilities that the government had usurped. From family oriented tax cuts to consumer-driven health accounts to education choice programs, all of the measures de-emphasized the government's hand, while raising-up empowerment of the individual and family.

In September 1995, then-Senator Dan Coats of Indiana introduced a 16-piece policy initiative he called the "Project for American Renewal." The "Project" pulled together various older proposals of his and his colleagues. Led by staff members Sharon Soderstrom and Michael Gerson, the Project drew input from outside organizations allowing Senator Coats to offer a 19-piece package the following year. The legislative centerpieces of the Project for American Renewal were tax credits for married couples, for adoption, and for charitable donations. Other proposals included, grants to school districts for mentoring programs, greater federal support for abstinence education, Individual Development Accounts for welfare recipients and grants to states for improving victim restitution.

The Project for American Renewal had few original ideas. Gary Bauer, of the Family Research Council, in fact, had been promoting the tax credit idea for several years. But Coats' prominent position in the Senate lent new weight to the ideas he and so many others had worked on for almost two decades. And with the help of Gerson's inspirational writing, Senator Coats' became the elected voice of what came to be the "faith-based and community" movement.

Harkening back to the vanguard of the empowerment movement, the House of Representatives created a Subcommittee by the same name. In the Committee on Small Business, Representative Jim Talent (MO) was named Chairman of the Subcommittee on Empowerment. Under Chairman Talent's leadership, the Subcommittee assembled a slate of hearings to address the issues surrounding both the empowerment and family movements. Once again, after the dissolution of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families in the early 1990s, grassroots leaders had a home on Capitol Hill.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> 134 Cong Rec. H8111.

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix II for a sample of the hearings held by Chairman Talent at the Subcommittee on Empowerment.

**Embracing the Grassroots: Charitable Choice Laws of the late 1990s**

In 1995, House Speaker Newt Gingrich asked Robert Woodson to lead a national task force to make recommendations for changing the social welfare system. The taskforce was composed of various grassroots leaders - all of whom had long-term experience in fighting poverty. The taskforce published a report titled, "Grassroots Alternatives to Public Policy," which offered a number of policy innovations.

One legislative idea that was developed from the report's recommendations was known as "charitable choice." Through changes in the wording of laws governing federal grant programs, charitable choice would explicitly permit faith-based groups to compete for these grants on a level field with other grant applicants. The drafted legislation did not open the door for government-sponsorship of proselytization, but, in fact, protected the religious rights of participants. Under the proposal, faith-based awardees would be prohibited to use federal funds for sectarian worship, instruction or proselytization.<sup>41</sup>

The charitable choice provisions were originally drafted by then-Senator John Ashcroft. The language was initially ushered through Congress in the landmark Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). Promoted by Rep. Jim Talent, Rep. J.C. Watts and Chairman of the Education and Workforce Committee, Bill Goodling, the language was adopted by the House of Representatives in the chamber's original bill. With the support of President Clinton and conservative lawmakers from both chambers, a PRWORA conference committee stalemate on the language was broken.

PRWORA was signed into law by President Clinton in 1996, offering a new beginning for a broader government approach to the delivery of social services. For years, Members of Congress of both parties had recognized something needed to change in government's operation of the social service system. With charitable choice, for the first time, faith-based organizations would be allowed to receive and administer government funds without forgoing their faith-based identity.

Speaking from the floor of the Senate, Senator Ashcroft reiterated the substantial importance of charitable choice language,

*One of the primary features of this bill is that States will be allowed to contract with organizations like the Boys and Girls Club and the Salvation Army and other charitable organizations that specialize in hope and opportunity...These groups have a lifelong interest in helping people make it all the way to the top, not just over the threshold.*<sup>42</sup>

After the enactment of PRWORA, President Clinton signed charitable choice language into law three additional times. Each of these bills linked the language to more and more federal grant programs.

<sup>41</sup> See generally Appendix I for further discussion of this topic from recent testimony before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources.

<sup>42</sup> 142 Cong. Rec. S9330 Conference on the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (daily ed. Aug. 1, 1996) (statement of Sen. Ashcroft).

Table 1

Charitable Choice Language Signed Into Public Law in the 1990s

- Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (Welfare Reform), P.L.-104-193, 42 U.S.C. § 604a
- Community Service Block Grant Act, P.L. 105-285, 42 U.S.C. § 9920
- Children's Health Act, P.L. 106-310, 42 U.S.C. § 300x-51
- Community Renewal Tax Relief Act, P.L. 106-554, 42 U.S.C. 290aa

By the end of the 106<sup>th</sup> Congress, charitable choice provisions set the stage for great changes in the way government does business.

**The Bush Initiative**

The newfound emphasis on faith-based and community groups matured in the late 1990s as a bi-partisan issue. President Clinton's support for charitable choice language in four major bills set the bi-partisan tone.

As recent as the 2000 Presidential campaign, Vice President Al Gore, in a speech to the Salvation Army's Adult Rehabilitation Center in Atlanta on May 25, 1999, identified several areas in which faith-based organizations rendering benevolent services differ from their secular counterparts. He went on to express support for government partnerships with faith-based organizations:

*... they [faith-based organizations] give another kind of help than the help given in government programs, no matter how dedicated the employees. To the workers in these organizations, that client is not a number, but a child of God. Those on the front lines of our most intractable battles are surprised to discover how concrete a difference that makes....a most important difference is that the solutions and programs are more likely to work because they are crafted by people actually living in the neighborhood they are serving, or by people who came from that world.*

As a candidate for president, then-Governor George W. Bush outlined his plans for government partnerships with faith-based service providers in a speech delivered in Indianapolis, Indiana, on July 22, 1999. He declared his vision to expand the charitable choice language passed by the Republican House of Representatives and Senate. This campaign speech outlined the philosophical perspective from which Bush's proposals originated. He stated,

*Many of these [faith-based] organizations share something else in common: A belief in the transforming power of faith. A belief that no one is finally a failure or a victim, because everyone is the child of a loving and merciful God, a God who counts our tears and lifts our head. The goal of these faith-based groups is not just to provide services, it is to change lives.*

Governor Bush articulated his vision with the assistance of a speechwriter who had worked through the Congressional debates of the 1990s. Michael Gerson joined Governor

Bush's campaign for President not only to write Bush's public works but to advise the Presidential candidate on the issue at-large. During his time as Governor, Bush had already worked with faith-based organizations with which Gerson had close ties. The Prison Fellowship, a former-employer of Gerson, operated Sugarland State Prison in 1997, while, in 1996, Teen Challenge received the Governor's help in confronting the Texas state bureaucracy in caring for teens with substance abuse addictions. With so much in common, Bush and Gerson were a perfect match to address benevolent service through the new faith-based and community movement.

Shortly after his inauguration in 2001, President Bush established the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (OFBCI). According to President Bush, "Starting now, the federal government is adopting a new attitude to honor and not restrict faith-based and community initiatives, to accept, rather than ignore them." Executive Order (EO) 13199, which established the OFBCI on January 29, 2001, stated,

*Faith-Based organizations and other community organizations are indispensable in meeting the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighborhoods. Government cannot be replaced by such organizations, but it can and should welcome them as partners. The paramount goal is compassionate results, and private and charitable community groups, including religious ones, should have the fullest opportunity permitted by law to compete on a level playing field, so long as they achieve valid public purposes, such as curbing crime, conquering addiction, strengthening families and neighborhoods, and overcoming poverty. This delivery of social services must be results oriented and should value the bedrock principles of pluralism, nondiscrimination, evenhandedness, and neutrality.*

#### **Outposts Within The Bureaucracy: 10 Faith-Based Liaisons**

A White House document entitled "Rallying the Armies of Compassion" explained the first series of actions, including the Executive Order creating the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, which would govern the Bush Administration's policy towards faith-based organizations. These initial actions included additional Executive Orders to establish five Agency Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (Centers). EO 13198 established Centers at the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Justice, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Education, and the Department of Labor. Centers were later placed at the Department of Agriculture and the Agency for International Development were created by Executive Order 13280, on December 12, 2002 and the Departments of Commerce, Veterans Affairs and the Small Business Administration Executive Order 13342, on June 1, 2004.

These ten Centers, were charged with completing comprehensive audits of departmental program rules, funding, administration and other policies in order to identify the potential barriers to the full participation of America's benevolent servants. The compiled document was titled *Uneven Playing Field: Barriers to Faith-Based and Community Organizations' Participation in Federal Social Service Programs*. It identified the following barriers:

Table 2

1. A pervasive suspicion about the credibility of faith-based organizations on the agency level;
2. Faith-based organizations excluded from funding across-the-board by some federal programs;
3. Excessive restrictions on the religious activities of recipient organizations;
4. Inappropriate expansion of religious restrictions to new programs;
5. Denial of faith-based organizations' established right to take religion into account in employment decisions;
6. Forcing faith-based organizations to abandon religious component to qualify for federal funds;
7. Limited accessibility of federal grants information;
8. The heavy weight of regulations and other requirements;
9. Requirements to meet before applying for support;
10. The complexity of grant applications and grant agreements;
11. Questionable favoritism for faith-based organizations;
12. An improper bias in favor of previous grantees;
13. An inappropriate requirement to apply in collaboration with likely competitors;
14. Requiring formal 501(c)(3) status without statutory authority; and
15. Inadequate attention to faith-based and community organizations in the federal grants streamlining process.

Each department then drafted new rules and regulations in order to adjust to the Administration's equal treatment principles. These proposals were designed, according to President Bush's directive to eliminate discrimination against faith-based and community organizations in the grant-making process. Each Center also developed public liaison to the groups within their respective jurisdiction. Through public events, publications and special programmatic efforts, all Centers of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives have worked to make the government more fair and hospitable for a much wider portion of America's benevolent servants.

#### State and Local Confusion

While the federal government is clarifying and updating current law to allow for the equal treatment of faith-based groups, many state and local governments are in step. Over 21 states have created faith-based and community offices, with many cities following suit. In fact, some such offices are ahead of their federal counterparts. Tim Sauder, Executive Director of Gateway Woods Children's Home in Leo, Indiana, described how his organization views interaction with the state and federal authorities:

*In all honesty, we have worked very well with State and local government schools, personnel, programs, and funding because Indiana, in particular, is a simple, unregulated non-bureaucratic State... we really don't have collaborations with the[federal] government because of the bureaucracy of it.<sup>43</sup>*

<sup>43</sup> Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois August 25, 2003.



In other cases, however, some states appear to have little understanding of what the president's Faith-Based and Community Initiative may mean for organizations within their state. Jill Esau of We Care Northwest in Seattle explained to the Subcommittee that Washington State appeared to be confused about how the initiative impacted States. She said of an encounter with one State official:

*I have been told by our Attorney General's office that Washington State isn't participating in the Faith-Based Initiative.*<sup>44</sup>

Reactions such as these are not uncommon amongst many state officials who simply do not have the proper information to recognize federal changes in grant programs. To some, the politicized circumstances of the President's Initiative leads to false impressions, while to others a simple lack of explanation has led to confusion. No matter the reason for confusion, the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives has yet to establish a formal mechanism to interact with state and local governments.

#### **Recommendations, Principles for New Policy**

American government policies for social and benevolent services are the vestiges of failed Great Society programs. While the 1996 Welfare Reform bill and President Bush's Faith-Based and Community Initiative set forth important paradigm shifts, Great Society law still defines resource allocation. American law still fails to coordinate the federal government's resources with our nation's benevolent spirit.

Reverend Scott Rowley of Empty Hands Fellowship in Franklin, Tennessee appropriately defined the need and opportunity of policy makers in the Congress and in the Administration:

*We feel government has resources; we feel Empty Hands Fellowship has relationships. When those two come together, it is a very powerful thing.*<sup>45</sup>

And while this spirit has been apparent in representatives from both sides of the political aisle, these same representatives have shown that bi-partisan reform is fleeting.

#### **Tax Advantages: Equality Under Law**

Fairness under the tax code has long been a principle of both political parties. But tax advantages for charitable giving have always been and remain the domain of higher income citizens. Taxpayers who "itemize" their tax returns may deduct their charitable contributions from their total tax bill. But those who do not itemize their tax return, taking only a standard deduction, may claim no tax advantage. Non-itemizers tend to be lower-income Americans. So where's the fairness?

<sup>44</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Seattle, Washington, April 26, 2004.*

<sup>45</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Franklin, Tennessee, June 16, 2003.*

The question of fairness must also be raised when considering the desire of many benevolent service organizations to reject government funding. For fear of legal entanglement for some, and for fear of burdensome government intrusion for others, many organizations avoid government funding. A fair tax code must also give these groups the most efficient opportunities to raise money. Steven McCullough of Bethel New Life, Inc. in Chicago, Illinois, describes why any limitation on religious activity would conflict with the group's basic mission:

*Our views on faith-based perspectives is this, and I am quoting from [Bethel president] Mary Nelson directly, 'What it takes to operate a faith-based organization is God, guts, and gasoline.' You have to have God as your primary source...*<sup>46</sup>

Tom Minnery of Focus on the Family in Colorado Springs, Colorado, explains his group's rejection of government funding because of a possible threat to his organization from state and local laws:

*Just for the record, Focus on the Family has not, and the board has said we will not, accept government money for the services we provide. Our funding comes from small donations of many thousands of people around the country who support the work.*<sup>47</sup>

Numerous Senators and Representatives have offered bills in recent years to correct the inequity of the tax code. As described in an earlier section of this report, these proposals have come from both chambers of Congress and from both parties, but none have become law. In fact, the new 2006 Congressional budget resolution does not make room for such a measure. Nonetheless, we promote two particular approaches to charitable tax deductions for non-itemizers. The Congressional Research Service has provided a head-to-head comparison of these proposals which shows the significant benefit brought to taxpayers if each were made into law.

#### **Service Choice: Power to the People**

On a more programmatic level, the government should not presume that all faith-based and community groups desire federal funding. Conservative religious institutions are especially wary of any entanglement with the state and justifiably harbor concerns about future court decisions regarding direct funding mechanisms. Many organizations are more comfortable with indirect funding, which better insulates them from litigation over constitutional questions. Other groups abstain from any type of government financing.

Vouchers, or service choice, refer to programs that empower the client to choose a provider for a particular service instead of program administrators choosing a provider for the service. The 2002 Supreme Court case, *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*<sup>48</sup>, paved the way for the further creation of voucher programs and showed that service providers may retain their sectarian practices.

Dr. Richard Land, president and CEO of the Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, describes his organization's position on government funding but describes the attractiveness of service choice:

<sup>46</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Colorado Springs, Colorado, January 23, 2004.

<sup>48</sup> 536 U.S. 639 (2002).

*As for me and my house, we would not touch the money with the proverbial 10-foot pole... Voucherize the recipients of services. Then the people receiving the assistance are empowered to seek the social services program that best meets their needs--public, private, or faith-based.*<sup>49</sup>

Two important service programs already use this idea. Access to Recovery, a program run in the Department of Health and Human Services, will grant up to \$15 million to 15 different chief executives in states, territories, the District of Columbia, and heads of Indian Tribes and Tribal Organizations for substance abuse treatment offered as a voucher to Americans who need drug treatment.

Accesses to Recovery Grantees are expected to conduct outreach to a wide range of service providers as well as to potential participants prior to implementing the voucher program. Furthermore, grantees are expected to make extensive efforts to identify and support faith-based and community-based organizations previously unable to compete effectively for federal funds.

A choice for participants not only empowers the individual but also benefits government agencies that do not have the resources to create the variety of programs offered by America's benevolent servants. While describing her previous employment with a public agency, Leslie Grubbs of Urban Connection in San Antonio, Texas, illustrated the ham-fisted approach of many governmental agencies:

*Working with so many different social service agencies we were failing the people. We were scarring them. We were coming in with our great big ransom. We're going to serve you and we're going to do this for you, and then after the 6-week limit was up, people were just dropped cold.*<sup>50</sup>

Another voucher program, the Supplemental Educational Services program at the Department of Education, implemented as part of the No Child Left Behind Act (P.L. 107-110), also uses a voucher model for its participants. Those students who qualify for after-school tutoring may choose the provider of their own choice.

Such a model protects service providers from church/state liability concerns and allows those in their time of need to choose the service that best suits their needs. Legislation calling for Access to Recovery and Supplemental Educational Services-style programs in other human service areas would greatly support the Faith-Based and Community Initiative by potentially reaching all eligible federal programs. Such a legislative effort could empower an entire cross section of Americans and induce numerous new providers for various needs. This innovation can be suited to many other social service programs.

### **Intermediary Organization Grants**

For most federal grant programs, a great challenge is to have contact with the full variety of benevolent service organizations represented throughout the country. From the largest multi-million dollar operation to a small group operating with only tens of thousands of dollars, millions of these organizations shoulder onward across the nation. Within current government programming, lending these organizations the assistance and advice they need is nearly

<sup>49</sup> Dr. Richard Land, *Constitutionally Safe, Religiously Dangerous?*, 1-3, [http://www.beliefnet.com/story/70/story\\_7029\\_1.html](http://www.beliefnet.com/story/70/story_7029_1.html).

<sup>50</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.

impossible not to mention the impracticality of administering grants to such a large number of groups. Other organizations exist, however, which serve the purpose of tending to the needs of grassroots groups.<sup>51</sup>

Intermediary organizations have the resources and the organizational capacity to assist grassroots groups and allow government to better focus its resources to broader goals. Congress established the Compassion Capital Fund as a governmental intermediary entity. Its two grant tracks support building the capacity of private intermediaries and offering grants to service organizations themselves. The Department of Labor has also focused much of its energies on identifying and supporting intermediary groups.<sup>52</sup>

Rudy Carrasco, a witness at a Subcommittee field hearing in Los Angeles, leads the Harambee School for disadvantaged children. Carrasco testified to the utility of intermediary organizations:

*As we move forward it is critical to identify and ensure access for intermediaries who understand Federal realities and can act as broker on behalf of those unable to compete. It is equally critical that as intermediaries are identified, that processes are in place to assure that these intermediaries have true grassroots operations rather than the more traditional Washington-based networks.*<sup>53</sup>

Bringing bureaucratic abilities to evaluate effectiveness and implement sound business practices, intermediaries bring organizational sophistication to benevolent service groups which would otherwise be impossible to achieve. Nueva Esperanza, for instance, an intermediary based in Los Angeles, California, assists the work of 215 groups across the country. Public/Private Ventures, another intermediary group based in Philadelphia, is guided by a mission "to improve the effectiveness of social policies, programs and community initiatives..."

Legislation encouraging government partnerships with intermediaries would prove a wise management decision. We support allowing these groups to carry the burden of working directly with small grassroots groups throughout the communities of America uses the resources of the federal government.

#### **Strategic Reorganization- An Executive Office, Whole and Good**

President George H.W. Bush, in a 1991 speech on community renewal, offered succinct vision for American social vitality:

*The state of our nation is the state of our communities...So we must seek a nation of whole communities, a nation of good communities- an America whole and good.*<sup>54</sup>

Correspondingly, the President created an infrastructure in the Executive Office of the President (EOP) to push towards his goal of vibrant American communities. From 1989 to 1992, he

<sup>51</sup> See generally Appendix I for testimony from Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources.

<sup>52</sup> See generally Appendix I for testimony from Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources.

<sup>53</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Los Angeles, California, January 12, 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Remarks on the Administration's Domestic Policy, Pub. Papers. (June 12, 1991).

created four EOP entities to organize and manage federal assistance to volunteer organizations.<sup>55</sup> President Clinton added the AmeriCorps Program while President George W. Bush added USA FreedomCorps and the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. All remain in the White House complex.

Contributing to an ever more important effort of the White House to our communities, Representative Mark Green (WI) recently offered a bill to codify President George W. Bush's efforts. H.R. 1054, the Tools for Community Initiatives Act, makes permanent the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiative with offices in 10 departments and agencies.

The potential permanence of the Faith-Based and Community Initiatives Office, however, calls into question the need to bring together the entire White House armada of service-oriented offices as well as a central node for coordination federal grant programs. Gregg Petersmeyer, a senior advisor to President George H.W. Bush and founder of the first White House Office of National Service, explains the need for such fundamental reform:

*How can the billions of Federal dollars residing in hundreds of disparate programs across a dozen agencies be better coordinated or combined to achieve results critical to our nation's future? ...what are the roles of the Congress and the President, and by extension his White House office, as the indispensable national leaders of such work?*<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> President H.W. Bush created the following entities within the EOP: The White House Office National Service (1989), The Points of Light Foundation (1990), The Commission on National and Community Service (1991) and the National Center for Community and Risk Management Insurance (1992).

<sup>56</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Washington D.C. June 21, 2005.

**Appendix I:****In Their Own Words: Topical Quotes From Witnesses Before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources**

A stark absence in the policy debate over the role of faith-based service organizations is that of the actors themselves. America's benevolent servants should be the first point of contact for the discussion. Those who render and receive these benevolent services provide the most compelling commentary.

To give these unheard actors a voice, Chairman Mark Souder of the U.S. House of Representatives Government Reform Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources set out a slate of hearings. Souder and Ranking Member Elijah Cummings (MD) led a thorough hearing process during the 107<sup>th</sup> and 108<sup>th</sup> Congresses to examine the state of faith-based organizations throughout the nation. The Subcommittee has held ten hearings with testimony from 80 witnesses. Three hearings were held in Washington, DC, while seven were held in the field: Franklin, Tennessee; San Antonio, Texas; Chicago, Illinois; Charlotte, North Carolina; Los Angeles, California; Colorado Springs, Colorado; and Seattle, Washington. Throughout the nation, grassroots leaders, faith-based leaders, civic leaders and many others contributed their thoughts, reflections and experiences.

**The Difference Between Government and Benevolent Service:  
Maintenance vs. Transformation**

One benefit of expanding the national debate to include the benevolent servants themselves is that they can help us to clearly define the problem. While many see social ills as a simple lack of resources, many benevolent servants see these ills only multiplying because of the flawed goals. Indeed, this boils down to what people see as the goals for services to those in their time of need. Do we seek to heal the patient's disease or treat the symptoms? For benevolent servants it is a difference between maintenance and transformation.

Decades after the implementation of the Great Society and the War on Poverty, millions of Americans are still impoverished and seeking assistance for myriad problems. The predominance of government programs may, contrary to expectations, have been the nadir of our effort to serve Americans in their time of need. Perhaps the most sobering notice of just such a situation was uttered by Dr. Wilson Goode, Senior Advisor on Faith-Based Initiatives for Public/Private Ventures:

*I went to a local prison during my first year and found a grandfather, a father, and a grandson, all in the same jail at the same time. And they met for the first time in jail. And the grandson, when I was leaving, pulled me aside and said to me 'I have a son I have not seen. And I guess I will see him for the first time in jail.'*<sup>57</sup>

Plainly, many benevolent servants observe a lack of will in social services for transforming the lives of those in their time of need. Mike Tellez, Program Director of Character Kids in Las Cruces, New Mexico observed,

<sup>57</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Washington DC, March 23, 2004.*

*Our government is bombarding [our children] with free stuff. Go into a neighborhood. You don't see a lack of resources. You see a lack of discipline and leadership.*<sup>58</sup>

Such stark comments, as Mr. Tellez indicates, are also a clarion for Americans to serve their neighbor. As President George W. Bush stated on January 23, 2004, to the US Conference of Mayors,

*Government programs sometimes work. But sometimes they don't work. And sometimes it requires a higher power than a government program to help change a person's life. You've got armies of compassion in your communities that I'm confident, by working together, we can unleash, for the betterment of the people we serve.*<sup>59</sup>

#### *Valuing Each and Every Life: Treating the Total Man*

Benevolent servants appear to have a consistently different view of those that they serve, seeing that they have many more needs than may be first apparent. James Peterson, a graduate of InnerChange, a Christian prisoner rehabilitation and mentorship group in Richmond, Texas, characterizes the role of benevolent servants as "problem-definers":

*Crime is a result of moral choices, and that arena is where the problem of crime must be addressed.*<sup>60</sup>

Mr. Peterson's perspective appears to be common among benevolent servants. Other witnesses build on his characterization of what lies at the base of social ills.

*Faith based organizations serve the people of their community by fulfilling their vision of meeting the spiritual, physical and emotional needs of people,* testified Reverend Tony Marciano, Executive Director of the Charlotte Rescue Mission, Charlotte, North Carolina.<sup>61</sup>

Not only does the problem appear to be more fully defined by benevolent servants, the entire dynamic relationship between provider and participant is re-established. Pastor Denson, a representative of Empty Hands Fellowship in Franklin, Tennessee, recognizes the foundation of the dynamic:

*So this is what faith-based initiatives will do, they build relationships.*<sup>62</sup> Describing an advantage of these relationships that is otherwise lost, Paige Pitts, founder of New Hope Academy in Franklin, Tennessee, says,

*...there is a richer education because it is not only the poor that need us and our resources, but we need the poor and their resources whom God has entrusted in them.*<sup>63</sup>

Once the social ills are viewed through the prism of these relationships and the role of morality, different solutions emerge. New groups and different types of groups bring new perspectives to the table. While describing her previous employment with a public agency,

<sup>58</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.*

<sup>59</sup> News Release, White House Office of the Press Secretary (Jan. 23, 2004).

<sup>60</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.*

<sup>61</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Charlotte, North Carolina, December 10, 2003.*

<sup>62</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Franklin, Tennessee, June 16, 2003.*

<sup>63</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Franklin, Tennessee, June 16, 2003.*

Leslie Grubbs of Urban Connection in San Antonio, Texas contrasts the methods of her faith-based organization with those of a governmental agency:

*Working with so many different social service agencies we were failing the people. We were scarring them. We were coming in with our great big ransom. We're going to serve you and we're going to do this for you, and then after the 6-week limit was up, people were just dropped cold.*<sup>64</sup>

John Lanz, a representative of Corrections Corporation of America, which operates 59 prison facilities with 60,000 inmates and works with non-profit faith-based groups in administration of prison programs, drives the point home:

*We are real proud of our academic, vocational and rehabilitative programs, but without these faith-based initiatives that address the spiritual needs of the person, true healing does not take place.*<sup>65</sup>

Freddie Garcia is an ex-heroin addict and founder of Victory Fellowship, now located in San Antonio, Texas. Victory is an organization that has reached over 13,000 addicts and alcoholics. Mr. Garcia offers personal reflections on the point of the difference between treatment and healing:

*If you're going to treat the man, you have to treat the total man. You have to treat the mind, the body, the spirit. When I went to the Fort Worth Hospital, they were trying to teach me a trade. They thought that the reason I was an addict was because I didn't have a trade, and they were trying to make me a plumber or carpenter. And I couldn't understand how well educated men like these couldn't see—couldn't understand. See, with heroin addiction—drugs is on your mind 24 hours a day. It's a psychological habit. You can't get drugs out of your mind. For 24 hours a day all I could see, was like vigilance, was a needle in my arm because it's a psychological habit. You can't kick it loose. And these guys were trying to get me off of drugs by learning a trade. I couldn't understand how plumbing could get me away from drug addiction. It doesn't make sense. And when I found the answer, I found God. I found that drug addiction is a spiritual problem. We have a mind that needs education, we have a body that needs food, but we have a human spirit that needs God. And in every federally funded program, in every state program, they leave out that aspect. You have to treat the total man.*<sup>66</sup>

Some service providers, however, disagree with this spiritual approach to benevolent service. Mitch Sudlosky of the Jewish Family Services stated,

*Secular treatment and spiritual care are not mutually exclusive. It's part and parcel of good secular care. The reverse is not true, however. Pervasively religious care is mutually exclusive with the involvement of secular methods.*<sup>67</sup>

But this back and forth between opposing sides of the debate over faith-based participation sparks frustration in many. Mark Terrell, Chief Executive Officer of Lifeline Youth and Family Services in Fort Wayne, Indiana exemplifies this frustration:

<sup>64</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.

<sup>65</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Franklin, Tennessee, June 16, 2003.

<sup>66</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.

<sup>67</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.



*The government's responsibility should be to help correct the social ills that are present, not to chastise those who, because of their faith, have chosen to make a difference in their community.*<sup>68</sup>

#### **Right Place at the Right Time: the Zip Code Test**

Further highlighting the special advantage of their service, many faith-based and community groups are able to reach specific populations with specific messages. Aspects of this discussion unexpectedly reflect the targeted-marketing strategies of private business. For instance, African-American churches recognized a spike in HIV/AIDS among African-Americans. Rates for HIV/AIDS were decreasing for most other populations in America, making the case particularly alarming. Churches organized a response.

On March 4, 2001, more than 10,000 African-American churches across the nation used their pulpits to educate their parishioners about the HIV/AIDS epidemic<sup>69</sup>. In this way, churches utilized their proximity to their audience to address a particular social ill.

In Seattle, Washington, Mary Diggs-Hobson, Executive Director of the African Americans Reach and Teach Ministry, explained that the sizeable African immigrant population was unaware of the spread of many diseases, including HIV/AIDS.

*The benefit of our services is not only to the faith community but the greater community as well. We increase the number of trainers in the community and the local churches.*<sup>70</sup>

Once again, Freddie Garcia of Victory Fellowship drew contrasts between the benevolent services and social services. Further reshaping the view of services delivery, he clarifies,

*When you move on out of the neighborhood, you lose that sensitivity to the people. I wanted the same Zip Code as the drug addicts because I want to be sensitive to their needs. I want to be around where they can reach me.*<sup>71</sup>

Commonly referred to as the "zip code test", many benevolent servants discuss their credibility according to whether their zip code matches the population they serve. Most social services, of course, fail this test. Most tellingly, many current government program grantees also fail the zip code test. This fact is often at the center of much grassroots advocacy for the faith-based participation in government grant programs.

#### **Partnership with the Government: Logical Combination or Alchemy?**

Some organizations work well with the government. These are typically large, highly bureaucratized groups with significant resources. The Salvation Army and Catholic Charities are such organizations. In fact, the single largest philanthropic gift—\$1.5 billion—was recently given to the Salvation Army.<sup>72</sup> Partnership with government is an entirely different undertaking for these groups. The federal government itself has identified great potential leverage in reaching Americans through these well-endowed benevolent servants. And while both groups

<sup>68</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 2003.

<sup>69</sup> This event and others are part of the HIV/AIDS ministry of The Balm in Gilead, Inc.

<sup>70</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Seattle, Washington, April 26, 2004.

<sup>71</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.

<sup>72</sup> Sally Kalson, *Salvation Army Finds Big Gift Has Costs*, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Jan. 23, 2004.

are religious in nature, the government has sought to partner with them for decades. Richard Hart of the Salvation Army in Chicago explains what advantages the government claims in its partnership:

*We feel that we are effective because of the structure that we have available in our program. We have case managers that will address all the needs of an individual coming through the doors doing a complete assessment of their needs.*<sup>73</sup>

Catholic Charities of Central New Mexico, led by Greg Kepferle, remains a religious organization while providing non-religious, government sponsored services. He explained how this works:

*Services are provided because of our faith, not that of our clients, or another way of saying that is our services are based on need, not creed.*<sup>74</sup>

Other organizations, which may also offer leverage for government efforts to serve Americans in their time of need, choose not to consider government dollars. They often view any limitation on their religious activity to be not only inevitable but also antithetic to their mission. Tom Minnery of Focus on the Family in Colorado Springs, Colorado, expressed his group's rejection of government funding because of a possible threat to his organization from state and local laws:

*Just for the record, Focus on the Family has not, and the board has said we will not, accept government money for the services we provide. Our funding comes from small donations of many thousands of people around the country who support the work.*<sup>75</sup>

Other religious organizations see the possibility of entanglement with government funding more starkly. Steven McCullough of Bethel New Life, Inc. in Chicago, Illinois, put forth that any limitation on religious activity would conflict with its basic mission:

*Our views on faith-based perspectives is this, and I am quoting from [Bethel president Mary Nelson] directly, 'What it takes to operate a faith-based organization is God, guts, and gasoline.' You have to have God as your primary source...*<sup>76</sup>

Jewish Big Brothers and Big Sisters of Los Angeles, California, does not accept government funds and takes a similar stand on the possibility of such funding. President & CEO Doug Gold said,

*I do believe that where the government should invest its resources and energy is in teaching how to fish and not doing the fishing. And I believe, and this could be quite controversial, that the minute the government begins investing too heavily in funding sources for organizations, whether they be faith-based or not, is the day we become entirely too dependent on them.*<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 2003.*

<sup>74</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.*

<sup>75</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Colorado Springs, Colorado, January 23, 2004.*

<sup>76</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 2003.*

<sup>77</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Los Angeles, California, January 12, 2004.*

### Partnership with the Government: Ramifications

Even as many benevolent servants partner with the government, some object to excluding religion from their activities in order to do so. Steve Allen of the Salvation Army in Los Angeles County, California testified to what is lost in restricting religious practices to accommodate government guidelines:

*When I was a probation officer we had very committed staff members, but in many cases we were sticking Band-Aids on situations. I wish we could have talked to them about our own Christian lifestyle and how that could impact them. We were prohibited from doing so by the government. But in this setting we are allowed to talk about that and we are allowed to offer voluntary church services and Bible studies which many of the men and women who are searching for a new way in life would actually participate in. And we see the effects and we see the results.<sup>78</sup>*

Many witnesses told of what is to be gained, or lost, by the presence or absence of religious content in their programs. Dr. Walter Larimore, Vice President of Medical Outreach at Focus on the Family in Colorado Springs, Colorado, recited statistics:

*According to a study at Rush Presbyterian St. Luke's Medical Center in Chicago, 70% of medical/surgery patients and 88% of psychiatric in-patients have at least three spiritual needs while hospitalized. They were: 1) to speak with a chaplain or pastor; 2) to attend a hospital worship service; or 3) to receive spiritual resources/reading materials or someone to pray with.<sup>79</sup>*

A colleague at Focus on the Family, Wilford Wooten, personally observed,

*I have worked in a variety of secular and faith-based settings. Both research and my observation are that faith, prayer, and hope make a significant difference to the health, well-being, and healing of those who are struggling with the many challenges and hurdles that life can present.<sup>80</sup>*

Another Focus on the Family witness focused on the fundamentals a faith-based group is able to offer. Frank Keller shed light on the role of prayer:

*Many of our constituents actually request that Focus [pray] for them. A foundational component of faith-based organizations is that of connecting spiritually with God through prayer, for wisdom, guidance, encouragement, and comfort. It is impossible to be a faith-based organization without being prayer-dependent.<sup>81</sup>*

One witness gave an assessment of the very real impact of government funding for faith-based groups like her own. Holly Hollman, General Counsel for the Baptist Joint Committee of Washington, DC, testified,

*There's an inherent conflict between allowing religious social service providers that receive government funding to maintain their distinctive character, practice, and expression and enforcing a constitutional prohibition against government funding of*

<sup>78</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Los Angeles, California, January 12, 2004.

<sup>79</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Colorado Springs, Colorado, January 23, 2004.

<sup>80</sup> *Id.*

<sup>81</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Colorado Springs, Colorado, January 23, 2004.

religious activities such as proselytization, instruction, worship. Either we risk violations or we invite entanglement.<sup>82</sup>

### Finding A Way

Grassroots faith-based and community groups often exemplify an intangible characteristic of successful service programs: the will to overcome. Circumstances that might have scared off others may even be the lifeblood, the driving purpose of a grassroots organization.

In order to bring together the resources for the care of patients at the House of Mercy in Belmont, North Carolina, Shirley Stowe reaches out to numerous healthcare entities:

*As Case Manager for the residents in the home, I network with other agencies to provide needed services. For example, the infectious disease specialists in the area provide medical support for the residents. They are also a major referral source for our facility. We have a strong alliance with the Regional HIV Consortium based in Charlotte for support in a variety of ways. We have had an Americorps member for 4 years through the National AIDS Fund... We also network with other AIDS service organizations such as Regional AIDS Interfaith Network, Metrolina AIDS Project.<sup>83</sup>*

Many benevolent servants display sophistication in widening their network for maximum effectiveness. Intermediary groups can be an efficient conduit between groups or between grassroots and government. Rudy Carrasco, who testified at a field hearing in Los Angeles, appears to skillfully network within and without the grassroots. Leading three groups from Pasadena, California, he is Executive Director of the Harambee School for disadvantaged children, Nueva Esperanza, Inc. and Esperanza USA. Nueva Esperanza, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is the largest Hispanic faith-based community development corporation in the United States. Mr. Carrasco testified,

*As we move forward it is critical to identify and ensure access for intermediaries who understand Federal realities and can act as broker on behalf of those unable to compete. It is equally critical that as intermediaries are identified, that processes are in place to assure that these intermediaries have true grassroots operations rather than the more traditional Washington-based networks.<sup>84</sup>*

During the first year of a federal grant for an Esperanza homebuilding project, operations were established in Central and southern Florida, southern California, New York City, Philadelphia, and northern and southern New Jersey. Over 150 faith-based organizations are participating in the project, representing over 215 separate service ministries.

Networking for resources, however, is not always a matter of casting a wider and wider net. Jack Willome of Victory Fellowship explained that the participants themselves are Victory's greatest financial assets.

*The financial support of this ministry, guess where it comes from? The people who have come through the front door of that home... their characters are being transformed and*

<sup>82</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Washington DC, March 23, 2004.

<sup>83</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Charlotte, North Carolina, December 10, 2003.

<sup>84</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Los Angeles, California, January 12, 2004.

*they become involved in Victory Temple Church. That's where 90 plus percent of the financial support comes from.*<sup>85</sup>

Rev. Mable Hemphill of World Outreach Medical Center in Gastonia, North Carolina has not found the same opportunities as Mr. Carasco and Ms. Stowe. In fact, Rev. Hemphill's frustration appears to be common, which the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives has cited as a primary factor in deployment of its resources. Grant writing in particular is a difficulty for World Outreach Medical Center. Finding the expertise and the man-hours is daunting in an environment that she describes as inner city and scarce of funding. The faith-based groups that are the most vital are those in inner city, urban neighborhoods.<sup>86</sup>

Despite such scarcity of dollars and great demands for creativity, many witnesses recounted their considerable organizational achievements. Feed the Children's Steven Whetstone of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma detailed the group's administrative efficiency:

*We have to be efficient with the resources that are provided to us . . . Last year, more than 88 cents of every dollar went to direct family expenditures for programs.*<sup>87</sup>

Even in the notoriously costly operation of medical services, faith-based organizers told of impressive savings. Dr. Keith Phillips, president of World Impact in Los Angeles, California, cited his group's cost per patient at \$26 versus the national average of \$750. In the field of education he cited his costs per student at \$4,000 per pupil, while California State pays \$6,450 per pupil on average.<sup>88</sup> Ed Anderson of Compassion International in Colorado Springs, Colorado, told of plaudits for his organization's quality:

*Compassion [International] has been recognized by the American Institute of Philanthropy with an A rating, is a member of the Better Business Bureau of Wise Giving Alliance, and is the founding member of the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability.*<sup>89</sup>

While anecdotal evidence of faith-based success rates is plentiful, scientific data are less available. The Subcommittee's hearings, in any case, brought forth overwhelming testimony for the success of faith-based and community groups. Some witnesses, like Jackie Jaramillo, Executive Director of Faith Partners in Colorado Springs, Colorado, even cited their own numbers:

*We have a better than 89% success rate for the families that we've worked with. And in the five years that we've been in existence, we've served over 150 families.*<sup>90</sup>

Pastor John Baker at Celebrate Recovery in Los Angeles, California, mentioned a New Mexico program, which is utilized by five state prisons and touts an unofficial recidivism rate of 7.8 percent for the inmates that undergo the program.<sup>91</sup> He is echoed by Philip Dautrich at InnerChange Freedom Initiative in Richmond, Texas. A study conducted by the

<sup>85</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.

<sup>86</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Charlotte, North Carolina, December 10, 2003 (summary of witness statement).

<sup>87</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Colorado Springs, Colorado, January 23, 2004.

<sup>88</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Los Angeles, California, January 12, 2004 (summary of witness statement).

<sup>89</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Colorado Springs, Colorado, January 23, 2004.

<sup>90</sup> *Id.*

<sup>91</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Los Angeles, California, January 12, 2004 (summary of witness statement).

state of Texas found those who participated in InnerChange had only an 8 percent recidivism rate, versus 22 percent in the control group.<sup>92</sup>

### Hiring the Right People

Many supporters of the President's Faith-Based initiative have also stated great reservations about civil rights protections for benevolent service organizations. The 1965 Civil Rights Act protects religious organization's right hire based on religious affiliation. The rights of faith-based groups receiving federal grants, however, have been curtailed for years. New legislation, such as the recently House-passed Worker Investment Act<sup>93</sup> also allows federally-funded groups to maintain that practice. For many, supporters and opponents of the Initiative, this is a stumbling block.

As complex as the legal issue can become, Onnie Kirk of the Family Foundation Fund in Nashville, Tennessee stated her group's disposition with brevity:

*As long as they can have their independence to follow Christ, I do not see any problem.*<sup>94</sup>

Cal Uomoto of World Relief in Seattle, Washington, placed a greater imperative on the issue. As with many other benevolent servants, he viewed hiring practices as a pillar of their existence:

*I think the major concern with a faith-based organization is the need to have control over its hiring policy in order to safeguard its mission viability.*<sup>95</sup>

Consistent with Mr. Uomoto, Mike Haley of Focus on the Family also raises sexuality as a major criteria in hiring based on religious affiliation. A recent California court case calls into question whether the Salvation Army should be permitted to hire based on religious affiliation. He testified,

*Due to the dependence we have, it's imperative that we hire individuals with traditional Biblical views, especially of God's design for sexuality.(reference to court case) With so many ideas, thoughts, and beliefs in homosexuality in our culture today, we must ensure that the Love Won Out team and the entire ministry of Focus on the Family adhere to God's standards, and believe in the redemptive power of Jesus Christ.*<sup>96</sup>

John Green, Executive Director of Emmaus Ministries of Chicago, Illinois, also raised similar points in his testimony:

*I need to preferentially hire people of faith, people who have my same values or an organization that has the same values to do that. I don't think...that is impossible to do in a relationship between government and faith-based organizations.*<sup>97</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003 (summary of witness statement).

<sup>93</sup> H.R. 27, the Workforce Investment Act, passed the House of Representatives on March 2, 2005.

<sup>94</sup> Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Franklin, Tennessee, June 16, 2003.

<sup>95</sup> Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Seattle, Washington, April 26, 2004.

<sup>96</sup> Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Los Angeles, California, January 12, 2004.

<sup>97</sup> Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 2003.

Mr. Green also clarified to Subcommittee Member Danny Davis that civil rights protections which religious affiliation hiring are not tantamount to discrimination:

*I deal with guys who are transgender. I deal with guys who are bisexual. I deal with all sorts of different sexual struggles but our organization, and the staff of our organization, have a very historic view of sexuality. Yet, we don't discriminate against any of those men. All of them are welcome to come to our organization and welcome to come into our drop-in center. Even if they say, "OK, John. I disagree with you on my sexuality. I want to stay a transgendered individual." Fine. We are going to try to work with you as best we can. We will try to find you housing.*

Other groups, however, are less invested in the hiring controversy. The Good Samaritan Center in San Antonio, Texas operates secularly and takes federal money. The group's Executive Director, Jill Oettinger, explained their experience with hiring limitations, saying,

*The Center is a part of a denominational organization, Episcopal Community Services of America, "to ensure that all members maintain a community presence that is marked by a commitment to quality."<sup>98</sup>*

Also explaining why his organization hires along secular lines, Mitch Sudolsky of the Jewish Family Service testified,

*The fact that we use that secular means--scientific means that people who are not Jewish feel comfortable utilizing our services and that we can be true to the principle of diversity and equal treatment for all and equal concern for all that guides what we do.<sup>99</sup>*

Views amongst faith-based benevolent servants are clearly varied. Since these hearings commenced the legislative debate surrounding religious hiring practices has intensified. As a result, providers have become even more outspoken allowing a consensus to emerge: if religious hiring rights are removed, government efforts to help serve those in their time of need with faith-based benevolent servants will cease to be viable.

#### **So, What is the "Initiative"?**

A common understanding of the President's Faith-Based Initiative is as rare in Washington as it is throughout the country. Many understand that the effort is to allow faith-based groups to compete fairly with secular groups for federal grants. Others perceive a new "Great Society" program with billion-dollar budgets. Still others see a program heedlessly investing the public in religion.

Richard Townsell, Executive Director of Lawndale Christian Development Corp. in Chicago, Illinois typified those who think of the initiative as a new federal program. He testified,

*As I think about the faith-based initiatives that the President is putting forth, I think they are wonderful, but I think there is one big problem and that big problem is there is no money with it.<sup>100</sup>*

<sup>98</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, San Antonio, Texas July 2, 2003.*

<sup>99</sup> *Id.*

<sup>100</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois August 25, 2003.*

Jill Esau of We Care Northwest in Seattle explained to the Subcommittee that her home state appeared to be confused about how the initiative impacted States. She said of an encounter with one State official,

*I have been told by our Attorney General's office that Washington State isn't participating in the Faith-Based Initiative.*<sup>101</sup>

Some faith-based representatives expressed legitimate worries but also seemed to establish a relationship of mutual exclusivity where one may not exist. Jack Willome of Victory Fellowship said,

*The culture and the way these faith-based indigenous grassroots organizations work is totally different from the way that our government works or businesses work or anything that, you know, we're traditionally used to... Frankly, the accountability that the Federal Government requires, and rightfully so, does not fit with the culture of an organization like Victory Fellowship. It doesn't mean that they're not accountable. They're accountable in a totally different way.*<sup>102</sup>

Illustrative characterizations were also plentiful at hearings. Dan Neary of Northwest College in Kirkland, Washington explained clear lines of government assistance to his institution, which would apply to a broader span of faith-based groups. Mr. Neary said,

*The Federal government's partnership is, as it should be, based on clearly stated guidelines and goals that have nothing to do with our college's or our students' faith commitments. The Federal government's funding is based entirely on eligibility verified by objective qualifications, including accreditation. Faith commitments neither qualify our students or institution from funding.*<sup>103</sup>

Marc Maislen, an administrator from the Seattle Hebrew Academy, went on to state the fundamental goal of the President's initiative as it touched his organization:

*We fully agree with the statement of then-FEMA Director, Joe Albaugh, who stated "Disasters don't discriminate, and neither should our response to them."*<sup>104</sup>

Tim Sauder, Executive Director of Gateway Woods Children's Home in Leo, Indiana, went a step further to ably explain the real-world process for government partnership:

*In all honesty, we have worked very well with State and local government schools, personnel, programs, and funding because Indiana, in particular, is a simple, unregulated non-bureaucratic State... we really don't have collaborations with the [federal] government because of the bureaucracy of it.*<sup>105</sup>

Among witnesses who echoed the President's own stated motivations behind the White House Faith-Based and Community Initiative, Reverend Scott Rowley of Empty Hands Fellowship in Franklin, Tennessee focused his words on the core of both partners:

<sup>101</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Seattle, Washington, April 26, 2004.*

<sup>102</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, San Antonio, Texas, July 2, 2003.*

<sup>103</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Seattle, Washington, April 26, 2004.*

<sup>104</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Seattle, Washington, April 26, 2004.*

<sup>105</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources, Chicago, Illinois August 25, 2003.*



*We feel government has resources; we feel Empty Hands Fellowship has relationships. When those two come together, it is a very powerful thing.*<sup>106</sup>

Ironically, such an elegant description of the Initiative also invited opponents to level attacks at implied realities. Barry Lynn of Americans United for the Separation of Church and State in Washington, D.C. ranks among the Initiative's most vocal opponents. He stated,

*We continue to careen dangerously down a path of government-supported religion and Congress has a responsibility now to apply the brakes...The preservation of church and State and the idea that we do not use tax dollars to discriminate are vital to the American experiment. The faith-based initiative is a highly controversial experiment with our liberties.*<sup>107</sup>

Such highly charged rhetoric rarely led to substantive criticism above the level of assertion. But the President's initiative appeared nonetheless, to all witnesses, elusive to definition.

Among those accurate and hopeful characterizations of the Initiative, Reverend Dean Cowles, President of YouthPartnersNET in Denver, Colorado, offered one of the best:

*I sense that this kind of initiative is getting there. To raise up, make a level playing field, everybody has equal opportunity to get the resources. And if they can produce, then wonderful. And we'll all be better for it in the next 30 years.*<sup>108</sup>

<sup>106</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Franklin, Tennessee, June 16, 2003.

<sup>107</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Washington, DC, March 23, 2004.

<sup>108</sup> *Hearing of the House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources*, Colorado Springs, Colorado, January 23, 2004.

**Appendix II:**

**Committee on Small Business, Subcommittee on Empowerment:  
Hearings on Grassroots Services and Empowerment from 1997-1998**

Congressional Field Hearing: Creative Solutions to Urban Problems: Community Self-Renewal-  
September 19, 1997

**Witnesses**

Dennis W. Archer, Mayor, Detroit.  
David E. Bates, Executive Director, Olive Branch Mission.  
Kathy H. Dudley, Dallas leadership Foundation.  
Hon. Phil English, A Representative of Congress from the State of Pennsylvania.  
Nancy M. Graham, Mayor, West Palm Beach.  
Joseph Jones, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Justice Education and Senior Fellow of the Center for Justice and Urban Leadership, Taylor University, Fort Wayne, Indiana.  
Scott L. King, Mayor, Gary, Indiana.  
Larry Lloyd, Memphis Leadership Foundation/Hope Foundation.  
Robert D. Lupton, President, FCS Urban Ministries.  
Mike Nickelson, Senior Pastor, Mt. Calvary Missionary Baptist Church.  
William E. Pannell, Fuller Theological Seminary.  
Hon. Joe Pitts, A Representative in Congress from the State of Pennsylvania.  
Hon. Mark Souder, A Representative in Congress from the State of Indiana.  
Wellington Webb, Mayor, Denver.

H.R 3241 The Charitable Giving Partnership Act- March 19, 1998

**Witnesses**

Peter Barwick, Policy Analyst, Commonwealth Foundation of Pennsylvania.  
John Castellani, Executive Director, Teen Challenge Training Center.  
Hon. Dan Coats, A U.S Senator from the State of Indiana.  
Don Eberly, Director, Civil Society Project.  
James Kerkula, Program manager, People for People, Inc.  
Joe Loconte, Deputy Editor of Policy Review, The Heritage Foundation.  
Hon. David Long, A State Senator, State of Indiana.  
Thomas M. McKenna, Executive Big Brothers/Big Sisters.  
Hon. Sue Myrick, A Representative in Congress from the state of North Carolina.  
Hon. Matt Salom, A Representative in Congress from the State of Arizona.  
Betty Lou Ward, President-Elect, National Association of Counties.

Urban Education: Approaches that Work- March 26, 1998

**Witnesses**

William Elliott, Headmaster, Timothy Academy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.  
 Thaddeus S. Lott Sr., Project Manager, Acres Homes Charter Schools District, Houston, Texas.  
 Oscar J. Underwood, Cornerstone Christian College Preparatory School, Fort Wayne, Indiana.  
 Leah White, Administrator, New Psalmist Christian School, Baltimore, Maryland.  
 Vera White, Principal, Thomas Jefferson Junior High School, Washington DC.

Empowerment Education- May 21, 1998

**Witnesses**

Casey Collier, Arenawest Outfitters.  
 Daryn Dodson, Senior , Georgetown Day High School.  
 James B. Hayes, President, Junior Achievement.  
 James Kaddaras, Executive Director, Working Capital.  
 Lynn Karlson, Vice President, Program and Product Development, Independent Means, Inc.  
 Marilyn L. Kourilsky, Vice President, Kauffman Center for Entrepreneurial Leadership.  
 Denton Malcom, President of RK Production.  
 Kenneth Martin, President, Junior Achievement Company, Metro Stick Together.  
 Hon. Kweisi Mfume, President and CEO, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.  
 Emily Ann Ochoa, 8<sup>th</sup> Grader, Eagle Rock High School.  
 Julie Silard, Divisional Director, National Foundation for Teaching Entrepreneurship.  
 Damon D. Williams, Student, George Washington University.

Social and Economic Costs of Teen Pregnancy- July 16, 1998

**Witnesses**

Kevin Bagatta, Executive Director, Real Alternatives, Inc, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.  
 Patrick Fagan, William H. G. Fitzgerald Fellow in Family and Culture Studies, The Heritage Foundation.  
 Pat Funderburk Ware, President/CEO, PTW Consultants, Inc.  
 Lakita Garth, Garth Dominion Enterprises, Lakewood California.  
 J. Irving Grante, J. Irving & Draper , Judicial Advocates, Spotsylvania, Virginia.  
 David Popenoe, Co-Director, National Marriage Project, Rutgers University.  
 Sherry Saylor, Student Counselor, Buckeye Elementary School, Buckeye, Arizona  
 Hon. Val Stevens, Member of the Washington State Senate.

CHARITABLE CHOICE COMPLIANCE  
A NATIONAL REPORT CARD

**NOTE: The grades are only for compliance with the detailed requirements of Charitable Choice. They measure compliance as of late summer, 2000. Many states have started to change their procurement policies and practices since the report card was issued.**

The Report Card was released at a press conference on Capitol Hill on Sept. 28, 2000 (Press Release: [States Fail Charitable Choice Checkup](#)).

The grades are based on information collected mainly by sending a detailed questionnaire on the specific requirements of Charitable Choice to top officials in each state (governor's office, attorney general, head of the welfare department, the official in charge of TANF funds, the official in charge of Welfare-to-Work funds). Questionnaire responses were supplemented by other sources (phone interviews, personal contacts, press reports, commissioned research in certain states).

The grades were given solely for compliance with Charitable Choice—evaluating the extent to which a state's procurement policies and practices conform to the specific new requirements of Charitable Choice. If a state had innovative and flexible new collaborations with faith-based organizations, but had not reformed its procurement rules (for example, to allow faith-based organizations to take faith into account in hiring staff), then it received a failing grade. States that did not fail had brought their procurement policies into line with Charitable Choice or were well on the way to doing so. Of course, changing practice takes more time than changing formal requirements (laws, regulations). Procurement practice in states with good grades may still lag in measuring up to all of the freedoms and responsibilities of Charitable Choice.

The information for these grades was gathered in the late Spring and in the Summer of 2000. Some or many states may have made significant changes since the grades were compiled and printed. Press publicity about the compliance report card, questions by reporters and faith leaders to their states' officials about failing grades, and the announcement of President George W. Bush's

initiatives to make government more hospitable to faith-based and grassroots groups have all produced an upsurge in interest by state and local officials about how to comply with Charitable Choice.

Charitable Choice can revolutionize welfare. This new federal rule breaks the barriers that excluded many religious providers from state procurement of welfare services. But states have to put the new rule into effect by getting rid of old restrictive policies and practices. While many states are now reaching out to faith-based groups, the law requires that they must also come into compliance with Charitable Choice.

|    |    |   |
|----|----|---|
| TX | A+ | First and most aggressive compliance with Charitable Choice. Gov. Bush (R) initiated taskforce, rewrite of procurement rules, and redesign of procurement process and spending programs to maximize openness to faith-based organizations (FBOs).                   |
| IN | A  | Under Gov. O'Bannon (D) the state has clarified the rights of religious groups in contracts and established FaithWorks Indiana to facilitate collaboration, provide technical assistance, and conduct outreach to identify effective FBOs.                          |
| OH | A  | The state took early notice of Charitable Choice and distributed Legal Brief 98-04 to inform county welfare agencies about the new contracting rules and ensure that they follow the new law. To expand collaboration the state provided training for agency staff. |
| WI | A  | Charitable Choice was adopted into state law in 1997. Gov. Thompson (R) made faith-based subcontracts a key performance indicator for W-2 (welfare) contractors in 1998. Assembly Speaker Jensen pushed faith-based initiatives in new areas in 1999.               |
| AZ | B  | Adopted HB 2423 just last year to make Charitable Choice cover all contracting by the Department of Economic Security and the Department of Human Services (includes all federal, state, and local funds).  |
| IL | B  | The state is aware of Charitable Choice requirements and is slowly reforming restrictive practices. Project Hope reaches out to faith groups, but without taking account of Charitable Choice.  |
| PA | B  | Welfare leadership is committed to Charitable Choice rules. One model collaboration with a Philadelphia church. Outreach by state-level liaison communicates new opportunities for  |

|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
|    |   | faith communities to participate.   |
| VA | B | Lt. Gov.'s taskforce (1999) made Charitable Choice a key tool to bust barriers to collaboration. Human Services Secretary has now made compliance a priority and has required procurement review.                       |
| AR | C | Until recently, little notice taken of Charitable Choice. As of August 2000, the state plans to inform county Transitional Economic Assistance coalitions of the requirement to abide by Charitable Choice guidelines.  |
| CA | C | Welfare was devolved to counties without requiring Charitable Choice. Knowledge and compliance varies. A new law (SB 516) requires the development of Charitable Choice regulations. Future impact uncertain.           |
| MI | C | Some respectful financial relations with FBOs. But state leadership has ignored Charitable Choice as a chance to fix policies that impede equal opportunity for faith groups. Some legislators are pressing for change. |
| NC | C | Compliance is uneven across the state, but counties have been informed about Charitable Choice and some have changed procurement practice.  |

|      |      |          |
|------|------|----------|
| AK F | MA F | OK F     |
| AL * | MD F | OR F     |
| CO F | ME F | RI F     |
| CT F | MN F | SC F     |
| DC F | MO F | SD *     |
| DE F | MS F | TN F     |
| FL F | MT F | UT F     |
| GA F | NE F | VT F     |
| HI F | ND F | WA F     |
| IA F | NH F | WV F     |
| ID F | NJ F | WY F     |
| KS F | NM F | Guam F   |
| KY F | NV F | Puerto F |

|      |      |                  |
|------|------|------------------|
|      |      | Rico             |
| LA F | NY F | Virgin Islands F |

States receiving Fs fall short on compliance with Charitable Choice. While some of these states are expanding their work with FBOs, they are ignoring Charitable Choice rules that should guide the new collaborations.

**The F states:**

- do not protect the rights of FBOs (CT, FL, GA, IA, ID, HI, IL, LA, ME, MO, NH, NJ, NM, UT, WV, WY, Guam, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands).
- have changed legislation to permit contracting with FBOs and protect clients, but not to protect FBO rights (CO, MD, WA).
- do not have an exemption to contract requirements so that FBOs can hire by commitment to religious mission (AK, DE, KS, KY, NB, OR, RI, SC, TN).
- have devolved welfare to counties or regional bodies without requiring compliance with Charitable Choice (CO, FL, MN).
- mistakenly claim Charitable Choice is an option they can ignore (DC, MA, MS, VT).
- mistakenly claim they are exempt from Charitable Choice due to the state's constitution (WA).
- are only now beginning to consider what Charitable Choice requires (NV, OK, OR).
- \* The state refused to supply sufficient information regarding compliance with Charitable Choice.

**What is Charitable Choice?**

Charitable Choice is a section of the 1996 federal welfare reform law (PRWORA), which changed the main welfare program from Aid to Families with Dependent Children to Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). Charitable Choice enables faith-based organizations to compete for government funds to provide welfare services "on the same basis" as other providers but without sacrificing their "religious character." It also includes strong protections for the religious freedom of clients.

Many religious organizations have honorably teamed with government to help the needy before Charitable Choice, but government rules usually pressed them to become secular (a religious motivation was OK but not a faith dimension). Charitable Choice says religious providers getting government funds need not sideline religion. And faith-based organizations that feared secularization or that were prevented from participating now can compete for funds.

Charitable Choice applies to TANF spending (1996); the Welfare-to-Work program (1997); and Community Action Agencies (1998). This report covers TANF and W-t-W funds. Similar rules apply to federally funded certificates for child care and to Refugee Resettlement. Congress is considering extending Charitable

Choice to programs for fatherhood, at-risk juveniles, substance abuse treatment, and adoption, and to all federally funded procurement of human services. Charitable Choice is a federal law applying to state procurement of services using federal funds. To make a difference for poor families and faith-based organizations, states must reform their policies and practices: they must become compliant.

### What Does Compliance with Charitable Choice Require?

To be compliant, states have to go beyond their past practice of contracting with religiously affiliated providers to obtain secular services. Nonprofit organizations with a religious background already could collaborate with government, as long as religion was marginalized. Houses of worship already could sponsor secular programs. Charitable Choice lays down new rules for government contracting, which are now obligatory for states that accept TANF and Welfare-to-Work funds. To be compliant, states must follow the new rules when they use the federal money to buy services:

- *Eligibility*--religious organizations, even if "pervasively sectarian," can compete for funds to provide services (churches can be required to set up separate nonprofits, but the nonprofits don't have to be secular).
- *New Freedoms*--religious organizations can display religious symbols, use religious and moral concepts, and use religious standards for hiring staff.
- *Limitations*--religious organizations must serve clients without regard to religion, allow clients to sit out religious activities, and not use government contract funds for worship, doctrinal instruction, or proselytizing.
- *Client Rights*--clients have a right to service without religious coercion and must be given an alternative by the government if they object to a faith-based service provider.

Because these are new rules, different from the old restrictive rules, in order to be in compliance with Charitable Choice, states must *evaluate* their procurement policies and practices and *change* those that conflict with Charitable Choice.

### How Does Compliance Differ From Expanded Collaboration?

Welfare reform's requirement to end dependency is reminding welfare officials that helping the poor takes more than government. It requires partnerships with civil society, including churches and other faith-based organizations that offer encouragement and guidance as well as training. Many welfare agencies are



reaching out to faith communities to find ways to collaborate for the sake of clients who need more than a check or classroom instruction. But expanded collaboration is not a substitute for compliance with Charitable Choice. Charitable Choice is a rule about procurement--government purchase of certain services from outside organizations. It differs from agency referrals to faith-based providers, partnerships in which church volunteers agree to mentor welfare families, or giving new religious groups grants for services--but without protecting their religious integrity or the rights of clients. Charitable Choice isn't optional. It doesn't matter whether a state is enthusiastic about partnering with faith groups. It must comply with Charitable Choice if it spends its federal welfare funds to buy services. Faith-based groups don't have to compete for funds if they choose not to, but states have no choice: they are obligated to comply with Charitable Choice by removing barriers. Besides being obligatory, state compliance sends a valuable signal to the faith communities, to the public, and to welfare bureaucracies that barriers to collaboration are being replaced by respectful cooperation.

#### Resources

- *A Guide to Charitable Choice* (The Center for Public Justice and the Christian Legal Society, 1997)
- Amy Sherman, *The Growing Impact of Charitable Choice: A Catalogue of New Collaborations Between Government and Faith-Based Organizations in Nine States* (The Center for Public Justice, March 2000)

Other Charitable Choice resources are available on this site at [www.cpjustice.org/charitablechoice/resources](http://www.cpjustice.org/charitablechoice/resources)

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**The American Jewish Committee**

Advancing democracy, pluralism and mutual understanding

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June 27, 2005

The Hon. Mark Souder, Chairman  
The Hon. Elijah Cummings, Ranking Member  
House Government Reform Subcommittee on  
Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Souder and Representative Cummings:

I write on behalf of The American Jewish Committee, the nation's oldest human relations agency with over 150,000 members and supporters represented by 33 regional chapters, to express our opposition to H.R.1054, the "Tools for Community Initiatives Act." I respectfully request that this letter be made a part of the record of the hearing held on June 21, 2005, on "The Constitutional Role of Faith-Based Organizations in Competition for Federal Social Service Funds."

As you know, H.R.1054 would codify the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (the "Office") established in the White House by President Bush soon after he took office in January, 2001. Our concerns with this legislation do not rest on any objection to government finding appropriate ways to partner with religious—as well as secular—organizations in the provision of essential social services. Rather, it is premised on the experience of four years in which we have seen the Administration undertake an approach to government funding of social services provided by religious organizations that, for all of the President's good intentions in seeking to deal constructively with society's ills, represents what we view as an unconstitutional breach of the principle of separation of church and state and just plain bad public policy. The "Sense of Congress" articulated in Section 7 of the bill underlines our own sense that the purpose of the bill is to see the Office continue to implement the faith-based initiative much as it has to date.

There is no question that the history of social services in this country began with religious institutions, and the partnership between religiously affiliated institutions and government in the provision of those services is a venerable one. Our concerns about the faith-based initiative do not reflect any lack of high regard for the important work that religious institutions do in providing social services nor an effort to erect an impassible

barrier to cooperation between these institutions and the government in the provision of secular social services.

What is problematic about the faith-based initiative is that it permits houses of worship and other pervasively religious institutions to receive taxpayer dollars for programs that have not been made discrete and institutionally separate from the core activities of those institutions, activities that are inextricably permeated with religion (historically, this separation has been carried out through the creation of separate, not-pervasively-religious affiliates to implement the funded program), and it eliminates long-standing practices that protect church-state separation and discrimination when religiously affiliated organizations provide government-funded services.

The absence of these historic practices opens the door to publicly funded programs in which recipients of social services may well be coerced, either explicitly or tacitly, to take part in religious activities as a price of receiving help—notwithstanding provisions that, as a formal matter, may prohibit the use of public funds for “worship, religious instruction or proselytization,” or that prohibit discrimination against beneficiaries or potential beneficiaries of services “on the basis of religion, religious belief, refusal to hold a religious belief, or refusal to participate in a religious practice.”

The faith-based initiative also presents a significant potential for fostering divisiveness among various faith groups as they compete for public funding, a potential that will only be multiplied as government officials charged with determining with whom to contract or renew contracts are placed in the role of deciding which religion “works better” in dealing with the social problems to which public programs are addressed. And the faith-based initiative allows religious providers to make employment decisions based on religion with respect to positions that are paid for with taxpayers’ dollars. Religious institutions are appropriately permitted to prefer co-religionists in hiring decisions for privately funded activities, an exemption from otherwise applicable civil rights laws that exists in recognition of the powerful religious liberty interests involved. But it is simply improper for public funds to be used to support such preferences.

It is also hard to see how the faith-based initiative will not ultimately lead to an undermining of the distinctiveness, indeed the very mission, of religious institutions. With government dollars comes government oversight; faith-based organizations will inevitably be held accountable for the use of the dollars they receive just as any other recipient of government funds would be. This intrusion into the affairs of churches and other pervasively religious organizations is exactly the type of entanglement of religion and state against which the Constitution guards.

In the end, the most fundamental problem with the faith-based initiative may be the conceptual paradox at its heart. The initiative seeks to allow government to utilize the spiritual ministry of churches, synagogues and other pervasively religious institutions as a tool in the provision of social services while, at the same time, assuring that the programs are administered in a fashion that protects beneficiaries of these services from religious coercion and protects the religious institutions from undue interference by the state with

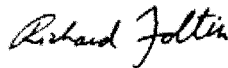
their autonomy. This approach to social services provision is untenable because of the practical—to say nothing of the constitutional—problems posed by any effort to reconcile these inconsistent goals.

The irony is that none of this is necessary to promote an effective partnership between the government and religious institutions that provide social services. The paradigm that preceded the faith-based initiative—provision of government-funded social services through religiously affiliated (and, of course, secular) organizations, along with other long-standing safeguards—is a long-established, preferable approach, indeed one so preferable that it can fairly be said that the faith-based initiative is a solution in search of a problem. And there are other ways in which government can cooperate with religious organizations, including those which are pervasively religious, to address our pressing social needs. These include non-financial modes of support, such as, among other things, providing information to the public about available programs, affording organizations access to education and training opportunities, creation of community-wide task forces, and encouraging charitable contributions through appropriate tax relief.

In conclusion, we oppose H.R.1054 in its present form as in furtherance of an approach to social services provision that is untenable for a host of practical and constitutional reasons, as well as an approach that is simply unnecessary given the many other ways that government and religious organizations can—and already do—work together in the provision of social services.

Thank you for considering our views on this important matter.

Respectfully,



Richard T. Foltin  
Legislative Director and Counsel

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STATEMENT

OF THE

**ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE**

ON

**"AUTHORIZING THE PRESIDENT'S VISION:  
MAKING PERMANENT THE FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE - H.R. 1054,  
THE TOOLS FOR COMMUNITY INITIATIVES ACT"**

BEFORE THE

HOUSE GOVERNMENT REFORM COMMITTEE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY,  
AND HUMAN RESOURCES

JUNE 21, 2005

**STATEMENT OF THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE  
ON "AUTHORIZING THE PRESIDENT'S VISION:  
MAKING PERMANENT THE FAITH-BASED AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVE –  
H.R. 1054, THE TOOLS FOR COMMUNITY INITIATIVES ACT"**

**June 21, 2005**

The Anti-Defamation League is a strongly pro-religion, national human relations and civil rights organization. For over 90 years, we have been an ardent advocate for religious freedom for all Americans – whether they are in majority or minority. ADL believes that best way to safeguard religious freedom is through the separation of church and state embodied in the First Amendment's Establishment Clause, which allows Americans to practice their various faiths freely and boldly. To this end, we strive to advance religious liberty by opposing government interference, endorsement, and entanglement with religion. In the familiar words of Justice Black: "A union of government and religion tends to destroy government and degrade religion." *Engel v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421, 431 (1962).

We share the Administration's appreciation for the vital role religious institutions have historically played in addressing many of our nation's most pressing social needs, as a critical complement to government-funded programs. For decades, government-funded partnerships with religiously-affiliated organizations – such as Catholic Charities, Jewish Community Federations, and Lutheran Social Services – have helped to combat poverty and provided housing, education, and health care services for those in need. These successful partnerships have provided excellent service to communities largely unburdened by concerns over bureaucratic entanglements between government and religion. Indeed, safeguards have protected beneficiaries from unwanted and unconstitutional proselytizing during the receipt of government-funded services. They have also protected the integrity and sanctity of America's religious institutions, whose traditional independence from government has contributed to the flourishing of religion in our country.

Federal "charitable choice" provisions, first enacted as part of welfare reform, drug treatment, and job training initiatives during the Clinton Administration, mandate that whenever the Federal government allows private organizations to assist in the distribution of welfare benefits, it must also give religious organizations and sectarian institutions, which integrate religious practices into their programs, an equal opportunity to participate. The first four "charitable choice" provisions were enacted without the benefit of congressional hearings and with almost no floor debate on their breadth and sweeping impact. In contrast, we very much appreciate the fact that this Subcommittee has devoted so much time and attention to this issue – both in Washington and in the field.

The Clinton Administration never promulgated rules and regulations to implement the new "charitable choice" provisions – and indicated formally that it was their view that government funds should not be available to pervasively sectarian institutions. In contrast, the Bush Administration has advanced its faith-based initiative through a series of Executive Orders, complemented by the adoption of new grantmaking and contracting rules by many federal agencies. We strongly believe that every component of the President's faith-based initiative must maintain essential safeguards for protecting both religious organizations and beneficiaries. Past experience with government and religiously-affiliated organizations working as partners has amply demonstrated that these necessary safeguards do not interfere with the ability of these organizations to provide excellent service to our country's most needy citizens.

The implementation of the faith-based initiative to date has been deeply troubling on policy and constitutional grounds. We would oppose any legislation, such as H.R. 1054, that seeks to codify central elements of the President's faith-based initiative without including necessary constitutional and anti-discrimination safeguards. Specifically:

1. By comparing religious and non-religious providers and seeking to treat them as equals, the faith-based initiative and H.R. 1054 fail to recognize the unique place that religion has in our society and in our constitutional scheme. Religion should be above the fray of government funding, government regulation, and government auditing, not entangled in it.
2. All funds distributed under the faith-based initiative must prohibit the use of government money for inherently religious activity, such as prayer, religious instruction, and proselytizing. However, some regulations thus far promulgated under the faith-based initiative and the non-binding "Sense of Congress" section of H.R. 1054 would permit these activities to occur "separately in time or location." These provisions fail to mandate sufficient distance between such activity and the delivery of services. Will a beneficiary remain free from inherently religious activity when that activity occurs immediately before the government-funded services are provided, or when that activity happens contemporaneously in a room adjacent to where the government-funded activity occurs? We have strongly urged that standard operating procedures under the faith-based initiative should include a requirement of separation between government-funded social welfare activities and an organization's religious activities in both time and location. All grants to faith-based groups should also require participating organizations to clearly explain the fact that participation in inherently religious activities is voluntary at the outset of a beneficiary's receipt of services.
3. Rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative that deal with acquisition, construction, or rehabilitation of a facility sometimes permit the government and the religious organization to split the costs associated with these activities. This practice, however, will inevitably cause the government and religious organizations to enter into what are, at best, unseemly negotiations as to what constitutes religious activity and what does not. Rules of this kind have raised the deeply-disturbing specter of intrusive government compliance monitoring of religious organizations' activities within these dual-use facilities. H.R. 1054 does not adequately address the issue of enforcement of the separation between religion and government funds, which raises many very difficult questions: Will the government remove government-funded structures from offending institutions? Will it place liens on houses of worship if they fail to adequately comply? What happens to the structures built with government funds when secular programs cease, but the institution wants to continue to utilize these facilities for religious purposes? The bill is silent regarding such concerns.
4. Like many new agency rules and regulations, H.R. 1054 explicitly allows recipients of faith-based funds to display religious art, icons, and images on the walls of the institution. However, proselytizing, instruction, and worship can and does occur through such displays. The setting in which these religious symbols are present may well constitute a pervasively sectarian atmosphere in which members of a different religion may not feel comfortable or welcome to receive their government-funded benefits.
5. H.R. 1054 and federal agency rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative provide that government-funded beneficiaries may not be discriminated against in the receipt of services "on the basis of religion or religious belief." However, those terms are not

defined, and therefore, a beneficiary or prospective beneficiary could be denied benefits for failure to participate in or be present for a religious practice. Existing rules could plainly permit recipients of government-funded social services to be required to, among other things, sit quietly, bow their heads, or remain standing during the delivery of proselytizing messages using facilities and equipment funded by the government. This kind of activity is explicitly prohibited by the rule in *Santa Fe v. Doe*, 520 U.S. 290 (2000). We have strongly recommended that all rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative include a prohibition on discrimination in connection with a "refusal to participate in or attend a religious practice."

6. Many agency rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative – and a number of pending legislative measures -- have raised the unseemly prospect of government-funded employment discrimination. If a government-funded program may make employment decisions based on religion, those government-funded positions will not be open to all Americans. The exemption for religious institutions in Title VII was never intended to provide a basis for government-funded discrimination. Congress has thus far resisted efforts to codify authority for religious organizations to discriminate in their employment practices when they receive government funds. Congress should continue to resist such efforts, which threaten the civil rights of all Americans.
7. Many rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative provide for direct government grants to pervasively sectarian institutions. Yet, *Bowen v. Kendrick*, 187 U.S. 589 (1988), explicitly rejected this practice as a violation of the Establishment Clause. This rule is not altered by *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*, 536 U.S. 639 (2002), which deals only with indirect funding.
8. Rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative fail to ensure that proper firewalls between government-funded services and the core religious activities of a religious organization are developed, so that taxpayer dollars are not channeled into other religious activities of sectarian organizations. As a practical matter, we believe religious organizations should be required to establish a separate corporate structure to provide government-funded social welfare services. Any codification of the faith-based initiative should require the establishment of this kind of separate corporate structure.
9. Many of the rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative clearly contemplate the voucherization of government-funded social services. Yet, the Supreme Court's ruling in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*, 536 U.S. 639 (2002), does not clear the way for social services vouchers. It clears the way only for a narrowly-crafted school voucher program or "true individual choice" in a larger context of nonreligious providers. That is, it is not just that voucher participants in *Zelman* had choices; they also had choices that included secular alternatives. Rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative have too frequently not provided for secular alternatives in cases where the voucher provider is religious. In addition, many government-funded beneficiaries are individuals who cannot be said to be exercising "true independent choice" in receiving vouchers for these essential government social services. Without comparable, equally accessible secular alternatives, beneficiaries may not be willing or able to object to programs run by pervasively sectarian institutions – where they may be required to worship, engage in religious education, or be subject to proselytizing.
10. H.R. 1054 fails to provide for the establishment of secular alternatives or for active notification about secular alternatives when available. This step is essential to ensuring that a beneficiary is not subjected to receiving government benefits in a manner inconsistent with his or her religious convictions. All rules promulgated under the faith-



based initiative should require that participants are offered equally accessible, comparable, secular services whenever possible.

11. Rules promulgated under the faith-based initiative have thus far failed to take any steps to prevent government money from flowing to anti-Semitic, racist, or bigoted organizations.

We oppose H.R. 1054 in its current form and would urge Members not to support any effort to codify central elements of the faith-based initiative without incorporating the range of constitutional and anti-discrimination safeguards outlined in this statement.

Thank you very much.



**Memorandum**

April 25, 2005

**TO:** House Committee on Government Reform  
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy & Human Resources  
Attention: Brandon Lerch

**FROM:** C. Stephen Redhead  
Specialist in Life Sciences  
Domestic Social Policy Division

**SUBJECT: SAMHSA's Charitable Choice Laws and Regulations: Rights of Beneficiaries to an Alternative Provider**

The 106<sup>th</sup> Congress enacted two charitable choice laws that apply to substance abuse treatment and prevention programs funded by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). The intent of the laws is to permit faith-based organizations to compete on an equal footing for SAMHSA substance abuse funding, without impairing the religious character of such organizations and without diminishing the religious freedom of the program beneficiaries. This memorandum focuses on the so-called "opt-out" provisions, which give beneficiaries who object to the religious character of their assigned provider a right to services from an alternative service provider.

**SAMHSA's Charitable Choice Laws**

Section 3305 of the Children's Health Act of 2000 (P.L. 106-310) added charitable choice provisions to Title XIX of the Public Health Service Act. Title XIX authorizes the Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment (SAPT) block grant, which is administered by SAMHSA's Center for Substance Abuse Treatment. The charitable choice provisions in Title XIX, however, apply to recipients of all types of SAMHSA substance abuse funding (i.e., discretionary grants, formula grants, and the SAPT block grant).

Section 144 of the Community Renewal Tax Relief Act of 2000, which was incorporated into the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2001 (P.L. 106-554), added charitable choice language to Title V of the Public Health Service Act. The language is broadly similar to that incorporated into Title XIX under P.L. 106-310. Title V provides authorization for SAMHSA and all its discretionary grant programs, as well as the Projects for Assistance in Transition from Homelessness (PATH) formula grant. The charitable choice provisions in Title V also apply to recipients of all types of SAMHSA substance abuse funding.

### Alternative Provider Rights

**Table 1** summarizes the opt-out provisions in both of SAMHSA's charitable choice laws. Note that under the two sets of provisions the responsibility for providing the alternative services rests with "the appropriate federal, state, or local government."

Language giving beneficiaries who object to the religious character of a provider the right to an alternative provider was part of the first set of charitable choice provisions to be incorporated into federal law. Those provisions were included in the 1996 welfare reform law (P.L. 104-193) and applied to the block grant program of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). Opt-out provisions appear only in the TANF and SAMHSA charitable choice requirements. They are not included in the charitable choice language and regulations that apply to other federal social service programs.

**Table 2** provides a summary of the opt-out provisions in SAMHSA's final rule to implement the charitable choice requirements in the Public Health Service Act. The agency developed two sets of regulations. The regulations at 42 CFR Part 54 address implementation with regard to the SAPT block grant and the PATH formula grants, in which the state has most of the responsibility for implementation. The regulations at 42 CFR Part 54a address implementation with regard to SAMHSA's discretionary grant programs, in which implementation responsibility falls to the state government, the local government, or to SAMHSA, depending on the grantee.

I can find nothing in the public documentation of the development of SAMHSA's charitable choice laws (e.g., committee hearings and reports, floor debates) that discusses the opt-out provisions. I am enclosing a copy of SAMHSA's charitable choice final rule, which was published in the Federal Register on September 30, 2003. The agency's discussion of and its response to the comments it received on the opt-out provisions begins on page 56436.

XPΣ-4

Table 1. SAMHSA's Charitable Choice Laws — Rights of Program Beneficiaries to an Alternative Provider

| PHS Act Section 1955(e), as added by P.L. 106-310  | PHS Act Section 582(f), as added by P.L. 106-554   |
|--|--|
| <p>If a beneficiary or prospective beneficiary objects to the religious character of a SAMHSA-funded substance abuse program, the appropriate government agency (federal, state, or local) must provide, within a reasonable period of time, services from an alternative and accessible provider that have a value that is not less than the value of the services that would have been received from the initial provider to which the individual objected. The appropriate government agency (federal, state, or local) must ensure that beneficiaries and prospective beneficiaries are given notice of their rights to services from an alternative provider.</p> | <p>If a beneficiary or prospective beneficiary objects to the religious character of a SAMHSA-funded substance abuse program, that provider, within a reasonable period of time and after considering any list of providers available from state or local government, must refer the individual to services from an alternative and accessible provider that have a value that is not less than the value of the services that would have been received from the initial provider to which the individual objected. The initial provider must notify the appropriate government agency (federal, state, or local) that administers the alternative program about its referral, and ensure that the individual makes contact with the alternative provider. Further, SAMHSA-funded treatment programs, public agencies that refer individuals to SAMHSA programs, and governments (federal, state, or local) that administer the programs must ensure that beneficiaries and prospective beneficiaries are given notice of their rights to services from an alternative provider.</p> |

**Table 2. SAMHSA's Charitable Choice Regulations — Rights of Program Beneficiaries to an Alternative Provider**

| 42 CFR Part 54.8 (SAPT Block Grants and PATH Grants)  | 42 CFR Part 54a.8 (SAMHSA Discretionary Funding)   |
|---|--|
| <p>Generally, if a beneficiary or prospective beneficiary objects to the religious character of a program that receives SAPT or PATH funding, that individual shall have rights to notice, referral, and alternative services, within a reasonable period of time after the date of objection.</p>  | <p>Generally, if a beneficiary or prospective beneficiary objects to the religious character of a program that receives SAMHSA discretionary funding, that individual shall have rights to notice, referral, and alternative services, within a reasonable period of time after the date of objection. When SAMHSA awards discretionary funds to a state or local government, the unit of government that receives the funds is responsible for providing alternative services. When SAMHSA provides discretionary funds directly to faith-based organizations, SAMHSA will work with those organizations and consult with the states to ensure that beneficiaries are provided alternative services.</p>  |
| <p><b>Notice.</b> Programs that refer an individual to an alternative service provider, and the state government that administers the programs, shall ensure that beneficiaries and prospective beneficiaries are given notice of their right to a referral and to services that reasonably meet the requirements of timeliness, capacity, accessibility, and equivalency.</p>  | <p><b>Notice.</b> Programs that refer an individual to an alternative service provider, and the appropriate federal, state, or local governments that administer the programs, shall ensure that beneficiaries and prospective beneficiaries are given notice of their right to a referral and to services that reasonably meet the requirements of timeliness, capacity, accessibility, and equivalency.</p>  |
| <p><b>Referral.</b> The state must have a system in place that ensures that the following occurs. If a beneficiary or prospective beneficiary objects to the religious character of an SAPT- or PATH-funded program, that program must refer the individual to an alternative provider, notify the state of the referral, and ensure that the individual makes contact with the alternative provider. In making the referral, the religious organization must consider any provider list that the state or local government makes available. All referrals must be in a manner consistent with applicable confidentiality laws.</p> | <p><b>Referral.</b> If a beneficiary or prospective beneficiary objects to the religious character of a SAMHSA-funded program, that program must refer the individual to an alternative provider. (1) When the state or local government is the responsible entity, the state must have a system in place to ensure that the program refers the individual to an alternative provider, notifies the responsible unit of government of the referral, and ensures that the individual makes contact with the alternative provider. In making the referral, the religious organization must consider any provider list that the state or local government makes available. All referrals must be in a manner consistent with applicable confidentiality laws. (2) When SAMHSA directly funds a faith-based organization, that organization must contact alternative providers and seek to make the referral in a manner consistent with applicable confidentiality laws and notify SAMHSA of the referral. If the organization cannot local an appropriate alternative provider, it must contact SAMHSA for assistance.</p> |

| 42 CFR Part 54.8 (SAPT Block Grants and PATH Grants)  | 42 CFR Part 54a.8 (SAMHSA Discretionary Funding)   |
|---|--|
| <p><b>Alternative services.</b> The alternative provider must be reasonably accessible and have the capacity to provide comparable services that have a value that is not less than the value of the services that would have been received from the initial provider to which the individual objected. States may define and apply the terms "reasonably accessible," "a reasonable period of time," "capacity," and "value that</p> | <p><b>Alternative services.</b> The alternative provider must be reasonably accessible and have the capacity to provide comparable services that have a value that is not less than the value of the services that would have been received from the initial provider to which the individual objected. (1) When the state receives a discretionary grant from SAMHSA, it must use funds from the grant to finance alternative services as needed.</p> |



WASHINGTON OFFICE

## COUNTY OF SAN DIEGO

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June 30, 2005

The Honorable Tom Davis, Chairman  
 Committee on Government Reform  
 2157 Rayburn House Office Building  
 U.S. House of Representatives  
 Washington, D.C. 20515

RECEIVED

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HOUSE COMMITTEE ON  
GOVERNMENT REFORM

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing on behalf of the San Diego County Board of Supervisors to support Congressman Green's (R-WI) H.R. 1054, the *Tools for Community Initiatives Act*, or similar legislation to establish the permanent Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in the Executive Office of the President and help eliminate Federal barriers that prevent faith-based and community entities from competing for Federal funding.

Faith based services are an important component for providers of social services. Since 2001, the County of San Diego has partnered with faith-based institutions to deliver social services to the County's residents. This partnership continues today and creates stronger families, healthier children and united communities throughout the County.

The *Tools for Community Initiatives Act* would help expand the role of faith based and community initiatives by focusing on policy development and coordinating the removal of legislative and regulatory barriers that impede their current efforts. Please work with your colleagues on the committee to take action on H.R. 1054 or similar legislation to enhance the ability of the County to partner with faith-based organizations in the provision of local social services.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas P. Walters  
 Washington Representative





### **A Slander Against Our Sacred Institutions**

**By Nathan J. Diament**  
 Monday, May 28, 2001; Page A23  
 As published in the The Washington Post

When President Bush announced his initiative to expand the partnership between the government and America's faith-based social service institutions, everyone expected the ensuing debate to center upon the Constitution's Establishment Clause and the ever-evolving relationship between religion and state in America. While this is indeed a prominent theme, it has been surpassed, at least in Congress, by another line of attack: the assertion that this initiative will "turn back the clock on civil rights."

This attack is being pressed by a group that calls itself the Coalition Against Religious Discrimination. The name is a savvy tactical move by many of the same people who tried and failed to block "charitable choice" legislation. That legislation has received bipartisan support in Congress since 1996. It was signed into law four times by Democrat Bill Clinton, opening federal grant programs for job training, drug rehabilitation and other purposes to applications from faith-based providers. Moreover, its expansion to other funding streams was endorsed enthusiastically during the presidential campaign by both George Bush and Al Gore.

All of this occurred while interest groups such as the ACLU, American Jewish Congress and People for the American Way decried these measures as a violation of separation of church and state. After serial legislative defeats, initiative opponents cast about for a more potent political argument, and now they have resorted to invoking the evils of discrimination — something all Americans rightly oppose.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the great bulwark against objectionable acts of discrimination, and Title VII of that act bans discrimination in employment on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, religion or national origin. But when they crafted the act, the architects of modern civil rights law created a narrow exemption: They permitted churches, synagogues and all other religious organizations to make hiring decisions on the basis of religion.

It would be absurd, to say the least, to suggest that a Catholic parish could be subjected to a discrimination suit if it refused to hire a Jew for its

pulpit. In 1972 Congress expanded the statutory exemption to apply to almost all employees of religious institutions, whether they serve in clergy positions or not.

The Free Exercise Clause of the Constitution undoubtedly demands this broad protection, and in 1987 the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the Title VII exemption as constitutional. Now opponents of the faith-based initiative have seized upon this sensible and narrowly tailored exemption in their fight against the president's proposal. They claim that allowing federal grants to institutions enjoying the exemption amounts to subsidizing employment discrimination with taxpayer dollars. Their assumption is that faith-based hiring by institutions of faith is equal in nature to every other despicable act of discrimination in all other contexts. This is simply not true.

In fact, in the diverse and fluid society that is America 2001, religious groups are increasingly open and reflective of that diversity. There are now black Jews, Asian Evangelicals, white Muslims, and these trends will only increase. This is because, at their core, religious groups don't care about where you come from or what you look like, only what you believe.

(Secular groups that are ideologically driven function in a similar manner and enjoy constitutional protection for their hiring practices under the freedom of association, also recognized under the First Amendment. Thus, even though Planned Parenthood may receive government grants, it cannot be compelled to hire pro-lifers.)

Those who appreciate the role of religious institutions in America, whether they support the Bush initiative or not, should resist the easy equation the opponents assert, for its implications are dangerous indeed. After all, a defining element of the civil rights era was a commitment to root out invidious forms of discrimination not only in public institutions but in the private sector -- at lunch counters, in motel rooms and on bus lines. If faith institutions' hiring practices are so terribly wrong, are we not obligated to oppose them however we can, irrespective of whether they receive federal funds? If, as the critics suggest, churches and synagogues are such bigoted institutions, why do we offer them tax-exempt status? Why do we afford their supporters tax deductions for their contributions? Why do we hallow their role in society as we do?

Other arguments can be made against the faith-based initiative, and they ought to be vigorously debated. But slandering our sacred institutions with the charge of bigotry should be ruled out of bounds.

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*The New Republic*, February 26, 2001

## Religious Rights: Why the Catholic Church shouldn't have to hire gays.

By Jeffrey Rosen

At the end of January, President Bush signed an executive order removing impediments to charitable choice, which allows religious as well as secular organizations to administer federal social service programs. In the mid-'90s, when an aide to then-Senator John Ashcroft first proposed charitable choice, its opponents claimed it was an unconstitutional merger of church and state. But today most of them, thankfully, have abandoned that argument. In a series of cases over the past decade, the Supreme Court has replaced the rigid church-state separationism of the Warren and Burger eras with a healthy vision of religious neutrality. This vision holds that when the government delegates welfare services to the private sector, it must allow secular and religious organizations to compete on equal terms for contracts. As long as appropriate safeguards are in place—there must be genuine choice, that is, no beneficiary should be forced to receive government benefits in a religious setting—the Supreme Court is likely to uphold charitable choice in its current form. And it should.

Recognizing this new legal reality, most opponents of charitable choice have narrowed their attack. Instead of challenging the constitutionality of charitable choice as a whole, they now focus on its implementation. Continuing a policy that dates back to the civil rights era, Bush proposes to exempt religious organizations that receive government funds from federal civil rights laws that prohibit discrimination on the basis of religion. "Faith-Based Prescription for Discrimination," shrieks the ACLU's website. "Under the Bush initiative, for example, a Catholic church receiving public funds for literacy programs could fire a teacher for getting pregnant outside of marriage." But that's OK. In fact, preserving churches' ability to fire or refuse to hire people who reject their religious values is central to charitable choice; it is necessary to protect religious autonomy and state neutrality. As churches become more enmeshed in the welfare state, the exemptions Bush proposes from anti-discrimination laws shouldn't be scaled back. They should be expanded.

It may seem that religious organizations are asking for special treatment when they demand the right to engage in discrimination with public money, accepting public funds but not the restrictions that usually accompany them. But it's obvious, on reflection, that without the ability to discriminate on the basis of religion in hiring and firing staff, religious organizations lose the right to define their organiza-

tional mission enjoyed by secular organizations that receive public funds. As Ira C. Lupu of George Washington University Law School has argued, Planned Parenthood may refuse to hire those who don't share its views about abortion; equal treatment requires that churches, mosques, and synagogues have the same right to discriminate on ideological grounds. The Supreme Court accepted this reasoning in 1988, when it upheld religious nonprofits' exemption from the federal law prohibiting religious discrimination.

And by extending this exemption to religious groups that receive government funds, the charitable-choice law is careful to insist that these groups can discriminate in the hiring of staff but not in the treatment of beneficiaries. In other words, a Baptist church may refuse to hire Jews as drug counselors, but it may not refuse to serve Jews who ask for drug counseling. Under charitable choice, the requirements of anti-discrimination law extend not to providers but to beneficiaries.

It's not hard to understand why faith-based organizations need to discriminate on the basis of religion to maintain their essentially religious character. A Jewish organization forced to hire Baptists soon ceases to be Jewish at all. Moreover, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, discrimination on the basis of religion seems different from discrimination on the basis of race and gender, because religion is becoming more a matter of choice and less a matter of birth. There are now black Jews and Asian evangelicals; and it's hard to see religion as immutable, or religious discrimination as invidious, when in a multicultural age religious identity is increasingly self-constructed. If you want to work in a Baptist soup kitchen, all you have to do is become a Baptist.

The harder question is whether faith-based organizations should be free to discriminate not only on the basis of religion but also on the basis of gender. In announcing the formation of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, John Dilulio, its new director, emphasized that religious groups receiving federal dollars would be prohibited by federal law from engaging in all sorts of other illegal discrimination, including discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, age, disability, HIV infection, or visual impairment. "Those things are a good part of the law, and no one's talking about changing those," Dilulio said at the Pew

Jeffrey Rosen, *The New Republic*, 2/26/2001

Forum on Religion and Public Life on January 30. "If they were, I wouldn't be here."

But is it really so obvious that these requirements shouldn't be relaxed? The way some courts now interpret the federal prohibition on sex discrimination, for example, threatens the ability of churches to define their religious mission as much as bans on religious discrimination would. Two federal courts have refused to dismiss suits against church schools that fired employees who gave birth out of wedlock. A court in Michigan ruled against a Christian school that refused to hire women with small children. In the best-known case, a federal appeals court in Ohio held that the Dayton Christian School might be immune from suit for gender discrimination, when it told a teacher who became pregnant that she couldn't return to her job because school officials believed that mothers with small children should stay at home. The court invoked a judicial doctrine dating to the 1970s, which holds that applying Title VII's prohibition on sex discrimination to the relationship between a church and its ministers violates the First Amendment's protections for religious association.

Traditionally, this doctrine has allowed churches to discriminate on the basis of gender only in hiring and firing those with ministerial responsibilities; it hasn't protected their ability to fire custodial and non-ministerial staff who refuse to conform to traditional gender roles. In many religions, this distinction is consistent with religious practice: Conservative Jews, for example, refuse to ordain openly gay rabbis but welcome gay congregants. Nevertheless, it's not hard to imagine a situation in which a religious organization is forced to hire choir directors or drug counselors or secretaries whose lifestyles offend its conception of appropriate behavior, changing the group's character in the process. As charitable choice makes an increasing number of churches susceptible to federal regulation, courts and Congress might consider extending the exception to allow churches to discriminate on the basis of sex and sexual orientation when hiring and firing non-ministerial employees as well.

In this sense, the Dayton case poses a dilemma similar to the Boy Scouts case that the Supreme Court decided last June, in which the Court properly refused to prevent the Scouts from discriminating against a gay scoutmaster. Forcing the Scouts to hire those who reject their values, the Court held, would turn the group into something it isn't. To protect the integrity of their religious message, faith-based organizations, too, should be able to refuse to hire drug counselors whose lifestyles conflict with their traditional beliefs—that single women should remain chaste before marriage, for example, or shouldn't work without their fathers' consent. The Boy Scouts case suggests that religious and nonreligious private

associations should receive exemptions from sex-discrimination laws whenever necessary to preserve their distinctive character.

This doesn't mean faith-based organizations should suffer no consequences if they discriminate on the basis of gender in hiring and firing. After the Boy Scouts won their Supreme Court case, there was a political firestorm, and several civic organizations broke their ties with the group, which is now openly associated with homophobia. Along the same lines, individual welfare recipients should be perfectly free to refuse drug counseling from churches that discriminate on the basis of gender or sexual orientation. To get an exemption from Title VII, churches should be forced to own up to the beliefs and practices that, in their view, prevent them from complying with the civil rights laws. In recent cases, some churches have taken the disingenuous position that they don't discriminate on the basis of sex but should be spared the requirement to defend their hiring and firing practices in court because the First Amendment gives them a blanket exemption from having to answer to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In the spirit of the Boy Scouts case, faith-based organizations should be free to discriminate only if they are willing to take the political heat.

In opposing faith-based organizations' right to discriminate on the basis of sex and religion, opponents of charitable choice are being more tactical than principled. In today's political climate, openly opposing charitable choice—which was supported by Bill Clinton and Al Gore and is already embedded in four federal laws—is no longer tactically feasible. So its opponents are trying a stealth attack. As Nathan Diamant, public policy director of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, puts it, "If the goal of charitable choice is to leverage the unique capacities of faith-based institutions with government grants, to force them to dilute their religious character in order to participate is a way of saying that you really don't believe in the whole notion."

But it's now time for defenders of charitable choice to go on the offensive. As faith-based organizations become increasingly subject to federal regulation, they should be exempted not only from the federal prohibitions on religious discrimination but from those on sex discrimination as well. There is an irreconcilable conflict between the democratic logic of anti-discrimination law and the hierarchical values that make faith-based organizations what they are. If faith-based organizations are to compete against secular ones on equal terms, they must be protected from anti-discrimination law to avoid being transformed into something they are not. Sometimes neutrality requires a little special treatment after all.

Jeffrey Rosen, *The New Republic*, 2/26/2001



# The Project for American Renewal

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dan Coats".

U.S. Senator Dan Coats

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John Kasic".

U.S. Congressman John Kasic

Introduction by  
Dr. William J. Bennett  
Co-Director, Empower America

## "The Project for American Renewal"

*Introduction by William J. Bennet*

Last September, Senator Coats and I introduced "The Project for American Renewal" with the aim of sharpening and refining conservative thought on government's role in reviving civil society and America's character-forming institutions. Our hope was that it would become a focal point of discussion. That it surely has. In fact, the reaction to "The Project for American Renewal" exceeded our expectations. In less than a year, we have seen an important shift in the national political debate; the Project's conceptual frame work is now driving much of the discussion about social policy and legislation. Indeed, both Senator Dole and President Clinton have endorsed The Project for American Renewal's essentially conservative concept -- as well as some of the particulars. Congressman Kasich's participation is a symbol of the legislative seriousness these ideas have gained. The replacement of the welfare state -- a proposition once considered politically unthinkable and practically impossible -- is now accepted not only as intellectually sound and desirable, but as an urgent matter for legislation.

The Project challenges some basic assumptions about government. And it offers an alternative to the view of government which has dominated public discourse for the last three decades. The Project returns our focus to what Burke called "the first principle ... of public affection" -- civil society. I reminds us that it is in the "little platoon" of civil society where the real work of molding responsible law-abiding citizens takes place.

"The Project for American Renewal" is an attempt to guide and facilitate the process of devolution. It even offers ways in which the federal government can ultimately become an agent in its own devolution by returning power back to the most crucial institutions -- families, churches, private and civic associations -- of civil society. However, recognizing that after decades of inertia, our civic institutions will not spring back to life on their own accord, the Project offers well-considered measure to nurse civil society back to health. It does so by putting government on the side of individuals and civic institutions seeking to rebuild and re-civilize local communities. It not only returns political power from the federal government to state and local governments; it seeks, finally, to return power beyond government, to individuals and social institutions (school choice is a prime example).

I want to be clear and unequivocal in my belief that we need to reduce government's overall size and reach. As government has gotten bigger, it has taken over the work of, and has had an enervating effect on, the character-forming institutions of families, school, churches, and voluntary associations. And that, in turn, has (a) hurt the cause of self-government and (b) turned many citizens into part-time, de facto wards of a "nanny state." That includes, by the way, the middle and upper-middle class and not simply the underclass.

That said, I am under no illusion that relimiting government alone is sufficient to the task of American renewal. Most of what has to happen needs to take place in America's homes, classrooms, churches, civic halls, and television and movie screens.

The Coats/Kasich package is based on a recognition that there are real limits to what legislation - even very good legislation -- can do to solve our most pressing social and moral issues. If the liberal fallacy is an abiding faith in the all-sufficiency of government, then the conservative fallacy could easily become an abiding faith in the all-sufficiency of non-government. Even if the size of government were reduced by, say, a quarter, the public -- parents, husbands, wives and friends -- would still need to meet their responsibilities. Senator Coats and Congressman Kasich understand this and have designed their package in a manner which is consistent with that fact.

One conviction which has grown stronger over time is that if government must do one thing above all other to help restore civil society, it must restore order to crime-ridden neighborhoods and provide security and protection to its citizens. This is government's most important responsibility, the key provision in the social contract. There is simply no way that civil society can flourish if there is lawlessness in the streets.

The task we now face, during the last decade of this "American Century," is to move forward; to meet our responsibilities as parents, spouses and citizens; and to advance responsible, compassionate and morally serious legislation in order to reclaim the noble ideals upon which this nation was founded.

Over the last year, "The Project for American Renewal" has sparked much rigorous debate about America's most complex and important social questions. Now, it is time to get this legislation passed so that we can put these ideas to work and get to the business of rebuilding civil society. We all have part to play. Senator Coats and Congressman Kasich have done their part -- at least, they have done part of their part -- with "The Project for American Renewal." They should be congratulated for their contribution; the time is now to pass their legislation.

*Dr. William J. Bennett*  
*Co-Director, Empower America*



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## "The Project for American Renewal"

*an overview . . .*



What does it mean for a nation to be compassionate? It is a serious question, not given much serious attention.

Liberals seem content to ignore that our current welfare state has a terrible human cost. None of its architects in the 1960s would have predicted or accepted a 30 year rise in illegitimacy of 500 percent, or an increase in violent crime of 600 percent. Yet the congress has continued to reauthorize welfare programs, based on the momentum of good intentions and the absence of alternatives.

Two years ago, Republicans were elected, in part, as a rejection of this definition of compassion. We made clear the War on Poverty has been a failure, with hard statistics and with great effect. It is an argument we won, but the victory feels empty.

In the back of our minds we know that when failed federal programs are cut-- as they must be-- our nation will still be left with unacceptable suffering. Too many children will still enter schools through metal detectors. Too many will still grow up without a family's stability and a father's love. Too many communities will still be imprisoned by violence and fear. The fact that government programs have not worked is no excuse for those in government not to act.

This is perhaps the most visible challenge facing Republicans in next legislative year: can we match our skepticism about government with a bold, new definition of public compassion? Can we dismantle a destructive welfare culture, and still fulfill our responsibilities to the disadvantaged?

Both these things are possible. It is our hope to demonstrate a way for Republicans, consistent with conservative principle, to talk and act on matters of compassion. To this end, we propose four principles of a new approach to social policy:

1) Many of our worst social problems (crime, illegitimacy, despair, anger) will never be solved until the hearts of parents are turned toward their children; until respect is restored for human life and property; until a commitment is renewed to care about our neighbor. Government cannot reach this deep into human character.

2) But there are people and institutions-- families, churches and synagogues, private charities, grassroots community organizations-- able to communicate these ideals and restore individual hope. Armed with tough love, individual responsibility and spiritual values, they often perform miracles of renewal.

3) This reduces (though it does not eliminate) the direct role of government programs, but it also points to an active public mission: to transfer government roles and resources to the value-building institutions of our society, without burdening them with intrusive regulations.

4) Such a transfer demands a radically revised definition of compassion. It is not the florescent lights, plastic chairs and "take-a-number-and-wait" of a welfare office. It is the warm hand of someone who actually cares. The measure of our compassion as a nation is the extent to which we promote this transforming human contact.

*"Can we match our skepticism about government with a bold, new definition of public compassion? Can we dismantle a destructive welfare culture, and still fulfill our responsibilities to the disadvantaged?"*

What does this contribute to the social policy debate? It allows us to promote moral and religious answers to human problems, without favoring any one moral or religious vision. The institutions we seek to empower are Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and of no particular faith-- a riot of pluralism. This approach permits us to abandon our illusions about bureaucratic compassion, and still keep an active commitment to the disadvantaged, especially to children. It also allows us to talk about hope once again in a welfare debate that is starved for it.

Our specific goal is to provide a new focus for legislative action next year. In every social debate-- on housing, family policy, drug treatment, education, welfare-- we intend to draw attention to local, private and religious efforts that are dramatically successful in solving social problems. More than that, we are committed to making creative proposals that defer to them and strengthen them. The conservative rallying cry we are proposing for the next session of congress is "Power to the People."

We have introduced 16 proposals in the House and Senate, in legislation called "The Project For American Renewal," to jump-start this discussion. Each measure transfers authority and resources, through tax credits, vouchers and grants, to charities, community organizations, character education efforts, maternity homes and community development corporations, to encourage their work among the disadvantaged.

The centerpiece of the plan is a charity tax credit, allowing every taxpaying family to give \$1,000 of what they owe the government each year to private, anti-poverty charities in their own community. It is paid for by diverting a small portion of federal welfare spending (gradually substituting for about five percent over five years) and by cutting corporate welfare (accounting for about a third of a cost). The credit would both reduce government and increase the resources getting directly to the disadvantaged, because those funds would not be filtered through a government bureaucracy that takes a cut of its own. Right now, by one estimate, some 67 percent of all federal welfare spending ends up in the pockets of the nonpoor.

We have tried an experiment. In a variety of groups we have asked the following question: If you wanted to give some of your income toward helping the poor, would you do it by contributing to local, privately run charitable organizations, or would you give your money to the local welfare department? The answer is always the same. Americans trust people who actually care, not bureaucrats who are paid to care.

As a matter of policy, this direction of reform is promising. It is an alternative, at least, to going through the empty motions of bureaucratic compassion, reauthoriz-

*continued . . .*

ing programs year after year that don't even bother to keep track of their dismal results.

If that is not enough, it is also a political opportunity for both parties. For Democrats, it is a chance to move beyond a stale defense of the status quo. For Republicans, it is an opportunity to overcome their compassion gap, articulating a hopeful response to social problems. "The political party," comments Michael Novak, "that best makes mediating structures the North Star of a new bipartisan agenda will dominate practical politics for the next fifty years."

We, as conservative Republicans, intend to test that theory.

"The Project for American Renewal" is focused on shifting authority and resources to three levels of civil society:

- **Effective Compassion:**

Encouraging private and religious charities and individual acts of giving and caring as a partial alternative to bureaucratic approaches. This section includes a charity tax credit, the legislative centerpiece of the Project for American Renewal.

- **Community Empowerment:**

Giving neighborhoods and grassroots organizations (such as neighborhood watches and community development corporations) the economic and social tools to renew a sense of community.

- **Fathering, Mentoring and Family:**

Supporting fathers and mentors in their essential task of instilling character in children

Community activist Robert Woodson makes the point that every social problem, no matter how severe, is currently being defeated somewhere, by some religious or community group. One of America's great, untold stories. No alternative approach to our cultural crisis holds promise, because these institutions have resources denied to government at every level--spiritual vitality and true compassion. It is time to publicly, creatively, and actively take the lead in the struggle to recivilize American society.



## Effective Compassion

America's most aggressive cultural diseases-- family breakdown, decaying civic institutions, rising crime, addiction and illegitimacy-- seem virtually immune to politics. They have received \$5.4 trillion in government spending, and have turned generations of public policy reformers into cynics and pessimists.

On the left, the traditional response has been cash transfers, now discredited by a culture of dependence. On the right, the hope has been for a rising economy to lift all boats. But Reagan's prosperity produced 18.4 million new jobs without making a significant dent in the underclass. Economic opportunity, we have found, is an empty concept in neighborhoods where 90 percent of children lack a father; pay at entry level jobs is dismissed as "chump change;" and young people (on good evidence) don't expect to live past their twentieth birthday.

Economic redistribution and economic growth have both shown their limits. "What is wanted," argues Irving Kristol, "is a black John Wesley to do for the 'underclass' what Wesley did for the gin-ridden working class in 18th century Britain. Reformation has to be on the agenda, not relief." It should be added that Wesleys are needed for every race, because the underclass problem does not discriminate.

This theme was taken up by President Clinton in a speech to high school students in suburban Virginia. "Don't you believe," he asked, "that if every kid in every difficult neighborhood in America were in a religious institution on weekends--a synagogue on Saturday, a church on Sunday, a mosque on Friday--don't you really believe that the drug rate, the crime rate, the violence rate, the sense of self-destruction would go way down and the quality and character of this country would go way up?"

It was a founding principle of the modern, liberal state that society must change if we ever hope to change individuals. It is the dawning truth of our time that this principle is precisely backwards. Individuals must change if we ever hope to change our society. Matters of behavior and character have assumed a central place in America's debate on social policy-- the value men and women place on life and property, the commitment they show to marriage, the sacrifices they make for their children.

If, to confront urgent social problems, reformation must be on the agenda, the direct role of government is nonexistent. It can feed the body but it cannot touch the soul. That delicate work is performed by a certain kind of intermediary institution: a private and religious charity.

This outlook violates the credentialism of public service bureaucracies, which often dismiss these private and charitable efforts as unprofessional and unsystematic. By any objective measure, however, most private and religious organizations are more effective, efficient and compassionate than government programs, for at least three reasons.

First, religious organizations have the freedom to require changed behavior in return for help. Once criticized as paternalistic, these groups assert the essential connection between responsibility and human dignity.

Second, their approach is personal rather than bureaucratic. The literal meaning of "compassion," as historian Marvin Olasky points out, is "suffering with." These groups understand that serving those in need is not primarily a function of professional background but of individual commitment.

Third, religious organizations often provide an element of moral challenge and spiritual renewal that government programs cannot duplicate. Robert Woodson, Sr. observes, "People, including me, would check out the successful social programs-- I'm talking about the neighborhood-based healers who manage to turn people around-- and we would report on such things

*"Matters of behavior and character have assumed a central place in America's debate on social policy-- the value men and women place on life and property, the commitment they show to marriage, the sacrifices they make for their children."*

*"In a period of 'compassion fatigue' and frustration over counterproductive social spending, institutions like the Gospel Mission, multiplied around the country, are a source of hope beyond anything the government can offer. The measure of our compassion as a nation is the manner in which we celebrate, accommodate and promote their work."*

size, funding, leadership, technique. Only recently has it crystallized for me that the o virtually all these programs had in common was a leader with a strong element of spiri We don't yet have the scales to weigh the ability some people have to supply mean provide the spiritual element I'm talking about. I don't know how the details might wo selves out, but I know it makes as much sense to empower those who have the spiritua withal to turn lives around as to empower those whose only qualification is credentials.

A vivid contrast between government and private approaches is found in Washingto just blocks from the Capitol. The Gospel Mission, run by the Reverend John Woods, is less shelter that offers unconditional love but accepts no excuses. Residents are requirec random drug tests. If they violate the rules, they are told to leave the program.

The success of the mission, however, comes down to something simple: It does mc provide a meal and treat an addiction, it offers spiritual renewal. One addict who came to end Woods after failing in several government programs observed, "Those programs ge take addictions from you, but don't place anything within you. I needed a spiritual lifting like Reverend Woods are like God walking into your life. Not only am I drug-free, but m that, I can be a person again."

The Gospel Mission has a 12-month rehabilitation rate of 66 percent, while gove programs often count a 10 percent rate as successful -- and government programs mai spend many times more money per person.

In a period of "compassion fatigue" and frustration over counterproductive social spc institutions like the Gospel Mission, multiplied around the country, are a source of hope anything the government can offer. The measure of our compassion as a nation is the me which we celebrate, accommodate and promote their work.

Nathan Glazer, who helped construct the Great Society, argThe Limits of Social Policy, "The breakdown of traditional modes of behavior is the chief cause of our social problem increasingly convinced that some important part of the solution to our social problems traditional practices and traditional restraints. Since the past is not recoverable, what gu can this possibly give? It gives two forms of guidance: first, it counsels hesitation in the d ment of social policies that sanction the abandonment of traditional practices, and secon perhaps more helpful, it suggests that the creation and building of new traditions, or ne sions of old traditions, must be taken more seriously as a requirement of social policy its

Those traditions are generally carried by private and religious institutions and caring viduals. They should be invited to participate in the renewal of our society. "The Projc American Renewal" includes legislative measures to encourage these institutions, withc dermining them with government control:

THE CHARITY TAX CREDIT ACT -- This bill, the centerpiece of the Project for Americ Renewal, would give approximately 5 percent of federal spending on welfare to privat poverty charities through a tax credit. Private and religious organizations are uniquely capc instilling morality and responsibility along with material relief.

THE COMPASSION CREDIT -- There is more to compassion than writing a check to either the federal government or a private institution. This measure provides a \$500 tax credit to people who open their homes to care for some of the most needy members of our society including battered women, women in crisis pregnancies, the homeless, and the dying--including AIDS and cancer patients.

THE MEDICAL VOLUNTEER ACT -- One of the obstacles that discourages health care providers from volunteering their services to the poor is the prohibitive cost of liability insurance. This proposal would extend federal liability coverage to medical volunteers providing free help to the poor. Doctors who volunteer their expertise should be commended, not threatened with unreasonable lawsuits.

THE COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP ACT -- As the federal government confronts its limits in fighting poverty and restoring hope, it is increasingly necessary for people of faith to help relief and rescue. This proposal encourages states and communities to match welfare families and nonviolent offenders with churches, synagogues and mosques committed to helping them achieve independence. A caring community, with the resource of spiritual renewal, is more effective than a distant bureaucracy.



## The Charity Tax Credit Act

The Congress is currently focused on the essential task of clearing away the ruins of the Great Society. Centralized, bureaucratic anti-poverty programs have failed, and that failure has had a human cost. It is measured in broken homes and violent streets.

Yet, while our Great Society illusions have ended, the suffering of many Americans has not. Indifference to that fact is not an option.

Real hope in defeating poverty is found among those people and institutions that not only feed the body but touch the soul. It is important for us not only to spread authority and resources within the levels of government, but to spread them beyond government-- to private and religious institutions that have spiritual and moral resources denied to welfare bureaucracies.

The "Charity Tax Credit Act" will take a small portion of welfare spending in America and give it through the tax code to private and religious institutions that effectively provide individuals with hope, dignity and help. Without eliminating a public safety net, we want to focus attention and resources where they can make all the difference. This measure is the legislative focus of the Project for American Renewal.

This legislation would:

- Provide a \$500 poverty tax credit (\$1000 for married couples) for contributions to charitable organizations. These organizations must have as their primary purpose the prevention or alleviation of poverty and ensure that 75% of their expenses are devoted to poverty programs.
- Allow a 100% credit on the first \$100 of qualified contribution and a 90% credit for the next \$400. Thus, for a \$500 contribution a taxpayer will be allowed to reduce their taxes by \$460 (\$920 for married couples). This credit would be phased in over five years.
- Permit a multifaceted organization or church to treat its poverty program like a separate entity. In addition, solicitation organizations like United Way can collect contributions provided that at least 90% of the collected funds are sent to qualified poverty fighting groups.

• History shows that the shape of the tax code influences the level of charitable giving. In 1985, non-itemizers could deduct 50 percent of their contributions and gave to charity a total of \$9.4 billion. In 1986, with a 100 percent deduction, contributions rose to \$13.2 billion, a 40 percent increase. (IRS)

• Eighty-one million taxpayers, 71 percent of all taxpayers, currently have no tax incentive for charitable giving because they do not itemize. Of this group, over 95 percent have incomes lower than \$50,000. (IRS, *Statistics of Income Bulletin*, Spring 1995 Washington, D.C., 1995)

• The Professional Receptionist Institute, a small privately funded job training center run by Lessie Handy, a black woman and former receptionist, has a 92% success rate of job placement. Ms. Handy says, "People are still crawling when they leave here. They need someone who understands where they're coming from and will hold their hand as long as it takes; most government people can't or won't do that..." (Marvin Olasky, *Renewing American Compassion* pg.21)

- Require organizations or their poverty sub-programs to file IRS Form 990; make their returns available to the public and account for their expenses on a percentage basis.

- Extend the deadline for charity tax credit contributions until April 15th. This would increase the incentive and opportunity to reduce tax liability by giving to charity.

- Require a GAO study on the type of charities which receive the charity tax credit funds and the kind of service provided to the poor with these funds.

*"The Credit would provide an incentive for Americans of modest incomes to seek out and support the successful programs that serve low-income individuals in their own communities making social welfare programs accountable for their outcomes and creating competition for funds based on success rates."*

Robert L. Hamilton, President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise

*"The charity tax credit proposed by Senator Coats and Congressman Kucinich is the best possible solution to our welfare mess. It gives the power to taxpayers to decide directly how the poor can best be helped, and opens the system to allow such assistance to be provided directly by the more effective and efficient private sector."*

Peter Ferrara, General Counsel and Chief Economist, Americans for Tax Reform

*"For thirty years, Americans have taken it for granted that it is government that must provide welfare. The charity tax credit is a bold and promising alternative. By letting private charities provide benefits in place of government, the tax credit will stimulate new giving, encourage voluntarism, and increase the efficiency with which welfare benefits are delivered. The only losers will be those who have a vested interest in the preservation of the status quo."*

David G. Fierck, PhD, Executive Director, Beacon Hill Institute at Suffolk University

The difference in results between faith-based approaches and government programs can be dramatic. Teen Challenge, with 130 chapters around the country, has a drug and alcohol rehabilitation rate of between 70 and 86 percent, while government efforts often have success rates in the single digits. And Teen Challenge treats clients for a fraction of the cost of other treatment (sometimes only 4 percent of other local programs).

One recovered drug addict, Dyrickey Johnson, comments of a state-approved center where he was a patient, "Oh, it was a nice place. You had your own room, you had a schedule you'd go by. You didn't have to do any work . . . You were told to focus your mind and your willpower. The only problem is that a drug addict doesn't have any willpower." He was back on crack within three months.

Eventually, he ended up at a Teen Challenge chapter. Now he has been clean for three years, is married with two small children, and has become a counselor at a local housing project. The head of that program argues, "We use a Christ-based approach here and it works. Why don't they look at our success rate?"





## The Compassion Credit Act

Individual acts of compassion often transform lives and provide personal care far more effectively than faceless bureaucracies. A teen girl facing a crisis pregnancy or an AIDS patient requiring care can often be helped by families willing to open hearts and homes. A strong ethic of neighbor helping neighbor in times of crisis not only offers help and hope, but revitalizes the spirit of community.

"The Compassion Credit" provides a small incentive to people who open their homes to some of the neediest members of our society. It offsets part of the cost of caring for the most vulnerable, including the homeless, those requiring hospice care, women in crisis pregnancies, and battered women and children. In each case, the referral must be made through a shelter, hospice care or crisis pregnancy center.

While the \$500 credit would not fully cover the costs of care, it would provide an incentive for individuals to reach out to those in need. Government, through the tax code, should affirmatively take the side of those committed to care.

This legislation would:

- Create a \$500 credit to taxpayers who provide home care for individuals in need, including the homeless, battered women, abused women with children, hospice care patients including AIDS and cancer patients, and unmarried pregnant women.
- Provide that all referrals be made and certified through a qualified 501(c)(3) whose primary activity is to provide care to that particular class of the needy.

• Approximately 7 million Americans experienced homelessness at least once in the latter half of the 1980s and as many as 600,000 are homeless on any given night. (Interagency Council on the Homeless, March 1994 Report).

• 3.9 million American women were physically abused by their spouses or live-in boyfriends in 1993.

*"People who are willing to open their homes to needy individuals don't do it for the money, but they do save taxpayers tens of millions of dollars. A tax credit will encourage a greater opening of homes and hearts and make the option available to more than just the affluent."*

*-- Marvin Olasky, The Progress and Freedom Foundation*

"When April told her boyfriend she was pregnant, he was angry: he threw her against the wall outside the mall and shouted at her. April, who'd earned plenty of previous scoldings at home, didn't tell her dad and stepmom. Instead, she left home one night and hitchhiked 200 miles to her mom's apartment.

April's mom, who was always unstable and often malicious, refused to take her daughter for prenatal care. At first she said she was waiting until the girl turned 18 and would no longer be her financial burden. But on April's birthday her mother turned her out on the street, shoving all her belongings and stuffed animals into a plastic garbage bag. April spent two weeks at the county homeless shelter before they told her her time was up and she'd have to move on.

It's hard to imagine a story bleaker than this. But at this point April moved in with a Christian family who helped her gather her courage to call her dad and mend fences.

A year later April returned to visit the family that had given her shelter. Her daughter was bundled against the snow in extravagant layers of pink and lace, tiny socks and shiny hard shoes at one end, a strong-willed porcelain face under blond curls at the other. April's husband was lanky and awkward and proud. He was working full time to provide a home -- a small apartment -- and groceries for his family. April just beamed."

-- World November 26, 1994



## The Medical Volunteer Act

Service is much more than simply writing a check. It often requires the sacrifice of time and talent. Yet in one area of pressing need, that of health care, those willing to volunteer their medical skills are often frustrated by enormous liability exposure.

Many rural and urban residents find it difficult or impossible to access medical care. Patients may simply be unable to afford the care of a doctor unless that physician volunteers medical services. Yet doctors who volunteer to serve the poor increase their exposure to malpractice claims, causing insurance premiums to increase dramatically. Often, doctors willing to help simply cannot afford to do so. Ironically, many American doctors find it easier to serve the poor abroad than they do in our own neighborhoods.

Proposed solutions abound, but are incomplete. The federal government, for example, directly funds training of health care professionals who agree to practice in medically underserved areas. But experience shows that these federally funded programs do not succeed in placing and keeping general practitioners in underserved areas. "The Medical Volunteer Act" encourages the noblest impulses of medicine by making it easier for doctors and nurses to provide charitable care.

This legislation would:

- Extend federal tort claim coverage to any health care professional who provides free medical services to a medically underserved person. Such coverage is already provided for medical services in Indian health facilities and in community, migrant, homeless, and public housing health centers.
- Require notice of the limited medical liability with respect to the service. The provider must be licensed in the state in which

the care is provided, and the service must be covered under Medicaid in that state.

- Require that patients reside in a medically underserved area, whether rural or urban, that lacks adequate access to health care. These areas are already designated by HHS. In addition, the patient must receive the care in a health care facility substantially comparable in nature to the migrant and community health centers.
- Preempt any State law that is less protective of medical volunteers in these circumstances.

• Liability premiums are a substantial factor in determining whether medical services are accessible. Fees are expensive (in Michigan, for example, annual fees range from \$65,900 - \$121,200; in Florida, from \$63,000 - \$130,600) and higher fees lead to higher health care costs. (ACOG: "Medical Liability -- Its Impact on Women's Health Care," August 1994)

• Obstetrical services are particularly hard-hit. By 1992, over 12 percent of obstetrician-gynecologists left the field, and over 22 percent decreased the level of high risk care they provided. In some rural states, less than half the counties have a practicing obstetrician. (ACOG, "Medical Liability -- Its Impact on Women's Health Care, August 1994)

• Many rural and urban residents find it difficult or impossible to access medical services. In Indiana, 57 of the 92 counties are designated as medically underserved as defined by the Federal Bureau for Primary Health Care. (Indiana State Department of Health, "State-Based Plan for Access to Primary Health Care for the Medically Underserved Population by County", January 1995)

*"This is one of the most important bills that will be passed this year."*

*Free Clinic Foundation of America*

*"We strongly support the Senate provision to extend federal liability protection for medical volunteers who provide services in medically underserved areas."*

*American Medical Association*

*"We commend your initiative and applaud this effort to open the door to medical voluntarism, which holds the potential to profoundly impact the healthcare needs of the nation's genuinely needy citizens."*

*Christian Medical and Dental Society*

In 1992, a group of Los Angeles medical professionals opened the Azusa Evening Clinic to provide medical care to the poor. Los Angeles County officials made their contribution by covering the volunteers with malpractice insurance. Now 200 area doctors and nurses staff the clinic.

These volunteers play an important role. "The doctors at county health facilities are often busy with inoculations and other preventive medicine," comments one local official. "By bringing low-cost primary care services to this area, the clinic has been a big help in filling the gaps in our coverage."

The founder of the Azusa Evening Clinic, Dr. George Ferenczi, recalls, "Initially, the county was shocked. They couldn't believe that doctors and nurses would want to work for free."



## The Community Partnership Act

While government must fill certain roles in our society, it is clear that a distant federal bureaucracy is limited in its ability to offer personal attention and care. Those in our society who suffer through life crises often need more than a check in their mailbox. They need strong role models and the accountability of personal relationships. Many churches and community groups are offering just that by pairing with welfare families and nonviolent offenders to provide strong moral guidance and a community that cares.

"The Community Partnership Act" takes a simple, first step to lend a helping hand. It encourages churches and synagogues, on a voluntary basis, to provide mentoring and other assistance to welfare families and non-violent offenders. Communities of faith have both the spiritual and material resources not only to lend assistance, but to transform lives.

This legislation would:

- Institute demonstration grants for programs to match communities of faith with welfare recipients, and to match communities of faith with non-violent criminal offenders, as directed by the courts. The programs are completely voluntary.
- Provide grants to underwrite administrative functions, which may be performed by state or community-level agencies. The state serves as a facilitator and matches churches who volunteer to participate in the program with needy families, who also volunteer for the program.

• The escalating expense of welfare programs represents families in need. In fiscal year 1993, the government paid out monthly AFDC benefits to 14 million persons in 5 million families. (CRS Report for Congress, Feb. 17, 1994)

• Members of churches, synagogues and communities of faith are more likely to contribute free time to help needy people. Among those who regularly attend church, 63% volunteered; among those not attending church, 44% volunteered; among the general population, 58% volunteered. (Barna Research Group, 1991)

• Members of churches, synagogues and communities of faith are more likely to contribute money to charitable organizations, including churches and synagogues. (Barna Research Group, 1993)

"Frances White said she was about to trade her dream of becoming an operating room nurse for a life on welfare when the church folks with Faith and Families discovered her. "I'd be homeless," the 39-year-old single mother of three said. "I had got to where I didn't know which way to go. I didn't have money for anything."

Then Crossgates Baptist Church of Brandon, Mississippi, a participant in the state-administered Faith and Families program, stepped in with a life-preserver. The congregation paid her telephone bill so they could stay in touch, paid two months back rent, repaired her car and provided food.

Today she is back in nursing school at Mississippi College in nearby Clinton, and back on track to earn a nursing degree in two years. After that, White said, she wants to get a master's degree so she can teach nursing. Meanwhile, Crossgates has adopted two more welfare families and hopes to get them permanently off the welfare rolls." (Times-Picayune, April 3, 1995)

- Require the involvement of the judicial process for non-violent offender program. Like the welfare portion of the bill, all participants volunteer for the program. An offender applies for the program, and if accepted, his attorney may present that information to the court. The court then has the option to include the church mentoring program as a part of the offender's sentence.

- Limit grants to a maximum of \$1 million in any fiscal year. An additional amount of up to \$1 million is also set aside for national information clearinghouses at the Department of Justice and the Department of Health and Human Services

*"The federal government's character is to provide for the common defense but to promote the general welfare. By facilitating establishment of a charity switchboard, the Community Partnership Act avoids the problem inherent in providing and zeroes in on the crucial task of promoting."*

*Dr. Marvin Olasky  
Center for Effective Compassion,  
Progress and Freedom Foundation*

*"The Community Partnership Act makes two important contributions: it implicitly recognizes the dramatic success of faith-based approaches -- especially when compared to purely secular programs -- in turning around the lives of individuals in crisis; and it actively encourages and promotes the work of churches, synagogues and communities of faith as they reach out to those most in need among them. Research has shown that for compassion to be truly effective, it needs to be personal, challenging and spiritual. The Community Partnership Act will help shift the emphasis from compassionate intentions to compassionate results and tangible changes in the lives of families in need."*

*Arianna Huffington  
Center for Effective Compassion,  
Progress and Freedom Foundation*



*"Local, grassroots organizations infuse a community with its warmth, train its people to be good citizens, and make its neighborhoods seem smaller, more human and more manageable."*

## Community Empowerment

Politics in America tends to focus on the role of government and on the rights of individuals. But that focus is too narrow.

There is another important level of American life that lies between a distant government and isolated individuals: the community. When it is healthy, a community includes strong neighborhoods, successful businesses, vital churches, effective schools and active voluntary organizations. These institutions encourage cooperation, build trust and confront social problems before they become large enough for politics or the police. Local grassroots organizations infuse a community with its warmth, train its people to be good citizens, and make its neighborhoods seem smaller, more human and more manageable.

Peter Berger and Richard Neuhaus, in *To Empower People*, call these institutions "mediating structures" which are "the value-generating and value-maintaining agencies in society." "If they could be more imaginatively recognized in public policy," Berger and Neuhaus conclude, "individuals would be more 'at home' in society, and the political order would be more meaningful."

That recognition, however, goes against a powerful trend. Modern liberalism talks a great deal about individuals and their rights, but very little about communities and their standards. "The ruling American culture of liberal individualism," says John Grey of Oxford University, "treats communal attachments and civic engagement as optional extras on a fixed menu of individual choice and market exchange. This has generated extraordinary technological and economic vitality against a background of vast social dislocation [and] urban desolation."

The reason for this dislocation and desolation? Both individuals and the state are crippled without community. Government will never be strong enough to cope with social disorder in communities too weak to defend their own order and values. Individuals find it difficult to escape from disadvantage in cold, indifferent communities where they feel unsupported and alone.

The grassroots organizations of a healthy community are its immune system against cultural disease. Like families, the most basic "mediating structure", their absence predicts a variety of social breakdown. Robert Putnam of Harvard University argues, "Regardless of race, inner-city youth living in neighborhoods blessed with high levels of civic engagement are more likely to finish school, have a job, and avoid drugs and crime, controlling for the individual characteristics of the youth. That is, of two identical youths, the one unfortunate enough to live in a neighborhood whose [civic engagement] has eroded is more likely to end up hooked, booked, or dead."

A weak community eventually undermines economic vitality as well. Capitalism, it turns out, is not a creed for rugged individualists. It depends on "human capital" for its success-- individual habits and skills (cooperation, civility, perseverance, planning for the future) which are only cultivated in the context of community. "Human capital accumulation is a fundamentally social activity," comments economist Robert Lucas, "involving groups of people in a way that has no counterpart in the accumulation of physical capital." Robert Putnam's research strongly argues that economic success does not create strong communities. Strong communities create economic success.

How are the private institutions of a community encouraged? One of the prerequisites, clearly, is personal safety. There can be no community without order. Providing for the security of citizens is, after all, the paramount responsibility of government. "Civic engagement" is improbable when front porches attract random gunfire; when public meeting spaces become needle parks; when evening church services are cancelled because reaching them is too dangerous.

It is necessary to increase the number of police, prosecutors and prisons. The only effective deterrent to crime is the certainty of punishment for criminals, which has become progressively uncertain. In many cases, the best way to reduce the future cost of crime (in resources and lives) is to pay the current price for additional prisons.

There is, however, an agenda beyond criminal justice reform. The most direct way that community institutions are rebuilt is when their role is returned. Communities grow stronger when we depend on them, just as they grow weaker when we replace them. James Q. Wilson argues, "Today we expect

*"Government should actively but not intrusively assist grassroots activists and organizations rebuilding the social and moral infrastructure of their neighborhoods. The goal is not just individual empowerment, but community empowerment."*

'government programs' to accomplish what families, villages and churches once accomplished. This expectation leads to disappointment, if not frustration. Government programs, whether aimed at farmers, professors, or welfare mothers, tend to produce dependence, not self-reliance. If this is true, then our policy ought to be to identify, evaluate and encourage those local, private efforts that seem to do the best job at reducing drug abuse, inducing people to marry, persuading parents, especially fathers, to take responsibility for their children, and exercising informal social control over neighborhood streets."

This provides an important new focus for conservative public policy. Government should actively but not intrusively assist grassroots activists and organizations rebuilding the social and moral infrastructure of their neighborhoods. The goal is not just individual empowerment, but community empowerment. As a practical matter, this means supporting school choice (for public, private and religious schools) with its emphasis on parental involvement and moral instruction; community development corporations, encouraging assets and home ownership; and individuals who want to anchor their communities with small businesses. Berger and Neuhaus conclude, "The mediating structures under discussion here are the principal expressions of the real values and the real needs of people in society... Public policy should recognize, respect and wherever possible empower these institutions."

In this effort, conservatives will need to cultivate allies not normally associated with conservatism, particularly African-American pastors and community organizers who are the experts and examples of neighborhood regeneration. Such an alliance may take some attitude adjustment on both sides, but it holds a unique promise. Their cooperation could be the most unexpected, powerful, hopeful trend in American politics.

"The point of curbing government," says William Kristol, "is not simply to curb it for curbing's sake (though there is merit in that). The point is to enable the strengthening of civic institutions, the reinvigoration of institutions from the family up through voluntary and civic and religious institutions to communal institutions. We must curb government and strengthen civic institutions."

With this goal in mind, we have proposed several measures that would begin to shift the priorities of public policy:

**THE EDUCATIONAL CHOICE AND EQUITY ACT** -- Low-income children, often trapped in violent and ineffective schools, are currently denied the educational choices that many upper-middle class American families can afford. This measure would provide funding to 100 school districts to institute broad demonstrations in low-income school choice. Similar choice already is available to families who use government vouchers for infant day care and to students who use federal Pell Grants for college tuition. Children from kindergarten through high school deserve the same opportunities, in institutions that often emphasize parental involvement and character development.

**THE RESTITUTION AND RESPONSIBILITY ACT** -- Crime is not just a violation of the law, it is the violation of victims and communities, who deserve not only the imprisonment of offenders but restitution for their loss. This measure would provide competitive grants to states to establish effective programs to impose, collect and enforce payments of restitution to the victims of crime. Restitution holds criminals responsible for the damage they cause and tells victims that the broader community is interested in the suffering they endure.

**THE ASSETS FOR INDEPENDENCE ACT** -- Government programs too often penalize the elements of character that are the stepping stones to self-sufficiency and the foundation for successful communities: savings, ownership and entrepreneurship. This measure would reward individual savings by the poor for education, home ownership or starting a business. Community programs which match those savings with private contributions and local funds would be matched, in turn, by the federal government. These assets build responsibility, hope and independence.

THE URBAN HOMESTEAD ACT -- Though government promised to provide low-income housing, it has become the most irresponsible slumlord in the nation. This proposal would turn over all vacant and substandard housing stock owned by the federal government to local community development corporations on a two-year deadline. Housing that government has proven unable to manage should be returned to communities to be renovated by private and religious groups, creating new neighborhoods of homeowners.

THE MATERNITY SHELTER ACT -- As government restricts cash payments under AFDC, many women are still in need of support and shelter during crisis pregnancies. This proposal would encourage the creation of private and faith-based maternity group homes to provide refuge, parenting education and advice on adoption to pregnant women in need. Government entitlements have failed, but mothers in this difficult circumstance still require the help of a compassionate community.



## The Educational Choice and Equity Act

Low-income families are often trapped in urban school systems where the quality of education is declining despite ever-increasing spending by the school districts. Public schools are now more stratified by race, income and ability than ever before, as wealthier families send their children to private schools or relocate to better school districts, while low-income families have no such alternatives.

For those who can afford them, private and religious schools, including those located in the inner-city, have remarkable results. Drawing from the same urban population as the public schools, these private schools regularly produce students with higher academic achievement at less than half the annual costs of the public school system. They have lower drop-out rates and higher college enrollment rates than the public schools and are more racially integrated. They also are free to encourage the character and moral beliefs of their students.

For too long, less affluent families have been denied alternatives to the public education system. The result is that some of America's neediest children have no recourse other than to attend academically poor inner-city schools which cannot even guarantee their safety. "The Educational Choice and Equity Act" will provide 100 low income school districts with the opportunity to experiment with choice.

This legislation would:

- Authorize three year demonstration grants for 100 school districts to provide school choice vouchers to parents, enabling them to send their child to the public or private school of their choice.
- Award grants on the basis of applications submitted by eligible school districts. Those districts which serve the highest percentage of low-income families will be eligible to receive these grants of up to \$5 million each. Students who qualify for free or reduced price school lunches are eligible to participate in the program.
- Give parents vouchers in amounts determined by the district to provide the maximum educational choice for all participants. Parents may use the vouchers for the cost of tuition and transportation at the public or private school of their choice, but the amount of the voucher may not exceed the average per pupil expenditure in the public school system.

- Sixty percent of Americans questioned say that academic standards are too low in the public schools, and the figure is 70 percent among African-American parents with children in public schools.

- Urban high schools fail to graduate almost half their students, whereas 95 percent of Catholic high school students graduate and 83 percent of those go on to college.

- In Chicago, 46 percent of those who teach in the public schools send their own children to private schools. In Milwaukee, 62 percent do so. An estimated 80 percent of the public school teachers in Washington, D.C. do not send their own children to the District's public schools (including Franklin Smith, Superintendent of D.C. public schools).

- Private school costs on the average are only 50 to 60 percent of public schools, yet private school students exhibit a grade level higher performance than their counterparts in public schools.

A compelling example of the power of educational choice occurred in East Harlem, New York. Prior to an innovative public school choice program, students were scoring the lowest of any New York City school district. With the inception of a public school choice program, which gave teachers the ability to design and run the schools and parents the right to choose from among them, student reading scores jumped dramatically. Clearly, parents had no problem making good choices for their children's education.

*"This legislation will put more quality educational choices within the reach of working class Pennsylvanians and other Americans who need them the most."*  
*-- Tom Ridge, Governor of Pennsylvania*



## The Restitution and Responsibility Act

Crime not only violates the law, it violates victims and communities. Forcing criminals, to the extent possible, to repay their victim both restores a loss and enforces individual accountability.

Most states have statutes related to restitution, yet they vary widely in collection and enforcement. In many instances where restitution is ordered, there is no adequate follow-through to collect the full amount. States often lack the internal organization and cooperation among courts, corrections departments, prosecutors, and victim compensation centers to focus on the importance of restitution.

In addition, when offenders claim they are indigent, judges too often do not order restitution at all. Programs to ensure that indigent offenders face up to their responsibilities are needed. "The Restitution and Responsibility Act" provides resources to help states make restitution work, for individuals and for communities.

### This legislation would:

- Provide competitive grants to states to develop and improve the ordering, collection and enforcement of restitution.
- Help states to:
  - 1) collect data on victim restitution
  - 2) create computer systems to track restitution payments
  - 3) improve the collection of restitution, including central billing and accounting
  - 4) enhance methods of enforcing restitution payments such as increasing the sanctions when an offender defaults or garnishing offender's wages
  - 5) train courts and corrections personnel in ordering, collecting, and enforcing restitution
- Requires GAO to conduct study analyzing the effectiveness of each restitution program established in any state

• In North Carolina, a study of offenders found that 46 percent of those who owed restitution had paid none after 3 and 1/2 years. Only 28 percent of felons paid all the restitution they owed, while 15 percent paid a portion. Only 30.8 percent of ordered restitution was collected. (North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission, June 1994)

• Alabama, a state with some of the most comprehensive statutes related to restitution, collects only 13 percent.

• California officials found that by increasing their effort to collect unpaid restitution, they could triple the amount collected.

• Restitution at the juvenile level has also been successful. Eighty-six percent of juveniles ordered to pay restitution paid the full amount or worked the full number of community service hours. (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention)

*"I commend you for your effort to improve enforcement of restitution throughout our nation."*

*-- Anita Armstrong-Drummond, Executive Director, Alabama Crime Victims Compensation Commission*

*"Justice Fellowship strongly believes that one of the primary purposes of the criminal justice system ought to be to hold offenders accountable for taking specific actions to make their victims whole again... Your bill not only recognizes the need for victim restoration but also provides a practical incentive for improving state restitution practices... Justice Fellowship strongly endorses your bill and applauds your effort."*

*-- Steve J. Varnam, Executive Director, Justice Fellowship*

*"Failure to enforce restitution orders reinforces the offenders' disregard for the Court's sentence and erodes the public's faith in the justice system. Victim satisfaction with the justice system is enhanced if the offender is ordered to pay restitution and the collection of the order is enforced. Your bill would create incentive for states to examine their current system and augment their efforts."*

*-- Kelly Brodie, Deputy Director, Iowa Dept. of Justice, Crime Victim Assistance Division*





## The Assets for Independence Act

Congressional efforts at reforming the welfare system have focused on the elimination of federal bureaucracy and the devolution of authority and funds to the state bureaucracy. But devolution to the states almost certainly will not change one critical flaw with traditional welfare programs-- a focus on cash benefits instead of a focus on asset-building and saving. The current welfare system actually punishes the accumulation of assets by ending assistance when minimal asset levels are achieved.

Low-income individuals and families, whether working or on welfare, should be encouraged to develop savings and assets. While cash benefits create dependence, assets build family stability, give individuals a stake in the success of their community, and inspire independence. They encourage people not to live for the moment, but to plan for the future.

"The Assets for Independence Act" promotes savings to help rebuild communities, specifically for education, purchasing a home or founding a small business that will anchor a neighborhood.

This legislation would:

- Create a four-year, \$100 million demonstration program to establish 50,000 Individual Development Accounts (IDAs).
- These savings accounts, matched by public and private funds, would help welfare recipients and low-income families build family assets and become independent from government programs.
- Limit IDA investments to three purposes: purchase of a home, post-secondary education and the creation of small businesses.
- Match individual or family deposits (typically \$5 to \$20 a month) with funds provided by local churches, service organizations, corporations, foundations, and state or local governments. A federal "match" of this money would also be deposited in the account.
- Provide tax benefits to these accounts comparable to an Individual Retirement Account.
- Require that sponsoring organizations must cosign any withdrawal of funds, ensuring the money will be used for the purposes of the act.

- One-third of American households are asset-poor, meaning they have no or negligible assets. (Corporation for Enterprise Development)

- The Corporation for Enterprise Development estimates that \$100 million for Individual Development Accounts could generate over 7,000 new businesses, 68,000 new jobs, 12,000 new or rehabilitated homes, 6,600 families removed from the welfare rolls, 12,000 youth graduates from vocational and college programs, \$237 million in savings and matched contributions.

Eastside Community Investment, a community development corporation operating in East Indianapolis, has established 60 IDAs using funds from foundations. It provides a 9:1 match, so that participants can reach a home down payment and settlement expenses (approximately \$2000) based on a \$10 monthly contribution in about two years. This is a period short enough to maintain a strong incentive to save, but long enough to form strong habits, develop character, and avoid any notion that the match is a handout.

*"The welfare state has reached a turning point. Income support does not move people out of poverty. Income and consumption must be counter-balanced with savings and investment. This is just common sense, but unfortunately, social policy has not been very sensible. As almost all Americans believe, it is time for major changes. Domestic policy should promote both work and savings. Asset building should be a new direction in the U.S.; domestic policy. For this reason, I wholeheartedly support your innovative proposal, 'Assets for Independence Act.'"*

-- Michael Sherraden, Director, Center for Social Development, Washington University

*"The Assets for Independence Act signals a shift from income maintenance policies which merely redistribute income and sustain consumption to investment policies which build wealth and economic opportunity -- for poor families and for the country as a whole. The Act would be a major step in converting the safety net into a ladder."*

-- Robert E. Friedman, Chairman, Corporation for Enterprise Development



## The Urban Homestead Act

There is, perhaps, no greater example of the failure of government to meet even the most basic human needs than public housing for the poor. Images of helpless tenants, huddling behind crumbling walls, living as victims of crime and indifference, have become commonplace in our public housing system. Many of these projects are wastelands of the human spirit.

Generic federal housing programs have missed the importance of homeownership and misunderstood the nature of poverty itself. The poor need more than temporary shelter. They need encouragement to become part of a community in which they have a stake.

What government has conspicuously failed to accomplish is being accomplished everyday by community development corporations. These grassroots groups understand that housing assistance means more than a roof over your head. It means training individuals to be responsible owners, not dependent renters. It means encouraging people to save and dream. This approach not only renovates housing but renews community.

"The Urban Homestead Act" is designed to provide Federal housing resources directly to community development corporations where they can be used to create neighborhoods of homeowners.

This legislation would:

- Require the Department of Housing and Urban Development to transfer ownership of all unoccupied single-family units of housing it owns to local governments over the course of two years.
- Require those local governments, in turn, to offer those properties for sale (on a cost recovery basis) to local community development corporations (CDCs) which provide housing opportunities for low-income families. CDCs will have the right

of first refusal on these properties for six-months following transfer of ownership to the local community.

- Require that HUD transfer ownership of any multi-family housing project that is unoccupied, or in which 25% of the units in any project are found to be substandard by the objective measures established by the bill. Those measures include: lack of hot or cold piped water, lack of working toilets, regular and prolonged breakdowns in heating, dangerous electrical problems, unsafe hallways and stairways, leaking roofs, windows or pipes, open holes in walls and ceilings, signs of rodent infestation.

- According to the National Congress for Community Economic Development, there are approximately 2,000 to 2,200 CDCs currently operating in America.

- Among CDCs, 60 percent are involved in producing housing for ownership, 58 percent in property management, 53 percent in home ownership counseling, 20 percent in administering revolving loan funds, 12 percent in originating mortgage loans for lenders.

- Sixty-three percent of CDCs report serving urban areas, 19 percent serve rural areas, 18 percent serve mixed urban/rural areas.

- CDCs have produced approximately 400,000 units of affordable housing.

*"This Act formalizes a long understood fact that local community-based development organizations are in the best position to rehabilitate, preserve and manage housing for low and moderate income people. The sponsors of this bill should be applauded for creating another vehicle which focuses on the quality of life of the residents of these communities."*

*— Stephen Glaude, President and CEO  
National Congress for Community  
Economic Development*

"Voice of Hope," based in a poor, black area of West Dallas, has all the usual trappings of a government-run "community development" welfare program: Job training, a health clinic, home rehabilitation and construction, a thrift store, and clean-up campaigns.

But "Voice of Hope" emphasizes the Bible and parental involvement. Children who attend Bible classes also begin job training at the age of nine. Teenagers and their parents are offered classes to learn computer skills, music, math, bookkeeping, and art. In 11 years, the ministry has grown to a \$700,000 per-year endeavor that will change the lives of 140 families in West Dallas this year.

Those changes won't all be comfortable for their clients, says Mrs. Dudley, founder of "Voice of Hope". "The intensity of the way we work with our families is very high," she notes. "We work with a family for six months in our housing program, helping them to set up a budget, helping them to start a savings account. We help them overcome credit problems, write letters to creditors. We don't do it for them; we do it alongside them. The key is to build people, not just houses."

—World January 29, 1994



## The Maternity Shelter Act

The current system of providing cash under AFDC to young mothers, often in their teens, has failed. It has undermined families and provided the economic lifeline for generations of welfare dependence. It was wrong from the beginning for government to provide checks to 15 year-old girls on the condition that they leave home and remain unmarried.

But as this destructive policy is reconsidered, many young, pregnant women are still in need, not of cash, but of direction, compassion and support. Ending AFDC could have the perverse effect of encouraging these women to have abortions, which would compound the tragedy, not solve it. Neither the status quo, nor a total cutoff, are good options. Creative ways must be found to give women in crisis pregnancies compassionate help in their own communities.

Private and religious maternity homes provide that help without destructive cash benefits. They are a supportive environment in which young women can receive counseling, housing, education, medical services, nutrition, and job and parenting training, giving them a real opportunity for growth and decision making. Whether a pregnant mother makes a decision to parent or to place the child up for adoption, she will receive important care, training, and life management skills to enable her to make effective choices.

"The Maternity Shelter Act" provides the seed money to encourage a network of maternity homes, providing women with an option beyond abortion and welfare.

This legislation would:

- Provide \$50 million in certificates which could be used by women at private and faith-based maternity group homes.
- Establish a maternity home demonstration program at the Department of Health and Human Services to improve and

expand the availability of comprehensive maternity care services for pregnant adolescents.

- Provide grants to private non-profit organizations to repair and rehabilitate existing buildings for use as maternity homes. Grants are limited to 100 per year, with a maximum grant amount of \$1 million.

• It is estimated that 500,000 unmarried teens become pregnant each year. Approximately 40 percent have abortions. About six percent choose adoption.

• In 1993, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reported that there were just under 296,000 unmarried teen mothers on welfare.

• The total of all out-of-wedlock births between 1970 and 1991 has risen from 10.7 percent to 29.5 percent and if the current trend continues, 50 percent of all births by the year 2015 will be out-of-wedlock.

• The rate of nonmarital teen pregnancy rose 23 percent from 54 pregnancies per 1,000 unmarried teenagers in 1976 to 66.7 pregnancies in 1991.

Maternity homes are proven success stories. The Florence Crittenton Homes and Services reports a high school completion rate of 92 percent for teen mothers in the program. At Amity Street in Lynn, Massachusetts, 95 percent of the residents have completed a job training program or have reached an educational goal (GED, college degree or high school diploma). Of those enrolled in high school, 90 percent graduate. At St. Ann's Infant and Maternity Home, mothers must stay in school and can elect to attend the fully accredited high school located on campus, or go to other local schools.

*"The urgent need for maternity homes makes it imperative that this bill receive consideration. These homes not only provide help for pregnant teens, but, more important, set the stage for their children to receive better care."*

*-- National Council for Adoption*



*"When young boys are deprived of a model of responsible male behavior, they become prone to violence and sexual aggression. When young girls are placed in the same circumstance, they are more likely to have illegitimate children of their own. The result, as a recent article concluded, is 'boys with guns and girls with babies.'"*

## Fathering, Mentoring and Family

A young teaching assistant in a Midwestern city recently saw the sad, disturbing evidence of an American generation raised without fathers. A second-grader climbed into his lap and studied his face, touching his fingers against the teacher's five o'clock shadow. "What are those?" the boy said. The child was obviously astonished to see little stubs growing out of the teacher's cheek. "Do they hurt?" the boy asked. This child and many of his classmates had never been close enough to an adult male to see him shave in the morning.

This is the commonplace crisis of American society. Today 38 percent of all children now live without their biological fathers, up from 17.5 percent in 1960. That statistic is the result of two trends affecting every class and race: out-of-wedlock births have increased by 400 percent in three decades, while the divorce rate has jumped by over 250 percent.

Our society, in the process, has crossed into unexplored territory. "The fatherless family of the U.S. in the late 20th century," observes David Blankenhorn, "is a social invention of the most daring and untested design. It represents a radical departure from virtually all of human history and experience."

The evidence mounts that this new territory is violent, pitiless and hopeless. When young boys are deprived of a model of responsible male behavior, they become prone to violence and sexual aggression. When young girls are placed in the same circumstance, they are more likely to have illegitimate children of their own. The result, as a recent article concluded, is "boys with guns and girls with babies."

There is overwhelming empirical evidence which links broken homes with social pathologies. Seventy percent of prison inmates were raised in single-parent households. Children raised in single-parent families are twice as likely to wind up in jail, and the number of single-parent families in a neighborhood is closely associated with that community's violent crime rate. Nearly three-fourths of children from single-parent families will live in poverty, compared to only 20 percent of children from two-parent families. Children from fatherless households also are more likely to abuse drugs, suffer physical and sexual abuse, and do poorly in school.

The effect is concentrated when not only individuals but entire communities lack fathers. A responsible, adult male in a neighborhood is often an example and source of discipline for children who aren't his own. Yet some neighborhoods and public housing projects are almost completely devoid of males who are more than visitors. Without the restraining influence of fathers and male role-models, these communities often become "juvenilocracies," in which power is exercised by immature, violent adolescents. Charles Ballard of the Institute for Responsible Fatherhood tells of meeting young adults in these areas who have attended several funerals of their friends, but not one wedding.

Liberal ideology dictates that our society should be neutral to these trends. A preference for intact families is dismissed as nostalgia, or even oppression. In reality, it is a particularly practical form of compassion. The "liberation" of adults from traditional family commitments is the most direct cause of suffering for children—more than hunger, lead paint or failed schools. The abandonment of children, particularly by fathers, is not simply a "lifestyle choice," it is a form of adult behavior with profoundly destructive results for children and for society.

Of all the institutions that comprise civil society, the institution of the family is the most essential and the most endangered. Here we need to be specific: The most serious problem is absent, irresponsible fathers. It should not be controversial, though it often is, to say that fathers are not expendable and families are not optional.

Private organizations, such as Promise Keepers, are bringing that message to a broad audience, reminding fathers of the moral duties of paternity. Its extraordinary growth is a hopeful sign, and evidence that many Americans sense we have arrived at a moment of crisis. Charles Ballard has pioneered programs urging biological parents to become real fathers, a process William Raspberry calls "the miracle cloning business." Ninety-seven percent of participants begin supporting their children financially; 71 percent have no more children outside of marriage; an additional 50 percent find full-time jobs to help support their kids.

Efforts like these show that broken trust and attachments within families can be restored. Government offers no comparable hope. It relies on these relationships, but it does not— it cannot— create them. "The

*"Of all the institutions that comprise civil society, the institution of the family is the most essential and the most endangered."*

success of the public safety net," writes social critic Richard Neely, "depends on the success of the private safety net, and the private safety net is the family."

Public policy, however, can choose either to respect the role of fathers and mentors, or to adopt an official neutrality that translates into the suffering of children. Taking the first approach requires a serious reordering of government priorities, in at least two ways:

First, we should communicate a clear, public preference for marriage and family on matters such as public housing, the tax code, family planning and divorce law. Rewarding intact families is not, as some argue, a form of discrimination; it is a form of self-preservation.

Second, in the absence of fathers and families, children need more than funding and programs, they need mentors and examples. Precisely because we have a crisis in fatherhood, we need to be creative in providing children with models of responsible male behavior.

With these goals in mind, "The Project for American Renewal" includes several pieces of legislation:

**THE FAMILY HOUSING ACT** -- One of the most pressing problems in public housing is the absence of stable families and male role models. This measure would set aside 15 percent of public housing units for intact families. Government should be committed to ensuring that children -- especially adolescent boys -- have the restraining influence and example of adult males in their community.

**THE RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD ACT** -- Most experts in teen pregnancy agree that abstinence should be the first priority of public policy, but the federal government's spending priorities place abstinence last. This proposal would require that every dollar spent by the federal government on family planning be matched by a dollar spent on abstinence education. It should be the government's unequivocal message that delaying sexual activity is an essential part of responsible parenting.

**THE CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT ACT** -- One of the best predictors of individual success is the presence of role models who prove to young men and women that success is possible. This proposal links public schools with mentoring organizations to give more children one-on-one inspiration. This type of program is especially important for children whose parents do not play that role.

**THE FAMILY RECONCILIATION ACT** -- Divorce is sometimes unavoidable, but it is almost always tragic for young children, who suffer profound economic and emotional consequences. This legislation would provide incentives through family preservation funding for states to adopt divorce law reform. Reforms would encourage a braking mechanism for divorces involving young children, including a waiting period and required counseling. Government has a vital interest in sending a message that marriage is serious and binding, particularly when children are involved.

**THE MENTOR SCHOOLS ACT AND THE ROLE MODELS ACADEMY ACT** -- The lack of strong, male role models in the lives of boys often stunts their emotional and moral growth, with violent consequences for them and for society. "The Mentor Schools Act" clarifies that single-sex academies, or mentor schools, are a legal educational alternative for public schools. In addition, "The Role Models Academy Act" would create a model residential academy along similar lines. While government cannot provide a father for every child, it should help encourage mentors, role models and mentoring agencies which exemplify responsible male behavior.

**THE KINSHIP CARE ACT** -- When a child is in need of foster care, often the best option is to find a relative willing to provide a home. This measure encourages states to seek adult relatives of children in need of foster care placement as the first preference. Government policies should seek to respect and encourage family ties, not replace them.



## The Family Housing Act

The collapse of the traditional family has had a dramatic, destructive influence on children. Children in single-parent households, most of whom lack a father, are more vulnerable to sexual abuse, poverty, violence, low educational achievement, crime, drug abuse, and suicide.

But when whole communities lack stable families, the destruction is even more concentrated. A father in a neighborhood is an example and source of restraint, not only for his own children, but for other children without a model of male behavior. It is an important goal of public policy, in areas where the federal government has a role, to ensure that communities are "integrated" with intact families. Too many children grow up, not only lacking a father, but never knowing anyone who has a father.

The Family Housing Act is designed to reintroduce families into public housing, where government rules have put them at a disadvantage. The presence of these families would create a new environment, in which children would have a model of marriage.

This legislation would:

- Set-aside 15 percent of public housing units for families headed by two individuals who are legally married.
- Avoid the displacement of current residents by meeting the 15 percent goal through a preference as vacancies gradually open.
- Ensure that increased family earnings do not force intact families from public housing by dramatically increasing rents.

• The current environment in public housing is in need of transformation. Forty-two percent of public housing residents in one survey said they had heard gunfire nearby. Nearly half of residents say their neighborhoods are troubled by drug trafficking.

• Public housing residents are three times more likely to be victims of violent crime than the average of households nationwide.

*"Permitting married couples in public housing will constitute an important test case for a larger idea: the fatherhood idea. Perhaps married fathers can do what mothers, the police, social workers and public housing officials are all too often unable to do: turn public housing developments into reasonably safe and hospitable environments for raising children."*

— David Blankenhorn, President of the Institute for American Values and author of *Fatherless America*

A recent article in the Chicago Tribune (June 20, 1995), made the point that placing families in public housing is not radical reform. It is a return to the history of public housing:

"The first public housing developments were intended for the 'deserving poor,' people temporarily out of work or those whose limited income would not allow them to pay the rent private landlords demanded. Single mothers on welfare were not admitted. Families on public aid were. The mix of welfare families and the working poor provided a measure of social and fiscal stability. Working families served as role models for those striving to achieve economic independence, according to housing analyst Mary Nenno."



## The Responsible Parenthood Act

Since the early 1970s the federal government has spent \$3.3 billion on the family planning program known as Title X. This funding has failed to purchase responsible parenthood: out-of-wedlock births have risen by 400 percent over the last three decades in spite of substantial increases in Title X funding.

Title X clinics do not stress sexual abstinence outside of marriage, or prenatal and maternal health care that help reduce rates of illness and mortality. This is despite the fact that contraceptive-based programs for teens are under scrutiny for promoting sexual activity and resulting in increased pregnancies, while abstinence-centered programs have been found to effectively reduce teen pregnancies.

The United States is in an era of greatly restricted resources and greatly heightened concerns about rampant out-of-wedlock births, especially among adolescents. The Responsible Parenthood Act is needed to shift existing federal funding to programs that stress abstinence until marriage, provide prenatal, maternal and child health care, and encourage adoption for unwanted pregnancies.

This legislation would:

- Require that every federal dollar spent on family planning be matched by another dollar spent on abstinence education and adoption services.
- Shift existing funding from Title X of the Public Health Service Act to the Maternal and Child Health (MCH) Block Grant—Title V of the Social Security Act.

- Increase funding for the MCH Block Grant by \$200 million, from \$686 million to \$886 million (current funding for Title X is \$193 million).

- Prevent states from using MCH Block Grant funding to pay for, encourage or promote abortion, except to protect the life of the mother. States also would be restricted from using subsidies from the MCH Block Grant to provide family planning services in elementary or secondary schools.

- Out-of-wedlock teen births and abortions have increased concurrently with increases in Title X funding. Nonmarital teen births and abortions have decreased or leveled off when Title X funding has decreased. (National Center for Health Statistics, Centers for Disease Control)

- Abstinence-based curriculum written by Emory University found that teens who participated in the program were five times less likely to become sexually active than those not involved in the program. (Family Research Council)

- San Marcos Junior High School in San Marcos, California, adopted an abstinence-only curriculum developed by Teen-Aid, Inc., entitled "Sexuality, Commitment, and Family." The year before the curriculum was implemented, 147 girls became pregnant. Two years after the program's adoption, only 20 girls became pregnant. (Family Research Council)

*"The Responsible Parenthood Act will return authority to state governments, as well as parents, in areas that are vital to society's efforts to strengthen families and reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies. This important legislation redirects our limited resources towards services that actually work and does so in a manner that respects the rights of taxpayers, parents—a group that has been ignored for far too long."*

*-- Family Research Council*

*"Abstinence-centered programs are the best preventive medicine for the problems of illegitimacy, sexually-transmitted disease and emotional trauma among our youth. This legislation is an important step in that direction."*

*-- Kathleen Sullivan, Director, Project Reality*

Seventeen year old Tiffany Scurlock of Washington, D.C. has been teased by some of her peers for not having sex, doing drugs or drinking alcohol. But Miss Scurlock can reply by pointing out that she has been voted Senior Class President and is applying for college—rare achievements in her inner-city neighborhood.

Miss Scurlock is a product of "Best Friends," an abstinence-based program that provides young teenagers with older female role models. "There's always someone you can talk to," said Vashti Jefferson, another "Best Friends" graduate who is leaving inner-city Washington for college.

Of the 440 longtime participants in "Best Friends," only two have become pregnant. Without the support group, more than 112 of these girls would likely have become pregnant, according to founder Elayne Bennett. (Washington Times, June 6, 1995)



## The Character Development Act

Moral responsibility and character are the keys to both individual success and social order. There are a number of organizations dedicated to filling, at least in part, the gap left by absent fathers in teaching these values. The work of mentoring groups is among the most important in the process of cultural renewal.

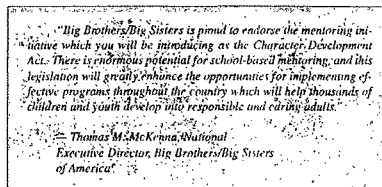
These institutions, such as Big Brothers/Big Sisters and 100 Black Men, often have extraordinary success in reclaiming young lives. It is the purpose of "The Character Development Act" to link them with local schools in innovative programs. It is essential to find creative ways to reinforce the character of children.

This legislation would:

- Give school districts three-year demonstration grants when they agree to work with community groups to develop mentoring programs. These programs would be designed to link individual at-risk children with responsible, caring adults.

- Give priority to low-income school districts, who could use these mentoring programs to reduce juvenile delinquency and the drop out rate.

- Provide \$5 million in research grants to further study, develop, and implement one-on-one mentoring programs for at-risk children.



"Consider the case of the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program. In 1995, Big Brothers/Big Sisters operated all across the country and maintained 75,000 active matches between adult volunteers and children. On average, the adult-youth pairs met for three to four hours three times a month for at least a year in what is the oldest, best-known and, arguably, most sophisticated mentoring program in America.

Well, what difference does it make? Public/Private Ventures, a policy research organization in Philadelphia, decided to find out. Their study examined 959 10-to 16-year-olds who applied to Big Brothers/Big Sisters programs in 1992 and 1993. Over 60 percent of the sample youth were boys; more than half were minorities, mainly black. Almost all lived with a single parent (the mother, in most cases). Over 80 percent came from poor households, 40 percent from homes with a history of substance abuse and nearly 30 percent from homes with a history of serious domestic violence. Half these youth were randomly assigned to a group, for which Big Brother matches were made or attempted. The other half were assigned to Big Brother waiting lists.

The results were startling. The addition of a Big Brother or Big Sister to a youngster's life for one year cut first-time drug use by 46 percent, lowered school absenteeism by 52 percent and reduced violent behavior by 33 percent. Participants in the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program were significantly less likely to start using alcohol, less likely to assault someone, more likely to do well in school; and much more likely to relate well to friends and family. The effects held across races for both boys and girls."

- The Study Connection Program, a mentoring program in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, has been having impressive results. One thousand students from the Ft. Wayne Community Schools are now participating in this program, which pairs each child with a volunteer mentor, who meets with the student one night a week at the volunteer's place of employment. Results from the 1993-94 school year show student participants with greater academic achievement, improved self-esteem, better behavior, and increased attendance.

- The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation recently conducted a study of school-based mentoring programs. This study found that mentoring measurably enhances the odds that children will succeed in school. The study focused on the impact of mentors on students' academic performance during the course of the 1992-93 school year, and found that the mean grades of the children involved increased in all subjects. Teacher comments further indicated a strong sense of improvement in student attendance, attentiveness, and overall performance.

— The New Republic  
December 25, 1995





## The Family Reconciliation Act

Divorce is a complex subject, and the reasons for its rise are varied. But we gain nothing by refusing to confront its consequences. The Council on Families recently concluded, "In the domain of marriage and family life, our recent explosions of freedom have taken a terrible and largely unexpected toll. Many women are experiencing chronic economic insecurity. Many men are isolated and estranged from their children. Many more people are lonely."

The effect on children is especially disturbing. Compared to those in intact families, children whose parents have divorced are much more likely to drop out of school, to engage in premarital sex, and to become pregnant themselves outside of marriage. The decline of family and its human cost is communicated through generations.

Divorce is not always avoidable, but should not always be casual, easy and immediate, particularly when children are involved. The law should reflect the weight and seriousness of the marriage contract. At the very least, government should not use public funds to pay for divorces.

"The Family Reconciliation Act" encourages states to adopt braking mechanisms—a waiting period and required counseling—in divorces that involve children under 12. It also ends the funding of divorce through the Legal Services Corporation.

This legislation would:

- Provide additional federal funding to states, under the Family Preservation and Social Services Act, to implement a waiting period and pre-divorce counseling in cases where chil-

dren under 12 are involved. That waiting period must be at least 60 days.

- Prevent the federal government from directly funding divorce through the Legal Services Corporation, except in cases of abuse.

*"The Family Reconciliation Act will encourage a braking mechanism for divorces involving children, including a waiting period and mandatory counseling. This proposal sends a message to couples wishing to divorce: Severing of the marital relationship should not be done lightly or quickly because it has tragic consequences for all involved, particularly the children."*

— Patrick Fagen, *The Heritage Foundation*

"More than half of all new marriages are failing. That means millions of existing marriages are headed toward divorce courts right now. Separation is the first step many couples take. In fact, only a few states, such as Maryland, require a year's separation before the filed divorce papers can be made final. Why? Because it is in the interest of the state, as well as that of the couple, to encourage reconciliation.

What is the result? Maryland boasts the fourth lowest divorce rate in the United States, 26% below the national average.

As Maryland's example suggests, there is far more marital reconciliation than most people realize. 'Approximately five million couples, or 10% of all currently married couples in the United States have experienced a separation and reconciliation in their marriage,' reported Howard Weinberg in the *Journal of Marriage and Family* (Feb. 1994). And he writes that a third of women attempting a reconciliation are successful."

-- Michael J. McManus, *Marriage Savers*

- The annual divorce rate has tripled in the last thirty years, from 393,000 in 1960 to 1.2 million divorces in 1992. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, September 23, 1993)

- The average income of women with children declines 73 percent after divorce, while 50 percent of all new welfare recipients are recently divorced women and their children. (Don Feder, *Washington Times*, January 19, 1992)

- A recent poll found that 58 percent of Americans believe it should be harder for couples with children to get a divorce. (*U.S. News and World Report*, February 27, 1995)

- The Legal Services Corporation provided assistance in 251,000 divorce cases in 1994.



## The Mentor Schools Act and The Role Models Academy Act

There is no substitute for fathers. But in their absence, it is important to find creative ways to provide children with models of responsible male behavior. Particularly in public schools, those examples are often absent. Only 1.2 percent of all teachers in the United States, for example, are African-American males. Educator Spencer Holland observes, "Black boys don't see credible male authority figures in the home, street or school [who can] show them it's okay to be smart, that it is okay to sing songs."

Male adults, in many communities, have increasingly become visitors in the lives of children, not sources of inspiration and discipline. One promising way to deal with this problem is through all-male education, coupled with all-female education. Both boys and girls can benefit from a single-sex education, in which distractions are minimized. But young, fatherless men in particular are in need of male role models they cannot find at home. In these cases, one study has found "availability of the mentor" to be the single most important predictor of individual success.

Educators report that all-male classes have already produced some remarkable results encouraging teamwork and accomplishment. "The Mentor Schools Act" promotes the ideas of single-sex education to provide a hopeful alternative for interested families and their children.

This legislation would:

- Establish that "same gender" schools are a legal educational alternative and are not prohibited by Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 as long as comparable educational opportunities are available to students of the other sex.

- Establish, in "The Role Models Academy Act," an innovative residential academy for at-risk youth, combining high academic standards and job training with a focus on personal responsibility and discipline. Retired military personnel will serve as teachers, while community members will serve as mentors in one-on-one relationships with students.

- "Same gender" schools currently comprise only 1.2 percent of all American schools.

- Males at single-gender schools are more likely than their peers at co-ed institutions to get good grades, participate in honors programs, graduate with honors and pursue a career in business, law or college teaching.

- Women at single-sex schools are more likely than their peers at co-ed institutions to pursue majors such as science, math, management and economics. They have more opportunities for leadership and aspire to higher academic degrees.

The Robert W. Coleman Elementary School in inner-city Baltimore is a prime example of the remarkable benefits of "same gender" education. In the late 1980s, 85 percent of Coleman's students lived in single-parent homes, contributing to the school's low test scores. In 1990, Principal Hattie Johnson learned of the dynamic effects of "same gender" education and decided to implement this learning strategy at Coleman. By 1993, all classes except music and meals were separated by gender. Coleman went from being one of Baltimore's worst schools to having students rank among the top five in the city in several test categories.

*"Like Hillary Rodham Clinton and many other women of my generation, I had the advantage of a single-sex education. Today, few young Americans have the same opportunity. A significant body of research suggests that single-sex schooling—because of its supportive environment, its focus on academics, and its lack of distractions—might help improve the life chances and educational achievement of young people, especially those who are disadvantaged."*

*"I applaud this effort to encourage the provision of single-sex schools, consistent with federal law, for those youngsters who choose such a setting."*

— Diane Ravitch, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

*"The Role Models Academy Act addresses the increasing need to provide the nation's at-risk dropouts with a 'second chance.' The magnet school model with discipline and respect incorporates a comprehensive high school diploma and a mandatory vocational skill and combines the principles of moral values, citizenship, life skills and a work ethic."*

— Jack Kemp, Co-Director of Empower America



## The Kinship Care Act

Each year, scores of abused, neglected and abandoned children are herded into the world of child protection to be cared for by strangers. For many of these children, foster care will be a refuge, for others, a nightmare. Being separated from a parent is never easy, but we can make the transition smoother by looking to relatives when a child must be removed from his or her home.

Kinship care is a time honored tradition in most cultures. Care of children by kin is strongly tied to family preservation. These relationships may stabilize family situations, ensure the protection of children, and prevent the need to separate children from their homes by placing them in a formal foster care arrangement within the child welfare system.

Yet, rather than encourage relative or "kinship care," some states have made it increasingly difficult for relatives to provide care for their own. Immense financial, emotional and regulatory challenges often frustrate willing kinship caregivers. "The Kinship Care Act" will ensure that grandparents and other adult relatives will be first in line to care for children who would otherwise be forced into foster care or adoption.

The Kinship Care proposal will strengthen the ability of families to rely on their own family members as resources. It will also help soften the trauma that occurs when children are separated from their parents. Living with relatives that they know and trust will give these children more immediate stability during this painful transition.

### This legislation would:

- Create a \$30 million demonstration program for states using adult relatives as the preferred placement option for children separated from their parents.
- Require that kinship providers meet all relevant state child protection standards and are capable of providing a safe, nurturing environment for the child.
- Provide a hopeful alternative to traditional foster care.

*"Children traumatized by insecure and often violent homes should be placed with a relative who is willing to offer love, nurturing and stability to wounded children. Placement with a relative preserves family ties and provides stability not found in foster care. Relative placements maintain family ties and usually saves a child from dealing with caregivers who are strangers to them. Helping these relatives will stabilize families and save future expenditures."*

*-- Rosalie Cauley, Director,  
Grandparents as Parents*

- By the end of 1992, 442,000 children were in foster care, up from 276,000 in 1985, at a federal cost in fiscal 1993 of \$2.6 billion. The population of children in foster care is expected to exceed 500,000 by 1996.

- The National Foster Parent Association reports that between 1985 and 1990, the number of foster families declined by 27 percent while the number of children in out-of-home care increased by 47 percent.

- Children placed for foster care with relatives grew from 18 percent to 31 percent of the foster care caseload from 1986 through 1990 in 25 states that supplied information to the Department of Health and Human Services.

- Children in kinship care are less likely to experience multiple placements than their counterparts in family foster care. Of the children who entered California's foster care system in 1988, for example, only about 23 percent of those placed initially with kin experienced another placement, while 58 percent of children living with unrelated foster families experienced at least one subsequent placement during the following 3.5 years.

"Fourteen-month-old Jennifer Williams has only lived with her mother, a drug addict, for one year of her life. When the state removed Jennifer from her mother's custody two months ago because she had been repeatedly left unsupervised, Jennifer's 40-year-old grandmother Emma stepped forward and asked the State Child Protective Services to place the baby with her. The state did so. However, because the state system does not allow Emma to receive foster care benefits for Jennifer because she is a relative, Emma cannot afford to raise Jennifer. Emma must now ask the state to put Jennifer in a foster home outside of her extended family. "Kinship care," a new alternative for foster care placement which provides foster care benefits to a relative caring for a child, would address Jennifer's situation and enable her to be placed with her extended family."

-- Elizabeth Killackey, *Family Law Quarterly*, Fall 1992