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# *The Challenges Within*

## THE DREAM DEFERRED

What happens to  
a dream deferred?

Does it dry up  
Like a raisin in the sun?  
Or fester like a sore —  
and then run?  
Does it stink like rotten meat?  
Or crust and sugar over  
Like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags  
Like a heavy load.

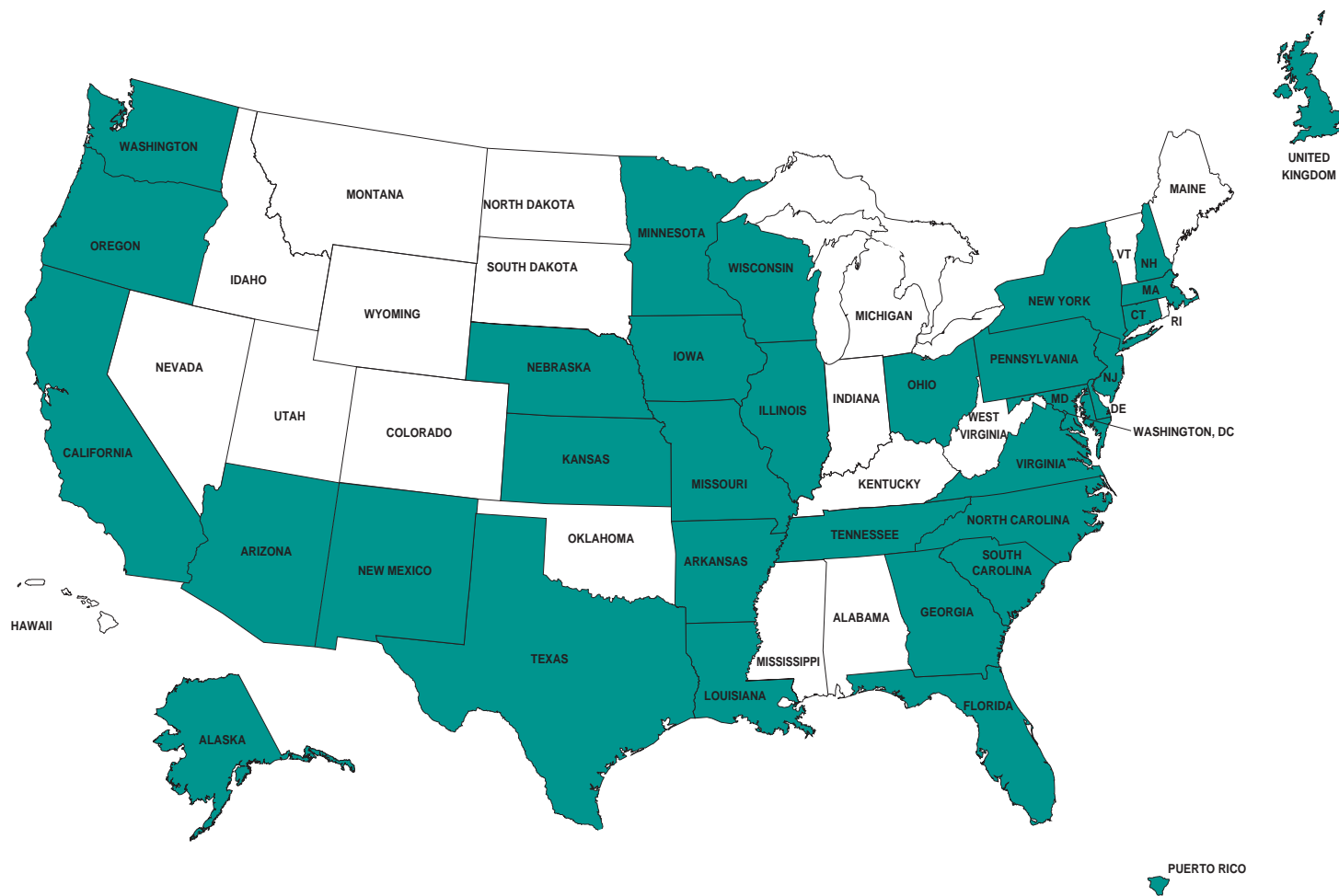
Or does it explode?

*Harlem[2]  
Langston Hughes*

THE MILTON S. EISENHOWER FOUNDATION  
TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY SERIES

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## *Eisenhower Foundation Work: Past and Present*



\* The shaded areas show states, territories or countries with Foundation models, replications or technical assistance — past and present.

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## *Inequality and Poverty, Opportunity and Justice*

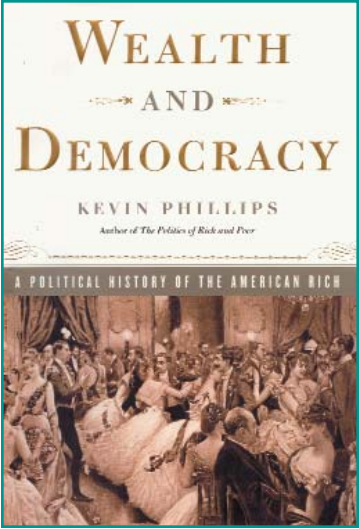
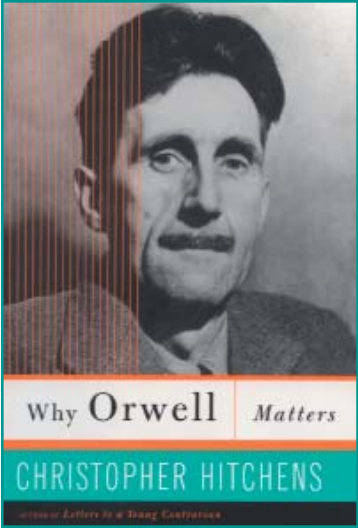
The Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation is the Washington, D.C.-based continuation of two presidential commissions — the 1967-1968 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Riot Commission) and the 1968-1969 National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (the Eisenhower Violence Commission).

The Foundation is devoted to reducing inequality and poverty, enhancing opportunity and justice, redistributing money and power, and moderating the corruption and greed present in American democracy.

The Foundation replicates and communicates scientifically evaluated, multiple solution successes to problems experienced by the poor, racial minorities, the jobless, the undereducated, youth, families, persons leaving prison and America's beleaguered inner cities.

Solutions for many of America's ills are well known. What is lacking is not knowledge, but rather the will among citizens, politicians and policymakers to finance and implement what works at a scale equal to the dimensions of the problem.

The Foundation carries out the dream, too long deferred. These pages suggest how. For details, see [www.eisenhowerfoundation.org](http://www.eisenhowerfoundation.org).



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## *Multiple Solutions for What Works<sup>1</sup>*

Over thirty years ago, after the riots in big cities like Detroit and Newark, the bipartisan President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (the Kerner Riot Commission) concluded, "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal."

The following year, after the assassinations of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the bipartisan President's National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence (the National Violence Commission) concluded, "The greatness and durability of most civilizations has been finally determined by how they have responded to challenges from within. Ours will be no exception."

Founded in 1981 as the private sector continuation of the Kerner and Violence Commissions, the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation is a nonprofit operating foundation and international intermediary organization.

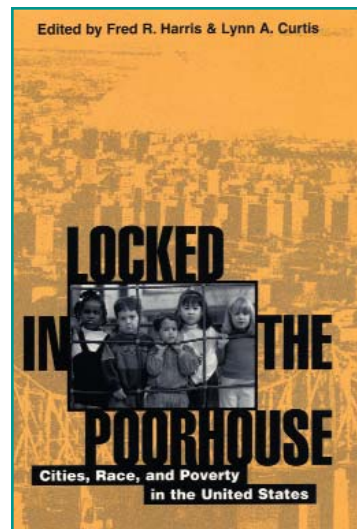
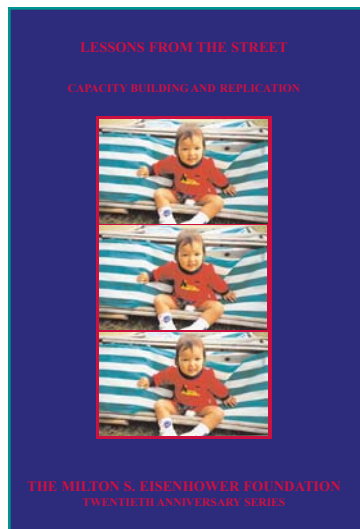
The Foundation is devoted to knowledge-driven action. The Foundation makes grants, replicates successful inner city programs in America and other nations, builds the capacity of the inner city nonprofit organizations that are responsible for so much of what works, conducts research, undertakes evaluations, writes policy reports, advocates policy through print and electronic media, utilizes its web site as a knowledge base for change, develops alternatives to traditional media, facilitates grassroots movements, and sponsors international and domestic policy forums.

In its endeavors, the Foundation typically matches resources from large foundations with resources from public funders. Local matching grants are integral to the Foundation's financial leveraging, as well.

Just as the presidential commissions proposed a national policy based on public and private partnerships, so the Foundation comes together with other institutions to:

- Help repair the class, income, wealth and racial breaches in America.
- Refine and replicate positive youth development, through, for example, after school safe havens.
- Motivate disadvantaged youth to stay in high school and move on to college, via, for example, replication of the computer-driven Quantum Opportunities Program.

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- Replicate full service community schools that embrace all of what we have learned to guarantee that inner city public education is at par with the best suburban public education.
  - Create the job “training first” (not “work first”) opportunities that must be linked to demand side job creation to develop inner cities and abolish poverty.
  - Keep ex-offenders from recidivating by replicating the world famous San Francisco Delancey Street model, based on educational and economic opportunity.
  - Replicate minority-sensitive, problem-oriented, community policing models that work better than “zero tolerance” policing.
  - Build the management capacities of inner city nonprofit organizations and neighborhoods in the forefront of urban renaissance.
  - Advocate forcefully for government and private sector replication of what works, through public policy reports, forums and media campaigns.
  - Impact policymakers through communicating what works in the electronic and print media, as well as through training grassroots organizations in communication skills.



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## *Youth Safe Haven-Ministations<sup>2</sup>*

Since 1988, the Foundation has developed a model that merges the American concept of an after school youth safe haven with the Japanese concept of a neighborhood-based police ministration that is easily accessible to citizens. An after school safe haven operated by civilians in public housing, other low income settings or a public school is combined with a police ministration. The safe haven and ministration share the same space. The safe haven-ministations are most active from 3:00 p.m to 10:00 pm weekdays, when youth are most likely to get into trouble. The safe haven-ministations also are designed as magnets to attract other opportunities for citizens at or near the same locations, like job training and remedial education for parents.

Paid staff and carefully trained volunteers at each safe haven-ministration give priority to mentoring, near-peering and coaching high risk youth.

Police spend about half their time counseling and mentoring youth and the other half undertaking problem-oriented community policing on foot or on bicycle, using the safe haven- ministration as home base.

In neighborhoods where they operate, safe haven-ministations have reduced crime by at least as much as “zero tolerance” policing. But the Foundation’s strategy has improved relations with the minority community, while zero tolerance often has done the opposite.

Currently, ten replications are being funded by the Foundation in Georgia, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Virginia and Washington, DC. Replications also are underway in the United Kingdom and Puerto Rico. Past replications have been in Baltimore, MD; Boston, MA; Chicago, IL; Little Rock, AR; Los Angeles, CA; Memphis, TN; Philadelphia, PA; and San Juan, PR. In addition to facilitating full replications of the youth safe haven-police ministration model, the Foundation provides technical assistance and training to organizations interested in replicating the model. Variations on the model have been evaluated as successful in San Francisco and other locations.



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## *Quantum Opportunities<sup>3</sup>*

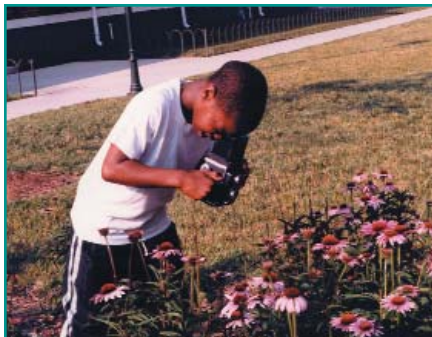
Originally developed by the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America, the Quantum Opportunities Program already has demonstrated that adolescents from welfare families can benefit greatly from academic tutoring and computer skills training, stipends, money towards college, caring adult supervision, community service, life skills training, alcohol and drug abuse awareness training and family planning.

In the original Quantum, students were given a stipend of \$1.33 for each hour they participated. For every one hundred hours, they received \$100 bonus payments and an amount equal to their total earnings, which accrued toward college or post-secondary training. The financial rewards became an incentive for students to continue in the program. The financial rewards also were welcome extra income for financially strapped families.

Many of the program's lessons went beyond academics. Students were taken to museums, plays, and concerts. The adult supervisors from the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America became not just mentors, but surrogate parents or family members with roots in the same community.

By the end of the original program in tough inner city high schools, sixty-three percent of the Quantum participants graduated from high school, forty-two percent were enrolled in post-secondary education or training, twenty-three percent dropped out of school, twenty-four percent had children, and seven percent had arrest records. By contrast, of the control group, forty-two percent finished high school, sixteen percent went on to post-secondary schools, fifty percent dropped out, thirty-eight percent had children, and thirteen percent had arrest records.

The success of the program shows that careful investments in and computerized instruction with disadvantaged youth can work. The Foundation now is replicating Quantum in five locations in South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia and Oregon.





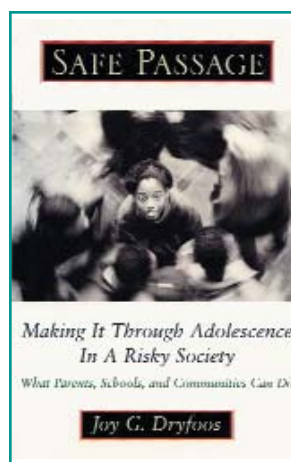
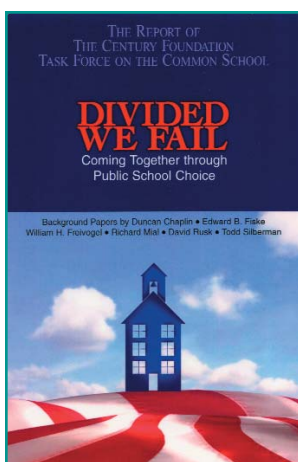
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## *Full Service Community Schools<sup>4</sup>*

The Foundation is replicating full service public community schools. A public middle school or high school in a poor neighborhood partners with an established nonprofit youth development organization, which locates in the school. School staff focuses on teaching. Nonprofit staff focuses on positive youth development and family enhancement. The school typically is open 365 days a year, from early in the morning to late at night. Other key components include:

- Smaller class sizes.
- More individual attention to students than in conventional schools.
- Teachers who concentrate on developing cognitive skills and who leave prevention curricula and services to the nonprofit organizations.
- A heavy emphasis on parental involvement and services for parents (like child care) that facilitate such involvement.
- The availability of health centers and family resource rooms.
- After-school safe havens and help with home work.
- Respect and high expectations for students.
- A combination of new educational concepts and old-fashioned settlement house values — a marriage of John Dewey and Jane Addams.

Excellent full service public community schools being used as Foundation models include the Salome Urena Middle School in New York City and the Washington Irving Middle School in Boston. The Foundation is replicating full service community schools in seven locations in Iowa, Maryland, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Washington State.



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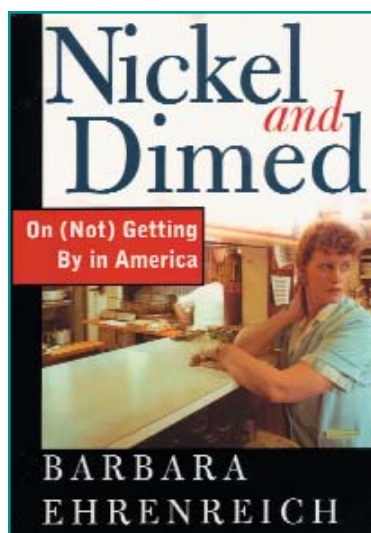
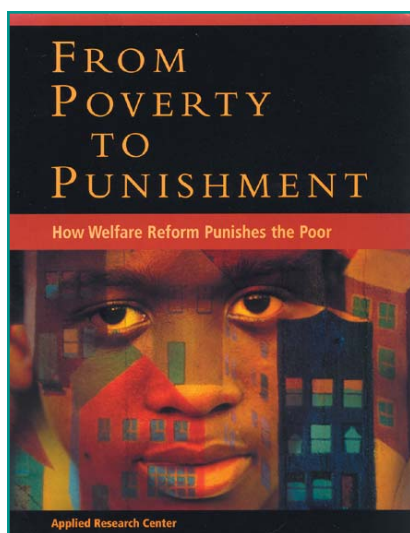
## *Training First, Not Work First*

When it comes to jobs for the truly disadvantaged, we need to train the poor first — to provide them with the educational and work skills needed for good jobs with upward mobility. There are a number of examples of scientifically evaluated success when it comes to training first programs. Perhaps the most successful program is Job Corps, begun in the 1960s as part of the Great Society. Other positively evaluated training successes include YouthBuild USA nationally, the Center for Employment and Training in San Jose, CA and the Argus Community Learning for Living Center in the South Bronx.

For example, the Eisenhower Foundation has successfully replicated the Argus training first program. Argus combines “tough love” to turn around attitudes, remedial education, job training for jobs in actual local demand, job placement and job retention follow-up. The Foundation’s replication of Argus in the Washington, DC area trains dropouts for good jobs repairing telecommunications equipment. The evaluation showed higher earnings and less crime by the trainees vis-a-vis a comparison group.

By contrast, there is little evidence that “work first” has succeeded. As a strategy, “work first” initially was tried in the 1980s through the Job Training Partnership Act — which was the primary federal job initiative for disadvantaged adults and high school dropouts, many of whom were welfare recipients. Evaluations consistently showed that the Job Training Partnership Act failed. It did not create jobs. It did not undertake much training. The training that was undertaken was superficial.

The economic expansion of the 1990’s, not “work first” welfare “reform,” was primarily responsible for the decline in poverty and caseloads over the last decade, just as a slow economy became the main force behind the increase in poverty (and crime) at the beginning of the new millennium. Solid research evidence supports this conclusion.



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## *Replicating Delancey Street<sup>6</sup>*

Visualize Delancey Street: a square block of stylish new stucco and tile buildings on San Francisco's busy Embarcadero, featuring pricey-looking townhouses, well-kept parks, a Town Hall, small businesses and a fancy restaurant with a maitre-d' standing proudly at the door — staffed entirely by ex-convicts, former drug abusers and former homeless people. Some 450 of these folks are pulling themselves up by their bootstraps through an organization they run themselves, led by an unpaid staff of exactly one: Co-founder and President/CEO Mimi Silbert, an Eisenhower Foundation Trustee.

The organization's participants are about equally divided among Anglos, African-Americans and Hispanics. About sixty percent come from the criminal-justice system as parolees, and about one-third have been homeless.

New arrivals make a two-year commitment (although the doors aren't locked, and participants may choose to leave at any time). Most stay three or four years before moving on. Newcomers start at the bottom, living in dorm-like rooms with eight or nine roommates and taking on daily maintenance chores such as sweeping, mopping and caring for the facility's tidy parks.

Operating on an "each one teach one" basis, participants quickly move up the ladder, taking on more responsible jobs and moving into positions where they oversee newer arrivals. The first goal is securing a school equivalency certificate, quickly followed by hands-on experience in Delancey Street's training businesses, which include a high-tech print shop, a moving and trucking operation, paratransit services, catering and the restaurant. By the time participants are ready to leave, they have typically received the equivalent of a high school diploma, thorough training in at least three job skills and management experience.

This is all done within Delancey Street's internal structure, overseen by the residents themselves. There are only three basic rules: No violence, no threats of violence, and no drugs or alcohol. Delancey's three decade history is unmarred by violence.

The \$30 million capital investment in Delancey Street's 350,000-square-foot complex, completed in 1989, was raised through private grants, corporate contributions, an annual Christmas-tree drive and in-kind services, with a great deal of the work done by residents themselves. (Almost 300 people were trained in the building trades, further demonstrating the effectiveness of training businesses for non-profits.)

Delancey Street has established replications in Los Angeles, New Mexico, North Carolina and upstate New York.

Delancey now is partnering with the Eisenhower Foundation in new replications, with evaluations. Initial locations being considered or developed include Alaska, Delaware, New Hampshire, South Carolina and Virginia.

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## *Building the Capacities of Inner City Organizations and Neighborhoods<sup>7</sup>*

Much of what works in the inner city and for the truly disadvantaged is run by indigenous, nonprofit community-based organizations.

In spite of successes, nonprofit organizations can do much more for their neighborhoods. Some are sophisticated in management. Most are not. They need technical assistance in Board development, fundraising, financial management, organizational management, personnel management and staff development. Almost all need to acquire media and communications skills — so they can become better known to the community and funders. Such media savvy is not only a major venue for advocacy, but can help a nonprofit group become financially self-sufficient by persuading more funders to contribute. When neighborhood-based organizations enhance their capacities in this way, they position themselves as models for future replication.

The Foundation provides ongoing technical assistance in all of these areas of institutional and neighborhood capacity building. Evaluations have demonstrated that such technical assistance can improve the skills, knowledge and action of grassroots nonprofit organizations. In turn, such evaluations have shown that there can be measurable, positive outcomes as a result of the improvements by the nonprofit group.

Institutional capacity building addresses the central question of our time when it comes to the truly disadvantaged: How can we replicate to scale what we know already works?



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## *Communicating What Works*<sup>8</sup>

Why does it seem that voices of negativism, prison building and inequality echo so much louder than those advocating positive change, investment in human capital and uncorrupted democracy?

Because the voices of negativism are better funded, organized and media-trained than those who know what works based on scientific evaluations.

How to balance the media playing field?

The Foundation is seeking to mobilize major funders to expand advocacy by nonprofit organizations. The goal is to create a communicating what works movement that is both “top down” and “bubble up.” Presently, too few funders are following the lead of, for example, the Open Society Institute into media advocacy.

From the top, publications by national nonprofits on what works need to be more frequently and widely communicated. Toward this end, the Foundation is expanding public awareness of its periodic updates of the final report of the Kerner Riot Commission, the final report of the National Violence Commission and *The Other America* (Michael Harrington’s pathbreaking book on poverty). An annual state of what works report by the Foundation is designed to further invigorate public debate.

National nonprofits need to release publications through more sophisticated strategic media campaigns, generating the kind of print and electronic coverage illustrated by the list at the end of this publication.

National nonprofit institutions with an awareness of solutions that work, based on science and not rhetoric, need to create and finance much more high powered communications and marketing offices for leveraging change at national, state, local and especially grassroots constituent levels.

In terms of bubble up, the thousands of American grassroots community-based inner-city nonprofit organizations need to become a more coordinated force, based on their being trained in communications and media, as is done in the Foundation’s television school for nonprofit organizations. (Local nonprofit organizations interested in the training should contact the Foundation’s director of communications.)

Grassroots nonprofit organizations need to be financially assisted to bring on their own communications directors (few have them) and to generate strategic communications plans. They must learn to communicate what works in the local media. They need to push for more local electronic media news and talk shows that embrace more of what works, less of what doesn’t work, and less of a “if it bleeds it leads” philosophy. The Foundation is pursuing such strategies in selected cities.

Equally if not more important are alternatives to conventional television, radio, and print news. Such alternatives include Internet venues, Tom Paine-like street level and electronic pamphleteering and organizing (as suggested by Bill Moyers), strategically organized town meetings, and public service announcements crafted by local nonprofit organizations.

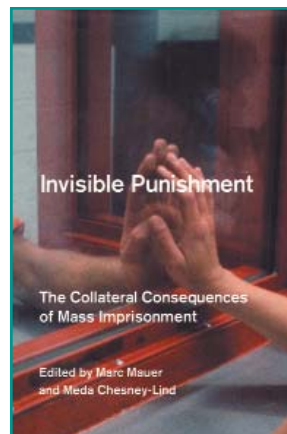
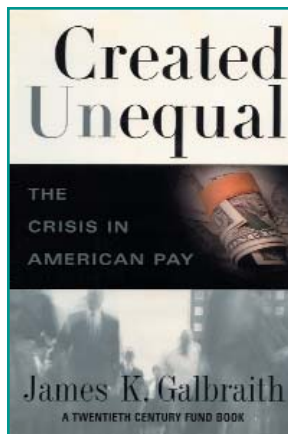
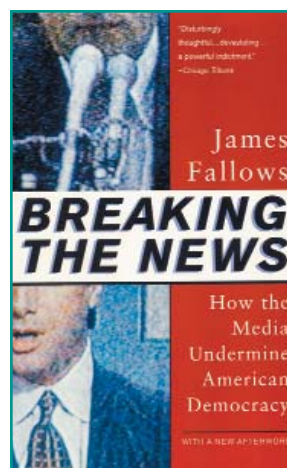
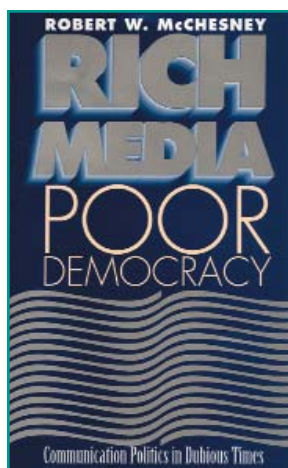
One excellent model is the youth media enterprise pioneered by the Dorchester Youth Collaborative in



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Boston. Here, the messages of inner city youth, trained as actors, have been developed into videos available at Blockbuster and into a Hollywood-financed motion picture, *Squeeze*, starring the youth themselves. Youth who previously had been demonized by society are becoming positive message senders. The Foundation is funding a replication in Seattle of the Dorchester Youth Collaborative's youth media enterprise.

Establishment-focused messages, for example in the national campaign against drugs, have been shown ineffective in evaluations. It is past time for youth development organizations to take the lead, and receive the bulk of government funds for crafting messages to their peers.



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## *The Future of America Series*

The biggest issue facing America today is more thoughtful foreign and domestic policy in the wake of September 11.

Terrorism and policy against it have become a permanent feature of American life. If we view this struggle as a kind of hundred years war, it will be easy to push aside pressing domestic policy and economic needs.

But if we do not use unending war as a frame for effective policy, then we needn't use patriotism as an excuse for inaction on other fronts, that invest in the truly disadvantaged in America and throughout the world.

Can the world's only superpower find the wisdom to fulfill its potential, at home and abroad, becoming the guardian of uncorrupted democracy and global economic justice?

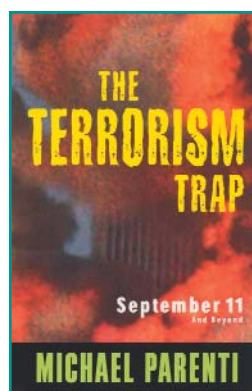
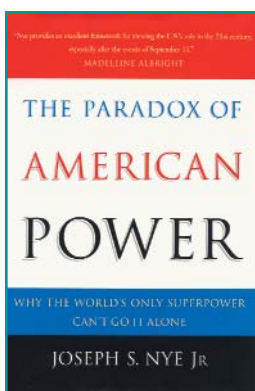
Can the fate of other superpowers in history persuade citizens and leaders in America today on the need for improved security and intelligence combined with enhanced international engagement?

Can America lead by a synthesis of traditional "hard" power and the "soft" power that derives from the international appeal of our institutions and values?

Can America's international soft power be made far more appealing to foreigners by our resolving the dilemmas of poverty, inequality, race, corruption and greed that challenge the nation from within?

Is not domestic policy therefore a powerful venue for foreign policy?

The Foundation is hosting an ongoing series of international forums on these themes, beginning in Paris, London, Washington, San Francisco and Beijing. Presentations are available on [www.eisenhower-foundation.org](http://www.eisenhower-foundation.org).



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