
THE WHITE HOUSE AS A FIELD PLACEMENT

*Reflections on the Past, and a Future
for Policy and Political Practice*



THE WHITE HOUSE AS A FIELD PLACEMENT: REFLECTIONS ON THE PAST AND A FUTURE FOR POLICY AND POLITICAL PRACTICE

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The nation's estimated 700,000 professional social workers are essential providers of behavioral and social care services. Social work professionals are fundamental in crafting and implementing relevant social policies at all levels. Macro field placements and fellowship opportunities enrich the pipeline for social workers as they will enter the workforce equipped with hands on learning experiences to serve as policy experts and leaders in a broad range of public and private domains.”

Mildred C. Joyner, DPS, MSW, LCSW
NASW President

TABLE OF CONTENTS

OVERVIEW	2
PREFACE	3
INTRODUCTION	6
WHITE HOUSE FELLOWS	8
ABOUT HAROLD RICHMAN	9
THE WHITE HOUSE AS A FIELD PLACEMENT	10
ANALYSIS	19
COMMENTARY	23
ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS	36
BIBLIOGRAPHY	38
REFLECTION	39
FIELD PLACEMENT & INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES	40

OVERVIEW

WHITE HOUSE FELLOWS PROGRAM

The White House Fellows program was founded in 1964 by President Lyndon B. Johnson, and continues to this day. It allows exceptional young men and women first-hand experience in leadership and public service, working at the highest levels of the federal government.

The first group began in 1965, and included Harold Richman, who became the Dean of the School of Social Service Administration (SSA) at the University of Chicago and the founder of Chapin Hall.

At the conclusion of Richman's fellowship, he spoke about his experiences. University of Michigan professor John Tropman, a student colleague of Richman's at SSA, asked Richman in 2002 or 2003 for permission to use the speech in a doctoral policy course Tropman was teaching.

Over all the years of the White House Fellows program, Richman remains the only social worker in the program, although there have been others who have gone on to serve in the public sector. What if such "policy and political social work" could be encouraged?

This began the idea to reprint Richman's speech, with analysis and also commentary by Tropman and other University of Michigan School of Social Work professors: James Blackburn, Daniel Fischer, and Justin Hodge.

Lynn Videka, dean of University of Michigan, School of Social Work, Sarah Butts, director of public policy with the National Association of Social Workers, and Deborah Gorman-Smith, dean of the Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice, contribute a preface.

Richman's sons, Andrew and Robert, add a reflection. An appendix provides a link to fellowship resources.

PREFACE

Lynn Videka



TOWARD A PROGRESSIVE AND EQUITABLE SOCIETY

Lynn Videka has been the dean of the University of Michigan School of Social Work since August 2016. She earned the B.S.N. degree with honors from the University of Illinois in 1972. She earned an A.M. degree in 1976 and a Ph.D. degree in 1981 from the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. Dean Videka's research and teaching focus on families served by the child welfare system and persons with serious mental health disabilities.

It is my pleasure to write this preface to “The White House as a Field Placement.” Harold Richman was dean during my MSW and PhD studies at “SSA” (now the Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy and Practice). Although I did not know Harold Richman personally, his passion for leadership in federal social policy, his network and the benefits that it brought to “SSA,” and the stature and respect he held in our profession was well known to all students.

Richman's speech constitutes an oral history of his experiences as the first social work White House fellow. So much of what—he has to say is relevant for today—the importance of social work engagement at the highest level of politics and policy in order to achieve our profession's vision of a progressive and equitable society, the interpersonal dimensions of even the highest policy negotiations, and the career-long impact of early experiences.

The Crown Family School and the Michigan Social Work have long shared a fruitful and generative exchange of students, faculty, and scholarly exchange. We also share something else. As the new name implies, The Crown Family School will rededicate itself to the importance of policy practice in social work. As for the University of Michigan School of Social Work, we are celebrating our 100th anniversary, and as part of that process are re-emphasizing and strengthening political and policy social work as a vital part of the curriculum in our new pathway, Policy Practice. I hope this speech will inspire future White House Fellows from both Schools.



Sarah Christa Butts

FOSTERING THE PROFESSION'S PARTICIPATION AND IMPACT IN POLICY

Sarah Christa Butts, is the Director of Public Policy at the National Association of Social Workers, headquarters office in Washington, D.C.

As a Macro social work practitioner, I am passionate about increasing the social work professions' involvement, influence, and impact in public policy. This includes accelerating the translation of social work research to policy and practice as well as preparing and supporting skilled social work policy practitioners throughout their careers. There are hundreds of social workers in state houses, there are five social workers currently in Congress, and many more are in policy positions within and outside the government. Still, more Macro social workers are needed to help shape the social policy of tomorrow. As the pandemic has illustrated, there is a tremendous need for solutions to vexing problems such as housing, food insecurity, and lack of access to mental health services.

In my current role, I routinely work with congressional offices, federal agencies, and administration officials. This spring, I participated in a White House meeting on student loan debt cancellation, and with the Department of Education on the Public Service Loan Forgiveness program. I have represented NASW on congressional roundtables and have reviewed and provided input on numerous congressional bills. I

am often the only social worker in the room in policy settings and know that there are incalculable benefits to our profession's participation.

As a values-based profession, we have much to offer in policy formulation and discourse. Guided by the NASW *Code of Ethics*, we center social justice, equity, health, well-being and opportunity for our clients and society. We seek to alleviate human suffering and meet basic human needs. Our distinctive skillset and training differentiate us from many other disciplines that represent workers in policy settings, such as law, public administration, and business. This means that the policy leadership and staffing environment is highly competitive, with many skilled workers. The implication is that Macro social workers have to learn many skills in the field and compete for positions in policy—there are few entry level jobs that are guaranteed with minimal experience. Thus, social workers benefit tremendously from Macro field experiences, on the job training and associated policy networks.

I can attest to the career value of high-quality field placements in policy settings. I serve as a faculty field instructor and supervise Macro MSW students in policy focused field practicums. Several former students have secured post graduate fellowships on Capitol Hill and/or positions in federal agencies. My MSW concentration was Macro/Clinical, having previously majored in political science and social work in undergraduate school and completing a Macro policy field placement.

I started my career working in state and local government in public child welfare. In my MSW field practicum, I was an intern in the Social Services Administration at the Maryland Department of Human Services. I was hired as a Policy Analyst upon graduation, gaining valuable experience working for political appointees and state officials. The career path for Macro practitioners is not necessarily linear, and we may gain experience in any number of types of organizations. Practitioners have to chart an intentional career path in which early experiences and opportunities in policy practice are critical.

The White House, congressional offices, state legislative offices, federal and state agencies, non-profit organizations, trade associations, professional societies, policy think tanks and foundations are excellent settings for Macro field placements and fellowships. As a profession, we must cultivate these learning opportunities throughout the career continuum. They represent the pipeline to our participation and leadership in policy practice.

Deborah Gorman-Smith

A SOCIAL WORK PERSPECTIVE IN DETERMINING AND IMPLEMENTING POLICIES

Deborah Gorman-Smith is Professor and Dean of the Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice. She is also the Principal Investigator and director of the Chicago Center for Youth Violence Prevention.

Her research is focused on advancing knowledge about development, risk, and prevention of aggression and violence, with specific focus on minority youth living in high burden urban communities. She has published extensively in areas related to youth violence, including the relationship between community characteristics, family functioning and aggression and violence, including partner violence and the impact of family-focused preventive interventions. Gorman-Smith received her PhD in Clinical-Developmental Psychology at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

The Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice (aka the School of Social Service Administration) at the University of Chicago was built by visionary leaders who imagined a better world and reimagined a profession. From its start, the School's founders believed social work education should be connected to and reflect the major social issues of the time, and they emphasized the need for science and research as foundational elements in social change. They also believed that first-rate research on such social challenges as poverty, working conditions, education, and immigration, should guide policy and practice.

As an alumnus, teacher, and dean, Harold Richman lived out—to the fullest—the guiding themes of the



School. He kept the vision of the School's founders squarely in his sightlines, recognizing the importance of research in creating policy, and understanding that—to make lasting impact—social policy must respect and reflect the real world experiences of the communities affected. While balancing the tensions of social policy, politics, and practice, Richman always maintained a social worker's spirit and heart, advocating for the most marginalized. He gave shape and leadership to new social policy research efforts, including the Center for the Study of Social Policy, the Committee on Public Policy Studies (which later became the Harris School of Public Policy), and Chapin Hall, redefining its mission to merge research with child welfare policy and service. As an innovator, big thinker, and distinguished social policy scholar, Richman's accomplishments cast a long shadow at the School and the University of Chicago, inspiring colleagues, students, and friends who seek to advance justice and equity. Earlier this year, in January 2021, the School was renamed the Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice. The new name makes clear this is a school of social work, and places a deliberate emphasis on the profession's innate connection to social policy and practice across a wide range of domains and organizational and community contexts. In many ways, the new name also embodies Harold Richman's finest attributes and aspirations—underlining the necessity of a social work perspective in determining and implementing policies, and leading social justice efforts that will create lasting change among individuals, families, and communities.

INTRODUCTION

John Tropman



John Tropman is Professor Emeritus of Social Work at the University of Michigan School of Social Work. Tropman received an MA in Social Work and Social Service Administration from the University of Chicago, and a PhD in Social Work from the University of Michigan.

As a fellow graduate of the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration (SSA), I met Harold Richman at conferences in Ann Arbor and other national settings. It was a result of this friendship that I heard about the White House speech and asked Richman for a copy. Richman also sent along a note of conveyance.

The document is interesting in its own right, and captures the pace and flavor of a high level internship. Apart from its historical interest and “story corps” quality, the speech touches many timeless issue in political and policy work in the context of a firsthand account. We will analyze some of these connections later.

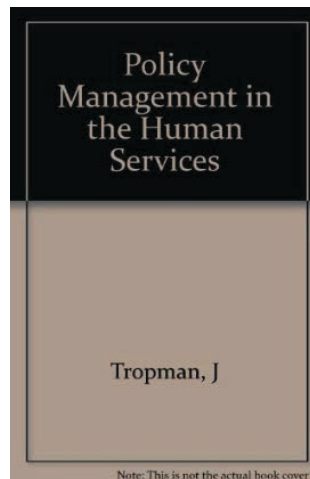
The speech does not explicitly argue for policy practice. This omission is a bit odd, as the School of Social Service Administration has a long history of political/policy involvement. Indeed, Richman’s interest in and successful application for the White House Fellowship is itself such an argument, and his detailed discussion of policy practice supports this conclusion. That said, SSA was at the time heavily clinical, and the profession as a whole seen as therapeutically oriented, with “macro” practice taking a second position in many schools and essentially no position in many others.

This paper argues for robust support of policy and political social work. Each of the authors shares his professional perspective and hopes for improvement in this area. I build off my book, *Policy Management in the Human Services* (Columbia University Press, 1984). James Blackburn draws on his many years of experience as a dean, and argues for the importance of executive leadership in national social work organizations and within schools. Dan Fischer, Head of Field Instruction at the University of Michigan School of

Social Work, addresses the issues around finding and supporting appropriate placements. And Justin Hodge focuses on the importance of successfully running for elective office.

Our goal is to reinforce the importance of political and policy placements as an integral part of social work opportunities in schools of social work. Always important but frequently under-supported, such initiatives are of vital importance now. Elected office is, of course, one where policy contributions can happen. Placements in governmental bureaus is another exciting option, at all levels of government. And their individual and collective impact could potentially be a huge force for social good. Robert Wood, in his 1961 touchstone volume, *1400 Governments* (Harvard University Press) enumerated the 1,467 local and regional public authorities in the New York City metropolitan region (surely there are more than that today). Consider all the policy internships that could be available in state, local and municipal bodies, as well as water systems, sewer authorities, and so on.

The public/governmental sphere is not the only “policy pasture.” The corporate world is available as well. There are national organizations representing just about every aspect of American “interests.” Much of their behavior involves lobbying the political sector but also setting standards for their sector as well. There are also huge national organizations (e.g., Amazon) with international reach (add Google here) whose operational policies impact not only their employees but also the communities in which they reside (or choose not to reside). And there are constellations of executives who constitute what C. Wright Mills, in 1956, called *The Power Elite* (Oxford). President Eisenhower reminded us of their potential power in one areas



Tropman's comments build off his book, *Policy Management in the Human Services*.

when he referred to the “military-industrial complex” in his farewell address to the nation in 1961. The organizational policy arena has been overlooked by social work and should be considered as a place for influence and impact, encouraging social good and “right-doing.”

As important, perhaps, is encouraging the avoidance of wrongdoing and the importance of rectification when wrongdoing occurs. The social justice voice represented by social work seems missing in many organizations. There are individual perpetrators doing wrong, facilitators who shield and cover up the wrongdoing, cultures of wrongdoing and stonewalling when wrongdoing has occurred. (Organizational wrongdoing has been detailed in Donald Palmer's *Normal Organizational Wrongdoing: A Critical Analysis of Theories of Misconduct in and by Organizations* (Columbia University Press, 2013)).

WHITE HOUSE FELLOWS



The 1965-66 Fellows top, Richman-is front right, with dark-framed glasses), and the 2016-17 Fellows (with President Obama, center).

Founded in 1964 by President Lyndon B. Johnson, the White House Fellows program is one of America's most prestigious programs for leadership and public service, and continues to this day. White House Fellowships offer exceptional young men and women first-hand experience working at the highest levels of the federal government.

The first group began in 1965. Harold Richman was in that group, and later became the Dean of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago and the founder of Chapin Hall. He is the only social worker to have been a White House fellow (though there have been others from the nonprofit sector generally).

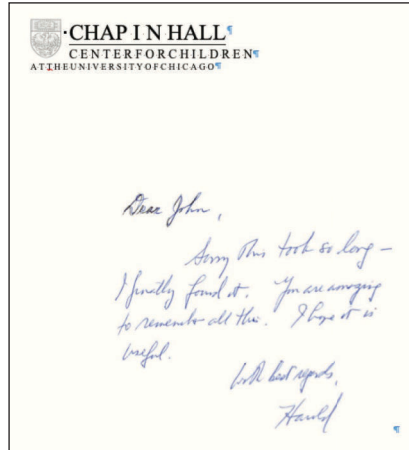
The Fellows website (www.whitehouse.gov/get-involved/fellows/) lists former Fellows, including Sanjay Gupta (CNN Chief Medical Reporter), Doris Kearns Godwin (Pulitzer Prize winning historian), Wes Clark (former U.S. Supreme Allied Commander, Europe), Henry Cisneros (former U.S. Secretary of H.U.D.), and Collin Powell (former U.S. Secretary of State).

The website notes that “the purpose of the White House Fellows program is to provide gifted and highly motivated emerging leaders with some first-hand experience in the process of governing the Nation and a sense of personal involvement in the leadership of society.”

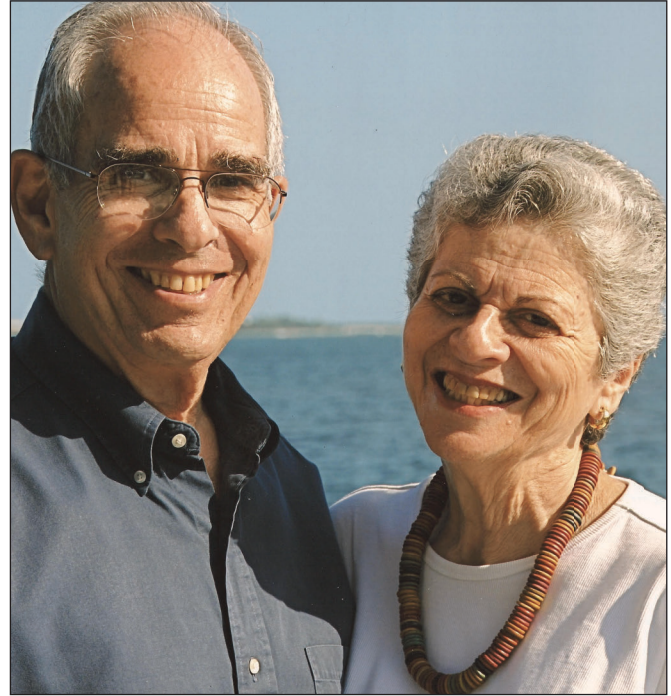
Noting that “a genuinely free society cannot be a spectator society,” President Johnson said that one of the missions of the Fellows was to “increase their sense of participation in national affairs.” Johnson expected the Fellows to “repay that privilege” by “continuing to work as private citizens on their public agendas.” He hoped that the Fellows would contribute to the nation as future leaders.

Selected individuals typically spend a year working as a full-time, paid Fellow to senior White House Staff, Cabinet Secretaries, and other top-ranking government officials. Fellows also participate in an education program consisting of roundtable discussions with leaders from the private and public sectors, and trips to study U.S. policy in action.

John Tropman wrote to Harold Richman in 2002 or 2003, asking for permission to use Richman's speech in a doctoral policy course he was teaching. Tropman and Richman knew each other from their graduate school days in the School of Social Service Administration.



ABOUT HAROLD RICHMAN



Harold and Marlene Richman

Harold Richman (1937-2009) was the founding director of Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago, helping transform the former Chapin Hall for Children in 1985. Richman earned an AB in American History and Literature from Harvard in 1959, and an MA (Social Welfare Policy, 1961) and PhD (1969) from the University of Chicago. He was a White House Fellow and special assistant to the Secretary of Labor from 1965 to 1967. He was dean of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago from 1969-2978.

After stepping down as director of Chapin Hall in 2001 he continued to advise research centers in South Africa, Ireland, Jordan, Israel, and other countries. Richman wrote or co-wrote nearly 20 published nearly 20 articles.

The University of Chicago's Social Service Administration's centennial website (ssacentennial.chicago.edu) notes that Richman planned to be a history professor, but after reading Oscar Handlin's *The Uprooted* for an undergraduate literary class, "I became acutely conscious

of the economic, social, and political injustices in our country. I was unaware of these injustices growing up in Cleveland."

He volunteered at a settlement house in Boston, taught a literature course in a maximum-security prison, and worked one summer for the Cleveland Department of Public Assistance. After these experiences, he "wanted a place where I could combine social reform and social research," so he enrolled in the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago. SSA faculty members suggested he apply to the White House Fellows Program.

After his fellowship ended in 1967, Richman taught policy courses at SSA and finished his dissertation. In 1969 he was offered a position with David Rockefeller in New York, but was persuaded to remain at SSA, where he became dean.

Richman was married for 44 years to Marlene, a career counselor for 36 years at the University of Chicago. She died in 2014. They had two sons, Andrew and Robert.

THE WHITE HOUSE AS A FIELD PLACEMENT



Alton Linford was Dean of the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration from 1956-69. "Miss Walker" was an Assistant/Associate Dean there, and Professors Schwartz and Frank Bruel were on the faculty.



Norval Morris joined the University of Chicago Law School, and served as its Dean from 1975-78.



George Rohrlach, professor of economics and social policy at Temple University, was visiting professor at Chicago in 1964. It's uncertain who "Mrs. Callaway" is.

SPEECH BY HAROLD RICHMAN (CIRCA 1966)

Mrs. Calloway, Miss Walker, Dean Linford, Professor Breul, Professor Schwartz, My Mother, and My Mother-in-law:

I hope you will excuse that rather lengthy salutation, but after a year near the President, you learn never to pass up a political opportunity; and I know you will understand the importance of the political opportunity which I have just taken when I explain that Dean Linford and Professor Breul are on my Dissertation Committee, Professor Schwartz gave me a hard time at my dissertation hearing and I am hoping he won't do it again, my mother came 350 miles to be here tonight, and I recognize my mother-in-law for obvious reasons.

I feel a little presumptuous being the speaker tonight, particularly when I realize that I am following in the very large footsteps of such distinguished

men as Professor Rohrlach and Professor Norval Morris. I want to assure you, though, that I have done everything possible to be certain that my remarks will be properly erudite.

First, I am wearing a vest. I never owned a vest until I got to Washington, where I quickly learned that whenever serious business is at hand, a vest is always worn.

Second, I had during the cocktail hour, 1 bourbon and branch water, the favorite drink of the President, 1 bourbon and water, the favorite drink of Mrs. Johnson; 1 scotch and water, the favorite drink of Secretary Rusk; and 1 dry martini, the favorite drink of Vice-President Humphrey. I trust I am now assured, among other things, of the volubility of the Vice-President, the poise of the First Lady, the sober clarity of the Secretary of State, and the homey philosophical bent of the President.



W. Willard Wirtz, U.S. Secretary of Labor, with Harold Richman.



Richman (left) with President Lyndon Johnson.

Third, I have given my speech a subtitle, to grace it, hopefully, with a more professional air. I am sorry there was not room for it on the invitation, but I hasten to present it to you now as evidence of my scholarly credentials. I am going to speak, with the traditional conciseness and clarity of the doctoral student, on "Reflections on a significant, stress-laden, maturational, growth-producing experience in an interdisciplinary, secondary setting" or "The White House as a Field Placement."

The White House Fellows were 15 very lucky young men. For the last year we had the freedom, really the mandate, to move about the at-the-top level of government—The White House and the Cabinet—doing work, asking questions, searching out, hornning in, being irreverent, and learning.

A year ago last Spring, after an exhaustive nationwide screening process conducted by a

Presidential Commission headed by David Rockefeller, President Johnson named the first White House Fellows—15 men between the ages of 23 and 55, coming from all over the country and from the fields of law, political science, business, education, journalism, engineering, and social work.

The social worker must here pay tribute to Dean Linford, Professors Breul, and Rachael Marks, who, always ready to turn government policy to their own purposes saw the great possibilities of using the White House Fellowship as a field placement (under good supervision, of course) for a Doctoral student badly in need of a work experience.

We began our year last fall when we were each assigned to serve as a special assistant to either a cabinet officer or a White House staff member. One Fellow was with each cabinet member, one with the Vice-President, and in the White House; one with Bill

Moyers, one with Budget Director Charles Schultz, one with Jack Valenti (later Robert Kintner), and one with McGeorge Bundy (later Walt Rostow). I worked with Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz.

Our work experiences ranged from special assignments to attendance at cabinet meetings and meetings with the President, to several particularly lucky fellows who found themselves on trips around the world.

My own work for Secretary Wirtz consisted mainly of a series of assignments from him designed both to lighten some of his burdens and to give me experience in the different kinds of problems that a Cabinet Secretary faces. Over the year I became well versed in, among other things, the problems of farm labor, labor economics research, the federal budget process, manpower policy, executive reorganization, labor standards, the construction industry, labor-management arbitration, and the now-infamous wage-price guideposts.

My fieldwork consultants back at SSA might have shuddered had they seen me laboring over problems involving the commercial acceptability of a mechanically harvestable tomato which turned out to be oblong in shape, or the feasibility of developing a plastic or a concrete additive to permit road building in the winter, thus reducing seasonal unemployment problems in the construction industry, or helping turn an inflationary settlement in a construction strike into a guaranteed income scheme with a clause assuring the accomplishment of some socially useful projects along the way, but that is just what I was doing. It was work which was always fascinating because it was always immediate and always for some reason or other important to the President or Secretary Wirtz.

It is hard to describe a moving target, and that is really what I was last year. I think I can best convey something of the spirit of the moment and the substance of my work by quoting at some length from sections of monthly reports which we each submitted to the White House. I quote first from the report written at the end of my first month.

The day I arrived for work at the Labor Department I was informed that I was to leave that afternoon for an assignment in Los Angeles. I was to report to Benjamin Aaron who was Chairman of the Secretary's California Farm Labor Panel, and my task was to prepare the Panel's final report to the Secretary



Benjamin Aaron was Chairman of the Secretary of Labor's California Farm Labor Panel.

on the elimination of the Bracero problem. Amid protestations of total ignorance of the farmer, the laborer, and California, I embarked for Los Angeles.

Upon arrival in Los Angeles, I had a conference with Professor Aaron about the problems of California agriculture and the work of the California Panel.

This conference took place in the American Airlines Admirals Club in the Los Angeles airport late at night and over several drinks. At that point, my task seemed simple and California's hospitality impressive.

The next morning was a different story. I was given Professor Aaron's office, 2 secretaries, and an open line to San Francisco, Sacramento, and Washington. In the office were five file drawers of scattered material on California agriculture and numerous piles of newspaper clippings, statistics, memos, and reports which had come to the Panel. I had no choice but to get to work.

Over the next four days, I went through the material in the office and I made numerous contacts with various officials throughout the state. By the end of this time, I had prepared a draft, which was something of a layman's guide to this year's California farm labor experience.

Upon my return to Washington, I was informed that I was to remain a man of the soil, as my next assignment was to prepare the Secretary's White Paper on the national farm labor problem. I completed a draft of this report in 7 days and 7 nights (weekend included) and immediately left for California again.

I suspect that during this month I saw more inflight movies, drank more of those miniature cocktails, ate more junior size filet mignon and flew over the Grand Canyon more times than I will the rest of my life.

I arrived in California more devoted to the earth than had been by inclination, as my flight to Los Angeles had to make two emergency landings on route and finally arrived at 4:50 A.M.

The next 6 days were spent re-drafting the California report and writing the final section of policy recommendations for the Secretary.

I concluded that month's report with these observations:

I could not have asked for a better first assignment. The farm labor issue is one that has almost completely dominated the top echelon of the Labor Department over the last several months. In addition, this is an issue which has political, economic and social ramifications and therefore has provided me with a concentrated and most lively view of all of the considerations which must go into the handling and resolution of an important issue in the Department.

In addition to the value of the issue, I have learned much from the people with whom I have worked on this problem, and from my contacts with the Bureaus in the Labor Department, its regional offices, and state and local government people in California.

This has been a difficult and challenging month, but one which has been of inestimable value to me. The staff at the Department have been extremely helpful and hospitable, and they have done everything possible to facilitate my work. The expectations here are considerable, but so is the challenge. If nothing else, it is going to take me a year of hard work simply to live up to the dimensions of the lovely office which I have been given.

That concludes my quote from that first month's report, but I cannot help elaborating that that office was really a sight. It was in the mahogany-paneled Secretary's corridor and came complete with 24 foot

ceiling, living room section, private bath and shower, balcony, and telephones. To complete the scene, my desk was flanked by 2 flags. Those flags caused me something of a problem, because it is customary for presidential appointees to take their flags with them when they leave office. After a great deal of serious deliberation, I decided it just wouldn't look quite right to flank my chair in the SSA library with my 2 flags, so I left them for my successor.

In order to finish the farm-labor saga, and to illustrate the variety of my activities, I want to read just a portion of my January White House report.

These two months marked the completion of efforts in the farm labor field. The departmental White Paper was released at the end of January, and until the release date I was working off and on over the six-thousandth and the sixth-thousandth and first draft of the paper. In the end, the Secretary and I shuffled papers back and forth to each other with responsibility being that of adding to and revising his penciled drafts, and verifying his figures and gathering original data where necessary. This process was perhaps the best lesson in prose writing I have ever had, and my pen is beginning to work like the Secretary's. Now if only my mind would do the same, I would be completely happy.



Sargent Shriver (top left) served as first Director of the Peace Corps. Arnold Maremont (top right) was an Illinois industrialist, philanthropist, and art collector active in Chicago politics. Robert Weaver (left) served as the first U.S. Secretary of H.U.D (1966-68). Saul Alinsky (right) was an American community activist and political theorist. "May" is not known.

Journalist and political commentator Bill Moyers (top) was President Johnson's press secretary. Dean Rusk (left) was U.S. Secretary of State. Mark van Doren (middle) and Archibald Macleish (right) were poets and writers. A collection of their dialogues was published in 1964.



The Secretary suggested that in order for me to get a broad perspective on the farm labor problem I attend the National Farm Labor Conference in San Antonio in the middle of January. I went down for three days and hobnobbed with migrant workers, small farmers, big growers, and state and federal farm labor people. This experience was indeed the added dimension in my farm labor work and was the perfect complement to the efforts that I had put forth in California and in Washington. I had no responsibilities at the conference and was free to roam around and inquire at will. I picked up a lot of extremely useful information, and in case you are interested, it is now mandatory in California to provide toilet facilities for men, women, and children within a five-minute walk from the fields.

I also learned at the conference that several universities are in the process of developing an oblong tomato which can easily be harvested by machine. The problem is getting the consumer to purchase the oblong tomato, and even though it is easier to cut in uniform slices than the round tomato, there has been a certain amount of consumer resistance to the change in the tomato's shape. You might help the cause next time you are at the store by demanding an oblong rather than a round tomato.

I am continuing to work on my report to the Secretary on the research activity of all of the bureaus of the Labor Department. This is a long

process and the problem of too many irons in the fire makes it difficult for me to complete it. In the process of gathering material for the report, I am getting a superb overall view of the Department and an excellent chance to meet all of the people with operating responsibilities in the various bureaus. It distresses me how few of the people whom I have interviewed have any desire to look at the basis of their program or their operation within the Department, and whose view of research is narrowed to consideration of certain operating techniques or characteristics, rather than a continuing examination of the assumptions under which they are working and the effectiveness with which they are carrying out their mission.

Our work, which was often a 12-15 hour day, was supplemented by a rigorous program of reading, seminars, and trips; all designed to bring us into contact with the facts and the best thinking about the major issues facing the government. We met in the seminar with the President, all cabinet members, agency heads, House staff, professors, businessmen, politicians, and private individuals from all over —dissenters and apologists, protagonists and antagonists. To illustrate the range of persuasions we sampled on a particular issue, I recall spending successive seminar evenings on the problems of the urban poor with Sargent Shriver, Arnold Maremont, Robert Weaver, May, and Saul Alinsky.

The formal educational aspect of our experience was invaluable because it gave us an overall perspective on our often frantic daily work and on the government as a whole. It was this perspective, added to the daily contact with the demands and the actors in government decision making that made our experience unique.

Probably the most lasting, and the happiest, educational component of the year was what the White House Fellows learned from each other. We became a very close-knit group and ran what we liked to call our shadow government. We were probably the most complete and reliable interdepartmental communications network in Washington, and it was not unusual for a Cabinet Secretary to look to his White House Fellow for information on what was going on at the upper levels of other departments.

We had great fun helping each other out and keeping each other informed of the latest news around the government. We also did a lot of serious discussing and arguing. That began as an association of mutual respect, soon became an intimate tie of trust and affection—rare and precious commodities in Washington.

Added to all of this activity was a generous amount of official and unofficial Washington social life, of which Marlene is the real authority. She could tell you who was where, what they wore, what we ate, and all the other details. The best I can do is remember with particular enjoyment several informal dinners and a number of most impressive formal state occasions at the White House, a discussion late into the night at Bill Moyers' home about what it means to give yourself to a demanding President and try to raise a family at the same time, a rather nervous night when the White House Fellow at the State Department and I, and our wives, were hosts at a dinner for Secretary Dean Rusk, Secretary Willard Wirtz and Mrs. Johnson, and a truly golden evening when we heard Mark Van Doren and Archibald MacLeish reading their own and each other's poetry for the Cabinet. They were wonderful times, but I can assure you they wreaked havoc with our clothes budget.

As my year as a White House Fellow has drawn to a close, the question has arisen over and over again, What have I learned? I will probably be able to answer that question better several years from now, but I cannot resist at least trying to suggest some of my more vivid first impressions.

First, I learned some specific things.

I learned of the enormous power of the President, and I came to appreciate the absolute necessity of having a President who understands that power and is able to use it. I think the most difficult demand in the world must be for the wise and effective use of this power.

The closer to the President you work, the greater is the feeling of compassion you have for his task—compassion for the pressures which he must bear, both for the present and for history,

This feeling of compassion has a strange impact, because the more you begin to understand the dimensions of the President's responsibility, the



Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was an American Baptist pastor and politician who represented the Harlem neighborhood of New York City in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1945-71. In 1961, Powell became chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, the most powerful position held by an African American in Congress. As chairman, he supported the passage of important social and civil rights legislation under presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

closer you are drawn to him, the less his personal idiosyncrasies bother you, and the harder you work for him. It becomes a very strange, but very strong kind of compulsion.

I learned also a profound respect for the capability and devotion of the men and women working in the White House and at the Cabinet level. A caseworker might well have a field - day analyzing the—motivations behind a willingness, even a desire, to assume tasks and responsibilities of such gigantic dimensions—motivations which I have seen run the spectrum from egotism and love of power to 99% response to duty and responsibility—but regardless of the motivation, the standard of performance at this level is very, very high.



Helen Harris Pearlman (left) and Bernece Kern Simon (right) were professors at the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration. University of Chicago Photographic Archive, [apf digital item number, e.g., apf1-07610], Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

But as much as I learned of the power and the drive and the capability of the government, I learned even more over the year, and I was struck more with the limitations on government action, and particularly with limitations in formulating and achieving social welfare objectives,

This should properly be the subject of a lengthy discussion, but before time is up, I want to indicate at least some of the limitations on government action that most impressed me in relation to the making and carrying out of social welfare policy.

The first limitation is political, and here the word means both political politics and political science.

The important role outside interest or pressure groups play is well known; somewhat less appreciated I think are the internal limitations to action, and the power key political figures hold in determining government policy.

A major policy innovation or program change has to get through departmental policy makers who can be both very helpful and very obstructionist with bureaucratic concerns; departmental advisory groups, with their more idealistic, disinterested concerns; the White House staff, a small group of the President's men who are concerned both for the content of the policy and for its effect on the President's image and standing; the Budget Bureau, an elite corps of highly

qualified civil servants with their concern for interdepartmental consistency, the soundness of the policy, priorities in the total scheme of government operations, and available financial resources; the appropriate committees in both the House and the Senate, where the policy is examined in varying degrees of detail for its merits and for its political appeal, and where it is at the whim and mercy of the expertise, petulance or prejudices of the committee chairman and ranking members; and finally to the all-powerful appropriations committees where the struggle ends, and, more often than not, unsuccessfully.

This little outline of the policymaking process is probably in every elementary civics and American government textbook. It became dramatically alive to me this past year as I saw personalities, interdepartmental jurisdictional disputes, and hometown politics determine the fate of ideas and programs crucial to whole segments of our society—segments too often virtually unrepresented in the critical committee executive sessions, Budget Bureau meetings, and leadership conferences.

The history of the recent poverty program amendments "insider" Adam Clayton Powell is a perfect example of the vagaries of this process and all the factors that come to bear before there is action.

In the area of policy implementation, too, the government works under serious limitations.

Unfortunately, speeches, rhetoric and good intentions do not get policies made into programs or programs implemented into services to communities or individuals. This is patently obvious—but unfortunately, it still has to be said. Too often, I am afraid, words are used as substitutes for action.

The bureaucracy is a ponderous mechanism, and it takes extraordinary patience and attention to move it. It also takes goodwill, a quality I found often lacking in relations between political appointees at the Cabinet- level and career civil servants. Suspicions on both sides often result in a lack of appreciation by higher officials of good ideas generated from within the bureaucracy and in return just plain lack of attention by operating officials to directives from above for changes or for establishing new programs or procedures.

The difficulties of implementation within the Federal bureaucracy are a shadow compared to the difficulties I saw in moving an idea or program through the Federal bureaucracy, then the state and then the local governments, and finally to the person or institution which theoretically is to benefit. This problem is particularly serious because the great bulk of our social welfare programs are administered by states and localities through the grant-in-aid mechanism. It is obvious that without capable people, receptive to the idea of change, at every step of the way, including citizens of the local community, any education, poverty, welfare, health, or civil rights program will die.

It is perhaps rhetorical to say here that unless the Federal government pays more attention and devotes more resources to the delivery of its good intentions to the people it seeks to serve and the institutions it seeks to change, little beyond a lot of talk can be accomplished. Unfortunately, while such a statement may appear rhetorical here, it is anything but rhetorical in Washington.

A further limitation which the government faces in seeking to achieve its social goals is its inadequate attention to evaluating programs already in operation.

This inadequacy occurs, I think, on two levels. On the most superficial level, not enough attention is paid to whether or not program objectives are realized, changes effected, and people actually helped because of a program. It can be argued that it is too early to determine results of many of the programs like Head Start and Manpower Training; but it can also be

argued that unless provision is made from the first for constant evaluation and consideration of alternative ways to achieve the same goal, we can easily get locked into very large and costly programs which are ineffective.

On a more fundamental level, I am concerned about the lack of attention to whether or not the assumptions upon which programs were begun several years ago are still valid. For example, the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act was passed in 1962. Today's economy and manpower requirements are very different from 1962, yet we have not had a fundamental review of the applicability of the Act's original assumptions to today's conditions.

We need to examine more rigorously what we are doing, and we need to invite more dissenting views. We need to consider more alternatives so that we have a better chance to develop more effective programs and policies. Unfortunately, these are not the principles under which a large bureaucracy ordinarily operates. But, unfortunately, the government, like most other institutions, does not welcome skeptics and gadflies into its inner circle of policy makers. In fact, the pace of life and the pressure of work in Washington make reasoned skepticism and serious evaluation very difficult. I do not think this has to be true; but it certainly is easier not to have to look back and assess what you have done; and in Washington, as elsewhere, it is often easier to do than to think. If the stakes were not so high, one could be more philosophical about this.

I have dwelt on limitations. Out of respect to the good training of (Helen Harris) Perlman and (Bernice) Simon, I must look, in conclusion, for strengths. The strength of a system which allows a person to participate, suggest, and criticize and make judgments (however unjust) as the 15 of us did last year is evident. This strength, I think, also points the way to a tempering of the limitations which I have been concerned. Where institutional limitations become a barrier to effective government action, the private sector of our society has a crucial responsibility,

The government often needs an uncompromising outside minority to push hard for change. This point needs no elaboration because the civil rights movement clothes it with living testimony.

Non-governmental interests must prod the bureaucracy to examine its programs, to re-think old assumptions, and to provide meaningful alternatives



NASW leadership met with the White House Domestic Policy Council in January 2020. Angelo McClain, NASW CEO, was joined by (pictured L to R) Anna Mangum, NASW Deputy Director of Programs, Sarah Butts, NASW Director of Public Policy and Robyn Golden, NASW member and Associate VP of Health Population and Aging at Rush University Medical Center. Important topics of discussion were access to mental health, behavioral health and substance use services, clinical social worker reimbursement rates and billing code advocacy in Medicare.

to the people who are dependent upon government help, Criticism must go beyond the exposure of inadequate administrative practice to a thoughtful examination of the arguable assumptions behind government action, and to an objective evaluation of programs and policies. This is a classic role of the press, and more recently has become a concern of university and foundation supported research.

I have found, however, that there is discouragingly little follow-through from outside research to government action. I would suggest in this regard that in many cases it ought to be the obligation of the researcher or research organization, not only to do the evaluation but to press the government or to encourage a private institution to act on the results,

The government does respond to pressure and to ideas—sometimes directly, sometimes obliquely, sometimes invisibly. I think in many cases it is easier to push it from without than to move it from within. We bear a heavy responsibility to push, but we bear an even heavier responsibility to examine our ideas and our motivations to be sure we are pushing in the right direction because once the government gets started on something, it is very difficult to stop it,

But who is to know which direction is right and what is possible and what is not? I spoke at a national convention of college newspaper editors two months ago, and during the question period, one of the editors asked me if I didn't think everyone should know more about the problems of the government before they criticized it and made suggestions of their own.

My first impulse was to agree with him, but to my surprise I found myself answering in the negative. After sober reflection, I would still respond in the negative today. I am afraid that if everyone were intimately acquainted with the problems of the government they would stop criticizing and start sympathizing—and I cannot think of anything more dangerous than that.

For Marlene and me the White House Fellowship was a thrilling and challenging and immensely instructive experience, and we count ourselves very, very lucky to have had it. The burden of trying to use and to communicate it wisely is a heavy one—you have made it considerably lighter by your invitation and your patience tonight.

Thank you.

ANALYSIS

John Tropman

What insights might we learn from Harold's 1966 speech?

Appearance Matters

Harold opens his speech with a comment on sartorial requirements. There are lots of old sayings that undergird the importance of dressing well, and these seem to hold true today.

First, I am wearing a vest. I never owned a vest until I got to Washington, where I quickly learned that whenever serious business is at hand, a vest is always worn.

Sloppy dressing at that level can be a career-ending move.

Relationships and Their Nuances are Essential to Getting Things Done

During a cocktail hour, Harold reports, he had:

... 1 bourbon and branch water, the favorite drink of the President, 1 bourbon and water, the favorite

drink of Mrs. Johnson; 1 scotch and water, the favorite drink of Secretary Rusk; and 1 dry martini, the favorite drink of Vice-President Humphrey. I trust I am now assured, among other things, of the volubility of the Vice-President, the poise of the First Lady, the sober clarity of the Secretary of State, and the homey philosophical bent of the President.

Knowing the right people, and interacting appropriately, can be essential. (He copies the President's drink, then the First Lady's, then the Secretary of State . . .). The man pays attention.

Power Addiction Is Alive And Well

Harold wonders about an addiction to power, and says:

The closer to the President you work, the greater is the feeling of compassion you have for his task—compassion for the pressures which he must bear, both for the present and for history.

This feeling of compassion has a strange impact because the more you begin to understand the

dimensions of the President's responsibility, the closer you are drawn to him, the less his personal idiosyncrasies bother you, and the harder you work for him. It becomes a very strange, but very strong kind of compulsion.

We might say that even if power does not "corrupt", it is certainly attractive, and can be addictive, like other addictions (to alcohol, to sex). One problem with any addiction, however, is that it clouds one's judgment. For those who, in 2020, wonder, "How could people work in a White House with Mr. Trump?", Harold might have given us one answer. Power not only corrupts, but it also binds and blinds. It enables.

We Still Hate the Poor

To illustrate the range of persuasions we sampled on a particular issue, I recall spending successive seminar evenings on the problems of the urban poor with Sargent Shriver, Arnold Maremont, Robert Weaver, May, and Saul Alinsky.

The Royal Commission Report of 1834 made it a crime in England to be poor. Hatred of the poor flowed from the Protestant Ethic (which suggested that a person's "success" was a sign of being "saved"), and the hatred of racial "others" (non-whites) flowed from the need to justify the subjugation of "racial" and Native American peoples. These streams conflated, and are with us today. In his 1998 book *Does America Hate the Poor? The Other American Dilemma*, Tropman suggests that "poorism" is a sibling of racism.

Today... in 2020... proposals to cut the safety net and take money from programs supporting the disadvantaged is gaining strength. But it is not new. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. discusses some of these attitudes, especially those of the business elite, in his book *The Age of Roosevelt* (1957). Businessmen regarded unemployment as a form of malingering: "Anything was better than the dole."

As an example of this hatred of the poor (or "poorism") a plan proposed by John B. Nichlos, involved serving garbage to the poor, a proposal we call "The Pigs Breakfast":

"Thus John B. Nichlos of the Oklahoma Gas Utilities Company wrote to his friend Patrick J. Hurley, the Secretary of War, about an idea he was trying out in Chickasha, Oklahoma. By the Nichlos plan, restaurants were asked to dump food left on plates

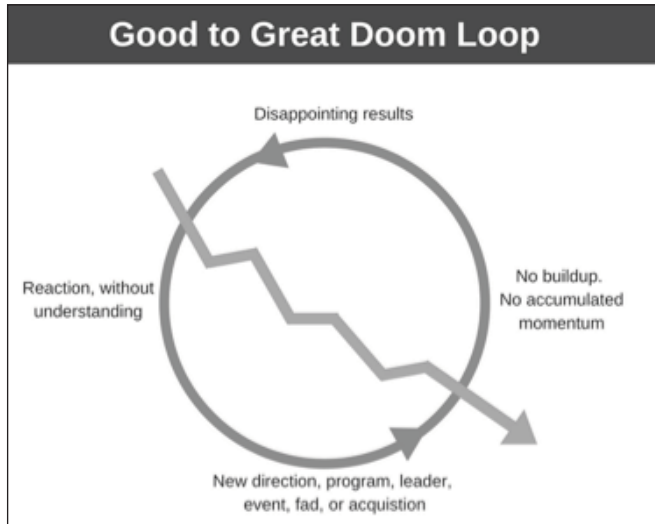
into five gallon containers; the unemployed could quality for these scraps by chopping wood donated by farmers. "We expect a little trouble now and then from those who are not worthy of the support of the citizens". Nichlos wrote philosophically, but we must contend "with such cases in order to take care of those who are worthy". Hurley was so impressed by the plan of feeding garbage to the homeless that he personally urged it on Colonel Woods [an advisor to President Franklin Roosevelt]." — Schlesinger, 1957, *The Crisis of the Old Order*, p. 179.

Poorhate is not only individual dislike and distancing from the poor, it's part of the social and cultural fabric, and affects us in ways that we do not even recognize. We have developed moral categories to describe, and judge, the poor: worthy poor (who need a little help) and the unworthy poor (who are lazy, scamming the system, and unwilling to work). We do have a "culture of poverty," but the conceptual approach in essence "blamed the poor" for their poverty. What was missed in all that discussion was the narrative of poverty, which embodies the norms held by the nonpoor about the poor. One might call it Critical Poverty Theory.

I discussed this in my 1998 book, *Does America Hate the Poor: The Other American Dilemma*. Serena Rice makes this point in 'Our Perceptions About the 'Unworthy Poor' Haven't Changed" (2015), and Ezra Klein in "What the Rich Don't Want to Admit About the Poor" (2021) continues the discussion about the "narrative of poverty" that pervades the latent culture structure of the well to do. The national discussion in mid-2021 about unemployment compensation keeping people from accepting jobs is an example from recent narratives.

Evaluation ... and Remediation Are Still Necessary and Still Avoided

Harold thinks about the need to assess the programs being offered, and to hopefully engage in "policy refurbishment" and program updating. These two procedures are rare in most social units and organizations, from failure to have (or even dare to have) succession plans in organizations, to updating (and perhaps excising) laws that are hopelessly out of date. "Zombie" ideas and practices still roam among us. Sometimes they have less off-putting names, such as "legacy programs" or "founder syndrome." "Kick the problem down the road" seems still be the most popular Jim Collins call this The Doom Loop.



Research-to-Practice is Still a Problem

Harold worried that not enough research flows into practice. Today we call that the “art-to-part” problem in manufacturing or the “bench-to-bedside” problem (in medical care). Sometimes research is prohibited, as in the area of gun use and violence. Sometimes the complexity of the policy just means that initiatives get lost, derailed, or forgotten in the churning of personnel and priorities.

I have found, however, that there is discouragingly little follow-through from outside research to government action. I would suggest in this regard that in many cases it ought to be the obligation of the researcher or research organization, not only to do the evaluation but to press the government or to encourage a private institution to act on the results.

Symbolic Politics and The Dynamics of Citizen Control

Harold may have read Joseph Gusfield’s 1963 book, *Symbolic Crusade*, about the prohibition movement and the fights (still ongoing) between the “wets” and the “drys,” if in morphed form since Prohibition. Sometimes what we think we are talking about as “right and wrong” is a masquerade of our own values. In this sense, policy debates are disguised by our preferences. And to make matters worse, once the government gets things going, as Harold pointed out, it is hard to stop.

The government does respond to pressure and to ideas—sometimes directly, sometimes obliquely, sometimes invisibly. I think in many cases it is easier to push it from without than to move it from within. We bear a heavy responsibility to push, but we bear an even heavier responsibility to examine our ideas and our motivations to be sure we are pushing in the right direction because once the government gets started on something, it is very difficult to stop it. But who is to know which direction is right and what is possible and what is not?

One good example is the tension between permission to drink alcohol and the prohibition from drinking it. What makes alcohol such an interesting policy case is that its use was the subject of two Constitutional amendments and it is one case where the government actually did stop something. But it also might be a situation where the exception proves the rule!

Other state-equivalents have used bans also; consider bans on birth control and on married clergy, for example. Harold realizes the “smoke and mirrors” involved in this approach and argues for substantive programmatic offerings. But “symbolic politics,” defined as “a publicly displayed deception or surrogate action that is used to detract from actual political reality” remains popular. On the one hand, symbolic politics can have an impact on substantial policy (“a revisible succession of political decisions”). On the other hand, substantial policy can be communicated, implemented, or averted by symbolic politics.

Words that Succeed

Talking in lieu of acting was on Harold’s mind. For example, political language, prevarication and obfuscation, and hollow (re)assurances from talking heads. These seem to transform the “not-ok” into the “ok.”

It is perhaps rhetorical to say here that unless the Federal government pays more attention and devotes more resources to the delivery of its good intentions to the people it seeks to serve and the institutions it seeks to change, little beyond a lot of talks can be accomplished. Unfortunately, while such a statement may appear rhetorical here, it is anything but rhetorical in Washington.

This was the same concern that Murray Edelman expressed in his 1977 book, *Political Language: Words that succeed and policies that fail* (Academic Press).

“The opportunity to complete a MACRO field placement in policy at the Washington, D.C. headquarters office of NASW provided me with experience and opened doors for a year-long fellowship with the Congressional Black Caucus.

Now that I am working in a Congressional office, I have unique access to hands-on policy training to strengthen my skills as a legislative aide and policy analyst. MACRO field opportunities are invaluable to develop social workers and prepare them for positions in policy practice and leadership. This is how we expand the scope of what social workers can do and elevate the way we are perceived as a profession.”



Paige Jones, LMSW

NASW National Office intern and graduate of University of Maryland, School of Social Work, MSW 2021, Congressional Black Caucus Foundation (CBCF) Health Policy Fellow, Congressman Gregory Meeks (NY-5) (Sept. 2021- Sept. 2022).

Policies that Fail; Implementation is Crucial: It Takes a Village

Policy does not implement itself. It needs an infrastructure of staff and a close connection, as Harold points out, to those who are “policy targets.”

The difficulties of implementation within the Federal bureaucracy are a shadow compared to the difficulties I saw in moving an idea or program through the Federal bureaucracy, then the state and then the local governments, and finally to the person or institution which theoretically is to benefit.It is obvious that without capable people, receptive to the idea of change, at every step of the way, including citizens of the local community, any education, poverty, welfare, health, or civil rights program will die...

Policy Machinery

Tropman (1984, p. 107) defines policy machinery as the “components and configurations” that transform...

a loose series of ideas from the policy context into a policy agenda,” and then into policy decisions, sessions, and programs. And of course, juggling all these elements and transitions is (hopefully) a skilled policy manager.

The Strengths Perspective is Alive and Well

Social work embraces a person-in- environment approach based on the strengths of a system, a point Harold articulates well.

I have dwelt on limitations. Out of respect to the good training of (Helen Harris) Perlman and (Bernece) Simon, I must look, in conclusion, for strengths. The strength of a system which allows a person to participate, suggest, and criticize and make judgments (however unjust) as the 15 of us did last year is evident. This strength, I think, also points the way to a tempering of the limitations with which I have been concerned. Where institutional limitations become a barrier to effective government action, the private sector of our society has a crucial responsibility.

COMMENTARY

John Tropman

Policy Manager, Policy Staffer, Policy Maker

Firstly, Harold's observations and insights ring as true today as they did when he wrote them (appropriately adjusted, though, so no vest!) His document can be studied as a kind of policy essay by a policy student. It touches all the bases – for example, the intermingling formal and informal, the broad checking and clearing necessary, the long hours, the numerous drafts, the need to find out what other executives are thinking and doing, the need for friends and colleagues who can work together.

Secondly, Harold's experiences served him and the profession well, through his subsequent development of Chapin Hall for Children from a residential home with a history of direct service to children into Chapin Hall at the University of Chicago, serving children and youth by conducting research that informs child policy and practice. (See www.chapinhall.org).

As important, though, is the call for social work to ramp up its attention to policy placements, which would

include advocacy, analysis, community organizing, management and leadership. In my opinion, we have dropped the ball. We do not have many Nobel Laureates talking on the international stage (Jane Addams) or friends in high places (Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce under FDR from 1938-1940). (One can use Google to find lists of prominent Black and other social workers).

But "being there" and being effective and impactful are not the same thing. I dealt with policy work competencies in *Policy Management in the Human Services* (1984) and in Chapters 7, 8, and 9 in *Social Work in Contemporary Society* (with Garvin) 2nd ed. (1997)

What is "policy"? An (1) idea that is (2) written down, has been (3) approved by legitimate authority, and 4) provides a reasonable, but often general, guide to action. Policy leadership introduces the idea, and policy management moves it through the policy system (e.g., writing drafts, getting approvals) into policy programming, via the cycle of 7 Ps. An outline of policy leadership and policy management follows (Tropman, 2018).

“We do not want to be a policy bystander; rather, we want to be a policy manager, policy staffer, policy maker: all roles that are open to us should we choose to grasp the nettle.”

Policy Leadership involves:

1. Being a policy “thought leader”
2. Thinking strategically
3. Being on the balcony
4. Introducing and sharing new ideas, perspectives, and possibilities
5. Promoting Invention and innovation; Innovation involves improving existing programs and services; Invention involves introducing completely new programs and services.
6. Reframing and refocusing, often by asking critical questions including “Why not?” and then “Why?” and answering the question “To what problems is this idea a solution?”
7. Bringing possible solutions as well as identifying problems (chipping in, not copping out)
8. Being “in the room” and “at the table”
9. Being effective (doing the right thing) and efficient (doing things right)

Policy Management involves:

1. Implementing the transition from policy to program
2. Managing the 7 Ps of the policy cycle, including:
 - a. Thinking tactically
 - b. Being on the dance floor
 - c. Defining the policy problem
 - d. Fashioning the policy proposal
 - e. Outlining policy Options
 - f. Building policy decisions
 - g. Establishing policy planning
 - h. Preparing “regs” (operational guidelines and rules)
 - i. Overseeing program implementation
 - j. Evaluating and refurbishing policies and programs

Generally, policy leadership involves (a) a new idea (invention) or improved idea (innovation), whereas policy management involves (b) moving the idea from policy problem through the policy agenda to an actual program. The policy process is made up of focal nodes and interstitial areas. Noted are the “7 Ps”: the interstitial areas that serve as spaces between the nodes. Each node has its own “community of interests”; and each space requires moving from one community of interest to another, by developing new community members while keeping the previous ones committed and attached.

Organizing these policy practice activities involves the double helix of management and leadership, as noted previously. Thus, an expert manager/leader is continuously involved in organizing and anticipating future scenarios while addressing current challenges and problems.

Some of the lessons learned in the policy fellows’ projects included the necessary role of lobbying for administrative systems intervention, paying attention to different perspectives, promoting indigenization of resource management, developing community capacity for resource management, partnerships, and collaboration, and the critical components of emotional intelligence, environmental and systems’ analysis, accessibility of data, and communication for legislative change. (See Tropman, 2018).

What is imperative for our profession and nation is that schools of social work enhance their policy methods focus and add policy placements. We do not want to be a policy bystander; rather, we want to be a policy manager, policy staffer, policy maker: all roles that are open to us should we choose to grasp the nettle.

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James A. Blackburn

The Role of Policy Practice in Social Work Education from a Leadership Perspective

James A. Blackburn is an Adjunct Professor and Research Scientist at the University of Michigan School of Social Work. He was a Professor in the Silberman School of Social Work at Hunter College from 2004 to 2016 and dean of the Silberman School of Social Work from 2004 to 2006. He also served as Professor and dean of the Helen Bader School of Social Welfare from 1991 to 2004.



Prior to his appointment as dean, he served on the faculty of social work in the Silberman School of Social Welfare from 1983 to 1991. While on the faculty, he held appointments as the Associate Director of the Long-Term Gerontology Center at the Medical College of Wisconsin, Director of social work programs, and chair of the Executive Committee in the Silberman School of Social Welfare at the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee. From 1981-83 he was an Assistant Professor of human development in the College of Education at Montana State University. His research has focused on normative cognitive functioning and the elderly and family relationships across the lifespan. He is currently working on a project funded by the Michigan Health Endowment Fund focused on developing a tailored online mental health program for low-income homebound older adults.

Decades ago, Harold Richman argued for the importance of policy practice within the profession of social work and was elated when the White House Fellows Program was established under the Johnson administration. He titled his article “The White House as a Field Placement” and found the White House Fellowship to be “thrilling, challenging, and immensely instructive experience.”

However, today, much has changed in terms of the place of policy practice in social work curricula and field education. In examining the literature on the amount of policy practice curricula in social work, policy practice learning opportunities do exist. However, they exist in

macro concentrations and are limited in both course work and fieldwork in BSW and MSW programs. In a recent review of the literature, Protzker and Lane (2014) reported that few BSW and MSW students were enrolled in macro-oriented field placements yet 50% of the field directors reported that many of their students interacted with policy advocates and participated in policy advocacy and lobbying. Less common, were field placements that exposed students to electoral politics. There was no data on how social work education programs have adapted their curricula to meet the requirements of CSWE to incorporate policy practice as a core competency.

Given the paucity of emphasis on policy practice within social work education, there is an ongoing discussion within the profession of social work concerning policy practice education as it relates to BSW and MSW education (CSWE-EPAS 2001). From this discussion, social work educators seem motivated by the CSWE imperative to educate social work students to engage in social change. The challenge for the social work educator is not only to assist students’ with the difficulties of linking social practice and social change but also to focus on social change strategies and macro level practice. In addition to the dissatisfaction among many social work educators in the way that policy practice is being taught within social work

programs, is the limited option within most social work programs to engage in policy practice in fieldwork (Weiss-Gal, 2016).

From a leadership perspective, a Policy Practice in Field Education initiative has been advanced by The Council on Social Work Education which has called for proposals from Schools of Social Work to develop initiatives in policy practice within field education. Several Schools have been supported by CSWE and include Boston University, Bryn Mawr College, Colorado State University, Eastern Michigan University, Howard University, University of North Carolina, Hunter College, Rutgers University, and University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee to name a few.

The question that the leadership within the social work profession along with the educators need to address is the limitations of existing evaluations on the efficacy of both the short-term and long-term outcomes of policy practice teaching. This outcome work has to be based on more than just student self-reports and needs to include data from service providers and users, practitioners, and social agency administrators.

Leadership within the profession of social work should support the development of new models that call for an integrated approach to advance the policy skill set of all social work students regardless of concentration or specialization. CSWE acknowledged the policy advocacy role of social workers in the 2001 EPAS. However, it was very brief: "Analyze, formulate, and influence social policy" and in the foundation curriculum the development of policy practice is embedded in the discussion of Social Welfare Policy and Services which states to "demonstrate policy practice skills in regard to economic, political, and organizational systems, and use them to influence, formulate, and advocate for policy consistent with social work values."

In a very provocative article Katherine V. Byers (2014), has proposed four next steps that the leadership within the profession of social work need to undertake in order to move the practice policy agenda forward: 1) Maintain a focus on state level policy as devolution has continued since 1996, 2) Provide opportunities for policy practitioners and policy educators to come together to ensure our future development, 3) Provide the new generation of student activists with front-line experience in advocacy through social action (e.g., Occupy Movement) who will then be prepared to come into social work programs, 4) Assist both social work practitioners and faculty to identify those to whom we will pass the baton. We will always need social workers with policy practice skills and the leadership within the profession of social work needs to take the responsibility for future generations of social workers to be well prepared to undertake this demanding level of practice.

In order for this to occur, the leadership within the social work profession must ensure that the social work curricula enhance critical thinking, adopt more experimental methods and strengthen the explicit link between policy-related activities and direct or community practice. In terms of field education, there needs to be more opportunities for social work students to engage in hands-on learning in which students engage in a wide range of activities aimed at influencing policy in the "real world." These non-traditional field placements may also require a new or more informed view of what supervision of social work students entails. Opportunities for social innovation that encourage new social practices that lead to addressing social needs in a better way than the existing solutions need to come from the leadership within the profession. These opportunities will transform the profession in a way that will require the social worker to develop new approaches to seemingly intractable problems that will successfully change the social institutions that created the problem,

"... the profession of social work must realign itself with policy practice as means to make the structural changes that need to occur to help create a socially just and racially neutral society that will enhance the potential of all!"

to begin with. Policy practice is a mechanism within the curriculum that can lead to accomplishing this task.

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that these curricular and field education initiatives in social policy practice must be carried forward by the faculty along with the leadership (e.g., Dean and Director's) of the social work profession. Transparently, the dean is responsible for leading and maintaining a clear vision and mission towards a focused and realistic implementation of the BSW and MSW curriculum. Making a difference becomes key to this leadership role. What brands the school? Is there a clear identity internally as well as externally? Does the academic make-up of the faculty, students, and curriculum address the foundational as well as the complex societal demands that emanate from the external task environment? It is our position that the profession of social work must realign itself with policy practice as means to make the structural changes that need to occur to help create a socially just and racially neutral society that will enhance the potential of all!

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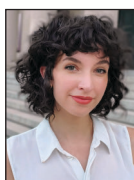
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“My experience as a congressional fellow in the House and Senate provided me with a new perspective on policymaking.

It bridged the gap between what I had learned about policy and advocacy in my MSW coursework and what I was seeing play out on the national political stage. I was responsible for working with colleagues across the political spectrum, advocates, constituents, and more. This opportunity demystified the complex dynamics and processes of lawmaking and helped me to understand the different forms of power leveraged within government and by advocates. After my time as a congressional fellow, I knew that I wanted to continue to work within the system to change the system. The skills I developed on the Hill were critical to getting hired at the Center for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS)."



Nora Simmons, MSW, MPH

NASW National Office intern and graduate of University of North Carolina Chapel Hill MSW, MPH 2019, Legislative Fellow, Congressman Chris Pappas (NH-01) (Dec 2019-Feb 2020). Human Services Fellow, United States Senate Committee on Finance, Senator Ron Wyden (OR) (Feb 2020-July 2020) Health Insurance Specialist, Division of Policy and Analysis, Center for Consumer Information and Insurance Oversight, CMS (Sep 2020-Present)

Justin D. Hodge

Policy & Political Engagement Across the Continuum of Social Work Education and Practice

Justin Hodge, LMSW-Clinical and Macro, is a Clinical Assistant Professor and Program Director of the Online Certificate in Political Social Work at the University of Michigan.

Hodge discusses the current state of policy and political practice in social work education through the lenses of both a professor of social work and an elected official. Drawing on his experience as a designer of the University of Michigan School of Social Work's Policy & Political Social Work Pathway, he describes the vision for the MSW curriculum, the importance of policy field education, and the unique training program offered to professional political social workers.

Introduction

Harold Richman's goal to elevate the role of policy practice within the field of social work is a fight that we need to continue now more than ever as assaults on vulnerable populations by our leaders have become a daily occurrence. We need better leaders; we need leaders that will fight for policies that truly put people first. We need social workers working in government offices, working on political campaigns, running for office, and as our policymakers. Indeed, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) has recognized this need and has reaffirmed our field's commitment to social and political action in the 2017 revision to our code of ethics.

Moreover, starting in the late 2000s, there has been a renewed research focus on political social work, which has continued to grow. While policy practice within social work education encompasses policy analysis and advocacy skills, political social work practice differs by emphasizing the politics that set the stage for policymaking. Shannon Lane and Suzanne Pritzker, the titans of political social work research and authors of



the first political social work textbook, *Political Social Work: Using Power to Create Social Change*, have outlined the following five domains of political social work practice:

1. Engaging individuals and communities in political processes
2. Influencing policy agendas and decision-making
3. Holding professional and political positions
4. Engaging with electoral campaigns
5. Seeking and holding elected office

These domains encapsulate the varying actions that social workers can take to be engaged in political work, many of which draw sharp contrasts to actions falling within policy practice. Consequently, there is ongoing debate as to whether political social work practice should be considered a subfield within policy practice as it focuses on changing the political environment to create policy change or if policy practice should be considered a subfield within political social work practice as it is a tool within the political arena to make change.

Of course, there is also the third view that political social work practice is distinct from policy practice, which I am inclined to agree with. Regardless of your position in the debate, because policymaking in our system of government is largely dependent on politics,

we need to be preparing social work students and professionals to engage in both political social work and policy practice.

Through serving on several governmental boards, committees, and commissions, and almost always finding myself to be the only social worker at the table, I felt that something needed to be changed to increase our presence in these spaces. In reflecting on my experiences as a social work student and as a professional, I came to the conclusion that the most effective way to bring more social workers into policy and political work would be to educate and engage them early in their careers, starting from the time that they are students. After becoming faculty at my alma mater, the University of Michigan School of Social Work, I began leading efforts to expand policy and political content in the curriculum, increasing field placement options in relevant settings, and creating options for professional social workers to receive training to fulfill their continuing education requirements. Additionally, I was elected to the Washtenaw County Board of Commissioners in November 2020, which has allowed me to develop a social work field site program through my office.

MSW Curriculum

Starting with our Fall 2020 semester, students will be able to select the “Policy & Political Social Work Pathway” as an area of study for their Master of Social Work degree. For the decades preceding this change, students interested in policy practice had to also focus on program evaluation because the two areas of study were combined into a single program concentration. The creation of this new area of study represents a significant commitment to and advancement of policy and political education by our school. Fewer than 10%

of schools of social work have concentrations that are political in nature and we hope that other schools will join us in addressing this abysmal statistic.

This pathway was designed to provide students with the knowledge and skills to be competitive for jobs in policy and political settings. Students in this pathway are required to take courses that will provide them with a solid foundation in the theories that underpin socially just policy practice as well as the skills to engage in policy analysis and political engagement across a range of domains. Moreover, the required courses prepare students to take policy and political courses within other disciplines while maintaining their social justice focus.

Field Placements

To truly provide students with a comprehensive educational experience, it is essential that the field placement offerings match the quality of the curriculum. As already discussed, a challenge shared by schools of social work across the country is the relatively low number of field placement sites in policy settings. Specifically, only 20% of MSW programs, and even fewer BSW programs, across the United States offer political focused field placements. In Michigan, we have the added challenge of field instructors needing to be licensed to take field students; but because it is not required to have the macro license to practice macro social work, very few social workers in those settings are licensed. To combat this, as we work to expand field placements in locations such as offices of state legislators and policy institutes, I and other faculty with social work licenses provide field supervision to students to supplement the task supervision that they receive on site.

“To make the kind of societal change that our field strives for, we need more social workers in policy making positions, which can only be achieved through political engagement.”

Continuing Education

In addition to making curricular changes to impact current students, to effectively elevate policy and political social work practice in our field, we must also provide educational opportunities to professional social workers. To meet that need, I developed our Online Certificate in Political Social Work which provides continuing education units and is open to participants worldwide. The program covers a wide range of topics, such as coalition building, environmental justice, and even tax policy. Between this program and our updated MSW curriculum, we are working to engage across the continuum of social work education and practice.

Conclusion

To make the kind of societal change that our field strives for, we need more social workers in policy making positions, which can only be achieved through political engagement. The 117th Congress includes five social workers and I am proud to say that we in Michigan are represented by one of them, US Senator Debbie Stabenow. Additionally, while it is definitely a significant undercount because of the incredible number of offices that would need to be assessed, the NASW has identified 202 social workers elected to local and state office. Given that across the United States there are more than 500,000 elected offices, we have a lot of work to do as social work practitioners and educators to improve the field's representation in policymaking settings.

Too often, I hear from students that they do not think that they have the necessary skills or training to be successful in policy and political practice. In challenging that belief, I push students to consider the following

statements and question. As social workers, we are trained to work with individuals from various backgrounds and with competing needs. We work to find common ground between individuals in conflict, can assess individual and community needs, and then deliver quality services to meet those needs. We organize to achieve common goals, empower individuals to make a change in their communities, and take collective action to influence decision makers. We manage and evaluate programs and make changes based on research and evidence. We analyze policy for its effects on people's lives and we advocate for change. We do all of this with an understanding of the impact of power, privilege, and oppression and with the promotion of social justice as our focus. What kind of world would we live in if more of our policymakers had those skills and if they shared our values as social workers?

For those reasons and more, I would go as far to say that social workers are the most qualified and well prepared professionals of any field to make policy. We may have a long way to go until that is a commonly held sentiment, but Harold Richman's work has moved us firmly in the right direction. He may have been the first White House Fellow social worker, and the only one up until now, but that is something we can and must change. As social work practitioners, educators, and stewards of this field, it is our responsibility to continue pushing us further.

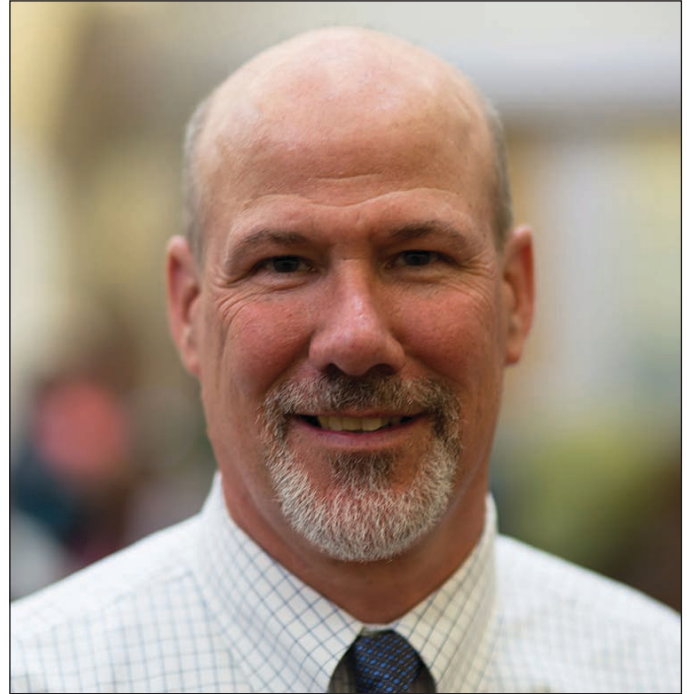
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- The White House Fellows Association has stated that it does not keep records of the degrees possessed by fellows, but that there have been others from the nonprofit sector.

Dan Fischer

Do Current Social Work Education Programs Prepare Students To Influence Policy and Change Society?

Dan Fischer is a Clinical Assistant Professor of Social Work, and Assistant Dean and Director of Field Education at the University of Michigan School of Social Work. He is also Clinical Assistant Professor at Michigan Medicine Department of Psychiatry.



Fischer is a licensed social worker (LMSW) and has been at the University of Michigan since 1989, working as a clinical social worker, researcher, educator and healthcare administrator. Prior to joining the clinical faculty at the School of Social Work in 2017, Fischer held several administrative roles at Michigan Medicine. These include the Chief of Social Work in Psychiatry, Director of Graduate Social Work Education, Director of Child and Family Life, Director of Spiritual Care, and the Interim Director of the Department of Social Work. In addition to his work as a clinician and administrator, Fischer has had a long career as a graduate social work instructor. He has also conducted numerous scientific presentations, workshops and training seminars, and has published several peer-reviewed articles and book chapters. His areas of expertise include child/adolescent mental health, cognitive-behavioral therapy, leadership development, interprofessional education, social work field education and experiential learning. Fischer's commentary examines current social work education programs and traditional field training. He discusses opportunities for innovations to enhance student preparation to be policy influencer's and leaders of societal change.

In 1966, Harold Richman, in his the article entitled "The White House as a Field Placement," discussed the importance for social work education programs develop curriculum that focused on policy a practice that would include field placements for social work student learners.

He described the importance and impact of the experiential learning opportunity that the White House Fellowship was able to provide.

With the dissemination of the Educational Policy and Accreditation Standards (EPAS) in 2008, the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) identified field education as the signature pedagogy of social work education (CSWE, 2008). This provided recognition that field education plays a critical role in preparing social work students for the profession. Field experiences provide students with the opportunity to take what they learn in the classroom and apply these theoretical concepts and skills to a real-world learning environment, as well as bring these real-world experiences back into the classroom. However, it can be argued that the current structure of field education may limit opportunities for students to gain experiences in settings that are non-traditional for the field. The CSWE report, "Envisioning the Future of Social Work" (CSWE, 2018), identifies critical uncertainties that face the profession about the level of leadership and influence that social workers will have beyond traditional social work settings. This uncertainty comes at the very time social workers need to be influential leaders and bring the skill set, mindset, and heart set of the profession to a bigger stage to create broad-based socially just, humanistic

“CSWE, Schools of Social Work, Field Directors and Field Educators need to be able to think outside the current box of social work field education to develop training programs that support students in developing the foundational skills they will need to be successful in policy practice settings.”

societal change. Essentially, the CSWE report describes that social work education needs to focus on developing curriculum, including field education, that creates leaders who are prepared to work with and influence professionals from other fields across a variety of contexts and circumstances.

The social work profession, using the person-in-environment framework, is built upon its commitment to human and community well-being, social justice and social change. Although these core professional values and tenets remain consistent, the knowledge, skills and practice tools that social workers will need to in order to effectively address and respond to the emerging critical issues facing individuals, families, communities, and our society must evolve to keep pace with our complex and fast changing world. The Grand Challenges for Social Work (GCSW), an initiative spearheaded by the American Academy of Social Work and Social Welfare, the Council on Social Work Education, and the National Association of Social Workers provides a call to action for the social work profession, with the goal of creating and developing innovative strategies to address 13 major social problems impacting our world today (AASWSW; n.d.). For schools of social work, the GCSW provides a critical opportunity to design and establish new curricular directions that will best prepare graduates to address the most pressing social problems of our time. The complexity of the 13 GCSW necessitates that social work education ensures students develop the knowledge, skills, and values to work interprofessionally and collaboratively in order to collectively create optimally effective solutions for these extraordinarily challenging social problems. However, there is a

concern that our current social work education programs may not sufficiently prepare students with the communication, and teamwork skills, nor the field opportunities to practice these skills needed for transdisciplinary collaborations to influence policy and change society (Nurius, et al, 2017).

In reviewing Richman's article and considering the importance of the macro level skills needed to influence board based change, as a Director of Field education, I believe it is paramount for us to expand policy practice opportunities in field education. We need to create opportunities for social work students to gain knowledge and direct practice experience working in policy practice settings, and with the political and systematic structures that maintain bias, inequity and injustice in our society. As an example, at the macro level students need to be able to understand and analyze the intersections of race, ethnicity and poverty, in order to be effective change agents. Social work students wanting to work in policy practice organizations, need to develop the knowledge and skills that will allow them to compete on an even playing field with students from graduate degree programs for these types of jobs. Developing field education experiences, on both the local and national level, for social work students in advocacy organizations, think tanks, research and policy centers, and offices of public officials will provide experiences for students to see and participate in policy in action. Developing creative models for social work field instruction and other methods of training will be necessary to help students integrate the theories, concepts and competencies of the social work profession with the fundamental policy practice skills learned in

these non-traditional settings. This could include creating opportunities for policy practice training modules and preceptorships for student cohorts across multiple field sites and settings, identifying and developing field instructors trained in policy practice supervision, and using technology to expand simulation opportunities and supervision models. CSWE, Schools of Social Work, Field Directors and Field Educators need to be able to think outside the current box of social work field education to develop training programs that support students in developing the foundational skills they will need to be successful in policy practice settings. Fortunately, I believe we have the interest, capacity, and creativity to develop innovative solutions to generate this outcome. After all, we are social workers.

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The Crown Family School of
Social Work, Policy, and Practice



The University of Michigan
School of Social Work



ABOUT THE ORGANIZATIONS

The University of Michigan School of Social Work celebrated its 100th anniversary in 2021, while the Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice at the University of Chicago turned 100 (as the School of Social Service Administration). The National Association of Social Workers was established in 1955.

The Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice

In 2003, the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago celebrated its 100th anniversary. The school was founded in 1908 as the Social Science Center by Graham Taylor, a minister and social work educator, and by 1920 it merged with the University of Chicago as one of its graduate schools, one of the first graduate schools of social work in the country. It changed its name to the School of Social Service Administration, and changed it again in 2021, to the Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice, after a gift from the Crown Family.

James Crown notes: “The University of Chicago is preeminent in its emphasis on the research and development of new ideas that can influence both policy and solution-based interventions.” Added Paula Crown: “The events of 2020 only serve to underscore the importance of everyone’s focus on the needs of society’s most vulnerable individuals. We are thrilled to be able to support the University in this effort.” Prior to 1908, the school was known as Chicago Commons, a settlement house. The house began offering social work lectures through its school of Social Economics. Among those who taught at the School were Jane Addams, social reformer; John Dewey, educator; and Charles Henderson, social reform and sociology.

Harold Richman was dean from 1969-78, succeeding Alton Linford (1956-69).

The school has published the Social Service Review since 1927 with the aim of opening “scientific discussions of problems arising in connection with the various aspects of social work.”

The University of Michigan School of Social Work

In 1921, three years after the formation of the University of Michigan in Detroit, the regents approved a formal Curriculum in Social Work. In 1935, graduate level social work education began at U-M, and in 1936, the first master’s of social work degree (MSW) was offered by the Institute of Public and Social Administration (later to become the Institute of Social Work in 1946). From 1936 to 1951, a total of 265 MSW degrees were granted.

In 1951, the School of Social Work was established to offer a professional educational program on the graduate level leading to advanced degrees, and the

program moved from Detroit to Ann Arbor. The School was first located in a small house on Washington and Thayer, before moving into the Frieze Building, the former Ann Arbor High School building, where it remained until 1998 when the school moved to a new dedicated building on the corner of South and East University. During the School of Social Work’s first year 91 full-time and 96 part-time students were enrolled. Today the School averages around 650 enrolled MSW students and 80 enrolled doctoral students. In 1957, the Joint Doctoral Program in Social Work and Social Science was created.

In the past 15 years, the School has ranked either the #1 or #2 school of social work by U.S. News & World Report and ranked in the top three schools of social work for the past 30 years.

National Association of Social Workers

NASW is one of the largest membership organizations of professional social workers in the world. NASW works to enhance the professional growth and development of its members, to create and maintain standards for the profession, and to advance sound social policies. NASW also contributes to the well-being of individuals, families and communities through its work and advocacy.

NASW was founded in 1955 through a merger of seven social work organizations: the American Associations of Social Workers, Medical Social Workers, Psychiatric Social Workers, and Group Workers; the National Association of School Social Workers; the Association for the Study of Community Organization; and the Social Work Research Group.

NASW has chapters in every U.S. state, plus Washington, D.C., New York City, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, as well as an international chapter.

NASW has four subsidiaries: the NASW Foundation (supports scientific, philanthropic, and educational activities that advance the social work profession), NASW Assurance Services (provides competitive insurance services to members), Legal Defense Fund (provides technical advice and financial assistance to members involved in legal proceedings as a result of upholding the NASW Code of Ethics), and Political Action for Candidate Election (PACE) (raises funds to contribute to the political campaigns of candidates who support the goals and objectives of social work).

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REFLECTION

Robert & Andrew Richman

Robert Richman is a political consultant and co-founder of Grassroots Solutions, an engagement strategy and evaluation consulting firm. He lives in Saint Paul, Minnesota, is married to Kristin Beckmann, and has two kids Ethan and Becca.

Andrew Richman is a mathematics education researcher and instructor. He lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and has two kids, Isaac and Kate.

Our father would have very much appreciated the use of this talk to advocate for an issue that he deeply cared about – the elevation of policy in social work in general and in social work education in particular. There is much to take away from what he said. As his sons we note two aspects that we see as deeply indicative of who our father was and what he cared about. First, we see in this speech, and remember from his personal reflections, a model not only for what a social work student can learn from a policy placement but also how a social work student can best approach this kind of experience. This is an approach that came naturally to our father but may not be instinctive for many. We also see the seeds of his career trajectory – his perspective on the interplay between policy and research that eventually lead to his life's work: the Chapin Hall Center for Children research center.

His attitude toward the White House Fellowship, that we believe led to both how much he contributed to and how much he benefited from the experience, was one of humility and deep curiosity. While many sought the fellowship for its prestige and proximity to power, he was a reluctant applicant. It took aggressive harassment by then associate dean Rachel Marks to even get him to

apply. While many thought they were entitled to the fellowship, he was sure he would not get it. He was surprised to be invited to the regional interviews, shocked to make it to the final round, and actually lost his balance when he got accepted. While many would have been uncomfortable being constantly put in situations where they were not already an expert, he relished the exposure to new ideas. This stance of gratitude and inquiry helped him see the experience as an opportunity to learn and to serve and prepared him to gather and consolidate the thinking that he expresses in this presentation. At the end of the fellowship he took the advice that John Gardner gave to all of the fellows and did not fall in love with his limousine. Rather than use his contacts and knowledge to accrue power, he brought back what he learned to the University of Chicago, to the field of social work, and to all of the children and communities that were impacted by his work.

His perspective on the relationship between policy and research can be seen in his observation that for government “It is easier to do than to think.” and his comment that “Non-governmental interests must prod the bureaucracy to examine its programs, to re-think old assumptions, and to provide meaningful alternatives to the people who are dependent upon government help.” He dedicated his professional life to helping the government think and generating the information that would support the efforts of non-governmental interests to effectively advocate on behalf of children who the system has left behind. He created a model for conducting academic-quality research that is directly relevant to practical policy questions. In these times of hyper-polarization, it is important to note that his work was always fiercely non-partisan so that he could be a credible voice to policy makers of all political inclinations.

A year in the halls of power taught our father much about how things do or do not get done and the power of information to support this process. He understood that this lesson was crucial to bring back to a field dedicated to helping individuals live their fullest lives. We are deeply appreciative of this publication's use of his words to remind the field of this vital connection.

FIELD PLACEMENT, INTERNSHIP & FELLOWSHIP OPPORTUNITIES

(A sample of available opportunities)

THE AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR SUICIDE PREVENTION

<https://afsp.org/apply-for-or-manage-your-research-grant>

Postdoctoral Research Fellowships are training grants designed to enable young investigators to qualify for independent careers in suicide research. The training can be in either basic or clinical research and must be full-time; that is, Fellows are expected to devote at least 40 hours per week to the training program and may not have any significant clinical or other responsibilities during the funding period.

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION PUBLIC HEALTH FELLOWSHIP IN GOVERNMENT

www.apha.org/professional-development/apha-internships-and-fellowships/public-health-fellowship

Seeking candidates with strong public health credentials who wish to spend one year in Washington, D.C. working in a Congressional office on legislative and policy issues such as health, the environment or other public health concerns. Fellows have the opportunity to see firsthand how public policy impacts public health and to offer their public health expertise to policymakers.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR CONGRESSIONAL STUDIES (APAICS) FELLOWSHIP

<https://apaics.org/programs/fellowship/>

This Fellowship program is a 9-month, full-time legislative and public policy fellowship in Washington, D.C. that provides exceptional graduates and young professionals with an opportunity to work on policy issues as full-time staff members of a congressional office. Candidates must have demonstrated leadership and understanding of Asian American and Pacific Islander issues. Areas of focus are General Fellowship, Education & Labor, and Financial Services.

CAPITAL CITY FELLOWS PROGRAM (CCFP)

<https://dchr.dc.gov/page/capital-city-fellows-program-faqs#apply>

The Capital City Fellows Program (CCFP) is a mayoral initiative to attract recent graduates of master's degree programs who are interested in public service to work for the city of Washington, D.C. Selected Fellows are appointed for 18 months during which they may complete three six-month rotations in different city agencies within the government operations, health and human services, public safety and justice, planning and economic development or education clusters.

CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES STATE POLICY FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

www.cbpp.org/careers/fellowship/fellowship-application

State Policy Fellows spend two years with an influential state-based policy organization or with the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington, D.C. Fellows research and write analyses on current policy issues; brief policymakers, journalists, and others on these issues; and serve as a resource for advocates and community groups.

CHARLES B. RANGEL GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

<https://rangelprogram.org/graduate-fellowship-program/>

The Rangel Graduate Fellowship is a program that aims to attract and prepare outstanding young people for careers in the Foreign Service of the U.S. Department of State in which they can help formulate, represent and implement U.S. foreign policy.

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS FOUNDATION CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIPS

www.cbcbfinc.org/fellowships/

This 20-month fellowship program enables participants to receive hands-on public policy training in congressional and committee offices as full-time legislative aides and policy analysts. The CBCF Congressional Fellows take part in policy briefings, roundtable discussions, seminars, and training sessions on policy and leadership. Fellows create and implement community service projects, produce policy briefs and a research paper.

CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIPS ON WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY

www.wcpinst.org/our-work/congressional-fellows/

The Congressional Fellowships on Women and Public Policy are designed to train potential leaders in public policy formation to examine issues from the perspective, experiences, and needs of women. Fellows gain practical policymaking experience and graduate credit as they work from January to August in Congressional offices.

CONGRESSIONAL HISPANIC CAUCUS INSTITUTE GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP

<https://apply.chci.org/applications/login.asp>

The CHCI Graduate Fellowship seeks to enhance participants' leadership abilities, strengthen professional skills, and produce more competent and competitive Latino professionals. The nine-month paid fellowship program offers exceptional Latinos (who have earned at least a master's degree within three years of the program start date) with unparalleled hands-on experience in a Congressional office or committee. Topic areas include Higher Education, Secondary Education, Health, Housing, Law, and STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Math). Fellows receive a salary, benefits and roundtrip airfare to Washington, D.C.

CONGRESSIONAL HISPANIC CAUCUS INSTITUTE PUBLIC POLICY FELLOWSHIP

<https://apply.chci.org/applications/login.asp>

The CHCI Public Policy Fellowship (PPF) seeks to enhance participants' leadership abilities, strengthen professional skills, and ultimately produce more competent and competitive Latino professionals in public policy areas. The fellowship offers talented Latinos, who have earned a bachelor's degree a paid, nine-month fellowship in Washington, D.C. Fellows gain hands-on experience at the national level in the public policy area of their choice.

CONGRESSIONAL HISPANIC LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE GLOBAL LEADERS INTERNSHIP AND FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

www.chli.org/gl-application

The CHLI Global Leaders Internship and Fellowship Program is an opportunity for students from the United States and Puerto Rico to spend one semester (12-15 weeks) working with Congress and other respected corporations in Washington, D.C. while earning academic credit hours. Fellows work on project-based programs that provide hands-on experience working in public policy.

DAVID A. WINSTON HEALTH POLICY FELLOWSHIP

www.winstonfellowship.org/health-policy-fellowship/

The David A. Winston Health Policy Fellowship is a 12-month postgraduate experience in Washington, D.C. The first portion of the Fellowship is a planned rotation of at least three months during which the Fellows will visit various centers of current health policy development at the national and state level. During the final months, the Fellows will pursue a full-time placement with the guidance of the Winston Board of Directors, which is comprised of key policymakers from the private and public sectors.

GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS INSTITUTE CAPITOL HILL FELLOWSHIP

<https://gai.georgetown.edu/courses-programs/capitol-hill-fellowship/>

The Capitol Hill Fellowship Program is designed for executives and managers who require a high-level working knowledge of Congress. The congressional fellowship may be used to fulfill requirements in certain management or executive development programs.

GRACE L. OSTENSO NUTRITION AND PUBLIC POLICY FELLOWSHIP

www.eatrightfoundation.org/grace-l-ostenso-nutrition-and-public-policy-fellowship/

The fellowship permits the recipient to participate in the Congressional Science and Engineering Fellows Program (the Program) and spend one year working as a special assistant on a legislation focusing on diet and nutrition that will benefit from scientific and engineering input, serving on the staffs of Members of Congress or congressional committees.

HAROLD W. ROSENTHAL FELLOWSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

<https://ourpublicservice.org/programs/rosenthal-fellowship/>

The fellowship provides a select number of students with summer funding and work opportunities in a congressional or executive branch office. Fellows will benefit from unparalleled work experience while also participating in an orientation and roundtable discussions. The ideal prospective fellows have exhibited outstanding scholarly achievements, commitment to the study of international affairs, and interest in public service.

HEALTH AND AGING POLICY FELLOWS PROGRAM

www.healthandagingpolicy.org/fellowship-application/how-to-apply/

The program is open to professionals from diverse disciplines, at all career stages, with a demonstrated commitment to health and aging issues and a desire to be involved in health policy at the federal, state or local levels. The program offers two tracks: a residential program (up to \$120K), which is a 9-12 month placement in Washington, D.C. or at a state agency as either a legislative assistant in Congress or professional staff in an executive agency or policy organization; and a non-residential program, which includes a health policy project.

HERBERT SCOVILLE JR. PEACE FELLOWSHIP

<https://scoville.org/apply/application-information/#deadlines>

The Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellowship provides college graduates with the opportunity to gain a Washington perspective on key issues of peace and security. Twice yearly, the Fellowship's Board of Directors selects a group of outstanding individuals to spend 6-9 months in Washington. Supported by a salary, the fellows serve as full-time junior staff members at the participating organization of their choice. The program also arranges meetings for the fellows with policy experts. Application deadlines in October and January.

HERTOG FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIP

<https://hertogfoundation.org/application-summer-2021>

The Hertog Advanced Institutes offer exceptional students and professionals, from a broad range of academic and professional backgrounds, an opportunity to engage in the serious discussion of a topic in public policy or political theory with established experts in the field. The two week-long seminars take place in Washington, D.C. and New York City during the spring and summer. Institute participants are eligible to receive a stipend to cover travel and lodging. Applicants may include those pursuing study or careers in public policy, including national security and economics, academia, journalism, law, business, and military. International applicants proficient in English are welcome to apply.

HERTOG POLITICAL STUDIES PROGRAM

<https://hertogfoundation.org/application-summer-2021>

Hertog Fellows study classic texts in political thought and some of the seminal documents of American politics with an outstanding faculty. In addition, students study selected public policy issues with some of the individuals who helped formulate and implement those policies. Fellows participate in a seven-week summer program in Washington, D.C.

HUMANITY IN ACTION ALFRED LANDECKER DEMOCRACY FELLOWSHIP

www.humanityinaction.org/landeckerdemocracyfellowship-apply/

We look for young leaders of diverse backgrounds and support them in their quest to build bridges through projects that enable our societies to unpack and address historic and contemporary systems of inequality. Our intention is to support young professionals who have new ideas to form unique and lasting ties among communities that are increasingly drifting apart.

INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION (ILF) CIVIC FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

www.ilfnational.org/fellowship-application.html

The ILF Civic Fellowship Program is the nation's top Asian Pacific American leadership development program in Washington, D.C. Each year, approximately 30 outstanding college students are inducted into the summer-long Fellowship Program and participate in a supervised training curriculum. These students are subsequently placed in an 8-week public service internship (in a federal agency, non-profit or non-governmental organization or a congressional office) and are enrolled in educational seminars.

JOHN A. KNAUSS MARINE POLICY FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

<https://seagrants.noaa.gov/Prospective>

The Sea Grant Knauss Fellowship provides a unique educational and professional experience to graduate students who have an interest in ocean, coastal and Great Lakes resources and in the national policy decisions affecting those resources.

LEGIS CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP

www.brookings.edu/fellowships-programs/legis/

The Legis Congressional Fellowship provides an exceptional public policy learning experience for government managers and senior corporate executives who seek insight into how Congress works and how public policy is made.

MERIDIAN INSTITUTE FELLOWSHIP

<https://merid.org/apply-fellowship-2020/>

The Meridian Institute Fellowship Program offers a two-year fellowship for recent college graduates to work on varied and highly complex public policy issues, learn about the field of multi-party collaborative problem solving, and engage with leaders from a variety of sectors. Fellows will provide research, writing, and other types of support for projects focused on natural resources, agriculture policy, and ocean and coastal policy, among other topics. Fellows will be based in either Dillon, CO or Washington, D.C. offices.

NATIONAL RACE AND EQUITY INITIATIVE JOHN R. LEWIS SOCIAL JUSTICE POLICY FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

www.cbfcinc.org/fellowships/

Distinguished by two six-month rotations, Social Justice Fellows will be placed in the U.S. Congress with Congressional Black Caucus members and the CBCF's Center for Policy Analysis and Research (CPAR) for a total of 12 months. Fellows will produce social justice policy research and analysis on topics that include, but not limited to, criminal justice, education reform, community/economic development, health disparities and civil rights. While working in Congressional Black Caucus member offices, Fellows will gain invaluable legislative experience as they engage in the development of public policy initiatives, attend briefings, conduct research, write speeches, and develop rapport with key leaders all in the areas of social justice. In the Center for Policy Analysis and Research, Fellows will work under the NREI Director and in cooperation with other stakeholders to conduct policy analysis, research, and data collection with the goal to disseminate research findings and relevant information to advance NREI's mission.

ROBERT WOOD JOHNSON HEALTH POLICY FELLOWS

www.healthpolicyfellows.org/apply/

The Health Policy Fellows program is a residential fellowship experience in Washington, D.C. for mid-career professionals, which prepares individuals to influence the future of healthcare and accelerate their own career development. Fellows actively participate in the formulation of national health policies in congressional offices and accelerate their careers as leaders in health policy. Fellows are able to continue their health policy activities for up to 12 months after the Washington placement period.

RUNNING START CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP

<https://runningstart.org/college-programs/>

Semester-long fellowship on Capitol Hill with congresswomen and weekly trainings on how to run for office.

SPIRIT MOUNTAIN COMMUNITY FUND MARK HATFIELD FELLOW

www.thecommunityfund.com/grants-programs/hatfield-fellowship/

This internship lasts for nine months as fellows learn the inner workings of the federal political system and serve as advisers on Native American issues.

TEACH FOR AMERICA THE CAPITOL HILL FELLOWS PROGRAM

www.teachforamerica.org/life-as-an-alum/alumni-resources/capitol-hill-fellows

Capitol Hill Fellows Program is a year-long program that places Teach for America alumni in full-time, paid congressional staff positions on Capitol Hill. Fellows gain incredible insights into the legislative process and experience in policy and politics at the national level.

URBAN LEADERS FELLOWSHIP

www.urbanleadersfellowship.org/applynow

The Urban Leaders Fellowship is a 7-week paid summer fellowship for early- to mid-career professionals who are already leaders in their own right and are looking to accelerate their leadership through fellowship with a focus on policy and practice. Fellows work half-time on high-level policy projects with an elected official and half-time alongside partner organizations in cities across the country including Atlanta, Dallas, Denver, Indianapolis, Nashville, New Orleans, Oakland, and Washington, D.C.

US AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT DONALD M. PAYNE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

www.paynefellows.org

The fellowship is a 20-month policy training and leadership development program for entry level professionals who are committed to advancing U.S. foreign policy. Fellows gain exposure to the U.S. foreign policy making process as part of their assignment to a CBC member office and work on congressional committees. As part of the program, fellows organize policy briefings and roundtable discussions; attend seminars on policy, politics, and leadership; create and implement a community service project with other CBCF Fellows; and produce policy briefs and a research paper.

US PUBLIC INTEREST RESEARCH GROUP FELLOWSHIP

<https://jobs.uspirg.org/fellowship.html>

Fellows learn how to become an experienced organizer and advocate for the public interest. This is a two-year program, expressly designed to prepare future leaders within PIRG. Fellows receive a competitive benefits package for positions in Washington, D.C., Boston and Chicago.

VICTORY CONGRESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP

<https://victoryinstitute.org/programs/victory-congressional-fellowship-2/>

The fellowship prepares young LGBTQ professionals to become informed decision-makers and influential leaders who can change their communities and our world.

WOMEN'S CONGRESSIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE FELLOWSHIP

www.wcpinst.org/our-work/congressional-fellows/application-and-faq/

The fellowships are designed to train potential leaders in public policy formation to examine issues from the perspective, experiences, and needs of women. Administered by the Women's Congressional Policy Institute (WCPI), a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization located in Washington, D.C.

To access an updated list of Macro policy fellowships, visit NASW's website: [National Policy Fellowships \(socialworkers.org\)](http://NationalPolicyFellowships.socialworkers.org)



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