New England Journal of Public Policy

Volume 26
Issue 1 *Special Issue on Education*

Article 6

9-22-2014

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In 2013, the congressionally chartered national Commission on Education Equity and Excellence issued unanimous recommendations for P–12 policy changes at the federal, state, and local levels. This remarkably broad consensus, with unusual pragmatism and concreteness, is comprehensive in its scope and predominantly research based. As a clarion call and reform strategy, the commission report, For Each and Every Child, is a successor to A Nation at Risk (1983); the commission's grand if not grandiose intention was to provide a framework for the next decade or more of nationwide policy struggle. This article, after briefly summarizing the recommendations, focuses on how a movement might be built to advance them.

Since the publication, in 1983, of *A Nation at Risk*, the dominant engineering principles in initiatives to bring about systemic school improvement have been stronger curriculum standards, accountability based on standardized student tests, quasi-market incentives, shame-based public reporting, and a refocusing of regulatory attention on outputs rather than inputs. The public value most often invoked, it seems, has been prosperity, with competitiveness its measure. This approach has had some success, but far from enough.

In February 2011, U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan appointed members to the congressionally chartered national Commission on Education Equity and Excellence to make recommendations to the Department of Education and the nation to improve public P–12 systems. The commissioners, each expert and prominent in the field, included academic and policy researchers, current and former education officials from all levels of government, civil rights leaders, the presidents of the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association, education policy advocates and associations, and public interest lawyers. Also serving, ex officio, were subcabinet education officials from the department and the Obama White House. As the work unfolded, the commission concluded that its central task, thirty years after *A Nation at Risk*, was to propose a reformulation of purpose and strategy for the myriad federal, state, and local efforts to improve education outcomes for our children and the nation.

After two years of deliberation, drafting, and negotiation, the commission adopted over fifty pages of analysis and recommendations for work at all levels of government. The report, *For Each and Every Child*, was unanimous—an unexpected and noteworthy accomplishment. The report includes a clarion call and five policy categories encompassing scores of evidence-based recommendations, proffered as guidance—a polestar—for a decade and more of struggle to come. Put quite broadly, those categories are (1) funding equity and efficiency; (2) teachers, principals, and curriculum; (3) early childhood education; (4) further mitigation of poverty's effects; and (5) governance and accountability.

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In view of the unanimity of so many influential voices, several former commissioners and donors are mounting a follow-on effort, Partners for Each and Every Child (PEEC), to build infrastructure for a "movement"—vaguely defined—that will connect and support myriad reform efforts nationwide, provided they are generally aligned with the policy polestar. The provenance of this effort, together with the comprehensiveness of the policy framework, makes it uniquely promising. A premise of PEEC is that we have a rare moment of great opportunity. But how are we to make the most of it?

Policy consensus aside—though that is no minor matter—the challenge is to design a movement strategy appropriate to the complex structure of our P–12 system and the messiness of the multilevel, multisubject policy reform ecosystem. Analogies seem largely inapt, so such a design must in a sense be only a hypothesis about what might work, its plausibility a matter of judgment more than science. That hypothesis is the subject of this article. We begin, however, with a severe summary of the commission's proposed framework of policy principles.

The Policy Polestar

The commission's report starts with a familiar clarion call. It cites achievement, attainment, and resource data, in the aggregate and highlighting disparities—demographic, geographic, and international. It declares moral imperatives and also more instrumental imperatives related to prosperity and social cohesion. Some of this is predicate for policy design, but much of it is useful primarily to motivate action or influence beliefs and values. Prosaically, these data and arguments inform the message strategies so often vital to policy or political change. Those strategies are beyond the scope of this article.

More relevant to movement design are the extensive framework of policy principles and scores of interrelated programmatic recommendations, which together constitute a polestar to guide federal, state, and local reform efforts over the next decade or more. (Readers familiar with the commission's report should skip this section. Others are encouraged to peruse the full report.)

It is often remarked that educators and their immediate leaders are victims of an unceasing barrage of "reforms" dropped from on high, generally with narrow, uncoordinated purposes. The commission's work, however, was comprehensive and coherent. The vision and recommendations reflect an understanding that structures, organizations, and fundamental conditions matter—that systems must change, not just isolated practices.

A few highlights of the recommendations follow. See Figures 1 and 2.

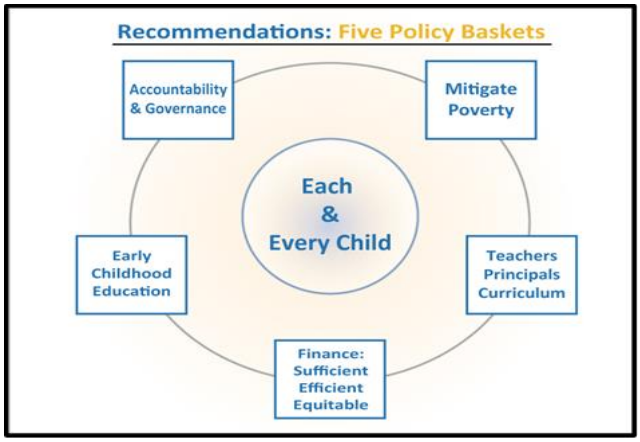

Figure 1. Policy polestar consisting of comprehensive recommendations supporting a central value

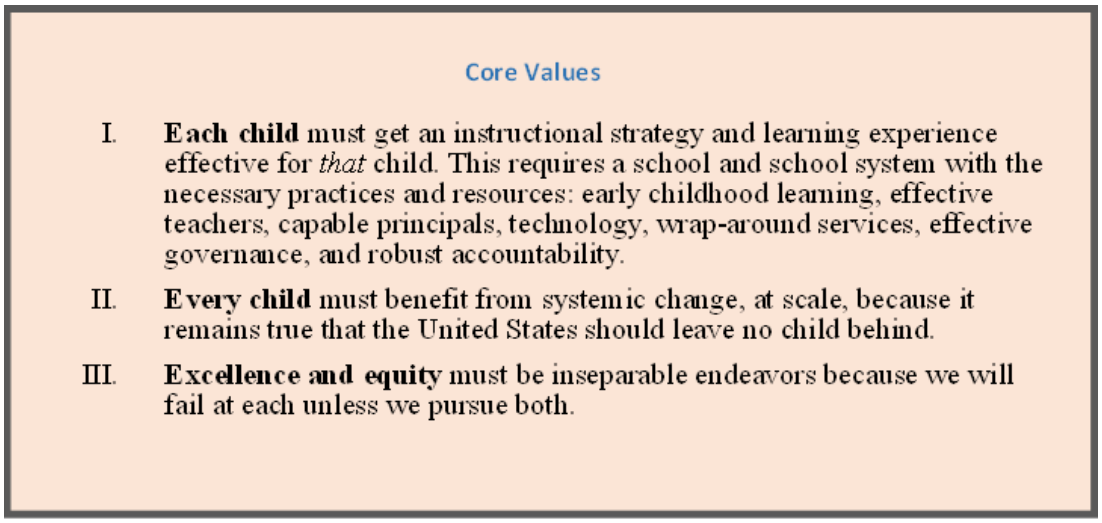

Figure 2. Core values animating the policy recommendations

Equitable, sufficient, and efficient school finance systems that ensure that a child's critical opportunities are not a function of his or her zip code. The federal government should support states and districts in (a) determining the cost of providing meaningful educational opportunities and high achievement, including human and other resources; (b) implementing a system that ensures this adequate funding; and (c) providing additional funding for schools with high concentrations of low-income students. The performance of these systems must be monitored to ensure that they support achievement for all students. Relatedly, states should identify and report on the programs and resources needed to provide all students a meaningful education, ensuring that their systems of funding schools are supported by stable and predictable sources of revenue. States should also develop information systems that will track student achievement based on their needs and access to resources. With these and related recommendations, the commission went beyond the requirements most typically found in state constitutions as interpreted by the courts. As a matter of policy, if not constitutional law, the equity and excellence we expect is possible only if allocation of resources responds to the particular needs of students and the levels of achievement required for career and college readiness.

Teachers, principals, and curriculum effective enough to provide each and every child with the educational opportunity necessary for him or her to thrive and the nation to prosper. The state and federal governments should initiate major new programs, including federal funding incentives, to address the teacher quality pipeline as a whole, with a focus on educator support and effectiveness. This funding includes investments in high-quality residency and scholarship programs to create a steady supply of effective teachers in high-needs areas. The U.S. Department of Education can demand equitable access to qualified and effective teachers using its existing enforcement authority under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Titles I and II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—most recently reauthorized in 2002 as the No Child Left Behind Act. A new model of educator responsibility, the commission argues, should consider requiring states to set a uniform entry "bar" into teaching, create a teacher quality index for reporting on student access to effective teachers, and include technology support for team teaching and professional development.

States and districts must adopt best practice models for evaluating teacher effectiveness, such as the MET (measures of effective teaching) framework, and integrate those into equity analyses and accountability systems for teachers and administrators. State and local policies and requirements of course-taking and graduation should focus on student access to rigorous material and common standards; these measures require high-quality data systems.

The commission was unanimous in noting the critical role of the Common Core State Standards in supporting excellence for all, but this universality will be achieved only if Common Core implementation is *effective* for all. For example, all children deserve teachers who have been supported in the mastery of new standards, and the Common Core must be implemented not as just a Band-Aid-with-new-tests; effective implementation requires whole-school redesign of how teachers interact, how instruction is delivered, and how extended learning time is shaped, with equitable resource distribution and more.

Early childhood education. A remarkably strong research consensus has emerged that early childhood programs with an academic focus, designed to narrow the disparities in readiness when children reach kindergarten, are an indispensable component of enhancing K–12 excellence, especially in narrowing the poverty-related disparities in readiness-to-learn in the early grades. The report recommends a federal matching program to encourage states to create guaranteed access to high-quality early learning programs for all low-income children within the next ten years; alignment and coordination of federal early childhood programs (Head Start, Early Head Start, etc.), and of federal, state, and local funding streams, should enable state and local governments to coordinate services for their youngest students. Apart from funding, this basket of recommendations poses enormous implementation challenges. In particular, there are difficult obstacles to overcome in preparing the necessary teacher work force and ensuring that the programs have sufficient fidelity to the research-based models to produce the hoped-for gains in child outcomes.

Further mitigation of poverty's effects. High-quality early childhood education is the most important intervention to mitigate the impact of poverty, but other measures are useful once the child is in school, continuing through high school. Generally, these include a range of education, social, and health support services necessary to promote student success and family engagement in school. "More and better learning time" is an important example, especially because many existing models of supplemental education services are simply not successful enough. There are models for more effective interventions to improve outcomes for student groups especially likely to be left behind—including English language learners, children in Indian country or isolated rural areas, children with special education needs, and students involved in the child welfare or juvenile justice systems.

More specifically, at all levels, governments should align their school finance systems to partner with public agencies and community-based organizations to improve the quality of the educational experience of students in high-poverty communities and schools. Examples include supporting dropout prevention programs and high-quality alternative education, promoting broad-based parent engagement, and developing mechanisms to provide basic health and social services to at-risk students—wraparound and in-school services can be effective approaches. Several models for so-called community schools seem promising.

Accountability and governance. Reforms in this arena must clarify who is responsible for what. They must attach consequences and supports for student performance, coupled with needed opportunities and resources. From teachers and students all the way up to state and federal policymakers, everyone should be empowered but then held responsible. Accountability should use multiple broad measures that fairly reflect the performance or actions of students, educators, schools—including charter schools—and school systems. We must never have high stakes accountability for students but little or no accountability for the adults. Finally, it bears emphasis that a statutory or regulatory goal without an effective regime for accountability or enforcement may be little more than an empty aspiration.

This is key: The specific policy ideas offer little novelty, because the commission insists that its recommendations be supported by research and experience, rather than invocation of ideology, supposition, intuition, or polling data. Instead, the novelty is that a coalition as strong, expert, and diverse as the commission came together to recognize the interdependence of the framework's many components and found sufficient common ground to fashion a coherent and near-comprehensive agenda for federal, state, and local efforts. And, unlike *A Nation at Risk*, the report describes an integrated strategy to take on the challenge of excellence for all. It explains why successful reform depends not only on standards and assessments but also on attention to the critical dimensions of teaching, learning, organization, student supports, and efficient use of sufficient resources.

The scores of commission recommendations can in many respects be understood as an elaboration of the implementation requirements one might derive from the central commitment, captured in the report's title, to provide an effective instructional strategy and learning experience for each and every child. Moreover, properly understood, this commitment helps create the needed unity of excellence and equity goals.

From Ecosystem to Movement: Definition and Obstacles

One might adopt any of several descriptive models for a movement to advance education excellence for all. An intellectual or philosophical movement should engage at the most fundamental level the contested values and political ideologies and combine these with a coherent critique of the United States' racial and socioeconomic structures. Widely shared policy consensus in some sense represents a movement or the fruits thereof. Victory is reified as conventional wisdom, and its achievement may be the result of a strategic conspiracy or of a less intentional organic aggregation of opinion, informed or otherwise. A populist grassroots movement would be brought about by effective strategies for mobilizing the passionate participation of individual citizens and community activists in a large number of places around the country, effective communication to engage the broader public, and the capacity to bring significant political pressure to bear on decision makers. Movements sometimes have a visionary and charismatic leader, or a set of them. They generally have a coherent focus on what they are against or what they are for.

For my purposes, however, movement means a blending of these models. But the recipe depends on the characteristics of the ecosystem from which a movement arises, and the resources available to it and its opponents.

The ecosystem of education reform[1] is remarkably complex.

- It is a governance and finance nightmare, with authority distributed between federal, state, and county policymakers, as well as over fifteen thousand school districts. This fragmentation, especially the role of localism, is often praised and even romanticized. The problems it creates, however, are epic. Knowledge diffusion is sluggish and distorted. Only specialized lawyers seem able to parse the specifics of statutory and regulatory authority, making it difficult to know which officials to blame or praise. The logic linking revenue systems with expenditure demands is largely mysterious and quite tortured.
- At all governance levels, among the many important actors will be legions of NGOs, unions, researchers, and philanthropies.
- These governmental and nongovernmental entities have levels of capacity ranging from deeply expert to profoundly amateur.
- The great majority of NGOs, researchers, and foundations focus on a small number of policy areas, and only a few work at all levels of governance.
- The NGOs are loathe to be "led" or coordinated. It seems that in education, as in several other areas, this is an age of fractured and entrepreneurial social change, rather than movements.
- Relatedly, like-minded NGOs are often competing with one another for funding, public attention, and influence. Such competition encourages emphasis on points of difference rather than shared values and areas of fundamental agreement.
- Funders are fickle, as foundation staff come and go along with their strategic plans, and wealthy individual philanthropists make big, splashy, often faddish bets.

These considerations should inform the design of a movement, understood as a broadly active collection of change agents with shared values, goals, and strategies. In education reform, there can be neither a messiah nor strong organizational discipline. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a process for creating a legitimate set of acknowledged leaders, or a short list of immediate policy objectives. There are good reasons to consider a movement infeasible, and perhaps implausible.

But, suspending disbelief, we can hypothesize some likely features of a movement design. The policy agenda must be capacious rather than focused, reflecting both the varied purposes of key movement constituents and the comprehensive breadth of the needed reforms. The design must anticipate focused submovements and quasi-movements defined by issue concern or delimited by jurisdiction. Current examples include early-childhood education programs, state finance equity litigation, disability rights, Common Core State Standards, English language learners, community schools, and racially disproportionate student discipline. Hubs will address each of these topics, and many more. Most of these efforts, however, are driven by policy elites, or a particular subset of constituents. I am not aware of any example, in even a single district, of a sustained mass engagement comparable to the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s,

[1] I use "reform" in its common, capacious sense: change in pursuit of improvement. In education policy circles, there are continuing efforts to appropriate the term by actors who support charter schools, quasi-market incentives, and sharp reductions in the influence of teacher unions.

the anti-apartheid movement of the 1980s, or even the antiglobalization movement of the 1990s. This despite the trope that education is the human rights issue of our time (along with climate change, LGBT rights, human trafficking, and the Gini coefficient). Prescribing mass mobilization as the cure for the ailments of public education is a formula for frustration, if not hopelessness.

PEEC's distinctive design reflects the complex ecosystem. (See Figure 3.) For the movement to succeed, its leadership must be decentralized, distributed, and fluid; funding must come from multiple national, regional, and local sources. This design matches PEEC's comprehensive agenda and national scope, and also insulates the evolving movement from the dictates of a few strong-willed foundations or philanthropists. While acknowledging and embracing the complexity of the agenda, PEEC must also adopt the principle that multiple priorities need not lead to competing priorities. This is more than a matter of culture or mindset within and among NGOs. It is a prescription for a certain architecture of coalitions and engineering of collaboration. It also reflects an important substantive proposition: the comprehensive agenda has a great many elements, all of which must be in place eventually—but not all of them, everywhere, at once. The order in which the elements are pursued is less about some fixed and complex policy structure than it is about political and fiscal pragmatism.

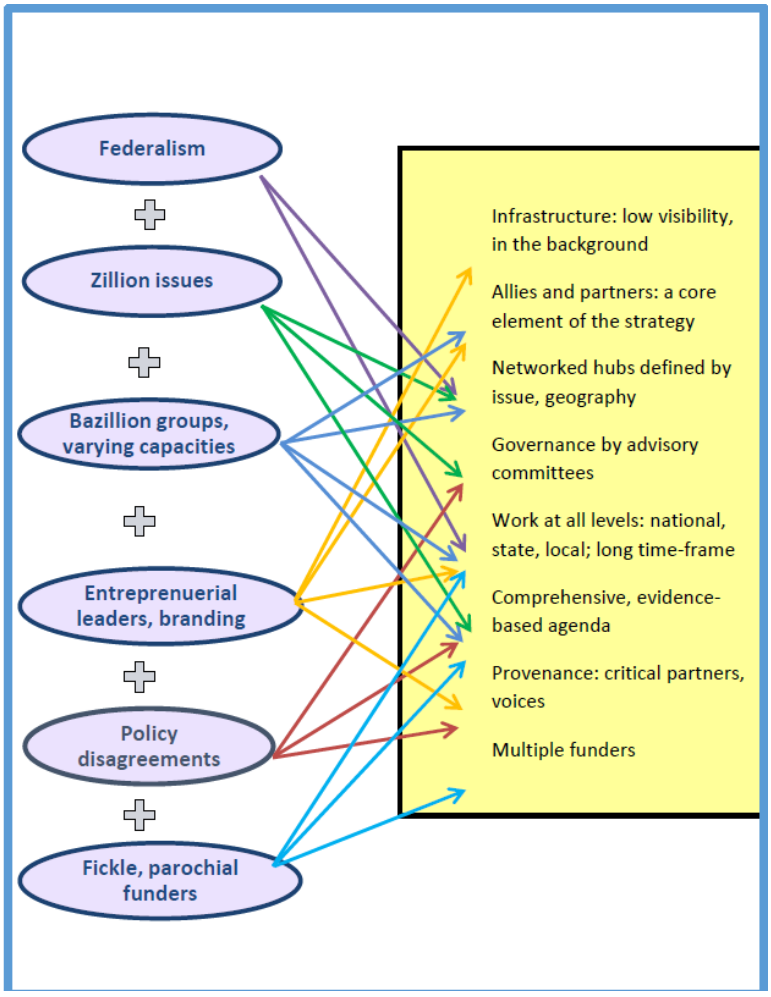

Figure 3. Design considerations for a movement

Much has been suggested about the possible applications of information technology and social networking tools, but the role played by such methods in today's education reform ecosystem seems modest, decidedly a "version 1.0." To the extent that tomorrow's forum for mass mobilization will take place in cyberspace, technology must play a key role in the aggregation of participatory energy, the exchange of ideas, and—most important to a transformation of advocacy—the binding mortar of community. Inevitably there is complementary work in the realm of human affairs; tweets of passionate protest will at some point urge that numbers of bodies show up in the city square. Someone with convening authority has to call for the meeting. Someone has to suggest an agenda or facilitate developing one. Someone has to be trusted to start the discussion and eventually end it. (All this was demonstrated by the exhaustion associated with the Occupy movement.)

To the extent, however, that education reform remains primarily the work of elites and policymakers, the engineering challenge is less about bandwidth and more about egos. Reform-by-elites is less about viral videos than about viral ideas.

Taking all of this into account, and in the light of the numerous interviews we conducted over the twelve months following publication of the commission's report, the structure we propose is a network of hubs, organized by policy area or geography (see Figure 4). Each hub will consist of interested organizations—participants—operating as masters of their own destiny rather than franchisees of some centralized authority. The chief design challenge is to make effective leadership of a networked movement possible without introducing a discomfiting hierarchy. The model for this, familiar in the business world, is a partnership.

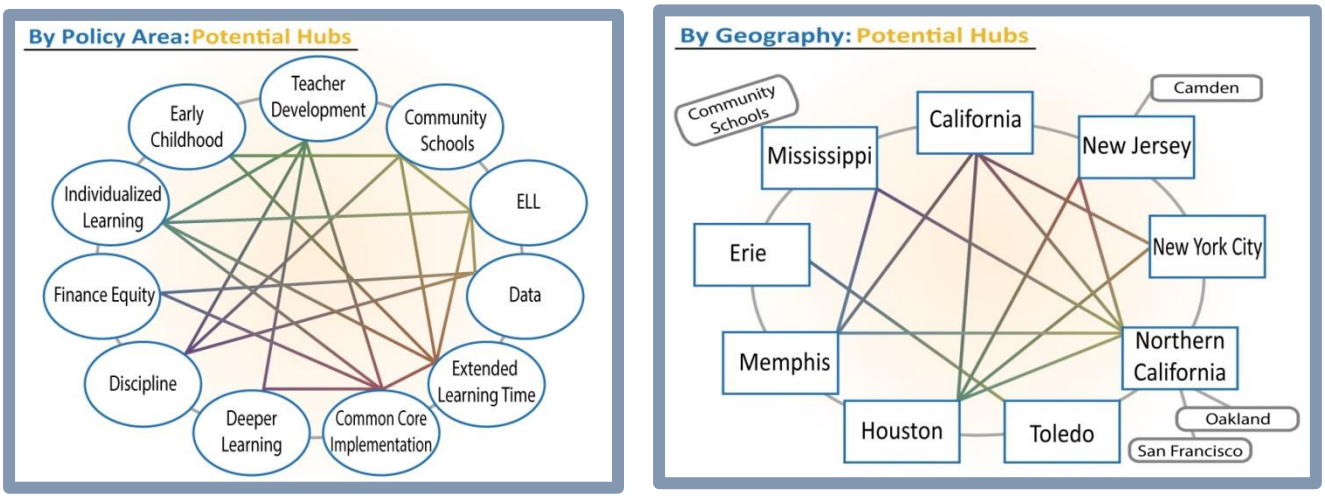

Figure 4. Potential hubs by policy area and geography

A partner in this context is an organization that makes a commitment, substantially beyond that of an ordinary participant, to be a co-venturer in building and nurturing the enterprise. Specifically, each partner will execute a memorandum of understanding declaring its obligations: what hubs it will help launch or sustain; what connections or pipes it will operate between which particular hubs; what support services or technical assistance it will provide to particular participants and hubs. Although there will be a small PEEC staff to discharge largely ministerial

functions, the commitment of each partner is, fundamentally, to the other partners. The initial set of partners is drawn from former members of the national commission. See Figure 5.

• Participants	The broad and inclusive group of participants in this undertaking will be those organizations and individuals who, having considered the consensus offered by the commission, see a substantial degree of alignment with their own values and work. This group is conceived as a coalition of the willing. As an initial matter, there is no centrally decreed litmus test for participation save one: a willingness to attempt collaborative work with others with whom there will inevitably be differences. Active participation consists of interaction and ultimately collaboration with others in one or more hubs.
• Hubs	A hub is a group of participants interacting in person and via technology, with membership based on geography, a policy issue, or both. In general, a place-based hub will focus on developing and executing a policy-change strategy. The goals will be policy changes at scale. An issue hub, by contrast, will be principally about building intellectual capital to inform policy, advocacy, and practice; it will be some form of "learning community," including both researchers and practitioners. The character of one place-based hub may be a fully functioning, durable coalition that directly generates action. Another, less ambitious group may be little more than an information exchange.
• Issue caucuses	An issue caucus is collection or network of NGOs and others who want a community with a shared interest. In several cases, these will be pre-existing networks that decide they want to be connected to this movement-building enterprise. An early example is the National Coalition for Community Schools.
• Pipes	Pipes provide bidirectional connections between hubs to support communication and collaboration. Pipes will be actively staffed rather than reliant on passive technology.
• Partners (service)	A set of organizations will be recruited to provide hubs and hub participants with particular services, such as: law-related support, such as advocacy litigation and statutory/regulatory analysis and drafting; advice on communication strategy; social networking and other technologies; training and strategy for community organizing; and data analysis and applied research.

• Partners (network)	Each hub will have one or more partner organizations, specifically recruited, to facilitate its creation, operation, and connection through pipes to the rest of the network. This role will be more or less substantial depending on the capacity of that hub's participants.
• Partner memoranda of understanding	A negotiated memorandum of understanding with each partner will detail the responsibilities of that organization to the network. Specifically, the document will explain the hubs for which the partner organization will serve as "godparent" or what services the partner will provide to whom.

Figure 5. Proposed structure for a movement to advance education excellence for all

Ideally, this work by partners will be uncompensated, as in-kind or pro bono contributions to movement building. In many cases, and especially in the early years, the commitment of a partner will be contingent on grant or contract funding. By leveraging the expertise and capacity of partners, PEEC can maintain a small footprint and the low visibility appropriate for infrastructure.

This layer of purposive coordination is constructed underneath a far more populated layer of NGOs and other actors within this enormously complex ecosystem of often-rivalrous advocacy and service organizations and resource-starved researchers. There are places and issues for which well-functioning coalitions or networks already exist. It is important to minimize the amount of real or perceived competition with these efforts by making common cause with them. It would be wasteful and counterproductive for the partners to displace the good work of others. These alliances should not be difficult to construct if the nascent movement is steadfast in its commitments to low visibility and inclusivity, while mobilizing services, technical assistance, and connections to attract participants.

That connectivity is second only to the partnership model as a key engineering feature of the movement building. In the world of NGOs, there are two common forms of coordination and networking. The intensive form consists of regular meetings, while the extensive form has usually been limited to passive websites containing bulletin boards and hyperlinks. Beyond these, PEEC will have an intentional strategy to actively identify which hubs should be connected with each other and for what purposes. There will be designated staff—pipe builders—within the partners (and PEEC) to initiate, maintain, and evaluate these connections. The same staff will also have responsibility for connecting each hub to needed services provided by the partners or PEEC contractors.

The movement's engineering features are summarized in the next section.

The Movement Startup

Several foundations have agreed to support the initial phase of this PEEC effort, which will test whether the movement strategy described here can succeed at this moment, given the state of public education and of U.S. socio-political culture. But even though these funders express confidence in the architecture and engineering of the movement, and confidence in the policy consensus it will champion, there is some puzzlement about where to begin.

The most common advice, coming on the heels of the commission's work, was to make a substantial investment in disseminating the recommendations and recruiting endorsers. The fact-based clarion call can be echoed in detailed versions tailored to the facts of particular jurisdictions; the comprehensive framework of policy ideas can be packaged in a way that is responsive to the context of reform in a particular state or even school district.

After further analysis, challenging questions arise. The scale of this undertaking makes it difficult for a small staff, likely to have only a few million dollars at its disposal, to overcome inertia and achieve liftoff. Because of the impressive provenance of the recommendations, endorsers could be recruited, but what benefit would they receive and what would they be asked to do? For overcommitted and under-resourced NGO leaders, where is the compelling value proposition? For philanthropists, especially foundations in the thrall of management consultants, what measurable outcomes seem promising and possible?

An alternative hypothesis emerged. Rather than launch a movement with broadcast marketing, begin with individualized efforts to recruit partners. These co-venturers will of course be endorsers of the policy platform. But they will also endorse the movement design and commit to investing their efforts in creating the network and sustaining it. Partners can provide a breadth of leadership and be force multipliers to accelerate the construction of hubs and pipes. With respect to the goal of populating hubs with participants, the hypothesis is, "Build them and they will come."

Apart from organizations represented on the commission, early treatment should include organizations with important expertise or leadership roles in existing coalitions and networks. Still another group will be organizations with interest capacity to launch hubs that hold special interest for funders or have particular political importance for movement building.

For example, the Alliance for Excellent Education is a policy advocacy group based in Washington, DC. It is an early partner, with its initial contribution to the network in two forms at the heart of its expertise and impressive reputation. First, the alliance is using its convening power to help launch an issue-based hub focused on the challenges of implementing the Common Core State Standards, including concerns related to equity. Second, the alliance is well-known for its sophisticated use of web-based communications and social networking technologies. As a partner, it will provide these "movement technologies" to a certain number of hubs. The Southern Education Foundation (SEF) is another example. Its roots dating to 1865, SEF has long been a leading voice for education equity in throughout the Southeast. As another early partner, SEF will play a leadership role across the region for place-based hubs, as well as a hub addressing shared regional concerns. The Education Law Center (ELC) was represented on the commission by its president, David Sciarra. ELC achieved national prominence for its landmark school finance reform litigation in New Jersey and the effectiveness of the legislative and judicial remedies it won. An early partner, ELC will help organize an issue-based hub on school finance reform, building on the loose network of lawyers and researchers in this field. ELC will also work with its colleagues to provide technical assistance on legal and implementation matters to interested place-based hubs. No element of the PEEC agenda is more central than teachers and the profession. The Council for Accreditation of Educator Preparation is a relatively new organization that provides accreditation for programs which account for over 70 percent of new teachers each year. The council will lead a hub on teacher training, professional development, and evaluation. The goal is to formulate advocacy and implementation plans for several specific policy measures that will strengthen and elevate the profession in directions aligned with the commission recommendation.

As a final example, the Coalition for Community Schools has over two hundred affiliates around the country. Its leadership has agreed to be an early partner, giving its affiliates access to the PEEC network and vice versa. In addition, the coalition will help establish an issue hub on "integrated services to support student success"—a learning community of researchers and practitioners intended to build intellectual capital and best practices models, all to be shared with interested hubs. In particular, this group hopes to drive forward the idea of providing wraparound services, school-based or otherwise, at scale as a means of mitigating the effects of poverty.

The number of hubs and participants will grow as dozens of partners work in concert to expand the network. The infrastructure strategy requires, however, that hub participants derive important benefits from their participation. This give-and-get exchange, within the movement-building hypothesis, will help engage participant organizations and provide the thick set of connections needed so that the ecosystem can develop into a distinctive form of community, eventually becoming a movement. Although the terms of this "exchange" will undoubtedly evolve, the preliminary characterization of benefits from the perspective of participants includes the following:

- Support for consensus-building and information-sharing on policy issues, research agendas, advocacy campaigns, and communications strategies; coalition development
- Organized subcommunities of learning and practice
- Communications, tailored and as-needed, including basic messaging that will meet hub partner-demands for a user-friendly, evidence-based resource for advancing equity and excellence; tools, training, and convenings to educate and persuade
- Internal capacity-building in a wide range of operational and substantive domains, drawing on PEEC staff resources but especially those of partners
- Advice and training in community organizing
- Connectedness among hub participants, including shared vision and policy goals; opportunities for coalition activity; learning communities around particular policy issues or research; Web-based communication, social networking, and convening
- Connectedness with the network of other hubs, providing two-way sharing, learning, and collaboration; ultimately, a sense of identity as a movement
- Policy engineering and technical assistance to advance changes in public policy at all levels of government and education administration
- A platform for concerted action

None of this can come to pass without philanthropy. That no single change agent or funder can be active across the entire range of challenges underscores the importance of the plural, distributed model of networked place-based and issue-based hubs. Just as NGO participants will be able to see their own mission within the broad framework of policy principles, and their work aligned with the polestar, many foundations in the education field should be able to see that some pieces of our movement-building endeavor fit with that foundation's funding strategy.

PEEC's Distinctiveness

Several characteristics of PEEC and its strategy, together, make the project distinctive. Most important, PEEC will focus on infrastructure operating in the background. It will not be competing for the megaphone or for media attention. Its job is to help make partners and

participants in the network more effective and ultimately successful. The second characteristic is the partnership form itself, in which PEEC solidifies and expands the commission's unprecedented coalition of reformers, scholars, human rights leaders, union leaders, advocates, and public officials. PEEC will identify collaborators and joint venturers who will contribute expertise, capacity, in-kind support, and leadership to movement building. Where an important element of the strategy can be executed by a partner organization, the core PEEC staff will simply ensure that the partner's work is connected to the broader undertaking and lend what support resources permit.

In addition to partners, PEEC will identify a growing community of allies who formally endorse the PEEC program principles and values and lend their support—moral, political, and informational—to our work. PEEC will recruit civil society organizations, business leaders, scholars, and even governmental entities to make the case that the stakes involved in universal education excellence affect every corner of the nation and the future of each one of us.

Third, the strategy is more than dissemination or networking. An important and explicit mission of the network of hubs is to build a broad, collaborative community of change agents with not just an aspirational vision but a shared, comprehensive, and evidence-based battle plan. Only in this way can the broad work of reform be sustainable and ultimately successful. It may be that all politics is local, but something more is necessary in our splintered education system. The ambition, scope, financing, and governance defined in the PEEC policy principles must transcend the perspective of any single locale or state—especially if we insist on lifting even children in communities that lack political and economic resources. The work must be at all levels of education administration and policymaking.

Fourth, in addition to geographical breadth, PEEC is distinctive in the breadth and comprehensiveness of its policy agenda. Every existing NGO has a narrower substantive focus. This focus reflects the traditional preference of philanthropists, the reality of organizational capacity, and the importance to individual leaders, researchers, and education officials of a clear path toward prominence and success. In sharp contrast, PEEC begins with the extraordinary consensus reflected in the commission report and the stature of the commission members and the organizations they lead. Their diversity in expertise and perspective produced recommendations that are pragmatic and comprehensive. That breadth is crucial because movement building must overcome the culture and incentives that promote competition.

Finally, PEEC is distinctive because it will leverage the stature and indispensable role of the former commission members, plus new partners, in all of our work. No other effort has this uniquely valuable asset.

What Will Success Look Like?

It may be helpful to identify some indicators of intermediate and ultimate success. Most obviously, we should judge the prospects for movement building quite bright if within a few years there are dozens of partners, scores of hubs, and a dizzying array of active pipes connecting them. In keeping with the idea that the network, or movement, should be vibrant and nonhierarchical, .there will be a distribution in the "quality" of hubs, and each will have its own agenda, character, and evolutionary path. A further measure of successful movement building would be the number of partnership MOUs, since these memorialize the obligations, in-kind contributions, and compensation agreements that give the movement energy, leadership, and other nonfinancial capital.

More difficult to define and discern are affective indicators demonstrating that participants have a heightened sense of belonging and membership in a nourishing and even inspiring community of people and organizations with shared commitments to very fundamental values and goals. An individual actor should be able to understand his or her work in relation to the rest of battles being waged by everyone else, but that understanding should empower rather than engender feelings of insignificance, marginalization, or hopelessness. To continue the martial metaphor, as the army moves forward, following the polestar, there will be many battles and countless skirmishes fought by allies, some of them close, some of them distant, all of them recognizable as comrades in the larger scheme of things.

It is tempting to measure success by reference to policy impact or changes in student outcomes. One might borrow from the terminology of testing and assessment, however, and conclude that these ideal performance measures lack construct validity because they confound the judgment of movement building with the complexity of important exogenous factors in politics and the economy. In other words, it seems important to admit the possibility that a movement becomes all that we might hope but is blocked by even more powerful movements, ideologies, and circumstances. At least for a time. For example, a fabulous movement might be stymied by a recession, or legislative gridlock arising from unrelated conflicts. Often, national legislation is stalled or killed because a few individuals in Congress are powerful enough to prevent the majority from working its will. These and many other factors could be beyond the influence of an education excellence-for-all movement.

That said, this movement must be a long-term venture, and PEEC's hypothesis about how best to build a movement should be judged by whether a revenue model can be found to expand and maintain infrastructure, whether the network of collaborative, hub communities expands steadily because its benefits attract participants, and whether the substantive vision continues to guide and inspire.