

# ***The Cutting Edge: State Policy Innovation and Systems Change***

*By: Martha McGaughey & David Mank*

## **ABSTRACT**

The adoption and expansion of supported employment has evolved steadily, if unevenly, across the United States. This expansion was initiated in the context of systems change incentives offered by the federal government beginning in 1985. While unique in rehabilitation, the concept of systems change in the implementation of progressive public policy has been used on a number of social issues for a number of decades. This analysis describes the factors that influence state implementation of public policy, discusses the political cultures that vary across states and the disability policy orientations that affect disability policy implementation. These elements are discussed in the context of the emergence and expansion of supported employment. This paper concludes that while there is variation in implementation from state to state, systems change strategies for supported employment have had a positive impact.

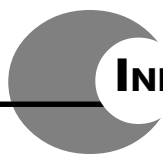
Broad-based systemic change in social services is, if anything, a challenging goal to pursue. Social change for people with disabilities in the last several decades has included an expanding emphasis on civil rights and inclusion in every part of community life. One of the fronts in broad systems change for people with disabilities has been in employment. For people with severe disabilities, the traditional opportunities for employment have been primarily in segregated settings rather than typical community businesses. Innovations in the 1970's and early 1980's led to the supported employment initiative aimed at systemic change from segregated employment to integrated employment for people with severe disabilities. Since then, supported employment has expanded to a worldwide initiative (Wehman, Revell, and Kregel, 1998). Since the beginning of RSA's supported employment initiative in 1985, research studies have documented consistent annual increases in the number of individuals with disabilities working across the United States. This number has grown from a total of a few thousand in 1985 to 140,000 in 1995 (Wehman, Revell, and Kregel, 1998). This represents a fourteen fold increase in supported employment for people with severe disabilities. Studies of employment outcomes reported by extended service funding agencies mirror these trends (e.g., McGaughey, Kiernan, McNally, & Gilmore, 1993). The implementation of supported employment; however, has been uneven at best. Some rehabilitation programs have made dramatic gains in supporting people with severe disabilities in community jobs. Others have failed to make significant change. Some states have rapidly expanded integrated supported employment; other states have not. As a result, while supported employment has grown with some rapidity, the clear majority of people with severe disabilities are without the opportunity for a job in the community with individualized supports.

Beginning in 1985 when the Rehabilitation Services Administration first funded 10 states with systems change grants, the federal government made funds available to states for the specific purpose

of systems change to supported employment for people with severe disabilities. By 1993, nearly every state had invested to some extent in the notion of systems change to supported employment (Mank, 1994). While every state made this investment, the outcomes in terms of growth varied widely from state to state.

It is important to gain an understanding of why some states have been more successful than others in undertaking and achieving systemic change. How have certain states been able to achieve higher rates of supported employment or to increase the percentage of individuals with severe disabilities? Why have some states been successful in expanding supported employment beyond developmental disabilities and now serve people with mental illness and brain injuries? Why do some states have a higher rate of serving people with more severe disabilities?

One of the first and necessary steps to addressing these questions is to identify conditions that facilitate state policy innovation and systems change. While the focus of this paper is on systems change in supported employment, it is important to note that a focus on systems change is not unique to supported employment or rehabilitation issues. For rehabilitation in general and supported employment in particular, this systems change focus was quite unique. However, broad systems change in social services has been and is pursued on a number of social issues.



## **INFLUENCE ON STATE INNOVATIONS**

This analysis relies on theory developed to explain the process of policy innovation, adoption, and diffusion among states and serves to define a context for better understanding systems change in supported employment (see Table 1 on the following page). Investigators initially began to study this process systematically during

the 1960's when the federal government expanded its policy-making role in relation to the states. According to Walker (1984), the "main trend in intergovernmental relations from 1964 to 1978 was an aggressive national assertion of policy leadership by both the legislative and judicial branches of the Federal government, even as the localities and, most notably, the states were experiencing the most dramatic reformation in their 220-year history (through various forms of policy experimentation)" (p. 132). Total governmental expenditures for domestic purposes (excluding national defense and interest on the federal debt) rose from \$119 billion in 1964 to \$545 billion in 1978. In constant dollars, this amounts to nearly doubling the resources that were invested. Moreover, the federal contribution to state and local expenditures grew from 15.4 percent in FY 1964 to 26.5 percent in 1978. (McGaughey, Kiernan, McNally, & Gilmore, 1993). Despite this national scale investment, it is also clear that implementation of social policy change varies widely from state to state.

In the conclusion to their study, Klingman and Lammers (1964) raised some critical issues related to state policy trends and noted contextual differences from state to state and region to region. The snowbelt states had enjoyed relatively high levels of wealth (personal income) and economic growth (corporate profits, tax revenue) that helped sustain their tendency toward expansive implementation of policy change in the public sector. By 1984, economic decline and population loss in this region made it questionable whether the cultural and political forces would be sufficient to maintain the existing expenditure levels. Conversely, economic growth in the Sunbelt states increased demand for public sector services to the point that the ruling "elites" in these states began to respond to the need for public and social services.

Although total federal domestic spending increased between 1981 and 1990, the Reagan

**TABLE 1 -- KEY INFLUENCES ON SOCIAL POLICY ADOPTION BY STATES**

Key Influences	Source
State Wealth	Klingman & Lammers (1964)
Economic growth and economic cycles	Dye (1990); Klingman & Lammers
Industrialization and urbanization	Walker (1969)
Federal incentives to states (e.g., grants-in-aid)	Welch & Thompson (1984)
State policy liberalism in a particular area	Gray (1974); Menzel & Feller
General state social policy liberalism	Klingman & Lammers (1984); Light (1978); Savage (1978)
Interstate communication among policy-making	Walker (1969)
Adoption of a policy by other (particularly similar) states	Walker (1969)
Political culture (moralistic, individualistic, or traditionalistic)	Elazar (1984)

administration reduced the proportion of state and local spending provided by federal aid, dropping almost to its 1964 level (from 26.5% to 16.8% of total outlays). Most states continued to struggle with economic and budgetary problems during this period. Several states experienced incredible economic growth, only to tumble into recession (e.g., California and Massachusetts). Specifically related to disability services, the proportional reduction in federal aid, economic recessions, and court orders requiring states to upgrade state-run institutions and/or to expand the capacity of community-based services for persons with disabilities all placed competing pressures on state coffers. Dye (1990) maintained that economic cycles, not political factors, predict welfare spending and legislation. State economies typically experience cycles of fiscal austerity as well as stages of economic growth. In fact, the peaks and valleys accentuate the cyclical nature of this process.

Two of the early authors to examine the process of adopting new programs within and across states were Walker (1969) and Gray

(1973). Walker (1969) conducted an important study where he hypothesized that a typical diffusion pattern involved a pioneer state adopting a new course, followed by other pioneer states, and then by states that tend to emulate those early innovators. He defined an innovation as a program or policy that is new to the states adopting it, no matter how old the program may be or how many other states may have adopted it. Walker (1969) developed an innovation score for each state by adding the percentage of time that elapsed between the first adoption and its own acceptance of the program and found that state measures of industrialization, urbanization, and wealth were significantly correlated with the innovation score. This suggests that systems change is related at least in part to the state context.

According to Walker's findings (1969), the pioneering states with the highest innovation scores adopted new programs about as quickly during the early part of this century as they did during the 1960's. The diffusion

time for all states decreased; however, primarily because the slower states responded more quickly. Walker (1969) attributed this to expanded federal grants-in-aid and to increased communication among policy-making officials. The average diffusion time decreased from more than 60 years before 1900 to less than 30 years during the post-New Deal period. Still, the likelihood of a state adopting a new program was higher if another state had already undertaken it and, even higher, if that state was viewed as having similar characteristics. Welch and Thompson (1984) cautioned; however, that "We should not minimize the impact of federal grants-in-aid. That the federal government chooses to deal with a problem through federal grants and incentives to states rather than through a direct federal program indicates that support for the policy is limited (Monypenny, 1960; Lowi, 1969). The adoption of a social initiative or a federal grant program may often be a political compromise, which reflects a failure by most states to adopt the policy prior to federal action, and which also indicates a lack of total commitment to the program by the federal government. Under such conditions, it is not surprising that policy diffusion takes as long as it does" (pp.727-728). Such a statement seems true for supported employment given the conflicting policy priorities at the time of its creation and at the present time (e.g., Mank, 1994, Wehman & Kregel, 1995). Supported employment also may be somewhat unique in light of this, because its implementation calls for a mix of funding from both state and federal sources. That is, the responsibility for implementation must be shared rather than residing with either the federal government or state governments. This sharing of responsibility might be a benefit, a hindrance, or both, depending on the context.

Welch and Thompson (1984) studied seven, major domestic state-policy areas (education, health, welfare, environmental regulation,

planning, agriculture and civil rights) from several time periods with varying levels of fiscal incentives. They found that federally-sponsored policies (especially fiscal ones) diffused significantly faster than state-sponsored incentives. The initial rate of adoption was influenced by whether the policy used positive incentives (rather than penalties of some sort), whereas adoption by the slower states was influenced by whether there was a federal incentive of any sort. Still, federal involvement and the type of policy explained only a very small percentage of the variance in states' diffusion rates (Adjusted  $R^2 = .03-.18$ ). As Eyestone (1976) observed, "a state adopts or rejects a policy due to a complex web of factors, of which the federal incentive is only one."

Gray (1974) examined factors hypothesized to reflect liberalism or progressivism in the states, including measures of state welfare spending, education expenditures, and civil-rights legislation. She concluded that progressivism is not a one-dimensional factor underlying all policy, but rather, that most states are progressive in some area. For example, states that ranked high on welfare-spending measures did not rank consistently high on education spending measures. State anti-discrimination legislation was the only area for which a consistent "progressivism" factor appeared to exist.

By 1984, there was still a lack of consensus on whether some states were consistently more progressive on a range of policy issues. Some researchers agreed with Gray (1974) that innovation was specific to particular policy areas and time periods (Menzel & Feller, 1977), whereas others reported more consistency in state policy innovativeness across issue areas over time (Light, 1978; Savage, 1978). Klingman and Lammers (1984) entered this debate by studying the relationship between political factors, legislative variables and state policy adoption patterns. The investigators developed a general "policy liberalism" factor for each state from state scores on six

variables hypothesized to reflect a more liberal stance (these variables are discussed later).



## STATES POLITICAL CULTURE DIFFERENCES

Elazar (1984) developed a topology of three, distinct political cultures based on each state's prevailing values and beliefs regarding the distribution of resources among disadvantaged groups and whether government was the appropriate entity for addressing these issues. According to Elazar (1984), these three political cultures were spread from east to west, along traditional migration routes. In this analysis, states have cultural identities but may be influenced by more than one of these perspectives. Puritans and Yankees in New England established a "moralistic" political culture most likely traceable to their status as immigrants seeking religious freedom. Government involvement in income redistribution tended to be viewed as necessary and appropriate. The "moralistic" political culture can be characterized as the most "liberal" of the three cultures, with respect to government intervention. Of these three political cultures, the "moralistic" culture can be characterized as the most "liberal", containing the most tolerance for government intervention into social welfare issues. This political culture was imported into New York and northern Ohio and on into Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Pilgrims and Yankees were joined in these states by Scandinavians with compatible political views.

Groups adhering to an "individualistic" political perspective were united more by their search for individual opportunity in America. Policies that addressed the needs of disadvantaged groups generally emphasized removing barriers to opportunity (e.g., employment-training and literacy programs, etc.) rather than redi-

tributing resources. However, government was generally perceived to be an appropriate entity to contract for or to provide employment training, along with other private-sector organizations or businesses. The "individualistic" political perspective places a high value on individual freedom, choice, and personal responsibility. It might be characterized as the "Horatio Alger Perspective": "given the right opportunity, every citizen has the potential for great success in the United States". These groups emigrated from non-Puritan England and the interior northern European countries into the middle Atlantic states: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. They moved west into the central parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri, and on into Nebraska, South Dakota, and Oregon.

In the "traditionalistic" political culture, those at the top of the social class structure (the "elites" in this language system) were expected to take a dominant political role. The "traditionalistic" political culture started primarily in southern states. Those who settled in the south were often seeking individual opportunities similar to their northern neighbors. However, because the plantation-centered agricultural system was based on slavery, it provided an environment for an American-style traditionalistic political culture in which landowners controlled both resources and the political system. There tended to be little receptiveness to the idea of government assuming a major role in social welfare policy. Rather, older institutions like the church and family were considered the primary sources of assistance with poverty and related social problems.

Elazar (1984) described the initial migration of "traditionalistic" political culture: "Virginia's people dominated in the settlement of Kentucky; North Carolina's influence was heavy in Tennessee; and settlers from all four states covered the southern parts of Ohio and

Illinois and most of Indiana and Missouri" (Elazar, 1984; p.133). The "traditionalistic" political culture was spread through Texas, Oklahoma, (where it mixed with the individualistic perspective) across New Mexico, Arizona, and into southern and central California (where it overlapped with the "moralistic" political culture).

Elazar's theory (1984) helps explain the existence of "outlier" states that differ from their regional neighbors, depending on migration routes taken and whether characteristics from more than one culture were combined. In some cases, migration patterns were interrupted by mountain ranges or other geographic barriers, isolating specific groups from the mainstream (e.g., the Scotch-Irish communities in Appalachia). "In sum, political culture, like all culture, is dynamic. Changes occur internally within particular cultural groups, movement occurs from group to group, cultures borrow from one another, and both cultural erosion and culture syntheses take place over time" (Elazar, 1984, p. 134).



## **THE INFLUENCE OF FEDERAL RESOURCES**

Hanson (1984) analyzed expenditure measures, political culture characteristics, and political competition variables as potential explanatory factors in a study of state Medicaid program differences. He noted that resource constraints may not be a major issue for programs when intergovernmental transfers are made according to progressive schedules. Because the redistribution impact of state Medicaid policies depends on the eligibility criteria established and the range of services offered, Hanson included a variable to control for interaction between the cost of a state's Medicaid policies and its cultural orientation toward redistributive policies. "Where the cost to state government is small, and the orien-

tation toward redistribution is strong, liberal eligibility benefit policies are likely. High costs and negative orientation toward redistribution are likely to yield more conservative policies. Mixed results can be predicted where costs are high and orientations are favorable, or where costs are low but orientations are unfavorable toward redistribution" (p. 331). This suggests that the nature of federal incentives to states is important.

Although conventional wisdom suggests that federal aid would have the most influence on states with fewer resources, Hanson (1984) found this is not necessarily true. Southern states with fewer resources were less likely to use federal funds to expand their array of Medicaid-funded services and more likely to transfer fiscal responsibility from the state to the federal level. In contrast, wealthier states were more likely to expand the range of optional services and the number of eligible participants than they would have without federal funding. Hanson ultimately concluded that "federal assistance may therefore be a necessary, but insufficient, condition for establishing a uniform health care program for the nation's poor" (p. 335).

Dye (1990) maintained that intergovernmental transfers led some states to substitute federal monies for state resources instead of expanding the eligibility criteria or the range of optional services offered ("substitution effects"), whereas other states end up buying more public services than they would have without the supplemental federal dollars ("inflated demand" for public services). The federal government can require states to contribute a percentage of the total as matching funds to discourage this trend (e.g., federal-state Vocational Rehabilitation funding) or it has the option of establishing truly redistributive funding formulas based on demographic and economic characteristics (e.g., poverty rates, number of recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, etc.). Furthermore, the more stipulations federal government places

**TABLE 2 -- EVOLUTION OF DISABILITY POLICY ORIENTATION**

<b>Dominant Policy Orientation</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Protectionist Model (1600 to 1900)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The English Poor Relief System, initiated around the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, required each parish to levy a tax to provide for the unemployable poor (Scheerenberger, 1983)</li> <li>Large residential institutions were founded in the late 1800s to segregate, protect, and care for individuals with disabilities.</li> </ul>
Medical Model (1900 to 1970)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The federal-state Vocational Rehabilitation Program was originally established in 1920 to "treat the pathology" of individuals with disabilities so that they could return to work.</li> <li>During the first half of the twentieth century, 30 states passed legislation permitting the sterilization of individuals considered to be morons or feeble-minded to prevent them from "reproducing their kind" (Scheerenberger, 1983).</li> </ul>
Socio-political Model (1970 to present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prohibited discrimination against individuals with disabilities under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance and the American with Disabilities Act of 1990 extended this prohibition to the private sector.</li> <li>The Education of the Handicapped Act of 1975 (now referred as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act) mandated that a free and appropriate public education must be provided to all children with disabilities.</li> </ul>

on grant funding, the less likely that it will be substituted for programs currently supported with state monies. However, this does not appear to be the accepted trend, the deinstitutionalization and subsequent decentralization of services for persons with disabilities during the 1980's and 1990's has been accompanied by expanded state fiscal decision-making authority in the form of federal block grants with few requirements and other more open-ended transfer payments.

moving from a protectionist framework into a medical/rehabilitation, psycho-social model and then into a socio-political and economic framework (see Table 2). From the charity-protectionist perspective, disability was viewed as a misfortune that required protection and care, often in the form of segregation. This viewpoint provided the rationale for the development of a wide range of "services" for individuals with disabilities, starting with the English Poor Relief system in the 1600's and developing into state-run residential institutions by the end of the nineteenth century. The federal-state Vocational Rehabilitation system was established during the late 1920's to provide medical and rehabilitation services to World War I veterans so they could be rehabilitated for employment.

## **POLICY ORIENTATION INFLUENCES**

O'Day (1998) has conceptualized and described the evolution of disability policy as

The federal/state VR partnership was firmly based on a medical-rehabilitation model that served as a legitimate reference point for state VR services and moved the framework for disability policy from “protection” to “rehabilitation”. Rather than being viewed as objects of charity, individuals with disabilities were perceived as needing professional intervention and care. Barriers to employment were viewed to exist within the individual, such as lack of education and skills.

Conflicts in the underlying principles of the medical/rehabilitation model versus the socio-political framework of disability lead to policy conflicts, programmatic barriers and increased unemployment for persons with disabilities (O’Day, 1998). There are clearly different values inherent in each approach. A medical model assumes that the individual can be cured or fixed in some fashion. A socio-political framework assumes that supports for people will improve quality of life without expecting that a person will be cured of anything. This conflict in perspective continues to exist in disability services.

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 was modeled after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and prohibited discrimination based on disability in the same manner that the Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination based on gender or race. Not only did the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prioritize services to those with severe disabilities, but also it prohibited employment discrimination and required physical and communications accessibility by all public and private entities receiving federal funding.

Other disability-policy legislation based on a socio-political, civil rights model was passed during this period. For example, the Air Carriers Access Act (1973) addressed physical accessibility, the Fair Housing Act (1980) offered protection from housing discrimination., P.L. 94-142 (1974) authorized special education services for tens of thousands of children with disabilities

based on a “right to education.” Court cases related to disability policy proliferated when administrative or legislative solutions failed (O’Day, 1998). Public and private entities were sued by individuals with disabilities for housing discrimination, the right to integrated, community-based services, and the right to an education. Although judicial intervention was not the preferable solution, it opened the door for a rights-based, socio-political concept of disability.

The Americans with Disabilities Act (1990) was the crowning piece of federal civil-rights legislation affecting individuals with disabilities. The Act was founded on principles of civil rights and equality, productivity and individual responsibility, community integration and inclusion, community accessibility, and consumer choice. The ADA extended anti-discrimination and physical and communications accessibility coverage to all public and private entities with 16 or more employees. As a civil rights act, the ADA takes a very different approach to shaping disability services and attitudes than federal mandate and federal incentive approaches.

Braddock, Hemp, Parish, and Westrich (1998) have studied the relationship between economic indicators, socio-political factors and state MR/DD agency spending. They have consistently reported that political variables (e.g., size of disability advocacy group membership and state civil rights legislation) are stronger predictors of state MR/DD spending than measures of state wealth or state population. This finding is contrary to results documented in many other state expenditure studies, where state wealth is typically the strongest predictor. More populous and wealthy states also score consistently higher on policy innovation and diffusion measures (Dye, 1990; Klingman & Lammers, 1984; Walker, 1969). According to Braddock and his colleagues, MR/DD funding appears to be affected by different factors other than state expenditure categories.



Disability advocacy activities helped to over-ride the influence of economic factors and other competing pressures (especially competing special interest groups) on state budgets. Disability may be one area where this is politically feasible, as most citizens do not view individuals with severe disabilities as “taking advantage” of the welfare system. Furthermore, it would seem supported employment funding would be one of the most acceptable publicly-funded programs, as it offers a potential for return on investment by increased tax contributions from workers with disabilities and reductions in Supplemental Security Insurance (SSI) and Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI). From a political perspective, it is interesting to note supported employment began and expanded rapidly in the mid to late 1980’s during the Reagan administration.

New work incentive provisions now provide a context wherein there may become an incentive to work even if a person receives other social benefits rather than simply a loss of other benefits when working. This could have a positive effect on the implementation of supported employment. Amendments to the Home and Community-based Waiver legislation (Medicaid, Title XIX) removed the requirement that individuals must have been previously institutionalized before they could be eligible for supported employment services under the Title XIX Waiver program. These legislative changes offer the potential for greatly expanding the number of individuals with severe disabilities in supported employment, and for the work incentives provisions, for expanding the number of individuals with any type of disability in employment. Outside of the ADA, there is probably no more important piece of federal legislation related to employment and disability than the federal work incentives provisions. They are likely to create a lasting impact on employment for individuals with disabilities.

Previous research has documented a relationship between measures of state wealth,

taxation, urbanization, unemployment, state fiscal commitment, anti-discrimination employment legislation and supported employment or competitive employment outcomes for persons with disabilities (e.g., Braddock, Hemp, Parrish & Westrich 1998). Other studies of supported employment outcomes over time have documented a great deal of variability across states (Wehman, Revell, & Kregel, 1998).

Further research is needed to examine systems change activities and policies designed to enhance supported employment and/or convert facility-based resources. Three goals of research seem especially needed: 1) to identify states that have excelled at establishing supported employment services and the necessary related administrative structures and linkages, 2) to examine the relationship between economic, socio-political and cultural factors and stronger supported employment outcomes, and 3) to compare these relationships with findings from other studies of state innovation and diffusion. Overall, such investigation and analysis should assess the extent to which the systems change initiative in supported employment has actually resulted in the continued implementation of supported employment and, of course, in systems change.

## CONCLUSION

There are a number of points that should be considered in the context of the implementation of the national supported employment initiative. First, the notion of integrated employment for all persons with disabilities, including those with the most severe disabilities, grew out of a small number of exemplary programs that demonstrated that is

was clearly possible for people with severe disabilities to work successfully in integrated settings (e.g., Bellamy, Rhodes, Mank, & Albin, 1988; Wehman, 1980).

Second, these innovations were viewed by state and federal governments as improvements over the segregated day services and sheltered employment programs that were available. Third, the federal government then created incentives (albeit fiscally small incentives) for states to expand supported employment and specifically offered funding for “systems change” to supported employment. It is important to point out that the actual amount of money offered was the same for each state (initially about \$500,000 per year for five years) rather than based on population. Fourth, some states adopted a policy of expanding supported employment much earlier than other states. Fifth, early adoption of supported employment is not necessarily the same as more complete implementation of supported employment.

An important question in systems change is the extent to which a federal incentive (in this case, funding for systems change to supported employment) is associated with more rapid or more complete systems change. How this question is asked makes a difference. One relevant question is whether or not the federal incentive resulted in more rapid or more thorough implementation within a state (compared to states that did not initially have access to this incentive). Another question is the extent to which funding some states influenced the national, cross-state implementation of supported employment. While implementation of supported employment was presumably enhanced by access to federal funds,

the ideas for statewide implementation were not unique to nor limited to states with a federal incentive grant. Indeed, some states without systems change grants began aggressive implementation without federal funds. This suggests that providing an incentive to some states, but insuring that the ideas for implementation were available across states, actually facilitated cross state implementation beyond the stated scope of a given state systems change grant.

The complexity of this broad emphasis on systems change must also be considered in the context of political, social, cultural and economic issues across states. Perhaps an unstated assumption in systems change to supported employment has been that the strategies and possibilities for change were very similar from state to state and that offering an incentive from the federal government would result in similar change within each state. The ideas and information discussed in this paper suggest that the implementation of systems change is much more complex than that.

The purpose of this paper has been to provide an analysis of the context for the systems change initiative in supported employment. As noted earlier, while the idea of systems change as a strategy was unique for employment services for people with severe disabilities, it is not a unique approach in social services in the United States. Indeed, it has been used and analyzed related to a number of social policy issues.

Economics, political culture, cultural identity, taxation policy, and more provide the context of understanding. In order to better understand the status and the future of supported employment, these factors must be considered.

# References:

Bellamy, G. T., Rhodes, L. E., Mank, D. M., & Albin, J. M. (1988). Strategies for change in facility-based programs. In G. T. Bellamy, L. E. Rhodes, D. M. Mank, & J. M. Albin (Eds.), Supported employment: A community implementation guide (pp. 139-159). Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes Publishing Company.

Braddock, D., Hemp, R., Bachelder, L., & Fujiura, G. (1995). The state of the states in developmental disabilities (4th ed.). Washington, DC: American Association on Mental Retardation.

Dye, T. R. (1990). American federalism. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Company.

Elazar, D. J. (1984). American federalism: A view from the states (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Harper-Row.

Eyestone, R. (1977). Confusion, diffusion, and innovation. American Political Science Review, 71 (2), 441-447.

Gray, V. (1973). Innovation in the states: A diffusion study. American Political Science Review, 67 (4), 1174-1185.

Gray, V. (1974). Expenditures and innovation as dimensions of "progressivism": A note on the American states. American Journal of Political Science, 17, 693-699.

Hanson, R. L. (1984). Medicaid and the politics of redistribution. American Journal of Political Science, 28 (2), 313-339.

Klingman, D., & Lammers, W. W. (1984). The "general policy liberalism" factor in American state politics. American Journal of Political Science, 28 (3), 598-610.

Light, A. R. (1978). Intergovernmental sources of innovation in state administration. American Politics Quarterly, 6 (April), 146-166.

Lowi, T. J. (1969). The end of liberalism. New York: Norton.

Monypenny, P. (1960). Federal grants-in-aid to state governments: A political analysis. National Tax Journal, 13 (March), 1-6.

Mank, D. (1994). The underachievement of supported employment: A call for reinvestment. Journal of Disability Policy Studies, 5 (2), 1-24.

McGaughey, M. J., Kiernan, W. E., McNally, L. C., & Gilmore, D. S. (1993). National perspectives on integrated employment: State MR/DD agency trends. Boston: Children's Hospital, Training and Research Institute for People with Disabilities.

Menzel, D. C. & Feller, I. (1977). Leadership and interaction patterns in the diffusion of innovations among the American states. Western Political Quarterly, 30, 528-536.

O'Day, B. (1998). Restrained labor: An exploratory study of unemployment among people with disabilities. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University. Unpublished doctoral dissertation.

Savage, R. (1978). Policy innovativeness as a trait of American states. The Journal of Politics, 40 (1), 212-224.

Scheerenberger, R. C. (1983). A history of mental retardation. Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes Publishing Company.

Walker, J. L. (1969). The diffusion of innovations among the American states. The American Political Science Review, 63 (3), 880-899.

Walker, J. L. (1984). Comment: Problems in research on the diffusion of policy innovations. The American Political Science Review, 67 (4), 1186-1191.

Wehman, P., & Kregel, J. (1995). At the crossroads: Supported employment a decade later. Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps, 20 (4), 286-299.

Wehman, P., Revell, W. G., & Kregel, J. (1998). Supported employment: A decade of rapid growth and impact. American Rehabilitation, 24 (1), 31-43.

Welch, S., & Thompson, K. (1980). The impact of federal incentives on state policy innovation, American Journal of Political Science, 24 (4), 715-729.