

Breaking the Silence and Bringing Good Noise: Parents and Advocates Come Together to Center Lived Experiences



ZERO TO THREE
Early connections last a lifetime

“The late, great writer, author, poet, Black, lesbian, feminist Audre Lorde suggests our silence will not protect us and that there is power in breaking silences. But breaking silences is not always easy, especially if it means bearing risks, or causing discomfort. Maybe silences are efforts towards self-protection and preservation, or signs of concession or even fading or lost hope. In the world in which we live, there are forces that thrust silence upon us. It has been the purpose of this project, and all those who worked on it, to break silences...to open the way to bring the noise that knows. Good noise. Good noise that shows you love your children best. Good noise that articulates your wants, needs, and desires for your children. Good noise that propels your passions and confirms your convictions. Good noise that advertises your expertise. Good noise that speaks truths that need to be heard. Good noise that sounds the notes of sobriety about the complexity of all that needs to be considered to do well in serving your children. On this evening, we celebrate the breaking of silences and bringing good noise.”

Sterling Freeman, CounterPart Consulting

*Speaking to parent leaders and advocacy organization
partners from participating states’ project teams
May 26, 2022 Cohort Meeting*

Introduction

A growing recognition of health and economic disparities resulting from structural barriers to equity is driving an examination of policies and practices in many states and communities. An essential ingredient for understanding and dismantling barriers is a practice long valued in Early Head Start and Head Start (EHS/HS) – the inclusion of parent voice and leadership in decision making. Even though it is valued and reflected in the implementation of these programs, with continued room for improvement, truly shifting power and unleashing the wisdom of parents requires stepping back to center and support full parent participation in policy and advocacy. This shift is still emerging across broader early childhood systems and across all levels of policy and advocacy from program to state to the federal level.

From May 2021 to June 2022, five state teams in Maine, New Jersey, North Carolina, Texas, and Washington set out to identify policy and advocacy priorities to increase equitable access to EHS/HS with an emphasis on partnering with parents and promoting equity. Each team was led by a multi-issue child advocacy organization – Advocates for Children of New Jersey (ACNJ), Children’s Alliance in Washington state, Children at Risk in Texas, Maine Children’s Alliance (MCA), and North Carolina Early Education Coalition – and included a range of partners such as family advocates, grassroots organizations, and government staff. Leadership of people of color on the teams was key for mobilizing the on-the-ground parent engagement efforts. Teams assessed the landscape of EHS/HS services and barriers to equitable access, built and strengthened advocacy coalitions, and developed family-driven policy and advocacy priorities. The project was funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and supported by state policy and advocacy staff from ZERO TO THREE, the United Parent Leaders Action Network (UPLAN), the Partnership for America’s Children, and CounterPart Consulting.

Each state took their own approach to engaging parents in the work, reflecting different state contexts and different levels of prior parent engagement. Some states conducted surveys and focus groups with parents. Others partnered with preexisting parent organizations and leaned on them for contributing parent voices. Still others included parents in the steering committee that was driving the project. Each state worked toward different outcomes. Some focused on creating a landscape assessment to illuminate service gaps experienced by parents and perceived by partners. Others focused on building

stronger cross-agency and organization collaboration to better meet the needs of families with young children. One state focused on advancing legislation promoting inclusion of those with lived experience on decision making bodies. And parent leaders in another state used this as an opportunity to stand-up a multi-issue statewide parent network designed and led by parents.

All states received technical assistance (TA) in the form of individual bimonthly calls with the TA team, cohort meetings, a two-day virtual racial equity training, webinars, and review and feedback on draft materials. Each lead organization also received a \$100,000 grant to support the project. In most cases this was used for personnel, stipends to compensate parents for their participation, support to state and local partner organizations, and some communication needs.

This paper highlights some of the experiences and lessons learned from the five states as they worked to develop deliberate relationships with parents to disrupt uneven power dynamics that result in the marginalization of parents, and to re-examine methods of early childhood advocacy with a more intentional equity lens. This paper is not intended to serve as a comprehensive review of the effort, but rather to lift-up some of the unique aspects of the work in each state. The individual state policy recommendations that emerged from this year-long effort are included in the appendix.

Think Babies

The states involved in this project benefit from being part of ZERO TO THREE's [Think Babies](#) network. *Think Babies* is a state- and federally-focused call to action for policymakers to prioritize the needs of infants, toddlers, and their families and invest in our nation's future. Across the country, those in the network advocate for: quality, affordable child care; paid family and medical leave; Early Head Start; infant and early childhood mental health; family support, including primary care and community-based approaches; and economic security. From state capitols to the nation's capital, *Strolling Thunder* events create opportunities for parents to speak out on these priorities and share their stories with policymakers to influence change. The [State of Babies Yearbook](#) provides data on the well-being of babies and families nationally and by state to bolster calls for investment and policy change. And the family-led *Strolling Thunder Family Advocacy Network* informs ZERO TO THREE's advocacy strategy and activities.

Good Noise Builds Important Shifts in States

Over the course of this project, it became clear that transformative equitable change was possible where:

- Time and resources were invested in building relationships;
- Participants valued equity and were committed to listening to one another;
- Trust was built and maintained;
- Silos were dismantled; and
- Power structures began to shift to recognize parents as the experts on their children and the needs of their families, and thus essential influencers for policy.

“Racial equity is a process of eliminating racial disparities and improving outcomes for everyone. It is the intentional and continual practice of changing policies, practices, systems, and structures by prioritizing measurable change in the lives of people of color.”

- From Race Forward as used by CounterPart Consulting

States are creating change, from parent policy councils for individual programs and statewide parent networks, to advocacy mobilizations like *Strolling Thunder* which center parent voices, to laws that now codify the practice of compensating those with lived experience for participating in decision making bodies. These shifts are driven by passionate parents and dedicated state advocacy partners who are disrupting the assumption of who knows best. They are willing to take risks and upend traditional linear models of doing their work. They are valuing those with lived experience. They are challenging

preexisting mindsets and past practices. They are leaning into transparency, creating discomfort, and trying out new approaches to bring about change. They are embracing the power of the collective and the reality that all stakeholders have different, foundational roles to play. Simply put, these shifts are creating the conditions for the parents involved to stop the silence and bring good noise.

Highlights from each state follow:

North Carolina Parent Leaders Shape Development of Early Childhood Policy Recommendations

Early efforts to engage parents in conversations about policy during this project proved to be a challenge in North Carolina. Surveys were sent with minimal response, and meetings were scheduled with little attendance. But that experience provided the necessary encouragement for the parent co-leads – Joy Spencer and Shelia Arias – to reconsider the initial engagement process that was established by the stakeholder coalition and to instead double down on an alternate strategy that reimagined recruitment and engagement of a diverse group of parents from across the state. With the leadership and active engagement of the parent co-leads, this new approach worked, and in a short time there was a group of more than 25 parents who were participating in the project. The parent co-leads helped create an open space where all voices could be heard. As conversations unfolded, it became evident to parents that “decisions were being made by people who didn’t look like them or who have not walked in their shoes,” said Macy Jones, North Carolina Head Start collaboration director. This provided even more impetus for parents to break their silence, share their voices, and hold people accountable for change.

“We learned that we have to stop creating tables and then inviting parents. Parents need to be included from the beginning to help design the engagement strategies. We included Joy and Shelia in the core team planning calls, not just the parent team calls. We held meetings at times that would work for the parents,” noted Christin Davis, infant toddler project manager with the North Carolina Early Education Coalition. Joy and Shelia helped create space for parents to share and support one another, sometimes re-working the agenda when there were more pressing issues on parents’ minds. The broader stakeholder group helped parents understand who controls different decisions (e.g., federal law, state policy, local program control), and have realistic expectations for change in a system that is neither quick nor agile. They recognized that over promising and under delivering could be especially harmful for emerging relationships and trust.

After months of conversations with parents and other stakeholders, the group developed policy recommendations for expanding access to EHS/HS. The recommendations track directly with the views shared by parents, and call for streamlining EHS/HS so both programs have the same requirements for families and providers; identifying programs to support families when children age out of EHS if there are no HS slots available; and exploring the development of a shared application for families to access services across programs and systems, eliminating the often cumbersome and duplicative process of applying to individual programs. Now the work begins to move forward with the recommendations. As a *Think Babies* state, they are ready to take this work to the next level.

“Each stakeholder brings critical pieces of the puzzle. Parents bring powerful lived experience, relationships in communities, creative ideas for solutions, and powerful voices in advocacy with policymakers. Staff in state-based early childhood advocacy organizations bring knowledge of the policy process, technical knowledge of policy areas, and access to decisionmakers. Together, these different but overlapping skills and knowledge give us ingredients for powerful change.”

*- Jennifer Jennings-Shaffer,
assistant director of state
advocacy,
ZERO TO THREE,
speaking on the Parent
Partnerships in Practice
Webinar on April 5, 2022.*

Washington State Parent Leaders Help Shape and Secure Passage of a Lived Experiences Bill

Stakeholders in Washington are enormously proud of their efforts to lobby the state legislature for passage of the first of its kind “[Lived Experiences Bill](#),” [SB 5793](#) reduces barriers for individuals and community members with lived experience who have low-income to participate in state task forces and workgroups by allowing them to be compensated for their participation. Compensation includes a stipend of up to \$200 per day as well as reimbursement for the costs of travel, child care, and lodging. Not only does this mean more parents will be sitting at tables where decisions are made in Washington, but several other states are expressing interest in advancing similar legislation.

Beyond the Lived Experiences Bill, members of the team noted that state agencies are beginning to pay real attention to parents. “Some agency recommendations were just released that came from parents. For example, parents pointed out that child support should not be counted as income as it often pushes the receiving parent over the income threshold to qualify for services even if they are not receiving regular child support payments,” said Joel Ryan, executive director of the Washington State Association of Head Start and the Early Childhood Education and Assistance program (ECEAP). An initial lukewarm reception to expanding the ECEAP program now has been replaced by a bold recommendation from the Department of Children, Youth and Families (DCYF) to the Governor to do just this.

Washington’s work over the past few decades to build a cohort of parent ambassadors who can skillfully share their stories and lobby the legislature contributes to these successes. According to April Messenger, director of family engagement and advocacy of Parent Ambassadors, the impact of parent voice has reached new heights. “Parents understand the issues more and know their voice will help shift policy. DCYF and legislators are asking parents questions and really listening,” shares April. “There is only so much you can do to ready partners for sharing power with parents. Our strength is that we ready the parents and give them the power to demand space and time to be heard. When we have enough voices on this, things will start to shift.”

Kathleen Crabbs of CounterPart Consulting underscores this point: “We worked with Washington directly to think through how to help their white caucus (mainly policy leaders) see the barriers they continue to create and the need for dismantling them. There remains a large power over mindset in this group, and one that says they hold the actual expertise.”

Maine Parent Leaders Create the Maine Parent Advocacy Network

The parent-governed, statewide, multi-issue Maine Parent Advocacy Network (MPAN) grew organically out of this EHS/HS project as well as a similar grant held by MCA that focused on increasing equitable access to Part C early intervention and special education services. “Both projects called for parent bodies, and we expected to build two coalitions. We learned from our parent leaders that the issues in families’ lives don’t exist in silos, and it made sense to have one broader network of parents to advise both projects,” said Stephanie Eglinton, executive director of the MCA. MCA hired a parent leader to be the coordinator for the two projects and to lead the work with parents to inform development of policy priorities.

Today, the MPAN provides a space where all the issues that are important to parents can be considered.



It is filling the advocacy demand in the state for parent voice to be engaged in projects from the start. It is also training parents based on their skills and areas of interest, supporting them, and linking them to opportunities where they can have influence.

“Too often you are the only parent and they check a box and everyone works around you. Even in good programs, parents say they want something more. They want their voice to be heard. So we built a structure where parents can take on leadership roles to move from words to actions. Parents did not have these opportunities before. It’s been positive and uplifting,” said Michael Mosley, project coordinator with MPAN. Mosley acknowledges that a significant part of his job is providing emotional support and caretaking for the parents in MPAN. Making sure everyone is okay comes first and with that is a commitment to building a community culture that encourages people to turn to each other for support, information, and resources as needed.

In standing up the MPAN, Mosley and Eglinton needed to be mindful of other similar networks in the state. Some wondered about the overlap with the Maine Parent Ambassador organization, for example. Communication was key to clarify roles and assuage concerns. Ultimately, they created a visual that shows how all the organizations fit together.

Reflecting more broadly about how parent leadership and voice has taken hold in the state, Mosley talks about how parents must both spend time and energy to establish legitimacy, and to build skills at things they have been shut out of learning and doing because they were marginalized. He asked the state agencies to give parents legitimacy from the start so they could work on skills and not have to prove their value and worth. Mosley notes that, “We see how people’s minds have been changed about what parents are willing to do and are capable of doing.” This bodes well as the state prepares for important policy conversations related to a ballot initiative for paid family and medical leave. An effective parent advocacy infrastructure will be essential to get that over the finish line.

New Jersey Parent Focus Groups Inform State Priorities and Identify a Need for Information Sharing Among Immigrant Parents

Early care and education stakeholders in New Jersey have a history of parent partnership tied to ACNJ’s *Think Babies* efforts, as well as a formal Parent Leadership Council. They used this project to build upon earlier work and to focus in on the city of Newark, as it reflects a microcosm of a high-need community in the state.

Parents from the Parent Leadership Council worked with consultants to design and carry out the work in Newark. The parents wrote the questions used in interviews with EHS staff, and they facilitated focus groups with family child care providers and additional parents. From the interviews and focus groups, several themes emerged related to parent experiences and the internal operations of programs. The focus groups uncovered misperceptions related to the value of family child care, especially within the immigrant community. “Many thought taking your child to family child care was just babysitting. They didn’t know that home-based care operates like licensed center-based care,” said Miguelina Maldonado of ACNJ.

“Family child care providers were shocked to learn that families didn’t want to come to them,” said F. Nana Ofosu-Amaah, an independent consultant supporting ACNJ. This highlighted a need for sharing information about child care options, particularly with those who are new to the community. They agreed that this could be done by showcasing family child care during community events and encouraging parent-to-parent discussions to increase understanding of the value of family child care.

Hannah Korn-Heilner, policy and outreach assistant with ACNJ, reflected on the intersection of this project and racial equity. She said that she “saw the parent leadership work as racial equity work

because they were engaging those who historically are marginalized. We are not only hearing from parents, but they are leading discussions about what policies are needed.”

Dayne Glover, policy and outreach assistant also with ACNJ, pointed out that there has been major growth in the past year with respect to integrating parent voice in all aspects of the work. “Nayibe Capellan, Nana, and Miguelina created a welcoming space for the parents. More families are now engaged. They are telling their stories and explaining their needs. They are more comfortable serving on workgroups and are influencing the way the work is now done,” said Glover.

Texas Parent Leaders Play a Role in Developing an Early Childhood Landscape Survey and Establishing State Priorities

Children at Risk approached Avance when they first learned of the opportunity for this project, knowing their work would be stronger if they applied in partnership. Avance has strong relationships with parents and experience engaging them in policy and advocacy efforts. Together they worked with stakeholders across the state to develop an early childhood landscape survey that was informed by parents, teachers, and early childhood leaders.

A set of policy and advocacy priorities were developed from the survey that focus on addressing basic needs (e.g., mental health and wellness supports, food security); securing additional funding for early childhood services; and providing more opportunities for parents to learn about policy, advocacy, and data.

The state’s general lack of investment in early childhood complicates efforts to move forward on these priorities. All public funding for EHS, HS, and child care comes from federal government sources, including the Child Care Development Fund. The federal resources are not sufficient to meet the need of eligible families. Further, governance of early childhood programs is siloed with child care licensing in one agency and the Child Care Development Fund in another; the Texas Education Agency has a pre-k division; and the Head Start State Collaborative Office is in a branch of the University of Texas Medical Center. Kim Kofron, director of early care and education at Children at Risk adds, “In Texas, it seems like Early Head Start and Head Start are othered and not part of the normal conversation. They have their own trainings, own systems, own funding.” Team members recognize these challenges and the need to break silos, make connections, and for someone to “own” the children’s space. They are trying, but it is difficult to accomplish without corresponding state leadership and policy.



Stakeholders also worry that parents do not understand the lack of infrastructure and how that impacts the system and access. Makia Thomas, associate director of early childhood education for Children at Risk, reflected on a conversation she had with parent leader Ana Sandoval. “Ana asked how is it that Texas is at the bottom of states with respect to accessibility,” shared Thomas. “We need to do a better job to help parents be aware of what is really happening. For example, they need to know that there is supposed to be money for mental health care. If we help parents understand and package the information, then they can talk about it and move policy discussions forward.”

Another stakeholder suggested that the goal needs to be “making sure parent voices are elevated so that you can’t turn your head, so you can’t unsee, or unhear, or unknow what you experienced.”

Despite these complications, there are several bright spots in Texas. First, the partners are steadfast in their commitment to advancing authentic parent engagement. They are looking at every aspect of their work for opportunities to get parents involved, create space for parents to raise their voices, and walk with them on the journey to policy change. Second, Head Start and others are having conversations about a fatherhood event, furthering a recommendation that came out of the landscape project. And third, the stakeholder coalition is committed to ongoing partnership and will not be dissuaded. Thomas added, “Until you see the connection to something you are interested in, you might not see the value in it.” The Texas early childhood stakeholders see the connection and will work to shine a light, so others see the connections too.

Stopping the Silence Contributes to Personal Growth and Empowers Parents

Stopping the silence not only results in better informed state policies, but it also contributes to meaningful change for parents as they experience validation of their ideas and concerns, both from one another and from state partners. Parents exercise the real brilliance and power they had all along but that had been ignored because of structural racism. A sense of personal growth and empowerment builds over time and can be transformational.

Some parents involved in the project overcame their fear of talking about their needs and advocating for their families. Other parents stepped into leadership roles, organizing their peers to influence early childhood planning and policy, or thoughtfully surfacing conversations about topics that might have been seen as taboo but that needed to be openly discussed to ensure the healthy emotional well-being in their community. Still other parents found that their engagement in the project readied them for new opportunities, like opening a family child care home, becoming an ambassador for parents, or starting a parent-led organization.

Stronger Relationships Are Built Across the Coalitions

Not only did this project lift up the importance of innovative strategies for engaging and partnering with parents, it also highlighted new steps in states to collaborate across early childhood programs and agencies. According to Jenna Nelson, executive director of the North Carolina Early Education Coalition, “Most memorable for me was breaking down the silos that previously existed between state advocates and the Head Start Association. We started to build relationships as people who care about the same issues and are doing the same work.” This was not just the case in North Carolina. All states reflected on the importance of this work for connecting stakeholders, increasing understanding of their work and roles, and building relationships and trust. They reported more sharing, more strategizing, and a stronger sense of community working in service of children and families.



Ten Lessons for States on Centering Parents in Early Childhood Policy and Advocacy Development

A year into their work, as the first phase of the project ended, the five states reflected on their experiences centering parents in policy development. They offered the following lessons for others because they know that this work has the potential to inform the early childhood sector as a whole and how the sector engages families.

1. Start from a place of curiosity. Listen more and talk less.
2. Go slow to go fast. Take time to build relationships and trust among parents, between parents and others, and to ensure that parents have a chance to share their perspectives.
3. Provide space and grace. Build in flexibility to acknowledge the moment and situate conversations in the current context.
4. Recognize the interconnectedness of issues for parents and their wisdom in knowing what they need most for their children.
5. Be willing to sit with the messiness of the work and sit with the silences to give the necessary space for silences to break.
6. Be adaptable and allow for evolution. Try things out, don't let the perfect be the enemy of the good, and always look for ways to grow and continuously improve.
7. Build processes for supporting the full participation of parents. Provide ample opportunities to prep and debrief with parents, create ongoing touchpoints, provide translation, and offer compensation.
8. Dedicate staff for the role of supporting parent leadership and voice. Make sure that the staff member comes from the community, is trusted by parents, and has the resources and support needed to do the work.
9. Include parents from the beginning, and not just in parent groups but in leadership and decision-making bodies as well.
10. Be transparent and acknowledge that policy change takes time. Over promising and under delivering can do more harm for the possibility of change.

A Continued Commitment to Turning up the Volume for Good Noise to Drive Change

Over the next year, state advocates and parent leaders will continue their efforts to disrupt traditional ways of policy development and advocacy and create sustainable parent partnership models with a more intentional equity lens. They know now that this work needs to be intentional – it can't be done on the fly or on the cheap. Resources are critical for ensuring the work is meaningful and not tokenized or transactional. Philanthropy and government need to step up to provide the resources needed to fund authentic partnership.

Continuing this work takes a real commitment to breaking silences, listening to the noise that knows, working in new ways, and continuously reflecting on what is and is not working for all involved, including parents. We look forward to observing the next steps of these five states and sharing their progress with the broader early childhood community.

Additional Resources on Parent Partnership in Policy and Advocacy

[Addressing Bias and Advancing Equity in State Policy](#) – This article explores national data that make the case for addressing bias and advancing equity in state policy; shares strategies and best practices for engaging families and communities; and provides examples of policies that can disrupt and dismantle institutional racism, promote equity, and ensure all babies get a strong start in life.

[Parent Partnerships in Practice](#) – This webinar highlighted best practices and lessons learned from three states in this project (ME, NC, and TX) who have worked with parent leaders to create structures and processes for parent leadership. Panelists included parents and state advocates from Children at Risk, Maine Children’s Alliance and North Carolina Early Education Coalition.

[Engaging Families in Advocacy: Strategies, Practices, and Lessons from the Field](#) – This webinar hosted in partnership with UPLAN, Partnership for America’s Children, MomsRising/Mamas con Poder, Start Early, the National Parent Leadership Institute, Greater Rochester Parent Leadership Training Institute, and the Washington State Association of Head Start and ECEAP Parent Ambassadors explored how to equitably lift up families’ voices, especially those families most often not heard. Panelists discussed the values and practices needed to engage families authentically, and shared stories of parent partnerships across the country.

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APPENDIX

Summary of Policy and Advocacy Priorities Developed by State Teams

As part of this project, each state worked with parents and other early childhood stakeholders to craft a set of policy and advocacy priorities related to equitable expansion of EHS/HS.

Maine

1. Address Head Start Infrastructure
 - a. Advocate for expanded eligibility priorities, e.g., kinship caregivers, substance misuse in family, etc.
2. Improvements to Children's Behavioral Health
 - a. Advocate for reduced wait times for diagnosis and services
3. Address Racism and Cultural Barriers
 - a. Advocate for federally funded slots to address barriers to child care vouchers
4. Support Parent Advocacy
 - a. Connect Parent Councils

New Jersey

1. Support immigrant families in accessing programs
 - a. Find ways to reach immigrant families with culturally sensitive information and program options
 - b. Recruit immigrant families to be family child care providers
 - c. Provide undocumented families with service options they can access
2. EHS providers should continue revising their selection criteria to ensure access to the highest-need families (e.g., those most affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, etc.)
3. Develop a newborn family kit/app to support families with critical milestones, child care options, and enrollment requirements into early care programs
4. Build more robust and sustainable pipelines for instructional and non-instructional staff with incentives for entering this field
5. Increase seat options for families, with consideration given to changing family child care capacity policies and/or support for Early Head Start programs in fundraising for the 25% non-federal share match

North Carolina

1. Increase Funding for Early Head Start and Head Start So All Eligible Families Can Receive Services
 - a. Federal: Reauthorize Early Head Start/Head Start Act with greater line-item allocations
 - b. State: Work with local Early Head Start/Head Start grantees to determine a way of investing state dollars where federal money is lacking
 - c. Local: Work with local Early Head Start/Head Start grantees and local communities (cities, towns, counties) to determine a way to invest local dollars where federal money is lacking
2. Streamline Federal Early Head Start and Head Start Requirements
 - a. Federal: Revise and streamline the Early Head Start/Head Start Act so that both programs have the same requirements for families and for providers
3. Address the Gap Year in Services
 - a. State: Work to identify specific programs to support three-year-old children
 - b. Local: Early Head Start/Head Start grantees are able to individualize program options to support family needs
4. Support Alignment Across North Carolina Programs
 - a. State: Begin to explore a shared application for families looking to access services
 - b. Local: Explore options for a shared application process for families with children prenatal to age three for all programs in the counties which the eligible families reside

Texas

1. Continue efforts to offer mental health and wellness supports to staff and families
2. Strengthen efforts to increase family engagement, specifically fatherhood engagement, in educational and advocacy opportunities
3. Co-design advocacy campaign with families to amplify their interests and additional funding for Early Head Start and Head Start
4. Provide more educational opportunities for parents to learn more about policy, advocacy, and data
5. Increase awareness of food security resources for families

Washington

1. Support the implementation of the “Lived Experience” bill
2. Boost funding for the state’s Early Head Start program
3. Advocate for new family friendly child care policies (e.g., job search, child support payments do not count towards income, access to BA degrees)
4. Expansion of state-funded preschool program