

May 21, 2014

Distinguished Service Award Task Force  
Council on Foundations  
2121 Crystal Drive, Suite 700  
Arlington, VA 22202

Dear Members of the Distinguished Service Award Task Force:

I am delighted, as well as honored, to recommend Paul Grogan, President and CEO of The Boston Foundation (TBF), for consideration to receive the Council's Distinguished Service Award. I have watched Paul throughout his long leadership of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation and his valuable service at Harvard to the Boston metropolitan area, which have been consistently characterized by vision, integrity and courage. In my view, Paul's leadership of TBF sets a strong new standard for what America's community foundations are all about. That is why I am strongly moved now to write you this letter.

Paul Grogan has been at the helm of TBF since July 1, 2001. In that time he has transformed TBF from a quiet, behind the scenes grantmaker to an active and engaged civic leader. He is a restless, inspired, and inspiring leader who has pushed the envelope on all aspects of how community foundations work—in (1) leadership, in (2) grantmaking, and in (3) philanthropic advising. He has turned the traditional community foundation model on its head.

**(1) Civic Leadership:**

- Practically overnight, the Boston Foundation went from a foundation that did everything it could to avoid publicity to one that actively sought public recognition—and public support, as well as emulation—for its work.
- As Paul said in *Changing the Game*, a paper he produced for the Center for Strategic Philanthropy and Civil Society at Duke University: "It is admirable to do good quietly, but ... however attractive humility is as a personal quality, it does not make sense for an institution that wants to be influential." As I wrote in *The Foundation: A Great American Secret*, all foundations have a stewardship obligation to publicize their mistakes and document their achievements so that others in the nonprofit world can learn from and apply what they accomplish. Paul has done that over and over again!
- He developed what we call the Civic Leadership Model—the method of using data, research, forums, media attention, serial mobilizations of business and civic leaders, and deep engagement with the public sector to push for systemic change. He sees this as a way for TBF to have influence beyond the scale of its grants budget.

- Using this method, TBF has been at the helm of many public policy changes that have made a large impact on its priorities.
- An early success was the Commonwealth of Massachusetts' Cultural Facilities Fund, spurred by TBF reports on the state's cultural infrastructure and the Campaign for Cultural Facilities, co-convened by TBF. This fund was established in 2004 and has since directly invested \$54.8 million in cultural nonprofits and leveraged \$1.5 billion in additional support.
- In 2010, TBF was instrumental in passing historic K-12 education reform in Massachusetts through the TBF-convened Race to the Top Coalition. This legislation raised the cap on charter schools, provided new powers to superintendents of struggling district schools, and attracted \$250 million in federal Race to the Top dollars to the state.
- A more recent success was the passage of significant reform of the state's community college system, following a set of TBF's reports detailing the problems that plagued the previous system. A performance-based funding formula was included in the 2013 state budget and also leveraged an additional \$20 million in state support for the institutions.
- Overall, this approach has led to major successes across a wide variety of issue areas—including cultural facilities, K-12 education, community colleges, municipal healthcare, transportation reform, CORI and probation reform, and smart growth housing.
- Civic Leadership is now a hot topic in the community foundation world, with more and more foundations taking on this sort of role and seeing it as a unique contribution that they can make to their community. It is a way for community foundations to remain relevant into the second century of their existence.
- To support this work, Paul also launched the Foundation's first ever annual fund, called the Civic Leadership Fund, a practice which is also spreading to community foundations around the country. Last year this fund brought in \$1.6 million for TBF's operations, and the high-profile donors are a significant source of added legitimacy for TBF's initiatives.

**(2) Grantmaking:**

- In 2008 and 2009, Paul focused his reform efforts on the Foundation's Grantmaking program, which was reactive—primarily distributing smaller, program-support, one-year grants in many broad issue-areas.
- Through the Impact Project, an organization-wide initiative that deeply engaged the Board, Paul transitioned the Foundation to a more focused and proactive approach. TBF now gives in five “priority areas”—education, health and wellness, neighborhoods, jobs and economic development, and the arts.
- In each of these areas TBF aims to focus on a unique lever—e.g., post-secondary degree attainment—and funds nonprofit partners who are vital to achieving that objective.
- These vital nonprofits are eligible for much larger, multi-year, general operating support grants designed to free them to focus on achieving broad impact.



- Some smaller pools of funds have been left open to fund organizations outside of these focused priorities, but such grants are generally much smaller and more limited in their use.
- While this is a challenging change for a community foundation, which is intended to have a broad mission, this was a way that Paul felt TBF's impact could be enlarged—with focus and “staying power” rather than a “spray and pray” approach.

**(3) Philanthropic Advising:**

- A more recent challenge to the community foundation model was TBF's merger in 2012 with The Philanthropic Initiative (TPI), a philanthropic advisory firm. This is the first-of-its-kind in the field.
- Previously, TBF had a nascent business line in philanthropic advising—but had the capacity to do this only on a few projects at one time, which was challenging for operations. However, it was a service that donors really wanted in some cases.
- Paul felt that the field needed to go in the direction of providing deeper services so as to help its donors achieve greater impact.
- TPI has become a distinct unit within the Boston Foundation, offering customized philanthropic services both within and outside the Foundation.
- This also provides a new “entry-point” for donors to the Foundation, and also expertise in global giving, which many local donors are interested in today.

I hope you will give careful consideration to the points that I have made in this letter. If the Council chose Paul its Distinguished Service Award, it could thereby help set a new and higher standard to inspire America's community foundations in fulfilling their mission all across the country.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Joel L. Fleishman", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Joel L. Fleishman



## The Civic Leadership Fund at The Boston Foundation **Impact.**

### Groundbreaking Education Reform

The **Race to the Top Coalition**, convened by the Foundation, played a central role in passage of education reform in Massachusetts, leading to considerable success in giving turnaround powers to district schools and opening more highly-effective charter schools. The legislation also helped to attract \$250 million in Race to the Top federal dollars, which is **impacting close to 700,000 students** across the Commonwealth.

### Spearheading Community College Reform

In 2012, Governor Deval Patrick embraced recommendations made in a report published by the Foundation the year before about the need to align community colleges with the state's labor force needs. The Foundation-convened the statewide **Coalition FOR Community Colleges**, made up of a broad range of business and community leaders, played a key role in passing a new performance-based funding approach for community colleges in the 2013 state budget and leveraging \$20 million in state funds to support these important higher education institutions.

### Success in Smart Growth Housing

In 2002, the Boston Foundation convened the **Commonwealth Housing Task Force**, which led directly to the passage of Smart Growth Housing legislation—**Chapters 40R and 40S**. To date, the legislation has led to zoning for more than 12,350 housing units in 32 smart-growth districts across Massachusetts.

### Promoting Healthy People in a Healthy Economy

In 2007, the Boston Foundation and NEHI published a groundbreaking report called *The Boston Paradox: Lots of Health Care, Not Enough Health* alerting the community to the fact that Boston was not immune to the crisis of preventable chronic disease that is threatening both the physical and fiscal health of Greater Boston. Two years later, the Foundation and NEHI co-founded the **Healthy People/Healthy Economy Coalition**, which has published three annual Report Cards and is working for legislation to promote policy recommendations made in the Report Cards and to make Massachusetts the national leader in health and wellness.

### The Massachusetts Cultural Facilities Fund

The Campaign for Cultural Facilities, co-convened by the Boston Foundation in 2004, led to grants totaling **\$54.8 million** to some **269 cultural organizations** in **99 cities and towns**, leveraging more than **\$1.5 billion** in support and providing work for tens of thousands of people.

### CORI Reform and Sweeping Probation Reform

In 2008, Governor Deval Patrick signed a bill that featured **recommendations made in Boston Foundation reports**, including funds for **CORI training for employers** as part of an increase in the Criminal History Systems Board budget. The Foundation and the Criminal Justice Institute also staffed a **blue ribbon task force** on CORI employer guidelines. Boston Foundation reports on the **Massachusetts Probation Department**, published with the Crime and Justice Institute, revealed dubious hiring practices, lack of oversight and skyrocketing budgets. The reports led to Spotlight Team reports in the Boston Globe and, ultimately, to **sweeping probation reform in the Commonwealth** in 2008.

### Saving Millions through Municipal Health Care Legislation

In 2011, the Foundation played a critical role in passing pioneering municipal health care legislation—first through research revealing the soaring costs of municipal health plans—and then by forming a coalition to urge the bill's passage. The legislation has saved more than **\$200 million**, with some 204 communities changing health plans and saving jobs and services.



# The Boston Globe

## Editorial: Stepping to the Plate

APRIL 2, 2002

MAYOR THOMAS Menino and leaders of a dozen philanthropic organizations are scheduled to share a meal tonight and strategize on ways to ensure that low-income families, new immigrants, and the unemployed also get to relish urban life.

"I'm reaching out to a lot more people because of unfilled needs," says Menino, citing the effects of anticipated budget cuts on summer jobs and education. But the mayor is likely to encounter more than just checkbook warriors. Some philanthropists appear eager to take on policy and advocacy responsibilities, a promising development given the relative lack of civic vitality in the city's business sector.

Paul Grogan, president of the Boston Foundation, is one of them. Grogan, who was hired to run the foundation a year ago, is especially eager to find and fund creative efforts at job training, an area he described in his 2000 book "Comeback Cities" as a "desert of waste and ineffectuality." He predicts that foundations will look favorably on work force development programs that use community colleges and focus on specific sectors of the economy, including higher education and health care.

It is unclear whether the Yawkey II Foundation will respond to the mayor's invitation tonight. The charity, which grew exponentially - to the tune of \$450 million - with the sale this winter of the Boston Red Sox, should send a representative to the philanthropic meeting if it intends to be a significant player in the betterment of Boston.

Boston mayors once depended largely on the heads of banks and insurance companies to identify problems and mobilize resources to meet them. That role has receded in recent years, but the need for farseeing executives remains, especially those willing to adopt new tactics and experiment freely.

Grogan has stepped into that role. Despite the region's economic downturn, he is trying to elevate both the visibility and clout of the Boston Foundation, which made grants to nonprofit organizations of nearly \$50 million in the past year. He is also willing to step on toes. A former vice president at Harvard University, Grogan hopes to market Boston's schools to middle-class families by helping to create a critical mass in individual schools. The School Department considers such efforts marginal when weighed against the needs of low-income families. But Grogan's idea is a more exciting alternative than moving to the suburbs.

The Boston Foundation is also preparing to tackle public safety problems in the most depressed neighborhoods, including the Bowdoin- Geneva section of Dorchester. A \$1.5 million grant over three years is aimed to coincide with efforts of the Menino administration to expand community policing and youth violence prevention programs.

Boston's shortage of civic leadership appears to be easing.





**DAN PALLOTTA: FREE**

**THE NONPROFITS**

## **Letting Non-Profits Act Like Businesses: One Foundation's Brave Act of Leadership**

3:10 PM Friday September 18, 2009

Yesterday the Boston Foundation unveiled major changes in its grantmaking strategy and announced that "the most dramatic change is a shift of emphasis to unrestricted operating support." You're not hallucinating, and it's not a typo. As if the emphasis on operating support were not jaw-dropping enough, it's going to be unrestricted. This is not a narrow experiment. It involves the "majority of the Boston Foundation's competitive grants." And this is not a bunch of well-intentioned, innovative MBAs starting a little experimental social venture fund. It's a major institutional funder with a \$700 million endowment that was founded in 1915.

Hallelujah. This is the nonprofit sector equivalent of the fall of the Berlin Wall. I remember when the Red Sox won the World Series in 2004. I didn't cheer. I just kept saying over and over "The Red Sox just won the World Series" to convince myself that it was real. It was the same experience yesterday. I'm an optimist, but even I am so used to the hyper-incrementalism that defines the sector that I found myself in a state of disbelief.

The Foundation went even further. They will start making larger grants, they are removing term limits so grants can be made over five years or longer, and they are removing deadlines so nonprofits can operate on their own timelines. The White House could learn a thing or two about hope and change from these people.

The announcement is striking and material on several levels.

First, it is an important voice making a declaration that real change will come from strengthening the capacity of good organizations; that as good as it may feel to fund programs, the greatest good can be achieved by funding organizations. Our mantra on poverty for decades has been, "instead of giving a man a fish, give him a fishing rod and teach him to fish." But the institutional funding approach with nonprofits has been to deny fishing rods and hand out fish for a year or two and then tell the organizations to go find some new fish somewhere else. The Boston Foundation has said in no uncertain terms that it is in the fishing rod business.

Second, in a culture where a misinformed donating public has a prejudice against "overhead," it recognizes the unique responsibility that institutional funders who know better have to act on their better knowledge.

Third, in a relationship where for years nonprofit organizations have been saying that what they need most is general operating support, it demonstrates respect, listening, empathy, understanding, and real commitment to their success.

Fourth, in a sector desperate for encouragement it demonstrates the ability of boldness and daring to excite and inspire, and it demonstrates the value of excitement and inspiration themselves. This is a new day, and the dawn of a new day moves people.

Fifth, it shows that the oldest institutions can rise up and surprise us. That disrupts the syndrome of predictability that so suffocates our sense of possibility.

Sixth, it is a demonstration of trust.

Last and most important, it is a demonstration of brave leadership. It challenges all major players to follow suit - not only to rewrite funding strategies, but to be bold, to lead, and to surprise. Today let us salute the Boston Foundation. They have just changed the world.

### **DAN PALLOTTA**



Dan Pallotta is a leading expert on innovation in the nonprofit sector and a pioneering social entrepreneur. He is the founder of Pallotta TeamWorks, which invented the multiday AIDSRides and Breast Cancer 3-Days. He is the author of *Uncharitable: How Restraints on Nonprofits Undermine Their Potential*.



# THE CHRONICLE OF PHILANTHROPY

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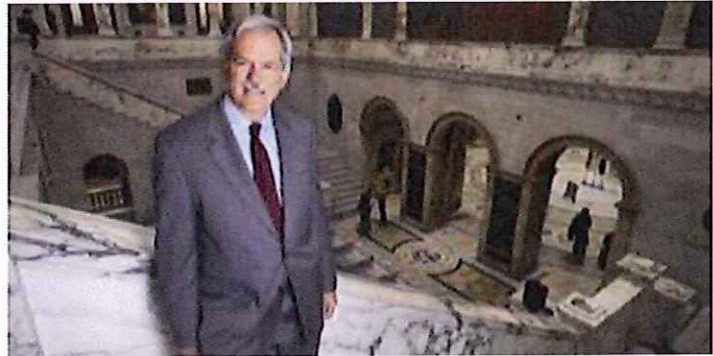
## A Boston Fund Mixes Research and Advocacy With Writing Checks

May 30, 2011 -- *By Ben Gose*

Boston - Walk into the lobby of the Boston Foundation, and the first thing you see is a computer screen listing that day's public meetings—perhaps a forum on immigration, housing, education, or some other aspect of life in Massachusetts.

On a spring Monday, 40 economists and others were here to share their views on trends in the local economy for a report the foundation is preparing.

The list of meetings hints at the transformation of the 96-year-old foundation in the decade that Paul S. Grogan has been at the helm.



Grant making is no longer the only thing the foundation is known for but just another tool for promoting change, just as is conducting research, gathering community leaders, and lobbying on issues like education and government efficiency.

Now many other leaders of community funds nationwide are following Boston's efforts by redefining themselves as leaders on key public-policy issues, not just pots of money.

But many of those efforts shy away from controversy, unlike the Boston Foundation, which has plunged with gusto into the rough-and-tumble world of influencing local government and politics. In the past 18 months, it has led a coalition that helped Massachusetts win a \$250-million education prize in the federal Race to the Top competition; issued two reports critical of the state's Probation Department, helping prompt an investigation that led to its commissioner's resignation; and enraged union leaders with a series of reports that tie generous health plans for teachers and municipal employees to the state's underinvestment in education and other needs.

### Not a Quiet Approach

When Mr. Grogan was named president of the foundation in 2001, the institution did everything it could to keep its name out of the paper. Now that stance has flipped 180 degrees.

"They have emerged from the quiet approach that many other wonderful foundations engage in to become one of the leading civic institutions in Boston," says Charles Kravetz, the general manager of WBUR, the largest National Public Radio station in Boston. "It's a vision and an approach to philanthropy that certainly didn't exist before Paul took over."

Mr. Grogan, formerly a vice president at Harvard University, says his "most radical" move was hiring Mary Jo Meisner, who had been a high-ranking editor at several newspapers, to oversee public affairs.

Together, the two have advocated for operating and financial changes in school districts and in government that they believe will allow Massachusetts and Boston to become, as Mr. Grogan puts it, a "tomorrow society" rather than a "yesterday society."

"You can't solve any of the problems we care about without effective government," Mr. Grogan says.



Mr. Grogan says it takes a lot of different approaches to influence government and policy. The foundation tracks issues and data that are important to Boston's future, commissions research reports on topics like education and municipal finance, and gathers local business and civic leaders to discuss findings from the reports and build support for a plan of action. It also lobbies state legislators once a plan has been hatched—Ms. Meisner, Mr. Grogan, and a third staff member are registered lobbyists with the state—and aggressively hounds *The Boston Globe* and other news-media outlets for coverage of its work.

### **Racing to the Top**

The investment in public policy reflects the foundation's view that government is where the action is—or at least where the money is.

The \$250-million that the state will receive for winning the Race to the Top award is more than the foundation will probably spend in a decade on the grant making that it fully controls. (Like other community funds, much of the grant maker's money comes from funds that donors have earmarked for specific causes.)

"We just don't think that much is going to get done with our grant making," Ms. Meisner says.

The changes are winning praise from national philanthropy experts.

"What the Boston Foundation has done is basically to take every one of the state-of-the-art kinds of things to an entirely new level," says Joel Fleishman, a professor at Duke University and an expert on foundations and giving. "I am amazed, frankly, by what I've seen there."

Thomas E. Wilcox, president of the Baltimore Community Foundation, says "they're a leader for the rest of us who are trying to do this work."

Local followers of the foundation point to its work on education as the crowning achievement of the Grogan era.

Before Mr. Grogan arrived, the Boston Foundation didn't support charter schools; he says he heard stories of charter-school leaders being thrown out of the foundation's offices.

Immediately after joining the foundation, Mr. Grogan began to push for more independent charter schools and more charter-like schools within the Boston school district.

But he found that political leaders in the state capitol and elsewhere were slow to make changes, thanks largely to the powerful teachers' unions in the state.

In 2009 Massachusetts Gov. Deval Patrick's push to expand charter schools was on the back burner until the Boston Foundation assembled a Race to the Top Coalition to push the measure and join a federal competition with the same name. The group of business, civic, and academic leaders argued that the changes would not only improve schools but also position Massachusetts to win millions of federal dollars.

The Boston Foundation arranged for members of the coalition to testify at legislative hearings, and the foundation touted the benefits of charter schools in a series of education programs that it sponsored on a local cable-television station.

"We just hammered away at it," says Ms. Meisner. "We outflanked the other side to the point where we got better legislation than even we felt was possible."

The legislation passed in January 2010, and seven months later Massachusetts earned the highest score—and a \$250-million prize—in the second round of the Race to the Top competition. A letter from Governor Patrick to Mr. Grogan, with the handwritten note, "This was our finest hour!" is framed and on display in the foundation's lobby.

### **Attacks by Unions**

The foundation's work on municipal finance has been even more controversial.

Through a series of reports, the foundation has highlighted inefficiencies in public pensions and government health-insurance plans that it argues could be tweaked to free up millions of dollars for more productive uses.



The reports often urge the state legislature to enact changes that would allow municipalities to change rates or programs without collective bargaining or other input from unions.

One report, titled "A Bargain Not Kept," points out that health-care costs in state school budgets increased by \$1-billion from 2000 to 2007—consuming the entire \$700-million, and then some, that the state had agreed to provide to schools to reduce inequities in education.

In April the Boston Foundation co-sponsored a report that described the health plans of employees of Massachusetts cities and towns as "gilded benefits from a bygone era" and called for sharp increases in the employees' co-pays and deductibles. The *Globe* ran an article about the report on its front page.

"You can't tolerate a situation in which health-care costs literally consume everything else," Mr. Grogan says.

The unions aren't sitting quietly as a new critic rises up. Robert Haynes, president of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO, accuses Mr. Grogan of being a shill for the business leaders who support the foundation.

"He's been on a jihad trying to destroy public-sector unions with faulty research," Mr. Haynes says. "Where is he on social and economic justice? He attacks workers rather than attacking the underlying issues in society."

Mr. Grogan responds: "The unions are not able to dismiss—and in fact rarely mention—the actual findings from our report."

### **Objections From the Mayor**

The new, louder Boston Foundation is not entirely welcomed at City Hall, either.

Boston's mayor, Thomas M. Menino, has objected to some of the foundation's research reports. (Mr. Grogan cracks that the mayor found them "insufficiently patriotic.")

*The Boston Globe* suggested years ago that Mr. Grogan's elevated profile may be a prelude to his own campaign for mayor.

Mr. Grogan says he's not planning to run for mayor. Mr. Menino didn't return calls for comment.

Mr. Grogan says the earlier, understated approach of the foundation under his predecessor, Anna Faith Jones, was admirable "in a way" but that it may also have hindered the foundation's effectiveness because it's impossible to be influential when you're anonymous.

He says the foundation's board was seeking a louder voice on civic issues when it hired him and that the board realizes some criticism of the foundation is inevitable.

"Real change in society is never unaccompanied by conflict," Mr. Grogan says. "That isn't how the world works. You don't all get around the table and hold hands and say, 'Now we'll have civil rights for everybody.'"

### **Continuing Debates**

But others say debate over how much the foundation should emphasize advocacy and research—as opposed to its traditional grant making—is a frequent topic at board meetings.

"There is still discussion that goes back and forth about what's the proper role for a community foundation," says Ray Hammond, a doctor and minister who was on the board when Mr. Grogan was hired and served as chairman before finishing his stint in 2009. "That's a healthy tension."

The debate continues outside the boardroom.

"I have to keep explaining to people that the foundation is not anti-public school or anti-union," he says, but merely trying to put the interests of kids ahead of adults.

In summing up the new approach at the Boston Foundation, Mr. Hammond offers the one statement upon which both critics and fans can agree: "Nobody can say it's been boring."



# The Boston Globe

## Editorial: Where district schools falter, state should add more charters

MAY 13, 2013

CHARTER SCHOOLS started as an experiment, but over the last two decades, the innovative academies, which operate independently of local school committees and teachers' unions, have become an established source of new strategies. Longer school days, intensive tutoring, and other ways to improve student performance have grown out of charter schools. Not every charter offers a better opportunity for needy urban children than their district schools, but parents clearly deserve the choice.

Now a coalition of education reformers is pushing to eliminate the cap on charters in the lowest-performing districts. Given the deficiencies of schools in those cities, and the frustratingly slow pace of reform in districts such as Boston, more charter schools will provide crucial opportunities for urban families. With a rigorous new study corroborating the significant learning gains Massachusetts charter schools impart, the time has come to remove the cap in those districts, which include New Bedford, Fall River, Brockton, Boston, Chelsea, Everett, Lynn, Lawrence, Lowell, Fitchburg, Haverhill, Worcester, Springfield, Chicopee, and Holyoke.

Teachers' unions have long been opposed to public schools that operate outside of their collective-bargaining process. In certain districts, particularly those under the umbrella of the Massachusetts Teachers Association, unions have made some efforts to embrace charter-style reforms. But other unions, particularly in the urban districts including Boston, have been resistant. Now, those same unions hope to use their clout with Democratic lawmakers to maintain the charter cap even in underperforming districts. But on this, like other education issues, the needs of the children must be paramount.

Last Tuesday, the Legislature's Joint Committee on Education heard from urban parents and students about the important role charters had played in their lives. Yet the most telling testimony came from Edward Cremata of Stanford University's Center for Research on Education Outcomes; he briefed lawmakers on a recent CREDO study that found the average charter school student in Massachusetts gains an additional month and a half in reading and two and a half months in math each year compared to his or her counterparts in traditional public schools.

In Boston, the results were eye-popping: Charter students gained an extra 12 months in reading/English and 13 months in math per school year. Charters also showed significantly higher rates of educational growth for black and Latino students and for those from impoverished families.

Forty-one percent of Boston students attend underperforming schools. Those families need the options charters offer, all the more so since Mayor Menino has been unable to get the Boston Teachers Union to accept a longer school day. Thus, Boston charter school students are receiving the equivalent of 62 extra days of instruction per year. Lawmakers shouldn't deprive families of such a dramatic increase in opportunity simply to satisfy union demands.

That's not to say that more charter schools are a cure for every failing of the traditional public schools. Charters don't have as many special education students or pupils with serious disabilities as the district schools do. Charter foes also complain that charters don't educate as large a percentage of English Language Learners, though that's starting to change. On the other hand, Boston charters serve a larger percentage of African-American and Hispanic students than traditional schools.

Paul Grogan, president of the Boston Foundation, has it right: Education reform needs to move forward on two tracks. District schools need more of the autonomy and flexibility that has worked so well for charters. Thus, the coalition would eliminate the statewide cap on district-controlled charter schools; permit the creation of new in-district charters without union sign-off in the lowest performing districts; allow restructured "turnaround" schools to keep their remedial changes beyond the three-year turnaround window; eliminate the need for union approval before in-district charters are renewed; and give increased turnaround authority to more lagging schools.

Given the wide consensus that the 2010 law that added more charter schools and enacted further reforms has been a success, proposals to enhance its initiatives make sense. As for union concerns, the principle should be clear. In districts where school performance is strong or satisfactory, teachers have a right to expect that big changes will be negotiated rather than legislatively imposed. Conversely, in poorly performing districts, union opposition can't stand in the way of providing new choices for parents and students.