

What's Standing in the Way of the Spread of Evidence-based Programs?

A look at one critical link in the chain—the organizations responsible for disseminating EBPs

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Introduction

Evidence-based programs (EBPs) can help change the world—but only if they reach the world.

Some interventions, which might reasonably be termed EBPs—such as the polio vaccine or some of the products and methods that produced the Green Revolution in agriculture—have achieved remarkable reach and impact. Others—such as the housing first approach for homeless individuals, or the Nurse Family Partnership, which works to improve maternal and child outcomes—haven't achieved anything like universal reach, but are nevertheless changing outcomes for significant numbers of people in the United States. However, research suggests that most EBPs reach only a small fraction of those who would benefit, and in some areas their use has stalled.¹ For example, in the juvenile justice field, Scott Henggeler and Sonja Schoenwald find that only 5 percent of high-risk offenders are treated with evidence-based interventions annually.²

What stands in the way of increasing the use of EBPs to solve some of our most challenging social problems? The question involves supply (the extent to which EBPs can reach the “market”), demand (the extent to which, once in the market, they are used and scaled), and other elements such as infrastructure.

This research—produced by The Bridgespan Group for the Annie E. Casey Foundation—focuses on the supply side. In particular, we wanted to look at that critical group known as “purveyors”—the organizations that have taken on the job of disseminating EBPs. In some cases, the purveyor is the original developer of the EBP; in others, it is a separate organization. You can think of

How we conducted our research

We gathered data on 46 evidence-based programs (EBPs) in juvenile justice and child welfare. We selected this group from 107 EBPs in those fields listed as promising or evidence-based by one of three clearinghouses: Blueprints, CEBC, and Crimesolutions.gov. We did not have enough resources to conduct research on all 107 EBPs, so we focused on a subset of 46, seeking a balance between the juvenile justice and child welfare fields. For each EBP, we sought to understand its scale, ambitions, organizational structure, activities, capabilities, barriers, and enablers of growth.

We then selected four programs for in-depth case studies, two in child welfare and two in juvenile justice: HOMEBUILDERS®, KEEP, Multisystemic Therapy, and PATHS. These programs are used as examples throughout the paper, and the full case studies are included as appendices. For the case studies, we sought programs that had significant experience with growth, both in terms of number of years growing and absolute size. Please see [Appendix A](#) for additional detail on our research methods.

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- 1 See, for example: Bruns EJ, Kerns SEU, Pullmann MD, et al. Research, data, and evidence-based treatment use in state behavioral health systems, 2001-2012. *Psychiatric Services*, 67-5:496-503 (2016).
 - 2 Scott W. Henggeler and Sonja J. Schoenwald, “Evidence-Based Interventions for Juvenile Offenders and Juvenile Justice Policies that Support Them,” *Social Policy Report*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2011): 8, <http://bit.ly/1o2TNko>.

the spread of EBPs—somewhat like innovations in the private sector—as requiring a chain that involves the original developer (who thinks up and tests the idea), the disseminator (or purveyor), the implementing organizations, and eventually the end user. Purveyors are therefore a critical link in the chain—and one we wanted to understand better. Without the purveyor, or someone performing the purveyor role, the EBP—no matter how effective the intervention, no matter how strong the evidence—will remain stuck on the shelf and never reach those it is intended to help.

In our research, we analyzed 46 purveyor organizations which support 46 EBPs in child welfare and juvenile justice—fields of particular interest to the Foundation. (See the sidebar, [How we conducted our research](#)). Indeed, we found that most EBPs do, in essence, remain stuck on the shelf. While most purveyors are working to ensure their EBPs are effective and replicable, **most are not working to expand their reach**. Indeed, purveyors themselves identified a lack of growth efforts as the biggest challenge for the spread of EBPs. We found that three particular things are standing in the way: lack of resources, lack of expertise, and lack of incentive to expand the reach of their EBPs. We also found that when EBPs do spread significantly—and some do—this has been mainly driven by external forces that created a demand.

This paper is mainly *about* purveyors, their role in the spread of EBPs, and their own views of what may be standing in the way—but it is by no means only *for* them. Based on what we found, we make recommendations not only for purveyors but also for other critical links in the chain that can lead from evidence to impact—developers, funders, implementers, and supporting organizations such as clearinghouses.

Purveyors do three main things

First, we need to understand what purveyors do. The 46 purveyor organizations that participated in our survey were diverse in terms of size and organizational structure. For example, 26 percent were universities, 41 percent were other nonprofits, 26 percent were for-profit organizations, and 7 percent were government. It is important to note that our group of EBPs is not necessarily representative of the full universe of purveyors. (See [Appendix C](#) for more detail on the characteristics of purveyors).

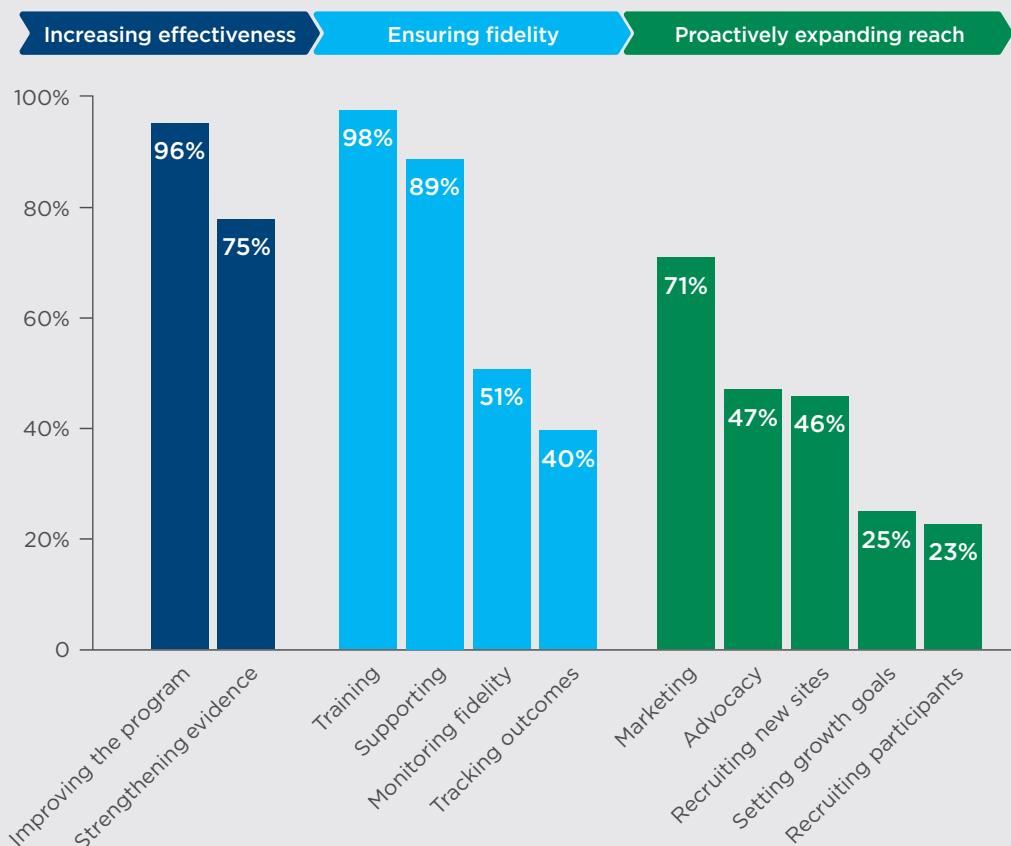
But they have a lot in common when it comes to their activities. Relying on previous work Bridgespan has done with purveyors, funders, implementing agencies and others on the spread of EBPs, we find that these activities can be grouped into three categories based on their purpose: increasing effectiveness, ensuring fidelity, and actively expanding reach. Chart 1 below shows the activities that fit within each of these categories, as well as the capabilities required to do them well.

Chart 1: What purveyors do

	Increasing effectiveness	Ensuring fidelity	Promoting scale
Goal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create and continually improve an effective program with strong evidence of impact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consistently achieve results when program is replicated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bring the program to all people who would benefit from it
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving the program based on learnings from research and feedback from implementation • Strengthening evidence of effectiveness by coordinating program evaluation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training on how to implement with fidelity • Supporting implementation • Monitoring fidelity of implementation • Tracking outcomes and sharing comparative data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marketing to increase general awareness of the program • Advocating for policy and funding that supports the program • Identifying funding sources to implement and sustain the program • Recruiting new sites • Recruiting participants • Setting growth goals
Capabilities needed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research • Program design • Program evaluation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementation science 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial and operational management • Growth strategy • Sales and marketing

As shown in Chart 2 below, the great majority of purveyors are conducting all of the activities related to increasing effectiveness and two of the activities related to ensuring fidelity—providing training and ongoing support. Half or fewer than half of all purveyors conduct the other two fidelity activities—monitoring fidelity and tracking outcomes. While this may indicate that more than half of the purveyors are not able to ensure fidelity on an ongoing basis, there is another potential explanation. Allison Metz and Leah Bartley³ observed that some purveyors take a “consulting” approach—remaining in close contact with implementers indefinitely—while others take a “capacity building” approach—seeking to build the capacity of local organizations to ensure fidelity.

Chart 2: Percent of purveyors surveyed who conduct each activity (N=43)



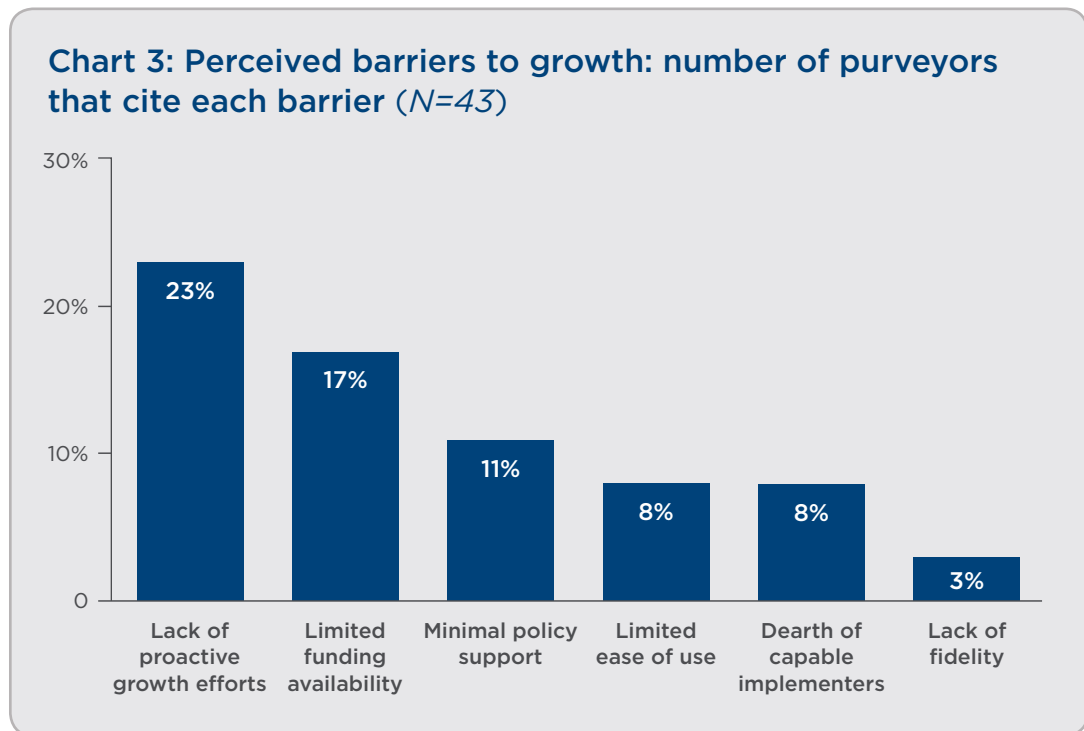
Note: All respondents did not answer all questions.

³ Alison Metz and Leah Bartley, *Implementation Drivers Analysis for Evidence-Based Models in NYC Strengths and Gaps in Promoting High-Fidelity Implementation* (NYC Administration for Children’s Services, NY, 2013).

However, purveyors are overall much less likely to conduct most activities in the third category of expanding reach. Marketing, which 71 percent reported doing, encompasses a range of specific tasks. But when we dug deeper into types of marketing activities which are likely to be critical to the spread of an EBP, the percentages shrunk greatly: less than half (46 percent) said that they recruit new sites, and less than a quarter (23 percent) help sites recruit new participants.

In our view, the comparatively light engagement of purveyors as a group in expanding reach—compared to their deep engagement in increasing effectiveness and ensuring fidelity—is **a critical barrier to expanding the reach of EBPs.**

We are not alone in this judgment. As shown in Chart 3 below, “lack of proactive growth efforts” was the number one barrier to the spread of EBPs cited by purveyors themselves.



Limited funding availability and lack of policy support were two other barriers that the purveyors we surveyed mentioned with some frequency.

The comparative lack of purveyor efforts at expanding reach is a big barrier to the spread of EBPs. But, given that purveyors tell us the same thing, why aren't they more aggressively trying to expand the reach of the EBPs whose effectiveness and fidelity they put so much effort into supporting?

Three factors are limiting purveyors' efforts to expand the reach of Evidence-Based Programs

Our research surfaced three primary factors that are hampering purveyors' proactive expansion efforts: lack of resources, lack of expertise, and lack of incentives to expand the reach of their EBPs.

Resources

Purveyors are not typically large or well-financed organizations. Two thirds of those we surveyed have fewer than 10 staff; almost half (45 percent) have an annual budget under \$1 million. While it is hard to suggest a direct comparison between the size of an organization and the size of its impact, it is no surprise that such small organizations are struggling to have a large national impact.

Some purveyors are acutely aware of the size constraints. "We are a boutique organization," said Keller Strother, CEO of Multisystemic Therapy (MST), an intensive family- and community-based treatment program that focuses on addressing all environmental systems that impact chronic and violent juvenile offenders. MST currently reaches approximately 12,000 young people a year. "We're making a real difference in a handful of systems, but I can name a dozen prison systems that are having larger impact, albeit negative, in changing lives."

The lack of resources is tied to the lack of scale—not simply as a cause, but perhaps also as a consequence. Many purveyors don't have a scalable revenue model: the fees they charge implementing agencies for training and support sometimes do not cover the marginal cost of providing that training and support. The more implementing agencies they engage, the deeper the financial hole. While MST is *very* cost-effective compared to the cost of confining a young offender, those savings are realized by the juvenile justice or other government agency, and are not part of the purveyor's revenue model.

Second, many purveyors have fidelity mechanisms that become bottlenecks to scale. A limited number of people are experts in the EBP, and only they can provide the training and support needed to ensure fidelity. Furthermore, this person-to-person model of support requires costs to grow in direct proportion to the reach of the EBP, with few economies of scale.

But some purveyors have found ways to overcome these resource challenges. KEEP (Keeping Foster and Kin Parents Supported and Trained) is a support system for foster care and kinship parents. KEEP struggled to find the talent needed to expand the reach of its EBP and at the same time ensure fidelity. So, instead of delivering all the training and technical assistance itself, it trained a cohort of implementers who in turn trained the next cohort—a version of the

“capacity building” approach described by Metz and Bartley.⁴ To ensure the first cohort could successfully train new cohorts, the developers created an extensive training manual. KEEP conducted a randomized controlled trial using this new train-the-trainer technique—yielding positive results, and the training and support model remains in place today.

In a resource-constrained context, we heard purveyors talk about the trade-offs they had to make about where to spend their time and money. Focusing first on effectiveness and fidelity is, in their view and ours, a rational decision. If an EBP is not effective, there is no point expanding it, and it will not be attractive to funders and implementers. And, if an EBP cannot be implemented with fidelity, it will not achieve its desired results.

The experience of HOMEBUILDERS[®], an intensive family preservation program, offers a cautionary tale about expansion without fidelity. HOMEBUILDERS grew quickly from the 1970s through the mid-1990s. Some of this growth occurred in organizations that did not adhere to the model with fidelity. An evaluation of its effectiveness during this period ended up showing no results as a whole, driven by a subset of low fidelity implementations. “We set out to do a replication that was going to have a huge impact,” said Charlotte Booth, executive director of the Institute for Family Development, reflecting back on that period. “But we weren’t focusing on that real model fidelity.” Word spread that HOMEBUILDERS was an ineffective model, and its reach rapidly decreased. Subsequently, HOMEBUILDERS has been able to demonstrate that high fidelity implementations have a positive impact. However, it has a long road ahead to rebuild its reputation and reach.

HOMEBUILDERS provides a stark example of what can happen when a desire for reach outruns the ability to implement with fidelity. It is useful to think of an EBP as moving along a developmental pathway from effectiveness to fidelity to reach. Unsurprisingly, when we asked purveyors about enablers of growth, three quarters of them mentioned effectiveness—as many as the next three enablers combined. At the same time, it is important to recognize that while there are likely always improvements to effectiveness that can be made, at some point, actually having an impact with your EBP requires a focus on reach.

Expertise

Many purveyors pointed out that they don’t have the expertise required to grow the reach of their EBPs, or aren’t sure what that expertise is. Without having a clear picture of what they would invest in to support extended reach, they aren’t able to make an informed resource allocation decision.

⁴ Metz and Bartley, *Implementation Drivers Analysis for Evidence-Based Models in NYC Strengths and Gaps in Promoting High-Fidelity Implementation*.

Indeed, the capabilities required to extend the reach of an EBP are quite different from those required for effectiveness and fidelity. Increasing effectiveness requires knowledge of the issue area, program design, and evaluation. Ensuring fidelity requires an understanding of implementation science. Expanding reach requires understanding growth strategy, marketing, and financial and operational management.

The experience of MST provides a window into the distinct capabilities required to support expansion. In 1996, in an effort to fuel the spread of the EBP, the developers divided the responsibilities for program development, fidelity, and expansion between two separate organizations. A for-profit purveyor organization called MST Services was formed to focus on training and dissemination, and someone with an MBA was hired to lead it. A separate, independent nonprofit called the MST Institute was formed to focus on quality assurance and quality improvement among MST implementers. The method of dividing responsibilities is fairly unusual, but it seems to have been effective for MST and a handful of other EBPs, such as Functional Family Therapy, that have made similar efforts.

As our Bridgespan colleagues Taz Hussein and Matt Plummer note in a recent article in *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, this lack of the expertise needed for expanding reach, particularly sales and marketing, is not unique to purveyors but is quite common in the social sector.⁵

Incentives

We went into this research assuming that all purveyors were motivated to expand the reach of their EBPs. However, that is not what we found. Many reported that their primary motivation was not expansion.

Two data points we gathered support this. First, only 25 percent of the purveyors we analyzed had a growth goal, meaning a specific number of people they aim to reach. Second, only 45 percent know how many individuals they are reaching today. It is possible that purveyors are pursuing growth without setting growth goals or measuring their reach, but you typically “manage what you measure”.

Instead of expansion, purveyors were often driven by the desire to better understand a problem and test a theory on how to solve it. This appears to particularly be true for EBPs created within universities by academics. When we compare universities to other purveyors, we see even fewer of them undertaking expansion activities (see [Chart 4](#) on the next page.)

This is particularly important because universities are the single largest source of EBPs we studied (accounting for 44 percent of EBPs), and the majority (58 percent) of EBPs that began in universities are still housed there today. It

5 Taz Hussein and Matt Plummer, “Selling Social Change” *Stanford Social Innovation Review* (Winter 2017).

appears that many academics who developed EBPs are “stuck” serving as the purveyor today. Roughly half of the university purveyors don’t have even one full-time staff person dedicated to the EBP we studied. These reluctant purveyors may have found an intervention that can be effective in solving an important social challenge, but they are not focused on getting that intervention into the field.

Chart 4: Universities vs. other purveyors in terms of expansion
(N>=10 for universities, N>=24 for others)



Interestingly, the majority of EBPs that do move from a developer to a different purveyor organization end up with for-profit purveyors. Of the practices we analyzed, only one began as a for-profit, but today 26 percent are purveyed by for-profits. However, for-profit purveyors were not universally more-focused on growth than nonprofit purveyors. The two groups had similar rates of expansion activity. Interviewees from both for-profit and nonprofit purveyors emphasized that tax status did not seem to be a determining factor for growth motivation. At the same time, for-profit status does create a financial incentive for growth, and it may help attract the expertise needed for sales and marketing.

Most instances of significant expansion have been driven by external forces that created a demand

While developers may be doing a good job creating and testing evidence-based solutions to social problems, we have seen that many of the purveyors of these EBPs—whether the original developer or not—lack the resources, expertise, and incentives to extend their reach and impact. But some EBPs *do* extend their reach—sometimes quite dramatically. What has been the main force behind those that do?

We found that most instances of significant expansion were driven by external forces that created a demand. Three specific forces have been most important: foundation and government investment, public systems change, and field building. HOMEBUILDERS offers an example of the first. HOMEBUILDERS' development in the 1970s was fueled by federal grants, and its dramatic growth in the 1980s and 1990s was spurred by investment and advocacy from foundations including the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation and the Annie E. Casey Foundation.

Public systems change has helped fuel MST's growth, as some jurisdictions changed their approach to youth involved with the juvenile justice system. For example, in Louisiana, following a lawsuit that alleged violent and inhumane conditions in youth facilities, the state passed sweeping juvenile justice reform legislation. This helped increase access to programs like MST for juvenile offenders: Louisiana created an MST-specific Medicaid code, and MST quickly scaled up its previously small presence in the state, growing from reaching 47 families in 2006 to over 1,700 in 2014. Unlike HOMEBUILDERS' experience of growing without sufficient attention to fidelity, the implementation of MST in Louisiana has largely been done with fidelity to the model, and has succeeded in helping 90 percent of treated youth live at home—a key measure of success.

The third spur to growth, field building, takes place when an entire field or approach to a problem gains in popularity. This, in turn, can spur a greater interest in EBPs within that field. One can think of a field as somewhat like a product category in the private sector—multiple companies can gain when a category like smart phones or hybrid cars takes off. In the same way, PATHS, a social and emotional learning (SEL) curriculum, appears to have benefited tremendously from the growing recognition of the importance of SEL. And more than one home visiting EBP for young children and their families has been able to ride the wave of growing interest in (and growing funding for) the home visiting approach. Indeed, purveyors like PATHS and MST view “field building” as a crucial strategy for expanding the reach of their EBPs. Rather than viewing other EBPs in the same field as competitors, both organizations collaborate with other programs in the field to try to influence the policy environment and grow overall demand for EBPs. “We’ve got to compete with the status quo rather than

each other,” MST’s Keller Strother told us. “The status quo is very well funded and very well entrenched. It’s where all the relationships currently are.”

Complementing these examples of external forces driving growth are purveyors’ own views of what has driven their (albeit limited) growth. Purveyors believe that the effectiveness of their EBPs is by far the most important driver of their growth. This is a passive approach to growth, relying on others to recognize the EBPs’ effectiveness and seeking them out. Most of the other enablers of growth cited by purveyors in our survey were also passive.

Recommendations

Our research focused on purveyors, but the obstacles and challenges to the spread of EBPs cannot be overcome by purveyors alone. Therefore, these recommendations address several other participants in the EBP ecosystem—those who develop EBPs, those who fund them, and those who support them through research and dissemination.

Purveyors

1. **Capabilities:** Build the capabilities for effectiveness, fidelity, and expansion—in *that order*. It helps to plan for growth from the start, but don't initiate growth until you are ready.
2. **Measurement and data:** As the old adage says “you manage what you measure.” Start tracking reach, even though it can be challenging to know who and how many people the EBP is actually reaching. A related use of data is defining eligible populations for a program, which will help you and others understand the potential market for the EBP and the gap between the need and your current reach.
3. **Price:** Price with pride. Don't be ashamed to ask purchasers to pay what it will cost you to fully support the EBP, including their fair share of your indirect expenses. A sustainable revenue model will allow you to grow and improve the EBP.
4. **Scalable supports:** Look for opportunities to create supports for the EBP that won't require you to increase your efforts in direct proportion to the number of implementers, such as self-guided tools, web-based coaching, online communities of support, videos, and benchmarking databases. Ask users for feedback on what they need, and what they don't need. Though if there are specific supports that contributed to the success of the original model, be cautious about changing them without some testing and evaluation. For example, if the original model used three days of onsite training for staff, it would be important to test if switching to a much shorter online training reduces its effectiveness.
5. **Selling:** When you are ready for growth, go out to find your potential customers. Selling can make a difference—don't assume that potential implementers know about your EBP and its benefits. And you might want to think about larger-scale regional or national organizations who might be able to implement an EBP at multiple sites, and even assist with some of the support functions.
6. **Feedback:** Seek feedback from those implementing your program, and use that feedback to refine the support you provide to support an EBP, or perhaps even the EBP itself.
7. **Field building:** Look for opportunities to collaborate with like-minded organizations that can help to build the field you work within. You can also help build the field by sharing what you learn, whether specific tools or overall

experience, which can help advocates push for additional funding for EBPs and additional implementers.

Developers

1. **Role:** Some developers also serve as purveyors for their EBPs, others do not. The capabilities required to develop a program are different from those required to ensure fidelity and from those required to increase the reach of a program. Be open to the possibility of giving someone else responsibility for these aspects of your EBP. It doesn't mean you have to end all involvement. Some EBPs, such as MST, have different organizations responsible for the different steps—increasing effectiveness, ensuring fidelity, and disseminating the practice.
2. **Design for scale:** Just because a program is effective at a small-scale under “laboratory” conditions doesn't mean that it can be replicated broadly. Some EBPs can be complex to implement, require expertise that is not broadly available, and do not fit within budget constraints or within existing processes. A developer who aspires to widespread dissemination would be smart to take these constraints into consideration—and to design with end users in mind. A good place to start is asking existing providers and purchasers for feedback on what practices are being implemented now.

Private and government funders

1. **Pathways to scale:** Help EBPs move along the developmental pathway, and calibrate your expectations and your support to where the program is on the developmental pathway: not yet fully ready for dissemination, in the early stages, or ready for much wider spread. Be open to providing support for handing off an EBP from developer to purveyor, or from one purveyor to another, if that what is needed to scale. And keep in mind that some developers and purveyors aren't really looking to scale.
2. **Business model:** Many programs don't yet have a business model that covers their costs. Start-up capital can be hugely valuable to programs looking to expand. But be sure you and the program are aligned on how the program will be supported over the long term. And, whether government or private funder, pays what it takes to cover the true cost of providing services, including the critically important support functions that ensure fidelity. Without fidelity, you risk wasting your entire investment.
3. **Field-building:** Broaden your sights to the field or issue area in which the EBP is situated. One of the most powerful ways to expand the reach of an EBP may be to build the field by encouraging demand for EBPs, demonstrating how EBPs work to achieve particular outcomes that are important to stakeholders in the field, or identifying and addressing field-specific challenges.
4. **Collaboration among EBPs:** Look for opportunities to help purveyors share what they've learned and work together to expand EBPs in their fields.

5. **Evidence-based government funding:** Embed evidence requirements into government contracts and grants to ensure that funding flows to effective programs. Government funding should also ensure that there is sufficient money to pay for the infrastructure to effectively take up, implement, and sustain an EBP in a way that realizes its potential.

Research and support organizations

1. **Clearinghouses and other organizations that support the spread of EBPs across a field or multiple fields:** (a) Start gathering and sharing data on *reach*. Clearinghouses have influence over what information purveyors gather and share. By requesting information on reach, clearinghouses can encourage developers to gather it. This information will also be useful to researchers, policymakers, and developers. It will be important to ensure that users don't interpret this data on reach as a judgment of the program's quality or potential for growth. A program with more reach is not necessarily better than a program with less. (b) Continue adding information on *fidelity*. Some clearinghouses have already begun to share information about the availability of implementation supports like training. This helps potential implementers understand what they are signing up for, and encourages purveyors to make these supports available.
2. **Researchers in the field:** (a) Study *market share* of EBPs. Only a handful of researchers have looked at how much reach EBPs have and what share of the total "market" (i.e., people who could benefit from an EBP). Understanding and documenting this gap could help spur others into action. Importantly, this first step is more accurately identifying the eligible population. (b) Look at EBPs from the point of view of decision makers, including concerns such as cost and the requirements for initiating, implementing, and sustaining programs. (c) Study *how programs change over time*—from development and proof of effectiveness, to initial replication and ensuring fidelity, all the way to proactive growth. While our study began to look at this, we have only scratched the surface in terms of identifying lessons learned for programs with growth aspirations. For example, when is it appropriate for a developer to hand off its program? What signals that an EBP is ready for growth?

Conclusion

We conducted this research because we believe in the potential of EBPs. We focused on purveyors because they're a critical link in the larger ecosystem of EBPs that also includes developers, implementers, funders, and others. As we have seen, there are three key factors to whether purveyors can expand the reach of their EBPs: resources, expertise, and motivation. As we have suggested here, purveyors can and should consider adopting new strategies specifically focused on expanding the reach of EBPs—whether they do so themselves, hand off to others better equipped to seek scale, or band together to build the field in which they work.

When you pick up a tool, you'd like it to be one that actually works. And if the job to be done is an important one—like helping children and families succeed and thrive, despite adversity—you want this effective tool in more and more hands. We hope that this research contributes to the growth of EBPs, and thus better outcomes for youth.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Methodology

This research grew out of a desire to help expand the implementation of effective programs with fidelity, and thus help more people in need achieve life-improving outcomes. We looked at programs in the juvenile justice and child welfare areas with some of the best evidence of effectiveness, and investigated what it would take for them to reach more people and to do so with fidelity. Evidence-based programs (EBPs) are not, of course, the only path to social impact. Other paths include improving the effectiveness of the programs that already have significant scale or changing policy.

We set out to answer the following questions:

1. What are the organizational characteristics of the program purveyors we studied?
2. How much scale do programs have today?
3. What, if anything, are program purveyors doing in pursuit of scale?
4. What are the enablers of, and barriers to, scale?
5. What could be done to help programs increase their scale?

To answer these questions, we undertook two primary methods of research. First, we gathered data on a group of 46 EBPs in juvenile justice and child welfare. We selected this group from 107 EBPs in those fields listed as promising or higher by one of three clearinghouses: Blueprints, CEBC, and Crimesolutions.gov.⁶ There is no consensus about the level of evidence required for an intervention to be deemed “evidence-based.” Therefore, we included programs that had a range of evidence of effectiveness—enough to be considered by one or more clearinghouses to warrant a listing and a designation as at least “promising.”

We did not have enough resources to conduct research on all 107 EBPs, so we focused on a subset of 46 EBPs. We only selected EBPs that contact information was listed (to facilitate research), and sought a balance between the juvenile justice and child welfare fields. The 46 EBPs in our subset may not be perfectly representative of all 107 listed by the three clearinghouses, but we have no reason to believe they are outliers.

For each EBP, we sought to understand its scale, ambitions, organizational structure, activities, capabilities, barriers, and enablers of growth. We were able to gather some of this information (see Appendices C and D), but not all. The 46 EBPs we looked at are listed on the next page.

⁶ Each clearinghouse uses somewhat different language. We included EBPs listed in Blueprints as Model+, Model, or Promising; in CEBC as well-supported, supported or promising in terms of evidence; and in Crimesolutions.gov as effective or promising.

Child Welfare	Juvenile Justice
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1-2-3 Magic: Effective Discipline for Children 2-12 2. Alternatives for Families: A Cognitive Behavior Therapy 3. Attachment and Behavioral Catch-up/ Ecologically Based Family Therapy 4. Big Brothers Big Sisters 5. Childhaven Childhood Trauma Treatment 6. Exchange Parent Aide 7. Family Assessment Response 8. Family Group Decision Making 9. Fostering Healthy Futures 10. FosterParentCollege.com 11. Helping the Noncompliant Child 12. Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) 13. HOMEBUILDERS® 14. Keeping Foster and Kin Parents Supported and Trained (KEEP) 15. Kids Club & Moms Empowerment 16. Life Space Crisis Intervention 17. Mellow Babies 18. Nurse-Family Partnership 19. Oregon Model, Parent Management Training 20. Parenting Together Project (PTP) 21. Project Connect 22. Promoting First Relationships (PFR) 23. Safe Environment for Every Kid (SEEK) 24. Safecare 25. Treatment Foster Care Oregon 26. Triple P 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Achievement Mentoring 2. Adolescent Diversion Project 3. Aggression Replacement Training 4. Boys Town Family Home Program 5. Children with Problematic Sexual Behavior—Cognitive Behavioral Therapy 6. Connections 7. Communities that Care 8. Family-Centered Treatment 9. Functional Family Treatment 10. Guiding Good Choices 11. GREAT 12. Life Skills Training (Botvin) 13. Multidimensional Family Therapy 14. Multisystemic Therapy (MST) 15. Positive Action 16. Project BUILD 17. Project Venture 18. PATHS 19. Second Step 20. SNAP Under 12 Outreach Project

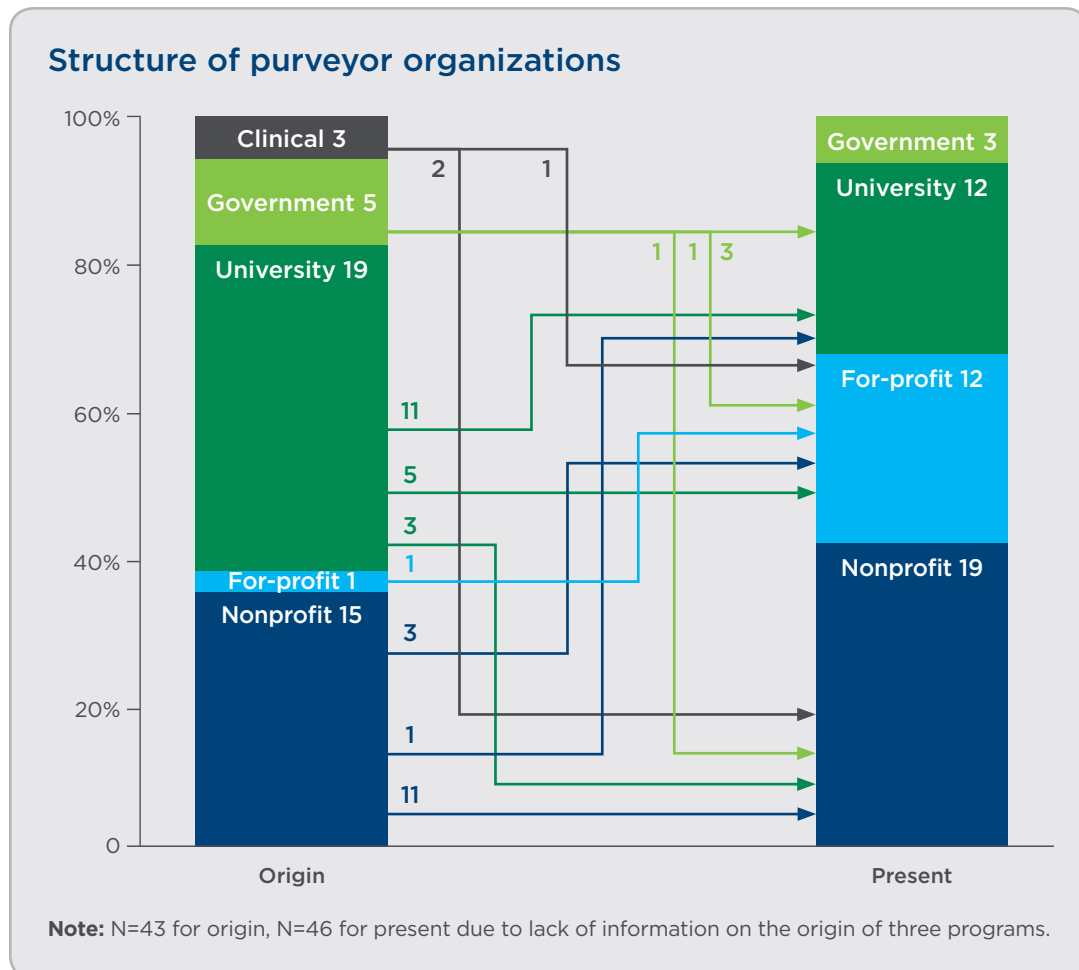
We then selected four programs for in-depth case studies, two in child welfare and two in juvenile justice. These programs are used as examples throughout the paper, and the full case studies are included as appendices. For the case studies, we sought programs that had significant experience with growth, both in terms of number of years growing and absolute size. We also looked for some variation in program intensity, delivery setting, and strength of evidence. The four case studies are:

MST	KEEP	HOMEBUILDERS®	PATHS
<p>Multisystemic Therapy (MST) is an intensive family therapy in which high-risk youth, typically juvenile offenders, are treated in their natural setting, usually at home. The program is administered by a licensed therapist and includes visits that may occur up to daily over a 3- to 5-month course of treatment. The target population of the program is “chronic violent, or substance abusing juvenile offenders ages 12-17.”</p>	<p>Keeping Foster and Kin Parents Supported and Trained (KEEP) aims to increase the parenting skills of foster and kinship caregivers in responding to children’s difficulties, reducing placement disruption, and improving child outcomes. The program consists of weekly parent support and training group sessions led by two trained facilitators. In between sessions families receive supervision and complete daily reports on their children’s behavior.</p>	<p>HOMEBUILDERS provides intensive, in-home crisis intervention counseling, and life-skills education for families who have children at imminent risk of placement in state-funded care.</p>	<p>PATHS (Promoting Alternate Thinking Strategies) is a social emotional learning curriculum delivered in classroom setting and aimed at combatting aggression and behavior problems in preschool and elementary school-aged children.</p>

Appendix B: Characteristics of purveyors

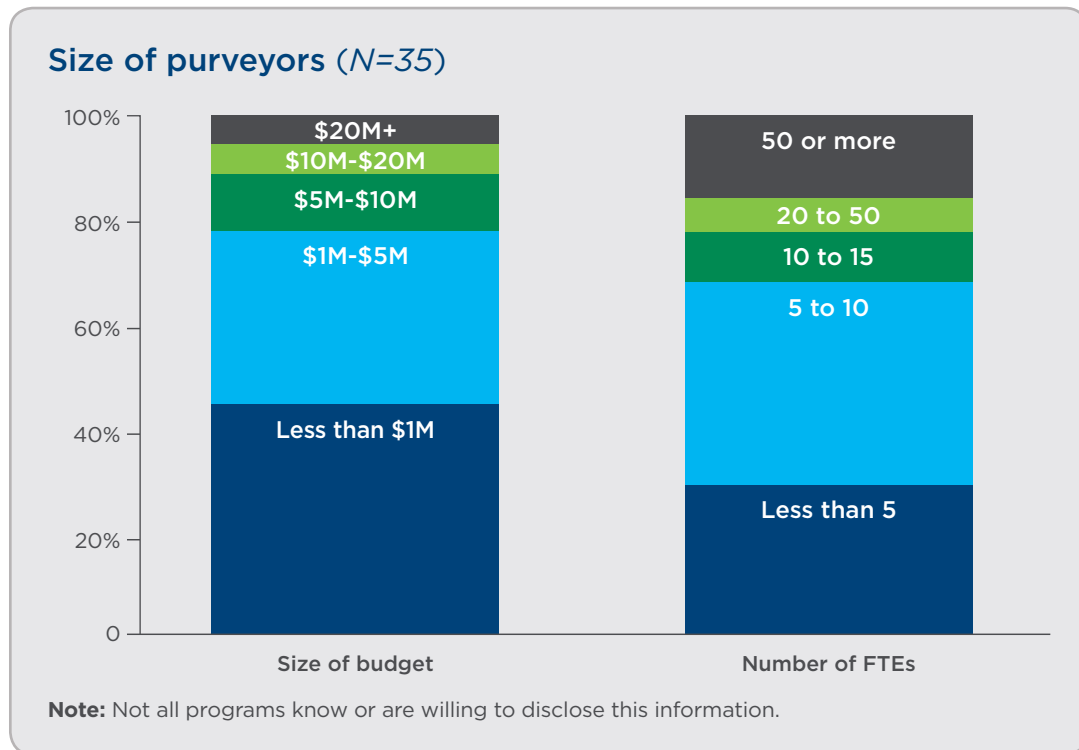
In summary, we found significant diversity in the organizational characteristics of the purveyors we studied. While nonprofit organizations are the single largest type of organization responsible for purveying programs, they represented less than 50 percent of the EBPs we examined. For-profits and universities also commonly act as purveyors. Most purveyors (other than universities) are either stand-alone organizations dedicated to supporting the program or have specific capabilities dedicated to it. Most purveyors have small budgets and few staff members.

The first dimension we looked at in depth was the organizational type. Forty-one percent of programs had nonprofit purveyors; 26 percent were for-profit; another 26 percent were universities; and the remaining 7 percent were government agencies. We were surprised to see the large number of for-profit purveyors. Interestingly, only one of the 46 EBPs we studied was initially developed by a for-profit. Virtually all of the programs currently housed in for-profit organizations began in a university or nonprofit. Overall, the diversity in organization type raises questions about what structure is most supportive of scale, which we address in this report.



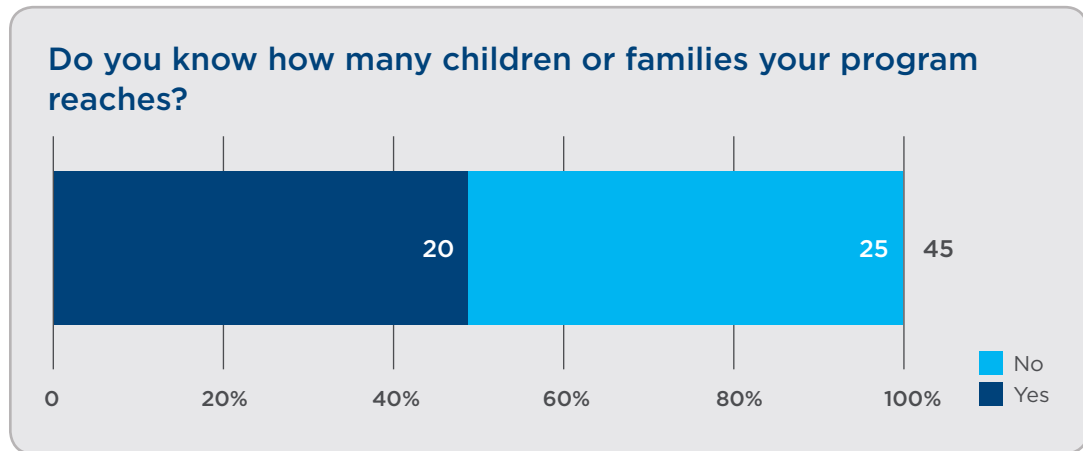
The second dimension we assessed was the degree to which the program was a primary focus of the purveyor organization. We inquired about this in two ways. First, we asked if the program was housed in a “stand-alone” organization dedicated to replicating it. Two thirds said “yes,” one third said “no.” Those that said “no” were predominantly universities. We also asked whether there were capabilities dedicated to replicating or implementing the program. Here, 85 percent said yes, meaning that within some of the purveyors which are not stand-alone organizations, there are still capabilities dedicated to the program. The 15 percent that did not have dedicated capabilities were primarily universities.

The third dimension we looked at was staff size and budget. Interestingly, almost 25 percent of the organizations did not know the budget dedicated to the purveyor function. The majority of these were universities. Of those who did know their budgets, 45 percent had a budget under \$1 million. Only 20 percent had a budget greater than \$5 million. Similarly, two thirds had fewer than 10 staff members. On the other hand, 16 percent of programs were quite large—with more than 50 staff members. In general, most programs studied are small and have limited resources.

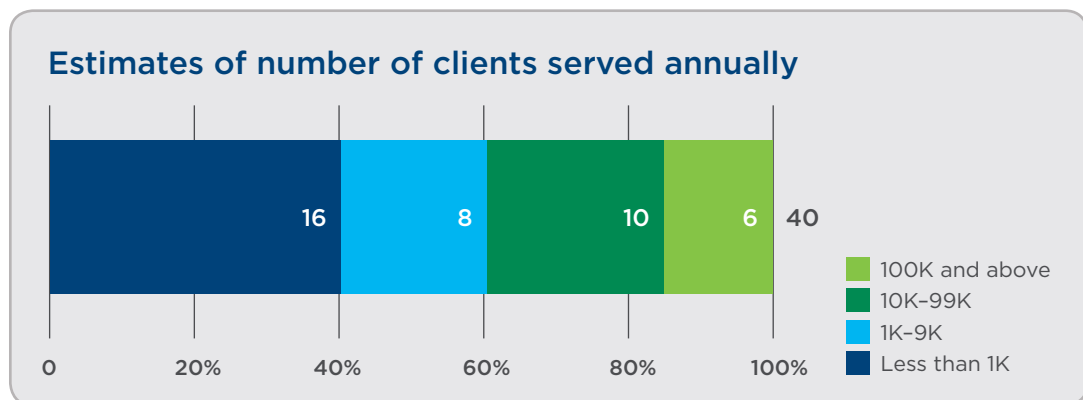


Appendix C: How much reach do EBPs have?

Given the dearth of publicly available data, we were excited to gather data on the reach of our chosen programs. We asked purveyors if they knew the current, annual number of people reached by their programs. A majority—56 percent—did not know this information. We think this lack of data about reach occurs for two reasons. First, it is hard to gather this data, and we know that purveyors are resource-constrained. But 44 percent of the organizations we studied *did* have this information—suggesting that tracking reach is possible, and that some organizations value that information more than others.



Given that most did not know their reach, we attempted, when possible, to create an estimate based on other available data—such as number of sites or number of curricula sold. Using these methods, we were able to, at least very roughly, estimate reach for about 90 percent of all the programs we studied.



Based on this estimate, a majority of programs have limited reach: 40 percent reach less than 1,000 beneficiaries each year, and another 20 percent reach between 1,000 and 10,000. That leaves 40 percent of programs with a substantial reach—over 10,000. However, given that some of these EBPs have target populations numbering in the millions, they still reach only a tiny fraction of those who might benefit from them.

KEEP offers an example of a program that is relatively small scale. While KEEP has been on an upward growth trajectory since 2008, it reaches only approximately 1,500 families annually across both the United States and the United Kingdom. To put that in perspective, there are roughly 300,000 children currently placed in foster family homes in the United States. Not all foster parents would benefit from KEEP training, but if you assume 50 percent would, KEEP has no more than 1 percent penetration in the United States. KEEP's small scale is particularly striking given that unlike most programs, KEEP benefits from having a purveyor that has prior experience developing and growing other programs (such as Treatment Foster Care Oregon).

That being said, we see some interesting patterns when looking at the programs in the top two scale categories. The six programs with the most scale, those that reach over 100,000 beneficiaries annually, are all prevention programs. Four of these are essentially curricula, and four are delivered in school classrooms. Five out of the six do not precisely track scale (so they are in this category based on estimates), monitor fidelity, or track outcomes. All of the six undertake some form of marketing. The picture we see is of programs that are “designed for scale”—highly codified, simple, relevant to large target populations, possessing a natural distribution channel (schools), actively marketed, and not requiring close monitoring by the purveyor once distributed.

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Appendix E: Acknowledgments

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Appendix F: Case Studies

Multisystemic Therapy

Highlights

- MST Services had to make organizational changes to go from replicable to scalable.
- System-level adoption was a powerful method of scaling up for MST.
- MST Services collaborates in order to compete with the status quo.

The program

Multisystemic Therapy (MST) is an intensive family therapy in which high risk youth, typically juvenile offenders, are treated in a community setting—usually at home. The program is administered by a licensed therapist and includes visits that may occur up to daily over a three- to five-month course of treatment. The target population of the program is “chronic, violent, or substance abusing juvenile offenders ages 12-17.” MST has 62 published outcome, implementation, and benchmarking studies.

Scale: In 2016 MST reached 14,432 families. Of those families, roughly two thirds lived in the United States and one third lived abroad.⁷

Outcomes: MST has been shown to significantly lower delinquency, recidivism, number of days incarcerated, number and seriousness of arrests, number of arrests among siblings of participants, marijuana use, convictions for aggressive crime, absenteeism at school, and other conduct problems.

ROI: Every \$1 invested in MST generates \$4.07 in savings according to the Washington State Institute for Public Policy.⁸

Target Population: Adolescent juvenile offenders

Leadership: MST was developed by Dr. Scott Henggeler. Dr. Sonja Schoenwald led studies on the transportability of MST to other countries and also serves on the board of MST Services. Keller Strother is the president of MST Services, an organization devoted to disseminating the MST model and supporting implementations.

7 Scale numbers for 2016 are not yet finalized and are only estimates. Scale numbers includes only cases that were opened in 2016. MST reached an additional 4,864 youth whose cases were opened in 2015, for a total of 19,296 youth reached in 2016.

8 Washington State Institute for Public Policy, “Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) Public Health & Prevention: School-based Benefit-Cost Results Fact Sheet,” <http://www.wsipp.wa.gov/BenefitCost/ProgramPdf/94/Promoting-Alternative-Thinking-Strategies-PATHS>. (Accessed April 2016).

Business Model: MST Services charges annual licensing fees that cover ongoing fidelity monitoring and evaluation, as well as technical assistance. There are additional start-up fees, which cover initial training and technical assistance.

More information on clearinghouse: [Blueprints](#)

Growth history:

1970s–1991: The MST model is developed and researched

MST was developed by Dr. Scott Henggeler at Memphis State University in the late 1970s. Henggeler received funding through the Memphis Juvenile Court to provide family therapy for juvenile offenders. He recognized a need that was not being met by existing clinical interventions for high-risk adolescents—working with the youth and families “in the full context of their lives.”

The first outcome study for MST was published in 1986—a quasi-experimental study that looked at delinquent youths and their families and found those treated with MST had improved family relations, decreased behavior problems, and decreased association with deviant peers. A year later a randomized controlled trial also showed positive results.

1992–1995: Formal replications proliferate, but without a scalable approach

Research on MST continued from the mid-1980s into the 1990s. In 1992, Henggeler founded the Family Services Research Center (FSRC) within the Medical University of South Carolina to pursue the development and dissemination of treatments for youth with serious clinical problems, including MST.

During this time funding began to increase, and in 1992 research funding for MST shifted from local sources to increasingly national sources such as foundations and the National Institutes of Health. Research on MST began to show additional benefits, such as its effectiveness for youth with problem sexual behaviors.

Researchers from FSRC presented their findings on MST’s clinical and cost effectiveness at juvenile justice and mental health conferences, generating requests from organizations that were interested in implementing the program. These requests led to the development of MST implementation trainings for outside organizations, the first of which was given by FSRC research faculty in 1993. This pattern of researchers training implementers continued, but as researchers still had full-time jobs, it quickly became clear that the method was unsustainable. Researchers would use vacation days to moonlight as trainers around the country—and the training demands began to negatively affect their ability to conduct research.

In 1994 the South Carolina Department of Health and Human Services gave MST researchers the funding they needed to begin developing formal training capabilities. The FSRC was invited to provide training on the implementation of MST, which, as Dr. Schoenwald noted, “gave them the first opportunity to cultivate expertise in MST and MST training among individuals other than model developers and faculty.” MST Services CEO Keller Strother noted that this training

experience influenced the thinking of FSRC faculty about scale: “Rather than just replicating the model in a clinical setting, how do we make this work at a level of scale that is required in supporting a statewide effort?”

1996–2000: Building a more scalable model for dissemination

The South Carolina Department of Health and Human Services would only fund trainings within the state. To meet the increasing demand for MST from outside South Carolina, the model’s developers would have to find a different solution. In 1996, the developers of MST formed a separate, for-profit organization dedicated to training and dissemination called MST Services, along with an independent nonprofit organization dedicated to quality assurance and quality improvement among MST implementers—the MST Institute.

Keller Strother became interested in the challenges FSRC was having implementing the program and became the CEO of MST Services. According to Strother, “The challenges were obvious from an outsider’s perspective. You have researchers doing immediate turnaround consultation. It was a real mismatch of capabilities.” In a 2010 article, Sonja Schoenwald highlighted the critical role that MST Services has played in bridging the gap between research and practice, saying “purveyor organizations are critical...taking a complex evidence-based treatment like MST to usual-care settings has to be someone’s job.”⁹

The companion nonprofit, MST Institute, focused on the quality of the intervention. It operates the web-based QA/QI data collection and reporting system, and acts as an independent fidelity monitor. MST Services, MST Institute, and FSRC all coordinate with each to develop and disseminate MST with fidelity.

Soon after MST Services and the MST Institute were formed, several key policy events in various states signaled an increased desire to use evidence-based practices (EBPs) generally, and MST specifically. In 1997 legislation in Washington called for the use of research-informed programs to reduce juvenile crime. That same year Nebraska adopted MST and created an MST-specific funding stream for the program. MST’s reach extended beyond the United States in 1999 with the first implementation in Norway, where it expanded as part of a national policy initiative.

Four years after establishing MST Services and the MST Institute, MST made another organizational change to increase scalability and established the “Network Partner” model. Network partners (NPs) are organizations or systems that are deemed qualified to take the work of MST Services in their communities or regions: fidelity monitoring, quality assurance, quality improvement, staff training, and outcome tracking. NPs include provider organizations that deliver MST to families, organizations that do not deliver MST themselves but support

9 Sonja K Schoenwald, “From Policy Pinball to Purposeful Partnership: The Policy Context of Multi-systemic Therapy Transport and Dissemination,” *Evidence-Based Psychotherapies for Children and Adolescents*, 2nd ed. (New York: Guilford Press, 2010), 538-553.

organizations that do, and public systems that serve youth and support their own teams. MST Services works closely with NPs, both to ensure that QA/QI is being adequately performed, and as a way for MST Services to learn from the field and refine and evaluate its implementation process.

The NP model was created to allow a degree of choice that would make it easier for implementing agencies to provide MST with fidelity. Systems or agencies choosing to implement MST can work with a number of network partners, or if they so choose, become network partners themselves. As Strother puts it, “if you wanted to start an MST program, we have 24 organizations to choose from, including ours.”

The decision to create the NP model was a result of requests from clients to have training staff and model experts within their systems or organizations. MST Services’ experience and research suggested that the QA/QI system was replicable without compromising outcomes. Further, since most NPs are local or regional, their staff typically have good knowledge of local laws, policies, cultural norms, and have relationships with local stakeholders.

2001–2004: Strong growth as early adopters bring MST into their systems

With MST Services, the MST Institute, and the NP model now in place, MST was well equipped to enter innovative systems and organizations that were moving away from the status quo approach of incarcerating juvenile offenders.

In the early 2000s there were two main factors that caused leaders of public systems or service organizations to adopt MST. First, some received a Blueprints grant—money allocated for the implementation of programs listed on the evidence-based clearinghouse Blueprints for Violence Prevention (now Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development) by the federal government through the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. In 2000, MST was adopted as part of Blueprints grants in both Nebraska and Colorado.

The second factor in adopting MST was an innovative leader who was closely following research on interventions for high-risk youth. These early adopters were primarily leaders who were looking to try a new tool, were paying close attention to the development of EBPs, and were willing to try a new program that had a solid research base but limited proof of effectiveness at scale. One such example was Pat Lawler at Youth Villages, an organization that serves youth involved with the child welfare and juvenile justice systems. Youth Villages first adopted MST in 1994 and scaled up to 49 MST teams by 2002.

While MST was scaling up in innovative systems and organizations, implementation research on MST became the priority for MST’s developers and researchers. Two studies (Henggeler et al. 2002 and Schoenwald et al. 2003) examined how therapist adherence to the MST model and supervisor adherence to MST model affected programmatic outcomes.

2005–2014: Systems come on board using MST as part of reform agendas

As MST became seen as successful in the real world, public systems began to adopt the model when they needed a program to help with system-wide reform efforts, usually to decrease rates of juvenile incarceration. Three examples of where MST quickly scaled up in response to reform pressures are Louisiana, Ohio, and Chile. Though in each location the impetus for reform was somewhat different (a lawsuit in Louisiana, new legislation in Ohio, and a presidential platform in Chile) the effect was similar: the number of MST teams in the location quickly grew and MST achieved a degree of saturation.

Following a lawsuit against Louisiana alleging “violent and inhumane conditions” in youth prisons, the state passed sweeping juvenile justice reform legislation. This began a process of increasing access to EBPs for juvenile offenders. MST had long had had a very small presence in the state, but after Louisiana created a MST-specific Medicaid code, it quickly grew. In 2006 there were just four MST teams in Louisiana serving 47 families annually. In 2014, 40 teams were serving over 1700 families annually. The implementation of MST in Louisiana has largely been successful, with 90 percent of treated youth living at home.

In 2010, Ohio began requiring that diversion programs use evidence-based treatments, and a number of Ohio communities selected MST. University of Cincinnati research found that youths served through the newly implemented diversion programs including MST were 2.4 times less likely to be incarcerated later than those who were sent to a state facility.

The pattern of MST being brought in as part of a system reform was also repeated internationally. One of MST’s largest scale-ups in recent years took place in Chile as part of a national criminal justice reform effort focusing on reducing rates of incarceration. One way to reduce overall incarceration rates was to reduce the number of juvenile offenders coming into the system, so Chile’s President Piñera selected MST as a tool to decrease the number of juvenile offenders. MST grew quickly in the country, scaling up to 36 teams in just four years.

Despite this rapid expansion in a few locations, between 2010 and 2015, MST’s overall growth began to slow, driven by a decline in the US (see chart). MST’s leadership speculates that factors behind the slowdown included: the overall decline in juvenile justice placement rates, and shifts in national funding from juvenile justice to mental health and substance abuse programs. Strother also speculated that growth may be slowing “because the concept of EBPs has been around a long time—it’s not a shiny object.”

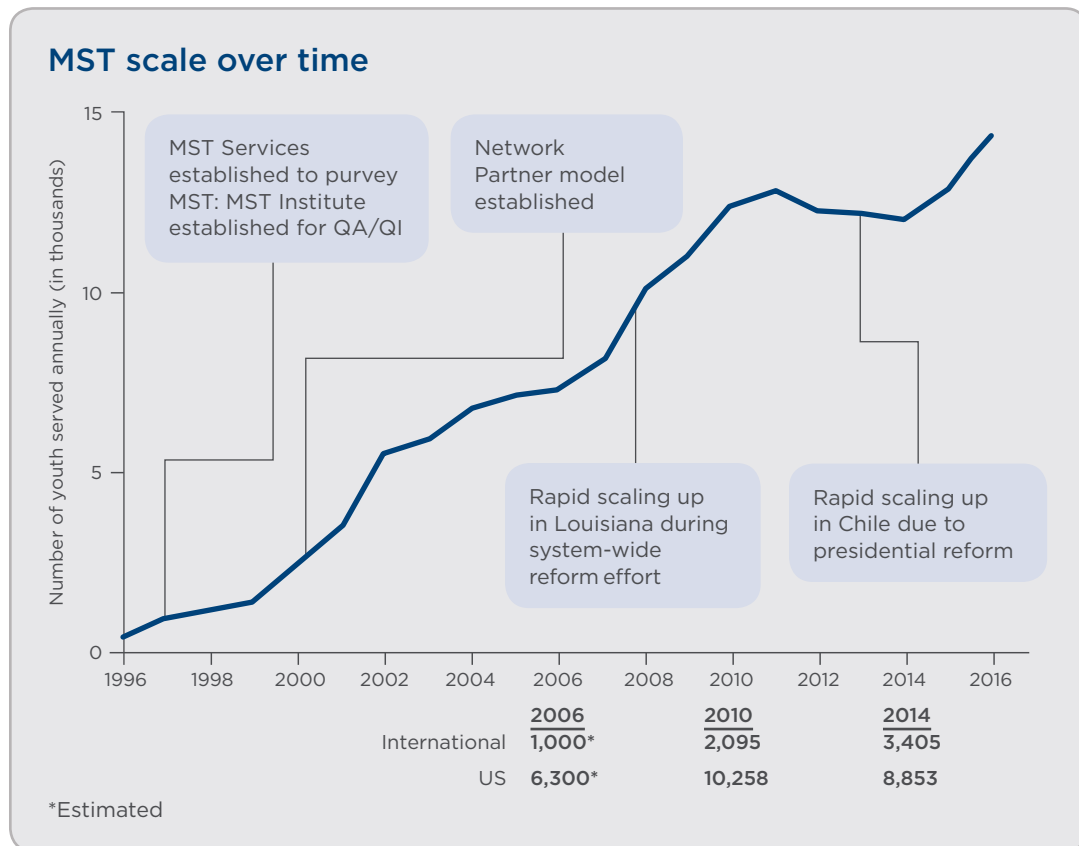
2015–present: Attempting to grow and focusing on collaboration

In recent years MST Services has increased its efforts to market the program—for example by creating a position to lead marketing and brand management. However marketing MST as a singular EBP is not how MST Services envisions scaling or reaching more youth with evidence-based programs. Strother argues that the status quo—the system of incarcerating juvenile offenders—is too well-entrenched in terms of financing and relationships. Compared to most EBPs in

mental health, MST is at a very large scale, reaching roughly 9,000 families a year in the United States alone. But compared to the 34,000 youth in US prisons and jails as of 2013, it's easy to see why Strother views EBPs, including MST, as a “boutique” industry. Using another metric for MST’s target population—youth with severe emotional disturbance—the penetration rate is even lower: MST reaches about 1 percent of these young people (Bruns et al. 2010).

To move out of “boutique” scale and actually disrupt the status quo, MST Services is certain it will need to partner with other EBPs, such as Functional Family Therapy (FFT). While in many ways FFT (which often functions as an alternative to juvenile incarceration), might be seen as a competitor to MST, Strother says the two organizations collaborate closely. “We both believe we have a shared customer base. If [FFT] is in a state or nation then we will be there eventually. We help each other come into those systems.” FFT is an ideal partner for MST because it is also quite large (serving around 40,000 families annually) and its goals are compatible with MST.

Strother believes it is essential to partner with other organizations to further EBP. One such example is Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development. “Our belief is that having a bigger impact is going to be magnified by getting people to pay attention to Blueprints,” Strother said. “I don’t believe in selling [MST] in competition with other [evidence-based] programs.” Through Blueprints, Strother hopes to influence policymakers and “create an industry that supports evidence-based practices.”



Key insights

- Accelerators
 - MST Services has a strong focus on making MST usable to public systems. Entering and sustaining a presence in these systems has been a powerful way for MST to scale up.
 - MST both contributed to and benefitted from a movement to reduce levels of juvenile incarceration. MST can serve as an in-home alternative to incarceration, so as states and countries took on initiatives to shift juveniles out of incarceration, MST gained scale. In fact, the movement has been so successful and juvenile incarceration numbers have fallen so dramatically in the past years (41 percent from 1995 to 2010), that MST is in declining demand.
 - MST Services partners with other purveyors of EBPs and envisions creating a movement of evidence-based alternatives to juvenile incarceration.
- Barriers
 - The traditional juvenile justice status quo is well-entrenched, in terms of funding and relationships; EBPs remain “a boutique.”
 - Strother sees a lack of funding dedicated to the implementation of EBPs as a major barrier to MST’s continued growth, noting, “There’s no national initiative that puts funding behind EBPs, there are very few states that prioritize EBPs with special funding, and the reality is that what gets funded is what gets done.”

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KEEP

Highlights

- The developer's prior experience with implementing evidence-based practices (EBPs) contributed to KEEP's smooth transition from evidence building to replication.
- KEEP has recently shifted onto an upward growth trajectory, but still has a long way to go to reach the full population that would benefit.
- Both implementers and purveyors struggle to consistently secure the talent and money needed to ensure fidelity of implementation.

The program

Keeping Foster and Kin Parents Supported and Trained (KEEP) aims to increase the parenting skills of foster and kinship caregivers in responding to children's difficulties, reducing placement disruption, and improving child outcomes. The program consists of weekly parent support and training group sessions led by two trained facilitators. Between sessions, families receive supervision and complete daily reports on their children's behavior.

Scale: In 2016, KEEP reached an estimated 2600 children.

Outcomes: Multiple randomized controlled trials (RCTs) have compared KEEP to case work services as usual. Parents who participated in KEEP had children who were reunified more frequently with biological or adoptive parents and were less likely to disrupt their foster care placements.

ROI: New York City calculated that if they reduced disruptions by 17 percent, the program would be cost neutral.

Target population: Caregivers of children 4-12 years of age in foster and kinship care placements.

More information on clearinghouse: [KEEP](#)

Leadership: Dr. Patti Chamberlain, Oregon Social Learning Center, Developer and Purveyor of KEEP

Business model: KEEP charges a fee for training and implementation support.

Growth history

1983–1998: Building on existing experience with evidence-based programs (EBPs) in child welfare to create a new program

KEEP was developed at the Oregon Social Learning Center (OSLC) and grew out of the organization's experience developing evidence-based programs for youth involved in the child welfare system. OSLC describes itself as a "research center dedicated to increasing the scientific understanding of social and psychological processes related to healthy development and family functioning." In 1983,

it developed Treatment Foster Care Oregon (TFCO) as a state-sanctioned alternative to group care for delinquent youth. Dr. Patricia Chamberlain, a lead researcher for TFCO, and her team at OSLC used parts of the TFCO program to create a pared-down model they called KEEP—designed to support a broader range of families and prevent foster care disruptions.

Disruptions in foster care are common—up to 50 percent of kids experience disruptions from care during their first year in placement. As Dr. Chamberlain put it, “These disruptions aren’t good for kids, and kids with multiple placement disruptions have really negative trajectories.” The OSLC team was seeking to fill a gap in services by providing a program to families who, despite not fostering high-risk youth, still wanted and benefitted from structured support. Such support for foster families of more moderate-risk youth could help interrupt the cycle of placement disruptions. Further, because these disruptions are expensive, there might be high demand for KEEP’s services among child welfare agencies.

1999–2004: Testing a scalable way to ensure fidelity, the program was designed for replicability early on

In 1999, Dr. Chamberlain obtained funding for an RCT from the US Department of Health and Human Services Children’s Bureau to test the KEEP model. Seventy-two families participated in an initial study. This first RCT showed that the model reduced the number of placement disruptions and the costs associated with placing the child in a new home. After proving the program’s efficacy, the research team began to think about its replicability.

A second RCT was conducted in the San Diego County Child Welfare system with 700 foster parents. The program used a “cascading” implementation model—in which the program developers trained one cohort of implementers, who in turn (with the help of an extensive manual) trained the next cohort of implementers. Chamberlain explained that the trial was designed to answer the question of whether or not “you can get the same effects if people who are not directly tied to the developer lead the intervention. It was our way of asking if it was a scalable model and if it could be pulled off and sustained by people who weren’t the original research developers.”

The RCT showed that the cascading model could be used to implement KEEP and still achieve outcomes, and this approach is still used today. San Diego Health and Human Services continues to implement KEEP as part of its regular services to foster and kinship parents. In New York City, for example, child welfare agency staff trains new implementers themselves. This cascading model helps KEEP overcome some of its staffing capacity barriers. “The way our model is set up we do some in-person training, but we do all the consultation and feedback to sites remotely,” Chamberlain said. The most intensive implementation phase lasts just 18 months, which helps ease staffing constraints. “We deal with capacity by working in places intensively and then later on we’re less intensive—that gives us the ability to work in more places,” Chamberlain said.

2005–2009: The developers begin to build a fidelity monitoring system and expand internationally

The team began to build a fidelity monitoring system in the early 2000s during expansions to Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, and Yakima, Washington. KEEP also expanded internationally to the UK. TFCO was already scaled in the UK and authorities were interested in introducing KEEP as a complement to TFCO. Supported by the Ministry of Education, KEEP brought the program to 22 sites.

Meanwhile, KEEP’s implementation was earning acclaim. In 2007, the National Association of Counties named San Diego County an Achievement Award Winner for its work on KEEP: “...in recognition of an effective and innovative program which contributes to and enhances county government in the United States.”

2010–2012: KEEP implemented in Baltimore and New York City, and strengthened fidelity monitoring system

In addition to a small rollout of the program in Baltimore, KEEP was brought to New York City in collaboration with five private agencies in New York City to serve 2,000 children and adolescents annually. New York child welfare leaders wanted to replace its system of multiple foster parent support programs (some with limited evidence of effectiveness) with one evidence-based model. Through KEEP, caseworkers provided parent support directly rather than referring out to other agencies.

KEEP also updated its fidelity system, which enabled it to have a data dashboard for all children in the program and a HIPAA-compliant website. Leaders from sites are required to upload videos and track attendance, and KEEP produces a monthly report for each site that tracks fidelity, attendance, engagement, and participation in the weekly data gathering calls from participating parents. It took a while to get the system working in a way that benefitted the sites. Early feedback was mostly negative.

“They hated it,” Chamberlain said. “We got the feedback that the way the software was set up was not user friendly, so we’ve redone it with much more user support.”

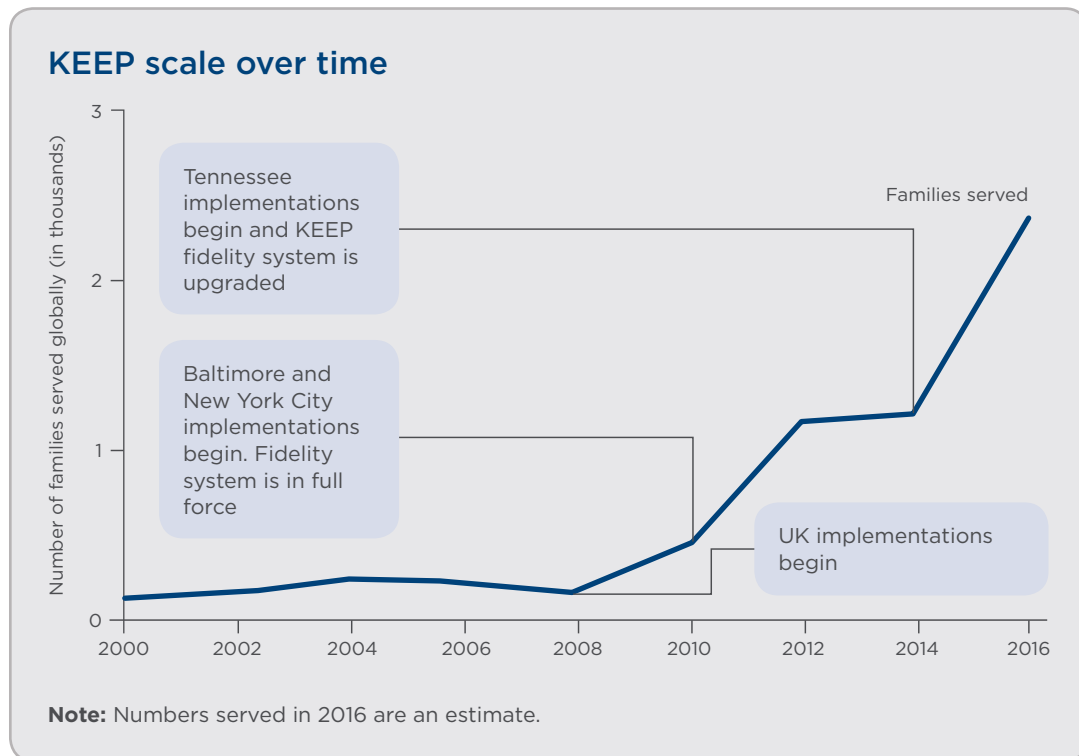
2013–present: KEEP’s fidelity system is upgraded and the program is known for its high quality model, yet has not reached scale or undertaken significant growth efforts

KEEP decided at this time to bring its software development in-house to OSLC, so it could have more control over the system. Meanwhile, the Tennessee child welfare system heard about the results in New York and contracted the organization to come to Tennessee. The program is in six of the state’s 12 regions and has served 160 families so far. Meanwhile, KEEP continues to grow abroad: the program in Denmark has expanded to seven regions and 148 families.

The organization is currently engaged in another RCT and is prioritizing the continued building of its evidence base. Though it does little marketing or

advocacy, the program has reported consistent growth. According to Chamberlain, much of this can be attributed to having advocates among systems who have already implemented the model.

“[KEEP] has a good reputation amongst people who have done it,” Chamberlain said. “Whenever I’m talking to a state [about beginning a KEEP program] I have them call New York and Tennessee.”



Key Insights

- Accelerators
 - KEEP was created by the developers of another successful EBP, Treatment Foster Care Oregon (TFCO), in response to a need they saw in sites implementing TFCO. This context and experience meant that the program was able to shift from the research phase to the implementation and replication stage seamlessly. Moreover, the developer in this case had produced a number of programs in the past, which may have avoided the pitfalls of other programs as they grew.
 - Systems that have already implemented KEEP operate as advocates for the program. Chamberlain sees her primary role as implementing KEEP in systems sufficiently well that they will offer positive referrals to other interested systems.

- Implementation procedures were incorporated into the design of the program early on, and the developers were focused on implementing it in real-world conditions. KEEP created a cascading implementation approach where developer-trained implementers would go on to train later cohorts of implementers themselves. This structure allows implementing agencies to keep contact with the program’s developers to a minimum and also eases staffing constraints for KEEP.
- Barriers
 - Organizational capacity has been a consistent challenge with KEEP. Even with 15 certified KEEP trainers to deliver the program, the staff struggles with large system rollouts. KEEP exemplifies a program that has moved from evidence building to the replication stage, but has not progressed further. Rigorous fidelity measures and RCTs make the program high quality, but devoting only minimal resources to growth has limited its reach.
 - KEEP, like many of its peer programs, cites funding as the major obstacle to the growth of its model. Though it hasn’t had the benefit of philanthropic investment, the organization has used its knowledge of local and state systems to drive funding for RCTs up until this point.

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Notes

Implementations of the model at the county and state level are overseen by OSLC Developments, Inc. (ODI). A nonprofit sister organization to OSLC, ODI seeks to improve the healthy development of children and families through effective programs conducted in collaboration with public service systems, schools, communities, and agencies. ODI scientists use knowledge from research studies conducted at OSLC to develop successful programs that improve outcomes for vulnerable children and families.

HOMEBUILDERS®

Highlights

- Foundation investment spurred significant growth in HOMEBUILDERS.
- “Uncontrolled” replications of HOMEBUILDERS that did not adhere to the model with fidelity created reputation problems that took years to repair.

The program

HOMEBUILDERS® provides intensive, in-home crisis intervention, counseling, and life-skills education for families who have children at imminent risk of placement in state-funded care. The program is housed in the Institute for Family Development, a nonprofit that both purveys and provides services that strengthen families. It has 130 staff members and a budget of \$8.5 million.

Scale: In 2014, the program reached 2,045 families.

Outcomes: A study comparing outcomes for families served by HOMEBUILDERS against those receiving usual services found that 74 percent of the children in the HOMEBUILDERS program remained at home versus 45 percent of the comparison group.

ROI: The Washington State Institute for Public Policy Estimates in April 2012 estimated the benefit on a per participant basis was \$21,564, with a benefit-to-cost ratio of \$6.18 per participant.

Target population: Families with children (birth–18) at imminent risk of placement into, or needing intensive services to return from foster care, group or residential treatment, psychiatric hospitals, or juvenile justice facilities

Leadership: Charlotte Booth, Executive Director of the Institute for Family Development; Shelley Leavitt, Associate Director of the Institute for Family Development

Business model: HOMEBUILDERS charges a fee for training and implementation support

More information on clearinghouse: [CEBC](#)

Growth history

1973–1976: Federal policy change and funding spurs development of the model

In the early 1970s, the federal government began searching for solutions to the increasing numbers of children entering foster care. Catholic Community Services (CCS) of Washington, a nonprofit foster care organization, received a multiyear federal grant to develop the HOMEBUILDERS program, a novel approach that would work to safely keep children in their homes and prevent removal into foster care.

In the mid-1970s, the passage of Title XX of the Social Security Act made funding available to states that could be used for programs like HOMEBUILDERS. At this

same time, HOMEBUILDERS began publishing research on the effectiveness of its model. By 1975, CCS was receiving calls from nonprofits and government agencies who wanted to implement the HOMEBUILDERS model. There were many articles in newspapers and popular magazines, and in the 1980s an episode of the popular drama show *Quincy* spotlighting HOMEBUILDERS further increased interest.

1977–1982: Statewide expansion and incorporation as a stand-alone organization

In 1977, CCS received funding from the Washington state legislature for statewide expansion of HOMEBUILDERS. This allowed HOMEBUILDERS to reach many more families, but also stretched the capacity of CCS. In 1982, the leaders of HOMEBUILDERS decided to set up a separate organization, the Behavioral Sciences Institute, to disseminate the program. Today, under the name Institute for Family Development (IFD), it offers several other programs in addition to HOMEBUILDERS.

1983–1989: Foundation interest drives growth

In 1983, the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation (EMCF) learned about HOMEBUILDERS through its published research, and began providing it with funding to further test and refine the model. Happy with the initial results, the foundation then supported a major expansion of the program in 1988 and 1989, to New York, Michigan, Tennessee, Missouri, Alabama, Kentucky, and Louisiana.

IFD was focused on replicating the program—using foundation funding to increase capacity and meet the expanding need. However, it was concerned that some organizations were using the model and the HOMEBUILDERS name without engaging with IFD. IFD applied for its first state trademark in 1983, and later in the other states in which it operated. Despite this, the popularity of the model led to some organizations implementing HOMEBUILDERS without any contact with IFD.

Around the same time, IFD became interested in expanding HOMEBUILDERS to new populations. In 1986 the federal Administration for Children, Youth and Families funded a project to test the model in Washington State with Special Needs Adoptions that are at risk of dissolution.

1990–2002: A new expansion path has unintended consequences

In 1990, HOMEBUILDERS' two major foundation funders, EMCF and the Annie E. Casey Foundation, undertook an effort to dramatically improve the child welfare system. As part of this effort, they funded the creation of the National Family Preservation Network (NFPN), with the goal of increasing the use of intensive family preservation programs like HOMEBUILDERS across the country. NFPN was successful in convincing states of the value of family preservation, and helped secure \$1 billion in federal funds that could be used on family preservation services through the 1993 Family Preservation and Support Services Program (now called Promoting Safe and Stable Families).

However, some states began implementing an intensive family preservation model that was based on HOMEBUILDERS but did not follow the HOMEBUILDERS model with fidelity. For example, in the early 1990s, only 10 of the 35 states claiming to implement HOMEBUILDERS were working with IFD. Detailed descriptions of the model were publicly available, including a book by IFD called *Keeping Families Together*. Many of these “uncontrolled” disseminations were not high quality, and word began to spread that HOMEBUILDERS did not get good results. This negative reputation spread even to HOMEBUILDERS’ home state of Washington, and referrals from the state began to drop off after 1993. Capping off a very difficult decade, in 2001, a multistate evaluation of the model by the US Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) did not show evidence of impact for family preservation services.

At the same time as this uncontrolled growth was occurring, HOMEBUILDERS was working to increase its ability to disseminate the model with fidelity. In 1993, EMCF helped HOMEBUILDERS begin the development of a comprehensive quality assurance and training system. This system continues today, and has been a critical part of overcoming the reputational challenges that HOMEBUILDERS once faced.

In 2002, IDF received a federally registered trademark for HOMEBUILDERS.

2003–2007: Rebuilding HOMEBUILDERS’ reputation

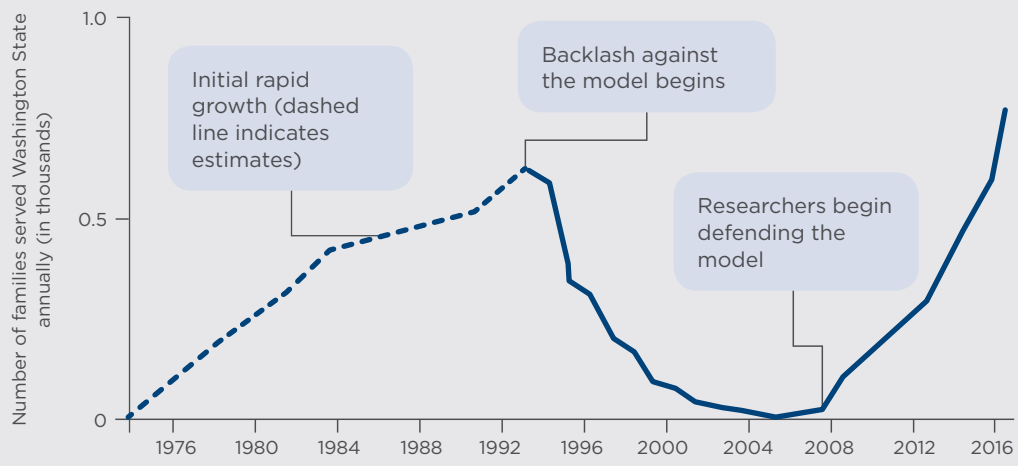
In 2003 and 2004, Dr. Ray Kirk, a researcher who was a family preservation program evaluator for the North Carolina State Government, disputed the findings of the HHS-funded study and published findings showing that the high fidelity model of the program is effective. Similarly, in 2006, the Washington State Institute for Public Policy published a meta-analysis demonstrating that programs adhering to the HOMEBUILDERS model achieve positive outcomes and produce cost benefits. These findings helped to begin rebuilding HOMEBUILDERS’ reputation.

2008–present: Robust fidelity controls restore HOMEBUILDERS’ reputation to a model program

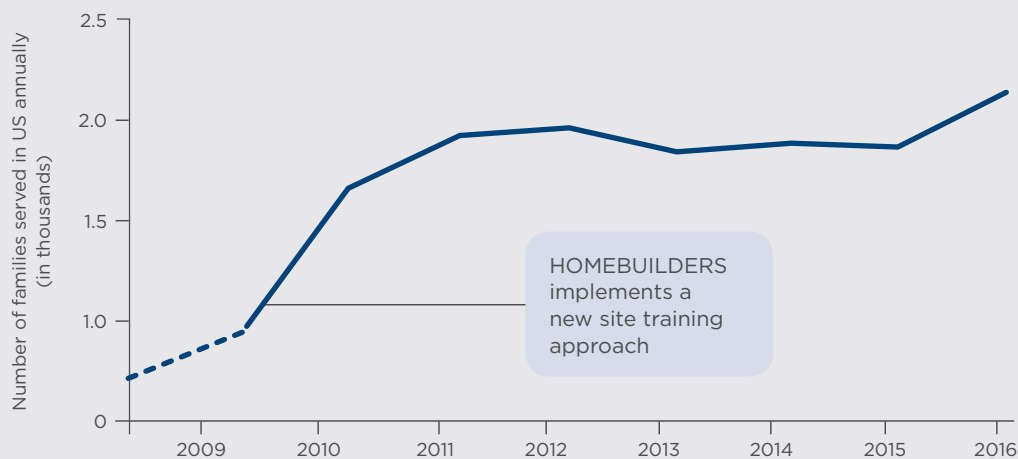
In 2008, HOMEBUILDERS began a new site development and training approach, focusing on the states that agree to assure high fidelity, receive ongoing training, and invest in quality assurance services. Washington was one of the first states to sign on, and further increased its commitment to the HOMEBUILDERS model by securing federal matching funding for it through the Title IV-E waiver program.

Looking to the future, HOMEBUILDERS’ goal is to continue to promote scale with fidelity, bringing in new states that agree to their quality control system. In particular, they hope to grow outside of Washington State.

HOMEBUILDERS scale over time in Washington State



HOMEBUILDERS scale over time in the United States



Key insights

- Accelerators
 - State and federal officials were actively looking for solutions like HOMEBUILDERS: they did not have to be convinced of the problem. Further, HOMEBUILDERS was designed from the start to work within the existing child welfare system.
 - Internally, Charlotte Booth, former assistant director and now executive director, led the charge for scale by pushing for an independent organization and designing the program to be implemented at the county and state level. According to Booth, “We were out to change the world a little bit, and we realized you need big impact. We didn’t want to be a one-off.”

- HOMEBUILDERS was born out of a federal grant and benefited from significant increases in funding for family preservation services. Two of the largest foundations focused on child welfare, Annie E. Casey and Edna McConnell Clark, provided significant financial support and served as advocates for HOMEBUILDERS as part of an effort to fundamentally shift the child welfare field.
- Barriers
 - Implementations of intensive family preservation models that did not strictly follow the HOMEBUILDERS model did not achieve positive outcomes. Almost a decade was spent overcoming negative impressions of HOMEBUILDERS, even after a meta-analysis showed the model to be effective when implemented with fidelity.
 - HOMEBUILDERS' leadership believe that a lack of proactive marketing is limiting their scale. This is particularly important given the reputational challenges it once faced.

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PATHS®

Highlights

- Increasing the value of social emotional learning (SEL) helped foster demand for PATHS.
- Early research investment laid groundwork for scale later on.
- Maintaining fidelity at scale has been a challenge, but training helps.

The program

PATHS® (Promoting Alternate Thinking Strategies) is a social emotional learning curriculum delivered in a classroom setting and aimed at promoting social and emotional competence (self-regulation and emotional awareness) and reducing aggression and behavior problems in preschool and elementary school-aged children. PATHS has among the most rigorous evidence of impact of all SEL curricula, including at least 12 studies and multiple independent replications and randomized control trials.

Scale: We estimate that PATHS reaches roughly 600,000 children annually in the United States.¹⁰

Outcomes: PATHS has been shown to reduce aggressive behavior among regular and special needs students, improve self-regulation, improve academic engagement and executive functions, and build social and emotional skills. Though it is a universal program relevant for all elementary school students, PATHS also is considered a prevention program in the juvenile justice field because its proven outcomes are associated with lowered delinquency among youth.

ROI: Every \$1 invested in PATHS generates \$20 savings according to the Washington State Institute for Public Policy.

Target Population: Preschool and elementary-school aged students

Leadership: Dr. Mark Greenberg and Dr. Carol Kusché developed PATHS. Greenberg leads PATHS Education Worldwide, a training and technical assistance organization for the PATHS curriculum along with CEO Dorothy Morelli. Dr. Kusché leads PATHS

¹⁰ **Estimating PATHS scale:** PATHS Education worldwide estimated that 5,000 schools have implemented PATHS, 70 percent of which are in the United States. Another evidence-based SEL curriculum organization we spoke with estimated there is a 75 percent “decay” rate in use of curricula in schools where it was initially implemented. Since PATHS devotes so much focus on training and technical assistance, we assume that those schools with training have a somewhat lower 50 percent decay rate, and those schools that do not receive training or technical assistance have the standard 75 percent decay rate. Given that at least half of PATHS schools receive training that suggests that 1,313 schools use PATHS today. The average primary school in 2009–2010 had 451 students. Assuming every student in a school that implements PATHS receives PATHS programming, this suggests that today 591,675 students receive the PATHS curriculum. This is largely consistent with other market size estimates of the SEL curricula field, which suggests that after the largest SEL curriculum, Second Step, all other SEL curricula are in 15–20 percent of US classrooms. This estimate suggests that PATHS is in roughly 2.5 percent of classrooms nationwide.

Training LLC, another training and technical assistance organization for the PATHS curriculum. Today Greenberg is a researcher and professor of prevention research at Penn State's College of Health and Human Development, and the founder of the Prevention Research Center for the Promotion of Human Development. Dr. Kusché is a clinical psychologist and psychoanalyst in Seattle, WA.

Note that for this case study we only spoke with the leadership of PATHS Education Worldwide and Channing Bete. Any references to PATHS' leadership (in 2014 or later) or the PATHS organization refers to PATHS Education Worldwide, not PATHS Training LLC. PATHS implementation manuals, as well as the PATHS International Conference are all produced by PATHS Education Worldwide.

Business Model: PATHS is a curriculum sold in grade-level modules that cost around \$500 per classroom and can be used over multiple years. Curriculum materials are sold by a for-profit publishing company, Channing Bete. When Channing Bete sells PATHS, it typically refers buyers to one of the two PATHS training organizations. Schools, districts, and teachers also approach the PATHS Education Worldwide training organization directly about training and support. Both PATHS training organizations charge for their training services. PATHS Education Worldwide is a nonprofit and PATHS Training LLC is a for-profit company.

More information on clearinghouse: [Blueprints](#)

Growth history

1980–1993: The PATHS model is developed, tested, and widely replicated

PATHS was first developed in 1980 by Dr. Mark Greenberg and Dr. Carol Kusché as a mental health prevention program for hearing-impaired children. In 1987 the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) funded an RCT to test PATHS outcomes on a broader range of children.

PATHS' evidence base was strengthened early on by involvement in a research project called Fast Track, funded by NIMH and the National Institute of Drug Abuse, which conducted a large-scale RCT of several universal and targeted interventions designed to reduce aggression and conduct problems among children. PATHS was selected to be included as an intervention because of the positive results from a previous trial.

Fast Track was unusual in its size—engaging approximately 7,000 students in the study, already creating a degree of scale for PATHS. Perhaps more beneficial in the long run, however, was the substantial high quality research on PATHS that Fast Track produced—data that would later be essential to PATHS being listed on evidence-based clearinghouses and approved for funds designated for evidence-based programming.

During this time, the developers made important modifications to the PATHS curriculum—for example, tying it more closely to literacy and social studies so as to increase the program's value to teachers and keep up with education trends. Due to the length of the Fast Track evaluation, all modifications were

incorporated and rigorously evaluated for proof of effectiveness. Testing and iterating PATHS in a “real-world” setting of elementary schools allowed the developers to design a program that would actually work in schools, rather than requiring adaptation from a “laboratory” setting.

1994–1999: PATHS searches for a publishing home and achieves “Blueprint” status

For the first 15 years, PATHS developers personally trained all interested sites. There was no formal distribution of the curriculum. In fact, as Greenberg recalls “People would just write to me—I’d Xerox the 300 pages and just mail it to them.”

After years of self-publishing, Greenberg sought a more formal method to disseminate PATHS. But he found only limited interest among curriculum publishers, who saw PATHS as unlikely to generate profits in the near future. Instead, he went to Developmental Research Press (DRP), a small publisher run by EBP developers at the University of Washington. In 1994 DRP began publishing the PATHS curriculum.

Just six years later, however, DRP was sold to a for-profit curriculum company, Channing Bete, which remains the publishing home of PATHS. Though both leadership at Channing Bete and PATHS Education Worldwide describe the relationship as strong and collaborative, it is not without some conflicting goals. While Greenberg would like to see PATHS widely and cheaply disseminated, as a for-profit company, Channing Bete places some constraints on that—for example by preventing translations in countries that are well-known for plagiarism.

Looking back, Greenberg felt that resource constraints may have caused some unavoidable compromises. “If I had to do it again and I had the infrastructure I would’ve done [publishing] as a part of a nonprofit. But I didn’t have the infrastructure...I’m an academic, I’m not a business person.” Greenberg noted that at the time, “There was no foundation funding or support.”

2000–2009: Leadership strengthens training to encourage fidelity and sustainability

In 2000 Greenberg and Kusché founded PATHS Training LLC to provide training and technical assistance for the program. Having an organization dedicated to providing training for the PATHS curriculum helps to encourage fidelity in a program that is being implemented in thousands of classrooms, with no required monitoring.

Based on our estimates, PATHS likely reaches hundreds of thousands of children annually.

Part of its large scale comes from being classroom-based curriculum. Unlike more intensive EBPs, PATHS is well-suited to scale because it is administered by teachers (who are paid by school districts and already work with the target population), has a low cost per child, and does not require training, technical assistance, and fidelity monitoring. Rather, the challenge with PATHS (and likely other classroom-based curricula) is to ensure that those schools who

are implementing it are doing so with a level of fidelity that ensures impact. For PATHS, high-quality training is central to this.

“We are very focused on training,” said Greenberg. “Even though you can purchase the PATHS curriculum without training because it’s under contract to a publisher, we are really exacting about our training and keep improving the quality of that training over time.” Typically schools or districts are referred to the training organizations through Channing Bete or from Blueprints or other evidence-based clearinghouses. In 2014, Greenberg separated from PATHS Training LLC and founded the separate PATHS Education Worldwide to provide training.

2010–2011: PATHS growth is spurred by foundation investments in the SEL field

PATHS’s leadership attributes much of its growth during this period to larger trends in the field of social emotional learning. Though PATHS predates the concept of SEL (which began to emerge in the 1990s), it is now situated clearly within that field. SEL is defined by CASEL, an organization dedicated to the advancement of SEL, as “the process of acquiring and mastering skills to recognize and manage emotions, develop caring and concern for others, establish positive relationships, make responsible decisions, and handle challenging situations effectively.”

Joan Duffell, the CEO of the largest SEL organizations, Committee for Children, recalls that “for many years SEL was not on the radar of top-tier [education] leaders. They were not thinking about it, so when someone said we should do SEL they’d get blank stares.”

Today however, Duffell estimates that SEL curricula are in 55 to 60 percent of K-8 schools. The massive growth in SEL can in part be attributed to the field building efforts of those like the NoVo Foundation and CASEL. In 2010 the NoVo Foundation began to work with CASEL to integrate SEL into traditional education, for example through the Collaborating Districts Initiative, which aimed to “support districts’ capacities to promote SEL,” by fostering SEL leadership and coordination at the district level.

For SEL leaders like Duffell, the effect of these efforts was clear: “We’ve been pushing a rock up hill and suddenly we think ‘wow everyone is talking about it, every school is talking about SEL,’” Duffell said. “Suddenly it’s on the radar. I attribute a lot to CASEL, who are really the research thought leaders.” The growth of the SEL field has increased demand for PATHS and other SEL curricula. According to Greenberg, “I think that’s part of what’s made SEL start to go past the boutique phase.”

Greenberg and Duffell, though they work at organizations promoting separate curricula, frequently work together in efforts to strengthen the field. “We want to make the pie bigger,” said Greenberg. “There is, in general, a sense of sharing.”

2012–present: Fostering sustainability through economic tough times

Unfortunately, as the desire among schools to implement SEL programs has grown, their capabilities to do so have shrunk. Following the recession of the

late 2000s, poor funding environments and large deficits, particularly in urban schools, have constrained the growth of PATHS. Greenberg sees this as one of the largest issues facing PATHS today. Research from Washington State Institute for Public Policy suggests that investing in the PATHS Curriculum returns \$15 of saving for every \$1 spent, but those savings are likely to be captured by other public systems, such as the juvenile justice system, not schools.

In order to solidify the arguments for SEL in general, and PATHS in particular, Greenberg is looking to increase appreciation by school leaders for the value of SEL, for example by publishing a principal training manual. Principals are often the budgetary decision makers for schools, but may lack training on SEL, given the field's relatively short history. A variety of studies show that principal support for SEL is critical for both implementation, quality, and sustainability.

Additionally, to maintain momentum and sustainability for PATHS practitioners, PATHS Education Worldwide began hosting global conferences in 2014. These conferences bring together PATHS practitioners and researchers from around the world. According to Dorothy Morelli, the CEO of PATHS Education Worldwide, these conferences are key to developing a network of PATHS devotees who feel connected to the mission of the program and continue using PATHS year after year.

Looking forward, in addition to evolving “to stay in pace with current educational needs,” PATHS Education Worldwide plans to continue to grow the training apparatus and to recruit both larger and smaller school districts, with the goal of adding at least one or two larger districts a year. “We want to grow PATHS,” Morelli said, and developing supports for schools and teachers is critical. Further, from over 20 years of experience seeing PATHS used in schools, PATHS Education Worldwide has realized that long-term consultation relationships with schools and districts are necessary to reach the goals of full, high-quality implementation and sustainability. This means more than just providing initial training to teachers, but also to principals, administrators, and support staff. It also means consulting with the district to think strategically regarding the larger issue of creating healthy and caring schools.

Morelli emphasized the importance of collaboration: “We plan to team with other SEL organizations to work together to improve the field of SEL.”

Key Insights

- Accelerators
 - Field building efforts by foundations and intermediaries, as well as independent SEL curriculum organizations, have contributed to a higher value being placed on SEL in schools. In turn, this has driven demand for PATHS.
 - A well-funded research project (Fast Track) allowed for large scale implementations over a long time period that built out a strong base of evidence showing the effectiveness of PATHS.

- Being listed on EBP clearinghouses such as Blueprints has helped PATHS gain some visibility and directed schools towards the training organizations. According to Greenberg: “Those websites have been very important.”
- Barriers
 - A lack of early infrastructure and support for prevention programs constrained PATHS’s ability to meet demand for the program.
 - Tight budgets following the recession have constrained schools’ ability to purchase curriculum (or associated training and technical assistance).
 - SEL is a relatively young field, and principals often do not understand or value it enough to divert precious resources or time to implementation.

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