## \*\*Preliminary Transcript\*\*

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HEARING EXAMINING GRANTMAKING PRACTICES

AT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Thursday, June 19, 2008

House of Representatives,

Committee on Oversight and

Government Reform,

Washington, D.C.

"This is a preliminary transcript of a Committee Hearing. It has not yet been subject to a review process to ensure that the statements within are appropriately attributed to the witness or member of Congress who made them, to determine whether there are any inconsistencies between the statements within and what was actually said at the proceeding, or to make any other corrections to ensure the accuracy of the record."

## **Committee Hearings**

of the

## U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



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- The committee met, pursuant to call, at 9:30 a.m. in
  room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building, the Honorable Henry
  A. Waxman [chairman of the committee] presiding.
- Present: Representatives Waxman, Cummings, Kucinich,
  Watson, Davis of Virginia, Platts, Duncan, Issa, Foxx, and
  Sali.
- 16 Also Present: Representative Walz.
- Staff Present: Phil Barnett, Staff Director and Chief
  Counsel; Kristin Amerling, General Counsel; Karen Lightfoot,
  Communications Director and Senior policy Advisor; David
  Rapallo, Chief Investigative Counsel; John Williams, Deputy

Chief Investigative Counsel; David Leviss, Senior 21 Investigative Counsel; Christopher Davis, Professional Staff 22 Member; Earley Green, Chief Clerk; Jen Berenholz, Deputy 23 Clerk; Caren Auchman, Press Assistant; Ella Hoffman, Press 24 Assistant; Leneal Scott, Information Systems Manager; Sam 25 Buffone, Staff Assistant; Miriam Edelman, Staff Assistant; 26 Jennifer Owens, Staff Assistant; Ali Golden; Larry Halloran, 27 28 Minority Staff Director; Jennifer Safavian, Minority Chief Counsel for Oversight and Investigations; Keith Ausbrook, 29 Minority General Counsel; Steve Castor, Minority Counsel; 30 Ashley Callen, Minority Counsel; Larry Brady, Minority Senior 31 Investigator and Policy Advisor; Patrick Lyden; Minority 32 Parliamentarian and Member Services Coordinator; Brian 33 McNicoll, Minority Communications Director; Benjamin Chance, 34 Minority Professional Staff Member; Ali Ahmad, Minority 35 Deputy Press Secretary; and John Ohly, Minority Staff 36 37 Assistant.

Chairman WAXMAN. The meeting of the Committee will please come to order.

At today's hearing the Oversight Committee will examine the process used by the Justice Department to award millions of dollars in grants to organizations that address national juvenile justice initiatives. These grant awards were made by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, which is headed by Administrator J. Robert Flores. Mr. Flores is here today, and I thank him for testifying and for his cooperation with this inquiry.

This Committee has held many hearings on waste, fraud, and abuse in Federal contracting. We have also held hearings on waste, fraud, and abuse in other types of programs such as crop insurance and workman's compensation insurance, but we have held few hearings on abuses in Federal grants.

In 2006, the Federal Government spent \$419 billion on Federal contracts. It spent even more, \$488 billion, on Federal grants, so examination of possible waste, fraud, and abuse in grant programs is a high priority.

My staff has prepared a supplemental memorandum for Members summarizing what we have learned from our investigation. Last year the Justice Department held a competition to select worthy grants for funding juvenile justice programs. Over 100 applicants submitted proposals. Career staff at the Justice Department then conducted a peer

review of these applications, rating them against criteria in the Department's public solicitation and ranking them according to their numerical scores.

Of the 104 proposals, the career staff ranked 18 as the best-qualified for funding. Mr. Flores largely ignored these recommendations. He did not fund the top-ranked program, did not fund the second-highest-ranked program. In fact, he did not fund any of the top five programs. Of the 18 organizations recommended for funding by the career staff, only 5 were awarded funds. Instead, Mr. Flores chose to give the majority of the grant funding to five programs that his staff had not recommended for funding. One was an abstinence only program, two were faith-based programs, and another was a golf program. What is more, they appeared to have special access to Mr. Flores that other applicants were denied.

Mr. Flores awarded a \$1.1 million grant to the Best Friends Foundation, an abstinence only organization that ranked 53 out of 104 applicants.

The career staff who reviewed this particular application said it was poorly written, had no focus, was illogical, and made no sense. Documents provided to the Committee show that, while the grant was being developed and competed, Mr. Flores had multiple contacts with Elayne Bennett, the Founder and Chairman of Best Friends and the wife of Bill Bennett, who worked in the Reagan and Bush

Administrations.

Mr. Flores also awarded a half million dollar grant to the World Golf Foundation that ranked 47 out of the 104. Mr Flores says that, despite the application's low ranking, the grant was awarded on the merits. But the record before the Committee raises questions that need to be addressed.

We know that Mr. Flores traveled to Florida in 2006 to visit Foundation officials and play golf. We know that Mr. Flores directed his staff to help the group with its proposal. And we know that, before the peer review process even began, a senior career official wrote that he was certain the group would be funded because Mr. Flores' chief of staff had said as much.

Mr. Flores awarded a \$1.2 million grant to Urban
Strategies LLC, a consulting firm, and Victory Outreach, a
''church-oriented Christian ministry called to the task of
evangelizing.'' This grant application also received a low
ranking, 44 out of 104 applications, but the head of Urban
Strategies was Lisa Cummins, who formerly worked in the White
House Office of Faith Based Initiatives. Documents provided
to the Committee show that Ms. Cummins had several high-level
meetings with Mr. Flores and other Justice Department
officials before and after receiving the grant.

On the other hand, the Justice Research and Statistics Association was the top-scoring group out of 104 applicants.

It scored a 98, was universally praised by career employees for its effectiveness and good work. It provides training and technical assistance to State juvenile corrections workers, but it was not selected or funded.

There is no question that Mr. Flores had discretion to award grants. He is entitled to use his experience and judgment in determining which grant applications to fund. But he has an obligation to make these decisions based on merit, facts, and fairness, and the reasoning for his decision must be transparent and available to the public.

Not every official the Committee spoke with, including the Justice Department peer reviewers, the Civil Service program managers, and the career official in charge of the solicitation agreed with Mr. Flores' approach. In fact, nearly every one of them said his approach was neither fair nor transparent. Mr. Flores' superior, the Assistant Attorney General, told the Committee, ''I am for candor and clarity, especially when dealing with the people's money, and that did not happen, and I am upset that it did not happen.''

The only exceptions to this view are Mr. Flores, himself, and Mr. Flores' chief of staff, who has now asserted her Fifth Amendment privilege against self incrimination and has refused to talk about this process.

Yesterday I received a letter from the Nation's oldest organization devoted to fighting juvenile delinquency, the

National Council of Crime and Delinquency, and the Council wrote, 'We have great concerns about the recent decisions on grant proposals and how these have hurt the credibility of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

We expended substantial time and resources in good faith to prepare proposals. Now it seems that the review process was far from fair.''

I hope today's hearing can answer the question being raised by the Council and other groups. Ultimately, the issue before the Committee is whether the grant solicitation was a rigged game and whether it has best served children across our Country. Today's hearing will give Members a chance to examine this important question.

The staff has prepared a memo, and the documents and transcripts it cites I would ask be made a part of the hearing record.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman?
Chairman WAXMAN. Yes, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Reserving the right to object, I want to note for the record that it was just one hour before the hearing today that our staff was given a copy of this 24-page supplemental memorandum. While more information is always better than less information, the practice of withholding these lengthy memos until right before the hearing I think is prejudicial and not really in the best

interest of our operating in a bipartisan manner.

We are supposed to be conducting thoughtful and deliberate oversight of Federal agencies and the business they conduct, and today's hearing is not about the Department of Justice or the Office of Juvenile Justice program; it is about a publish thrashing of a very specific official. Far too frequently we eschew oversight of agencies and instead focus on overly personal attack on agency heads. We have seen this with the attacks on the State Department IG, the Administrator of GSA, and the Administrator of EPA.

When the Select Committee on Katrina examined what happened on the Gulf Coast in August of 2005, we looked at the actions of the Department of Homeland Security as an entity, not just the Secretary. We looked at the actions of FEMA as an agency, not just Michael Brown. We examined the actions of the State of Louisiana, not just the governor.

Making oversight personal I think sometimes detracts from the serious business.

Now, under the rules of the Committee, Rule 2 specifically, we are supposed to be informed three days in advance of the purpose of the hearing, and in our opinion this memorandum kind of changes that and personalizes it. But I won't object simply because you and I have had a discussion on this. We feel, again, more information is better than less.

I would note, if we are going to start getting personal on some of these issues, we should be focusing on individuals like Scott Block, the Head of the Office of Special Counsel. Earlier this week I wrote to you about the new reports of Block that are forcing his employees to publish propaganda on the websites of publications such as the Washington Post and Government Executive. Over the last year we have compiled sufficient evidence to show that Mr. Block should no longer serve in this position of public trust. We have evidence he used non-Governmental e-mail to conduct official business. We have evidence he improperly called Geeks on Call to erase computer files that may be subject to document requests pertinent to an investigation of Block by the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency.

The U.S. Office of Special Counsel performs an important role, and he has been criticized from the right and the left on this. And just because he went after one Administration official is no reason this Committee should give him protection. This Committee's duty is to conduct meaningful oversight on the agency, requires immediate attention.

But I will not object to the request. I did want to put that in the record.

Chairman WAXMAN. If I might be permitted to respond, I did send a letter to you, Mr. Davis, on June 11th, 2008, explaining this issue of the supplemental memo. The rules

require that three days in advance of a hearing a memo be distributed outlining what the hearing was all about. Supplemental memos are written by our staff. It is often incomplete until the very last minute, and there are other reasons, as well, that they may not be available. They are prepared for the majority staff. We make them available to the minority, as well, which I think is appropriate.

I do take some exception to the idea that hearings are personal, especially when you close your comments about personal hearings by saying you want Scott Block investigated. Mr. Block, at your request, has gone through a transcribed interview, and we are taking your letter of last week under submission and we will talk further to you about that matter.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.

Chairman WAXMAN. And I do recall many of your Members talking about how we need Sandy Berger to have his case reviewed over and over again. We even had Members saying that we needed Valerie Plame back here. That seems to me, if we are talking about personal attacks or concerns, they have been expressed by Members on the Republican side of the aisle.

Now, have we engaged in investigations that are personal? I think we have looked at investigations that are more than personal. They involve people, but they involve

how those people are doing their job and how they are spending taxpayers' dollars.

You cited particularly the Inspector General of the State Department, who quit because his statements before us were inaccurate and, had we pursued the matter further, it would have offered him embarrassment.

We pursued investigations about how GSA was handling contracts and brought in the head of the GSA, and in the course of our discussions with her and her staff found out that she was violating the Hatch Act.

So these are not personal matters except when it involves individuals and how they are handling their responsibilities.

I had never met Mr. Flores before this morning. I thanked him and am pleased that he is here to answer our questions. This is not about Mr. Flores; this is about the public's funds. If this were the Flores Foundation giving out grants to worthy recipients that Mr. Flores determined should receive money from his foundation, no one would ask him any questions. But Mr. Flores is the one in charge of giving out funds that are taxpayers' funds for very specific purposes after a peer review process by which the different potential grantees were rated.

I think we need to explore why some grantees were favored and others not, even though there had been a ranking

of what proposals met the test of merit as determined by those who were rating them based on the merit. So I regret that we weren't able to get to you the memo that we have distributed today and that will now be part of the record in advance. It would have been desirable, and we tried to accomplish that goal, but we are not always able to, nor are we required to under the rules.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman, I will move to my opening statement and respond during that, if that is all right.

Chairman WAXMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I am ready with my opening statement if you are ready.

Chairman WAXMAN. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And I will just respond in my opening statement.

Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. We have unanimous consent and the memo and documents will be made part of the record.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Waxman and the memo and documents follow:]

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Chairman WAXMAN. I would now like to recognize Mr. Davis for his opening statement.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.

The difficulty is the three-page document that we were given for the purpose of this hearing. There was only one small paragraph that mentioned Mr. Flores. This talked about grant-making by the Department of Justice, and it seems to me if that was the subject of the hearing we ought to be hearing from more people. We ought to be hearing from some of the grantees and some of the people who thought they were grantees where they could tell their story here on the record and the minority would have an opportunity to question them, as well. Instead, the difficulty of the hearing is that it is just focused on one person, not the Department of Justice grant process.

I would also note for the record that for years Congress earmarked almost all of this agency's discretionary funds. It was your side, Mr. Chairman, that suspended those earmarks, and the sudden availability of tens of millions of dollars in discretionary funds was supposed to be a boon for the agency and the juvenile justice field. I understand that there is some concern on your side that this was not done appropriately. That is certainly an appropriate subject for a hearing. But for those who don't like earmarks, this can result.

I will never forget that I had an intermediate school in my District, Glasgow Intermediate, that met all of the criteria, scored very high for the Department of Education under the previous Administration, and got nothing out of it, and that was one of the reasons earmarks were born with a Democratic Administration and a Republican Congress, where some of our Members didn't feel they were getting what they should.

I think we have every right to call people up here to explain why they give grants. I don't dispute that at all.

I just wanted to note that this memo was by the majority staff without consultation with the minority staff. Had we known this was going to be the entire subject of this, I think we would have responded appropriately and given perhaps a different perspective.

In my judgment, this isn't a hearing about waste, fraud, or abuse in the grant process, but I think it does open some eyes in terms of how these are done. Mr. Flores is a big boy. I think he will be able to answer why he made the decisions. It is, in fact, elected leadership in departments and elected Administrations that are elected by voters to make these decisions, not just the professionals. They play a role in this, but at the end of the day they are not held accountable at the polls.

Let me just say, Mr. Chairman, in terms of Mr. Block, I

only singled him out because I think this has been one of the more egregious issues that our Committee ought to be looking at, and I am happy to hear that you are taking this under consideration.

There is no question that Federal grant programs are a legitimate subject of oversight. Billions of dollars are given to States, counties, localities, private organizations every year. We ought to know more about how grants are awarded and how the results of those programs are measured and evaluated.

As I said before, I am afraid this hearing with just such a narrow focus on one unusual cycle of purely discretionary awards by DOJ isn't going to add as much to our understanding of the grant-making procedures as I think we could have. In a typical year the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention within the Office of Justice Programs awards almost \$600 million to grantees. Most of that is usually allocated through block grants and Congressional earmarks, but in 2007, under a continuing funding resolution, without those earmarks DOJ officials asked for proposals, evaluated the applications, and made awards they determined met the statutory criteria set by Congress to fight juvenile delinquency.

I think one of the issues we want to understand is how these decisions were made, but did these grants meet the

statutory criteria or didn't they meet the statutory criteria. Within that, there is obviously a lot of discretion, and we can have a discussion of how these are made and get some insights into how departments make these decisions.

After designating most of the money for large national efforts, a total of \$8.9 million was awarded to ten grantees through an open competition. As in any such process, there are winners and there are losers. Some of the losers cried foul and called their Congressmen claiming to be victims of an arbitrary, unfair, and unlawful evaluation and selection process. Unlike in the Federal contracting, where you have a procedures under bid protests, there really aren't any for the grant-making process, and so they understandably came to the Hill. These people who didn't get the grants, these groups, base their conclusion primarily on rankings of grant proposals produced by the internal Justice Department staff review by the professional staff.

Some lower-scoring applications were funded, while those with some of the higher ratings were not, and some allege bias or a hidden ideological agenda on the part of the selection official, who is our only witness today.

But it appears two flawed assumptions formed the only basis for those complaints. First, the premise that grant awards must automatically go to top-scoring applicants, that

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has no basis, to my knowledge, in law and in regulation or in practice. Second, the conclusion that broad criteria set out in the solicitation cannot be refined in the award process, that we deny a decision-maker otherwise virtually any discretion in choosing between grantees. They have discretion, and that is what I believe the law says. We may or may not like it, and I think, again, you have every right to probe into how these decisions are made.

These are called discretionary grants for a reason.

Under the law, Congress intended to give Executive Branch officials of this or any Administration wide latitude in determining what programs best prevent or address the multi-generational social plague that is juvenile delinquency. The burden of proof to support a claim that Administrative action abused broad discretion is formidable. Absent evidence of some nefarious predisposition for or against certain applicants or proof of other improper influences on the decision-maker, discretionary decisions will not be overturned by administrative appeals or by courts.

It is clear that some inside and outside the Justice
Department disagree with the decisions made by the program
administrator, Mr. J. Robert Flores, but those disagreements,
without more, simply replace one set of necessarily
subjective judgments with another. The final authority to

make those judgments was vested in a Senate confirmed

Executive Branch appointee, and it was the Congress that

decided in fiscal year 2007 not to go the traditional route

of funding these through earmarks.

In effect, this hearing is little more than an attempt to earmark by oversight, to intimidate Executive Branch decision-makers into trimming their discretion to meet Congressional expectations. Instead, we should be talking about the factors and approaches that successfully combat Justice Department. We should hear testimony about programs that stressed development of positive life skills through the example of sports or other constructive activities, and we should examine data about programs that rigorously track the progress of their participants over a long term. We look forward to that oversight, as well.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Prepared statement of Mr. Davis of Virginia follows:]

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427 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Davis. We have with us as our witness Mr. J. Robert Flores. 428 is the Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and 429 430 Delinquency Prevention, OJJDP, at the Department of Justice. 431 Mr. Flores, thank you for being here. 432 It is the practice of this Committee that all witnesses 433 who testify do so under oath, so I would like to ask if you 434 would to please stand and raise your right hand. [Witness sworn.] 435 436 Chairman WAXMAN. The record will indicate the gentleman answered in the affirmative. 437 438 Without objection, we have Congressman Walz with us 439 today. As is our custom, I would ask unanimous consent that 440 he be allowed to participate today in the hearing. 441 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. No objection. Welcome. 442 Chairman WAXMAN. Without objection, we welcome him to 443 our hearing. 444 Mr. Flores, I want to allow you to make your 445 presentation. Your written statement will be in the record 446 in full. We would like to ask you to see if you can keep 447 your oral remarks to around five minutes. 448 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman, could I just ask, if he needs more time, since he is the sole witness today, 449 that he be given additional time so he doesn't have to rush 450 through it? 451

452	Chairman WAXMAN. I think that is a reasonable request
453	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay.
454	Chairman WAXMAN. We will allow you whatever time you
455	need to make your presentation.
456	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Don't take too long, but, you
457	know.
458	Chairman WAXMAN. So you have the clear discretion to
459	take as much time as you need, but not too long.
460	Why don't you go ahead.

461 STATEMENT OF J. ROBERT FLORES, ADMINISTRATOR, OFFICE OF
462 JUVENILE JUSTICE AND DELINQUENCY PREVENTION

## 463 STATEMENT OF J. ROBERT FLORES

Mr. FLORES. Chairman Waxman, Ranking Member Davis, I am Bob Flores, the Administrator of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, a position I have held since 2002. Thank you for the opportunity to appear before the Committee and correct the record publicly on issues surrounding the grants process in 2007.

By way of background, I have spent most of my professional career working in the courts in the juvenile justice world as an advocate for children. I have also spent the vast majority of my career as a public servant, including eight years as a career prosecutor within the Child Exploitation and Obscenity Section of the Justice Department's Criminal Division.

Over the last couple of months, allegations have been made against me regarding my decisions concerning the 2007 national juvenile justice program solicitation. Each of those allegations is false.

As my testimony will show and I hope this hearing brings

out, even a cursory review of the facts reveals these allegations for what they are: an attempt to attack decisions that, while disagreed with by some, were made under the authority of law and within the Department's discretion in a transparent and good faith manner.

I would also like to say at the outset that I am appearing before the Committee today voluntarily, and I intend to continue that cooperation fully with the Committee. I am advised that as of June 12th, 2008, the Department has produced over 12,000 pages of documents in response to the Chairman's request, and I have submitted to questions by the Committee staff.

Upon the conclusion of my remarks I look forward to answering your questions truthfully and fully.

In 2007, OJJDP had a discretionary funding line of \$104 million. Decisions on what to fund are shared between the Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Justice Programs, who has final grant authority to make decisions, and the OJJDP Administrator, who, based on experience and expertise, makes recommendations within his discretion on what to fund as defined by the JJDPA and Department rules.

Shortly after the 2007 budget was passed, I met with the Assistant Attorney General for OJP, Regina Schofield, to discuss how to address the needs of the large national programs that received Federal funds for years prior. The

AAG made the decision to invite a number of organizations that had received funding in prior years to apply for specific amounts of money. Approximately \$71 million was committed from invitation.

Over the next weeks the AAG and I discussed the number, funding levels, and subject matter of the remaining solicitations, and in the end five solicitations were posted, including the solicitation at issue in this hearing, the national juvenile justice program solicitation.

In response to the national program solicitation, OJJDP received over 100 proposals. Once applications were received and accepted for consideration, the proposals were subject to an internal peer review process. I believe that the peer review process is the first area where misleading information has appeared in the media.

After an unauthorized leak of sensitive data, including the names of OJJDP career staff who conducted the internal peer reviews, the public and the juvenile justice field were left with the impression that the applications had received scores that related to their worthiness for funding rather than what is actually the case: that the application was well written, made sense, and clearly demonstrated that, if funded, the applicant could carry out the work proposed.

The peer review process can't be used to determine the value of one grant against another because the panels don't

see all the applications. They are unaware of what else may be proposed and what other programs of a similar nature have already been or may be funded. Simply put, the peer reviewers lack the information necessary to make such judgments.

Moreover, as set forth in the solicitation, peer review scores were meant to be advisory only.

In determining what programs should be funded under the national program solicitation, I relied on peer review scores, staff-prepared program summaries, and a review of budgets and applications. The deadlines we were working under were extremely tight, and the OJP deadline for submission of grant award packages from my office was set for July 31st. All of OJJDP worked hard to make the deadline, including working through a weekend to get reviews done.

I also brought my experience to bear on the process.

Relying on my six years of experience as Administrator and nearly 25 years of experience working with children's programs, directly with kids, handling sexual abuse and exploitation investigations and prosecutions, and access to research and data across all of the office's spectrum of work, I considered the needs of the programs and the field, what works, and how to advance OJJDP's entire mission, and on that basis I made you recommendations.

I met with Ms. Schofield in person on two separate

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557 occasions to discuss my grant recommendations. At the end of the first meeting she requested I prepare a decision memorandum for her signature setting out what each organization did, where each fit within the peer review scores, and the amount of money I was recommending. prepared that memorandum, submitted it, and the Assistant Attorney General signed that memorandum, accepting my recommendations.

Media reports have accused me of creating secret categories known only to me to allow me to choose only certain organizations for funding. This is false.

First, there was no way I could know who would apply and under what solicitation until after I received the list of applicants.

Second, I didn't know what the proposals would be until they were submitted, nor the size of the amounts requested.

The categories that were used on the spreadsheet that accompanied the memo were there to help me organize in my own mind, as I did when I originally reviewed the applicants, who had applied, what they were proposing, and to help explain that to the AAG. No confusions about my recommendations was ever voiced by AAG Schofield, and the process she required was consistent with law, regulation, and policy.

Moreover, every memo for every solicitation I submitted to her and she signed had the same information. No questions

were raised about those presentations, either.

While some may disagree with my decisions, they were made in accordance with the law, within Department rules, and in good faith to address the needs of our children who find themselves in the juvenile justice system or at risk of contact with it. I believe that an objective view demonstrates that no important area of juvenile justice was overlooked, and awards were geographically diverse, as well.

I have received extensive criticism because I supported a single program that is abstinence based. That program is known as the Best Friends Foundation. What was not reported was that I also sharply reduced their funding request and reduced the number of years of funding because of the overall budget constraints we as an office faced. It was also not reported that the program keeps girls in school and improves their education and life outcomes.

Likewise, the First Tee program's good work has been pilloried simply because golf stereotypes live on. Some have reported the program's use of golf, but they failed to note that the First Tee's primary goal is not to make golfers of youth participants, but to use golf as an environment in which to engage kids so that they can be taught specific skills.

In addition, because of a relatively new school-based program and efforts to reach needy kids, of First Tee

participants, 20 percent are African American, 8 percent are 607 608 Hispanic, 4 percent are Asian, and 43 percent are girls. 609 What was also missing from reports is that the program has 610 been evaluated and shown to work. 611 In conclusion, OJJDP has made great progress on a wide array of problems facing our kids and families. 612 The awards 613 in 2007 continue that work. 614 I ask that my full written statement be included in the 615 record and would be pleased to answer any questions that the 616 Committee might have. 617 Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Mr. Davis. 618 [Prepared statement of Mr. Flores follows:]

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620 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Flores. 621 We want to now proceed to questioning. Let me ask unanimous consent that we start off with ten minutes on each 622 623 side. I will use five minutes of my ten. Mr. Davis will decide whether he wants to use his full ten or not. Whatever 624 625 he doesn't use, he can reserve. Then I want to yield to Mr. 626 Cummings, who is going to be back here, my second five as well as his five, so he will have a ten-minute round 627 Without objection, we will proceed on that basis. 628 629 Mr. Flores, I thank you again for being here today and 630 for your statement. There are several groups I want to ask 631 you about, and I will begin with the Justice Research and Statistics Association. It was one of the 104 groups that 632 633 applied for a national juvenile justice grant. Are you 634 familiar with that group? 635 Mr. FLORES. I am, sir. Chairman WAXMAN. Was it evaluated by the peer review 636 637 team that assessed the merits of each applicant? 638 Mr. FLORES. Yes, it was. Chairman WAXMAN. And where did it rank? 639 640 Mr. FLORES. I believe it ranked at the top of the peer 641 review scores. 642 Chairman WAXMAN. It was number one. What was its score? 643 Mr. FLORES. I believe it was some place in the 98, received a score of 98. 644

645 Chairman WAXMAN. Are you familiar with the Kentucky's 646 National Partnership for Juvenile Service? 647 Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir, I am. 648 Chairman WAXMAN. And that went through a peer review 649 Where did it rank? process. Mr. FLORES. Again, it was near the top. 650 651 specifically remember. 652 Chairman WAXMAN. It was number two. 653 Mr. FLORES. Okay, sir. 654 Chairman WAXMAN. Are you familiar with the Texas A&M 655 University proposal? 656 Mr. FLORES. Yes, I am. 657 Chairman WAXMAN. And where did it rank among the 104 658 groups? Mr. FLORES. Somewhere in the top three. 659 660 Chairman WAXMAN. That was number three. What about 661 Minnesota's Winona State University's proposal? Where did it 662 rank? 663 Mr. FLORES. I believe it was number four, Mr. Chairman. 664 Finally, are you familiar Chairman WAXMAN. Number four. 665 with the Virginia group, CSR, Inc., and their proposal? It 666 went through the peer review process. Where did it rank? 667 Mr. FLORES. I am familiar with CSR. That is an 668 organization that we currently use and provide funding to, and they, I believe, ranked five in their application. 669

670 Chairman WAXMAN. And it was a score of 95? Mr. FLORES. I believe so, sir. 671 672 Chairman WAXMAN. How many of these top five rated groups 673 did you decide to fund? 674 Mr. FLORES. None, sir. 675 Chairman WAXMAN. I want to make sure I understand this. 676 There were 104 groups that submitted applications for 677 national juvenile justice grants. The five groups I just asked you about were the highest rated by your staff, and you 678 679 decided against funding any of them; is that right? 680 Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir. 681 Chairman WAXMAN. Now, how many career employees were part of the peer review team? 682 Mr. FLORES. The career employees, again, were from the 683 684 demonstration programs division. One of the components was 685 in my office. I don't remember know whether or not they also 686 had other employees from the Department from our office chip 687 in to really work. As I said, I do very clearly want the 688 record to be clear this was an internal peer review. done by career staff in my office at my direction. 689 690 Chairman WAXMAN. How many people were involved in the 691 peer review process? 692 Mr. FLORES. Well, if I can, the way it was set up is 693 that there were teams of two people who reviewed about seven 694 or eight different applications, so on the whole maybe

695 | fifteen to twenty people who were involved.

Chairman WAXMAN. Fifteen to twenty people. You obviously disagreed with their work and concluded that their judgment was flawed. Did you fire or reprimand any of these employees?

Mr. FLORES. Well, sir, with all due respect, I didn't disagree with their peer review ratings. I am assuming that they did what they were asked to do, which was to compare the application to the solicitation requirements and to give them a score. But, as I said in my opening statement, that does not equate with a decision that they made or were recommending that this was the best program. Again, because they met in teams of two and they only reviewed seven or eight, given the fact there were more than a hundred applications, no team saw even 10 percent of all the applications.

So, again, I want to make sure that the Committee is clear. It wasn't that I disagreed; I, in fact, paid very special attention to that, because generally speaking I think the top 25 percent of scored applicants make up a pool of very good applications, because, again, what the staff is telling me when they take a look is saying these folks have a good logic model, the presentation makes sense, and they will be able to do, if they are funded--

Chairman WAXMAN. Let me tell you how strange this

720 appears to me. Taxpayers fund a process to determine the most worthy programs for funding. The proposals must meet 721 strict criteria and are intended to help children, but none 722 723 of the top five proposals were approved for funding. 724 Let me ask you another question. I believe the Best 725 Friends Foundation received funding; is that correct? Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir, it did. 726 Chairman WAXMAN. And where did it rank among the 104 727 728 groups? Mr. FLORES. Again, I don't know what number it ranked, 729 730 but I know that it received a score of 79.5. 731 Chairman WAXMAN. It, as I understand it, came in at 53 with a score of 79.5. And you decided to fund them, but you 732 didn't fund the Justice Research and Statistics Association, 733 which your staff ranked as the top applicant and had a score 734 735 of 98. I just find that very, very peculiar. It is one of the reasons I wanted to have you here to pursue it. 736 737 I only have a few seconds left, so I am going to now recognize Mr. Davis for his ten-minute interval. 738 739 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Can you tell us, these top scores 740 are just peer reviews in terms of how these proposals are 741 written, right? 742 Mr. FLORES. That is correct, Mr. Davis. They reflect whether or not the applicant met the requirements of the 743 744 solicitation requirements and whether that proposal was

745 cogent, made sense, and, if funded, would be able to do what
746 they set out to do.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That doesn't necessarily mean they met the priority that you may have in Justice for policy purposes; is that correct?

Mr. FLORES. That is correct. And it also does not mean that we have not funded similar programs using other funds of money or that Congress has provided other dollars where we have already made an investment to the tune of tens of millions of dollars in that particular area.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So, for example, the Justice Research and Statistics Association, which was the ''top rated,'' why wouldn't you have funded them in this case?

Mr. FLORES. Well, again, we had provided funding in 1998. In 2006 we gave them \$3.5 million. In 2006 there was \$210,000. This is a contract that allows us to do evaluation and performance measures. Because of changes that we have made to try to bring all of that together and better organize it, that particular grant application, even though it was a well-presented one, did not--there was no need again for us to provide funds for that process.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. You felt it was being met in other ways?

Mr. FLORES. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And so why waste the Department's

770 money twice if you were trying to do this a different way?
771 Mr. FLORES. That is correct.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. Let me ask the two controversial ones. One was the World Golf Foundation in Florida; secondly, the Best Friends Foundation. The majority seemed to make much of these. These had been funded in previous years, had they not, when you didn't have discretion?

Mr. FLORES. Yes. There was an earmark, I believe, in 2003 or 2004, and then in 2005 I provided \$250,000 as a discretionary award. In 2006 I did not provide any discretionary funding for the organization.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But there had been Congressional pressure in the past through the earmark process to fund these programs, right?

Mr. FLORES. Yes.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So it would be naive to think that somehow you on your own, because of friendships or playing golf or something, had just decided to fund these this year, because there had been Congressional intent shown. In fact, I think on the World Golf Foundation I had signed a letter for that. That was First Tee. That helps a lot of kids for a lot of different reasons.

Do you want to explain your purpose in funding these two for us?

Mr. FLORES. Sure. First, I just want to be clear-Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. We know there was a Congressional
intent. I think that is established in the record, so you
are not alone on this on wanting to fund these. This would
have been the will of Congress. It may not have been Mr.
Waxman's will or some of the others. I don't know if they
voted for these or not. But this had been Congressional
intent.

What was your intent?

Mr. FLORES. Well, going all the way back to my confirmation, Mr. Davis, Senator Biden had asked a number of questions pertaining to girls' programs and the situation facing girls because the arrest rate seemed to be going up at a time when boys' rates were going down, and even when it started to decline it was declining at a slower rate.

During my tenure, I have really made an effort to try to focus on girls and really bring them into the process. As a result, the reason we funded Best Friends was because they were doing a tremendous job keeping girls in school, keeping them from getting pregnant, keeping them from engaging in substance abuse activities. And in the District of Columbia, for example, the girls who have come through that, the high school girls who go through that program, Diamond Girls, there is a 100 percent graduation rate. In the District where we know we have, unfortunately, a number of challenges

with schooling, that is a phenomenal program. So they are not only present in D.C., they are present in California in Los Angeles and in a number of other places, as my formal statement points out.

With respect to the First Tee program, I will be very candid with the Committee. The first time I came into this job I looked at it and said, Well, why can't the PGA fund this entirely? There is a lot of strong corporate support, why can't they do it by themselves? I didn't make a rash judgment, however. I talked with our staff. The career staff really liked the program.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. The PGA does make a huge investment in that program.

Mr. FLORES. Yes, they do, as does corporate America, so for every dollar of Federal funds, there is actually a substantial amount of leveraging that goes on. Plus, these First Tee programs are now all over the United States, and they have also launched a school-based program so that they can take their training and their materials and bring them into the physical education programs of a number of schools.

And this is one of the best parts of it: they are now able to move into really needy areas through the school systems, elementary schools, and really use that as a way of getting kids. As we know, we do have an obesity issue. We have got a number of issues.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me ask the question on golf. Teaching inner city kids to teach golf, is that really the priority of the Department?

Mr. FLORES. No. The priority of the Department is to find ways to engage kids so that we can teach them life skills, so we can teach them about honesty and commitment and putting aside immediate gratification and really working to gain skills, and so that is what the parents see. This program has been evaluated by the University of Virginia and Nevada Las Vegas, and Arizona, and found to be successful. So this is a program where a lot of folks are coalescing around it to build community support to help the neediest kids. I think for us those are the kids who would likely end up in the juvenile system if they don't get some help and some support.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me just note, First Tee does a breakfast up here every year. Tim Fincham is a law school classmate of mine, and was actually Congressman Good's moot court partner at the University of Virginia Law School. Mr. Fincham, just for the record, was a Democratic candidate for Commonwealth Attorney in Virginia Beach before he became head of the PGA. But they feature each year First Tee and what they are doing for kids around the Country.

I went to the first meeting really because I got to meet Jack Nicklaus. I had no idea what First Tee was. I was

actually very, very impressed with this program and how it had actually turned kids' lives around, give them something to get up for in the morning, give them some focus, teach them some discipline.

But that was your thought process, as well. This was my process in Congress of being one of many signatories from both sides of the aisle to support this, and you at this point have funded it this particular year.

Mr. FLORES. I did, sir.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Most of these programs I gather, the top 50, top 60 programs, were good programs; is that correct?

Mr. FLORES. That is correct. If you take a look at the scores, you really, even when you go down to the top 25 percent, which is the top quintile of scores, you really have very good programs represented there. This is not a question that there aren't good programs and that is the reason they weren't funded.

There was very limited amount of money in this particular solicitation, only \$8.6 million. I think the field also was greatly disappointed when they saw--you know, they were hoping that there would be a \$104 million solicitation and there wasn't, and so there was a lot of expectation in terms of what would be available. So I think, again, expectations were not matched by the reality.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me ask you this: do you at all look at the Congressional Districts that these would go into, and would these help a Member? Was there any pressure from anybody to say this recipient is in a Member's District and they need political help and we would like you to fund it?

Mr. FLORES. Absolutely not.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did that ever come up in your consideration or anybody's discussions with you?

Mr. FLORES. No, sir.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. All right. Thank you very much.

In peer review, as well, when these grades come out, you don't have the same grader grading every single application, do you?

Mr. FLORES. No.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So you may have, in terms of a score of 98 versus a 90, a different group giving gradings that has basically subjective, different criteria? You may have someone that is an easier grader than someone else; is that possible?

Mr. FLORES. It is not only possible; it is actually reflected in the materials that we submitted to the Committee. Some of the peer review scores differ five, ten points.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So if I just get the right person

reviewing it, I am going to have a higher score going in, 920 921 correct? Or the wrong person, a lower score? Mr. FLORES. Initially that is the case, but we do make 922 923 efforts to try to weight those and to come up with a way so that we can have some way of comparing apples to oranges. 924 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well, you may do that, but that 925 926 wouldn't be reflected in these documents, would they? Mr. FLORES. No. 927 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So you have to then take a look 928 at understanding who was grading what. That would be a 929 factor in your decisions. It wouldn't be just openly 930 931 expressed, right? Mr. FLORES. No, Mr. Davis. I think on that, when I get 932 those scores, what I tend to do is to look to make sure that 933 934 I am selecting from a pool of qualified organizations, and that generally--935 936 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. In other words, if they all have 937 a pass rate? 938 Mr. FLORES. Yes. That is correct. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And they have to meet a certain 939 criteria, and after that you look at a number of other 940 941 factors? Mr. FLORES. Absolutely. 942 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And I would gather then, from the 943 way these are listed, once they meet that criteria, whether 944

it is 99 or 87, doesn't matter that much in the selection?

Mr. FLORES. No, it doesn't, because, again, even the applicants are told in the solicitation that these peer review scores are advisory only. It is part of what we take into consideration. If I only looked at the peer review scores, there would be no need for an Administrator for this office. You could simply just automatically push these dollars forward without any thought or any effort to try to cover the entire mission of OJJDP.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Would it have been better just to rate these pass/fail if you don't take them into consideration?

Mr. FLORES. Well, I am not sure. I think I would have to really think about that. But clearly the scores that are in the top 25 percent, top 30 percent, depending upon how they are clustered—in this particular grant we did not have a lot of scores at the bottom, so things were really pushed up very high. We had, obviously, some that scored horribly, but that is at the beginning. Once I get that, I have to really look at many other issues in order to be fair not only to the applicants, but also to be fair to the needs of the field, and to make sure that our mission actually is carried out.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.

Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Davis.

I am going to use a little bit of the time I had.

Mr. Flores, your peer review team gave a ranking, they gave a score, and next to each program they had an R for recommended, and for those that did not receive a high score it says not recommended, NR. So it isn't as if all of these had been recommended by the peer review; some were recommended and some not recommended. And, as I understand it, the two that had just been discussed were in the NR category.

I have been a critic of earmarks. The reason I am a critic of earmarks is that I think Government funds ought to go based on merit, not based on the political clout of individual Members of Congress. That is why I urged people to stop the earmark process so we can develop something based on merit.

Here you had all of this money to be distributed based on merit because the Congress did not put in earmarks. The reason Congress did not put in the earmarks is because Congress couldn't get a budget through, an appropriation through; it was just on a continuing resolution. So Justice had the obligation to decide on the merits. For you to take into consideration that there had been a lot of Congressional support for a golf thing, that is not your job. Your job was to decide it on the merits. I just wanted to make that point out of the time that I still have reserved to me.

I now want to recognize Ms. Watson for five minutes.

Ms. WATSON. I want to thank the Chairman for this hearing today.

Mr. Flores, on May 17th of 2007 the Justice Department issued a public solicitation with ten priority funding areas, but on July 17th, when you wrote your decision memo recommending applications for funding, you set forth eight priority areas, some of which were the same as the public solicitation, but most of which were different.

Now, what we have been hearing you say today is that was a misleading press report and they have mischaracterized your actions and that false press report claimed that you had secret criteria only known to the Administration. So these criticisms aren't coming from the press, they are coming from your own staff. And the Committee interviewed several officials in your office, including Civil Service employees, the career program managers, and even your politically appointed supervisor. None of them said that they had heard of your categories before they saw your July 17th memo.

So the question is: if there were your real priority areas for the office, why didn't you share them with your own staff?

Mr. FLORES. Thank you for the question. That has been an area of substantial confusion. Let me just say again, if you take a look at the memorandum that I submitted to the

Assistant Attorney General, what you will see very clearly under the recommendations are that I listed the categories that were part of the solicitation: building protective factors to combat juvenile delinquency, reducing child victimization, and improving the juvenile justice system.

Within those, though, one of the things that I wanted to do, because there were so many different types of applications, so many different types of work that were being proposed, I needed to provide a way to explain what those things were. So what I did was, within those categories, I identified, in essence placed a label on what those programs did.

So for example, with respect to the building protective factors, we were very clear in the solicitation. We actually said sports programming would be one of those things within that category. So when I listed on page three of that memo the World Golf Foundation, I again highlighted how that fit into the category one, which was utilizing sports-based outreach efforts directed at high-risk youth.

It has been mischaracterized that these were secret or preexisting categories. That is not the case. These were the way that I was able to explain where those fit in into the overall categories.

If you take a look at the remainder of the memo you will see that I was consistent with that throughout.

I would also note that I submitted an additional four other memoranda under this particular funding flow, Part E, and all of the memos took the same form, provided the same kind of information. Again I would note there was never any question prior to them being signed by the Assistant Attorney General that there were any questions.

Ms. WATSON. I am concerned about your own priorities. I represent a city called Los Angeles, and it is a city that gave the world the Crips and the Bloods. I am very concerned when I look at your set of your own priorities. They don't necessarily match with the DOJ criteria.

Our Chair made reference to earmarks. He has been concerned about them, because we wanted to be sure that there were some criteria that we all agreed upon, and so we never know when a person is focusing on their own areas what the priorities are, will affect that area.

I am concerned that you say very little about integrating minorities, disproportionate minority contact and improving juvenile detention and the correction centers. Too many of our youth, African American youth and Hispanic youth in our city end up in lockups.

I want you to explain to me why you haven't set as a priority and you have--well, I say you didn't share that with your staff. You just came up with this set, as I understand. So how do you explain veering off and putting your own

targets in place rather than the criteria of DOJ?

Mr. FLORES. Ma'am, Congresswoman, I would first say a couple things. Gangs are an incredibly high priority for the Department and for my office. In Los Angeles, we have had a long-term relationship with the mayor's office since my tenure to really focus on gangs. In fact, it has been so successful it was the model that was recommended by Connie Rice for the mayor's office to adopt. The last that I know is that the mayor's office is in the process of funding, to the tune of \$150 million, more or less, the in essence replication--

Ms. WATSON. Can I just interrupt you? I am looking at the list, and I am sure you have that list, and it says disproportionate minority contact and improved juvenile detention and correction centers. I made reference to it when I opened. I don't see it on your list of priorities. I don't know what you put in place. You said you worked with the mayor. Is that the mayor of Los Angeles?

Mr. FLORES. Yes, ma'am.

Ms. WATSON. Okay. Well, I don't see it reflected in your priorities. I am looking at, on the other side of this paper, your priorities. I think you have the same list that I have. So can you explain why there is not an emphasis, or are you referring to something that was already there? These are different priorities.

Chairman WAXMAN. The gentlelady's time has expired, but 1095 1096 go ahead and answer the question. 1097 Ms. WATSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. FLORES. If I could get a copy of the document you 1098 are holding, ma'am, I would be happy to provide those answers 1099 to you as quickly as I can after the hearing. 1100 1101 Ms. WATSON. In writing? Thank you. 1102 Mr. FLORES. Absolutely. Ms. WATSON. I will take it down to you. 1103 1104 Mr. FLORES. Thank you. 1105 [The referenced information follows:] \*\*\*\*\*\* COMMITTEE INSERT \*\*\*\*\*\* 1106

1107 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Duncan?

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Mr. DUNCAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1109 Most of the time when I come to these hearings I have a 1110 briefing beforehand or do some reading beforehand and know a 1111 little bit more about it. Because of other things I was 1112 working on, I really didn't know much about what this hearing 1113 was about until I got here, but I can tell you that I have been reading some of this material and I see that this 1114 1115 program has given money to the Boys and Girls Clubs of 1116 America. That is one of the finest organizations in the 1117 Country. I am very familiar with their work in Knoxville and 1118 around the Country. The Cal Ripken Foundation, I have read 1119 about the work that they do with young people. The DARE 1120 program, I have spoken at DARE graduations teaching kids 1121 about drugs. Mr. Davis mentioned that.

But we get to these grants. You know, every Federal contract is a sweetheart deal of one sort or another, almost. They all go to former Federal employees or companies associated who hire former Federal employees, and the Defense Department is the biggest example of that. They hire all the retired admirals and generals and then they get contracts, sweetheart contracts totaling in the billions.

If I add this up, I think these grants come to about \$8 million that we are talking about here specifically, but I can tell you I am familiar with the first two programs. We

built a par three golf course in an African American section 1132 1133 of Knoxville, and the work that the First Tee program does 1134 with these kids is just fantastic, in my opinion. 1135 I didn't know what the Best Friends organization was. 1136 staffer just told me a few minutes ago that it is a program to teach inner city girls in the District about problems that 1137 1138 can come with premarital or under-age sex, and so forth, sex 1139 education. I see they said it is headed up by the wife of 1140 Bob Bennett, who is one of the most respected lawyers in this 1141 city. I sure see nothing wrong with that. 1142 I don't know about what some of these others are. 1143 is the Enough is Enough program? Do you know what that is? 1144 Mr. FLORES. Yes. That is an organization that is 1145 working to educate parents and families, as well as communities, on the dangers and risks of internet predators, 1146 1147 internet pornography, and has actually testified numerous 1148 times before the Congress as experts on that work. Mr. DUNCAN. Well, there is sure nothing wrong with that. 1149 What is the Latino Coalition for Faith and Community 1150 1151 Initiatives? 1152 Mr. FLORES. They are a great organization that works 1153 with a lot of small local community faith-based and community 1154 organizations that are targeting Hispanic kids with great 1155 need. And one of the things that they do is that they make 1156 sure that the money that these smaller groups receive is

managed properly, that they can participate in the audit process, that they get technical assistance and support in actually administering those Federal funds. So what they do is they are really a point of leverage for us to make sure that we increase both the responsibility over those Federal funds, and make sure that we know effectively how those programs are being run.

Mr. DUNCAN. You know, I can tell you every one of these things sound very defensible to me, and a lot better than many of the things the Federal Government does. What happens, you know, we are not machines here. Every human being, whether he or she wants to admit it or not, we all have feelings, opinions, prejudices, beliefs. Those enter in. They can talk about having objective ratings. What you have got, all the staff people who worked on these, their feelings, their opinions, their prejudices, their beliefs entered into their rankings. Whoever takes your place as head of this program is going to have those same feelings and prejudices and feelings. He or she is going to favor some organizations over others.

What you have here apparently, you have got very few winners and you have got a whole lot of losers, and apparently this is come about from one or more sore losers in this process. I don't see anything wrong with what you have done.

1182 Thank you very much. 1183 Mr. FLORES. Thank you. 1184 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman has a minute or two. 1185 Would you yield to me? 1186 Mr. DUNCAN. Yes. 1187 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, we ought to say that all these 1188 grants ought to be distributed based on Mr. Flores' 1189 decision-making, but instead we had a whole set of criteria 1190 and people to review them and to make recommendations in 1191 order to decide on the merits. Well, if merit is being whatever Mr. Flores wants, why bother with the rest of that 1192 1193 process? 1194 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Will the gentleman yield? mean, I he took those--Mr. Flores, you took that into 1195 1196 account, didn't you? 1197 Mr. FLORES. Yes, I did. 1198 Mr. DUNCAN. It wasn't that these ratings by the 1199 professional staff were irrelevant, was it? 1200 Mr. FLORES. No. They were important in establishing the 1201 pool of qualified applicants. 1202 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. Thank you. 1203 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time is expired. 1204 I would like to now recognize Mr. Cummings. 1205 Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I certainly was listening very closely to the line of 1206

questioning by Mr. Duncan. I have a tremendous amount of respect for him, but there are some things that I think were not quite kosher in all of this, and that is what I want to deal with.

Mr. Flores, I would like to ask you about the grant to the World Golf Foundation.

Before I start, I would like to say that I don't know very much about this organization. I know that they came in to meet with staff and they were helpful. I know that Former President Bush is their honorary Chair, so I assume they do good work. But when the career staff in your office reviewed the proposal from the World Golf Foundation, they found significant problems with its design elements and its lack of focus. They concluded that the proposal did not adequately explain how funding this group would advance juvenile justice. The peer review team ranked this proposal 47th out of 104.

On Monday you told the Committee staff in 2006 you took a trip to Florida to visit the World Golf Foundation at their annual meeting. We have the agenda from the meeting, and it shows that on Friday, February 17th, there was a golf outing at the Slammer and Squire Golf Course. Are you familiar?

Mr. FLORES. Yes, I am.

Mr. CUMMINGS. We have a picture of this course so you can see what it looks like. The agenda says that the golfing

1232 was followed by lunch and awards.

When my staff asked you about this on Monday, you told them you played golf on this trip; is that correct?

Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Flores, in 1989 Congress passed the Ethics Reform Act, which states that no officer or employee of the Executive Branch 'shall accept anything of value from a person seeking official action from, doing business with, or conducting activities regulated by the individual's employing entity.' In 2006 the World Golf Foundation had a grant from your office. In fact, that is why you went to Florida to meet with the officials; is that right?

Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUMMINGS. But the green fees for this course are in the hundreds of dollars, so if the World Golf Foundation played for your game, then you received something of value, which would seem to be a violation of the Ethics Reform Act.

So let me ask you this, Mr. Flores: when you played at Slammer and Squire in 2006 did you pay for your round of golf?

Mr. FLORES. I did not pay for it at the time because the way that this situation came up was after the dinner I was told that there would be a golf outing the next day and that I could fill in a foursome, so I took the opportunity to do that, which gave me a chance to talk with those folks during

the course of the day and then also to meet with people after the round was over.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Flores, let me ask you this, because I don't have much time.

Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUMMINGS. We have a copy of the receipt that was provided to the Committee last night. It is my understanding that you did pay, which I would like to put up on the screen. The date of this receipt is yesterday, and it shows that you paid \$159 yesterday. Why did you wait until yesterday to pay for a round of golf that happened two years ago?

Mr. FLORES. Again, when I signed up to play I made efforts that day to pay for it, but they were not set up. Again, there was no Federal funding tied to this golf round for any of the other participants either. Everyone was paying their way. After I asked for an invoice. They told me that they would just go ahead and send me a bill. I had staff follow up on that on several occasions, never received one, and so I continued from time to time to follow up until we contacted Kelly Martin, and she was able to give us a cost, because this was tied into also, as you had pointed out, sir, prizes and other things that I was not part of and wasn't involved in. So when that cost was finally given to me, I immediately paid it.

Mr. CUMMINGS. All right.

Mr. FLORES. It wasn't that large an amount of money. I simply gave them a credit card and they charged it against that.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, Mr. Flores, you say you can explain it and I think you just did, but I hope you can understand how it appears to the taxpayer and other grant applicants. You go to Florida in 2006 and play golf with officials from the World Golf Foundation who paid for your green fees. The next year you disregard the recommendations of the career staff and award the Golf Foundation hundreds of thousands of dollars in grants, and you don't pay the Golf Foundation back until the day before you are called to testify.

The appearance is that the playing field was not level. And no matter what Mr. Duncan says, we are talking about level playing fields. Your actions cast a taint over the entire process. No matter how great the Boys and Girls Club is, no matter how great the Cal Ripken Club is--and, by the way, I financial management from Baltimore, so I fully support that club, and I know Cal Ripken personally. That is why there are laws against accepting this kind of gift that you took from the Golf Foundation. Do you understand that?

Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Based on the documents and interviews, it appears that you met personally with Joe Barrow, the Executive Director of the World Golf Foundation, on June 6th,

1307 2007, along with your Chief of Staff, Michelle Deconti.

Mr. FLORES. Yes.

Mr. CUMMINGS. This was right in the middle of the grant application process. The public solicitation had gone out, and applicants were busy drafting and submitting their proposals which were due in about a week. Were you giving the World Golf Foundation special treatment by meeting with Mr. Barrow at the time?

Mr. FLORES. No. I try to meet with anyone who wants a meeting as quickly as we can get those meetings set up. We also provide, during this time, technical assistance to anyone making an application so that they have an idea as to not only how to submit the application, but the nitty gritty in terms of dealing with the computer systems and all those kinds of things.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I am glad you said that, because I want to ask you this: you say that you didn't give Mr. Barrow special treatment by meeting with him, but the record shows that you rejected the requests of other groups for meetings. For example, you didn't meet with the President of Parents Anonymous, a great organization, who requested a meeting a week earlier. According to the e-mail sent by one of your staffers, you had an understanding with your office that you wouldn't take such meetings.

Here is what the e-mail said. ''Per our understanding,

1332 these calls were to be handled by program managers and to protect you from folks beating down your door saying that you 1333 1334 were not available.'' Is that is correct? Open door for one 1335 and others will follow? You know how the grapevine works. 1336 mean, is that your position? 1337 Mr. FLORES. I have great respect for Parents Anonymous 1338 and I have worked and appeared at their organization several 1339 years in a row as their keynote speaker. I knew that they 1340 were asking for funds. I knew that they would probably be 1341 applying for funds. At that time the decision was that we 1342 would try and meet with as many people as we could, but we 1343 couldn't meet with everyone, and that is the reference there in that e-mail, I believe. I know that I have seen that, but 1344 I can't remember the specific language. But the goal 1345 1346 obviously was, since my schedule was pretty tight, was to 1347 make sure that I was not going to get an individual meeting 1348 with every single person who wanted to have one. 1349 Mr. CUMMINGS. But do you understand what the appearance 1350 is? 1351 Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir, I understand that sometimes, even 1352 when we are trying to make the best decision you can, the 1353 appearance is not necessarily in line with that. 1354 Mr. CUMMINGS. After meeting with the World Golf 1355 Foundation on June 6th, you and your chief of staff, Michelle Deconti directed Jeff Salawaski, the career official in 1356

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1357 charge of the peer review process, to inform the World Golf 1358 Foundation personally of solicitations and help them apply for this solicitation, but Mr. Salawaski told the Committee 1359 1360 that he thought this was special treatment. 1361 Mr. Flores, do you think you gave the World Golf 1362 Foundation special treatment as Mr. Salawaski testified 1363 before our Committee? 1364 Mr. FLORES. No, sir. 1365 Mr. CUMMINGS. And so, Mr. Flores, let me put one 1366 document on the screen. This is an e-mail from Mr. Salawaski 1367 on June 8th, just two days after your meeting. It states, 1368 ''World Golf made the grants.gov deadline. I am certain we 1369 are funding because Michelle has said as much.'' 1370 says Michelle, he is referring to Michelle Deconti, your chief of staff who has refused to talk to the Committee and 1371 invoked the Fifth Amendment. Did you know that? 1372 1373 Mr. FLORES. Yes. 1374 Mr. CUMMINGS. Did you know she invoked the Fifth 1375 Amendment before this Committee? 1376 Mr. FLORES. Yes, I did. 1377 Mr. CUMMINGS. Does that concern you? 1378 Mr. FLORES. That is her right under the law. 1379 Mr. CUMMINGS. I didn't ask you that. I said does it 1380 concern you? 1381

Mr. FLORES. I don't have any concerns about that, sir.

1382 Mr. CUMMINGS. Why would Mr. Salawaski, a career 1383 official, think that the fix was in and it was certain that the World Golf Association would get a grant? Why is that? 1384 Mr. FLORES. I don't know. 1385 1386 Mr. CUMMINGS. The documents show that you were having 1387 direct meetings with the World Golf Foundation at the same time you were refusing others. You were directing your staff 1388 1389 to provide assistance they weren't providing others. your chief of staff was saying you had already decided to 1390 fund the application before the peer review process had even 1391 1392 begun. If that isn't special treatment, I don't know what 1393 is, and it creates a significant problem, whether grants are being given to the Cal Ripken Foundation or anybody else. 1394 is a question of level playing field, it is a question of 1395 1396 fairness, and it is a question of making sure that when 1397 taxpayers' dollars are being spent, they are being spent on 1398 the basis of equity, parity, and a process that everybody is 1399 subjected to fairly. 1400 With that, I am extremely concerned, and I think you 1401 should be, too. 1402 With that I yield back. 1403 Mr. FLORES. Mr. Cummings, could I respond? Would that 1404 be all right? 1405 Ms. WATSON. [Presiding] Yes. 1406 Mr. FLORES. I just want to say very clearly the decision

to fund or not to fund was mine. It was not Ms. Deconti's or 1407 1408 anyone else. I was certainly getting information from people, my career staff as well as my other colleagues, but I 1409 1410 made that decision, and I made that decision after taking a look at the merits of it, not because I had had a 1411 conversation or a sit-down meeting with anyone. 1412 There were people there in the groups that did not 1413 receive funding that I have talked to, I have talked to on 1414 1415 the phone, I knew very much a lot about their program. 1416 For example, the Winona State University proposal is an excellent proposal. The problem with that, though, is that 1417 we are already making, to the tune of, it, over \$15 million 1418 1419 investments in child abuse and neglect. So the suggestion 1420 that somehow because someone gets to sit down and have a conversation with me and has redress to the Government that 1421 that is leading to my making a judgment simply on that basis, 1422 I am not prepared to accept that. 1423 Ms. WATSON. Time is up. 1424 1425 Mr. Sali? Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I have two and a half minutes 1426 first before Mr. Sali, if that would be all right with the 1427 1428 Chair. 1429 Ms. WATSON. Absolutely. Mr. Davis? 1430 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I am intrigued. I mean, as you

get the peer group review underneath you, they are looking at

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an individual application and how it is written vis-a-vis the criteria, but they don't understand how everything fits together, how you may have too much funding in child abuse or not enough in drug prevention; isn't that right?

Mr. FLORES. That is correct.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And so ultimately you could have the top rated ones could all be in one area and you wouldn't get coverage in others. Isn't that one of the reasons that they have you make the decision within the Department instead of just being done through a computer?

Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Or through peer review? I mean, 1444 I think that is the point.

Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And these are tough decisions, and I may not think it is appropriate to have you called up here when people write a good proposal and don't get it and have you explain it. It keeps everybody on their toes when you have to do that. But I want to make the point that I think you have made it clear in each of these cases why you went the way you did. People can agree or disagree with it. These are judgment subjective calls, and somebody else sitting in your position might have made a different decision than you did. But that is not waste, fraud, and abuse. That is just a difference of opinion. There is no violation of

law that I see here or no violation of regulation. These are just judgment calls that you, as a Senate confirmed

Administration appointee, have to make along the way.

It is a little disheartening sometimes to see underlings complain about it, come to the Committee and complain about this, but you will find this, particularly at Justice, where some of the career staff who have different political views often go to the press or to somebody else and start complaining about it. But they are not elected to run the Government, you are as an Administration appointee elected to run the Government and to make these decisions.

We can disagree all day about it, but that is the way it works. And Congress has had the ability in the past to earmark these programs and they chose not to do it in 2007.

So for Members who do not like it, you can look back at that budget process and say, we made a mistake; we should have done it, we'd do a better job of it. That is the option you have.

And I go back again to Glasgow Intermediate School, which met a very high criteria for an educational grant under the previous Administration and didn't get it and the money went somewhere else, and I asked appropriate questions at the time and met with the Administration officials making it, and I was satisfied at the end of the day that it really wasn't a political call, but my first opportunity to earmark that

grant I did the next time around and it has helped that school as if it had been able to fund all of these it would have done the same.

Now, I think, Mr. Sali we are ready to go to.

Chairman WAXMAN. [Presiding] Thank you, Mr. Davis.

Mr. Sali, you are recognized.

Mr. SALI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Flores.

Mr. FLORES. Good morning, sir.

Mr. SALI. The National Partnership for Juvenile Services submitted a grant application and, as a part of that program, there is a juvenile detention center in Coldwell, Idaho, 90-bed facility, that has been run by a gentleman by the name of Steven Jett, apparently since 1993. I understand that they are pretty proud of their program there and that they have a pretty good record with the facility there.

I understand that that grant application was ranked number two. Without going into an awful lot of detail, I understand that the applications that were ranked 39th, 42nd, 44th, and 53rd all received funding, but this proposal that was ranked number two did not receive funding, in spite of the fact that it appears to be a very good program.

I recognize that you have been put in place to make decisions and use your judgment. On the other hand, I hope you will recognize that this does raise eyebrows when the

number two program does not get funded and these other lower-scoring applications do get funded.

Can you explain to me the reasoning why National
Partnership for Juvenile Services, which was ranked number
two, was not given funding, but these other lower-ranking
proposals were? What were the factors upon which your
judgment was based on that particular case?

Mr. FLORES. Thanks for the question. I appreciate that.

First of all, the proposal overall was to create a new center, a new national center to explore confinement issues, so this was not funding that was going to go directly to a particular detention facility or a particular corrections establishment. This was really designed to create a new center, which would explore these confinement issues, promote best practices, conduct data collection efforts, and also provide technical assistance.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency

Prevention, that is our job. So in my view this was

requesting the creation of an organization that was going to

mirror very much what we already do.

For example, our office, Congressional funding comes to our office that we administer to the tune of, I think, usually around \$80 million a year that goes to States that they can use for disproportionate minority confinement, which is DMC. I am sorry to use those acronyms--disproportionate

minority confinement. We provide, as a result of a set-aside that Congress has, I think, wisely built into the statute, technical assistance and training, and on more than one occasion we have actually used folks connected to a number of the organizations that would be made up by the NPJS.

I also looked at the requirement. I took 2007, sir, to be an anomaly, that we probably would not see in 2008 again part E with no earmarks, and so I was looking at how do I make the best decision with one-year funding, because I can't make really long-term decisions where I am going to create a new center, in essence, provide that initial funding, and then not be able to continue that level of support. I know what goes into creating these national centers. It is expensive. It is hard to get the infrastructure dollars.

So rather than build new infrastructure, I decided up front, after looking at what had actually come in--because I didn't know until I actually saw the list of organizations that had applied--that, based on the dollars being requested and the types of work that were being proposed by all of the top-scoring grantees, that I would not invest in the creation of new centers.

That was my thinking on that. It wasn't that the idea is not a good one and that if private funding were available for that or we were in a different type of budget environment that we might not go ahead and do that, but under the

circumstances we only had \$8.6 million to award under this grant solicitation.

If I had taken the top three centers, one center was promoted by NPJS, the other two were put out by NCPC, one on girls and one on violence prevention, I think, if I recall correctly, that would have taken up the entire budget. We would have only been able to make three awards.

I did not know, did not have the confidence that I did with other organizations that I could really reduce their funding and they would still be able to do the work that they were proposing.

That was my thinking process, sir.

Mr. SALI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. The gentleman has completed his questioning and time has expired.

The Chair recognizes Ms. Foxx.

Ms. FOXX. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I don't have any questions at this time. Thank you.

Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. Who is next? Mr. Issa?
Mr. ISSA. Thank you.

The fundamental challenge, it seems, that you face is that all of you are Senate confirmed individually. Does that create a bit of a conflict, in your mind, of the chain of command? And I am not trying to put you on a hot spot, but in a sense isn't it usual to have a Senate confirmed leader

who then essentially has the allegiance of people that are not Senate confirmed beneath him, and that is not the case here. Does that create some conflict in your mind or some question?

Mr. FLORES. With all due respect, it is just the system I am in, so we have attempted to deal with it. I have got some great colleagues, both appointees as well as the career staff, who work very hard on these issues.

Mr. ISSA. And I realize that every ambassador is confirmed, in addition to the people above them, but the reason I ask the question is your allegiance, if you will, is it to a certain extent to interviews, promises, the attitudes necessary to get confirmed versus, if you will, the priorities of those above you or below you?

Mr. FLORES. No. Sir, I took an oath to do the best job I possibly could, to defend the Constitution, to abide by its laws, and that is where my--as I have told my staff, it is about the children. These are our kids, not somebody else's children that we are worried about. That is what I worry about.

Mr. ISSA. So you would say that there is no priority based on any political consideration; that even though you are all political appointees confirmed by the Senate, you are not beholding to either the appointer or the confirming Senate?

Mr. FLORES. No, sir. 1607 1608 Mr. ISSA. Okay. Mr. FLORES. My responsibility is to make sure that these 1609 kids get help. 1610 Mr. ISSA. Okay. And up until now I think you have 1611 focused solely on the so-called priorities for funding, but 1612 isn't it the case that your boss, Ms. Schofield, had 1613 priorities of her own? 1614 Mr. FLORES. Yes, she did. 1615 Mr. ISSA. You funded the Native American Children's 1616 Alliance that was at her request because of her own 1617 1618 priorities; isn't that true? 1619 Mr. FLORES. Yes. Mr. ISSA. Isn't it true that the Native American 1620 Children's Alliance received the same score, an 82, that 1621 1622 World Golf received? 1623 Mr. FLORES. I believe that is right. Mr. ISSA. So in the case of a tie, it is a political 1624 decision? 1625 Mr. FLORES. Yes. I think, again, she had priorities, 1626 she had information, and she had an understanding of the 1627 overall mission not just of OJJDP but of OJP, and so she 1628 moved to do that. 1629 I would just note for the record that my understanding 1630 is that there was insufficient funding in the solicitation 1631

pot for the national programs, so she actually identified \$250,000 in de-obligated funds and made those available on top of the money that was available for the national program solicitation, and that was something that only she could do, because those are dollars she controls.

Mr. ISSA. Okay. And typically grant awarding year a contractor is hired to review the grant applications and score each application, but for fiscal year 2007 OJJDP--that is not a catchy name--decided that the solicitation entitled for 2007 national juvenile justice programs, the applications would be reviewed by internal peer reviews. Was that wise to essentially bring them into what you sort of admitted is a political environment?

Mr. FLORES. Well, I think that in this particular case it was. We were working under tight deadlines, and the staff was being asked not to opine as to the worthiness of these applications, but they were being asked to determine whether or not the applications were sound and to create a pool for me.

Mr. ISSA. So you weren't reviewing which would get the best bang for the taxpayers' dollars, but rather whether the applications were accurate?

Mr. FLORES. Well, whether they were complete and well presented. That was the peer review portion. The other question really focused on me, and that was my responsibility

to make recommendations.

Mr. ISSA. So would it be fair to say that if, in fact, you are looking for completeness of applications and then, I family will, priorities of individuals, and you don't have an independent grant peer review grant process that evaluates the quality of the return on investment to the stakeholders—in this case the taxpayers—that, in fact, this is charity more than it is return on investment?

Mr. FLORES. No, sir. Those are considerations that I make when it gets to my desk in terms of the peer review. For example, that is one of the reasons that I thought the First Tee program was such a valuable asset, because they leverage a lot of private dollars and other dollars that come into the organization.

Those are the issues that I do, in fact, ask. That is the reason why we didn't go with JRSA, the number one rated peer review scored program, because we had already made some changes within our office, and to go ahead and fund them would have wasted those dollars.

Likewise, you know, we are always looking. Texas A&M proposal, which was identified by the Chairman a little while ago, that was a locally State-based program. That wasn't even national in scope. Those are just things that, again, on my responsibility as the appointee, when I am trying to prepare my recommendations to the final decision-maker.

1682 Mr. ISSA. Thank you.

1683 Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

1684 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Platts?

1685 Mr. PLATTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Flores, I, for one, appreciate your service to our Nation and our citizens and the importance of your work because it does deal with children and how we deal with preventing juvenile delinquency and all the related issues that go with that.

I do have some specific questions. I apologize for not hearing your previous testimony. Hopefully I won't be too repetitive of what you have already addressed.

It does come from an applicant in my District, a longstanding, well-regarded, 30-year history, and some questions they have raised as ones trying to fairly participate and compete.

I know you have talked a little bit about the criteria, the priorities, the categorical priorities that were set for what you were looking for for applications in this round. My understanding, from my constituent agency, is that, in essence, after the deadline passed, additional new priorities were applied that were not delineated to the applicants. If I understand from your testimony earlier, from my staff, is that you did address that, that you had an initial screening and then you applied some additional priority review.

I guess my question is: why would that not have been shared with the applicants up front, what you are looking for, rather than them go through a process? If you have got priorities, why have them go through the process of applying if it is really not in the area that you are looking to prioritize?

Mr. FLORES. I really do appreciate that question, because I think there has been a lot of concern about that issue.

When I sat down with the Assistant Attorney General to come up with the remaining solicitations after the invitations had been made and we knew what the dollars would be for these other solicitations, we had a choice: we could either be fairly narrow and put out a national program solicitation that really wasn't a national program solicitation, it was, again, a subject matter solicitation, much like the others we have done--prevention, intervention, substance abuse, mentoring, those kinds of fairly specific issues.

Mr. PLATTS. Yes.

Mr. FLORES. It was my decision to put out a broad national program solicitation. Intentionally, if you take a look at the solicitation, there were three very broad categories.

Mr. PLATTS. Right.

Mr. FLORES. What I wanted to signal to the field was, while it may not be a lot of money, and I don't believe that we let people know what the amount of money is. That would have been unusual in any event. I wanted to at least encourage people, give people an opportunity to bring before me great programs. I mean, I know a lot about what is going on in the field because I get a lot of information across my desk and my staff is very good about that, but I don't know everything. So I was waiting to get this information, and people applied. I had no idea who was going to apply and what for.

Once those came in and I saw the peer review scores, I had to come up with a way of putting them into categories. It wasn't that I had categories prior to seeing what was there, but, for example, JRSA--again, the top peer review scored organization--they are in the statistics, data, evaluation business, so that is kind of the heading that they were under, and there were other similar kinds of organizations all the way throughout the top 25 percent.

We had a number of centers that were being proposed, whether it was by NCPC or by the National Juvenile Partnership, so these are not, contrary to what they have been suggested to be, special little categories that I had that I didn't tell anybody about. These were the descriptive labels and the categories that I had when I saw what was

1757 actually on the table. So there was nothing new introduced, but I had to then figure out from those groups that actually 1758 1759 applied which ones now, looking at the entire JJ funding 1760 universe, which ones made sense. 1761 Mr. PLATTS. My understanding is that in the initial 1762 three broad categories there are subcategories totaling about 1763 ten specific areas, three under two of them and four 1764 subcategories under the third, so you had ten, and you had 1765 your applications, and then, in response, you did this 1766 additional review that you are talking about, and that of the 1767 104, I think it is, or so applicants, that less than 20 were 1768 then eligible based on the additional criteria that was put 1769 forth as part of your review. 1770 Mr. FLORES. Yes. I had to make a value judgment within 1771 those categories, seeing now who had actually applied, which 1772 I felt were more important than others. Yes, I did. 1773 Mr. PLATTS. More important, or eligible by a certain criteria being applied? 1774 1775 Mr. FLORES. No. More important based on who was there. 1776 I know this sounds like semantics, but it is really not. 1777 am trying to figure out, for example, who--1778 Mr. PLATTS. Let's take that assumption. I am going to 1779 run out of time here. I guess I am. If I can complete this question, Mr. Chairman, if that is okay? Thank you. 1780 1781

Let's take that it wasn't new criteria, because that was

my first concern, because if there is additional criteria it should have been out there from the beginning. But assuming it is not new criteria but just further scrutinizing the applicants, which wasn't my understanding, I guess in your answers to Mr. Issa's questions you said that the panels that did the review--I wasn't sure why it was staff versus outside experts to get some additional input--but the panels that were reviewing were not for worthiness, but just if they were sound, basically complete.

I guess it doesn't seem like you gave much weight really to the panels and their scoring process, because once you had all those scores you really didn't weight those scores. You did an additional review of your own to get who is going to be really provided funds.

I guess I am uncertain of why go through the scoring process, why have that peer review with all these 25 panels, do that scoring, if it is going to come to you and then you are going to do the weighting of the 104 applicants as opposed to saying, All right, we have 104, here is how they scored, maybe I am going to narrow it to the top 25 and then look at those. But it seems like that is not what you did. You started over with all 104. I am not sure why you even go through that scoring process up front.

Mr. FLORES. I did not go through all 104. I confined myself to around the top 25 percent, top quarter of the

1807 different applications that came in. And it is really very 1808 important for the staff. In this case they are more than 1809 competent to go through that. They know budgets. They know program submissions. They have seen a lot of these 1810 1811 solicitations. They really can do an incredible job in terms 1812 of whether or not the proposal is internally consistent and 1813 has a logic model that works. Those kinds of things are 1814 important. Once I get that, I use that to create a pool. 1815 1816 where I pull from. I don't go just anywhere in the list. I 1817 really take that into consideration. 1818 Mr. PLATTS. So you did, in essence, eliminate the lower 1819 three-quarters? 1820 Mr. FLORES. Yes, sir. 1821 Mr. PLATTS. Okay. 1822 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. 1823 Mr. PLATTS. Will we have another round, Mr. Chairman? Chairman WAXMAN. Yes, if we have time. 1824 1825 Mr. PLATTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 1826 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Walz? 1827 Mr. WALZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member, for extending this courtesy to allow me to come before you 1828 1829 today. 1830 Mr. Flores, thank you for being here. I represent the First District of Minnesota. 1831

1832 includes Winona State University. At Winona State 1833 University, that is where the National Child Protection 1834 Training Center is housed, and the mission of this center is the only federally-funded program that has as its goal the 1835 1836 significant reduction if not elimination of child abuse in 1837 the United States, and has a practical, concrete, peer 1838 reviewed plan to achieve this goal. They trained over 10,000 1839 prosecutors, social service workers, teachers in all 50 1840 States across the Nation, and has been recognized and 1841 recognized by the peer review process as one of your top four 1842 grant recipients or, in this process, I guess, suggestions. 1843 I will have to be quite honest with you. I do have a 1844 bias in this. I am a public school teacher. I started as an 1845 elementary, middle school, and high school teacher, and I am 1846 a parent of two small children. The elimination of child 1847 abuse and the cost to this Nation morally is incalculable. 1848 The financial impact of it is estimated somewhere around \$78 1849 billion, as you are well aware, because you are leading a 1850 Department that is number one priority is to address this 1851 issue. 1852 Have you been to Winona State and the National Child 1853 Protection Training Center? 1854 Mr. FLORES. I have not, sir. Mr. WALZ. We will extend you that invitation. Winter is 1855 1856 the best time to come.

[Laughter.]

1858 Mr. FLORES. And I am listening to where we are going 1859 here.

Chairman WAXMAN. Can you golf in the winter time?

Mr. WALZ. We are listening to the questions here and I understand and I am listening and trying to get a handle on this.

Winona State sent in a letter then after they were denied, after they were ranked fourth out of all of these, and it said because of the number of quality of applicants received, the selection process was highly competitive. A peer review panel reviewed applications against the criteria set out in the solicitation.

And then they sent back what was wrong or what was right, and it came back with a list of strengths only. Some things like project offers both innovative approach and advancement of current practices. Clear connection between goals and objectives desired of the program in the reduction of child abuse. Detailed description of specific program implementation, strategies detailed. And the last one said this: ''Applicant clearly has the organizational capacity and experience to manage the project.'' Okay.

And I listened to what you are saying, and you said, I have to make the final determination. It was very specific that child abuse reduction was one of the criteria that was

put out to them. Hundreds and hundreds of hours were put
into the application process. They met all these. And yet,
when it came out, you awarded a grant to Victory Outreach,
who said, thank you but we don't have the organizational
capacity to take the grant and they handed it back. You were
told that by the peer review process and you still awarded
the grant.

In retrospect, would it be wise to take some of the suggestions from the peer review process, like whether they can spend the money or not?

Mr. FLORES. Mr. Walz, first let me say I am very familiar with the work that Victor Vieth and the organization do at Winona and I support it 100 percent. I am a former prosecutor and have done these kinds of cases, so this is also very important to me as a dad of both a boy and two girls.

What I will say is this: we had very little funding in this particular pot. The Justice Department administers a number of very closely related training programs. We have the National Children's Alliance, which funds child advocacy centers across the Country which provide very similar training and support. We had awarded a \$700,000 grant to the National District Attorney's Association, which is a related entity, as you know. They are associated with the organization at Winona.

So, based on looking at how much money we were already investing in terms of child protection, child sexual abuse and exploitation, the fact that I had recommended a \$700,000 award to NDAA, I did not feel that we could go ahead and continue to fund out of a pot of money which was just \$8.6 million.

Mr. WALZ. On that line of logic, though, it brings me back to the Best Friends. You went ahead and offered Best Friends \$1 million out of this, even though they were far lower, 80th or something, out of this group, even though the Bush Administration had put \$213 million previously into this. So the argument is we are already funding the child abuse things, there is no more need for this, whatever. That is a tough argument to make when you went ahead and funded one that the Bush Administration said was fully funded and you went ahead and gave them more anyway.

I am trying to understand. I guess my process comes to what many of the Members are saying here. Are we paying those panels to review this, because I would like to have the IG look at this, because if those panels are totally disregarded and the hundreds of hours that are spent by people out in there, we are wasting taxpayer money.

My problem is on the criteria of this. If this is going to be that Director Flores is going to decide, put that out in the grant application. Put down whatever you want, but at

the end of the day Director Flores will decide. That may not be what I agree with, but at least that is going to be a fair and honest answer on this, because I see no reason. It was specifically directed to address child abuse, and now you are saying it was a pot of money and we moved it around.

They, in their best faith effort at Winona State
University and Victor Vieth, did everything the grant asked.
Their peer reviewed process said you did everything that we asked. Others that didn't do that and couldn't spend the money were awarded the grant, and I am trying to wrap my mind around this. I am not here to debate with my colleagues the merits of the Golf Association, which I fully think does what they say they are going to do, nor the Boys or Girls Clubs, but, as the Chairman has said, there is a very interesting defense of arbitrary earmarking going on from people in this room. That doesn't make any sense to me if we are trying to streamline focus.

As I read to you again, this is the only one you fund that has a practical, concrete peer reviewed plan to achieve this.

And you said at the end, Mr. Flores, you are just trying to make sense of how this all fits together in the criteria of what you are doing. Are you doing that through qualitative analysis, or how are you coming up with what fits in the overall plan?

1957 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. 1958 Do you want to respond to that? 1959 Mr. FLORES. Mr. Walz, Congressman, I do take into 1960 consideration not just information that is subjective, but we 1961 have a substantial amount of hard data in terms of the 1962 different programs that we evaluate. We do a substantial am the of data collection in our office. We fund that. 1963 1964 is not a question of my not being aware of the utility and 1965 the importance. 1966 But I would say again that the Department, in particular 1967 my office, funds a substantial arm the of child abuse and 1968 neglect work. This is not something that is not important to 1969 I certainly hear the agitation in your voice, and your

Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Flores, I am going to have to interrupt you because we are running out of time and we want to close out the hearing and give each side an opportunity to make further comments.

heartfelt feeling that I made a bad decision.

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I want to point out that you said you restricted yourself to the top quarter, and yet Best Friends is not even in the top 50 percent.

You state in your testimony you believe you awarded these grants in a transparent and good faith manner, but that is not what we have heard from other officials at the Department of Justice. We talked to five current and former

officials, including Civil Service program managers, career supervisors, and even a Bush Administration appointee, and every single one of them came to the opposite conclusion.

Let me give you an example. We interviewed one of your program managers who served as a peer reviewer on this solicitation, and we asked her whether the process was transparent. She said no. We asked whether it was fair, and she said absolutely not. And we asked her whether it served the taxpayers' interests, and she said no it does not.

We also interviewed your Associate Administrator, Jeff Salawaski, and this is someone with 18 years of experience who supervised the peer review process. He was familiar with other Justice Department funding streams. Here is what he said. 'Whatever factors you are going to use to weigh and sort out the pool should be very clearly produced in the solicitation so that everyone understands that.'' When we asked him whether he thought the process was fair or transparent he said no.

We also interviewed your superior, the Assistant
Attorney General for Justice programs, Regina Schofield, and,
like you, she was a Senate confirmed Presidential appointee.
She told us, 'You can't create categories after grants have
been received because there is no transparency in the
process.' She said it is not fair to the grantees, and she
said you did not have candor or clarity in your process. She

2007 said, ''I am for candor and clarity, especially when dealing with the people's money, and that did not happen and I am 2008 upset that it did not happen.'' 2009 We wanted to interview your Chief of Staff, Michelle 2010 2011 Deconti, but she refused to answer our questions and invoked 2012 the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination. Mr. Flores, it seems that you are the only person at the 2013 2014 Department of Justice who thinks your process was fair, transparent, and served the interest of the taxpayers. 2015 2016 I am not asking you to respond, but I just want to make 2017 that as my closing comment and will be pleased to receive 2018 comments from you further in the record, but I do think that is important to set all of that out. 2019 2020 We have a unanimous consent request that two letters be 2021 submitted to the record, one that I sent to Mr. Davis and the 2022 other that he sent to me. Without objection, that will be the order. 2023 2024 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you. 2025 [The referenced information follow:]

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Chairman WAXMAN. I would like to now turn it over to Mr. Davis for any closing comments.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman, just a couple sentences. Mr. Platts wanted one clarifying question, if we could do that very quickly.

Mr. PLATTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you, Ranking Member.

Just a follow-up, Mr. Flores. In getting to how you did the scoring and how you took it, you said your second review was taking, in essence, the top 25 percent. The applicant that I have been contacted by was scored first in their panel and 87.5 on the score, and I guess I don't understand how you are saying you took the top 25 percent when five of those that were funded were ranked 47th, 42nd, 33, 53, and 26, that being the only one that would be in the top 25 percent.

If you took the top 25 percent, how did four of those others that were way out of the top 25 percent make that second cut, and especially when they were ranked in their panels, one was number five in a panel, one was number six in the panel? How do you reconcile that if you took the top 25 percent? And you said you give great weight to the staff reviews, because they are the ones who are administering these programs.

Mr. FLORES. Congressman, do you have a copy of the decision memo? Is that what you are looking at? I just want

to refer you to some parts of that. If you have a copy of that, what you will see is that I was referring to the top.

Ultimately they fell into the top 20 percent of peer review scores, not the actual out of 100 they were 50 or 47. I was going by the scores.

That is what is really relevant, not the number where they fit in, because conceivably they could have all gotten scores of 98, 99, 97, and they would have all been clustered at the top. We still would have had to make some kind of decision.

The point that I would make is that, again, I had to ask questions once I looked at the top-scoring pool of applicants. So yes, if you take a look at the decision memo I actually made sure that the specific peer review score was part of each of the award recommendations so that there would be no confusion over what the score was that each of those organizations received.

Chairman WAXMAN. We are going to run out of time here.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me just make one quick point, because we have to go vote. Number one is that the scores were different scorers, so you had one person scoring under one criteria or another, and you are comparing almost apples to oranges when you look at the score because you have different people with different criteria, and some are more lenient than others scoring.

2077 I would just note thank you very much. 2078 Mr. PLATTS. Thank you, Mr. Administrator. Thank you, 2079 Mr. Chairman. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. There is no indication here that 2080 2081 any laws were broken or any regulations. What we have is a disagreement, obviously, among grantors, grantees, and 2082 2083 Members--this is why we fight over earmarks the same way--over some of your decisions. I may or may not agree 2084 with the decisions, but I think you have, at least to my 2085 2086 satisfaction, explained why you made them. 2087 Just one quick clarifying note. The Assistant Attorney 2088 General, Regina Schofield, her program was funded way down, 2089 the Native American Children, but you funded that, but she 2090 had the ability to overrule your decision, did she not, if 2091 she didn't like it? 2092 Mr. FLORES. Yes. 2093 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And in her testimony she never 2094 said there were any violations of law or regulations, just a 2095 disagreement on these, and she chose not to overrule. 2096 just add that. 2097 Mr. Waxman, thank you for holding this hearing. Mr. Flores, thank you. You have acquitted yourself 2098 2099 well. Thank you. 2100 Mr. ISSA. Mr. Chairman, I don't want to speak but just to ask that, considering the scope of this hearing, it 2101

certainly should open Pandora's Box to look at whether or not in the future we regulate grant writing in a way that would prevent this kind of discretionary in the absence of some sort of review process, so I would hope the Chairman would look at the broader picture and hold a follow-up hearing on how we could improve Government.

Chairman WAXMAN. I think you have raised a very good question. If we are going to have awards granted on merit and there is a process for merit, then that should dictate the selection, maybe with some discretion but grants should be based on merit. If they are based on the whims of the people in charge, then we ought to clarify that, but the Congress ought to look it over to see whether we think it makes sense for the American people.

That concludes our hearing. We thank again Mr. Flores for being here. We stand adjourned.

2118 [Whereupon, at 11:30 a.m., the committee was adjourned.]