

# Files of Melanne Verveer, Chief of Staff to the First Lady

## Box 1: Books and Files

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- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
- Souvenir Book 24<sup>th</sup> Convention of the UNWLA: May 24-27, 1996, Philadelphia, PA
- The President's Summit for America's Future: April 27-29, 1997, Philadelphia, PA
- Counterpart Service Center: Quarterly Reports: October 1, 1995-December 31, 1995, January 1, 1996 to March 31, 1996
- Alliance for Health Reform: Reforming Health Care: A Sourcebook for Journalists
- Casey Journalism Review
- Health Care Targeting
- Briefing Book on Massachusetts Health Care Trip: 2/22/93
- Comunidade Solidaria: Todos Por Todos
- Setting the Record Straight on President Clinton's Record: False Claims and The Facts: May 6, 1996
- 1998 Birmingham Summit: Wives of Key Players at the Birmingham Summit: May 15-17
- A Developmental Strategy to Prevent Lifelong Damage: 1995 Annual Report Essay
- Technology and the World of our Children: Robert M. White
- Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (List of Commissioners; Outline of Draft Final Report)
- Social and Political Implications of Major Economic Trends - -Project Summary
- Strategies to Reduce Urban Poverty: Integrating Human Development & Economic Opportunity November 1993
- Beyond Rhetoric: A New American Agenda for Children and Families: Summary: Final Report of the National Commission on Children
- Estimates of the Uninsured Children by Congressional District: Department of Treasury: July 19, 1994
- Interaction Member Profiles 1995-1996
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7 boxes filed 11/15/99

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Casey  
Journalism  
Review

## **CASEY JOURNALISM REVIEW**

## **DISCUSSION WITH REPORTERS FROM THE CASEY JOURNALISM CENTER**

### **BRIEFING BOOK**

#### **BRIEFING**

- Briefing
- Articles cited by the Casey Center/report from 1993 conference

#### **"PROTECTING THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN" CONFERENCE**

- Conference agenda
- List/bios of participants
- "Zuckerman Unbound," The Boston Globe, 12/25/94
- Recent articles by conference participants

#### **CHILDREN**

- "What Works for Children, Youth & Families"
- The President's remarks to the NGA Summit on Young Children, 6/6/95
- HRC remarks to the Child Welfare League

#### **WELFARE REFORM/CHILD SUPPORT/HEALTH**

- Talking points on the House bill, Senate Finance bill, and Democratic Leadership bill
- Q & A
- Children and Medicaid
- Q & A

#### **EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS**

- Head Start
- Child care
- Childhood immunization

#### **CHILD NUTRITION PROGRAMS**

- Background on Senator Lugar's proposal
- Food stamps
- Child nutrition programs
- WIC

#### **CHILD PROTECTION PROGRAMS**

- Child protection Q & A
- Adoption
- Youth development and the Community Schools programs
- Family violence prevention

#### **EDUCATION**

- President Clinton's record vs. GOP cuts



## CHILDREN AND VIOLENCE

### Tab 1:

- President Clinton's record on violence and Hollywood
- Senator Dole's remarks in Los Angeles, 5/31/95
- Report of the American Psychological Association, 1993
- HRC remarks to Children NOW, 3/4/94

### Tab 2:

- CDF fact sheet on children and violence
- Crime prevention and the 1994 Crime Bill

## CHRISTIAN COALITION

- Outline of the "Contract with the American Family"
- Talking points on the Contract
- Excerpt from McCurry press briefing, 5/18/95
- "Hypocritical About Divorce," 5/23/95

## REMARKS

- Talking points

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### **Briefing**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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To: Mrs. Clinton  
Fr: Liz Bowyer  
Da: 6/11/95  
Re: Discussion with Reporters from the Casey Journalism Center

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As you know, you are hosting an informal, on-the-record discussion on children's issues in the Blue Room tomorrow with thirty-one print and broadcast journalists from the Casey Journalism Center. The journalists are beat reporters who cover children and family issues for large and small newspapers and television stations around the country, including the Los Angeles Times, the Miami Herald, USA Today, the Associated Press and ABC World News Tonight. The reporters are participating in a week-long conference sponsored by the Casey Journalism Center entitled "Protecting the Welfare of Children" at the University of Maryland.

The agenda for the conference falls under the umbrella of child welfare, with particular emphasis on child abuse and foster care problems, teen pregnancy, children and violence, child welfare policy, and the impact of poverty on children. The purpose of the conference is to help the journalists explore and better understand the issues they cover by interacting with experts in children and family policy. Throughout this week, the reporters are meeting with leaders in academia, the government, and the private sector, including Dr. Barry Zuckerman, Bob Greenstein from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Robert Rector from the Heritage Foundation, Larry Mead from Princeton, David Ellwood, Ann Rosewater and others.

#### Conference Participants

According to the Casey Center, these journalists – who competed for fellowships to attend the conference – represent a growing number of reporters around the country who are covering children and family beats. While some have in-depth knowledge and experience with children's issues, others are covering the children's beat for the first time. However, as Mandy pointed out on Friday, almost all of them are frustrated that most news stories about children only arise out of news-catching tragedies involving children, or out of political arguments over legislation like welfare reform.

You will open the discussion with brief remarks, followed by one hour of Q & A. The journalists will be interested in hearing how you view the condition of children in this country, and your thoughts on how we can create more economic and cultural stability for vulnerable children and their families. They will probably ask for your predictions on how proposals on the Hill will affect children (particularly welfare reform) and your opinion on how the government's role and personal responsibility should intersect.

Note: Dr. Barry Zuckerman will be among the participants.

Attached are several examples cited by the Casey Journalism Center to show the growing number of newspapers and news services that are adding children and family beats to their coverage, along with a report from the Casey conference two years ago.





# The Children's Beat

Maaguel

Vol. 2, No. 3

COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

Spring 1995

## Inside Story

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## 31 Journalists Selected for Casey Conference on Child Welfare Issues

Thirty-one print and broadcast journalists from around the country have been awarded fellowships to attend the Casey Journalism Center's conference on "Protecting the Welfare of Children," to be held June 11-16 at the University of Maryland.

Triple the number of applicants applied for the available fellowship spots for the Center's third annual conference. Some are starting new beats or projects related to children's issues at their news organizations, while others have long been involved in reporting about the welfare of children. They are united in a common goal to better understand child abuse and foster care problems, child poverty, violence, and teen pregnancy, especially in light of sweeping changes proposed in many

federal and state child welfare programs. (See list of fellowship awards, p. 2.)

The intensive, week-long conference will feature discussions with a range of experts on the connecting problems which challenge children and families today. The conference will explore the causes of increasing poverty among the young and the debate over how the nation can create more economic and cultural stability for vulnerable children and families.

Sessions will focus on helping journalists better understand issues that are widely covered—but rarely covered well: the causes and consequences of child poverty and teen pregnancy, and analysis of how competing proposals for welfare reform will impact the

*continued on page 2*

## Cincinnati Enquirer Creates Children's Index While New Reporting Beats, Teams Spread

The Cincinnati Enquirer created an innovative index to measure the well-being of children and plans to run it annually.

The "Tristate Child Index," which ran on Page One in January with a jump to 1 1/2 pages inside, showed that juvenile crime and school dropout rates are worse in the local region than national averages, but the region has fewer children in poverty and less child abuse than the country as a whole.

"People are surprised that this is America's 'most liveable city' but kids aren't doing as well as they might think," says Enquirer Managing Editor Janet Leach.

The index was the final installment of The Enquirer's seven-month "Everybody's Children" series, but Leach said the paper is committed to continuing coverage of children and their problems. (See sidebar, p. 4.)

The Enquirer's effort joins a growing list of new print and broadcast projects and teams on children's issues. Newsroom restructurings, a rising interest in new forms of community journalism, and the national focus on the potential impact of welfare reform on families and children are behind the trend.

### In Milwaukee

When the newly merged Milwaukee Journal Sentinel debuted in early April, it featured a new "Family and Children" team of reporters. The five-reporter team, edited by Marilyn Krause, is one of four new teams under the supervision of Celeste Williams, senior editor/issues. Williams, who was a fellow at the first Casey Journalism Center conference in 1993,

*continued on page 3*



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Washington Post, and 1995 Pulitzer Prize winner; David Ellwood, assistant secretary for planning and evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services; Robert Greenstein, executive director, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities; Robert Haveman, John Bascom Professor in the department of economics at the University of Wisconsin; Donald Hernandez, chief of the Marriage and Family Statistics Branch of the U.S. Bureau of the Census; and Marcia Robinson Lowry, director, ACLU Children's Rights Project.

Also, Rebecca Maynard, trustee professor of education and public policy, University of Pennsylvania; Jess McDonald, director, Illinois Department of Children and Family Services; Sara McLanahan, professor of sociology and public affairs, Princeton University; Lawrence Mead, visiting professor, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University; Kristin Moore, executive director, Child Trends, Inc.; David Popenoe, professor of sociology, Rutgers University; Robert Rector, senior policy analyst, The Heritage Foundation; Stephanie J.

Ventura, Division of Vital Statistics, National Center for Health Statistics; Paul Vincent, director of the Alabama Department of Human Resources Family and Children's Services Division; Benjamin Wolf, staff attorney, Illinois ACLU; and Dr. Barry Zuckerman, chairman of the department of pediatrics, Boston University School of Medicine.

There also will be panels on new models of reporting from around the country and on coverage of child welfare issues with noted journalists and researchers. In addition, the journalists will spend a day on Capitol Hill in briefings with key congressional officials and staff.

The selection committee which chose the fellowship winners included: Dorian Friedman, associate editor, *U.S. News & World Report*; Rebecca Lipkin, producer, *ABC World News Tonight*; and Laura Sessions Stepp, staff writer, *The Washington Post*.

A summary of the conference will be published next fall in the national journalism monthly, *American Journalism Review*. **CB**

## **Enquirer** continued from page 1

has long had an interest in children's issues and most recently headed a team covering urban issues. The family and children team covers five areas: aging and demographics, family management (family financial issues), children and family rights (juvenile justice and child welfare issues), parenting and relationships, and a Friday tabloid for teens called "Jump."

The areas of coverage are similar to those devised last year by *The (Portland) Oregonian* when it launched its own five-member family team. *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* managing editor Martin Kaiser studied *The Oregonian* and other newsrooms around the country in redesigning the paper's new flattened team concept of coverage. "The new structure is based more on covering issues and people rather than buildings and institutions," says Williams. The other three "issues" teams include health and medicine, regional affairs, and enterprise and projects.

Williams says interest in the newsroom in the new teams was strong, with 95 applications for 18 slots. The family and children team also is responsible for a weekly tab section called "Family." One of its first features examined an early childhood learning center, and included a column by the family management reporter on how families can take advantage of the Earned Income Tax Credit.

## **At Other News Organizations**

In other new projects, Monitor Radio, the broadcast service of the *Christian Science Monitor*, is picking up the pace of its children's coverage with several series and special reports scheduled this year in which children and family matters play a pivotal role. Among them are poverty and its effects; an examination of foster care and how to make the child welfare system work better; a report card on the state of education 12 years after the report, "A Nation At Risk," was released; and a series on the elderly, including how elderly Americans interface with the current generation in their 20s, or "Generation X." The five-part series on the elderly will air in May, just prior to the White House Conference on Aging.

In addition, Monitor Radio has been covering as a continuing news story the political battle over welfare reform and its impact on families. Last year, seven journalists contributed segments for the Monitor Radio series, "American Family Portrait."

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## **Winning Casey Medals Entries Available**

Booklets featuring the winning entries of the 1994 Casey Medals for Meritorious Journalism will soon be available. The publication will include the articles and transcripts of the nine winners, information on how the stories were conceived and problems overcome, and judges' comments. Copies are limited, and working journalists will be given first preference. Contact the Casey Journalism Center to receive a copy at no charge.



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*The Enquirer* is sponsoring a community fair to help link people who want to help children with agencies and groups involved in foster care, child advocacy and volunteering on behalf of children.

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continued from page 3

In April, *ABC News* broadcast an hour-long prime time special report on children's issues hosted by *ABC News* Anchor Peter Jennings with reporting by *ABC News* "American Agenda" correspondents Bill Blakemore, Carole Simpson and Rebecca Chase. "Putting Children First: How To Save Our Future" explored early childhood care and development, parent involvement and school reform, and teen pregnancy and other risks of adolescence, with an emphasis on how communities across the country are working to solve problems confronting children and families.

*The Bradenton* (Fla.) *Herald* has embarked on a year-long reporting project on child

sexual abuse, which was touched off late last year with a computer-assisted reporting project on child abuse statistics at the state and local level. The "public journalism" project also involves a public awareness campaign to get the community involved in identifying problems and possible solutions. *The Herald* has hosted two community forums on child sexual abuse with the goal of stimulating community solutions. "Our goal was to start the community—people like yourselves—thinking together about solutions to the pervasive and growing problem of child sexual abuse," wrote *Bradenton Herald* Executive Editor Wayne Poston. **CB**

## ***The Enquirer's Children's Index***

When *The Cincinnati Enquirer* set out to provide readers a broader picture of how children are doing in the region, it ended up creating a new statistical index to measure the well-being of children.

*The Enquirer's* "Everybody's Children" project team met with Sally Lloyd, acting dean of Miami University's School of Education and Allied Professions, to identify statistics to be used. Data was organized into four categories: economic status, health, safety and educational attainment. Grades were assigned to data collected in each category to show how local conditions compared to national statistics. (See next page.)

The index results provided information on the percentage of children in poverty, median household income, child support collection rates, percent of children receiving AFDC, infant mortality, rate of underweight newborns, percent of women receiving early prenatal care, juvenile violent crime rates, substantiated cases of abuse/neglect, percent of children in foster care, percent of ninth- and 12th-graders passing Ohio's Ninth-Grade Proficiency Test, percent of youth in 7th-12th grades dropping out of school and number of the region's 18-to-24-year-olds without diplomas.

The index assigned a grade of "F" to juvenile crime and "D" to school dropout rates. The statistics showed that about 68 in 1,000 of the region's children under 18 have been arrested for a violent crime compared to the national ratio of 44 in 1,000. On the dropout rate, 4.7 percent of regional students in grades seven through 12 left school in the 1992-93 school year, compared to the national rate of 4.4 percent.

But "A" was awarded in five areas—lower-than-average rates of child abuse and neglect, children in foster care, strong high school

graduation rates, fewer children in poverty and better-than-average child support collections.

"Overall, children here fare better than children do on a national scale," wrote Mark Curnutte in the Jan. 29 story. "But, advocates for children say, that's not good enough. In a region where unemployment is low, the economy diverse, the religious community strong and the culture family oriented, advocates say, there should be zero tolerance for childhood misery."

Statistics were collected from four counties in Ohio, three counties in Kentucky and one county in Indiana. *Enquirer* reporters collected the local and national statistics, while Ms. Lloyd calculated the index.

Beyond the statistics and ratings, *The Enquirer* also included interviews with local experts about the problems and possible solutions.

Meanwhile, *The Enquirer's* children's beat reporter, Brian Gregg, and other reporters continue to produce stories under the logo "Everybody's Children." The project, launched last year, examined poverty, homelessness, violence, education, health care and teen pregnancy.

The paper is also planning a major investigation looking at groups which work on behalf of kids to find out who is actually helping children and where the money goes.

In other areas, *The Enquirer* is sponsoring a community fair to help link people who want to help children with agencies and groups involved in foster care, child advocacy and volunteering on behalf of children. "We had so much response to the series and the index, but people don't know how to get involved," said Leach. The paper also plans a second children's health hotline, which offers free phone lines to readers to query doctors from the local children's hospital. **CB**

## **Woman's Day**

**1633 Broadway**

**New York, NY 10019**

**212/767-6000**

**W**oman's Day magazine has always devoted significant coverage to family matters, but on September 21, 1993, it dedicated its entire issue to one subject: The American Family. The result struck such a chord with readers that the magazine staff is planning a second single-subject magazine on the American family for an issue in late September 1994.

Senior editor Maureen McFadden said that the first issue documented the redefinition of family, and included multicultural, immigrant, gay and single-parent families.

"The expression of family was still too nuclear-family oriented," for how readers were living their lives, she said. The upcoming issue, she said, "will reflect the reality that people often don't have family close to them, but still have a strong need for family that is often answered by the community, the workplace and friends. "Family now includes people not related," McFadden stated.

*Woman's Day*, which boasts a circulation of 4.2 million and a readership of 22 million per issue, doesn't confine its children and family coverage under the bailiwick of one editor or one department. "That isn't how our readers read," observed McFadden. Every month, a California pediatrician, Dr. Maryanne Legato, writes a column about children's health. Other articles on parenting and child-related issues run according to editorial space. The tight economy has caused *Woman's Day* to have fewer editorial pages, and its primary service areas—food and home decorating—take priority.

McFadden said the recession and stringent ad budgets have also caused more article ideas to be generated by the magazine staff, rather than by freelance writers. Freelance writers today don't have the luxury of spending free time writing detailed story proposals and waiting months for replies, she said, and the magazine has noticed a sizeable drop in freelance queries.

"Our goal is to get more real in our reporting and writing," said McFadden. "Women's magazines in years past were known for writing about how they pretended things were or wished they were. Readers don't tolerate that anymore."

Sugary portrayals and unrealistic happy endings are looked at much more skeptically, she said.

Stories that *Woman's Day* are likely to pursue in the future include looking at children as they become adults, in the years between 20 and 25. This is an evolving time in their relationship with their parents, McFadden said. Although the magazine has millions of readers with small children, most *Woman's Day* readers are Baby Boomers, now in their mid-40s, and the issues of children approaching adulthood are of great interest to them.

McFadden expects to do more stories on adult family relationships gener-



ally, as well as more articles on blended families and step-parenting.

The magazine interviewed Hillary Rodham Clinton last year, and one of her comments—on restoring peace in the family by turning off the television and video recorders—is one that readers have begun mentioning more often, McFadden said. “Mothers say they are concerned not only with the violence on TV, but the idea of keeping the TV on at all,” she said. “They feel that there is just too much input.” McFadden said this line of thinking is another trend the magazine may explore.

Finally, McFadden said that recent issue planning meetings have focused on fatherhood to an extent not seen in the past. “I’d like to interview fathers who have taken time off from work to raise children or because of a job layoff have discovered fatherhood. And I’d like to interview their fathers and ask what they think of their son’s activities.”

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*A report on a conference on the family  
beat, sponsored by the Casey Journalism  
Center for Children and Families.*

# COVERING CHILDREN



*Attorney General Janet Reno with Casey Journalism Center fellows*



The setting was a major university campus in Maryland: the first conference of the new Casey Journalism Center for Children and Families. Thirty journalists who cover children's and family issues gathered for three days of discussion about their specialty. Just a few miles away in Washington, D.C., urgent news was providing a tragic backdrop for the conference, "The American Family: A Tradition Under Siege."

Four youths were shot with handguns in a few hours' time over the course of a Saturday afternoon. One of the victims was a four-year-old girl, fatally shot in the head while watching a neighborhood playground football game.

The mission of the 30 journalists, chosen from 166 applicants and awarded Casey Center fellowships to attend the conference, was to better understand the complex forces that shape children's lives today.

But they also took a hard look at the way news organizations cover children's issues. More and more, newspapers, magazines and broadcast organizations are covering children and family issues as serious beats. The beat is on the front lines of pivotal national issues—and on the front pages. Some newspapers are even going a step further, launching "crusades" on behalf of disadvantaged children.

This summary of the conference was funded by the Casey Journalism Center and was written by its director, Cathy Trost, a former children's beat reporter for the Wall Street Journal. The 30 journalists and 27 guest speakers represented the first of an annual series of such conferences, conducted by the Casey Journalism Center for Children and Families at the University of Maryland College of Journalism.

*Photos by John De Fabbio.*

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### Conference Speakers

*(in order of appearance)*

**Janet Reno**, U.S. Attorney General

**Douglas W. Nelson**, executive director, Annie E. Casey Foundation

**Charles Bruner**, director, Child and Family Policy Center, Des Moines

**Susan Kelly**, program director, FAMILIES FIRST, Michigan Department of Social Services

**John R. Schuerman**, professor and faculty associate, The Chapin Hall Center For Children, University of Chicago

**Bert L'Homme**, executive director, City Lights School, Washington, D.C.

**Robin Keys**, caseworker, City Lights School

**Lisbeth B. Schorr**, director, Project on Effective Services, Harvard University

**Irwin Redlener, M.D.**, director of community pediatrics, Montefiore Medical Center in the Bronx, N.Y.; vice chairman of the Health Professions Review Group of the President's Task Force on National Health Reform

**Barbara Dafoe Whitehead**, research associate, Institute for American Values, New York City

**Norval D. Glenn**, Ashbel Smith professor of sociology and Stiles professor in American Studies, University of Texas at Austin

**W. Billingsley**, chair, department of family studies, University of Maryland at College Park

**David Hill**, assistant professor, department of psychology, and director, Violence Prevention Project, Howard University

**William A. Galston**, deputy assistant to the President for domestic policy

**Bruce Reed**, deputy assistant to the President for domestic policy, and co-chair, Clinton Administration Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence

**Jonathan Freedman**, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist and author of "From Cradle To Grave: The Human Face of Poverty in America"

**Sister Mary Geraldine**, Center For Family Life, Sunset Park, N.Y.

**Edward Tetelman**, director, Office of Legal and Regulatory Affairs, and overseer, School Based Youth Services Program, New Jersey Department of Human Services, Trenton, N.J.

**Nancy Woodhull**, president, Nancy Woodhull & Associates, Pittsford, N.Y.-based media consulting firm, and a founding editor, USA Today

**Rebecca Chase**, correspondent, ABC World News Tonight's "American Agenda"

**Heath J. Meriwether**, executive editor, Detroit Free Press

**Steve Knickmeyer**, deputy city editor for special projects, Arizona Republic, Phoenix

**Leslie Baldacci**, family beat reporter, Chicago Sun-Times

**Kathy Williams**, Women/Family/Children editor, Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star, Norfolk

**Albert R. Hunt**, executive Washington editor, Wall Street Journal

**Nora Paul**, library director and faculty, Poynter Institute for Media Studies, St. Petersburg, Florida

**Eugene L. Roberts Jr.**, University of Maryland journalism professor and former executive editor, Philadelphia Inquirer

# THE CHILDREN'S BEAT

As the children's beat grows, journalists face vexing issues. Should the media be advocates for children, and if so, how far should they go? What are the ethical issues involved in interviewing children and families? How do journalists get past the "crisis story of the week" and develop richer, more complex stories about the interlinking web of problems facing children today?

Journalists at the conference also traded practical information about covering the beat, and expressed deep concerns about its status, longevity, management support and story play.

The message to journalists from conference speakers was candid and tough: Your stories are often too simple and narrow. You need to write complex stories that really educate the public about the underlying roots of the crisis facing children. Put their problems in context. Bust through stereotypes. Write about people and programs that work. Don't just swoop into impoverished neighborhoods after the latest drive-by filming, but stick around to see what is like on a daily basis.

"Accept complexity, embrace complexity," urged Lisbeth B. Schorr, director of Harvard University's Project on Effective Services. Added Sister Mary Geraldine, director of the Center for Family Life in Sunset Park, New York, a neighborhood-based family support program. "Quick and easy and fast stories that are sensational, you will never get from us. It is just not fair to the families and the children."

Douglas W. Nelson, executive director of the Annie E. Casey Foundation, said it is necessary "to push much more than we have for explanatory meaning. What makes these pregnancy numbers understandable? What is behind these abuse and neglect trends? Where does this growing violence originate?"

Schorr conceded that encouraging more complex stories "may be an impossible thing to say to journalists who are forever being pushed by their systems to make things simpler." But she said journalists make an "enormous contribution" when they conduct in-depth examinations.

Many speakers fretted that it takes the death of an abused or kidnapped child to get on the media's radar screen—and even then the reporting is often sensational and superficial.



**Above: the Philadelphia Inquirer's John Woestendiek, ABC's Rebecca Lipkin and Congressional Quarterly's Jeffrey Katz; right, Howard University's Hope Hill**

*"You have got to make your stories about children shorter.... There is a tendency of America not to read beyond the front page."*

**—Attorney General Janet Reno**

"When I was thinking about coming to talk to you I thought about, 'How do we get them not to write a big piece when a kid dies in foster care?'" said Schorr. "I decided the answer is you cannot. That is news." But she urged the journalists to "go back several steps" on the story to find out how and why the system failed the child. "Because when most people begin to understand it is not just rotten people that cause rotten things to happen, but it is the way we organize ourselves that is not working, maybe they would become more receptive to proposals for reform," she said.

Speakers voiced another common perception—no one wants to write about good news. Journalists generally



"would much rather hear about the problems than they would about the successes," said Edward Tetelman, who oversees New Jersey's School Based Youth Services Program.

Get out and talk to children, many speakers urged. "Get children's authentic experiences.... Try to see it in the child's eyes. Let them tell you," said Hope Hill, director of the Howard University Violence Prevention Project.

Attorney General Janet Reno echoed the call for more comprehensive reporting about children's problems. Then she waded hip-deep into the debate engaging newsrooms everywhere over story lengths and reader-friendliness. "You have got to make your stories about children shorter...." she warned. "There is a tendency of America not to read beyond the front page."

Journalists at the conference said their news organizations are increasingly recognizing the importance of the beat—and media audiences are responding. "There is a hunger out there for constructive news," said Rebecca Chase, a correspondent with ABC World



...s Tonight's "American Agenda." "I think people want to know that there is something that can be done about these very tough problems."

But many spoke of the constant tension between daily demands and the need for longer-range thinking. "The big picture stories, the in-depth series, they are all luxuries to us. And when we are chasing a big story with daily developments it is very hard to see out of the trenches," said Leslie Baldacci, who launched the Chicago Sun-Times' families beat three years ago.

Many reporters said their organizations would simply never give them the time to do what Sister Geraldine said a reporter from Time magazine did before writing a story on her center. "He almost lived with us for two months," she said.

Shrinking resources and leaner staffs can limit coverage in other ways, too. "We do not have a single reporter in our city who exclusively covers juvenile court," added Baldacci, "and I bet that is true in most of your cities, too."

Despite the common perception that they're only after bad news, journalists said they are eager to write positive about model programs and policies that improve the lives of children and families. But they want to avoid endorsing trends that may not pan out.

At the same time, the journalists spoke about roadblocks that keep them from writing more complex stories about the nation's troubled child welfare and juvenile justice systems.

Child welfare and juvenile court officials are often barred from divulging information about children, but many reporters think confidentiality rules go too far. Child welfare officials "see us as the enemy," said Mary Loftus, assistant city editor of the Ledger in Lakeland, Florida.

"I think there are a lot of people protecting failures within the bureaucracy, and children are dying," said ABC's Chase. She added that there are ways to protect privacy while opening the system to "some sunshine."

Randi Bjornstad, a reporter with the Register-Guard in Eugene, Oregon, noted that problems in her state's child welfare system led to an overhaul, including less rigorous confidentiality

and more oversight. Steve Knick, the Arizona Republic's deputy editor for special projects, urged journalists to "be aggressive in fighting confidentiality abuses. If you think they exist, go after them. Hell, you have all got lawyers!"

And though many journalists said public response to their stories and projects has been positive, some described problems with apathetic readers. Sara Engram, editorial page director of Baltimore's Evening Sun, noted how difficult it can be to get readers—and society as a whole—to focus on children's problems. She recalled two stories that ran in the Sun on the same day: One was about the family of a child who had been battered to death; the other was a pet column about two abandoned kittens. "We had 80 calls about the cats and not a single call about the child's family," she said.

### BUST THROUGH STEREOTYPES

The political battle over family values has been a hot story in recent years as journalists chronicled the debate about

the changing American family and what it means for the healthy development of children. Vice President Dan Quayle's negative remarks last year about television's most famous single mother, Murphy Brown, touched off an explosion of stories about single-parent vs. two-parent families.

Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, research associate at the Institute for American Values in New York City, criticized the way the debate has typically been covered by reporters. (Whitehead's own Atlantic Monthly cover story last spring, headlined "Dan Quayle Was Right," summarized the growing social science evidence that, on average, intact two-parent families are better for children.)

She cited two "formulaic" stories favored by the media: Ozzie and Harriet vs. Murphy Brown, which usually pits a

## THE STATUS OF AMERICA'S CHILDREN

During hours of policy discussions at the Casey Journalism Conference there was no argument about one fact: The well-being of American children is declining. William A. Galston, deputy assistant to President Clinton for domestic policy, described some causes of this decline, including the fact that education levels have dropped sharply since the mid-1960s; violent crime and homicide among youths has significantly increased, as has the rate of child poverty.

Several speakers noted that roughly one-fourth of all births and about two-thirds of African American births are out of wedlock. But the out-of-wedlock birth rate is going down in the African American population, while it is rising sharply among the white non-Hispanic population.

There are also rising reports of child abuse and neglect. Charles Bruner, director of the Child and Family Policy Center in Des Moines, noted there has been a 53 percent increase in reported cases of child abuse and neglect in the past decade, and about one-half million children are now in out-of-home placements.

But many experts said it is important for journalists not to focus on single issues or statistics. Look at the whole fabric of a child's life in context, they urged, to avoid "the partialization of solutions." Look at causes and not just effects.

There was less agreement about how to solve problems facing children.

Barbara Dafoe Whitehead of the Institute for American Values said there is growing consensus that family disruption is harmful to children. But there is continuing debate over how much harm children suffer and how long the damage lasts, and whether it's best to cushion the effects on children by building a stronger social safety net, or by trying to change values and behavior.

Marriage is becoming less central in people's lives, said Professor Norval Glenn of the University of Texas. As a result, many traditional family functions "are simply not being performed as well today as they were 20 years ago, 30 years ago." He sees evidence, however, that negative marriage trends are about to reverse.

Andrew Billingsley, chairman of the University of Maryland's Department of Family Studies, held out little hope that family structural trends will reverse course. "I believe that we are not going to be able to go back to the time when married couple families with their own children are the dominant form," he said.

"So I think the way to go in the future is not to try to put, as [Daniel Patrick] Moynihan did in 1965, a man in every house." He said institutions and alternative structures must be built to help care for children. ✱



traditional 1950s family against a single working mother and "typically overstates and exaggerates some of the dramatic changes in American family life." She said this story usually includes "one of the most common phony statistics in journalism"—that the traditional Ozzie and Harriet-style family headed by an employed father and stay-at-home mother "represents only 10 percent or 8 percent, or I've even seen 6 percent, of all family households in America." In fact, it's closer to 25 percent or 30 percent, she said. The second story sets out "competing explanations for children's declining well-being" as economic change vs. cultural change, she said, when in fact "both play a part in the story."

Whitehead urged reporters to focus on real evidence of family trends, "rather than simply reflecting the political fault lines in the family structure debate."

Some speakers said the media can actually play a role in changing the cultural and moral values of Americans—a notion which makes some journalists

*"We want to be a part of a journalism that stands for something. We stand for children."*

—Heath J. Meriwether,  
executive editor,  
Detroit Free Press

uncomfortable. Journalists can and should work to bring about changes in the attitudes and values of readers "that will make things much better for children and American society," said Norval D. Glenn, professor of sociology at the University of Texas at Austin.

Indeed, Glenn believes the media "aided and abetted" changes in values in the 1960s and 1970s that were "destructive to families."

Many speakers urged journalists to look at strengths in communities, not just problems, and get beyond "us vs. them" thinking by showing how everyone in society has a stake in helping children grow into healthy, productive



**Left, the Detroit Free Press' Jane Daugherty, the Chicago Sun-Times' Leslie Baldacci; right, the University of Maryland's Andrew Billingsley and Barbara Dafoe Whitehead of the Institute for American Values**

citizens. If journalism doesn't explain why problems are occurring, there is a risk of people using racial and ethnic stereotypes as explanations.

Hope Hill of Howard University urged reporters not to go to neighborhoods only in times of trouble. "The nation has never seen those communities in any other time and never knows what...support systems exist there," she said. "Spend quality time with children and families who are making it despite the odds, and report on their stories."

At the same time, Hill called for a partnership between the press and researchers to communicate the devastating toll violence is taking on the physical and mental resources of America's youth. "I have seen a whole country of people become desensitized to death," she said.

"The major power you have is to make people feel uncomfortable," she told the journalists. "What you want to make people understand is there are children in Southeast Washington who witness 10 homicides a year. They have to grow up and your children are going to come into contact with them and it might be in the Safeway. When you bump up against them, they don't turn around and give you a nasty look, they turn around and do something. Somehow we have to tell people...that we are all interconnected."

#### NEW MODELS

The good news is that there is a surge of interest in reporting on children's and family issues all over the country. A Casey Journalism Center survey of 61 newspapers and news services shows that more than half have added children's and/or family beats in the last three

years, and these are cited as the newest, front-burner issues to which editors are trying to devote more space and resources. But many newsrooms still give the subject short shrift, and reporters struggle for space and attention.

Journalists at the conference wanted to know how to convince their newsrooms that children are a serious subject, worthy of serious coverage. There were other concerns. Should there even be a specific "children's beat"? Should it focus just on at-risk families, or the struggles of middle class families, too? What about the common perception that the "children's beat" is a low-status beat compared with covering politics or economics? Do reporters covering these issues have management support and good story play? Or do they fight turf wars every day for the right to space and stories?

And by the way, where are all the men? (Only 26 of the 166 applicants for fellowships to the conference were men; five of the 30 journalists attending the conference were men). The beat is dominated by women, sparking concern about marginalized status and pay. And what about their own children? Many journalists believe their jobs require them to spend too much time away from their own families.

Albert R. Hunt, executive Washington editor of the Wall Street Journal, told conference participants that coverage of children's and family issues is "incredibly important. It is going to affect what kind of society we have 20 or 30 years from now and it is every bit as important as writing about politics or current affairs or economics, and probably more so." Eugene L. Roberts Jr., a University of Maryland journalism



## THE PLAGUE OF VIOLENCE

**H**omicide has become the leading cause of death among young African American men, according to Hope Hill of the Violence Prevention Project at Howard University. "We are literally witnessing a holocaust in our midst. Primarily of young African American and Latino youth," Hill said.

But beyond that chilling statistic are the scores of children who routinely witness violence, and carry indelible emotional and developmental scars.

She outlined a string of interlinking causes for the rise in violence: "kids who may have never seen or had a supportive family, who for the most part have been raising themselves" combined with the fact that "young people see up to 43,000 homicides on television before the age of 17." In addition, "many kids simply do not think anybody else outside their neighborhood knows or cares."

Without a safe, secure environment, it is difficult for children to develop the trust and bonds needed to

form healthy adult relationships. "You will hear many adolescents say today, 'I do not have a best friend, I only have associates,'" she said.

"I think it will particularly touch your heart when you are counseling a 14-year-old who tells you that when he dies he is going out hard, meaning that he is going to kill as many people as he can because he knows that he is going to get killed," said Robin Keys, a caseworker at City Lights School in Washington, D.C.

Attorney General Janet Reno backs steps to limit guns but said that's not the only answer. "We have got to raise children to disdain guns," she said.

She and others stressed the need to prevent problems that contribute to violent outcomes by building a comprehensive "continuum" of support for children, ranging from good prenatal care to parenting classes, quality day care and education, while also developing businesses and jobs in communities to provide an economic base for families. ♣

professor and former executive editor of the Philadelphia Inquirer, called it "a rich beat," sweeping in scope and "intrinsically exciting."

"I think my job is the best job in network TV," said ABC's Rebecca Chase, who said she does stories about "cutting edge issues" like welfare, teen pregnancy, juvenile delinquency and child abuse. But the beat can be diminished by how it's defined, she warned. "You say 'family' and people think you are doing just tea parties and kids, you know, Barney stories or something."

Several models of innovative reporting on children's issues were spotlighted at the conference. They include ABC's "American Agenda," the Detroit Free Press' "Children First" project, the Arizona Republic's "Saving Arizona's Children" project and the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star's new Women/Family/Children team.

The Detroit Free Press and Arizona Republic have launched crusading newspaper campaigns in their states to draw attention to the plight of children and build a consensus for change. Some journalists think these crusades smack of advocacy and overstep traditional lines of objective reporting. But

editors from both newspapers vigorously defended the integrity of their work while calling for new thinking about journalism's role.

"There has to be room in our definition of journalism that allows us to get involved and to truly care about what we are writing about," said Heath J. Meriwether, executive editor of the Free Press. "I call it a journalism that stands for something. We stand for children. We stand for the voiceless, for the underrepresented, and we are unashamedly advocates for their cause."

But both editors insist that advocacy doesn't mean sacrificing aggressive reporting and objectivity.

The Arizona Republic's Knickmeyer said advocacy journalism increases a reporter's responsibility "to do an accurate, objective job. Your opinions are still in the opinion page."

"Crusades are okay, we can go for things, we can fix things and make them better."

Both projects were launched last January with prominent publishers' letters. Free Press Publisher Neal Shine wrote that the paper had decided "to be more than just a keeper of the statistics—that instead of only reporting

the problems, we needed to do something about making solutions happen." Both the Free Press and the Republic have mounted continuing, comprehensive newsroom efforts involving all news departments, plus the editorial page. Both papers encourage volunteerism and run boxes with stories outlining ideas for ways to help. Both papers are trying to be catalysts for change in their communities, too.

### A REAL ATTENTION SPAN

"In our newsroom, at news meetings everyone asks how a story would affect children," says Meriwether. As part of coverage of Detroit's hotly contested mayoral race last year, the Free Press ran a page one story detailing each candidate's proposals involving children. The paper also tries to include stories about solutions. When 11 children were shot in Detroit schools in one day, Meriwether noted that the paper also did a story about conflict resolution programs that seek to reduce violence.

"We have developed a real attention span," said Meriwether.

Both projects have touched a chord with readers, community leaders and politicians, the editors said. "It makes a connection to your community that is palpable, that your publisher will feel," said Meriwether.

But some journalists saw potentially dangerous conflicts.

Jeffrey Katz, social policy reporter for Congressional Quarterly, raised two concerns: "What is to keep journalists from using children as mascots, or poster children, if you will, for whatever the cause of the day is?" he asked. "And if journalists are supposed to be advocates for these causes...we are not always the most accurate arbiters of what works."

Jane Daugherty, associate editor for Detroit's "Children First" project, said she had been an investigative reporter for most of her career and "this is harder than that because you have to be vigilant all the time. You do not want to use kids and you do not want your news organization to get used."

At ABC News, the mission of "American Agenda" is to do "solution-oriented stories," according to Chase. But she said the news segment has learned that it isn't good enough to highlight model programs, and now is focusing on obstacles to change with stories about "why is it so hard to get people off welfare? Why is it we cannot get violence under control?" She noted





**Conference participants Celeste Williams, Barbara Vobejda, Deborah Cohen, Randi Bjornstad and Sharon Case Randall**

increasing pressures generated by tabloid-style television to do more dramatic stories.

Solutions to all kinds of problems are what really connect with readers. The *Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star* in Norfolk dispatched a team of reporters to a massive investigation of Virginia's day care regulations. They spent several months collecting thousands of inspection and complaint records, doing interviews, and building them into a database to spot trends.

"Parents were really starved for this kind of in-depth information," said Kathy Williams, an editor on the project.

Out of that project came the idea for a permanent reporting team on children's issues. After repeated planning meetings, the reporters successfully pitched the idea to management. The new five-member Women/Family/Children team headed by Williams covers everything from troubled families to rating the best playgrounds in the area.

Though projects like these enjoy management support and prominent play, many reporters still feel the beat is viewed as less important than others in the newsroom.

David Fritze, the lead writer for the *Arizona Republic's* project, said it is important to get more men writing about children's issues but "the irony is that it is less of a status.... It certainly does not have the respect or esteem most other beats do."

Sharon Case Randall, a feature writer for the *Monterey County Herald* in California, said management backs her stories but "most of the men I

work with in the newsroom have the mindset that we are doing these stories not because they are important issues but because they will sell papers."

But other reporters disagreed. "I do not feel marginalized. I do not agree at all that it is looked down on or is getting less attention," said John Woestendiek, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter with the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

## SELLING THE BEAT

So you want to cover the children's beat, but your newspaper or broadcast station doesn't seem too interested? You write about the issues when you can, but you're loaded down already with two other beats. Developing these stories can be time-consuming. "Kids are not on Rolodexes," said Linda Matchan, a reporter with the *Boston Globe*.

Eugene Roberts advised reporters to build a case "before trying to sell the idea of a complete beat." Make the case first that there are a number of stories to be done for a considerable period of time, he said, while gradually getting editors more used to the idea. They'll eventually "be much more likely to embrace the idea of a full time beat."

He acknowledged that "getting any institution to do the right thing is sort of constant guerrilla warfare." But because the beat is so important, "I think you have a real shot of building it permanently into the structure of newspapers if you are given a chance."

Nancy Woodhull, president of a media consulting firm and a founding editor of *USA Today*, advised reporters to build a case for the beat "from a bottom line point of view." Because women's readership is declining, appeal to a news

## REBUILDING FAMILIES

Attorney General Janet Reno said communities working together with the federal government must come up with comprehensive approaches to establish "a national agenda for children." Her agenda would include reducing teen pregnancy, freeing parents to spend more time with their children, providing preventive medical care for children, investing in the critical first three years of a child's life with quality health care, child care, nurturing environments and school reform, and reducing domestic violence to break cycles repeated from generation to generation.

"I have become convinced that unless we focus on children we will never be able to build enough prisons 18 years from now," she warned. "We will not have a workforce 15 years from now with the skills necessary to fill the jobs or maintain America as a first great nation."

Many experts stressed the need for solutions that are community-based, collaborative and family centered.

Dr. Irwin Redlener, director of Community Pediatrics at Montefiore Medical Center in the Bronx, said it is urgent that we work quickly to accomplish change for children. "It is only at the greatest cost that you can get even a minimal return to where you should be if you try to make things up that were missed in early childhood," he said.

William A. Galston, assistant to the president, pointed to the Clinton administration's early success in winning passage of a family leave law, expanding the earned income tax credit to aid poor working families, expanding nutrition, food and Head Start programs, and a new immunization program, while laying the groundwork for health care, welfare and education reform. But he said a two-track approach is needed. "Family values will not feed a hungry child, the president said, but without personal responsibility all the federal programs in the world are likely to be of little avail." ♦



organization's self-interest.

"News is still defined by very much traditional man's approach to news. It is a white man's world still," she said. "But what women feel about how the family and children fit in is tremendously important in whether a newspaper, TV show, magazine or radio show is connecting with them or not."

That doesn't mean "dumbing down" to women, she cautioned, but recognizing that they are interested in a broad array of issues, from health care reform to local school news.

Woodhull also urged reporters to get involved in the ways their news organizations cover issues—and speak out about problems. "I say force yourself into news meetings if you are not invited," she said. "And go into that news meeting with your kid hat on."

"One of the things I hear when I go into newsrooms, especially from women, is that 'I hate to bring up stories to do with women or children because I feel as if I am being accused of being the resident feminist or resident mommy,'" she said. But she urged journalists to realize the importance of the beat. "You are writing about the fu-

#### AT ABOUT YOUR OWN KIDS?

"One of the great ironies of my life," said the Arizona Republic's Knickmeyer, "is that I am saving Arizona's children and I never see my own."

The more compelling the beat becomes to a newspaper, the harder it is for reporters to get home at night. Journalists at the Casey Conference spoke poignantly about how the demands of the news business restrict time with their own families and lead to burnout and stress.

Mary Loftus, the mother of a toddler, said she writes sometimes about her own life in her column for the Ledger in Lakeland, Florida. "I think I fictionalize most of it because I cannot remember what it is like to have a husband and son," she said.

Catherine Clabby, a reporter for the Times Union in Albany, New York, said people in her newsroom have left the paper in order to spend more time with their children. "We are losing their voices," she said. "If they had a more flexible schedule they might have stayed at the newspaper."

Norfolk's Kathy Williams said she was so busy on the paper's five-month-long day care investigation that she rarely saw her young son. Afterwards, she was reading him "Bambi" one night before bed. "Daniel," she asked him, "do you understand what happened to Bambi's mother?"

"He said, 'Yes, she went back to the newsroom.'"

Some talked about how the newsroom culture is slowly improving. The Detroit Free Press, for example, paid for a nursing reporter and her mother to fly to a children's conference so the reporter could take her infant with her. (It was also cheaper for two to fly and stay over a Saturday night.)

Journalists left the conference on a high note of optimism about the future of the beat.

"I think the most revolutionary idea that you could take back to your newsrooms in this sound-bite world is that on children, we are here to stay," said Detroit editor Meriwether. "If you do nothing else, convince your editors and publishers that...this is not just this year's hot subject but this is something enduring." ♦

### Thirty Fellows Selected for the Casey Journalism Center Conference

Pam Adams, Journal Star, Peoria, Ill.

Leslie Baldacci, Chicago Sun-Times

Randi Bjornstad, Register-Guard, Eugene, Ore.

Matthew Bowers, Virginian-Pilot, Norfolk

Catherine Clabby, Times Union, Albany

Deborah Cohen, Education Week, Washington, D.C.

Claudia Hampston Daly, WCAL-FM, Northfield, Minn.

Jane Daugherty, Detroit Free Press

Alison Delsite, Beaver County Times, Beaver Falls, Pa.

Leslie Dreyfous, Associated Press, New York

Roberta de Boer Durham, The Blade, Toledo, Ohio

Sara Engram, Evening Sun, Baltimore

Margie Fisher, Roanoke Times & World News, Va.

Beth Frerking, Newhouse News Service, Washington, D.C.

David Fritze, Arizona Republic, Phoenix

Diane Granat, Washingtonian, Washington, D.C.

Gail Stewart Hand, Grand Forks Herald, N.D.

Jeffrey Katz, Congressional Quarterly, Washington, D.C.

Rebecca Lipton, ABC World News Tonight's "American Agenda," Washington, D.C.

Mary Loftus, The Ledger, Lakeland, Fla.

Charles Madigan, Chicago Tribune

Carla Marinucci, San Francisco Examiner

Linda Marchan, Boston Globe

Mary Mohler, Ladies' Home Journal, New York

Laurie Petrie, Cincinnati Post

Sharon Case Randall, Monterey County Herald, Monterey, Calif.

April Sanl, Philadelphia Inquirer

Barbara Vobejda, Washington Post

Celeste Williams, Milwaukee Journal

John Woestendiek, Philadelphia Inquirer

#### WHAT'S THE CASEY JOURNALISM CENTER FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES?

It's a new national resource for journalists who cover children and family issues. Its mission is to enhance reporting about the issues and institutions affecting disadvantaged children and their families. The center, which operates out of the University of Maryland College of Journalism, is funded by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the nation's largest philanthropy dedicated exclusively to disadvantaged children. The center is a nonpartisan, independent group with a national advisory board of journalists and experts on children's issues. The center conducts an annual conference for print and broadcast journalists, and administers a journalism awards program for distinguished reporting. The center also publishes a quarterly newsletter, "The Children's Beat," highlighting quality journalism on children's and family topics. It also assists journalists by providing information about programs and trends from a database of experts on a wide variety of children's issues. To apply for a fellowship covering most costs of attending the Casey Journalism Center's 1994 conference, write Cathy Trost, director, Casey Journalism Center, College of Journalism, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742-7111. (301) 405-2482.

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**"Protecting the Welfare  
of Children" Conference**

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## **"PROTECTING THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN" CONFERENCE**

- Conference agenda
- List/bios of participants
- "Zuckerman Unbound,"* The Boston Globe, 12/25/94
- Recent articles by conference participants

# Agenda

## Casey Journalism Center for Children and Families

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### "Protecting the Welfare of Children"

June 11-16, 1995

University of Maryland

University College Conference Center

#### **SUNDAY, JUNE 11**

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|                  |                                                                                             |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 6:30 p.m.        | Reception: East Patio                                                                       |
| 7:00 p.m.        | Dinner: Regents Room (1110)                                                                 |
| Keynote Speaker: | <b>Leon Dash</b> , Reporter, <i>The Washington Post</i> ,<br>and 1995 Pulitzer Prize winner |

#### **MONDAY, JUNE 12**

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(All sessions will be held in Room 2101 except where noted.  
Breakfast is served in the Mount Clare Room, which opens at 7:00 a.m.)

|                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8:30-10:00 a.m. | <i>"Welfare Trends"</i><br><br><b>Douglas J. Besharov</b> , Resident Scholar,<br>American Enterprise Institute                                                                                                                          |
| 10:30 a.m.-Noon | <i>"Child Poverty Trends"</i><br><br><b>Donald J. Hernandez</b> , Chief,<br>Marriage and Family Statistics Branch,<br>U.S. Bureau of the Census                                                                                         |
| Noon-2:00 p.m.  | Luncheon: Founders Room<br><br><i>"Poverty and Child Welfare Policy"</i><br><br><b>David T. Ellwood</b> ,<br>Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation,<br>U.S. Department of Health and Human Services                           |
| 3:00-5:00 p.m.  | <i>"Impact of Welfare Reform on Children and Families"</i><br><br><b>Robert Greenstein</b> , Executive Director,<br>Center on Budget and Policy Priorities;<br><b>Robert Rector</b> , Senior Policy Analyst,<br>The Heritage Foundation |



Monday, June 12 (continued)

5:00-5:30 p.m.

*"Roundtable Discussion with Fellows"*

Discussion Leader:

**Sara Engram**, Editorial Page Director,  
*The Baltimore Sun*, and 1993 Casey Journalism  
Center Fellow

6:30 p.m.

Reception: East Patio

7:00 p.m.

Dinner: Regents Room (1110)

*"Poverty and Child Health and Development"*

**Dr. Barry Zuckerman**, Professor and Chairman,  
Department of Pediatrics,  
Boston University School of Medicine/Boston City Hospital

## **TUESDAY, JUNE 13**

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8:30-10:30 a.m.

*"Causes and Consequences of Being Poor Across Generations"*

**Jeanne Brooks-Gunn**, Virginia and Leonard Marx Professor,  
Child Development and Education, and  
Director, Center for Children and Families,  
Teachers College, Columbia University;  
**Robert H. Haveman**, John Bascom Professor of Economics and  
Public Affairs, University of Wisconsin;  
**Lawrence M. Mead**, Weinberg Visiting Professor,  
Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University

10:45 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

*"Structural and Cultural Trends in Families"*

**Sara McLanahan**, Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs,  
Princeton University;  
**David Popenoe**, Professor of Sociology,  
Assoc. Dean, Faculty of Arts and Sciences,  
Rutgers University

12:30-1:00 p.m.

Luncheon: Founders Room

1:00-2:45 p.m.

*"Causes and Consequences of Out-of-Wedlock Births"*

**Rebecca A. Maynard**, Trustee Professor of Education  
and Social Policy, University of Pennsylvania;  
**Stephanie J. Ventura**, Statistician,  
Division of Vital Statistics, National Center for  
Health Statistics;  
**Nicholas Zill**, Vice President and Study Area Director,  
Westat, Inc.

Tuesday, June 13 (continued)

2:50 p.m. PROMPT!

Board bus for White House in front of Conference Center

4:00 p.m.

*"An Interview With The First Lady"*

**Hillary Rodham Clinton**

5:30-6:00 p.m.

Board Bus for University of Maryland

7:30 p.m.

Cocktails: Founders Room

*"Roundtable Discussion with Fellows"*

Discussion Leader:

**Deborah Cohen**, Assistant Editor,

Education Week, and 1993 Casey Journalism Center Fellow

8:00 p.m.

Dinner: Founders Room

*"Code of the Streets: Behavior of Inner City Youth"*

**Elijah Anderson**, Charles and William L. Day Professor of  
The Social Sciences, University of Pennsylvania

### **WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14**

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8:00 a.m. PROMPT!

Board Bus for Baltimore in front of Conference Center

*"Child Welfare and the Juvenile Court"*

**Judge David B. Mitchell**, Associate Judge,  
Baltimore City Circuit Court,  
Judge in Charge,  
Juvenile Division

9:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

Journalists split into groups to observe hearings

12:30-1:30 p.m.

Working Lunch and Remarks: Judge Mitchell

1:45-3:00 p.m.

*"Urban Teen Pregnancy Issues"*

**Peter Beilenson**, Commissioner of Health,  
Baltimore City Health Department

(Fellows can return to University of Maryland on bus for free afternoon or remain in Baltimore, returning on own. If you would like to eat dinner on campus, contact us for meal tickets which can be used in the Garden Restaurant.)

**THURSDAY, JUNE 15**

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8:30-9:30 a.m.

*"The Structure of Welfare Families"*

**Kristin A. Moore**, Executive Director and Director of Research,  
Child Trends, Inc.

9:45-11:00 a.m.

*"Fixing Teen Pregnancy"*

**Judith S. Musick**, Vice Chair,  
Ounce of Prevention Fund, and author,  
*Young, Poor and Pregnant: The Psychology of Teenage Motherhood*

Noon-1:30 p.m.

Luncheon: Room 2110  
Informal Viewing/Listening: Broadcast and Audio Fellows' Tapes

1:30-3:00 p.m.

*"Fixing Families"*

**Karen J. Pittman**, Director,  
President's Crime Prevention Council;  
**Ann Rosewater**, Deputy Assistant Secretary  
for Policy and External Affairs,  
Administration for Children and Families,  
Department of Health and Human Services

3:00-5:00 p.m.

*"Fixing Child Welfare Systems"*

**Phyllis R. Brunson**, former Acting Director,  
Maryland Service Reform Initiative, and Senior Associate,  
Center for the Study of Social Policy;  
**Marcia Robinson Lowry**, Director,  
ACLU Children's Rights Project;  
**Paul Vincent**, Director,  
Alabama Department of Human Resources,  
Division of Family and Children's Services

5:00-5:30 p.m.

*"Roundtable Discussion With Fellows"*

Discussion Leader:  
**Martha Shirk**, Reporter,  
*St. Louis Post Dispatch*, and 1994  
Casey Journalism Center Fellow

7:00 p.m.

Dinner and graduation: Chesapeake Room

8:30-9:30 p.m.

Open bar: Chesapeake Room and adjoining courtyard



**FRIDAY, JUNE 16**

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- 8:30-10:30 a.m.      *"The Media and Child Welfare Systems"*
- Jess McDonald**, Director,  
Illinois Department of Children and Family Services;  
**Benjamin Wolf**, Director, Children's and Institutionalized  
Person's Project, ACLU of Illinois;  
**Rob Karwath**, Assistant Metropolitan Editor,  
*The Chicago Tribune*;  
**Steven M. Gorelick**, Assistant to the President and Adjunct  
Professor of Communications, Graduate School and  
University Center, City University of New York;  
**Richard Wexler**, Assistant Professor  
of Communications, Pennsylvania State University, and  
Vice President, National Coalition for  
Child Protection Reform
- 10:30-11:00 a.m.      Please check out and store bags
- 11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.      *"Covering Child Welfare Issues"*
- Pam Curry**, Reporter and Special Projects Producer,  
*WFAA-TV*, Dallas;  
**Jane Daugherty**, Associate Editor/Children First,  
*Detroit Free Press*;  
**Martha Shirk**, Reporter,  
*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*
- 12:30-1:30 p.m.      Luncheon: East Patio
- 1:30-3:30 p.m.      *"Getting Good Data"*
- Brett Brown**, Research Associate,  
Child Trends, Inc.  
**Patricia Donovan**, Senior Associate for Law and Public  
Policy, Alan Guttmacher Institute;  
**Bill O'Hare**, KIDS COUNT Coordinator,  
Annie E. Casey Foundation

—End of Conference—

(Please Turn In Your Evaluation Forms)

## "Protecting the Welfare of Children"

### 1995 Conference Fellows

**JUNE ARNEY**  
Juvenile Justice Reporter  
*The Virginian-Pilot*  
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**CASEY JOURNALISM CENTER FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES  
FELLOWS  
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JUNE 11-16, 1995**

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**GEORGE BAUER** is national news editor for Monitor Radio, the broadcast service of The Christian Science Monitor. He is also an adjunct instructor at Northeastern University, where he is studying for his Master's degree. Mr. Bauer has worked for many public television and radio stations, including WLIW-TV in New York, WOSU-TV/AM/FM in Columbus, Ohio, and KUAT-TV/AM/FM in Tucson, Ariz. He also worked at KGUN-TV in Tucson, Associated Press Radio, British Broadcasting Corporation, National Public Radio and WGBH-TV/FM in Boston. His awards include a 1994 Ohio State Award for the series "Cities That Work" and a 1991 Long Island Press Club Award for TV Sports Feature. He received a B.S. from Boston University School of Communication. 617-450-7825.

**LAURA BRUNO** is a columnist for the Staten Island Advance. She also is serving as special projects writer and general assignment reporter, focusing on issues such as AIDS, youth gangs, foster care and social services. She joined the paper in 1985. Ms. Bruno has worked for the Chicago Tribune New York bureau as national desk and business desk research assistant; Gralla Publications in New York as assistant editor; the Press Journal in Leonia, N.J. as reporter; and The Guggenheim Foundation as grant assistant. In 1994, she received the Newswomen's Club of New York Front Page Award and the Deadline Club, New York City Chapter/Society of Professional Journalists' best feature reporting award. Ms. Bruno received her B.A. in Classics from College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Mass. in 1982. 718-981-1234.

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**EVAN DAVIS** is deputy editorial page editor for The Journal Gazette in Fort Wayne, Ind. He worked as editorial writer for the paper from 1987 to 1994, before taking his current position. He also worked for The Southern Illinoisan as editorial page editor and reporter and The Baraboo (Wis.) News Republic as editor. In other media work, Mr. Davis was a media specialist for The University of Wisconsin-Madison and a copy writer for Financial Advertising Agency in Cincinnati. In 1993, he accepted a Friend of Children award from the Indiana Chapter of the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse for The Journal Gazette, and in 1990, he received a first place editorial writing award from the Indiana Associated Press Managing Editors. Mr. Davis received his Master's in journalism from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1977 and his Bachelor's in journalism and political science from Indiana University-Bloomington in 1972. 219-461-8206.

**D'ARCY FALLON** joined the Gazette Telegraph in Colorado Spring, Colo. in 1990. She began as a lifestyle writer and now covers minority issues and urban affairs. She has covered government affairs for the San Francisco Examiner and features for the Long Beach Press Telegram. Her awards include 1992 first place features and best overall story of the year awards from the Colorado Associated Press for a story about Colorado's illegal midwives, and a 1991 first place award from the Colorado Professional Chapter/Society of Professional Journalists for a story that examined gay life in Colorado Springs. Ms. Fallon received her B.A. in journalism from San Francisco State University in 1982. 719-636-0231.

**NICOLE GALLAGHER** is a producer for ABC World News Tonight's American Agenda, with primary focus on family issues. She worked as a press advance for the Clinton presidential campaign and as a producer for NBC Sports: Summer Olympics, ABC Prime Time Live and ABC Morning News, before taking her current position in 1994. She received a sports Emmy for Olympic profiles and a Dupont Gold Baton award for an American Agenda series on women's health. Ms. Gallagher received her Bachelor's degree in social studies from Harvard. 212-456-2301.

**BRIAN GREGG** is family and children reporter for The Cincinnati Enquirer. Prior to joining the paper in 1994, he was a general assignment, bureau and police reporter for The Rockford (Ill.) Register Star; sports reporter for USA TODAY; and general assignment reporter for the (Akron)



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**JOANNE JACOBS** has been columnist and editorial writer for the San Jose Mercury News since 1984, specializing in education, family, children and women's issues. She joined the paper in 1978, working as editorial pages copy editor and editorial writer. She has also worked as associate editor for Super8 Filmmaker magazine in San Francisco and reporter and copy editor for Suburban Newspaper Publications, Inc. in Cupertino, Calif. She was a University of Michigan Journalism Fellow in 1991, and she received her B.A. in English and Creative Writing from Stanford University in 1974. 408-920-5000.

**RACHEL JONES** is national correspondent covering children and family issues for the Washington, D.C. bureau of Knight-Ridder, Inc. She joined the paper in 1994, and worked as general assignment feature writer and columnist for the Detroit Free Press, investigative reporter at The Chicago Reporter and feature writer for The Riverfront Times in St. Louis. She has also worked for The Miami Herald, The St. Petersburg Times, The St. Louis American Weekly and The Chicago Tribune. Her awards include a 1992 Cardinal's Communication Award for Best Single Feature Story from the Archdiocese of Chicago, a 1991 Robert R. McCormick Minority Fellowship in Urban Journalism from the Tribune Foundation and a 1991 Women in Communications Award. Ms. Jones attended Southern Illinois University and Northwestern University. 202-383-6000.

**ADRIAN NICOLE LEBLANC** has worked as a freelance journalist since 1986. Her articles have appeared in Esquire, The New York Times Sunday Magazine and the Village Voice. Her work is included in a new anthology, The Literary Journalists: Volume II, and she is working on a nonfiction book for Houghton Mifflin about a young family in the South Bronx. She has taught undergraduate seminars in nonfiction at Yale, Boston University and Smith College. Ms. LeBlanc was also senior editor and fiction editor at Seventeen Magazine. Currently, she is a fellow in nonfiction at the Mary Ingraham Bunting Institute, Radcliffe Research and Study Center. She received a Master of Studies in Law in 1993 from Yale Law School and a B.A. in sociology from Smith College in 1989. 617-441-5463.

**MARCELLA LEE** is field producer for the Family Unit at WBNS-TV in Columbus, Ohio. She took this position after working as a reporter, anchor and photographer for WLNS-TV in Lansing, Mich.; a news reporter for WITL-FM in Lansing; and an assignment desk intern at WJBK-TV in Detroit. She has also worked for a community television station in Ann Arbor and for China Television in Taiwan as a production intern/translator. She received her B.A. in business administration from the University of Michigan in 1993. 614-460-3903.

**DONNA LEINWAND** is government reporter for The Miami Herald, covering stories involving adoption, foster care and child abuse. She has worked for the paper since 1989 and previously worked as an intern for The Baltimore Sun and The Virginian-Pilot and The Ledger Star, writing for many beats including crime and courts. Ms. Leinwand was a Hearst award nominee for feature stories in 1988 and 1989, and she received a Miami Herald Silver Knight Scholarship in 1988 for a trip to New York. She received her Bachelor's degree in journalism and history from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. 305-985-4533.

**MELISSA LUDTKE** is a freelance writer currently under contract with Random House to write a



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**ELIZABETH MEHREN** is staff writer for the Los Angeles Times, covering general national news with a specialty in issues pertaining to the family for the past five years. She began working for the paper in 1980 and has worked in the home office in Los Angeles, covered the Reagan White House in the Washington bureau, launched the publishing beat while in the New York bureau, worked on the daily Olympics section in 1984 and participated in the 1984 and 1988 presidential campaign coverage. She has also worked in the style section of The Washington Post and as a general assignment reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle and the Hayward (Calif.) Daily Review. She has written many freelance articles for national magazines and three books, including *Born Too Soon*, published in 1992 and made into a movie for NBC in 1993, about her premature daughter Emily. Ms. Mehren received her M.A. and B.A. from the University of California, Berkeley in 1969 and 1968, respectively. 617-740-4783.

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**MARY BETH MURPHY** has recently become the family and children rights and children's court reporter for The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel. She worked as a feature writer for The



Milwaukee Sentinel from 1969 to 1981, the religion editor from 1981 to 1993 and the social issues reporter from 1993 to 1995. Prior to this, she was a feature editor and writer for The Waukesha (Wis.) Freeman and a feature writer and assistant editor for the Women's Page for the Hollister Newspapers in Wilmette, Ill. Her awards include the Milwaukee Sentinel Editors' Award and the Milwaukee Sentinel Staff Award, both for religion coverage in 1990. She received her Bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of Missouri at Columbia. 414-224-2187.

**ANNIE NAKAO** is metro reporter and feature writer for the San Francisco Examiner. She worked for the paper as metro reporter and education writer from 1976 to 1980, and then left to work for the Los Angeles Herald Examiner and the San Jose Mercury News, rejoining the Examiner in 1983. She has also taught and mentored reporter-trainees at the Summer Program for Minority Journalists at the University of California, Berkeley in 1978 and 1989. Ms. Nakao received her B.S. in journalism from California State University in Los Angeles in 1975. 415-777-7871.

**MARY NEWSOM** is editorial writer and columnist for the Charlotte Observer. She joined the paper in 1978, working as copy editor, assistant state editor, state editor, national editor, executive news editor and finally, projects editor, before taking her current position in 1994. As projects editor, she supervised four to five reporters who investigated long-term projects and series, such as a six-month look at the state's foster care system and a five-month investigation into criminals teaching in public schools. Ms. Newsom has also worked for the Roanoke (Va.) Times & World News and the Fayetteville (N.C.) Times. For her editorial writing, she received a 1994 first place N.C. Press Association Award. Her awards for projects she directed include a N.C. Press Association first place investigative award and a Casey Medals for Meritorious Journalism award for the foster care series in 1994. Ms. Newsom received her Bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1970. 704-358-5049.

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**CATHERINE RYAN** became the children and families reporter for Gannett Suburban Newspapers in White Plains, N.Y. in 1994. A year before this, she launched a bi-weekly column on children's issues. She has worked for the paper since 1986, starting as municipal and political reporter, and has also worked for The Daily Item in Port Chester, N.Y., covering schools and crime, and for the Greenwich (Conn.) News as a freelance news and feature writer. Ms. Ryan received her B.A. in Art History from Vassar College in 1983. 914-694-3518.

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**CASSANDRA SPRATLING** is parenting columnist and reporter for the Detroit Free Press. She has worked for the paper for 14 years as feature writer, education reporter, assistant entertainment editor, assistant city editor/education and reporter for the Children First team, before taking her current position in 1994. She has also worked for the South Bend Tribune and has taught journalism classes on the university level. Ms. Spratling was part of the Children First team which



won a Michigan Associated Press Sweepstakes Award and a Detroit Press Club Foundation's Medallion in 1994. Her other honors include a 1992 Distinguished Achievement Award from the Educational Press Association of America for a special section, "It's Elementary: A Guide to a Good Education," and a 1985-1986 Rotary Foundation Fellowship for a one-year study at the University of Ife in Nigeria. She received her M.A. in Communications from the University of Michigan in 1980 and her B.A. in journalism from Michigan State University in 1977. 313-223-4580.

**JUANITA STEVENSON** co-anchors the hour morning newscast and produces and reports on children and family issues for the weekly feature "Family Matters" for KFSN-TV in Fresno, Calif. She has worked for the station since 1983 and also anchored and produced weekend newscasts and produced a Sunday newsmagazine. Prior to this, she was a general assignment reporter and producer for KXAS-TV in Dallas/Fort Worth and a reporter for KMGH-TV in Denver, KTSP-TV in Phoenix and KERO-TV in Bakersfield, Calif. Her honors include a 1984 Alpha Epsilon Rho Award for Best Public Affairs Program, a California State University/Fresno Rosa Parks Award for community involvement and a NAACP Image Award for Media. Ms. Stevenson received her B.A. in political science from California State University in 1977. 209-442-1170.

**JANE SUTTER** directs eight reporters who cover issues relating to children, families, education, aging and charities, as the "Passages and Learning Circle" editor for The State in Columbia, S.C. She took this position in 1993 and also oversees the newsroom-wide children's project called "To Raise A Child - It Takes an Entire Village." Ms. Sutter has also worked as deputy city editor and features editor for The Bradenton Herald; lifestyle staff writer and food editor for The Daily Courier-News in Elgin, Ill.; and Living section editor and reporter for The Hawk Eye in Burlington, Iowa. Her honors include third place awards for business writing, Lifestyle sections and community service from the Northern Illinois Newspaper Association. She received her Bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of Missouri-Columbia in 1981. 803-771-8396.

**SUSAN WALLACE** has recently become the Lifestyle editor at The Fredericksburg (Va.) Free Lance-Star, after working as the Houston Independent School District beat reporter and covering children's issues for the Houston Post since 1992. She has also worked for the Corpus Christi Caller-Times as county government and social services beat reporter, the Indianapolis Star as state desk reporter and the Fort Worth Star-Telegram Washington, D.C. bureau as general assignment reporter. Ms. Wallace received a 1994 National Education Writers Association Fellowship and a 1993 Texas PTA Media Award for a back-to-school team project, among other awards. She received her B.A. in news-editorial journalism with a political science minor from Texas Christian University in 1991. 703-373-5000.

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Anita Diamant is a Boston-based writer and commentator on WBUR -FM.

BYLINE: By Anita Diamant

BODY:

When Barry Zuckerman became chairman of the pediatrics department at Boston City Hospital last year, one of the first things he did was to hire a lawyer. But attorney Josh Greenberg's job has nothing to do with defending the hospital's 58 pediatricians against malpractice suits. Instead, Greenberg spends his time teaching the medical staff about how poor families can qualify for housing, welfare, food-stamp, and other programs that have a direct impact on children's health. Greenberg also provides legal advice to patients whose health problems may be related to toxic living conditions (unheated apartments, lead paint, and the shattering sound of gunfire).

Greenberg isn't the only nontraditional hire Zuckerman has made; he has also brought early-childhood educators into the hospital's outpatient clinics and has launched an ambitious program to set up partnerships with a wide array of community groups. In the process, Zuckerman has expanded the definition of what pediatric medicine is all about. "If I had to pick a theme for my work, it's going beyond traditional boundaries to try to do whatever we can to meet the needs of children and parents," Zuckerman says. "I can treat a child with antibiotics for an ear infection, but if that child is living in a house where the heat is being shut off constantly or his family is being evicted, giving medicine kind of pales." Medicine has helped most of America reduce childhood diseases to a benign few: colds and flu, ear infections, chicken pox. But the nation's poor children are not so lucky. They are stalked by malnutrition, lead-paint poisoning, severe asthma, prenatal exposure to drugs and alcohol, AIDS, and post-traumatic stress syndrome. More than 27 percent of Boston's children live below the poverty line, and when they get sick, many of them show up at Boston City Hospital, where Zuckerman, 48, is responsible for seeing that they get better.

Zuckerman's chairmanship - a joint appointment with the pediatric department of the Boston University School of Medicine - caps a career in the city's public hospital. He completed his residency at BCH and served as chief of the division of



developmental and behavioral pediatrics from 1977 to 1993. As chairman, Zuckerman is in charge of inpatient and outpatient children's services at BCH, a staff of 300, and the training of 35 pediatric residents.

With an administrative load like that, Zuckerman worried that he'd have too little contact with patients, so he signed up to work a regular shift on Thursday nights at the Uphams Corner Health Center. He gets his best ideas while seeing patients, Zuckerman says. And besides, he'd miss the stories.

In the examining room at the Dorchester neighborhood clinic or in BCH's pediatric emergency room, where he supervises third-year medical students, Zuckerman asks questions: How safe is your neighborhood? Are you satisfied with your child's school? What's it like to raise children in Boston compared to Cape Verde or Haiti or Texas? The stories he hears keep him from burning out. Zuckerman is not your average big-city hospital administrator. A leader in the movement to get pediatricians to take a more holistic, developmental view of children, he has a national reputation as a passionate advocate for poor children. He served on the Carnegie Task Force on Meeting the Needs of Young Children and on the National Commission on Children. Last year, Marion Wright Edelman, founder and director of the Children's Defense Fund, presented him with the organization's Leadership Award. "There's an indignant fury that fuels me," he says in a quiet baritone that rumbles from his 6-foot-5-inch frame.

Zuckerman is, by all accounts, an extremely effective spokesman for poor children - a population that seems even more vulnerable since the November elections. Bill Harris, founder of KidsPac, a political action committee devoted to children's issues, and a longtime friend, says, "It's wonderful to see the Zuckermanization of these policy wonks."

"Zuckermanization" is a two-part process. First, he gets people to understand the connections between children's illness and the social forces that cause them. Then he fosters practical, replicable solutions at every level: from pushing for full funding for Head Start to improving communication between the city's health-care system and the state's welfare bureaucracy or to setting up a 12-step substance-abuse meeting at BCH for recovering mothers bringing their babies in for regular checkups.

At BCH, Zuckermanization is well under way and producing results. Take, for example, Zuckerman's new lawyer. Attorney Greenberg's most dramatic "cure" came in the case of one young girl who was suffering from asthma so severe that she was hospitalized several times. Medication couldn't control her attacks; even heavy doses of steroids made little difference.

Because mildew and mold in her family's basement apartment were suspected of exacerbating the girl's condition, Greenberg was consulted. He called the lawyer for the building's management company. "We chatted about housing laws," he says, "and I urged him to call the pulmonary doctor to get a solid medical understanding of the



situation." Four weeks after repairs were made, the girl was back in school, off the steroids, and largely asymptomatic. "The pulmonologist still can't believe it," Greenberg says.

Zuckerman loves that story. "Children's health is multidetermined, which means doctors have to address all aspects of social policy that affect kids: welfare reform, gun control, lead paint, child care, income supports. It can feel like tilting at windmills." On the other hand, he points out, doctors make especially good advocates for children. "We're saying, 'Don't give us the business.' "

To Harris, of KidsPac, Zuckerman's prescriptions are nothing short of a cure for what ails America. "Barry is in the middle of the most important domestic questions of our time - the crumbling of the cities, the chasm between have and have-not. I'm one of those people who believe that the kid issue is the only route out. All you have to do is look at crime rates among the young, and what you come back to is what Barry is trying to fix." As he walks away from the

Uphams Corner Health Center after 9 p.m. one recent Thursday, Zuckerman says, "If I have one regret, it's that I don't have the kind of 20-year, long-term relationships with families and kids that other pediatricians have."

For three hours, he has listened to lungs and hearts, peered into ears, and given a half-dozen immunizations for whooping cough and polio to children he will probably never see again. Nevertheless, in the examining room, Zuckerman takes his time. He compliments the 6-year-old Cape Verdean girl on the pink party dress she has worn for her visit to the clinic. She and her brother have recently moved to Boston with their mother, and they have come to get the shots they need to enroll in school. "You mean she hasn't been in school yet?" he asks the girl's aunt, who translates. "And this was the earliest appointment you could get?"

After the family leaves, he shakes his head at the Catch-22 facing the bright-eyed 6-year-old. "I understand why they made immunization a requirement for school," he says, "but now this kid is already two months behind." Barry Zuckerman is the oldest of three children. His father was a chemist for Ortho Pharmaceuticals, his mother a part-time bookkeeper and homemaker. The family lived in a four-room apartment in Boundbrook, a small town in central New Jersey.

"The most significant part of my childhood," he says, "was the fact that I have a brother who is two years younger than me who is mentally retarded. In the '50s there were no services available, so my parents became advocates for my brother. That had a huge impact on me. I saw how my brother's disability put him at a disadvantage for an equal education, and I saw discrimination.

"My parents were not only models of advocates but also of frustration because some people helped and some did not. My empathy for parents who are struggling to get what they want for their children and my need to ally myself with them really



come out of that personal experience. It might make sense for me as a pediatrician to deal with children who have disabilities, but I see that race and class put children at a significant disadvantage, too. I don't believe children are getting what they need, and parents aren't getting the support they need to achieve the aspirations we all have for our children."

As a child, Zuckerman didn't especially want to be a doctor. "I wanted to be a basketball player," he says. "My early education was influenced significantly by playing ball." Like many ex-jocks, Zuckerman frequently extols the virtues of teamwork and likens his role as chairman - and as a physician - to that of a coach who selects and motivates players working together for a common goal.

But Zuckerman's basketball career was sidelined by injury during his undergraduate years at Rutgers University, in New Jersey, and the realization that the world was full of better players. He started college as a pre-med student but became disenchanted. "The courses didn't seem to be related to what I was experiencing as a college student in the mid-'60s. In sequence, I became a history major and then a psychology major and thought maybe I'd go to graduate school in psychology. But I had a professor who said I could do just about anything with an MD."

Accepted at Georgetown University Medical School, Zuckerman spent 1968 to 1972 in Washington, D.C., during the height of the antiwar movement: "It was a time of shaping one's social consciousness, which was important to me then and continues to be important to me today. At the time, there was a lot of concern about injustice, so the next logical step for me was coming to work in a place like Boston City - a place where you continue to see injustice and where you can work to change it."

In 1972, both Zuckerman and his fiancée were accepted to the BCH pediatric residency program. Though it took some wrangling for them to get a simultaneous week off for a honeymoon, they married during their internship. Barry and Pamela Zuckerman ("the best pediatrician in Boston," he says of his wife, with total conviction) have two children: Jake, a sophomore at Wesleyan University, in Connecticut, and Katherine, a high school senior.

"I was a resident at BCH in 1974," Zuckerman says, "the year of school busing. I remember a group of about 30 African-American children coming into our emergency room after a bus had been stoned. Our job was to check them over and see how they were. Well, physically they were fine, but I can still see those faces - the horror, the incomprehension of 6- and 7-year-old children not understanding why people were calling them names and throwing stones.

"All you have to do is work here and see what people struggle against mightily, to get the necessary food, housing, and health care for their children and themselves. Being here nurtures a social consciousness."



Despite his commitment to help the children and families he saw at BCH, Zuckerman nevertheless was disillusioned. "I wasn't even sure I wanted to be a pediatrician. I'd learned how to treat disease, but something was missing. I found the missing piece when I trained with Brazelton."

During a two-year fellowship in child development with Dr. T. Berry Brazelton, at Children's Hospital, Zuckerman says, he learned about a "model of care that included treating more than an infection. It includesuade him from that decision: "They said many of the families I would see have so many problems that some of my skills wouldn't be used. But I didn't think that was true. The things I'd learned about the strengths of children and families can be applied anywhere. Some families need a wider range of help, but I think that, regardless of social class, everyone wants the same thing, which is someone to listen and help them realize their special aspirations for their children."

Upon his return to BCH, Zuckerman instituted a training program in child development based on what he'd learned from Brazelton. In addition to readings and lectures, residents were sent to visit their patients' neighborhoods and to a nearby day-care center to observe healthy children at play. "In the hospital, the doctors were in charge and children were scared and submitted to them," Zuckerman says. "In the day-care center, the residents quickly learned that the children were in charge. The children told them, 'You go pick that up,' and they did. Doctors need to understand how children are stressed in the hospital; how they are less vocal, active; how they laugh less."

During the 1980s, Zuckerman was principal investigator on many research projects, including some of the earliest studies on the effects of cocaine on babies whose mothers used the drug during pregnancy. His curriculum vitae includes 14 pages of academic publications, but ultimately Zuckerman laid research aside in order to "have more of an impact on children and families." As chief of the division of developmental and behavioral pediatrics, Zuckerman found many ways to put both his research findings and developmental approach into practice. He hired Deborah Frank, who started the Failure to Thrive clinic, which treats children who are not growing properly. He helped start the Women's and Infants' Clinic, where, during their children's regular pediatric visits, mothers in recovery get support for staying clean and sober.

But as the developmental consultant to doctors working on wards at BCH, Zuckerman was overwhelmed by patients' needs: "Unlike at Children's Hospital, where we had a few kids who had development and behavior problems, here, because of the biologic and social stresses of poverty, a lot of children also had developmental and behavior problems. I decided what we needed was an early-childhood educator to work in a pediatric setting."

"My notion was that the final common pathway of medical problems of young children - whether it was prematurity, lead paint, prenatal drug or alcohol exposure,



undernutrition - was an impact on how children grow and learn. To deal with that problem, I thought we needed educators rather than doctors, who don't have the time or the training to do it." With grants from the Cox and Boston foundations, Zuckerman hired Margot Kaplan-Sanoff, an early-childhood education specialist from Wheelock College, in Boston, to be the first of what is now a 17-member nonmedical professional staff that includes educators, psychologists, social workers, substance-abuse specialists, and one lawyer.

Kaplan-Sanoff is now clinical director of a new initiative called Pediatric Pathways to Success. Its ultimate goal is to make sure that every baby who comes to BCH - whether for routine care or a medical emergency - is ready for school. Whatever it takes.

"At BCH we see families doing great and families barely hanging on," says Kaplan-Sanoff. For families that are functioning fairly well, Pathways offers parenting classes and referrals to Head Start and enrichment programs for children. "But for people who need heat," she says, "information about child development isn't going to help that much." That's where family advocates and a lawyer may make the difference between a star student and a dropout.

Pathways began this fall with funding from an anonymous donor and has already enrolled 100 families. It is probably the fullest expression of Barry Zuckerman's vision for pediatric primary care. "First," he says, "I want to ensure the basics for families: access to food, health care, decent shelter. Second is the idea of child development as part of primary and preventive care. Here's where we want to expand services to include more than a pediatrician, who only has some training and less time to talk about educational issues."

Third, and perhaps most ambitious, is an effort to restructure the delivery of medical care. According to Zuckerman, medical systems were designed for the convenience of doctors - not to help people get what they need. "I want to develop a two-generation model of health care," he says. Ideally, services such as family planning, nutrition counseling, and depression screening should be available to all parents at the same time and in the same place they bring their children to the doctor for back-to-school checkups and regular immunizations.

It all comes down to one simple idea, says Zuckerman: "The best way to help children is to help their parents. And the best way to reach parents is through their children." Zuckerman has been able to start programs like Pathways because of his prodigious skills at getting grants. Over the past 18 years, his name has appeared as principal or co-principal investigator for grants totaling more than \$ 17 million. One of the most recent awards - \$ 400,000 from the Annie B. Casey Foundation - will fund national application of an innovative literacy project called Reach Out and Read, a textbook example of Zuckermanization in action.

Five years ago, staff members mentioned to him that children's books left in the



waiting rooms of various pediatric clinics were "walking." "There were complaints that people were always taking them," he says. "But I thought, 'That's a good idea. Children should have books, so maybe we should give them away.' Even I sometimes forget that many of the parents we see don't have discretionary income left at the end of the month to buy books." And, Zuckerman notes, there is only one children's bookstore in the inner city.

The connection between reading and children's well-being is not in dispute. More than 25 percent of inner-city children show significant delays in reading, a problem that very often leads to school failure, which correlates with adolescent substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and delinquency. Rather than accept that downward spiral as inevitable or simply outside the purview of preventive medicine, Zuckerman assembled a team - it included Kaplan-Sanoff and Robert Needleman, a pediatric resident - to develop a program that would foster childhood literacy.

Reach Out and Read begins in the waiting room of BCH's Pediatric Primary Care Center, where children go for regular checkups. Volunteers look at picture books with children and in the process demonstrate book-sharing techniques for parents, some of whom are poor readers or cannot read at all. In the examination room, pediatricians talk about the importance of reading to children as young as 6 months old. Sometimes, the doctor will "prescribe" a daily five-minute story time.

"And then, most important, we give out books," says Zuckerman. "When I give a book during a visit, I watch a 9-month-old open it and see his face light up. I watch the mother smile, and I know something will happen again at home." Research showed that handing out books made a crucial difference. In a follow-up study, parents were asked to name their child's three favorite activities. Among those who had received books, four times as many parents mentioned reading; parents on Aid to Families with Dependent Children were nearly eight times more likely to mention reading if a book was given during checkups. By contrast, parents who were encouraged to read to their children but were not given a book showed no increase.

Since 1989, Reach Out and Read has distributed 20,000 books to more than 3,000 children at a cost of about \$ 24,000.

Says Kaplan-Sanoff: "When I first started with Barry 10 years ago and he would talk with parents about getting an 8-month-old ready for school, I was horrified. I came from a world where we told parents to relax about the academics. But the way out of poverty is success in school, and all parents want that. And more to the point, it works. It all speaks to Barry's vision that it's not enough to give these kids immunizations." Zuckerman's vision for children changes and expands year to year. One of his latest enthusiasms is to bring the national focus on better pain management to BCH. "Pain-free pediatrics" is the goal of yet another grant that will support training for doctors, nurses, and technicians in the latest techniques in pharmacological and nonpharmacological pain-management techniques - everything from gentler ways to draw blood to self-relaxation methods for children undergoing



invasive procedures. And Zuckerman continues to foster new programs, such as the Child Witness to Violence project, which provides counseling and advocacy services to young children who have seen family members and friends brutalized and even killed.

Zuckerman's detractors, who are few and who speak off the record, complain that he has a tendency to latch on to the most visible social ill of the moment and then abandon it. But Josh Greenberg defends his boss, saying, "His mind works a million miles a second when he's brainstorming, and then his hiring skills come in. He realizes he can't do it all himself, but he has a real facility for surrounding himself with people able to implement the ideas."

The Child Witness to Violence program, for example, started two years ago, just as drive-by shootings became a seemingly daily occurrence. The idea was set in motion by a conversation between Zuckerman and Betsy McAlister Groves, a social worker he hired to work with children in the hospital day-care center. Groves mentioned that two of the children in her care had witnessed a parent's murder. "He encouraged me to pursue the whole area because no one knew much about the effect of violence on small children," she says. Zuckerman helped her get funding for the program, which also trains police officers, doctors, and teachers who come in contact with the forgotten victims of domestic and street violence. "I can't say enough about Barry's mentoring," Groves says.

Likewise, Zuckerman can't say enough about his colleagues: "a special group of committed, talented people I feel lucky to work with." Although BCH has its share of institutional politics and attendant bruised feelings, the front-line, foxhole ethos of the place keeps backstabbing at a minimum. As one doctor puts it, "It's us and our kids against the world."

From the trenches at BCH, it seems clear that preventing illness and death among the city's most vulnerable children requires tackling the conditions and effects of poverty not only child by child, but also bureaucracy by bureaucracy.

This view is gaining ground. Zuckerman was a member of a national panel that wrote a set of pediatric guidelines for children's health supervision, called Bright Futures, recently published in book form by the National Center for Education in Maternal and Child Health. Under the guidelines, regular checkups are seen as occasions for doctors and other health-care providers to prevent problems and enhance family strengths. In addition to listing the immunizations and tests to be performed at various ages and stages, the book suggests age-appropriate questions, everything from "Have you had a postpartum checkup?" to "Do you have a gun at home? Do you keep it locked up?"

Says Zuckerman: "A healthy child is not just a child who has no disease, but a child who is part of a healthy family and community. Our goal has to be to pull this all together to provide the structure and information families need to raise happy,

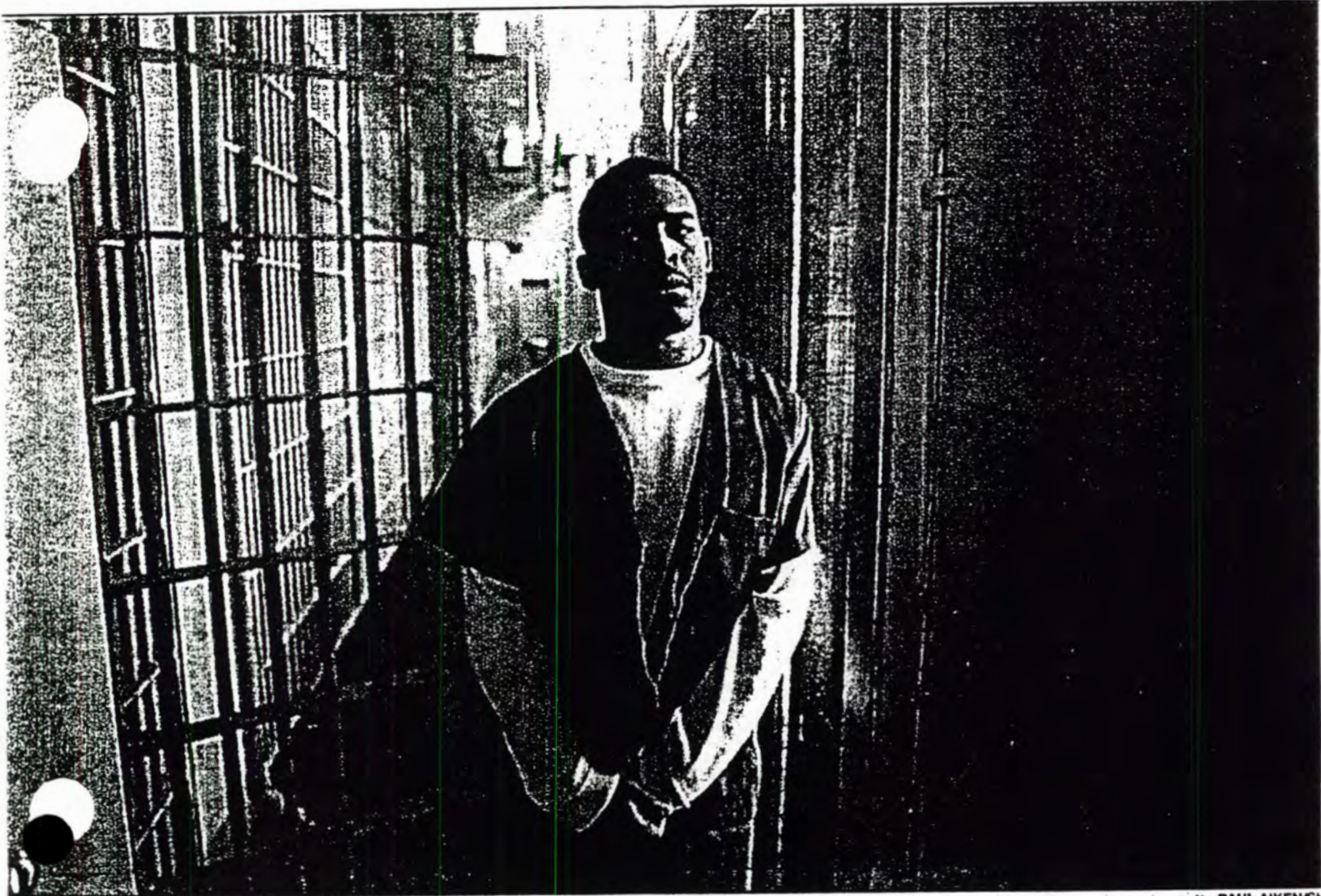
healthy children."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, Dr. Barry Zuckerman on the job at BCH: Mixing "sensitivity to people with a tough approach to the issues." / Bill Greene / The Boston Globe (COLOR)

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PAUL AIKEN/ST

*"Tell all those kids out there doing that wild stuff to let it go. Life is too short. Too many of their friends are getting killed." – Calvin Outlaw*

# Streets crush teen's potential

He had Street Smarts in his corner, but now he's back in the Norfolk jail.

Y JUNE ARNEY  
STAFF WRITER 12/12/94

NORFOLK — In 1992, authorities touted Calvin Outlaw as a star of the Street Smart program, which helps teens with drug convictions re-enter society without their lives. Outlaw, a former crack dealer, was a resident of his Street Smart class and sold more Street Smart T-shirts than anyone else. He was befriended by a local auto dealer

who made him her special project and gave him a job as a lot attendant. The aim of the Street Smart program is happy endings. But Calvin Outlaw's story has no happy ending. Today, Outlaw sits in the Norfolk City Jail. He pleaded guilty on Dec. 2 to possession of cocaine and received a 6-month sentence. On Thursday, he faces trial for murder. It's not what his Street Smart

leaders had in mind. It's not what he hoped for himself. But the program isn't to blame, he says. "People can't do anything but benefit from that program," he said. "But you can't let anything get in your way, 'cause the least little thing can get you off track. I didn't stay focused like I was supposed to. I didn't keep my eye on that prize. "I blinked." During a recent interview, Outlaw, now 19, said he disappointed program officials. "I feel like I kind of let them

Please see **Potential**, Page B3

**STREET SMART**

Calvin Outlaw had been a star product of Street Smart. The program, administered by Family Services of Tidewater, takes teenagers out of drug dealing, matches them with mentors and puts them into business selling Street Smart T-shirts. More than 200 youths have been through the program since it started four years ago. Sixty have graduated.



# Potential: Despite aid, teen winds up in jail

Continued from Page B1

down," he said. "If they know me, they know I didn't do it (the murder). I feel like I could have had more self-control. I really didn't have to be in that scene."

Outlaw seemed unable to break free of his past, said the director of Street Smart program.

"I saw all the pieces happening, but I couldn't stop them," said Fred McCaskill-Baker. "It's bigger than me and the program."

Calvin Outlaw was a product of the streets of Diggs Town. It was a life of drugs and guns and easy money. He claims to have carried an Uzi at age 9. He would pay \$500 for 14 grams of crack and sell it for \$1,500.

It was a lifestyle that got him shot, and later sent to the Norfolk Detention Center in 1992 as accessory to an armed robbery after a rap concert at the Hampton Coliseum.

When he was released, two things happened to turn his life around: Street Smart and his friendship with Peggy Kimnach, owner of Kimnach Ford. She gave him a job.

"That lady kept my baby alive," said Outlaw, who now has two daughters. "She'd give me money to take my baby to the doctor when she was sick."

Kimnach gave him spending money and paid for his school lunches. She also insisted he play by the rules.

"I told him point-blank, 'If you screw up, you go back,' " she said. "He had gotten a lot of dirty breaks in life, and he seemed to be trying so hard. I told him the big money would get him shoveled off the street."

The two parted ways when a brand-new \$28,000 Ford Explorer disappeared off the Kimnach lot last winter and surfaced in a downtown Norfolk car lot with Outlaw's jacket in the back seat — a jacket she said she had bought him. Kimnach said she heard that Outlaw had been trying to sell the Explorer for \$5,000. Kimnach didn't press charges.

Outlaw denies he stole the Explorer and says the jacket wasn't his.

"That lady was far too kind for me to do something like that," he said. "That's the lowest. I wouldn't do her like that."

Kimnach said she was saddened by the recent developments in his life.

"He could have made something of himself," she said. "I really thought this was going to be one of the kids we were going to salvage. I really thought we had pulled him out of the gutter. He was going to be an asset to the community."

And then there was Street Smart. McCaskill-Baker says more than 200 youths have been through the program since it started four years ago. Sixty graduated.

"We've got them in the Army, Navy, in college, getting married — those are our success stories," he said.

The program costs about \$43,000 a year and serves 75 youths, he said. The idea is to keep people out of the justice system and to show them there are people who care.

McCaskill-Baker said only four of the 60 graduates have gotten back in trouble for drugs.

"That's tremendous odds," he said.

Of Outlaw, he said: "I'm not disappointed in Calvin because I know him too well. He still has my respect. He's doing the best he can under the circumstances. He's in a war. He's just trying to come out of it the best he can. If I ran into Calvin today, he'd still be my friend."

The program leader said Outlaw is mature and hardened on the surface, but sensitive and caring inside. He is loyal to his family and friends, disciplined and not hot-headed. He struggles with self-esteem when he doesn't have money. He's a street survivor addicted to the prestige and power of dealing drugs and enamored with the excitement and adventure it brings.

Outlaw's secret to success in groups is his ability to win respect and convince people that he believes in them, McCaskill-Baker said.

"I respect him," he said. "He's a businessman. I'd go into a situation with him anytime. I trust him."

McCaskill-Baker knows that every participant in the program cannot expect a fairy-tale ending, but Outlaw's troubles hit especially hard.

"I'm angry that he wasted so much," McCaskill-Baker said. "He could be running for office or president of a company. It's a great loss."

Early in Outlaw's career at the car dealership, there was a confrontation on the lot with his mother and her boyfriend over one of his paychecks, McCaskill-Baker said. By all accounts, the confrontation was a turning point of sorts for Outlaw.

"After that, I didn't really have any pride in my job anymore," Outlaw said. "I wasn't about to let anything I worked honestly for be taken away."

He admits he got back into selling drugs on a small scale soon afterward. "Times was getting hard as far as money," he said. "I couldn't even get money for my baby's milk. I was doing anything I could do to get a dollar."

Outlaw said he pleaded guilty to the drug charge after being stopped by a police officer who found two empty plastic bags containing crack residue in Outlaw's coat pocket.

On Aug. 28, Outlaw returned to Diggs Park for the first time in a long time. His timing was poor. It was the night Ronald G. Bonney Jr. was killed.



Outlaw's friend of several years, Chauncey Jackson, was charged with capital murder in Bonney's death. Jackson implicated Outlaw in the robbery and murder. Jackson faces a capital murder trial Feb. 27, and Outlaw could face a life sentence on a first-degree murder charge. Outlaw says he wasn't involved in the crime. Police say he was present when Bonney was killed and drove off in the dead man's car with Jackson.

When you ask Outlaw what went wrong in his life, he describes a childhood shadowed by crime. He's stolen 10 cars in his life but driven as many as 50 stolen cars, he says. There were robberies. Then his friends introduced him to drugs.

"They gave me drugs to sell," he said. "I started liking the money. After I got into drugs, I left stolen cars. It was like I graduated. It resulted in me getting shot."

On June 3, 1991, a man tried to rob Outlaw and shot him in the leg and side. The gunman spent about 12 months in jail and never paid Outlaw restitution for his medical bills. As far as Outlaw was concerned, the justice system failed him.

Outlaw says he thinks his life might have unfolded differently if he could have gotten away from Campostella and stayed with his grandmother, who now lives in North Carolina. But because of her religious beliefs, she didn't want him living in her home with his girlfriend and their baby, he said.

Whatever happens now, Outlaw would like to be a Big Brother for Street Smart. "Helping someone else from my own experience is what I call learning from your own mistakes," he said.

Outlaw's daughters are 2 and 3. He seems to dote on them. He talks about getting out of jail and watching them grow up in his house.

He praises Street Smart for being there when he got out of detention.

"If it wasn't for Street Smart, I probably would have gotten right out of detention and done more crimes," he said. "I had nothing positive to look forward to."

Outlaw said he has lost nine friends to murder. He also lost an uncle he looked to as his father, brother and best friend.

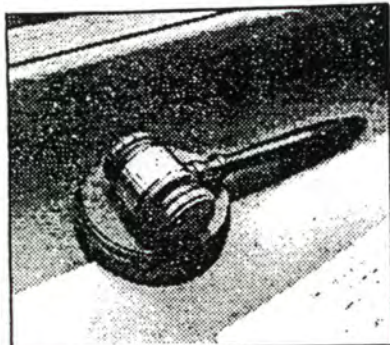
"Tell all those kids out there doing that wild stuff to let it go," he said. "Life is too short. Too many of their friends are getting killed. Why can't anyone else see that people are dying because of really stupid stuff?"

# Family Court cases are agonizingly real

By LAURA BRUNO  
ADVANCE STAFF WRITER

It is the place where the decomposition of the American family is seen at its rawest; where fragments of families are supposed to be pieced back together.

This is Family Court, Staten



## The Family Court

Island's emergency room for some of society's ugliest and most elemental ills.

In Parts I and II, the courtrooms at opposite ends of the St. George building's second floor, judges Carmen J. Cagnetta Jr. and M. Holt Meyer each hear about 3,000 cases a year.

Most contain the kind of melodrama that, on TV, would be considered unrealistic, but these stories are agonizingly real. Almost every person who walks through the metal detector at 100 Richmond Terr. is involved in a personal crisis.

"Are you divorced from him?" Cagnetta asks a woman with fresh bruises from her ex-husband. She is one of the first people ushered into the courtroom on a Monday morning.

"Yes, we're divorced."

"When did this happen?"

"Saturday, when he came for visitation."

"He's using drugs or alcohol?"

"Yes. My children are afraid of him."

"I'm going to issue a temporary order of protection and or-

der (the city Child Welfare Administration) to investigate the charges. We'll see if visitation should be suspended."

In Family Court, "you're deal-  
(See COURT, Page A 8)



ADVANCE FILE PHOTO

Judge M. Holt Meyer



# Court

(From Page A 1)

ing with the rawest and most basic parts of people's lives — you're talking about their children," said Natalie Albert, head of the borough's three-person Legal Aid juvenile division.

*A middle-aged mother with an alcohol problem leaves Cognetta's courtroom sobbing because he extended the foster-care placements for her children.*

*In another case, he changes an order of custody from the mother to her ex-husband. Standing before Cognetta with her lawyer, she listens to the judge say the children want to be with their father. Slim, attractive and well dressed, her head is bent forward, eyes red and filling. She rattles an umbrella against her thigh, nodding that she understands.*

A primary function of the court is to protect abused and neglected children, but the judges also must contend with children who are themselves threats. They hold trials for delinquents — kids under 16 charged with crimes — and they deal with kids bordering on delinquency, whose cases are titled PINS (person in need of supervision).

*A hulking 14-year-old juvenile delinquent stands angrily before Cognetta. He's going to a Title III Division of Youth facility ("The closest you can get to a jail," Cognetta said later). The boy is upset that he's been in a pre-trial detention center longer than usual. "He wants to go home, but he can't," the judge said. "His family doesn't want him home because he's been such a behav-*

*ior problem. He's a 14-year-old in a 19-year-old's body. A kid like that, he's an explosion waiting to happen. He's going to be in criminal court down the line."*

The bulk of the cases in Family Court, which is charged with enforcing divorce provisions established in state Supreme Court, are support, family offense (domestic violence), custody and visitation. Paternity cases also come before the court.

"The principal mission of Family Court is to reunite fragments of families," Meyer said.

But there are times in abuse cases when he and Cognetta decide that the tie between parent and child must be severed in a "termination of parents' rights" proceeding.

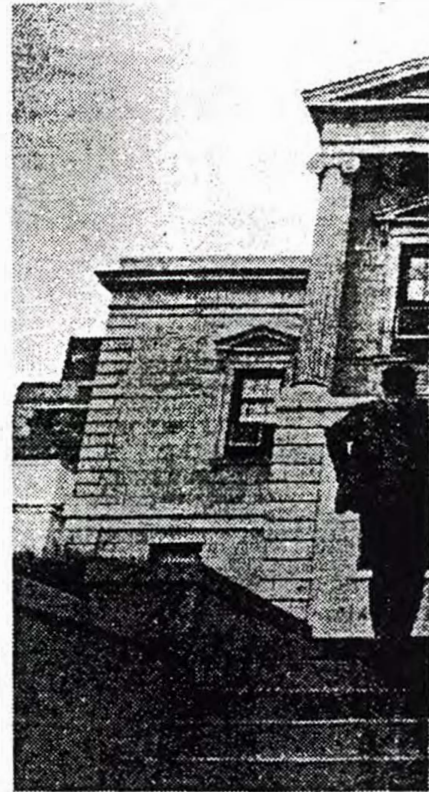
Sometimes the judges can take satisfaction from signing adoption papers for those children in the future.

"It's official," Cognetta told a little boy whose adoption papers he had just signed. "Do you know what this means? You're an official family — you can't be taken apart."

*He schedules adoptions first thing in the morning, 9 a.m., in chambers.*

"Usually I don't have to do too much in adoptions except sign papers, so I get to play with the kids," Cognetta said, zipping on his black robe for the day. "Sometimes they scream because they see this funny looking guy with a black dress on."

Adoption Clerk Charles Laub breezes through the pro forma reading of adoption papers with the child's adoptive parents, while Cognetta plays with the boy. Jokes and smiles fill the



The Family Court building on Richn

room. Cognetta, himself the father of an adopted daughter, poses for a picture with the new family.

"Don't forget — I get a copy," he says as they leave.

"It's one of the few times everyone walks out of here happy," said Barbara Panepinto, Cognetta's law assistant.

It is the last time for the day that Cognetta will have occasion to smile in an official capacity.

By the close of court at 5 p.m., 72 cases will have come before him, most of them involving domestic violence. Twenty cases were "walk-ins" — people like the bruised ex-wife who came into court that morning to file complaints.

"Certain types of cases have to go up the same day," said William Quirk, court clerk. "A beaten woman comes in at 4 p.m., she'll see a judge. Order of protection cases must go up the same day, too."

This is Cognetta's week on "intake" — hearing the walk-in cases — so he has only about half of each day for return cases and hearings.



A paternity case leaves with an adjourn date — it appears the father will agree to pay support.

"OK, keep 'em rolling." Cognetta tells Court Officer John Innell. He opens a corner and a man and woman enter with a blast of background voices from the waiting room. "Raise your right hand... your right hand."

"State your name, address and relationship to the child."

Sometimes the cases are so involved, there may be a half-dozen attorneys and social workers representing children, their parents, grandparents and the commissioner of the state Department of Social Services.

Sometimes there is just one person, often a woman, asking the court for protection.

"You may not hit, harm, menace or harass her," the judge recites to a man who has agreed to abide by an order of protection issued by his wife. "If you violate this order of protection, you could go to jail for up to six

months. You understand that by entering to this order, you are admitting guilt, and that you would ask for a hearing where the allegations would have to be proved."

He says the words maybe a dozen times a day, occasionally to a woman.

"She stole \$12 off me and chased me with a butcher knife," a husband told Cognetta.

A grandmother seeking custody asks for an order against her 16-year-old daughter, the crack-addicted mother of the child.

Cognetta is gentle with the woman. Often he comes across like a family doctor, remembering names and details of a person's past.

"Mrs. (Smith), do you remember me?" he asks a woman in her 70s, accompanied by a lawyer. "I'm sorry to hear about what happened."

Her husband, in his 80s, is in a nursing home with a debilitating illness. Her only source of income is half his Social Security check, and she can't make ends meet.

"I order him to support her, and he pays her the whole Social Security check," Cognetta explained later. "He becomes indigent and Medicaid picks him up."

custody order for a 7-year-old child with AIDS. The mother has AIDS and the father is nowhere around, but the mother's friend will take the child.

Warm benchside manner aside, the judge has little patience with parents who tear at each other with no regard for the effect on their children.

"If this kind of animosity continues," Cognetta tells parents battling over visitations, "we're going to see your daughter in here as a teen-ager."

When violence enters the picture, Cognetta's patience leaves.

"Off the record," he instructs the court reporter. William Boniface's fingers, usually in swift, silent motion on the steno machine keys, rest.

Cognetta leans forward, pointing his pen at a man who hit his estranged wife with a skateboard in front of the children. One of the children then refused to see his father, and both parents are in court trying to resolve visitation.

"Violence directed at a mother has longstanding adverse affects on the children," Cognetta told the man. "Back on the record."

Boniface's fingers respond.

Cognetta allows the father supervised visitation, at the Victim Services Agency, with the child who still wants to see him.

"There's an order of protection in effect. I want no contact between you two (parents) when you pick up or drop off the kids."

It's not uncommon for judges to interview children, especially in visitation and custody cases. However, other than that, "children shouldn't be in the courtroom," Cognetta said. "Other family courts have nurseries. We don't have room." A prefabricated temporary addition that will be operational in about two months does not include space for a nursery. The \$379,000 structure has drawn criticism for being costly and flimsy.

"Is there anyone to watch the children outside?" Cognetta asks divorced parents arguing over whether the wife's boy friend should be allowed around the children.

"No."

the two children's law guardian present their sides to Cognetta, the son, a blond pre-schooler, sits in a chair against the back wall, sucking on two fingers.

A paper airplane he's barely holding in the other hand drops. His older sister, a pretty redhead in a pink dress and white lace tights, slips out of her chair and gives her brother the plane.

They exchange whispers now and then, but for the most part, they watch quietly.

Before they leave, Cognetta chats with the children.

"I always try to say something nice to them so it's not a completely negative experience," he said. "We really need a nursery — you don't know how the kids interpret this."

With fathers who don't pay child support, the judge intends for the court visit to be completely negative.

"If you resign and stop paying support and don't get another job, then you go to jail," he tells a father. "I'm going to appoint you an attorney only because there's a good chance you're going to jail. Be here on the 24th and I suggest you begin paying support."

Because jail is counterproductive to a father making payments, Cognetta usually tries to set weekend sentences so the man can work.

"Oh God, I've been through so much," a young mother implores. "He left me eight months pregnant, then he moved in with his brother and got his wife pregnant."

Cognetta calms her.

"He's not here so I can go forward," he says. "Has he been paying the \$60 a week?"

"No."

"I can take the money right out of his paycheck. There will be no visitation until he comes to court."

In addition to such cases that can be decided on the spot, there are those that require hearings. Because of the court's overwhelming caseload and the amount of testimony that has to be reviewed, Cognetta usually ends up writing decisions on weekends.

A custody hearing became necessary after Cognetta "ordered" placement for a kid. ... the kid stayed two years in foster care. Now the foster mother wants custody. She's white, the kid is black, and his aunt wants him. We've got five attorneys involved," the judge said.



# LOCAL BROWARD LOCAL

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## Foster parenthood a selfless sacrifice

### Broward families open hearts, homes

By **DONNA LEINWAND**  
Herald Staff Writer

Last week, Barbara Brown bought six gallons of milk and 25 loaves of bread to feed her seven teenage boys. Patty Altmark spent much of the week shuttling four children under 6 from doctor to doctor.

As foster parents, Altmark and Brown have taken on the children of Florida's welfare system. They are charged with raising children not their own — some for a week, others for years. Each child comes with his or her own problems and needs. Many are troubled. Some are ill. None are perfect.

"The rewards are so wonderful," said Altmark, 37, of Davie,

## TARGET

More on Page 8BR:

- Some answers to frequently asked questions.
- Related news from elsewhere.
- Where to turn for help.

who cares for young children who have HIV. "For me, the fact that I can pick up a child who is very sick, and bring him home and give him love and kindness and caring and see him grow and change, makes it all worth it."

The number of children removed from neglectful or abusive homes in Broward is growing faster than the social welfare system can absorb them.

Statewide, there were 9,255 kids in the custody of the Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services as of Aug. 31, but just 4,324 licensed foster homes, HRS records show. In Broward, HRS fosters 842 children in 321 homes. Dade and Monroe account for 1,716 foster children in 662 homes.

"For the past few years, we have not been bringing in homes as rapidly as we have been losing them," said Elliott Maddox,

PLEASE SEE TARGET, 8BR



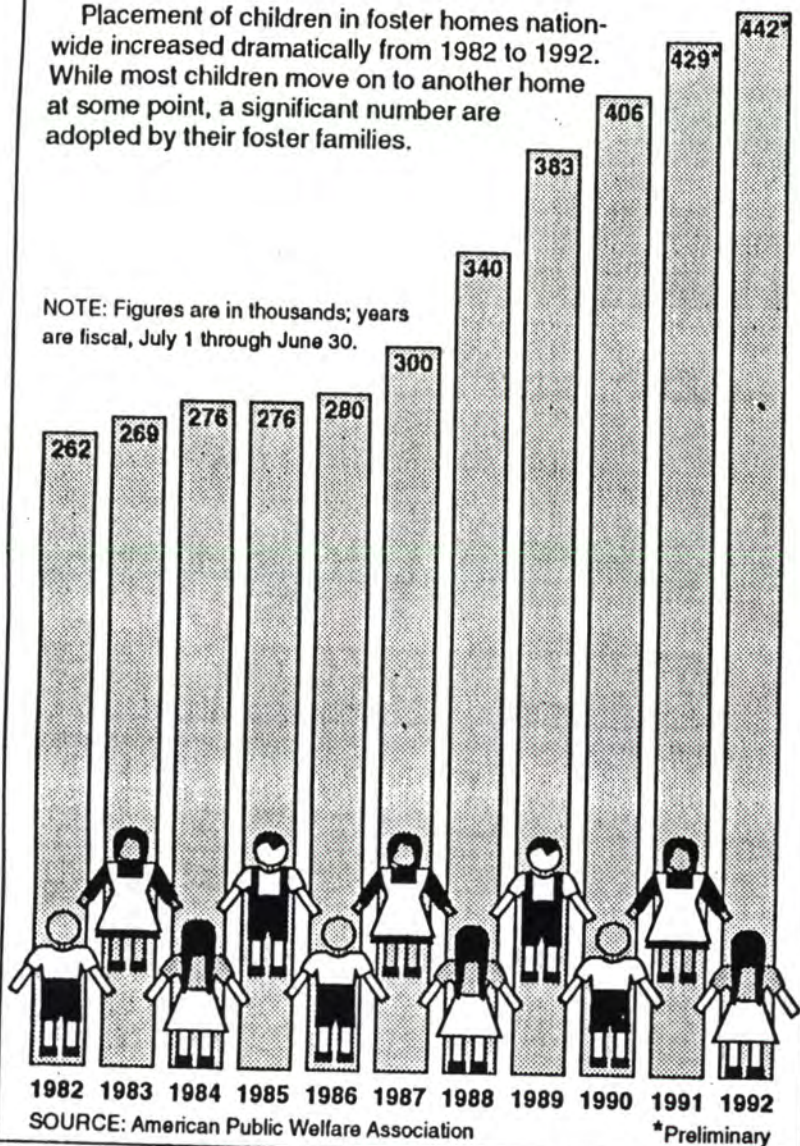
MIKE STOCKER / Herald Staff

**FOSTER MOM:** Fort Lauderdale resident Barbara Brown and her husband have opened their hearts and home to seven teenage boy



Placement of children in foster homes nationwide increased dramatically from 1982 to 1992. While most children move on to another home at some point, a significant number are adopted by their foster families.

NOTE: Figures are in thousands; years are fiscal, July 1 through June 30.



BR JA12

PAM SWISCHER / Herald Staff

# Foster parenthood a real sacrifice, but many say rewards are worth it

## TARGET, FROM 18R

senior recruitment counselor for HRS in Broward. "People get burned out. It is a drain on you emotionally."

Although foster parents find plenty to criticize about the system and the state of society, most of the parents echo Altmark's sentiments. In the end, they say, they would do it again.

Barbara and Carl Brown of Fort Lauderdale had two grown children when they read a newspaper article five years ago about six siblings facing separation to different homes. They called about adopting them, but a minister already had come forward. Instead, they agreed to foster other teenage boys. Today, they have seven between the ages of 14 and 18.

"People can't believe that we do it," said Barbara Brown, 44, who owns Pisces hair salon in Fort Lauderdale. "Someone has to take care of them and keep them on the right track."

The task is challenging. Many of the teens come to the Browns' six-bedroom home withdrawn and angry.

"You have to give them so much love and attention, and let them know that if they're in our house, they have to respect us, they have to go to school, they have to be somebody," Barbara

Brown said.

In addition to the children's emotional health, the Browns must preserve household order and manage the food, clothing, schoolwork and other basics of growing boys.

The rules are unyielding: Everyone does chores. No phone calls after 9 p.m. Bathrooms must be clean. Home by 8 p.m. if they're not at a school or at a sports activity. No profanity. No gangs.

Although HRS subsidizes the foster parents, Barbara Brown says the money is not enough.

"I wish they would give out food stamps. These boys eat a lot. And clothing, it's hard to buy clothing for a boy who's 6-8 on what they give you," Barbara Brown said.

Patty and Jeff Altmark began caring for HIV-positive and medically needy kids in 1989. Since then, they have adopted two of the 15 foster children who have passed through their home. Their experience is typical — about 60 percent of HRS adoptions are by foster parents, HRS records show.

"My wife and I got into it because there were kids out there who needed help and no one to help them," said Jeff Altmark, an

assistant chief engineer at Bove venture Resort & Spa.

In addition to their 1 adopted children — age 5 and — the Altmarks care for an 11-month-old and 12-month-old both of whom are medically fragile.

The two foster children are covered by Medicaid, but doctors who accept Medicaid are difficult to find. Often, the children need emergency medical care but HRS requires parents to get HRS permission first.

"It's hard to get hold of caseworkers when you need them, although lately it's been improving," Altmark said. "When the child gets sick at night, it takes hours for them to get back to you to authorize treatment."

Altmark recruits families for foster care, but always advises them to speak to experienced foster parents first. In addition to bureaucracy, foster parents must learn to cope with children reuniting with biological parents and leaving foster care.

"It's very depressing, especially if you've had them for a long time you get attached to them," Altmark said. "It's heartbreaking."



# TARGET

*Zeroing in on the challenges  
facing us in the '90s*

## What you need to know to become a foster parent

Here are answers to some frequently asked questions about foster parenting:

- Q.** Who can be a foster parent?  
**A.** There are no restrictions on age. Foster parents don't have to be wealthy, but they must be able to pay their own bills. A foster parent can be married or single but a foster couple can't be living together out of wedlock. Foster parents must agree to an extensive criminal background check, home studies and interviews. HRS may ask for references.
- Q.** Can foster parents select their foster kids?  
**A.** Foster parents can request children from a certain age, race, sex or special-needs group. Foster parents who agree to accept emergency placements cannot specify.
- Q.** What kind of training do foster parents get?  
**A.** Foster parents must attend 10 three-hour classes given

### ABOUT THE WRITER

**D**onna Leinwand, 27, covers stories about South Broward and the Seminole Tribe. Before coming to The Herald in 1989, she worked at The Baltimore Sun and The Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star in Norfolk, Va. Leinwand has a bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. To reach Leinwand:  
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- by HRS called MAPP in order to be licensed. HRS gives many optional classes in CPR, water safety, discipline methods, how to deal with special needs and other parenting issues. To renew a license, each parent must attend eight hours of additional training each year.
- Q.** Once parents begin the training, can they back out?

- A.** Parents can decide to quit the program at any time. The training period is considered a decision-making time.
- Q.** How long does the screening and training process take?  
**A.** On average, about five months.
- Q.** How many kids can a foster parent have?  
**A.** HRS analyzes the available space in a potential foster

- parent's house or apartment to determine how many children can live there. Usually, HRS allows no more than five children total, including biological children. Exceptions can be made. Foster parents must have separate rooms for boys and girls once the children are 3 years old. Children may not share beds or sleep in a common living area.
- Q.** How long do foster children stay?  
**A.** By law, foster children should stay in foster homes no longer than 18 months, because the goal is to reunite them with their biological families or place them in an adoptive home. But foster children often stay much longer, as their cases progress through the social service and legal systems.
  - Q.** Does the state subsidize the care of the foster child?  
**A.** Yes, but foster parents say they often dip into their household budgets to care for foster children. The allowance

- covers only the bare necessities. The standard subsidy for a newborn to age 11 is \$296 a month. For a child age 12 to 18, the subsidy is \$372 a month. When children first come into HRS custody, young children get a \$15 clothing allowance and older children get \$25. Each year, foster parents receive a \$100 clothing allowance for newborns to 4-year-olds and \$200 for children 5 years or older.
- Q.** Who pays for medical care?  
**A.** All foster children are covered by Medicaid. Foster parents must get HRS permission for any major medical care. HRS retains legal guardianship and must sign off on surgery.
  - Q.** Can biological parents visit with their children?  
**A.** By law, biological parents are entitled to monthly visits unless a judge orders otherwise. Biological parents usually meet with children in a neutral, supervised setting.



# EDITORIALS

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## No perfect way

*Quality system key to saving kids*

The latest child death tragedy reported out of Chicago ought to caution people who imply that removing a child from a neglectful homelife is a sure route to safety.

Police say 2-year-old Corese Goldman drowned when his foster mother held him under a faucet while trying to potty train him.

It's hard to say which is the more incredible, that a person would be so stupid to do such a thing or that an agency in charge of child safety would put children in her care.

Yet, there could be a story in tomorrow's newspaper about a natural parent killing a child in some equally incomprehensible manner.

And if every abused and neglected child were put in orphanages, the time would come when similar stories would arise from them.

There is no ideal formulaic answer to where abused and neglected children should live. Any setting can be abu-

sive or neglectful in bad conditions — lack of money, lack of attention, lack of training.

That's one reason both the law and many child advocates aim to keep children with their natural parents as long as the home appears to be safely stabilized. There are no absolute guarantees in this — but there aren't any with foster care, either. And while foster care is by definition temporary, the natural home sustains permanence for the child — if conditions can be made safe.

What promoters of foster care, orphanages and family reunification all ought to agree on is the crying need for lower child welfare caseloads, higher salaries, more training and much more frequent reviews of what is actually happening to the children. Then, when social workers and judges make a decision about a child, there'll be less risk of deadly error.



The state of California, in all of its wisdom, took a 6-month-old child from a loving, happy, stable, emotionally and financially secure home and gave control of that child's future to a drug-abusing, immoral, emotionally unstable woman who can't make responsible decisions for herself let alone her three children.

— Catherine Worden, adoptive mother for 5 months, 22 days



Caitlin, left, at age 5 months, with Bryn Scott Worden, 15 months. The photograph was taken three weeks before Caitlin was returned to her birth mother.

# A drugged-out mom has rights

CAITLIN went home the morning after her birth on Jan. 4, 1994. She was the delight of her adoptive parents, Chuck and Catherine Worden, and her brother, Bryn Scott, adopted 10 months earlier. Caitlin thrived in her San Jose home for 5 months, 22 days.

Now she's in foster care, waiting, probably in vain, for her birth mother to be off drugs and ready for motherhood.

The Wordens witnessed Caitlin's birth. Catherine was the first person to hold Caitlin, after the cord was cut. They were thrilled.

The Wordens sent baby pictures to the birth mother, but heard nothing for three months. Then she called their San Diego attorney and demanded \$15,000 in cash to finalize the adoption, says Catherine.

In private adoptions, the birth parents have 180 days to change their minds; that will change to 90 days as of Jan. 1, 1995. The attorney told the birth mother that baby-selling is illegal.

Catherine called her. "The birth mother told me that she did not want Caitlin but that she had decided that Chuck and I owed her the 'American dream' because she had given us a child."

Catherine teaches chemistry at Santa Teresa High School; Chuck teaches biology at Yerba Buena High. They'd paid \$2,700 to cover the birth mother's expenses during her last three months of pregnancy. That is legal. They refused to pay the \$15,000. They now believe that decision cost them their little girl.

Eight days before the adoption became final, when Caitlin was nearly



JOANNE JACOBS

6 months old, her birth mother revoked her consent and reclaimed the baby.

Social workers won't comment on the case; adoptions are strictly confidential. As Catherine describes it, the social worker who witnessed the

evicted. The social worker also discovered that the birth mother's other two daughters (7 and 5) had not lived with their mother for months."

The social worker asked Child Protective Services to investigate. Within days, CPS had decided the birth mother was unfit to care for any of her children. Several people told investigators she had used methamphetamine frequently during her pregnancy, was still addicted and was buying drugs with welfare money for Caitlin's half-sisters, who'd been taken in by relatives.

Social Services left a note at her former residence saying she'd have to appear with Caitlin to claim her July welfare check. When she showed up, CPS took the baby.

Caitlin," Catherine says.

"The state of California, in all of its wisdom, took a 6-month-old child from a loving, happy, stable, emotionally and financially secure home and gave control of that child's future to a drug-abusing, immoral, emotionally unstable woman who can't make responsible decisions for herself let alone her three children."

Caitlin was placed in foster care with a relative of the mother. Her half-sisters were placed with other relatives.

The birth mother has 6 months to show she's capable of caring for a child, then another 6 months, then another 6 months. If she can't stabilize her life in 18 months, then her parental rights will be terminated.

whether she wants her child. Three months, the new limit, is better, but still a long time to leave a baby, and a family, in limbo. Adoptions handled through agencies are final after 24 hours; private adoptions shouldn't be up in the air for months.

The other issue is a child's right to a stable home with competent parents. Caitlin was denied that right — denied a day in court for a guardian to assert that right on her behalf — because her birth mother's parental rights came first.

Nobody, except maybe Newt Gingrich, wants to take babies away from parents because they aren't middle-class or married. But there are many cases like Caitlin's in which the mother has endangered her child through drug abuse during pregnancy, or through neglect or abuse after the child was born. Maybe, in time, the woman could get her act together. Maybe not. That's not a risk that a child should be expected to take.

What about the best interests of Caitlin, Catherine Worden asks. What about her rights? "California has thrown her away."

## A child has nothing

transfer became fearful for Caitlin's safety after talking to the birth mother and her boyfriend. (Caitlin's father's identity is unknown.) The next day, the social worker called the woman's number in San Diego to check up.

"The renter of the house that was subletting the birth mother a room told the social worker that Caitlin and the adults had arrived in San Diego at 4 a.m.," according to Catherine. "A terrible argument ensued resulting in the birth mother being

But Caitlin did not come home to the parents she'd known since the moment of her birth.

The social workers agreed that returning Caitlin to her adoptive family was in "the best interests of the child." But, by law, the unfit mother got to decide: She could let Caitlin be adopted or have her placed in foster care. She chose foster care.

"In one breath she is told she is unfit to mother her children and in the second breath she is given the authority to decide the fate of

Caitlin will be 2 years old.

The Wordens do not think — do not dare to think — that Caitlin will be their little girl again. "I am trying very hard to give up hope because continuing to hope is making me crazy," Catherine says.

Instead, they want people to understand this bitter fact: Adoptive parents have no rights until the adoption is finalized. Neither do children.

Six months is too long for a woman to make up her mind about



Joanne Jacobs is a member of the Mercury News editorial board. Her column appears on Mondays and Thursdays. You may reach her at 750 Ridder Park Dr., San Jose, CA 95190, by fax at 408-271-3792, or post your views in her Mercury Center message folder. Keyword: MC Talk, then pick Talk to the Mercury News and scroll down to her name.





JOANNE JACOBS

**P**ARENT involvement is a top priority, Education Secretary Richard Riley said last week. Parent involvement is the most important factor in children's learning, said teachers in a Child Trends survey. Parent involvement is one of the goals of Goals 2000, the federal education reform bill. But what kind of parent involvement?

At many schools, the only role for involved parents is chauffeuring on field trips and bringing brownies to the bake sale. Seeking a say in curriculum, textbooks or teacher selection is seen as parent interference not parent involvement.

Still, most schools aren't turning away hordes of in-

stance.) He also advocated limiting TV viewing on a school night to no more than two hours, which is about 1½ hours too much.

I think the number one thing is for parents to talk to their kids about school, about their day, about everything. These conversations often raise ethical issues. If your daughter's third-best friend asks, "Am I your best friend?" what should she say? A classmate of your son's is being harassed. What should your son do?

Involved parents don't have to help with homework. They may not be able to. But they need to do their job as parents, socializing and civilizing their children, so teachers can do their job.

Parents who are too busy to do that should put their kids up for adoption.

As for getting parents involved with their children's schools, I've got an idea: Take Our Dads To School Day.

In his speech, Riley called for business to give working parents time to get involved in their children's schools, and announced the department will join a parent-school network to push parent involvement.

Sure, it's a gimmick, but let's ask businesses to give parent-workers a day off every school year to go to school, sit through every class, "suit up" in gym, chow down that cafeteria food and maybe learn what to do

# How to educate your child

Three factors — student absenteeism, variety of reading materials in the home, and excessive television watching — explain nearly 90 percent of the difference in performance between high- and low-achieving status.

Involved parents eager to serve on committees. They're begging parents to show up for back-to-school night, parent-teacher conferences, PTA meetings, Thanksgiving pageants and the Spring Sing. Many parents can't attend events during the work day. Others lack English fluency.

Parent involvement at school is desirable, but fortunately it's not essential. What's absolutely critical is for parents to be involved at home.

■ Get your kids to school every day.

■ Have books, newspapers and magazines around the house.

■ Turn off the TV.

... and your children will do well in school.

■ Let your kids miss a lot of school.

■ Make your house a no-reading zone:

■ Keep the TV on all day.

... and your children will do poorly in school.

It's just about that simple according to "Strong Families, Strong Schools," a report by the U.S. Education Department: "Three factors over which parents exercise authority — student absenteeism, variety of reading materials in the home, and excessive television watching — explain nearly 90 percent of the difference in performance between high- and low-achieving status."

I think the other 10 percent is under parental control, too, at least for parents who don't wait till the kid is 15 to start exercising their authority.

Riley urged parents to plan their day to create more family time, set high standards for their children, make sure their kids take challenging courses and do the homework, read together and model the kind of behavior they'd like their kids to follow. (Don't give the no-drugs lecture while drunk, for



at home to help their kids do better at school.

Parents could participate in "cooperative learning" groups, and give teachers feedback on whether these are good training for workplace collaboration. They could experience the new new math, and see if it makes more sense than the old new math. They could start to distinguish good ideas from gimmicks.

Of course, it would have to be Take Our Dads, Moms, Grandparents, Surrogate Parents (and Folding Chairs) To School Day, but let's put fathers first, because they're usually considered last.

Many dads would be more involved in their children's lives if they weren't treated so frequently as though they were dispensable or defective.

I'm not a big fan of Take Our Daughters To Work Day. Our daughters (and sons) know all too well how hard their parents work outside the home, and most have been dragged to Mom's work on school holidays. Their "self-esteem" would be higher if parents stressed family more and (paid) work less.

Let's steal the idea and apply it where it's really needed. Give working parents a day to concentrate on the most important job they'll ever do.

Joanne Jacobs is a member of the Mercury News editorial board. Her column appears on Mondays and Thursdays. You may reach her at 750 Ridder Park Dr., San Jose, CA 95190, by fax at 408-271-3792, or post your views in her Mercury Center message folder. Keyword: MC Talk, then pick Talk to the Mercury News and scroll down to her name.



# San Francisco Chronicle

December 20, 1993

## Program Gives Girls in Projects A Wider View of the World

By Teresa Moore  
Chronicle Staff Writer



BY DEANNE FITZMAURICE/THE CHRONICLE

Iesha Pinkney, 15, walked with her friend Della Zamora, 16, to the Girls After School Academy

Iesha Pinkney is young, poor, female and black. Her father has not been on the scene since she was 2. Her mother is recovering from breast cancer. Her home is Sunnydale, San Francisco's largest public housing project.

On paper, this 15-year-old does not seem to have much going for her.

But Iesha knows she is beautiful and she knows she is smart and she knows her mother loves

her. This is a lot more than some of her friends in Sunnydale can say.

There are girls in Sunnydale whose parents have abandoned them, girls who pass from house to house in search of a home. Girls who despise their dark skin, who believe that to be the

color of the night sky is to be unlovely and unlovable. And girls who find it easier to take pride in their prowess as street fighters than in their potential as scholars.

In the stunted economy of Sunnydale, Iesha Pinkney is a rich girl.

*Continued on next page*

### THE OTHER GIRLS IN THE HOOD

SPECIAL REPORT



**'Unless you want to play basketball with boys, there's hardly anything for girls.'**

— IESHA PINKNEY, 15

**'African American girls in public housing are at high risk...for developing a lifelong involvement with the public services system because of poverty'**

— SHAREN HEWITT, director of GASA.

**'I want Iesha to see what the world is like. Just because we live in Sunnydale doesn't mean we are products of Sunnydale'**

— IKIE WALKER, Iesha Pinkney's mother

*Continued from previous page*

"I have very, very, very high self-esteem," Iesha says. She wants to go to Spelman College and hopes to become a photographer. "I think I can do whatever I want to do if I put my mind to it. I'm smart. I have a brain. I have an encouraging family and a mom that would kill me if I didn't graduate."

Iesha's friend Tretha Stroughter has lived all 15 years of her life in Sunnydale, where she stays with an aunt. She says she does not live at her mother's home in Vallejo — "a house with a front yard and a back yard and trees and flowers" — because the schools are too crowded there. Her father, who lives in Oakland, has six sons and another daughter.

"I want to be a lawyer because I want to help people and because I'm a good talker," Tretha says with a smile. "Or maybe I'll make a computer game."

A counselor says she is "the most brilliant girl, but she's had a hard life." Tretha flashes a dozen shades of feeling, fast and unpredictable as an opal's colors. She carries a handful of voices and dictions inside her: a homegirl talking street, a Valley girl spouting Valspeak, a Woodrow Wilson High School sophomore speaking conventional English.

"I like Sunnydale. I'm used to Sunnydale. I know everyone in Sunnydale," she says.

Helping these girls find a place for themselves in the world outside of Sunnydale is the goal of the Girls After School Academy, a program that began in the projects last March. GASA is for those girls who people hardly ever hear about — those who have not gotten into trouble.

The odds are against Iesha and Tretha ever becoming photographers or lawyers. Without guidance and support, they have a better chance of growing into the sort of women who form the backbone of public housing projects: single mothers with spotty educations and uneven work records, dependent on public assistance.

With all the concern over the dangerous lives of young black males and the fragile egos of young white females, black girls are an afterthought, a footnote.

In Sunnydale, the Girls After School Academy is changing that.

### **A Safe Place**

The GASA bungalow is a clean, pretty place away from dirt and drug dealers and drive-by shootings and boys who fight and men who flirt and the irritations and aggravations of whining younger siblings, crowded apartments and grown-up stresses such as illness and unpaid bills.

A place where a girl can be herself — whoever that might be — prancing, preening, thinking, dreaming, playing, reading, dancing. A place to think and to forget.

The freshly painted cottage sits across from a defunct elementary school, at the edge of the Sunnydale housing project. Everything about the little house says "Hers": the black cotton rag dolls on the walls, the baskets of potpourri on the toilets, the smell of grape bubblegum in the air. And every weekday afternoon from about 3 to 6:30, the high-pitched giggles and shouts of 11- to 15-year-old girls.

There are 54 girls in GASA. Girls who have never seen an adult cash a paycheck are learning to manage savings accounts. Native San Franciscans who think the beach is for white people have started collecting sand dollars. And soon, the girls in the 'hood will have a direct computer link to the information highway.

Even though one in four of Sunnydale's 2,117 residents is a female under age 18, outside of the GASA bungalow there is no place just for girls in the project.

For most Sunnydale girls, life is a circuit between school and the projects. No shopping center or coin laundry, let alone movie theater, bookstore or museum. Laundry is the wires of sun-stiffened clothes strung between the housing units.

*Continued on next page*





Tenni Lewis, 11, Yvonne Robinson, 12, Odessa Curley, 12, and Cecilia Hall, 12, headed down Sunnydale Avenue in search of subjects for a GASA photography project

PHOTOS BY DEANNE FIZMAURICE/THE CHRONICLE

*'People be saying, "We know about those girls from Sunnydale, they fight." Well, I'm one of those girls from Sunnydale, and that's not me'*

— TRETHA STROUGHTER,  
15

*Continued from previous page*

The lone grocery store is a squat bunker with steel plates where the windows should be.

"GASA is something to do after school instead of being on the streets getting in trouble," Iesha says. "And it's something for girls. Unless you want to play basketball with boys, there's hardly anything for girls."

Violence and poverty shade life in the project. Many girls' parents forbid them to play outside for fear their daughters might catch a stray bullet or the eye of some older, smooth-talking Casanova.

"Girls are treated differently," says Sharen Hewitt, GASA's director. "This is a community laden with violence. Mom will say, 'I don't want you on the street.' The girls become captives in their own homes."

Even if the streets were safe to walk, they would still be marked by

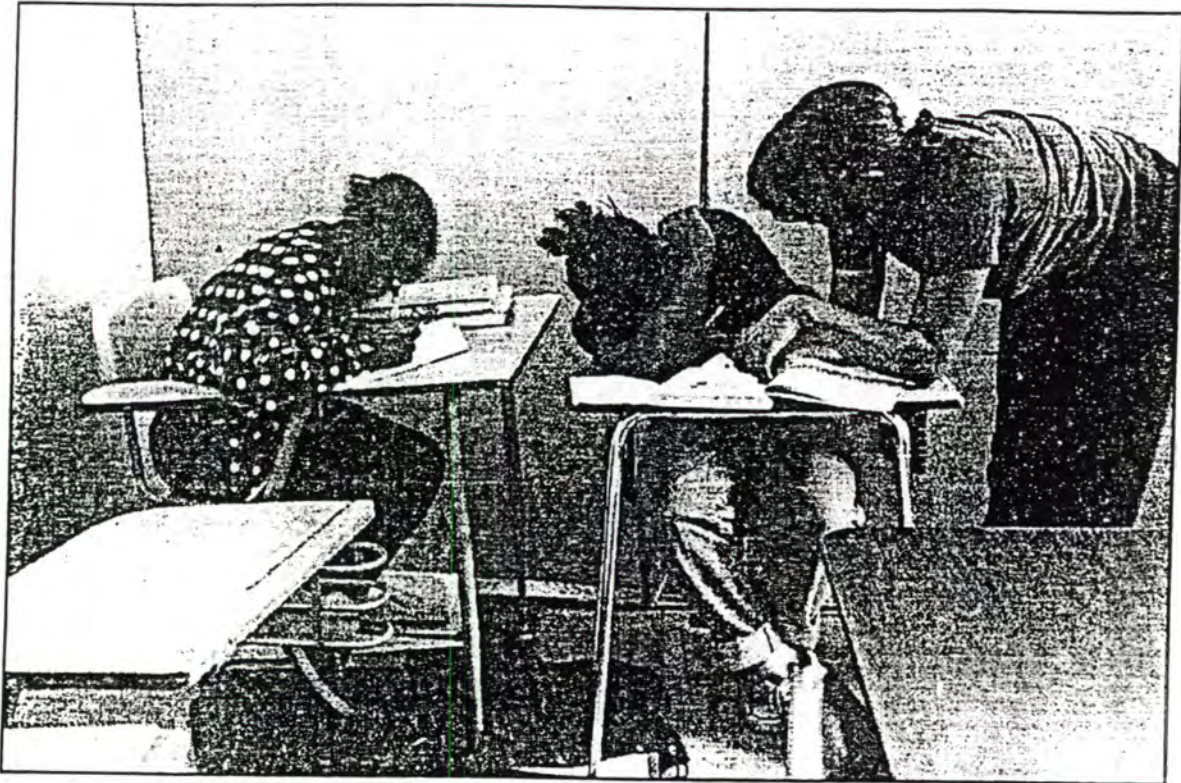
desolation. Chunks of broken bottles litter the sidewalks and shards of glass stud the raggedy grass and wild fennel that line the dusty streets. A lot of the girls wear thick leather boots with heavy soles, a fashion statement that protects their feet from the dust and rubble.

Young men, booming funky bass music out of their bottom-heavy American cars, cruise up and down past the long rows of beige two-story apartments. Plywood covers the windows of some units. Spray-painted territorial markers and tributes to dead friends scar the sides of the cramped dwellings.

It is not easy for a girl to be good or stay good in a place like this. How do you concentrate on homework when you have to entertain a younger brother or sister for hours on end? How do you think straight when you share a two-bedroom

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Brenda Stringer helped Cecilia Hall with an assignment; Ebony Glenn wrote in her journal

*Continued from previous page*

apartment with 10 other relatives? Why wouldn't you go out with some cute older guy if nobody else in your life is paying attention to you?

Hewitt speaks in a deep, weary voice: "African American girls in public housing are at high risk for sexually transmitted diseases, violence, pregnancy, dropping out of high school and developing a life-long involvement with the public services system because of poverty."

She understands as well as anyone where the GASA girls are coming from, how far they could go, how easily they could fall.

Once upon a time Hewitt was a 15-year-old unwed teenage mother and high school dropout in Manhattan. With the help of women's groups in New York, she managed to get her GED and go to college. Today she is a 39-year-old grandmother and accomplished community organizer.

On Sunnyside Avenue, Hewitt sees two young GASA girls, each with a small child slung on her hip.



**Ikcie Walker and her daughter, Iesha Pinkney, 15**

"Look, there go my GASA girls heading up the wrong side of the hill," she says, shaking her head. "They're practicing. That's the thing. These young girls are carrying around somebody's baby until they get one of their own."

Iesha's mother, Ikcie Walker, feels good about her daughter's involvement with GASA because the program involves the family, school and community in supporting the girl.

"She wants to go every day," Walker says. "A lot of the values they are instilling in her — like going to school — are values I want her to have. They are involved in her schooling — I gave them permission to have access to her records and to talk to her teachers. ... And they take the kids places. It's 'Mom, we're going to the bank' and 'Mom, we're going to the bookstore.'"

Walker keeps a Bible and an atlas of the world on her coffee table. "I want Iesha to see what the world is

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Odessa Curley, who used to get in fights on a street corner, expressed her emotions with poetry and dance

*Continued from previous page*

like," she says. "Just because we live in Sunnydale doesn't mean we are products of Sunnydale."

### **Rough Neighborhood**

Iesha and Tretha know that the neighborhood they call home has a reputation for being the sort of place where drive-by shootings are as common as foggy days and a stranger will cut you as soon as look at you.

"It really bothers me, the negative reactions," Iesha says, a frown puckering her soft face. "It's like, 'Sunnydale. Uncool. Uncool.' My attitude is: Later for you, then. It's really not as bad as you think it is."

Like some Civil War historian, Tretha talks about how times have changed.

"Back in the days, back in '89, you had turf fights, Bayview against Sunnydale," Tretha says. "None of the turfs got along. But that was then. . . . Everybody grew up. Too many people got killed. They saw it wasn't

worth it."

Between the two of them, Iesha and Tretha know four different people who have been killed in Sunnydale. One 16, one 17, one 18, one 25. Drive-bys and robberies.



CHRONICLE GRAPHIC

Nevertheless, to these girls, Sunnydale is not a battlefield, but a vil-

lage inside the city of San Francisco. Despite the danger, they feel secure in a place where people speak to each other when they pass on the street.

Tretha talks about how friends from outside Sunnydale react when she invites them to her aunt's house.

"They say, 'Sunnydale? Uh-aw. I'm not going into Sunnydale,'" she says, raising hands tipped with bitten, purple-polished fingernails and backing away. "People be saying, 'We know about those girls from Sunnydale, they fight.' Well, I'm one of those girls from Sunnydale, and that's not me."

### **Bus Trip to the Beach**

One Monday when the mercury rockets past 90, GASA staffer Christa Bell decides to get her girls out of Sunnydale for the afternoon. Scrambling for change and Fast Passes, they run to catch a bus for the beach.

*Continued on next page*



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Tretha and Iesha and their friends Shanita Swain, 14, and Nichelle Frank, 14, manage to turn the back of the half-empty bus into a rolling lounge. They spread their sweaters and jackets and backpacks over the seats and sprawl, two or three seats per girl.

Tretha's "I Dream of Jeannie" cascade of tiny braids swings as she leans to an open window to hail a young man on the corner. "My old boyfriend," she says flashing a wide smile. A few corners later she spots a guy in a dark jacket. "Hey!" she yells and waves as if she's a beauty queen in the back of a convertible cruising through the Columbus Day parade.

"That's my boy. You know, my homeboy, my homie, my friend?" she says.

The girls pop open a big bag of barbecued potato chips and hand it around. They crunch, whoop, peel and cackle.

They start to crack on each other's yards, the dusty squares in front of each housing unit: Who has grass and who doesn't and how the grass this one has is brown but brown grass is better than dirt.

The bus rolls past St. Francis Wood's gate and houses with lawns and flowering trees.

As the bus gets even farther from Sunnydale, it fills up with people getting off work. The girls reluctantly haul their gear off the extra seats.

A middle-aged white woman sits near Shanita. The woman grips her portfolio on her lap and watches Shanita warily. A young Asian woman next to Iesha clutches her backpack to her chest and stares straight ahead, barely breathing.

The girls seem to sense they are getting on these women's nerves, and they get louder and louder. They break into a chorus of "Let's Kill Barney," trying to outdo each other with more gruesome plots for the demise of The Purple One.

Their loudness seems like a declaration: "I know you're scared of me, so be scared."

For all of its danger and desolation, Sunnydale is a less hostile environment to these girls than the rest of San Francisco. They are known and accepted there. Outside, they are often feared or ignored.

In Sunnydale, they know the rules. Outside, things are less clear. They measure everything in terms of race. What would a black person do? Who counts as a black person?

When Christa, the GASA staffer, refuses to let them open a soda on the bus, they accuse her of "acting like a white person in a black person's body."

Christa, a 22-year-old San Francisco State junior from Seattle, challenges their notions of what a black woman can be. She has dreads and braces. She is a college student who dresses like a flygirl. She can tell them all about feminist criticism, but they have to explain slang to her. When they see Christa, who is comfortable sharing her lipstick with them or draping her arms around their shoulders, they see that the distance between a Sunnydale teenager and a college student is not so far after all.

As they cross the highway to the beach, Shanita looks around nervously. "How are we gonna get back to Sunnydale? How far are we from Sunnydale?" she says, a faint note of concern replacing the brassy bravado in her voice.

It is almost 4:30 when the girls finally spread their blanket on the beach and kick off their shoes. Glancing down the shoreline, Nichelle says, "Look, we're the only black people on the beach."

Christa lets the girls drag her white jeans jacket through the surf to trawl for sand dollars. "Only the whole ones count," she says.

Shanita starts counting to see who has the most. "97, 98, 99..." she says softly, letting out a little squeal when she sees that her side has more.

The rest of the girls are silent watching the setting sun melt red into the water.

They stare out at the gray-green ocean and the damp drifts of sand, so different from the beige dust that covers Sunnydale.

### **\$37 and a Dream**

Going to restaurants and opening computer accounts. Camping and keeping a journal. Such small acts become giant steps, shifting a girl's perspective on her place in the world.

*Continued on next page*





BY DEANNE FIZMAURICE/THE CHRONICLE

## Girls After School Academy director Sharen Hewitt received a hug from Tenisha Joseph, 12

*Continued from previous page*

At 11, Tenni has the eyes and legs of Bambi. She has two little brothers, and she has to be in the house by 8:30.

"I'm the best doubledutcher in school," says Tenni, a fifth-grader at Alvarado Elementary School. This is no faux boast. Tenni and her crew won the 1992 citywide doubledutch jump rope competition. Their trophy sits in the GASA office. These girls are blacktop royalty.

GASA's directors hold out the most hope for Tenni and the other 11-year-olds. If the program, which has been bankrolled this first year by the San Francisco Foundation, the Women's Foundation and the James Irvine Foundation and Proposition J, continues to get backing, girls like Tenni will have a shot at four years of GASA. Four years to build a ladder out of the projects.

Tenni's face lights up when she thinks about last summer's financial planning classes with Voncille Smith-Booker, a vice president at Bank of America.

"I got my bank account. I got \$37. I'm gonna save my money until I get

in high school and if I have enough money, I'm gonna buy me a car and then I'm gonna save me some more money."

Tenni has a goal. She wants to have a car and savings. When GASA chief Sharon Hewitt hears a girl talking like that, she knows the program is working.

Hewitt steers her big American car out of Sunnydale one afternoon. She points to a long barren lot, a wide strip of torn-up earth covered with trash, an old lime-green vinyl sofa, cans and other garbage. "This land belongs to Parks and Rec," she says.

She drives to the end of the road out of the project and there, just to the left of a curtain of eucalyptus trees is the Gleneagles Golf Course. "This also belongs to Parks and Rec," she says. Hewitt glares at the quiet, rolling stretch of green, dotted here and there with men playing golf or sipping cool drinks near the small clubhouse.

"They offer us no jobs, no golf clinics. They offer no interface

*'I'm gonna  
save my money  
until I get in  
high school  
and if I have  
enough money,  
I'm gonna buy  
me a car and  
then I'm gonna  
save me some  
more money'*

— TENNI LEWIS,  
11

whatsoever with Sunnydale. In that project we just left are 1,000 kids. Look at where they're expected to play. Is this just incredible?"

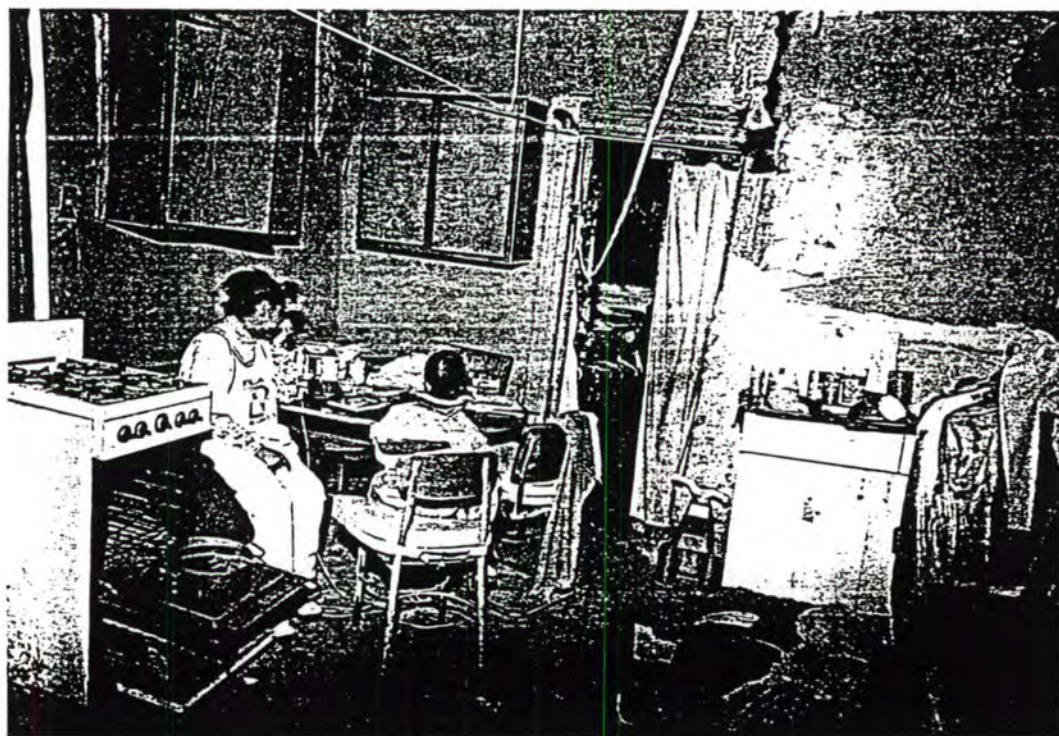
"If I wasn't so damn hardheaded, I'd just cry," Hewitt says in that weary voice. "The look in Iesha's eyes, in Tenni's eyes — they deserve better."



# THE CHICAGO REPORTER

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## State Neglects Cook County's Poor Kids



MARY TIANILUN

A 'gun shy' DCFS is slow to follow a court order barring the agency from taking children because their parents are too poor.

*In January, a social worker recommended to the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services that this West Side mother and her two children receive special help as an alternative to removing the children.*

By Natalie Pardo

**A**mid the chaos and tragedy of Illinois' child welfare system, a little-known state program is bringing families back together after poverty tears them apart. But the program, run by the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, suffers its own kind of neglect in Cook County, where its services are needed most, *The Chicago Reporter* has found.

In March 1991, DCFS settled a lawsuit filed by James Norman, a widower who lost custody of his children because he was too poor to provide them with adequate housing.

Under the Norman consent decree, DCFS agreed to stop its practice of removing children from impoverished homes when they were not in imminent danger. Instead, U.S. District Judge William T. Hart ordered the agency to make "reasonable efforts"

to help poor families find adequate housing, pay outstanding utility bills and buy furniture, clothing or food.

"Poverty is a stress that contributes to abuse and neglect of children, and Norman is there to help prevent it," said Jeanine Smith, a social worker with 30 years of experience in child welfare. Hart appointed Smith in 1991 to monitor DCFS's progress.

Smith touts the Norman program as "innovative and on the cutting edge of child welfare practice" because it draws on the resources of both public and private agencies. But she questions why DCFS has failed to comply with the court order in the state's most populous county.

Compared to the rest of the state, Cook County is slower to identify families, takes longer to disperse financial assistance and returns fewer children to their homes, according to the Reporter's analysis of documents from DCFS and the court.

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**2 Graduation Day**  
State begins review of college minority programs

**3 Year in Review**  
White middle class rising up angry



01



The county makes up 44.7 percent of the state's 11.4 million residents. In 1993, Cook County accounted for 44.5 percent of the abuse and neglect cases filed by DCFS, according to a report by Voices for Illinois Children, a child advocacy group.

But the county falls far short of handling its share of Norman cases. Of the 1,260 Norman children reunited with their families from July 1993 to December 1994, Cook County sent home 273, DCFS records show.

And nearly two-thirds of the \$1.28 million paid out to help these families make ends meet was spent downstate.

Agency officials conceded the program has a long way to go in Cook County.

"Cook has always been, for us, the problem (because of) its scope, its scale," said Joe Loftus, executive deputy director at DCFS. "There is a whole series of problems that have made service delivery less effective there."

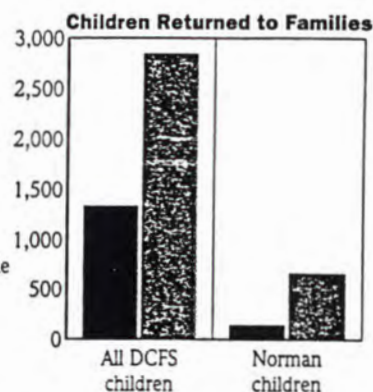
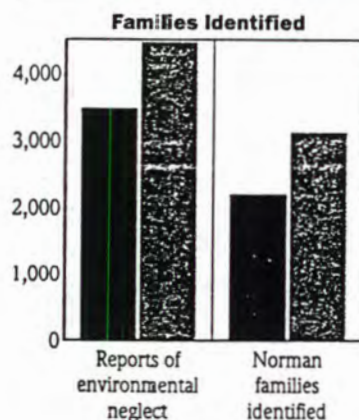
Loftus said Cook County caseworkers contend with 32,658 children who were in substitute care in January, 72.2 percent of the statewide total.

But Smith called Cook County's performance "shockingly low" and urged the state to step up its efforts. "More families should be benefiting from this," she said.

Outside Cook County, the Norman program is sparing more children from the trauma of long-term separation.

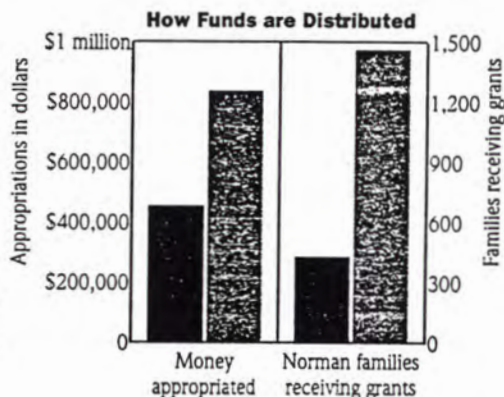
In fiscal year 1994, DCFS sent 4,160 Illinois children back to their families. Nearly one in five went home because of

## Cook County-Downstate Comparison



Under the Norman program, the Department of Children and Family Services has identified fewer families, spent less money and returned fewer children home in Cook County than in the rest of the state.

Source: Illinois Department of Children and Family Services. Figures for families identified and funds distributed are since 1991. The number of children returned is for fiscal year 1994.



Norman, even though the program makes up less than 1 percent of the agency's \$1.12 billion annual budget.

And the program has begun to transform the way the state views impoverished parents, social workers said.

Before Norman, there was an "anti-parent attitude" at DCFS, Smith said. "Most parents want to be good parents."

But many DCFS workers looked at poor families and concluded that "the only way these children are going to have a good life is if we take them away from you," said Pat Dreibeis, director of child welfare at Lutheran Child and Family Services, a non-profit agency in west suburban River Forest that works with Norman recipients.

### Starting Over

Angela Dunkines said she would "probably be homeless" if not for the Norman case. The 25-year-old already has been out on the street seven times in her young life.

In 1992, DCFS took custody of three of Dunkines' children because of her drug addiction. Three other children already were living with Dunkines' sister.

Dunkines entered a drug treatment program at a West Side rehab center; 11 months later, she was ready to be a mother again.

"I've been through so much ... I knew I had my life back together," she said.

To get her children back, Dunkines had to find a three-bedroom apartment and show she could provide for her family.

Her DCFS caseworker referred her to Travelers and Immigrants Aid, and within

—Continued on next page

## Special Delivery

The Norman program is designed to circumvent the trauma of lengthy child care by the Department of Children and Family Services by delivering fast, short-term assistance to families in need. Here's how it works:

1. A citizen calls the DCFS hotline, charging that a child is living without adequate food, shelter or other basic needs. Families already in the DCFS system can be referred by caseworkers.
2. DCFS investigates the allegations, determines their merit and decides whether the child should be removed from the family.
3. DCFS officials certify that the family is eligible for Norman services, and refer them to a non-profit agency for help.
4. Family members work with the non-profit agencies to secure better housing, pay delinquent bills or buy food, clothing and furniture. Average grant is \$800.
5. Child care benefits, such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, are restored to families whose children will be returned to them within 30 days.
6. Children return home; DCFS continues to monitor the family for about four months.

—Natalie Pardo



## NEGLECT

*Continued from page 7*

five months the social service agency helped Dunkines move her family into the Robert Taylor Homes. Travelers Aid used an \$800 Norman grant to pay her first month's rent, buy some furniture and cover other expenses.

Dunkines then began receiving \$574 a month from Aid to Families with Dependent Children and \$290 from Social Security and public assistance.

"Angela was right on it. She made it easy for me to help her," said Kanzella Hatley, a case manager at Travelers Aid. "She was tired of being homeless, that was the key."

Drug-free for two years, Dunkines now regularly scans the classified ads for a new home. She is on the waiting list for a rent-subsidized apartment in north suburban Highland Park.

"I'm trying to move out of CHA to a better atmosphere for my children," she said. "I'm doing whatever it takes to get out."

All families in the DCFS system are eligible for Norman services, while others are referred by neighbors or friends who call the agency's hotline.

Once eligible, the agency can refer Norman families to non-profit agencies that help parents look for suitable apartments, pay off old bills and buy furniture to prepare for the children's homecoming.

By law, DCFS cannot give cash directly to Norman recipients. The state advances money to the agencies, which in turn write checks to pay landlords, utility companies or merchants.

Norman families should be identified and helped quickly, so that children can remain at home or be returned to their parents after a brief stay in the state's custody, advocates said.

On average, Norman children have been returned home in about seven months, compared to almost two years for other DCFS cases, agency records show.

Every family reunited through Norman saves the state about \$20,000 in annual foster care costs, said Loftus, the executive deputy director.

And Smith noted: "It is certainly a cost-effective program, which in today's world should count for something."

But in Cook County, DCFS workers have identified fewer families for the Norman program.

Since 1991, the agency has certified 5,285 families under Norman; 2,182 were

in Cook County. Private agencies provided cash assistance to 1,876 families statewide, but only 422 families in Cook County.

Cook County cases are complicated by "the intensity of poverty," and the greater prevalence of drugs, Loftus said. The county has more cases and fewer resources to handle them, he added.

The program's success downstate shows that "when services are closer to the people they serve, they get better service," Smith said. "Staff know each other, they work better together, it's more human."

Bobby Evans, a child welfare administrator at DCFS, blames the courts for the disparity between Cook and downstate.

Downstate children sometimes are returned home without going before a judge, Evans said. "In Cook County, the courts have a tight grip on children," she said.

And like the courts, Cook County case-

workers are "gun shy" about letting children leave the state's protective custody, Loftus said.

They have reason to be cautious. Haunted by the hanging of 3-year-old Joseph Wallace and the discovery of the so-called "Keystone Kids" living in squalor, the courts and caseworkers take fewer chances in Cook County, Smith said.

But those high profile cases also have stifled many opportunities to help families keep their children, she added.

Cook County caseworkers are too afraid they will make a mistake, Smith said. "This is a high-risk business. No matter how skilled you are, mistakes will happen."

The Norman program is also stymied because of a shortage of affordable housing in Cook County, experts say.

Family size and the "stigma of DCFS" contribute to the problem, said Anthony Davis, a housing advocate at Lutheran Child and Family Services. In a 1992

## Settlement Too Late for Norman ...

James Norman was a 38-year-old widower raising two daughters in a one-bedroom apartment in south suburban Harvey.

On Aug. 16, 1988, the Department of Children and Family Services took custody of Lynnetta, 12, and Jamie, 10, after receiving a call that they "were walking through the neighborhood begging," and that Norman "was leaving them alone all the time," according to court documents.



*James Norman with his daughters Lynnetta (left) and Jamie.*

Norman, who made ends meet with government assistance and a low-wage job paying about \$180 a week, braced himself for more losses.

Without his children, he could no longer collect the \$200 in monthly Social Security benefits and the \$96 monthly allowance from the state Department of Public Aid. He lost his insurance, then his job.

Unemployed and penniless, Norman had to live with relatives.

But he was determined to get his family back. In 1989, the Legal Assistance Foundation of Chicago filed a federal class action lawsuit against DCFS on behalf of Norman and other poor parents who said the agency had taken away their children solely because they were too poor to support them.

Norman testified that DCFS had done little to help reunite him with his family and did not give him a written notice of his visitation rights. He was simply told to see a psychologist, "get a job, stable income and a two-bedroom apartment," according to court documents.

Norman vs. Suter (named for then-DCFS Director Sue Suter) was settled in 1991. DCFS agreed to change its policies and provide housing assistance, cash grants and other services to poor families.

But the settlement came too late for Norman, who died one week before being reunited with his family. His children, ages 16 and 18, live with their great-grandfather in south suburban Lynwood.

"At least our example helped other people," said his youngest daughter, Jamie.

—Natalie Pardo



DCFS survey, the agencies serving Norman families said their clients could not afford most of Chicago's housing.

"There are a lot of families ... doubling and tripling up on the West Side, South Side and North Side of Chicago," said Diane Fager, who has worked with Smith on the Norman consent decree since 1991. "The Keystone case is just the tip of the iceberg."

Local social service agencies praise the Norman program, but say DCFS isn't giving them enough clients.

"We could have served more but we didn't get the referrals," said Dreibelbis, whose agency helped only 40 families in 1993.

The Illinois General Assembly has appropriated \$5.2 million for Norman since 1991, but DCFS has spent only \$1.28 million on direct cash assistance. The average grant per family is \$800.

While Loftus concedes that Norman is



Angela Dunkines would "probably be homeless" if it wasn't for the help she received under the Norman program of the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, she said. Dunkines sits at the dining room table with her three children, from left, Tanisha, Iovon and Bobbie.

under-used in Cook County, he said DCFS will not ask the legislature for more money

until "we've spent what we've got."

Meanwhile, the innovative program has taken a backseat to larger problems facing the troubled agency.

In 1988, the American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois filed a federal class action suit against DCFS, charging that the agency had failed to provide Illinois children with safe and stable substitute care.

The 1991 settlement of the case requires major reforms by DCFS in several areas, including reducing its backlog of cases by June 1994.

DCFS missed that deadline, but showed enough progress to be granted additional time by the court.

Until those reforms take hold, the Norman program is unlikely to reach more people in Cook County, Smith said.

DCFS will add eight staffers in Cook County "to make sure that cash and emergency assistance" reach the most people, and the agency is streamlining its procedures, Loftus said.

DCFS officials said they are "obligated" to continue the program only until the consent decree expires on July 1. But Smith can ask the court to continue the case until "the kinks are out," Fager said.

For Angela Dunkines, the \$800 was just enough to help her get back on her feet. "I just wanted a roof over my head and a place for me and my children to lay," she said.

But she worries that word about Norman is not getting to families who need it the most.

"A lot of people should know about it because it helps a lot."

## ... But Has Helped Others

Paulette Patterson still doesn't know who made the call to the child abuse and neglect hotline that started her seven-year nightmare.

In 1983, a Cook County Circuit Court judge ruled that the wheelchair-bound mother wasn't providing adequate shelter for her children: Richard, 3; Deandre, 5; and Antonia, 6.

"I couldn't believe they actually took my children away," Patterson recalled. "I used to wake at night looking for them, not remembering they were gone."

The Department of Children and Family Services stepped in because the 27-year-old single mother could not support her family on an income of food stamps, Social Security benefits and \$205 monthly stipend from Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

With her children gone, that money disappeared. One month later, Patterson was evicted from her one-bedroom Maywood apartment.

She was told her children had been sent to Arkansas to live with their grandparents.

Patterson said she lived in a park for two weeks until the state put her in a nursing home. Then Access Living, a social service agency for the disabled, found her a studio apartment.

Four years later, she was still trying to get her children back by applying for a subsidized three-bedroom apartment on North Lake Shore Drive.

"I couldn't get it (the apartment) because I didn't have the children. I couldn't get the children because I didn't have the housing," Patterson said.

DCFS caseworkers told Patterson they wanted her children to remain with her parents, who "had a big house and a lot of money," she said. That's when Access Living referred her to the Legal Assistance Foundation, who filed suit on her behalf.

But as the court settlement drew near, DCFS began reuniting some of the plaintiffs and their families. For the next year, Patterson traveled twice a month to Hot Springs, Ark., to visit her children, with DCFS picking up the tab, she said.

In 1990, the family was reunited for good. Last April, they moved to Denver, where Patterson works for the Atlantis Community, a national organization for the disabled.

With a \$15,000 salary and \$200 a month in Social Security benefits, the Pattersons rent a \$471 a month wheelchair-accessible house, complete with a yard and a dog named Klondike.

Looking back on the case, Patterson says, "All I wanted was my children back."

—Natalie Pardo



# WELFARE

# A family's tale: Progress, pitfalls

The White House and the new Congress this week begin the battle over how to change welfare. States like Wisconsin may provide a way.

## Both sides of coin: Comparing the plans

Congressional hearings on welfare reform begin this week. Newt Gingrich, who becomes speaker of the House on Wednesday, says a bill will be written by the end of February, with a vote in March. President Clinton says he'll call a bipartisan summit of governors and members of Congress this month to seek a consensus. Following are provisions from the welfare proposal Clinton introduced last year and from the Republicans' Contract with America:

**JOB PROGRAMS:** Both the president's proposal and the GOP plan would require welfare recipients to work after two years of collecting cash benefits.

Clinton's plan provides \$2.8 billion for education and training programs (on top of \$1 billion spent now). Another \$1.2 billion is set aside to create government or community-service jobs if recipients can't find work after two years. The administration projects 300,000 former recipients would be working full-time by 2000. Initially, only recipients born after 1971 would be eligible.

The GOP Contract proposal provides \$10 billion for states to devise job training programs. It says 1.5 million former welfare recipients would be required to work by 2001.

**TIME LIMIT:** Clinton's proposal limits recipients to two years of benefits. Those who couldn't find work would get community-service jobs. Under limited circumstances, some beneficiaries could get extensions.

The Contract limits recipients to two years, with a lifetime limit of five years or, if the states choose, two years.

## TEEN MOTHERS, ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN:

The president proposes a campaign to combat teen pregnancy, including grants to high schools to set up pregnancy-prevention activities. To receive benefits, unwed 18-year-old mothers would be required to live at home and stay in school. States would be allowed to reduce payments to women who have additional children out of wedlock.

Under the GOP Contract, mothers under 18 and their children would be denied benefits. States could raise the age to 21. The savings would go to the states to pay for orphanages and other alternatives for those women. To get benefits, teen mothers under 18 would be required to live at home and stay in school. Older unwed mothers would be penalized for having additional children while on welfare.

**PATERNITY:** The president would require a mother to supply the name and address of the baby's father immediately after giving birth to help establish paternity.

The Contract is stricter: No child may receive benefits unless paternity is established.

**CHILD SUPPORT:** The president would require all absent parents to pay child support. The legal process would be streamlined to make it easier to establish paternity. Support payments would rise as payers' incomes rise.

Computerized child support registries would help speed payments and track non-payers across state lines.

If support is not paid, states could threaten revocation of professional, occupational or drivers' licenses or deduct payment from paychecks. States may require absent parents to take jobs to pay support. Efforts would be made to get absent parents involved in their children's lives.

By Leslie Phillips  
USA TODAY

SHEBOYGAN, Wis. — When Shannon Lloyd turned 18 last year, instead of celebrating like other teenagers, she went down to the welfare office and applied for public assistance.

Now, thanks to a monthly government check, Lloyd, a shy, slight woman, has moved out of her parents' home and into an apartment with her 2-year-old daughter, Isabel.

"A lot of people put you down for using taxpayers' money," says Lloyd, who plans on marrying the baby's father as soon as he turns 18 this year. "But that's what taxes are for."

Lloyd and young mothers like her are at the heart of an emotional debate getting under way in Washington that will either see Republicans make good on their pledge to dismantle a burgeoning welfare state or President Clinton redefine himself as a centrist.

The GOP Congress and Clinton both begin with the premise that welfare recipients should work and, to encourage work, benefits should be limited to two to five years. But their agreement ends there.

While Clinton stresses job creation, Republicans focus on stemming out-of-wedlock births and cutting costs.

Washington is just getting started, but Wisconsin has been a model of reform for nearly a decade, trying work and education requirements, and family programs intended to reduce welfare dependency.

The state claims to have cut its welfare rolls by 23% in seven years, although credit also must go to a strong economy and near full employment.

Other reforms here parallel proposals now in the federal incubator. This month, Fond du Lac and Pierce counties launch a two-year limit on benefits — a version of which is likely to become federal law, since both Democrats and Republicans are pushing it.

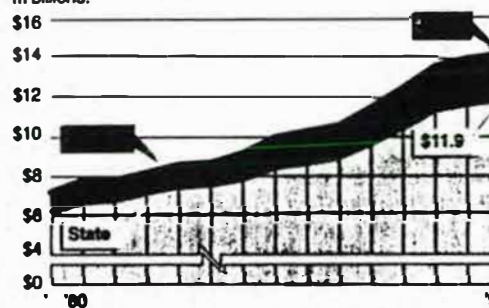
And the Legislature has

## Aid to Families with Dependent Children

The new Republican congressional majority is targeting revisions in federal assistance programs like welfare. The federal and state governments share the costs of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the nation's primary welfare program.

### AFDC spending

In billions:



### Average monthly AFDC family payment

In 1994 dollars:

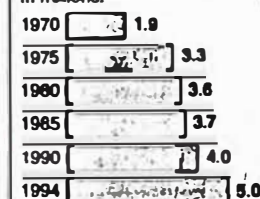


1 — Hispanics can be of any race.

Source: Committee on Ways and Means, 1995 Budget of the United States Government; National Vital Statistics System

### More families on AFDC

In millions:

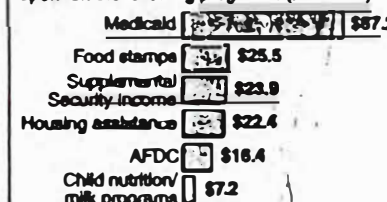


### Most families on AFDC for less than five years

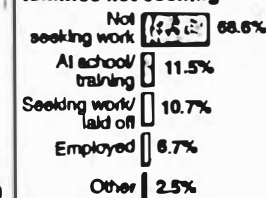


### Cost to federal government

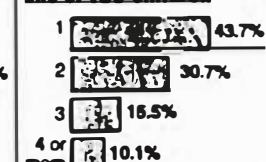
How much of the \$1.5 trillion federal budget is spent on the following programs: (in billions)



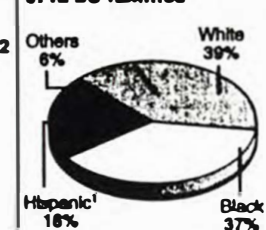
### Most heads of AFDC families not seeking work



### Most AFDC families have one or two children



### Racial, ethnic makeup of AFDC families



By Marcy E. Mullins, USA TODAY



who don't pay child support, and allow welfare recipients to keep more of an earned paycheck without losing benefits.

While Shannon Lloyd thinks about working in a factory, her parents, who once collected welfare, are enjoying the fruits of mandatory job training.

Dave and Wanda Lloyd were jobless in 1989 after the woodworking factory where they worked closed. They were living in their car with Shannon and her brother Sean before they applied for assistance.

But they felt degraded. "Everyone in the stores



The Contract contains no specific provisions.

## CHILD CARE

Clinton plan would spend \$2.7 billion on child care, including grants to states in the training and education plan as well as community service jobs. Another \$1.5 billion would be for child care for the working poor. The Contract has no additional funding for child care.

**IMMIGRANTS:** The president would require sponsors to take more responsibility for immigrants. Immigrants could not get welfare until five years after arriving. If sponsors had incomes above \$39,500, they would be responsible for supporting the immigrants until they became citizens. The Contract eliminates welfare benefits, except emergency medical care, for all legal immigrants except those over the age of 75. Illegal immigrants are not eligible now.

**NUTRITION:** The GOP Contract combines nutrition programs, including food stamps, into grants states could spend on the nutrition programs of their choice. The president has no specific proposal.

**SPENDING CAPS:** The Contract strives to cap spending by ending the entitlement status of the main welfare program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children. That means the programs would be limited to specific spending levels and, in hard economic times, some eligible applicants could be turned away or basic benefits could be reduced. Currently, anyone who meets eligibility requirements is assured of benefits. The president's plan has no specific proposal.

agreed to drop Aid to Families with Dependent Children and replace it with a plan, not yet created, to encourage work. But Congress' task — to create a system demanding more work, responsibility and independence from the nation's 5 million welfare dependent families — will be arduous.

Every president for 20 years has sought to change a system seen as less a second chance and more a way of life for too many. Ideological differences and the high cost of changing an entrenched bureaucracy always stood in the way.

Next year will be no different except for one thing: Voters are demanding the government retol.

"This is an opportunity for Congress to say, 'We really need to change our attitudes and philosophy,'" says Wisconsin GOP Gov. Tommy Thompson. "That's what the governors want, and I think that's what the people want."

Clinton campaigned in 1992 to "change welfare as we know



**WELFARE RECIPIENT:** Shannon Lloyd, center, says "that's what taxes are for." Parents Wanda and Dave Lloyd, holding granddaughter Isabel, were "in the system." Dave says, "it's hard to get out."

it" by providing job training and child care to ease the transition to work. Under his outline, anyone unable to find a job after two years would get a job at government expense.

Wisconsin started work requirements in 1987. More than 51,500 of 185,539 participants between 1991 and 1994 took full- or part-time jobs after education or vocational training.

"We tell them you may not walk out and get a \$12-an-hour job, but by increasing your skills, learning and work habits, you're increasing your employability," says Ann Won-

dergem of Sheboygan County Social Services.

The Republicans' plan — "to help, cajole, lure or force adults off welfare and into paid employment," as their Contract with America puts it — would eliminate benefits for unwed teen mothers and children whose paternity is not established.

It would set a lifetime limit of five years of benefits.

Many cash programs that now expand with demand would be capped, and others would be abolished, with states getting lump-sum grants to pro-

vide similar services.

Central to the debate will be states' demands for the flexibility to tailor alternatives to their individual populations. But governors also will be wary of paying a greater share of the costs.

All states are trying to put welfare recipients to work. About 30 are experimenting with other reforms.

Wisconsin has gotten 13 waivers from Washington regulators so it could start programs intended to keep families together, keep kids in school, cut off benefits for out-of-wedlock births, jail parents

"Everyone in the stores would look at you use food stamps. I mean, 'We'd go in there weren't that many people around.'"

After sessions on how to apply for a job, what to say to a prospective employer and how to follow up, Dave and Wanda both found jobs that pay above the minimum wage and provide benefits.

Dave has been promoted three times and, with overtime, earned \$36,000 last year.

The jobs program "gave us a lot of self-confidence," he says. "It still holds with me now, when they taught you to give a firm handshake and look people in the eye. It helped with more than the job market. It helped personally."

They warned their daughter welfare was a trap. But she wanted independence.

"Once you're in the system," Dave says knowingly, "it's hard to get out."

► Congress Index, 4A

## KEY PLAYERS IN THE DEBATE

### 'Dramatic' plan: Give bigger role to states

Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, R-Kan., is incoming chairwoman of the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, which will oversee the job-related aspects of welfare reform.

She has also offered a dramatic proposal likely to be at the center of the debate. The federal government, she proposes, should turn some major welfare programs over to the states. In exchange, states would be relieved of the responsibility for Medicaid.

"I would just totally end all involvement in some areas where I think the states can do a better job," Kassebaum says. "It's better to have dramatic change than to tinker around the edges like we've done for so many years and not really get to the problem."



USA TODAY  
KASSEBAUM

### Mo. lawmaker takes aim at illegitimacy

Rep. James Talent, R-Mo., blames teen pregnancy and illegitimate births for an array of social ills, including poverty and crime.

So he offered a reform plan last year that focused single-mindedly on changing those behaviors.

He has no welfare committee assignment but is a key player since his plan became the blueprint for the welfare portion of the Republicans' Contract with America. He proposed ending cash payments to teen mothers and re-establishing orphanages, although he has since backed off the orphanage idea.

"You have to provide assistance," Talent says. "But you have to do it in such a way where you don't make the situation of poverty look attractive."



AP  
TALENT

### Chairman expects 'devil in the details'

Rep. Clay Shaw, R-Fla., who takes over as chairman of the Ways and Means subcommittee responsible for welfare, has to perform a delicate balancing act.

He's now part of the GOP leadership, but as a 14-year veteran and longtime welfare expert, he has firmly held beliefs and has already found plenty to disagree with in the Contract reform proposal.

Shaw opposes orphanages, for example, and says cutting off benefits to unwed teen mothers "is a tough one to deal with." He helped fashion a moderate plan offered last year that focuses on work requirements.

"We seem to have the spirit of cooperation," he says. "But as you would expect, the devil is in the details."



SHAW

### Packwood gets his chairmanship back

In the 103rd Congress, scandal trailed Sen. Bob Packwood, R-Ore. In the 104th, he'll be at the center of debates over taxes and welfare as head of the Senate Finance Committee.

Just after being re-elected in 1992, Packwood was faced with the accusations of more than 20 women who said he touched them inappropriately. The Senate Ethics Committee has not yet decided whether to hold hearings or punish Packwood.

In the meantime, Packwood resumes the chairmanship he lost in 1986 when Democrats ended six years of GOP Senate control. During his last tenure he oversaw a major overhaul in the tax code. As a moderate he is likely to reject some of the tougher welfare proposals offered by House Republicans.



AP  
PACKWOOD

## Promises of welfare reform face an expense accounting

President Clinton and the new GOP Congress have made big promises about welfare reform, but both are haunted by the same fact: The price of overhauling the system is likely to be a lot more costly than anyone readily admits.

The question is: When does the bill come due — and who's going to pay?

"Clinton's plan shows higher costs in the short run and savings in the long run," says Richard Nathan of the Rockefeller Institute for the Study of Government. "The Republicans might have savings in the short run and wreak the kind of havoc that would create big costs in the long run."

At stake, no matter what plan is adopted, are billions of taxpayer dollars — for job training and education as the president envisions, or for sustenance at the state level for those who would be kicked off the rolls under the GOP proposal.

With talk of decentralizing the federal government, governors are already warning Congress not to balance the budget on the states' backs: "This whole welfare program started out to be a safety net and has become a spider web," says Nebraska Democratic Gov. Ben Nelson. "But a shift of responsibility without money... is unacceptable."

The welfare proposal in the GOP Contract with America carries a price tag of \$10.5 billion over five years, mostly in grants to states for unspecified jobs programs.

But Republicans estimate five-year savings of \$44 billion by capping "entitlement" programs that expand automatically according to demand and by disqualifying unwed teen mothers, children whose paternity is not identified, legal im-

migrants (illegal immigrants already are excluded), and everyone else after five years.

The White House estimates its reform package would cost \$9.3 billion over five years, mostly for job training and placement. A Congressional Budget Office analysis says the White House underestimated by \$5 billion.

"Welfare reform that has the goal of getting more people to work is more expensive than the current system," says Mark Greenberg of the Center for Law and Social Policy.

For example, the estimated annual cost of creating one public service job for one welfare recipient is \$6,000 above the wage paid.

Under the Contract proposal, the Clinton administration says, 5 million children could be pushed from the rolls. Republicans say that's a gross exaggeration, since their program would be phased in.

They say it would reduce out-of-wedlock births.

Incoming House speaker Newt Gingrich has said children still in need could be put in orphanages or foster care. But that's three times as expensive per child as welfare. If no jobs are available, adult recipients might be forced into homelessness, creating additional expenses. Those now getting free health care could further strain the system.

"We're going to save money in the short term and the long run," says Rep. Rick Santorum, R-Pa., who becomes a senator Wednesday. "We will not pass a bill in this Congress that does not save money the very first year of the program."



AP  
NELSON: A 'spider web' of welfare



# CHILD SUPPORT: A SYSTEM AT RISK

■ Confusing laws and growing caseloads add to anxiety of parents who feel they're not being treated fairly.

By Stevan Rosenlind  
The Fresno Bee

**C**hild support is a very simple issue for 13-year-old Josh Holt.

"My dad usually doesn't pay it," he said. "It makes everything harder."

Josh's father was ordered to pay child support in 1990. Since then, he has failed to make most payments and owes more than \$8,000 to Josh and his brother Stuart.

The boys are among the 75,000 children in Fresno County affected by the state's child-support laws and the courts and agencies that oversee them.

When this system works — when child support gets paid quickly and regularly — children benefit materially and emotionally, leading to fuller, more productive lives, advocates say.

But all too often the system breaks down under the weight of confusing laws, burgeoning caseloads and angered, confused parents who feel they haven't had a fair hearing.

When that happens the big losers are the very children the system was set up to protect, children's advocates say.

"The system is completely broken down," Nora O'Brien of the Association for Children for



Hector Amezcua — The Fresno Bee

**Long wait.** Josh Holt, 13, waits in the early morning hours for the school bus in Coarsegold. Emotional and financial stress have forced him to live in another home.

Please see **Support**, Page A16



Continued from A1  
Enforcement court said.  
"And it's the children who end up losing, who get hurt."

ACES is 25,000 parents working nationally to change the nation's teetering child-support system before it collapses on itself, O'Brien said. The group guides parents through complex custody issues, including establishing paternity and collecting back support.

In California ACES is intent on helping the estimated 3 million children who are owed more than \$3.4 billion in unpaid child support, O'Brien said. This is critically important because an impoverished childhood — financially and emotionally — awaits most of these children.

"What we know is that nine out of 10 kids on AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] are there because they are not receiving regular child-support payments," she said.

UNC

California's child-support system also is under fire by thousands of divorced parents who don't have custody of their children but feel the law imposes unfair child-support burdens on them.

Many of these noncustodial parents belong to the Coalition of Parent Support, which has chapters in 13 cities.

COPS opposes and lobbies against recent child-support laws that can take as much as 50 percent of a parent's take-home pay.

The laws were designed to raise the living standard for children of broken homes, who are five times more likely to be living in poverty than children with both parents in the home.

But COPS members say the new support guidelines fail to achieve that goal and sometimes



**Tight spot.**  
Fresno father Bryan Sande with son Chris, 8, in an apartment that doubles as a home office, says he feels squeezed by system that jumbles formulas over circumstance. Sande, who has accrued thousands in back child-support payments, has started a new business, but the assets of business may be seized to pay back support.

Photos by  
Hector Amezcua  
The Fresno Bee

## How California stacks up

- No money was collected in more than 87 percent of cases — even with a court order in place.
- The average court order was \$2,976, but the average collected was \$402.
- Less than 40 percent of non-custodial parents were located; nationally the average was 93 percent.
- Court orders requiring support were in place in less than 44 percent of child-support cases.
- Paternity, which was a prerequisite for obtaining a court order, was established in 30 percent of its cases; the national average was 15.5 percent.

## Family Support Division facts

For fiscal year 1993/94 (Fresno County District Attorney's Office):

|                                        |                |
|----------------------------------------|----------------|
| Total collections .....                | \$41.8 million |
| Active case load .....                 | 87,943         |
| Incoming telephone calls .....         | 30,000 a month |
| Incoming letters .....                 | 10,000 a month |
| Individuals in office .....            | 6,000 a month  |
| Individuals/assets found .....         | 23,919         |
| Support established .....              | 6,638          |
| Nonautomated enforcement actions ..... | 36,034         |



posing unrealistic support levels on parents.

"The laws dictate how much money should be paid but not how it is spent," said Tiffany James, who heads the 250- to 300-member Fresno chapter of COPS.

Many COPS members say their support payments are being wasted or spent on extravagant lifestyles rather than improving the lives of their children.

#### Maze of laws

Both ACES and COPS steer divorced and single parents through the maze of child-support laws that often leave them and their children baffled and broke.

Both groups also agree that "deadbeat" parents should shoulder more of the economic responsibility of raising children.

Tracking these parents should be a top priority, the groups' members say.

To that extent, new state and

federal laws have armed officials with an array of collection tools, including liens on salaries, tax returns and lottery winnings.

"If they are a salaried employee and stay on the job, we can do something," said George Grenfell of the Fresno County District Attorney's Office support division.

But thousands of fathers and mothers — the ratio is about 85 percent fathers and 15 percent mothers — owing billions of dollars still escape paying child support, Grenfell said.

Generally, parents trying to avoid support payments work for cash, change jobs frequently or move to other states.

The system has made significant improvements to find them, but too many parents still escape paying, Grenfell said.

The real solution, he said, is for all parents to understand that child support is a moral as well as a financial responsibility.

"It needs to be socially unacceptable for parents to fail to

support their children," he said.

Grenfell estimates Fresno County children are owed about \$325 million in back support, though his office collected \$41.1 million from 90,700 cases in 1994.

Nationally, unpaid child support amounts to more than \$27 billion, Grenfell said.

"What we really need now is a law making it a felony to fail to provide support," he said.

Such laws would put teeth into the collection procedures and allow district attorneys to extradite parents who have fled to other states.

#### 'Makes me angry'

Josh's mother, Frances Lippman of Fresno, favors tougher collection laws. Holes in current laws allow her ex-husband to escape his obligations to the boys, she said.

"It seems like no one can do anything about him now," she said. "It makes me angry that

*'The money's gone before we even see it. . . . The way I see it, my children are the biggest losers here.'*

Jan Smith,  
of Selma



**Cutting back.** Jan Smith of Selma clips coupons to save money for her and her children. Her home is in foreclosure.





he's been able to do this."

Josh and Stuart do not live in poverty, because their mother said she is determined to work to minimize the economic impact of the divorce.

But their father — who has quit jobs, gone underground and moved to other states — fits the classic profile of a parent who evades support. They don't know where he is now.

The boys keenly feel their father's absence. Financial stress and emotional troubles at home have forced Josh to live in another home.

"When we want to do something and we don't have the money, we wish that dad would pay child support. It makes us mad," he said.

Often the boys forgo such things as new shoes, birthday parties and trips to Taco Bell — things they see other children enjoying.

Their lives would be much better, both boys said, if only their father would honor his responsibilities or the system could find a way to make him pay.

"The system is sorry," Josh said.

In California, "the system" is a web of lawmakers, family courts, district attorneys, lawyers, mediators, paralegals, social services workers, counselors, parent support groups and children's advocacy groups.

Many of these fear child-support laws in California are failing to protect children as well as they could.

### **Backlogged courts**

To start, child-support courts are backlogged across the state. In Fresno County, for example, Department 90 — which handles 75 to 80 percent of all support cases — is running two to three months behind.

Such delays increase financial hardships on children, said Robert Mohar of the state Department of Social Services, which oversees child-support laws.

Mohar is part of a state task force looking for ways to speed up support proceedings and generally improve a system that annually processes a million cases and case modifications.

The task has some urgency because skyrocketing illegitimacy and divorce rates are leaving an increasing number of children

with single parents or under court control. More than a quarter of all children under 18 in the United States — 27 percent — lived with one parent in 1993, up from 12 percent in 1970. The majority live with their mothers, but an increasing proportion resides with fathers — 13 percent in 1993, up from 9 percent in 1970.

For a year, the task force conducted hearings in several cities and met with dozens of different groups involved with child-support issues.

Among several findings, it recommended the system be simplified and made more accessible to parents — a goal that appeals to Jan Smith of Selma.

Smith joined the Fresno chapter of COPS to help herself and other parents understand the child-support issues.

A mother of four and now remarried, Smith is discouraged by a system that left her and her children impoverished and is breaking up her second marriage. Her ex-husband has not made regular child-support payments, she said. Most of her current husband's salary goes to the support of his child from a former marriage.

### **Home in foreclosure**

There was a time when he could support both families by working overtime, but no longer, Smith said, noting her home is in foreclosure and her gas and electricity are about to be shut off.

Smith and other COPS members believe revised child-support laws are skewed against parents who don't retain custody of children after a divorce.

The formulas require noncustodial parents to pay 25 percent of their net pay in support for one child, 40 percent for two children and 50 percent for three.

COPS members argue the formulas are inflexible and the percentages sometimes actually reach 70 to 80 percent.

"When a father — it's usually the father — goes to court, the judges say that the computer says this or that, and that's what he has to pay," Smith said. "But the computer doesn't know the realities of life."

The payments are enforced through a court-ordered wage at-

tachment that takes away any payment options.

"The money's gone before we even see it," Smith said.

The unfairness of the system has contributed, in part, to the burgeoning fathers' rights movement that champions more joint custody legislation, COPS members say.

In her case, Smith said, the system failed to recognize the needs of her husband's four stepchildren and the fact that he is medically unable to earn as much as he did in the past.

He recently moved out of the home so Smith could apply for welfare to support her children. The move put additional stress on the marriage and the children.

"It's not fair," she said. "We're being penalized because he is being responsible and pays his child support. The way I see it, my children are the biggest losers here."

### **Formulas put first**

Fresno father Bryan Sande also feels squeezed by the system that, he said, puts formulas over circumstances.

He said he feels it is unfair that he accrued thousands of dollars in back support payments last year while he was out of work and not earning any money.

He has since started a new business, but the assets of the photography business — including his cameras — may be seized to pay-back support, he said.

"I feel there was a Catch-22 any way I turned. The system needs to give me some room to move," he said.

"How can I pay if they take my cameras?"

From her seat behind the bench in Fresno's busiest child-support courtroom, Nancy Ann Cisneros, a Fresno County Superior Court referee, sees lots of custody and child-support cases — as many as 50 a day.



## Enforcing agencies

Child support orders are enforced in civil and criminal courts. Violations of child support court orders can be punishable by fines and jail sentences.

### Collection remedies

- ▶ Monthly billings
- ▶ Delinquency notices
- ▶ Credit reporting
- ▶ Unemployment insurance intercept
- ▶ Internal Revenue Service intercept
- ▶ Franchise Tax Board (FTB) intercept
- ▶ FTB 599 Assets Match System
- ▶ State lottery intercept
- ▶ State Disability Insurance intercept
- ▶ State Licensing Match System
- ▶ Real property lien
- ▶ Personal property lien
- ▶ 10 percent simple interest on arrearages

### Legal actions

- ▶ Wage assignment
- ▶ Earning withholding order
- ▶ General writ of Execution/Levy for deposit accounts, final money judgment, safe-deposit box and interest in personal property in estate in decedent
- ▶ Civil contempt
- ▶ Criminal contempt
- ▶ Real property lien
- ▶ Lien on workers compensation awards
- ▶ Order for judgment debtor examination
- ▶ Posting security, bond, or guarantee
- ▶ Application to use federal District Court
- ▶ Request for FTB Full Collection Service
- ▶ Request for IRS Full Collection Service
- ▶ Criminal failure to provide
- ▶ Reciprocal Support Enforcement Services adopted with other states. (20 states have adopted the Uniform Interstate Family Support Act)

Fresno County District  
Attorney's Office

She understands why so many people are unhappy with the system, which by its nature pits families against former families.

"Generally, neither side gets everything they want," she said.

But Cisneros feels the courts are doing a good job despite difficult circumstances. The lives of many children "are greatly improved," she said.

And, she cautions, the courts will continue to rule in the best interests of the children even though parents may have different ideas on how money should be spent.

"Child support is legally what you pay first," she said.



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## **Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker**

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This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

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**Children**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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## **CHILDREN**

- "What Works for Children, Youth & Families"

- The President's remarks to the NGA Summit on Young Children, 6/6/95

- HRC remarks to the Child Welfare League, 3/1/95

## WHAT WORKS FOR CHILDREN, YOUTH & FAMILIES

**It is clear that children, youth and families need our support today more than ever.**

- In 1993 -- the last year we have accurate data -- about 23% of America's children were poor -- almost 16 million of them. That was the highest number in 30 years.
- And in 1993 more than 9 million had no health insurance at all.
- Today nearly 6 million of America's children live in homes without fathers. Every day in America 3 children die from child abuse... 15 children die from guns... 27 children die from poverty... 95 babies die before their first birthday... 2217 teenagers drop out of school.
- In order to create a society in which all of America's children are healthy, hopeful, and safe, we must focus our efforts on what we know works.

**We need to build on existing knowledge about what works.**

Federal and local programs/services must build on what research and evaluation have found effective and communities need to plan strategies based on known principles.

**Start early and sustain the effort.**

- Early experiences of children and youth shape later behaviors. The habits, attitudes, and values formed in childhood and adolescence are sustained throughout adulthood. We know that it is easier to prevent negative behaviors before they start than to curb them once they are ingrained.
- For example, many researchers argue that early intervention to respond to child abuse and family violence is a key part of a comprehensive crime prevention strategy since we know that children who are abused have a greater possibility to become adult abusers.

**Build on strengths.**

- Every family needs services. But too often, when working with vulnerable children, youth and families, professionals think only of providing services. It simply is not true that we have to fix before we develop. All youth and families need clear opportunities and available supports. All children and youth need positive futures.



- We must promote health among children, youth and families by educating children and parents about good nutrition, healthy habits, dealing with conflicts non-violently and developing positive social relationships. In addition, we must work to broaden opportunities for physical, social, civic, personal and intellectual development by:
- Enhance parenting skills and provide access to adult education;
- Help parents build and make connections to a solid economic base for their families;
- Ensure access to and knowledge about basic services (eg. health care, transportation, housing, child care).
- That is why the President signed the Family and Medical Leave Act and the Family Support Act. The FMLA allows workers to take time off without losing their jobs when a child is born or takes sick. The FSA supports the development of family resource centers that help families help themselves and their children.

**Be comprehensive.**

- Children, youth, and families with numerous problems need a variety of supports and assistance. It is seldom effective to address education or behavior problems without attending to family or health problems.
- Comprehensive services cannot be effectively delivered in piecemeal fashion. In addition to carrying out responsibilities within their own organizations, staff should be able to collaborate effectively with others across programs and disciplines.

**Be family-centered, tailoring services to meet needs and respect culture.**

- Individuals, families, and neighborhoods vary enormously. Generic prevention strategies do not work. Services should be adapted to individual circumstances and provided at convenient times and places.
- Together, families, youth, and providers must construct services that are welcomed by families, support their independence, and strengthen their community ties. Given adequate tools and information, they can make informed decisions.
- The needs of children, youth and families can vary dramatically from community to community. Communities have different strengths and resources for meeting their needs. Ultimately, prevention requires community involvement.

- Strategies have to be tailored to the behaviors, experiences, and environments of the children and youth being served. Tailored strategies are particularly important for prevention efforts targeting youth.
- It is equally important that strategies be culturally appropriate and promote positive cultural values rather than stereotypes.

**Focus on families and neighborhoods as well as children and youth.**

- Prevention efforts are not effective if they target only individual behaviors. Helping young people avoid negative outcomes and achieve success requires a broader focus on families and communities.
- Families, schools, neighborhoods, and community centers are either places that support development or places that contribute to youth problems.
- Families, schools, workplaces, community centers and neighborhoods are places where behaviors are learned and reinforced. Law enforcement, social services, advocates, educators, policy makers, community leaders, parents, and young people all have roles to play in determining the issues and devising the solutions.
- The Community Empowerment program was created with that premise in mind. The President has created a program where distressed communities would design their own solutions. This program does not consider these problems in isolation, but instead recognizes that these issues must be addressed simultaneously.



## EXAMPLES OF WHAT WORKS FOR CHILDREN, YOUTH AND FAMILIES

- Prenatal and infancy nurse home visitation improved a wide range of maternal and child health outcomes among poor unmarried teenage women bearing first children in Elmira, NY.
- Home visits lead to teenage mothers having healthier babies, and postnatal home visits decrease recorded physical abuse and neglect of children during the first two years of life.
- Intensive health education for pregnant mothers and mothers with young children has been associated with significant reduction in mothers' substance abuse, resulting in healthier babies.
- Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) Curriculum reduces early antisocial behavior by integrating emotional, cognitive, and behavioral skill development in young children.
- The Perry Preschool Program in Ypsilanti, Michigan was the original model for the Head Start program. The Perry Program involved two-years of developmental preschool and intensive contact with parents through weekly home visits. By age 19 - fourteen years after completing the Perry Program -- only 31% of participants had ever been arrested, compared to 51% of the control group. By age 27, 7% of the participants had been arrested five or more times, compared with 35% of the control group; similarly, 7% of participants had been arrested for selling drugs compared to 25% of the control group.
- Working with local groups, a Youth Task Force made up of young people (ages 12-19) designed summer recreation programs for children and youth and set up and publicized the park-based events in New York City's "Take Back the Parks." Activities such as concerts, movies, workshops in the arts, parades and speakouts were available five days a week for up to 15 hours a day. Having constructive activities helped neighborhood children, and the parks, actively used, were cleaner and more trouble-free.
- A Columbia University study of Boys & Girls Clubs in public housing projects found that projects containing a Boys & Girls Club had crime rates 13% lower than those projects that did not. Prevalence of drug activity is 22% lower in projects with a Club, and crack presence is 25% lower.
- The Ford Foundation's Quantum Opportunities Program provided counseling, academic and life-skills instruction, and community service projects to welfare-dependent students their high school years. Compared to randomly assigned control groups, QOP participants were 150% more likely to attend post-secondary school, one-third less likely to have children while in school, and almost 50% less likely to be arrested during the four years of the program.

- Fort Myers, Florida used a \$1.7 million federal grant to implement its "Success through Academic and Recreational Support" (STARS) program for high risk youth age 11-14. The program provides a variety of activities focused on academic enrichment and organized recreation. Since STARS began, juvenile crime rates have declined for almost three consecutive years, and the overall crime rate has fallen by almost one-third. Among 11 and 12 year old offenders, the recidivism rate dropped 64%; for 13 and 14 year-olds, the rate dropped 26%.
- Silver Spring Neighborhood Center in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, operates a combined therapy and recreation program for 9 to 13 year old youths who have a record of previous anti-social behavior. The center also brings in the parents of these youngsters to take part in their own discussion groups, positive role modeling, and recreational activities with other families. In one year, only three of the 83 youth participants were involved in any kind of trouble with the law. There were clear improvements in self-esteem and family relationships.
- San Antonio and Corpus Christi are two of the seven cities which recently developed comprehensive, citywide crime prevention plans through broad-based local government and community coalitions. Although each of the seven city plans included recommendations on youth recreation, these two cities put particular emphasis on the issue. In 1993, Corpus Christi developed a citywide youth sports network to coordinate youth activities. In the same year, San Antonio increased city funding for youth recreation by \$10 million as part of a comprehensive youth crime strategy which balances enforcement with prevention and intervention. Juvenile crime has declined noticeably in both cities.
- Youth residents of Macon, Georgia public housing communities have been trained as state-certified teen community representatives, working under the supervision of a health professional to educate other youth about drugs, sexually transmitted disease and pregnancy prevention. The Macon program is considered one of the most effective of the many youth programs run by the local housing authority.



## PRESIDENT CLINTON ADDRESSES NGA SUMMIT ON YOUNG CHILDREN

Tuesday, June 6, 1995

Outlining his Administration's accomplishments and continued commitment to bettering the lives and futures of America's children, President Clinton will address a day-long conference in Baltimore today on children and families, sponsored by the National Governors' Association. In his remarks to the NGA "Summit on Young Children," the President will also reiterate his dedication to passing tough, comprehensive welfare reform legislation that moves people from welfare to work. As the full Senate prepares to take up the important issue of welfare reform, the President will detail, in his most specific terms to date, what he expects from the Senate in the critical areas of work and child care.

President Clinton has previously voiced his opposition to the extreme welfare reform legislation, passed by the House of Representatives, that punishes children and fails to move welfare recipients into work. The Senate legislation passed recently by the Finance Committee was an improvement on the House bill, but still fails to give states the tools they need to move people from welfare to work. According to the Congressional Budget Office, only six states would be able to fulfill the bill's work requirements by the year 2,000 -- while 44 states would fail.

In his remarks today, President Clinton will reiterate his hope that Congress will work with him to produce final welfare reform legislation that has real work requirements and does not punish children. In order to move welfare recipients from a welfare check to a paycheck, final legislation must include the tools states need to move people into work: child care, job training and performance bonuses for states that move recipients into work.

Hosted by NGA Chairman Vermont Governor Howard Dean, the day long summit brings together six Governors, as well as more than 150 business leaders, religious leaders and advocates for children for sessions on the problems facing children in America. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala will also address the summit later in the day.

The objectives of the summit are as follows:

- to focus public attention on the needs of young children and to reorient and reform service delivery systems to more effectively meet these needs
- to reach agreement about the need to develop a broad consensus at the state and community level on the benchmarks that should guide the development of programs and the allocation of resources
- to reach agreement on a process that will support state and local efforts to develop benchmarks and to implement the steps necessary to achieve them

*A fact sheet on the Clinton Administration's accomplishments for children and families is attached.*

# HIGHLIGHTS OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S COMMITMENT TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

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## CHILD CARE

*Quality child care is critical to the millions of working families struggling to make ends meet. President Clinton is committed to expanding and improving the quality of child care.*

- Increased Funding for Child Care Every budget submitted by President Clinton has included increases in child care. The FY96 budget increases funding \$100 million.
- A Central Element of Welfare Reform The Work and Responsibility Act introduced last year continued the guarantee for families moving toward self sufficiency and expanded child care assistance for working families - part of the effort to "make work pay." The President's plan included a \$1.5 billion increase in child care funding over five years for working poor families "at-risk" of welfare dependency.
- Improving Coordination The Administration has worked to make programs more consistent and coordinated, proposing new regulations to reduce red tape, improve quality, give states more flexibility, and streamline child care operations into a single Child Care Bureau.
- Technical Assistance The Clinton Administration revamped and strengthened technical assistance to the states, territories and tribes to ensure they have access to the best available information on quality issues, particularly health and safety. In addition, the Administration has launched a National Child Care Information Center for policymakers and the general public.

## CHILD WELFARE

*The Clinton Administration is committed to improving the child welfare system - child protective services, foster care, adoption, family preservation and support, and assistance to abandoned infants - to ensure the safety of children and strengthen the capacity of parents to nurture healthy children. Given the critical nature of these services, the Administration supports an approach that provides states and communities with the flexibility to develop services that are responsive to the needs of their citizens. This Administration seeks to work in partnership with the states to assure child safety and help families improve their ability to care for their children.*

- Family Preservation and Support Act This legislation, passed in 1993, provided almost \$1 billion over five years for the development of preventive and supportive services.



- Waivers and Demonstration Projects The President signed legislation authorizing development and implementation of 10 state waiver / demonstration projects in the child welfare arena.
- Multi-Ethnic Placement Act Legislation passed in 1994 will help increase the number of adoptions, by allowing certain factors such as race to be considered in the adoption process but prohibiting discrimination based on race or ethnicity.
- Increased Funding The Administration has increased adoption and foster care funds have increased by almost \$600 million from 1994 - 1995.

## CHILD SUPPORT AND WELFARE REFORM EFFORTS

*Rooted in the bedrock American values of work and responsibility, the Administration's approach to welfare reform can be summarized in a few simple goals: to move parents off welfare and into jobs as quickly as possible so they can support themselves and their families; to require absent parents to meet their responsibilities and pay child support; and to reduce teen pregnancy. The President's proposal includes:*

### WORK

- Welfare reform should be about work. Welfare should provide people the *opportunity* to move from welfare to work as quickly as possible.
- In return, people must take *responsibility* for supporting themselves and their families. All those who can work must go to work to support their families.
- Welfare should be a second chance, not a way of life. No one who can work should be able to stay on welfare forever.
- We must reward work over welfare. No one who works full time should have to raise a child in poverty. *That's why we increased the Earned Income Tax Credit for 15 million working Americans, why our welfare plan included an increase in child care, and why we proposed expanding health care coverage.*

### RESPONSIBILITY

- We must hold BOTH parents responsible for their children.
- That's why we proposed the toughest child support enforcement measures ever - suspending drivers' licenses, tracking delinquent parents across state lines, and letting states make them work off what they owe.
- We also want to reduce teen pregnancy - young people must understand the responsibilities involved before they get pregnant or father a child. That's why the President has called for a National Campaign Against Teen Pregnancy.

## FLEXIBILITY

- The President is firmly committed to giving states the flexibility to fix the welfare system at the local level.
- That's why we have granted half the states waivers to proceed with welfare reform.
- And that's why the administration wants to eliminate the need for waivers, letting states work within broad federal rules to decide how best to meet their needs.

## **LIFELONG LEARNING AGENDA**

*The Clinton Administration has made an unprecedented commitment to reforming the federal role in education and training and to expanding the opportunities available to American children and adults to improve their skills and maximize their potential. The President announced at the beginning of his Presidency his commitment to a Lifelong Learning Agenda - from expansion and improvement of early childhood education to reform of adult education and training programs. Much of that agenda has been enacted over the past two years.*

## HEAD START

- In his first two budgets, the President increased Head Start spending by \$760 million, and now proposes an additional \$400 million in FY96 for this program which provides comprehensive services for disadvantaged children, ages three to five, and their families.
- The President appointed the Head Start Advisory Commission to examine the program after 25 years of operation and to recommend ways to improve its operation. The Commission's recommendation formed the basis of the 1994 reauthorization, passed with bipartisan support.

## GOALS 2000

- Legislation passed in 1994 to support meaningful state and community school improvement efforts, based on raising academic and occupational standards, improving teaching and expanding the use of technology.
- In his 1996 budget proposal, he calls for a \$347 million increase in funding for states and communities to proceed with their education reform agenda. More than 40 states have already chosen to participate in Goals 2000 and with the leadership of local communities, parents, teachers and school administrators have developed their own strategic plans for educational reform.

## NATIONAL SERVICE

- With passage of the National Service legislation, Americorps has 20,000 volunteers worked in schools, hospitals, neighborhoods and parks. Reiterating his belief that National Service can change the way government works by enabling participants to further their education while helping to change communities, President Clinton is asking for \$812.5 million in 1996 to expand the program to 47,000 participants.



### DIRECT LENDING

- With the passage of the Student Loan Reform Act, 104 schools and over 300,000 students are already participating in the program. This year more than 1,400 schools - representing 40% of the total number of loans and the maximum allowed under this year's authorization - have committed to enrolling. This program cuts bureaucracy and saves taxpayers and students billions of dollars, while allowing more borrowers flexible repayment arrangements -- including pay-as-you-earn plans through Individual Education Accounts.

### ESEA

- Designed primarily to help disadvantaged children, this law focuses on improvements in teaching in more than 50,000 schools and has a direct impact on five million children in high poverty areas. By increasing school flexibility to use federal aid and supporting effective innovations, this law is a significant step in helping ALL students meet high academic standards.

### SCHOOL TO WORK

- Broadens educational, career and economic opportunities for students not immediately bound for four-year colleges through local partnerships among businesses, schools, community organizations and state and local governments. By equipping students with the knowledge and skills necessary to pursue work or post-secondary training, this law helps ensure that America will be capable of performing and prospering in a competitive global economy.

## **"FAMILY FRIENDLY" POLICIES**

*During the 1992 campaign, President Clinton pledged a number of initiatives to "treat families right." and "put people first." In 1993, the Family and Medical Leave Act was passed in February 1993, the first major legislative accomplishment of his administration.*

- Requires public employers and private-sector employers of 50 or more employees to provide up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave a worker to take care of a newborn or a sick child, spouse or parent.
- Protects a worker who has a serious health condition that prevents him or her from working. Pre-existing group health benefits must be maintained during the leave and employees must be restored to the same or equivalent positions. Effective August 5, 1993, this law affects an estimated 45 million U.S. workers and 300,000 U.S. businesses.

## CRIME AND VIOLENCE

*The Clinton Administration passed the smartest, toughest, and most comprehensive Anti-Crime bill in this country's history...a bill that provides police, prisons, punishment and prevention so that the streets we live on are safer. The Administration's Department of Justice (DOJ) supports the Crime bill initiatives through a multi-front assault on crime against children and families.*

### 1994 CRIME BILL

The Clinton Crime Bill attacks crime and protects children and families on many fronts:

- Puts 100,000 more police on the street in community policing and represents the federal government's biggest commitment ever to local law enforcement -- \$8.8 billion -- or an almost 20% increase in the nation's police force levels.
- Includes tough new punishments and more prison cells to help keep criminals behind bars:
  - a targeted "three strikes and you're out" provision to keep career violent offenders behind bars for life;
  - the death penalty for the murder of a federal law enforcement officer and other heinous crimes
  - increased penalties for sex offenders and a registration requirement for sexually violent offenders;
  - \$7.9 billion for 100,000 more prison cells to help states make sure that violent offenders serve their full sentences; and
  - \$1.9 billion to help states pay for the costs of incarcerating criminal aliens.
- Sends a strong no gangs, guns and drugs message to the 6% of young criminals who commit a majority of serious crimes. It bans handguns for juveniles; creates stiff penalties for crime-committing gang members; establishes Boot Camps and Drug Courts to discipline first-time, non-violent and drug offenders; and provides for hardened young criminals -- as young as 13-years-old -- to be tried as adults.
- Reinforces the difference between right and wrong by giving at-risk kids positive alternatives to say "yes" to by investing billions of dollars for after-school, weekend and summer programs for at risk youth; prevention block grants; and other efforts that provide kids with safe havens and teach them the dangers of drugs, gangs and guns.
- Bans on the 19 deadliest assault weapons and their copies.



## STRONGER NEIGHBORHOODS AND CITIES

*The Clinton Administration is increasing housing opportunity, creating stronger neighborhoods and cities, and giving special attention to the needs of children and families.*

- HUD provided rental assistance to 102,000 low-income households.
- HUD insured more than 1.3 million loans for homeowners, and 450,000 of these were for first-time homeowners.
- HUD Funded 7,665 units of elderly housing and 2,559 units of disabled housing.
- HUD initiated an innovative partnership with pension funds to help build 2,500 units of housing.
- HUD provided 100,000 new units of housing through the HOME program in FY 1994.

*America's economic health and family stability are inextricably linked with the health and stability of its cities. The Clinton Administration has taken bold steps to help children and families by fostering the economic health and development of the nation's cities:*

- The Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities initiative which gives communities across America critical resources for economic and social development. The initiative will foster job development in neighborhoods and move people into the economic mainstream.
- The Section 108 program which in the past two years has successfully infused \$579 million into economic development projects.

## CHILD HEALTH AND NUTRITION

*The Clinton Administration is standing up for America's children by supporting and improving child health by marshalling and coordinating efforts of the private sector, health care professionals and volunteer organizations to ensure that the youngest of our children are safe from vaccine-preventable diseases and that they have proper nutrition.*

- Improve the Quality and Quantity of Vaccine Delivery Services In October 1993, this Administration provided \$129 million (\$83 million in new federal resources) to states and large local health departments, based on plans they developed, to improve and expand existing immunization services.
- Reduce Vaccine Cost for Parents In October 1994, the Vaccines for Children Program was initiated to provide the neediest children with free vaccine. By March 1995, more than 21,000 private provider sites were enrolled in the VFC program.

- Increase Community Participation, Education and Partnerships A National Outreach Program was established in September 1993. Through this program, outreach workers -- community organizers -- enhance involvement, expand participation, facilitate coordination and communication among all sectors of the community.
- Improve Systems to Monitor Diseases and Vaccinations The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has expanded its ability to assess immunization rates at the local, state and national levels in order to pinpoint which populations are not receiving the benefits of infant vaccination.
- Improve Vaccines and Vaccine Use In January 1995, a simplified immunization schedule for administration of the childhood vaccines was issued. This was an effort that harmonized differing recommendations of two national groups. In April 1995, the Food and Drug Administration approved a vaccine for prevention of chicken pox.
- Increased Funding for Nutrition The President's FY96 budget requests more than \$42 billion for nutrition assistance, up from \$40.2 billion allotted in FY95.
- Expanding WIC The Clinton Administration has expanded funding for the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) dramatically -- \$610 million in the first two years, and a further proposed increase of \$350 million in FY96 to serve an additional 400,000 women, infants and children. This program works: Every \$1 invested in WIC has proven to save up to \$4.25 in preventive health-care costs.
- Reforming the School Lunch Program The Administration has developed a School Meals Initiative for Healthy Children to update and improve school meals. The Initiative provides nutrition education for children, offers school food service directors nutrition training and technical assistance, streamlines administrative burdens, and invites public and private sector participation in local school meal decisions.



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 6, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT NGA NATIONAL SUMMIT ON YOUNG CHILDREN

Stouffer Renaissance Harbor Place  
Baltimore, Maryland

1:38 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. To Governor Dean and Governor Leavitt and all of the governors who are here -- Governor Glendening and Mayor Schmoke, and Congressman Cardin. I'm glad to be back in Baltimore. I'm going to have to register as a citizen and begin to pay taxes if I don't stay out of your state a little more, Governor.

I am delighted to be here in Baltimore because Baltimore was one of the six cities which won a highly-contested race for the empowerment zones in our country. And I congratulate Mayor Schmoke on that, and I look forward to his work, along with the Governor and others, in making Baltimore an even stronger and greater city as a result of that.

Governor Dean, I want to thank you for your leadership of the Governors Association. I don't think I ever enjoyed any job more than being Chairman of the Governors Association, although it was not always easy to please all the governors. I think it's still not always easy to please all of the governors. (Laughter.)

I'm delighted to see so many representatives of state government, county government, local government here. My good friend, Representative Blute from North Carolina; it's nice to see you here. Representative Campbell and Commissioner Franke, thank you for your work, sir.

I thank all of you for coming here to meet about the fate of our children. This has been a concern of mine, as the Governor said, for a long time and, of course, a profound concern for my wife. When I met her, she was spending an extra year in law school to do four years instead of three so that she could devote a year to the study of the laws that affected our children. And I might say she then predicted a lot of the more disturbing trends which we've seen unfold in our country over the last 20 years.

Hillary is working on a book now about children's issues and the responsibilities we owe to them, and she picked the title of the old African proverb: "It takes a village to raise a child." I want to come back to that a little bit during my remarks because I think there is a great difference of opinion about that in the United States today. I began with the premise that the first responsibility for children lies with their parents; but that since all our futures are bound up in theirs, the rest of us share a responsibility in the United States and in our states and in our communities for their welfare. I do believe, in other words, that it takes a village to raise a child, especially when you consider the facts of life that children face today.

I ran for this job because I wanted to ensure a better future for our children -- to ensure that instead of losing so many of our children and seeing so many of them grow up with the American Dream beyond their grasp, that they could be rewarded for their work, and that the values that we all share of work and family and community would be stronger, not weaker, when they came of age.

I realize that people my daughter's age were in danger of growing up to be the first generation of Americans to do worse economically than their parents, but perhaps even more important, to live in a country that was less supportive of the kind and quality of life that most people in my generation took for granted.

The recent report of the Carnegie Corporation tends to corroborate a lot of those disturbing trends with statistics you all know well. In the quiet crisis, they say, that still, after years of effort -- compared to other industrialized countries, our infant mortality rates are higher, our low-birth-weight baby rates are higher, our teen pregnancy rates are much higher, our childhood immunization rates are lower, and, of course, our children are subjected to far, far higher rates of violence in the United States than they would be in any other country in the world.

If we are going to rescue our children's future, we have to do a number of things. We have to grow the middle class and shrink the underclass. We have to support policies that reinforce work and families and communities. We have to change the way the government operates so that it promotes independence, not dependence; opportunity and not bureaucracy. We have to give our youngest children things that they can't guarantee for themselves.



If you believe it takes a whole village to raise a child, it means that the government has a responsibility, working with people in the private sector, to guarantee children who can't get it for themselves health, safety and education; and then when they get older, to empower them to make the most of their lives. To do that, I believe, we need not another ideological war, but a passionate and practical commitment to what we know will work.

The whole issue of welfare is at the core of that. But let me just say for a moment, for the last two and a half years a great deal of what I have sought to do has been centered in that conviction -- that we have to have a passionate and practical effort to go beyond ideological wars right to the heart of what will make life better for our children.

We've worked hard to strengthen families and to give children a better start. The earned income credit will now provide a tax reduction for working families with children with incomes below \$27,000 an average of a \$1,000 a year. That's a pro-family policy. We should continue that, not reverse it. The Family and Medical Leave law, more than anything I've done as President, has caused ordinary citizens to come up to me and say: Thank you -- I had a sick child; I had a sick spouse; my wife had a baby; we were able to continue to work and to provide for ourselves; we were able to be good parents and successful workers.

That, it seems to me, is the kind of thing that we ought to do. Secretary Shalala, who is here, has worked very hard to expand immunization so that all of our children under the age of two will be properly immunized by the turn of the century. We have expanded Head Start dramatically. The Goals 2000 program in which many of you have participated -- most of you have -- emphasizes grass-roots reforms to achieve national, indeed, international standards of excellence.

When children are more independent, we have given them access to lower cost, better repayment terms for college loans with tougher requirements to repay them. We've worked with you for more apprenticeship programs for the young people who don't go to four-year colleges and universities, through the School-to-Work program. And, of course, many of you have been very active in the national service program, AmeriCorps, which gives our young people a chance to give something back to their communities and earn more funds to go on to school. And I want to say a special word of thanks to Senator Mikulski of Maryland for her work on national service.

The crime bill was an important part of this because it emphasized not simply more punishment and more prisons, but also protecting children through 100,000 more police officers on the street and through prevention programs that give our young people something to say yes to as well as something to say no to.

We were able to do those things and still reduce the deficit. The new majority in Congress uses seven-year terms. We use -- the deficit is going down by a trillion dollars over seven years, thanks to the '93 and '94 budgets. More than 6.3 million new jobs came into our economy. But we did it while saying that it takes a whole village to raise a child; that children deserve education, health and safety; that families should be strengthened and supported; that work should be exalted; and that parents have to be able to succeed in the world we are living in, both as parents and as workers.

One thing we did not do is to pass comprehensive welfare reform. And that is now what is before the Congress. And that, more than anything else in this debate, captures a lot of the philosophical arguments that are at the core of what is going on in our national discussion today.

I don't think there's any question that I believe we ought to reform the welfare system. I was proud to represent the governors when the Family Support Act was written under President Reagan's administration with strong bipartisan support. I realize what the shortcomings of it are, especially since it was never properly funded. And therefore, I have now given -- the Secretary and I have -- 29 of the 50 states exemptions from federal rules and regulations to pursue your own path to welfare reform to move people to work. Nothing like that has ever been done before.

In Missouri, Vermont and Wisconsin, Governors Carnahan, Dean and Thompson are using their waivers to impose time limits and to require work. In Ohio and Oregon, Governors Voinovich and Kitzhaber are moving people to work by using money now spent on welfare and food stamps to subsidize private sector jobs. Others are doing other things that are very important. Every governor I've ever spoken with, without regard to party, understands that welfare reform is important and must, first and foremost, be about work.

Unfortunately, to my mind, the welfare reform bill in Congress -- or the debate -- has not focused as much as it should have about work. And I believe that in important respects the tenor of the debate not only in the House, but also in the Senate, puts both children and states at risk. The House bill, clearly, was too tough on children and too weak on work. Finally, after a lot of efforts, the House did agree to be tough on deadbeat parents -- something that everyone among the governors agreed it needed to be done. The Senate Finance Committee reported a bill out the other day that clearly is a step in the right direction in many areas, but I believe, still misses the point on work and on children.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the current Senate Finance Committee bill will not succeed in moving people from welfare to work. The Congressional Budget Office and the person who wrote the report was generally acknowledged to be one of the preeminent Republican experts on welfare reform, concluded that only six of our states



would be able to fulfill the bill's work requirements in the year 2000 with the bill's funding provisions. Forty-four states will fail. Six out of 50 in baseball is a .120 batting average. You can't play for the Orioles with that batting average. You can't stay in the minor leagues, and you sure won't elevate children or end welfare as we know it.

The reason the Senate bill failed on the standard of work seems to me is clear: It takes away the tools that states now use to move people from welfare to work -- child care, job training, greater incentives for job placement.

I very much want to work across party lines to solve this problem. But if we're going to end welfare as we know it, Congress must pass a bill that meets some basic principles. First, we have to require people who can work to go to work and make sure that they have the child care to do it so that they don't have to hurt their children to do the right thing as citizens. It defies common sense to insist that people go to work when they have very young children if doing so will actually cost them money.

Second, the legislation should have real work requirements, but it ought to be backed up with the resources necessary to get people into jobs and keep them there.

According to the CBO, the Congressional Budget Office, it would cost you, the states, \$10 billion a year by the year 2000 to meet these requirements just in the Senate bill. And yet, this bill asks you to meet these requirements with less money than you have now.

Now, I was a governor long enough to remember what an unfunded mandate is. A lot of you -- Governor Voinovich was in the Rose Garden celebrating when we signed the unfunded mandates bill; I strongly supported it. Just because this doesn't say it's one doesn't mean it isn't by another term. So I think we have to look at this forthrightly.

The third thing that I think is important is that welfare reform should have real incentives to reward the states who do succeed in putting people to work, not for cutting them off. The current bill gives states an incentive, instead, to save money simply by throwing people off the welfare roles.

The House bill even gives states what the Catholic Church has called "an illegitimacy bonus," an incentive for more people to have abortions. That is not welfare reform. If we're going to change the culture of welfare, we have got to reward success, we've got to depart from the status quo. I want a performance bonus, but one that will force the welfare bureaucracy and the welfare recipients to focus on work.

The fourth thing I believe is that the legislation should protect states so they can continue to move people from welfare to work, even when there is an economic

downturn, extraordinary population growth or unpredictable emergencies. In their current forms, these bills could really hurt the high-population states, the growth states, like Florida and Utah and others, and could put every state at risk in the next recession or profound natural disaster.

Finally, let me say we ought to protect our children. If you believe it takes a whole village to raise a child, we should avoid mean-spirited restrictions on benefits to children; we should avoid cuts in child nutrition and adoption and child protective services; we should give states more flexibility, but we should also make sure states continue to fulfill their responsibilities.

The proposed legislation contains no incentives or requirements for states to maintain their own funding for cash assistance or for child care or work supports.

Now, I know that if you believe in the pure theory of state experimentation -- and you know that I believe a lot of that, because if you just look at what's in these 29 waivers, I have pretty much gone along with anything the states wanted to do to move people from welfare to work. So you might argue that, in theory, if we believe that states ought to have great flexibility, why don't we just give them a block grant without any requirement for local maintenance or anything of that kind. But the serious danger there is that this will become a race to the bottom. It's always cheaper to cut people off welfare than to move them to work. It will always be cheaper to lower benefits than to figure out how to reduce the caseload by moving them to work.

We already do less for young children than most of our major competitors -- perhaps all of our major competitors -- throughout the world. And I just believe that we cannot allow welfare reform to be a race to the bottom.

Let me say again, I know in theory it's right, but let me remind all of you, I served for 12 years as a governor. I served in good times and bad times. I know that the last two years, this is the second year in a row when in all probability all 50 states will have economic growth. That is a highly unusual circumstance over the last two decades.

And I'm just telling you, I've been in enough state legislatures in my life, not just in my state but all around this country, to know what's going to happen. If you put this welfare reform block grant with less money and no local maintenance requirement up against the Medicaid cuts and the education cuts and the other things that are in this budget, you tell me how the poor children of your state are going to fare when they have to deal with the nursing home lobby. And I'm not complaining about the nursing home lobby; you just tell me how they're going to fare. (Applause.)



You know, everybody wants to cut Medicaid to shreds, because they say that's just a poor person's health care. You know as well as I do almost 70 percent of that money goes to the elderly and the disabled. And they're all coming to see you and your state legislators.

Now, how are they going to do? How are these poor children going to do? How are they going to do against some of my favorite lobbies -- the education lobbies? How are they going to do? Not very well. How are they going to do against a lobby that no one can say no to, the prison lobby? The crime rate goes up and your legislature stiffens sentences and people don't want you paroling folks that have no business on the street. And the only way you can get this federal money for prisons is if you promise to leave people in longer and ignore your own parole laws. When you have to match that money, or build prisons on your own, how are you going to stand up and say well, somehow we're going to keep doing what we used to do for poor children? And you can walk away and say, well, what we used to do doesn't work, so maybe we shouldn't do anything. But the truth is we do less -- I will say it again -- we do less for children than the countries with which we compete.

And this is not a partisan issue; at least it never has been before. Everything that happened in the last two years on Head Start, on every education initiative we did, on the Family and Medical Leave -- every single thing was a bipartisan issue. Everything.

Now, I think there are two big debates that are undergirding this welfare debate, and I'd like to just put it out on the table today. One is the debate about what causes people to be on welfare. Is it economics and politics or is it culture? That's really what's behind all this debate about what's in the movies and in the rap lyrics and all.

And, by the way, I think it's a positive thing. You know, Mrs. Gore was talking 18 years ago about the dangers of destructive entertainment forces on children. I've been challenging Hollywood and the television networks to reduce violence for years. I don't mind this debate. I think this is a good debate.

But the truth is, it's not either/or. You see, there was one young girl interviewed in a movie line last week -- asked her, what do you think about this debate in Washington about whether movies were causing the breakdown of families. And she said, well, my father's working three jobs. I'll tell you, that's not good for our family. I wish he'd just come home and spend some time with me.

On the other hand, people who deny that culture is a force are wrong. The states in this country with the lowest incarceration rates also have the highest high school graduation rates and they often don't spend the most money. There are almost no poor children in families with two parents in the home. So if I could just wave a magic wand and make this problem go away, I would never have another kid in a home where there weren't

two parents until the child reached a certain age so that then the child could take care of himself or herself. That would be a wonderful thing if that could be done. And in that sense, there is a cultural component to all this.

So the people that are out there exhorting parents to be more responsible, and especially male parents to be more responsible -- people like this Promisekeepers Group - they deserve our support. They deserve our support. There is a cultural element in all this. But to say that there is no national responsibility on the economic and political side, I think is just plain wrong and defies the experience of every, single, solitary country in the world. And, I might add, that all the people that are out there working in the private charities, go interview them and ask them if they think that we can just walk away from this.

So I would say, this cultural debate is a very good thing and we ought to have it. But there is plainly a political and economic root to this. If you look at rising poverty and stagnating middle-class incomes in this country, it is clearly the result of international economic trends sweeping all advanced countries and national economic policies. And all those things are reinforced, one with another.

We are on the verge of having a 40-year low in the minimum wage. Why would somebody who was on welfare who had two kids, who at least had health care from Medicaid, and they've got food stamps go to work, if we won't even raise the minimum wage to keep it up to where it was 10 years ago -- in fact, we're going to let it go to a 40-year low.

So I implore you, governors are supposed to be the places where people look at the real world and they get away from all this theory and look at the practice. There's a political and an economic element to this problem, and there is a cultural element to the problem. That is one big deal. I think there is a public responsibility and there is a private responsibility -- both, not either/or.

There's another debate going on here which is, what is the most important thing we can do to help grow the economy and help stabilize the society? And on one side of that debate there are those who say the most important thing we can do is to reduce the deficit and shrink the government. And nothing else really matters because the federal government would mess up a one-car parade. And on the other side of that debate are not people who say we need a government; we need an expanded bureaucracy. That debate is not existent in Washington.

You look at the record. We have reduced already, with the two budgets already adopted, the size of the federal government by 270,000. Congressman Cardin's already voted to do that -- to bring the federal government to its smallest size since President Kennedy was President. We've had dramatic changes in regulation. The 29 states with the waivers from federal rules on welfare is just one example. The deficit has been brought down



three times in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was here. Nobody is for a higher deficit. That is not the issue.

The issue is, are there any other responsibilities of the national government. I believe there are some. I think we have to help people who cannot help themselves through not fault of their own -- not because they're irresponsible, but through no fault of their own, like little children who are poor. And I think we have to empower people to make the most of their own lives, because that way we'll all be better off. That's what I believe. Therefore, I don't think that you can sacrifice our responsibility to educate people and our responsibility for basic health and safety, security issues, on the alter of deficit reduction.

You know, sometimes I think my big problem is that I was for some of these things before they were popular, like deficit reduction. Everybody's for it now. That doesn't mean we didn't do a lot of it in the last two years.

So we have to decide that. Now, don't kid yourself -- from the point of view of the Congress, welfare reform has stopped being welfare reform primarily. Primarily welfare reform is a way to cut spending on the poor so that we don't have to worry about it and we can balance the budget in seven years and give a big tax cut, largely benefitting upper-income people who have done pretty well in the 1980s. That's what this is about. (Applause.)

It is true that a lot of people genuinely believe the states ought to have more say over this. So do I. It is true that a lot of people believe the prior system didn't do much good for people who were permanently dependent on welfare. So do it. And I have for 15 years. But we should not confuse -- if we really say it's more important to cut spending so that we can balance the budget in seven years and still give a tax increase to upper income people, even if we're going to hurt poor children, people ought to just say that flat out because that's what's really underneath this.

So I ask you to think about it. What's it going to be like the next time the coasts are growing and the middle west is in a depression, when the farmland goes to pieces? What's it going to be like the next time there's a high-tech collapse and the coasts are in trouble, and only the heartland is doing well? What's it going to be like the next time we have a serious national recession if there is not even a maintenance of effort requirement? If there is not real effort to have work? You know what it's going to be like. You'll have less people moving from welfare to work, more people getting less money, and the most important thing is our children, our future, will be in more difficult circumstances.

You could not design a program that would be too tough on work for me. You could not design a program that would give the states any more flexibility than I want to

give them as long as we recognize that we, our American village, have a responsibility to our children; and that in the end our political and economic policies must reinforce the culture we're trying to create. They ought to be pro-family and pro-work. But if we get in the fix in this country where people cannot succeed as parents without being derelict at work, or they cannot succeed at work without being derelict to their children, which is exactly what exists for too many people in America today or that is their deep worry, then we are going to suffer. We are going to suffer economically and we are going to suffer culturally.

Now, I think this is a huge opportunity. We can save some money and reduce the deficit in this welfare area. I have proposed that. I think we can. I don't believe every penny we're spending is sacrosanct, but I just would say to you we must not walk away, and you should not walk away. And you shouldn't want us to put you in a position to walk away from our fundamental responsibilities. Just imagine all the debates that are going to occur here. Children are not very well organized. Poor children are very poorly organized. They will not do well on balance in all the state legislatures of the country the next time things are really bad and, especially, after all the other budget cuts come down to all the other people who will also be on your doorstep.

We can have welfare reform. We can balance the budget. We can shrink the government and still be faithful to our fundamental responsibilities to our children and our future. Let's don't make it either/or. Let's do it all, do it right and take this country to the next century in good shape.

Thank you and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

2:07 P.M. EDT



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

March 1, 1995

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY  
AT THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE  
75th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AND DINNER

MRS. CLINTON: -- Thank you, thank you all. Thank you so much, David and John and all of you who are gathered here this evening on behalf of the work that we are doing and will continue to do on behalf of children. I am deeply honored to receive this award named for Natalie Heineman. Her work with children and with the League inspires all of us to do more and to reach further.

I'm also pleased that my friend, Elizabeth Glaser, received this award last year. And as a tribute to her, I hope that as we go about our work on behalf of children, we remember the sacrifice and commitment she displayed, and draw strength from what she did on behalf of -- (applause.)

As some of you may know, the President is speaking tonight to a gathering at the Nixon Center on the dangers of isolationism and nuclear proliferation -- two issues critical to the future of our children and children everywhere. And although he is not able to join us tonight in celebration of the Child Welfare League, he wanted you to know that children are on his mind and they will stay on his mind in the days and months ahead. (Applause.)

For 75 years you and this League have given all kinds of leadership to our nation, and our nation has relied on you for wisdom and moral leadership. We have to continue to call on your leadership, because we have to continue to devise ways to help protect our most vulnerable children. Your leadership is so crucial because today the youngest among us face new and greater burdens than ever before.

When David Liederman testified in the House last month on welfare reform, he talked about our obligation as a nation to keep all children from harm. That single phrase, "to keep all children from harm," summed up the moral imperative before us now. For decades, Americans have stood out for their compassion for children. We have prided ourselves on the high aspirations and expectations we have held for children. But today, we find ourselves at a rare moment in history when we must decide as a nation how much children really matter to us.

American children are in crisis. Twenty-three percent of our children live in poverty, and millions go without essential services every day. Too many children are bearing children of their own. Drugs, violence and abuse continue to claim the futures and even the lives of our young people before they reach adulthood.

Surely, as we search for solutions to such complex human problems, we need a full and honest debate. Yet that discussion is not taking place today. There is no real exchange of ideas. There is no weighing of evidence. There is simply a full-scale assault on nearly every program that helps the neediest, most vulnerable and disadvantaged among us.

The President has described recent actions in Congress as a war on the children of America. The war is taking many forms: cuts in current funding, elimination of programs, withdrawal of guarantees and block grants in the name of state flexibility. If the wrong side wins in this war on children, fallout from this war will reach far beyond the \$40 billion in cuts in children's programs over the next five years. Far beyond Barney and Big Bird and school lunches; far beyond summer jobs and aid for children with disabilities. What will be lost is our notion of who we are as a people and what we stand for as a society. (Applause.)

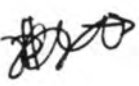
Let's not be fooled by rhetoric about block grants and greater flexibility and autonomy for the states. And let's remember that cutting programs that help children is not going to significantly reduce the deficit. The only people who will benefit from being the evisceration of children's programs are families earning more than \$200,000 a year who will be eligible for a capital gains tax cut. In 57 short days, we have learned that the Contract with America is indeed a financial arrangement, one that assigns far more importance to the interests of the very wealthy and the very powerful, than to the interests of the poor, the needy and the weak. We do not need that sort of contract in America. (Applause.)

We need instead, a covenant, a sacred trust between government and the American people, and among the American people themselves that reflects our long-held belief that every citizen, rich or poor, urban or rural, young or old, has the right and responsibility to rise as far as their God-given talents and determination can take them, and to give something back to their society in return. That is the underlying principle of the President's New Covenant, which, as he said in his State of the Union address, is actually grounded in some very old ideas. Those old ideas have guided us for more than a century in our efforts to protect children from harm.



Yet today, the foundation which we have built to promote work over welfare and strengthen families is in jeopardy. Federal guarantees of child care assistance for low-income families and those coming off welfare, grants for foster care and adoption assistance, Medicaid coverage, summer jobs for young people, heating fuel for the disadvantaged and aid for poor children with disabilities are just a few of the programs at risk.

As a friend of mine said recently, cutting \$7 billion out of child nutrition programs and \$4 billion out foster care and adoption programs is not so much a revolution as -- quote -- "a massacre of the innocence."

 If Congress weakens these programs, it will represent a total reversal of an historic commitment our nation has made to children.

Few Americans realize that the first federal effort at child care came in 1863 when the government sponsored a nursery for mothers working in Civil War hospitals. Few realize that food vouchers, an early version of food stamps, were given to freed slaves after the Civil War. Few realize that the first federal immunization program was launched at the beginning of this century, or that Congress established a Children's Bureau in 1909 to safeguard the well being of children. Aid for Families With Dependent Children, called welfare, began in 1935 as a way to enable mothers, many of them widows, to stay home with their children.

Children were protected by labor laws beginning in the 1930s. Congress appropriated funds for emergency maternal and infant care in 1943. The National School Lunch Act was passed in 1946 after it became evident that many inductees into our Armed Forces in World War II suffered from poor nutrition as children.

Throughout much of our history, children's programs have received broad bipartisan support because there is such compelling evidence that early intervention saves money and lives, and reaffirms the values of opportunity and responsibility that built America.

Senator Robert Taft, a conservative Republican leader in his era, said in 1948 that the American economy was rich enough --and I quote -- "to prevent extreme hardship and maintain a minimum standard floor under subsistence, education, medical care and housing to give to all a minimum standard of decent living, and to all children a fair opportunity to get a start in life."

Before now we would never have dreamed of counting cuts in programs for children on a 100-day scorecard. Before now, we came



together as Americans to safeguard the rights of disabled, abused and hungry children through WIC, Head Start, the Child Abuse Prevention Act of 1974, the Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, and the Children's Welfare and Adoption Assistance Act of 1980, passed under both Republican and Democratic presidents. Each of these did more than throw money at a problem. Each of these represented a moral commitment to children that improved our country, gave voices to the voiceless, strengthened us and protected children from harm.

Yet, today, poor children and families are viewed less as objects of concern than as culprits for everything that is wrong in society. Drugs, violence, illegitimacy and abuse are viewed as afflictions only of the poor and, in turn, it is poor children and families who are singled out for punishment.

My minister gave a sermon recently in which he related the story in Leviticus about the ancient Israelites who annually placed all of their miseries and sins on the head of a goat and then sent the goat off into the wilderness. When the goat reached the wilderness, the tribe was cleansed of all problems, all evils, all sins. This is an apt parable for what is happening in America today. In today's society, the goat is poor children and their parents. And somehow we think we can rid ourselves of all our social problems by scapegoating children and exiling them to a wilderness of greater poverty and hopelessness.

Some in Washington and around the country justify these extreme budget cuts by saying, we have all these children's programs in place, but things are only getting worse. Obviously, the programs don't make a difference. Well, nobody ever conceived of government programs as a panacea. We all know that services alone will not lift a child out of poverty. A school lunch program can help a child's physical and intellectual development, but it can't provide shelter. A nutrition program for pregnant women can increase the likelihood of a healthy baby, but it can't pay the rent.

To overcome poverty, children and families need the basic necessities in life. They also need to be buffered by a strong economy. As the National Council of Bishops stated in a pastoral letter in 1991 entitled "Putting Families First," many families are poor because of economic forces beyond their control: recession, industrial restructuring, erosion of real wages, unemployment and discrimination in hiring and promotion.

That's why, as we search for a solution to today's real social



problems, we must avoid an unbalanced approach that both robs children of services and fails to address the broad economic and social forces that contribute to poverty in the first place. Meaningful deficit reduction, the creation of nearly six million new jobs, investments in the skills and training of our people -- these are structural changes that, as the President has fought for and articulated, will help lift children and families out of poverty over the long run.

To address our problems, parents and families must take responsibility, too. They must provide the love and nurturing and discipline their children need. They must be willing to make the sacrifices that are necessary to create conditions within the family that enable children to flourish. And, in some cases, young men and women must postpone having children until they have the means to provide the love, the support, and the responsible care. And in other cases, parents with children should think harder and longer about divorce and, instead, put their children's needs and interests first. And child support, as the President made clear at the beginning of this week, has to be part of what it means to be a decent, responsible parent.

In that same pastoral letter I just mentioned, the bishops also wrote that the most important work on behalf of our children "must be done in our homes and our neighborhoods and our community organizations. No government can love a child, and no policy can substitute for a family's care. But at the same time, government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social and economic stresses of caring for children."

Both national policies and personal values must play a role. It is time to end the false debate that pits national policies against personal values. We need to support both if we expect to have healthy -- children. (Applause.) We know that what happens to poor children and their families also has ripple effects throughout the rest of society. We also know that many of the programs under attack are not aimed just at poor families, because the safety net that was kept in place even during the 1980s did provide services for many families who, themselves, were on the brink of falling into poverty.

A few weeks ago I visited a federally-supported child care center in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. There was not a single parent I met who was not working, going to college, taking courses to try to get a GED, or actively involved in job training. Having access to that kind of child care that they could count on enabled them to go forward to build a stronger family.

In the weeks and months ahead, as Congress works on social issues, the test of every policy and every budget decision should be whether it helps children and strengthens families. I want you to know that the White House and the Clinton administration will work with you to ensure that our children are kept from further harm.

In the last 10 days, we have seen the response of the American people as the specifics of budget proposals have been unveiled. People know better. They often can put a face on all of the abstract rhetoric about budgets and programs. They can see the children that I saw earlier today in Arlington, Virginia, at a school where three-fifths of the children in an affluent community are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches. They can see the little girl, Ellen, who sat across from me, or Zachary, who came up to ask about Socks, the cat. They know that when it finally becomes a question as to whether we will support abstract ideology or concrete personal lives in the faces and futures of our children, that they will want our children protected.

And that is why we can, and we will, with your help, continue to protect the children of America from harm. It will not be an easy struggle, because, as I said earlier, there are powerful forces that refuse to recognize the costs that will be borne by our entire society in return for privileges for a few if we eradicate the progress that we have made so far. But I'm confident that America will once again rise to this challenge, and that our children will be given the future they deserve.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END



### General Children's Funding

- Q. Given all the proposed cutbacks affecting children, and the fact that there don't seem to be any strong new efforts to support children, what do you propose to ensure that there is a safety net for children?
- A. The battle for efficiency in government is one in which we are all on the same side. But this Administration doesn't believe it should be turned into a war on those who can least defend themselves - the children. There is always going to be a role for government at all levels, but it is not only a government responsibility to protect children and to promote their healthy development and opportunities for success. Families, schools, businesses, churches and synagogues, and the voluntary and charitable groups with which this country is so blessed -- all of us have a role, and that is what the Clinton Administration has been trying to promote. We have done so through a variety of exciting efforts....

### Background

Three examples:

Early Head Start -- Early Head Start will provide early, continuous, intensive and comprehensive child development and family support services on a year-round basis to low-income family with children under age three, and pregnant women. The purpose of the program is to enhance children's physical, social, intellectual, and emotional development; to assist parents in fulfilling their developmental roles; and to help parents move towards self-sufficiency. In FY 1995, \$106 million is available for Early Head Start.

Community Schools -- The Community Schools program was passed as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994. It provides funds to community based organizations in each of the states and territories to form partnerships with schools and other community organizations so that schools or community centers can be kept open after hours, on weekends, and during the summer as safe places for young people to spend time with their friends, get involved in activities, and study. Approximately 700 applications were received for the Community Schools program, which has \$26 million for awards in FY 95. However, the rescission bill (vetoed by the President) would have eliminated FY 95 funding for the Community Schools program.

### Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities --

The Empowerment Zone / Enterprise Community initiative is an effort to enable the self-revitalization and growth of distressed urban and rural areas throughout the nation. The Empowerment Zone /

Enterprise Community initiative encourages localities to develop and implement holistic, outcome-based approaches for comprehensive community, economic, and human development services. It cuts across disciplines and divisions to coordinate the full range of efforts that communities must engage to help themselves -- to create jobs, preserve families, promote public safety, educate and train residents, provide health care, and protect the environment.

In December 1994, President Clinton announced the designation of 112 socio-economically distressed areas to receive focused federal economic and human development assistance. These communities were selected from more than 500 applicants that competed for designation.



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Divider Title: **Welfare Reform/  
Child Support/ Health** \_\_\_\_\_

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## **WELFARE REFORM/CHILD SUPPORT/HEALTH**

-Talking points on the House bill, Senate Finance bill, and Democratic Leadership bill

-Q & A

-Children and Medicaid

-Q & A



## WELFARE REFORM LEGISLATION

### House Bill

The House bill was passed on March 24, 1995. In contrast to our proposals, the House bill is weak on work and responsibility, and tough on kids. It confuses welfare reform with more than **\$66 billion** in budget cuts -- at the expense of the nutrition, health, and safety of America's children.

- o **Phony about work.** The original work requirements in the House bill were so weak that even fewer people would be working than under current law. Then, after Democrats protested, the requirements were strengthened -- but in such a slipshod manner than even the Congressional Budget office criticized them as unworkable. In addition, the bill allows caseload reductions to count as "participation in work," giving states a perverse incentive to just cut people off welfare -- whether or not they've moved into jobs. And it actually reduces funds for the supports -- like education, job training, and child care -- that single moms need to enter the work force.
- o **Tough on kids.** The House bill would eventually cut assistance to 5.6 million children, through provisions that would deny aid to the children of minor mothers, to children born to mothers already on welfare, and to mothers who have received benefits for five years. Cuts in child care would leave more than 320,000 children home alone by the year 2000. According to a recent study by the Children's Defense Fund, over 2 million children would lose school lunches because of cuts in child nutrition programs. And, upon enactment, the bill would deny cash benefits and Medicaid to more than 157,000 disabled children.
- o **Child support enforcement.** While the House debate was often divisive, the "silver lining" was the bipartisan agreement on tougher child support enforcement, with the House accepting every major child support provision in the Clinton Administration's original welfare reform bill. We believe that child support enforcement is an integral part of welfare reform, particularly because it sends a strong signal to young people about the responsibility of both parents to support their children. We're pleased that both the House bill and the Senate Finance bill include all of the effective measures we've demanded from the start: measures to identify the father in every case; find delinquent parents who move from job to job or state to state to avoid paying child support; speed up payments; and invoke tough penalties, like drivers license revocation, for nonpayment.

### Senate Finance Bill

On May 26, the Senate Finance Committee approved a welfare reform bill that would block grant and reduce federal funding to the states by more than **\$31 billion over the next five years**. (The Finance bill has roughly the same cuts as the House bill for programs under its jurisdiction -- Food Stamps and Child Nutrition programs are being considered by a different Senate committee.)

Although the Finance Committee's bill moves in the right direction by eliminating some of the more punitive provisions in the House bill, it still falls short of the kind of real welfare reform that Americans in both parties expect. It does not provide states the resources or incentives necessary to move recipients from welfare to work. In many respects it is still tough on children. It shifts costs to the states and undermines our obligation to hold state welfare bureaucracies accountable for results. However, like the House bill, the committee bill does include every Administration-backed child support enforcement proposal.

- o **Phony about work.** States must have the necessary resources for child care, training, and work in order to move people to self-sufficiency. But the Senate Finance legislation actually ends existing programs that fund necessary supports -- like education, job training, and child care -- that single moms need to enter the work force. As a result, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that only six states could meet the work requirements of the Senate Finance bill. **CBO predicts that 44 states would simply pay a fine for failing to meet the legislation's work requirements, rather than invest in the job training and child care necessary to move recipients into work.**
- o **Unrealistic about child care.** By abolishing the child care programs that serve single parents struggling to leave welfare -- or stay off -- the Senate Finance bill would make it harder for millions of women with children to go to work. Not only does the legislation lump child care funds into a block grant aimed mainly at paying cash benefits, it also eliminates all existing child care guarantees for low-income working families and those making the transition from welfare to work.

### Democratic Leadership Bill

On June 8, 1995, Senators Daschle, Breaux, and Mikulski "Work First," a Democratic alternative to the Senate Finance bill. Secretary Shalala stated that "this is a bold plan to end the current welfare system and replace it with a new, transitional program focused on work ... Welfare reform should not be a race to the bottom, it should be a race to independence. This welfare reform plan, unlike the legislation passed by the Senate Finance Committee, includes all of the elements that are necessary to move young parents into the work force. It also promotes parental responsibility, protects children, strengthens child support enforcement, and gives states the flexibility and the tools they need to succeed. Senators Daschle, Breaux, Mikulski, and others have worked hard on this proposal, and I hope it will lead to a bipartisan agreement on real welfare reform."

While we have not officially endorsed the Democratic proposal, we have stressed its focus on work. It also contains:

- o **Real work requirements.** In order to end welfare as we know it, we must have real work requirements backed up with the resources states need to get the job done. "Work First" would increase funding for states to help recipients move into the workforce -- and stay there. The plan also provides child care and health care assistance for welfare recipients moving to work and working families struggling to stay off the welfare rolls.



- o **A performance bonus.** For reform to work, states must be rewarded for putting people on private payrolls -- not for simply cutting them from the welfare rolls. That's why this bill includes a performance bonus for states that exceed job-placement targets -- and penalties for those who do not. As the President said to the NGA last Tuesday, "I want a performance bonus, but one that will force the welfare bureaucracy and the welfare recipients to focus on work."
- o **Parental responsibility.** As we've said from the start, if we're going to demand responsibility of mothers, we should demand responsibility of fathers too. The leadership plan also contains tough Administration-backed child support enforcement measures to encourage both parents to meet their responsibilities. Teen parents would also be required to stay in school, live at home, and prepare for work in order to receive assistance. We must send a strong message to the next generation that having children is an immense responsibility, rather than an easy route to independence.

**BRIEF COMPARISON OF MAJOR PROVISIONS IN WELFARE PLANS**

| <b>Item</b>                 | <b>House bill</b>                                                                                                               | <b>Finance Committee</b>                                                                                                        | <b>Dem Leadership</b>                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>AFDC Entitlement</b>     | Abolishes AFDC. Turns AFDC into a state entitlement block grant, which is capped. No guarantee of assistance for a poor family. | Abolishes AFDC. Turns AFDC into a state entitlement block grant, which is capped. No guarantee of assistance for a poor family. | Abolishes AFDC. Creates new Temporary Employment Assistance, a conditional individual entitlement of limited duration. |
| <b>Time Limits</b>          | 5 year lifetime limit, with state option for less time.                                                                         | 5 year lifetime limit, with state option for less time.                                                                         | 5 year lifetime limit, with reduced grant after 2 years for parents refusing workfare or community service.            |
| <b>State Match/benefits</b> | No state match required. Benefits can be cut to any level.                                                                      | No state match required. Benefits can be cut to any level.                                                                      | Retains state match requirement. Retains current law: benefits can be reduced, but not below 1988.                     |
| <b>State Plan</b>           | Plan submitted to HHS Sec.                                                                                                      | Plan submitted to HHS Sec.                                                                                                      | Plan submitted to HHS Sec and deemed approved if not rejected w/in 120 days.                                           |
| <b>Personal Contract</b>    | None                                                                                                                            | None                                                                                                                            | Parent Empowerment Contract. Must sign to receive aid; must follow or penalty.                                         |



| Item                                                                    | House bill                                                                                                                                         | Finance Committee                                                                                                                                                          | Dem Leadership                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>JOBS program</b>                                                     | Abolishes JOBS. JOBS would be consolidated with AFDC in a fixed amount of \$ over 5 years. Unfunded mandates for states to meet work requirements. | Abolishes JOBS. JOBS would be consolidated with AFDC and child care funding and frozen at FY94 levels for 5 years. Unfunded mandates for states to meet work requirements. | Abolishes JOBS. Creates new Work First Employment Block Grant. Sufficient funds are provided to ensure that no unfunded mandates are passed on to states in meeting work requirements. Federal match increased to 70/30 or 10 percentage points above FMAP. |
| <b>Participation rates:</b><br>(Current law is 20%)                     | <b>Participation Requirements</b><br><br>FY96 10%<br>FY97 15%<br>FY98 20%<br>FY99 25%<br>FY00 27%<br>FY01 29%<br>FY02 40%<br>FY03 50%              | <b>Participation Requirements</b><br><br>FY96 20%<br>FY97 30%<br>FY98 35%<br>FY99 40%<br>FY00 45%<br>FY01 50%<br>FY02 50%<br>FY03 50%                                      | <b>Work Requirements</b><br><br>FY96 30%<br>FY97 35%<br>FY98 40%<br>FY99 45%<br>FY00 50%<br>FY01 50%<br>FY02 50%<br>FY03 50%<br>* only work is counted; the rates measure work, not "participation"                                                         |
| <b>Hours of work per week req'd.</b> (current law is 20 hours per week) | FY96 20<br>97&98 20<br>FY99 25<br>FY00 30<br>FY01 30<br>FY02+ 35                                                                                   | FY96 20<br>97&98 20<br>FY99 20<br>FY00 20<br>FY01 20<br>FY02+ 20                                                                                                           | FY96 20<br>97&98 20<br>FY99 20<br>FY00 20<br>FY01 20<br>FY02+ 20<br>(State option for 30 hours per week)                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Rainy day fund</b>                                                   | <b>Rainy Day Loans</b><br>Loans to be repaid with interest. Loans triggered by UI rules (UI % in excess of 6.5%)                                   | <b>Rainy Day Loans</b><br>\$1.7 billion loan fund created. Loans to be repaid with interest within 3 years. Loan not to                                                    | <b>Bonus for Employment</b><br>Since entitlement, no need for "rainy day fund", but bonus system for                                                                                                                                                        |

| Item                                     | House bill                                                                                      | Finance Committee                                                                                                                                                                                               | Dem Leadership                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Rainy Day fund<br/>(cont'd)</b>       |                                                                                                 | exceed 10% of state grant. Only states that have never had a penalty may qualify for a loan.                                                                                                                    | employment.<br>Bonus \$ can be used for Work First Employment block grant or child care.                                                                                                                       |
| <b>State Penalty</b>                     | Failure to meet participation rates would result in 5% cut in state annual grant.               | Failure to meet participation rates would result in 5% cut in state annual grant.                                                                                                                               | Sec. can make recommendations for improvement (1st time) and require a 10% reduction in the federal admin match for TEA administrative expenses (2nd time).                                                    |
| <b>Individual Penalty</b>                | State determines level below current benefit.                                                   | State determines level below current benefit.                                                                                                                                                                   | 33% cut 1st time;<br>66% cut 2nd time;<br>off TEA 3rd time.                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Earnings<br/>Resources<br/>Assets</b> | State decision.<br>State decision.<br>State decision.                                           | State decision.<br>State decision.<br>State decision.                                                                                                                                                           | State decision.<br>State decision.<br>State decision.                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>Minor Parents</b>                     | No \$                                                                                           | State decision.                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Live at home or w/adults.                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>X-fer \$</b>                          | Allows x-fer of 30% of block grant for other purposes.                                          | Silent on transfer issue.                                                                                                                                                                                       | No x-fer, but bonus \$ can be used for Work First Employment block grant or child care.                                                                                                                        |
| <b>Child Care</b>                        | Authorized funding only; no guarantee of child care assistance for those transitioning to work. | \$ consolidated with APDC & JOBS \$. No guarantee of child care assistance for those transitioning to work. No guarantee of child care for parents with children age 6 or older. No additional child care money | Existing child care programs consolidated into 1 block grant. Guarantees child care for those required to work or prepare for work. 1 year transitional coverage retained and extended an additional year on a |



4

| Item                      | House Bill                                                               | Finance Committee                                                        | Dem Leadership                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| child care<br>(continued) |                                                                          | provided to meet<br>increasing<br>participation rates.                   | sliding fee scale at<br>state option.<br>Working poor<br>families with<br>income up to 100%<br>of poverty phased<br>in. Fed match<br>increased to 70/30<br>or 10 percentage<br>points higher than<br>FMAP. |
| Medicaid                  | Current law, 1 year<br>of transitional<br>Medicaid for those<br>working. | Current law, 1 year<br>of transitional<br>Medicaid for those<br>working. | 1 year transitional<br>coverage retained<br>and extended for<br>one year on a<br>sliding fee scale.                                                                                                        |

## **Welfare Reform: State Flexibility**

### **What has the Administration done to give states more flexibility to reform their welfare systems?**

Since President Clinton summoned the country to "end welfare as we know it," the Administration has encouraged states to initiate demonstrations on welfare reform. As a former governor, the President recognizes states as the nation's laboratories and their need for the flexibility to innovate and experiment.

In two years, this Administration has approved 32 demonstrations in 29 states, more states than the previous two administrations combined. In an average month, the welfare demonstrations cover at least 6.3 million people, representing over 45 percent of all recipients.

The themes of work, responsibility and family are consistent messages and goals of the state demonstrations. Some are targeting specific approaches, while others are experimenting with many program components. Some are testing projects in a single or a few counties, while others are ambitiously undertaking statewide efforts.

All are using incentives and sanctions with the primary goal of moving people into work. States are also making important strides in increasing child support collections, requiring teenage parents to live at home and stay in school, and rewarding parental responsibility.



### Welfare Reform -- General

- Q. You've been an advocate for children throughout your career. You've worked to promote children's issues and to ensure that government plays an active role in securing children's wellbeing. How do you feel about what is happening in Congress right now?
- A. There is a lot going on in Congress right now that could have a substantial impact on the lives of children. I know that once the American people understand what is in these proposals, that they are compassionate and responsible and will share their views with their elected representatives.

Eventually members of Congress are going to hear more from their constituents about values we all share - and that is about protecting children who are in circumstances through no fault of their own. I'm not opposed to doing things differently, but I believe, as I know the American people do, in promoting opportunity and hope for every American child.

### Background - Welfare Reform

- The Personal Responsibility Act (PRA or H.R. 4) passed on March 24, 1995 and was part of the so-called House Republican Contract With America. Under the provisions, federal programs to assist low-income families would be block granted and funding levels would be capped. The AFDC, JOBS and related programs would become a capped block grant set at \$15.4 billion per year.

Entitlement status for the AFDC program would be ended. States would be required to operate a work program and meet work participation requirements and would also be required to implement several punitive provisions, including a 5-year time-limit for all families and no cash benefits for families if the mother is under 18.

Child protection and child care programs would be placed in separate capped block grants. Nutrition assistance programs, including the school lunch and WIC programs would be placed in a separate block grant. Also, most non-citizens would be ineligible for federal aid programs. Major changes to the eligibility rules of the SSI program would render several thousand children ineligible for aid.

- The Senate Finance Committee has marked up a Republican Leadership welfare reform bill. The final version is not yet available. Based on the mark-up provisions, the bill would place the AFDC, JOBS and related programs into a capped block grant set at \$16.8 billion annually. Like the PRA, entitlement status for these programs would be ended. States would be required to operate a work program and meet participation rates. There is a 5-year time limit but no

other punitive requirements.

Unlike the PRA, this block grant would incorporate related child care programs into the single block grant. Child protection programs would remain unchanged, except for non-citizen children. Under the SSI provisions, non-citizens would be ineligible and eligibility for many children would be severely restricted. Regarding non-citizens, in addition to the SSI provisions, states would have the option of denying eligibility for aid under the block grant to non-citizens.

In a companion immigration bill (Sen. Simpson) that affects benefits, sponsored immigrants would be denied assistance under all needs-based programs, for example sponsored children would be denied Medicaid including emergency services.

#### Background -- Budget Resolutions

- The House Budget Resolution would eliminate 283 programs, 14 agencies, and 68 commissions, and the Departments of Commerce, Education, and Energy and incorporates passage of the PRA. The Congressional Budget office has scored \$62 billion over 5 years in savings from the PRA. The Resolution contains the tax cut outlined in the so-called Contract on America. Republican projections show a balanced budget by FY 2002.
- The Senate Budget Resolution also projects a balanced budget by FY 2002 but contains no tax cut. The Senate Resolution incorporates a projected \$47 billion in savings over 5 years from welfare reform and other cuts to federal aid programs to low income families with children.



6/6/95

Welfare Q and A

Q: Would the President veto a bill that eliminates the entitlement to welfare benefits, as Senator Moynihan and some administration officials have hinted?

As the President has said, he wasn't elected to pile up a stack of vetoes -- but he has been very clear that he wants a welfare reform bill that includes the necessary tools to move people from welfare to work. And he has always expressed real concern about the idea of block granting welfare programs -- Food Stamps in particular -- and giving them to the states with less money. Although the President wants to give states a lot of flexibility, we won't really have welfare reform or state flexibility if Congress just gives states more burdens and fewer resources. Our test of any bill will be simple: it should be tough on work, not on innocent children. That means, in part, that states should also be protected if population growth, an economic downturn, a natural disaster, or another unpredictable emergency causes an increase in need and applications for aid.

### Welfare Reform -- Veto?

Q. Your own Department of Health and Human Services has reported that the legislation passed by the Senate Finance Committee would, when fully implemented, prohibit states from using Federal funds to support 5.6 million children. Don't you think the President should veto a bill like the Senate is considering if it will hurt so many children?

or

Q. Don't you believe that the President should follow the lead of Senator Moynihan, the nation's and certainly the Senate's leading welfare expert, and veto any welfare reform bill that doesn't keep AFDC as an entitlement.

A. This Administration has been firmly and consistently focussed on improving our future and that means focusing on children. We believe that issues surrounding children shouldn't be partisan. While we may differ on how best to help children, our Administration wants to work together with the Congress to develop the best bill that will promote work and protect children. We believe that Congress will be receptive and doesn't want to hurt the most vulnerable children in this nation.

### Background

Both the House-passed bill (H.R.4) and the Senate Finance Committee passed bill which may be considered by the full Senate as early as this week would block grant basic cash assistance programs for low income families with children (Aid to Families with Dependent children [AFDC], Emergency Assistance) and child care entitlement programs.

Both the House-passed bill (H.R.4) and the Senate Finance Committee passed bill, which may be considered by the full Senate as early as this week, would block grant basic cash assistance programs for low income families with children. The funding reductions are shown below:

**Funding Reductions under the House-Passed Bill (H.R. 4) (*italics represent programs also under the jurisdiction of the Senate Finance Committee*)**

|                                               |                 |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cash Assistance . . . . .                     | -\$11.4 billion |
| Child Protection . . . . .                    | -\$3.5 billion  |
| Child Care . . . . .                          | -\$1.6 billion  |
| Child Nutrition . . . . .                     | -\$6.6 billion  |
| Restricting Welfare for Immigrants . . . . .  | -\$13.8 billion |
| Food Stamp Program Changes . . . . .          | -\$23.2 billion |
| Food Stamp Offsets . . . . .                  | +\$5.9 billion  |
| Supplemental Security Income Reform . . . . . | -\$13.4 billion |
| Child Support Enforcement . . . . .           | -\$1.0 billion  |



TOTAL FUNDING CUTS . . . . . -\$68.6 billion  
*Funding Cuts for Programs Also Under the Jurisdiction*  
*of the Senate Finance Committee . . . . -\$38.8 billion*

**Funding Reductions under the Senate Finance Committee-Passed Bill**

Cash Assistance/Child Care . . . . . -\$13.0 billion  
 SSI Restrictions on Immigrants . . . . . -\$12.7 billion  
 SSI Reforms . . . . . -\$13.4 billion  
 Child Support enforcement . . . . . -\$1.0 billion  
 Food Stamp Offsets . . . . . +\$5.2 billion

TOTAL FUNDING CUTS . . . . . -\$31.5 billion

Impacts on Children

**House-Passed Bill (H.R. 4)**

Cash Assistance

- ▶ When this bill is fully implemented, states will not be able to use federal funds to support 5.6 million children because they were born to a young mother, born to current AFDC recipients, were in a family that received AFDC for longer than five years, or were immigrants. This analysis takes into account that 10 percent of the entire caseload can be exempt from a five-year time limit, as well as the interactions of these provisions.
- ▶ The numbers of children affected at full implementation by the primary provisions in which states are required to deny eligibility if the caseload had identical characteristics to the current caseload are shown below. These numbers are independent effects and cannot be added to get the combined effects since some children would be affected by multiple provisions.
  - ▶ Cash benefits denied to children born to unmarried mothers still under 18 . . . . . 80,000 children
  - ▶ Cash benefits denied to children born to current AFDC recipients . . . . . 4.8 million children
  - ▶ Benefits denied to families who have received AFDC for five years or longer . . . . . 4.8 million children
- ▶ States are also required to reduce benefits for children without paternity established until the state establishes paternity. This provision will affect 3.3 million children if applied to the current caseload.

Child Care

- ▶ Under the block grant in the Personal Responsibility Act, federal funding for child care will be cut by 13 percent over five years. In FY 2000, the House welfare bill will result in a 19 percent cut in funding (\$501 million) which would mean

that over 320,000 children would lose federal child care assistance.

#### SSI

- ▶ Of an estimated 888,470 children with disabilities who were on the SSI rolls in 1994, had the Personal Responsibility Act been in effect, 701,891 children would not have received cash benefits. It is estimated that over 150,000 of these children would not have been eligible to receive Medicaid and some services under the block grant.
- ▶ Based on an historical analysis, approximately 18 percent of all SSI children would have received no benefits if the House bill had been in effect starting in 1991. 61 percent would have been denied cash benefits, but would have been eligible for block grant services, and only 21 percent would have received cash benefits and block grant services.

#### Senate Finance Committee-Passed Bill

##### Cash Assistance

- ▶ When this bill is fully implemented, states will not be able to use federal funds to support approximately 4 million children because they were in families that received AFDC for longer than five years. This analysis takes into account that 15 percent of the entire caseload can be exempt from a five-year time limit.
- ▶ When fully implemented, States would have the option of denying cash assistance to approximately 300,000 children because they are immigrants.

#### SSI

- ▶ Of the estimated 888,470 children with disabilities who were on the SSI rolls in 1994, had the Senate Finance Mark been in effect, approximately 157,000 would have been denied SSI cash and Medicaid, roughly 18 percent of the current caseload.
- ▶ For future applicants, approximately 21 percent who would have been eligible under current law would be ineligible under the Senate Finance Mark.



## **Child Support Enforcement: Questions and Answers**

### **What is the child support enforcement program?**

The Child Support Enforcement (CSE) program is a joint Federal, State and local partnership to locate noncustodial parents, establish paternity, and set and enforce support orders. Collections made on behalf of non-AFDC families are paid directly to them. For non-AFDC families with low incomes, receipt of child support collections helps them stay off the welfare rolls.

Child support collections have increased annually. Yet there is a \$34 billion gap in child support owed but not collected.

### **What has the Administration done in child support collection?**

The President has increased resources for child support enforcement by more than 25% since taking office. In 1994, collections were a record \$10 billion from non-custodial parents, an increase of 11% over 1992.

**Seizing tax refunds.** On February 21, 1995, HHS announced the collection of a record \$703 million in delinquent child support for 1993 by intercepting income tax refunds of non-paying parents, 13% more than similar collections for 1992.

**Prosecuting non-payers.** Billions of dollars more in support is owed to children whose parents have crossed state lines and failed to pay. DoJ is investigating and prosecuting these cases aggressively under the Child Support Recovery Act.

**Improving paternity establishment.** The Clinton Administration proposed, Congress adopted, and the President signed a requirement for states to establish hospital-based paternity programs, to establish paternities early in a child's life.

**Federal employees.** On February 27, President Clinton signed an executive order to make the federal government a model employer in the area of child support enforcement. It requires all federal agencies, including the Armed Forces, to cooperate fully in efforts to establish paternity, and to ensure that children of federal employees are provided support to which they are entitled.

### **What is the status of child support efforts in the Congress?**

At the urging of the President, both the House-passed welfare reform bill and the Senate Finance Committee proposal included the Administration's provisions for child support.

## CHILDREN AND MEDICAID

### Facts about Children on Medicaid

- Medicaid covers one in four children and one in three births. (Children's Defense Fund)
- Nearly 60 percent of children covered by Medicaid live in low-income, working families. (Children's Defense Fund)
- Children are half of all Medicaid enrollees but account for only about one-fifth of Medicaid spending. (Children's Defense Fund)
- The rate of private health insurance is declining faster among children than among all other Americans, and Medicaid is catching these children who would otherwise fall through the cracks. Between 1988 and 1994, 1.2 million children under age 18 lost private employer-sponsored coverage (while the number of children under age 18 grew by 5.1 million). At the same time, 10.2 million new children became covered by Medicaid. (Urban Institute) It is therefore critical that Medicaid be preserved as a national system of health coverage for low-income children and pregnant women.

### Impact of the Proposed Republican Cuts

- Republicans are considering cutting federal Medicaid funding by \$160 to more than \$190 billion between 1996 and 2002. The Republicans claim that they are not cutting the program, but simply reducing the rate of growth. Yet, 3 to 4 percent of program growth is for the increasing number of people being covered. And technical distinctions between "cuts" and "reductions in the rate of growth" mask the real questions: who will be hurt, who will lose coverage, and who will lose benefits if \$160 to \$190 billion are cut from a program that provides critical health care services to 16 million children.
- This will mean deep cuts in eligibility, benefits and payments to doctors, hospitals, nursing homes and other health care providers. If these cuts were divided evenly between eliminating eligibility for elderly and disabled beneficiaries, eliminating eligibility for children, cutting services, and cutting provider payments, that would mean, in the year 2002 alone -- that:
  - **5 to 7 million children would lose coverage; AND**
  - **800,000 to 1 million elderly and disabled beneficiaries would lose coverage; AND**



- **Tens of millions would lose benefits: All preventive screening and diagnostic services for children**, home health care and hospice services would be eliminated -- as well as dental care if the \$190 billion were cut; AND
- Over \$10 billion to health care providers would be cut: Already low payments to health care providers would be reduced by \$10.7 to \$12.8 billion.

### Proposed Medicaid Cuts

Q. What are the effects of the Medicaid spending caps proposed by Congress?

A. We are watching the Congress with concern as it moves ahead to achieve a budget resolution and program changes.

As you know, we are committed to the health care coverage that Medicaid provides to vulnerable populations including poor children and pregnant women and we will be monitoring very closely the approach Congress takes to protecting these populations. We are concerned that cuts at the proposed magnitude could force States to make very difficult decisions to constrain spending. We are particularly concerned that drastic cuts in Federal spending would leave many beneficiaries without coverage.

### Background

The House budget resolution proposes spending caps to Medicaid, amounting to \$184 billion\* in cuts from CBO projections over the seven year period 1996-2002. Senate budget resolution proposes Medicaid cuts of \$175 billion over the same period.

Medicaid provides coverage for low income pregnant women and children (with incomes up to 185% of FPL, or 133% in some States, for pregnant women and children under age 6, and incomes up to 100% for children at age 6 or born after October 1983). Pregnant women and children account for approximately 70% of the Medicaid population and account for approximately 30% of total Medicaid spending.

Disabled and elderly Medicaid beneficiaries (30% of Medicaid population) absorb approximately 70% of spending. Long term care accounts for one-third of total Medicaid spending. Speaking about the combined effect of welfare block grants and the Medicaid and education cuts, the President said, "how will the poor children in your State fare when they have to deal with the nursing home lobby?" (NGA Conference on Children, June 6, 1995)

\* House estimates of proposed Medicaid cuts vary between \$184 billion and \$187 billion. CBO uses the estimates summing to \$184 billion.



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**Early Childhood  
Programs**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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## **EARLY CHILDHOOD PROGRAMS**

- Head Start
- Child care
- Childhood immunization



## **HEAD START: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

### **Why is Head Start important?**

Head Start has a 30 year history as the nation's premier early childhood program and as one of the most successful bipartisan efforts in this country's history.

Head Start has served over 14.5 million children and their families, enabling children to start school ready to learn while helping parents become actively involved in their children's education as well as going back to school and finding jobs. Head Start works because it is community based and depends on parents and other community volunteers for its success.

### **What has the Administration done for Head Start?**

- o Head Start has been redesigned to meet the needs of children and families through last year's bipartisan reauthorization which examined every feature of the program.
- o This redesign focuses on the vision of improving the quality of services, being more responsive to children, families and communities and strengthening partnerships at the Federal, state and local levels.
- o Funding has increased by \$1.3 billion, or 61%. There are 131,000 more children enrolled in Head Start.
- o A new Early Head Start Program has been initiated to serve pregnant women and families with infants and toddlers. This program will serve 19,500 children and families.
- o 20,000 more children are enrolled in Full-day, Full-year to support parents in work or in training.
- o There is a renewed emphasis on improving program quality. Facilities have been enhanced, needed staff hired and salaries increased; average teacher salary, for example, increased by \$2,400 to \$16,700.
- o Tough new policies on seriously deficient grantees have been implemented. 72 seriously deficient grantees have improved with intensive assistance; 20 seriously deficient grantees have been terminated or relinquished their grants.
- o Increased partnerships with States and other partners (WIC, HUD, Child Care, Education, Americorps, etc.). By FY 1996 State collaboration grants will be funded in all 50 states.

### **What is the status of Head Start in the Congress?**

To date, the Senate Budget Committee mark includes no new funds for Head Start in FY 96, and the House proposes a reduction in funding to the FY 94 level. In contrast, the President has proposed a \$400 million increase in Head Start for FY 96.

### Budget Balancing and Children's Programs

Q. Is the Administration still going to push for increases in Head Start, child care and other investments you said you would two years ago? How will you do that in light of the promises that the President has made on reducing the deficit over ten years?

or

Q. Do you think you can balance the budget in 10 years, as your husband has suggested, without hurting children?

A. This Administration feels strongly that investing in children is a key to America's future - its economic health and role in the global marketplace, as well as its civility and continuity as the greatest laboratory of democracy on earth. Our investments in Head Start and child care, our investments in the EITC, and other changes in enacted law have already begun to pay off. As a result of policy changes made by the Clinton Administration, in the last two years alone, we've taken about 2 million people out of poverty. This is clearly a conservative estimate, because it doesn't even take into account the improvement in the economy resulting from the creation of 6 million jobs in that same timeframe.

And we have done much more to enable ordinary Americans to contribute to the economy and raise their children in safe communities (Family and Medical Leave Act that enables new or adoptive parents, or parents of a sick or elderly family member to take time off from work without losing job security; Crime Bill that puts 100,000 cops on the street, and invests in key prevention programs to stem family and intimate violence and create community schools that promote safe places and opportunities for youth).



## **CHILD CARE: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

### **Why is child care important?**

Every day, millions of children spend time in child care, while their parents are at work, in school, or in training. The Federal government subsidizes child care through two basic mechanisms: tax credits (mostly used by middle and upper income families) and subsidies to low-income working families and welfare recipients making the transition to work.

Despite these supports, millions of families face serious hurdles in obtaining quality child care. The need for subsidy continues to grow as low-income families who pay for care spend more than a quarter of their income on child care. Communities across the country report long waiting lists for child care support.

### **What has this Administration done in the area of child care?**

- ▶ Each year, the President's budget included increased investment in child care.
- ▶ The Administration has streamlined federal child care by bringing together the operations of the four main child care programs administered by ACF into a Child Care Bureau.
- ▶ We are stimulating partnerships between the health and child care communities to ensure safe and healthy environments for children in child care.
- ▶ We have launched a National Child Care Information Center to disseminate child care information, publications, and resources.

### **What is the status of child care programs in the Congress?**

The House included a Child Care Block Grant in its welfare reform bill, H.R. 4. This block grant consolidated all the major child care programs and cut funding by \$1.6 billion over five years. The House proposal eliminates the child care guarantees, the State match, and any quality protections and set-asides.

The Senate Finance Committee passed welfare reform legislation that eliminates all the IV-A child care programs while maintaining an extremely limited child care assurance only for mandated work activity participants with children under age 6.

The Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee passed a bipartisan bill reauthorizing the Child Care and Development Block Grant, preserving the funding and quality protections. It includes a provision carrying the CCDBG requirements over to other federal funds spent on child care activities.

## **The Childhood Immunization Initiative: Questions and Answers**

### **What is the status of immunizations in this country?**

Only 67 percent of 2-year-old children are fully immunized, leaving as many as two million very young children vulnerable to diseases such as measles and polio.

### **What does the Administration's Immunization Initiative do?**

The Childhood Immunization Initiative marshalls and coordinates efforts of the public and private sectors, healthcare providers and volunteer organizations to safeguard our youngest children from vaccine-preventable diseases.

The goals of the Initiative are to: eliminate most childhood vaccine preventable diseases; increase vaccination levels for 2 year olds to at least 90 percent for the initial and most critical doses by 1996; establish a sustainable system to ensure that at least 90 percent of all 2 year olds receive the full series of vaccines by the year 2000 and beyond.

### **What has the Administration done to increase immunization rates?**

- o **Improve the Quality and Quantity of Vaccine Delivery Services:** In October 1993, \$129 million (\$83 million in new federal resources) was provided to states and large local health departments to improve and expand immunization services and to meet the needs of working parents.
- o **Reduce Vaccine Cost for Parents:** In October 1994, the Vaccines for Children Program was initiated to provide the neediest children with free vaccine in their medical homes. By March 1995, more than 21,000 private provider sites were enrolled in the VFC program and receiving free vaccine.
- o **Increase Community Participation, Education and Partnerships:** A National Outreach Program was established in September 1993. Through this program, outreach workers enhance involvement, expand participation, facilitate coordination among all sectors of the community.
- o **Improve Systems to Monitor Diseases and Vaccinations:** The CDC has expanded its ability to assess immunization rates. It is anticipated that fewer than 1000 cases of measles will be reported this year. This would be the second lowest number of measles cases ever reported.

### **What is the status of immunization programs in the Congress?**

The Vaccines for Children Program is authorized through the Medicaid Program. Plans to block grant the medicaid program could have negative consequences for immunization programs.



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**Child Nutrition Programs**

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## **CHILD NUTRITION PROGRAMS**

- Background on Senator Lugar's proposal
- Food stamps
- Child nutrition programs
- WIC



## **NUTRITION ASSISTANCE REFORM ACT OF 1995 (S. 904)**

On Friday, June 9, Senator Lugar introduced the Nutrition Assistance Reform Act of 1995 (S. 904). This bill would maintain nutrition as a federal responsibility -- including Food Stamps, National School Lunch, and WIC. However, the proposal makes deep cuts in these programs:

- \$16 billion over five years in the Food Stamp program; and
- \$2 billion in the Child Nutrition Programs.

The Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry is scheduled to consider this bill on Wednesday, June 14.

### **Food Stamp Program**

- o **Most of the \$16 billion in cuts comes from lowering food stamp benefits and tightening eligibility requirements.** Five areas for cuts have been proposed:
  - reducing maximum allotments from 103 percent to 100 percent of the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan;
  - reducing the standard deduction;
  - counting energy assistance as income;
  - limiting participation of working-age adults without children; and
  - including persons under 21 in their parent's household.
- o **S. 904 would increase State administrative flexibility** by eliminating many statutory requirements (many of which were identified in our proposal), allowing States to simplify program rules for those receiving cash welfare, and expanding the Secretary's waiver authority.
- o **The proposal would address work and personal responsibility** by limiting participation of able-bodied adults without children to six months in every 12 unless they are working or participating in an employment and training program. While this provision seeks appropriately to encourage work, it goes too far; many participants could be eliminated from the program not from an unwillingness to participate in work or training, but because they lack the opportunity to do so.

The proposal also creates State options to use food stamps to subsidize wages, offer cash in place of coupons for some households with substantial earnings, require the cooperation of both parents with Child Support Enforcement, and disqualify non-custodial parents who fall behind in their court-ordered child support payments.

**Child Nutrition Programs****The proposal would:**

- o **Reduce child nutrition program costs through changes in cost of living adjustments to reimbursement rates.** Changes such as rounding rates down to the nearest cent and freezing cost of living adjustments for 24 months for paid meals and commodities in the NSLP, SBP, child care centers, and for paid milk in the Special Milk Program and a cost of living adjustment freeze of 12 months for commodities account for most of the savings.
- o **Reduce reimbursement rates** by ending a two-cent rate differential for the School Lunch Program for lunches served in schools serving mostly low-income children, reducing Summer Food Service Program rates for lunches, breakfasts, and snacks, and reducing the overall rate for paid breakfasts to the amount paid in cash for paid lunches.
- o **Target Family Day Care funds** by creating a second, lower, tier of reimbursement rates for homes not in low income areas, or where the day care home provider's income is low. Such homes may get the higher rate for children served from families whose income is below 185 percent of poverty.
- o **Reduce spending** on Nutrition education and grants to expand the School Breakfast and Summer Food Service programs.

Senator Lugar's bill would also reauthorize four programs--the Commodity Supplemental Food Program, The Emergency Food Assistance Program, The Soup Kitchens and Food Bank Program, and the National Commodity Processing Program--without any changes.



June 12, 1995

## THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

### Background

- The Food Stamp Program (FSP) is the cornerstone of our Nation's endeavor to get food to people who need it. Throughout its history, the FSP has produced significant and measurable nutrition outcomes among participating children and families.
- Each month the FSP provides more than 27 million Americans with the means to purchase food for a nutritious diet. The total cost of the program in fiscal year 1994 was \$24.5 billion, \$22.7 billion of which was spent on food stamp benefits.

### Congressional Action

- The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 (H.R. 4), passed by the House on March 24, would result in the unraveling of the national nutrition framework that has successfully narrowed the gap between the diets of low-income and other families. The bill would:
  - ✓ reduce nutrition benefits for people who need them by billions of dollars,
  - ✓ eliminate the national nutritional safety net,
  - ✓ create a system that can't respond to economic changes, and
  - ✓ reduce food spending and harm the food industry and farm economy.
- While the Senate has not finalized its own bill, Senate Agriculture Committee Chairman Lugar has proposed significant changes in the Food Stamp Program. Further, the Budget Resolution passed by the Senate calls for a \$45 billion reduction over seven years in nutrition and farm programs, and the Senate Budget Committee has stated through a non-binding resolution that no more than 20 percent of this reduction can come from farm programs, leaving \$36 billion to be cut from food and nutrition assistance programs.

### Administrative Initiative

- In March, we proposed a 13-point anti-fraud plan to improve the integrity of the Food Stamp Program by ensuring that only legitimate stores participate, improving the Department's ability to monitor authorized stores, and strengthening penalties against retailers and recipients who violate program rules.
- On May 23, the Secretary of Agriculture announced a comprehensive reform package that will transform the Food Stamp Program into a more flexible program that meets the nutrition needs of families into the next century.
- The Administration's proposal was guided by six key reform principles: provide for nutrition security, improve program integrity, modernize benefit delivery, expand State flexibility, ensure economic responsiveness, and promote personal responsibility.

## FOOD STAMP PROGRAM REFORM: TALKING POINTS

**USDA'S food stamp reform proposal offers a responsible alternative for change** - As part of its vision for the 1995 Farm Bill, USDA is proposing to reform the \$27 billion dollar Food Stamp Program; to return the program to its nutrition roots so that it better serves American children and families, to ensure that benefits are issued and used properly, and to afford States' more flexibility in operating the program. Between block grants and the status quo, our reform proposal offers a responsible alternative for people who want to change the Food Stamp Program for the better.

**Strengthening our nutrition safety net for children and families** - Ensuring access to a healthy, nutritious diet is at the core of our Nation's nutrition strategy. And food stamps are a vital part of that strategy. Along with other Federal Nutrition Programs like WIC and School Meals, Food Stamps get food to people who need it, especially children. And they've produced significant, measurable nutrition and health results among participants. We will integrate nutrition into the program so that it reflects current science, and increase nutrition education, so that the whole family can make and enjoy healthy food choices.

**Fighting fraud means ensuring benefits are used properly** - By cracking down on high issuance error, and on retailers and recipients who misuse benefits, and by removing barriers to Electronic Benefits Transfer, our reforms will strengthen the direct link between food stamp benefits and a healthy, nutritious diet. We have already proposed comprehensive anti-fraud legislation; this proposal builds on that package, and adds other measures to ensure that States deliver benefits accurately.

**Food stamps should be a temporary bridge over hard times for American families** - Most people who receive food stamp benefits are on the program for less than a year. Our reforms will strengthen work requirements, and require recipients to move towards self-sufficiency. And they reflect the belief that both parents should take financial responsibility for their children, and demonstrate personal responsibility by using benefits to purchase a healthy diet for themselves and their families.

**Replacing red tape with a streamlined system that gives States the ability -- and flexibility -- to meet national goals** - Federal standards are the reason the program works, but how they are administered must be made easier for States to comply with. Our reform will bring a significant change in the way States administer the program. We propose to eliminate unnecessary regulations and statutory requirements that tell States not only what to do but also how to do it, and replace them with a system that allows States to design their own guidelines for meeting national goals. We anticipate that this effort will reduce the number of Food Stamp regulation pages in the Code of Federal Regulations by 50 percent.



## THE CHILD NUTRITION PROGRAMS

### Background

- The Child Nutrition Programs--The National School Lunch, School Breakfast, Summer Food Service and Child and Adult Care Food Programs--assist State and local governments in providing free or low-cost nutritious meals to children in schools, child care institutions and summer recreation programs as well as elderly or disabled adults in certain adult care centers.
- Each day over 25 million children receive school lunches, over 6 million children receive school breakfasts and over 2 million children receive meals and snacks in child care. During summer months when school is not in session, over 2 million children are served daily through the Summer Food Service Program.
- The programs are expected to provide over \$8 billion in meal reimbursements and commodities in Fiscal Year 1995.

### Congressional Action

- The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 (H.R. 4), passed by the House on March 24, would block grant funding for these programs. The bill would:
  - ✓ reduce spending on nutrition assistance to children by nearly \$7 billion over five years,
  - ✓ eliminate the national standards that guarantee America's children access to healthy meals at school,
  - ✓ jeopardize the ability to move low-income households from welfare to work by slashing support to 185,000 family day care homes, and
  - ✓ create a system that cannot respond to economic changes.
- The Senate Budget Resolution would make no changes in School Lunch or Breakfast Programs, but would cut \$1.9 billion from CACFP over 5 years, in part because meal benefits are not currently means tested in family day care homes. The Resolution provides no specifics as to how the reductions would be implemented.

### Administration Initiative

- The School Meals Initiative for Healthy Children is the first comprehensive overhaul of the school meals program since their initiation by President Harry Truman nearly fifty years ago. It recognizes the scientific link between diet and health and would require that all school meals meet the dietary guidelines by 1996.
- The School Meals Initiative is comprised of two components: a regulatory initiative that updates the nutrition standards for the programs and streamlines administration and

Team Nutrition, a national nutrition education and technical assistance effort. Team Nutrition is a two-tiered approach to build skills and motivate children to make healthy food choices in schools, and ensure that school food service personnel have the education, motivation, training and skills necessary to provide healthy meals that appeal to the children served.

- The Administration proposed a restructuring of reimbursement rates in family day care homes as part of last year's welfare reform initiative. The proposal would reduce reimbursements for meals served to upper-income children while preserving subsidies to low-income children and ensuring the ongoing viability of family day care homes.





DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

**A School Lunch Block Grant Would Jeopardize Nutrition Outcomes for Children**

On March 24, 1995, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act. Democrats are opposing the proposal, which will block grant most of USDA's nutrition programs, including the School Meal Programs. The legislation will place children at risk by creating a funding mechanism that can't respond when the economy changes, and by eliminating nutrition standards responsible for improved children's health.

- o **National standards protect children -- all children -- no matter where they live.** More than 25 million school children participate in the National School Lunch Program; approximately half of them are low income and the other half are middle and above middle income. Federal standards have a fifty year history of successful health outcomes for the children. The Committee plan could result in widely varied nutrition standards between states, and no accountability mechanism would guarantee that these standards would be met. Thus, children's health would suffer if States' set -- or alter -- standards to meet shifting budgets.
- o **The risks to children's health would increase during recessions under block grants.** Between 1990 and 1994, the number of children applying for free school lunches increased by 23 percent, due to the recession and rising childhood poverty. USDA's nutrition programs expanded to meet the need. But block grants don't protect children from recessions. If the School-Based Nutrition Block Grant had been enacted in 1989, 17% fewer resources would have been available to feed school children in 1994. Children's health would be jeopardized by States' limited ability to meet growing needs. Nutrition benefits could be reduced, or unavailable, just when children need them most.
- o **States that serve a larger percentage of low-income children than the national average would be penalized.** States that serve more total meals fare better in the allocation formula. Since it costs more to serve free meals to low-income children, States have an incentive to serve more affluent students. Without national standards, states might also be inclined to cut the quality or amount of food provided in order to serve more meals.

**The Administration is opposed to block grants for nutrition programs:**

- o **President Clinton has said that nutrition programs are in the national interest.** Programs must be more flexible and easier for States to administer. But we won't support changes that jeopardize children's health -- or getting food to people who need it. Only a national system of federal nutrition programs can establish and meet nutrition standards, respond to economic changes, and ensure children's health will be protected.
- o **We're ready to work with Congress to bring about lasting and meaningful change in federal nutrition programs.** We support preserving the health and nutrition goals that are in the national interest, consolidating what's redundant, and reforming what's outdated and unnecessary. Nutrition security is an important part of welfare reform and Federal nutrition programs are the foundation for children to grow on.

## **SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTAL FOOD PROGRAM FOR WOMEN, INFANTS, AND CHILDREN (WIC)**

### **Background**

- WIC provides supplemental foods, nutrition education and counseling and health care referrals to low-income pregnant, postpartum, and breastfeeding women, infants, and children up to age five.
- In 1993, WIC served about 60 percent of eligible women, infants, and children.
- In Fiscal Year 1995, WIC will serve about 7 million women, infants, and children each month with an annual budget of nearly \$3.5 billion.

### **Congressional Action**

- The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 (H.R. 4) proposes to eliminate the national WIC Program and include funds for WIC-type services as part of a Family Nutrition Block Grant to each State. This proposal would:
  - ✓ immediately force states to eliminate WIC benefits to 168,000 women, infants, and children,
  - ✓ remove national nutrition standards for the WIC program, thereby threatening the proven effectiveness of WIC, especially in the area of improved birth outcomes,
  - ✓ decrease Medicaid cost savings associated with WIC prenatal benefits, now valued at \$400 million to \$1.3 billion,
  - ✓ increase WIC food costs by diminishing infant formula cost containment efforts; currently about \$1 billion in 1995, which allows the program to reach an additional 1.6 million women, infants, and children.
- The recent Senate budget resolution proposes to provide \$1.9 billion in additional funds for WIC over a seven-year period, about \$275 million per year. The proposed funding is insufficient to maintain 1995 WIC participation, which is expected to reach 7.3 million by September. The annual shortfalls would range from \$55 million to \$540 million.

### **Administration Initiative**

- The President has demonstrated a commitment to invest in WIC. Since 1993, funding for WIC has increased from \$2.86 billion to \$3.47 billion, allowing participation to grow by 1.1 million. The Administration requested \$3.8 billion for WIC in FY 1996, a \$350 million increase over 1995.
- The President's request would allow the Program to serve 400,000 more women, infants, and children each month in 1996.



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**Child Protection  
Programs**

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## CHILD PROTECTION PROGRAMS

- Child protection Q & A
- Adoption — *minority adoptions*
- Youth development and the Community Schools programs
- Family violence prevention



## **Child Protection: Questions and Answers**

### **Why are child protection/child welfare programs important?**

In 1993, nearly 3 million children -- 4% of America's children -- were the subjects of abuse and neglect reports. This represents an increase of almost 25% since 1988. About 40% of the reports were substantiated, affecting almost 1 million children.

At the end of 1993, almost 450,000 children were in foster care, nearly a 50% increase since 1988. They represent vulnerable children and families whose numbers are growing.

The child welfare system today is in crisis, overwhelmed by the increasing caseloads; the increasing need of the families and children it serves; and diminished resources.

In 22 jurisdictions courts have found agencies in violation of state and federal laws for protecting abused and neglected children.

### **What has the Clinton Administration done to protect vulnerable children?**

The Federal role focuses on new partnerships with states to improve services and outcomes for children and families served by public child welfare systems.

- ▶ Under the new Family Preservation and Support program each state, in partnership with the Federal Government, is developing a comprehensive plan to strengthen and integrate children's services in the child welfare system.
- ▶ Launched five national resource centers to provide information and technical assistance to States and private agencies to improve services to abused, neglected, and abandoned children and their families.
- ▶ Supported the reinvention of child welfare monitoring. We are implementing a comprehensive approach which assures stewardship, improves outcomes and emphasizes State/Federal partnerships.

### **What is the status of child protection programs in the Congress?**

The House-passed welfare reform bill (HR 4) includes a child protection block grant that would reduce federal funding for these services by an estimated \$3.5 billion through FY 2000. It eliminates important safeguards for children, and would reduce the likelihood of states making desperately needed improvements in their child welfare systems.

When the Senate Finance Committee approved its welfare reform legislation on May 26, it did not include provisions affecting child welfare programs. This means that the Senate Finance proposal would continue current law regarding foster care, adoption assistance, family preservation and support, and child welfare services.

## **ADOPTION: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

### **Who are the children who need adoptive homes?**

► In December 1990, there were approximately 69,000 foster children in the country for whom state agencies had determined that adoption was the appropriate goal. Approximately 20,000 of these children were legally free to be adopted (their parents' legal rights to ever regain custody had been terminated) and were waiting to be adopted.

► There are an equal number of white and African-American children who are primarily school-age, have special needs and/or are part of a sibling group.

### **Why does it take so long and why do so many children go unadopted?**

► Of the children awaiting adoption at the end of 1990, about 46% had already waited two years. Minority children, older children and sibling groups wait longer.

► Finding adoptive homes for older children and those with emotional or physical problems requires sustained aggressive action by agencies, and most of the children waiting for adoption fall into these categories.

► Lengthy processes to terminate parental rights, lack of financial resources for adoption, excessive caseloads and difficulty in recruiting foster and adoptive families contribute to the slow adoption of many of these children.

### **What is the Clinton Administration doing to increase adoptions?**

► The Administration is ensuring that states make full and effective use of the Adoption Assistance program, which provides critical economic support to families who adopt special needs children, since they may have large medical and other expenses. Under the Clinton Administration, the number of children for whom adoption subsidies are provided has increased by about 30%.

► Grants have been provided to public and private agencies to develop successful models for recruiting families, provision of post-legal adoption services, support for parent groups, and the development of training curricula.

► The Administration is committed to fully enforcing the Multiethnic Placement Act, whose non-discrimination and recruitment provisions should increase the number of children who are adopted.

### **What is the status of adoption programs in the Congress?**

► HR4 abolishes the Adoption Opportunities Program and the Adoption Assistance Program which provided support to states in strengthening their program and direct assistance to adoptive parents of special needs children.

► The Senate has left these programs in place in the Finance Committee's mark.



## **Youth Development and the Community Schools Program: Questions and Answers**

### **What is the Administration's Community Schools Program?**

The Community Schools program was passed as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.

It will provide funds to community based organizations in each of the states and territories to form partnerships with schools and other community organizations so that schools or community centers can be kept open after hours, on weekends, and during the summer as safe places for young people to spend time with their friends, get involved in activities, and study.

### **Why is this program so important?**

When the school day ends at 3:00, many young people find themselves with nothing to do and nowhere to go. The school doors are locked when classes are over. In many neighborhoods, the streets are not safe places to play or to walk to and from school. There are no community centers or other places to go for activities or doing homework.

In a time of scarce resources, several communities around the country have taken an innovative approach to providing places for young people to go and things for them to do. They are turning to a community resource that is already available - the neighborhood school.

Because the Community Schools program guarantees at least one grant in each state, we expect these funds to provide fuel to a spark that has already been lit in several cities and states around the country. New York's Beacon Schools, California's Healthy Start, Florida's Full Service Schools, and New Jersey's Schools Based Youth Services are a few examples of innovative partnerships that have been formed to make schools or other appropriate locations centers for community activity.

### **What is the status of the Community Schools Program in the Congress?**

Approximately 700 applications were received for the Community Schools program, which has \$26 million for awards in FY 95. However, the rescission bill (vetoed by the President) would have eliminated FY 95 funding for the Community Schools program.

There are several bills which have been introduced and/or passed that would repeal the program including HR 728, the Local Law Enforcement Block Grant Act of 1995; S 3, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Improvement Act; and S 673, the Youth Development Community Block Grant Act.

## **Family Violence Prevention: Questions and Answers**

### **What is the scope of the problem?**

While accurate information on the extent of domestic violence is difficult to obtain because of extensive underreporting, it has been estimated that about 2.1 million women were victims of domestic violence each year from 1978 to 1982.

It has also been found that children whose mothers were victims of wife battery were twice as likely to be abused themselves as those children whose mothers were not victims of abuse. When children witness violence in the home they have been found to suffer many of the negative symptoms that are experienced by children who are directly abused.

### **What has the Administration done to address family violence?**

With enactment of the Crime Bill, the Administration has taken some important steps to address family violence, including:

- Launching a national domestic violence hotline;
- Enhancing shelter services for women and children;
- Increasing economic development and employment opportunities within disadvantaged communities.
- Targeting funds to combat violent crimes against women and to reduce sexual assaults against women and runaway and homeless youth;
- Establishing model education programs about domestic violence for students of all ages;

The Administration has built four national resource centers with 1-800 number access provide comprehensive information, policy development, and technical assistance to enhance community response to and prevent domestic violence.

We have launched an effort to coordinate child abuse and family violence programs. Demonstration projects are underway to help improve services to families where both child abuse and spouse/intimate abuse are present.

### **What is the status of family violence prevention services in Congress?**

Proposals to repeal the crime bill would undermine the Administration's efforts to reduce family violence.



**Highlights of Administration Accomplishments for Families  
as Noted by the President Before the NGA, June 6, 1995**

We've worked hard to strengthen families and to give children a better start.

► The **Earned Income Credit** will now provide a tax reduction for working families with children with incomes below \$27,000 an average of a \$1,000 a year. That's a pro-family policy. We should continue that, not reverse it.

► The **Family and Medical Leave law**, more than anything I've done as President, has caused ordinary citizens to come up to me and say: Thank you -- I had a sick child; I had a sick spouse; my wife had a baby; we were able to continue to work and to provide for ourselves; we were able to be good parents and successful workers.

► Secretary Shalala, who is here, has worked very hard to **expand immunization** so that all of our children under the age of two will be properly immunized by the turn of the century.

► We have **expanded Head Start** dramatically.

► The **Goals 2000** program emphasizes grass-roots reforms to achieve national, indeed, international standards of excellence.

► We've worked for **more apprenticeship programs** for the young people who don't go to four-year colleges and universities, through the **School-to-Work** program.

► We've worked hard to develop the **national service program, AmeriCorps**, which gives our young people a chance to give something back to their communities and earn more funds to go on to school.

► The **crime bill** was an important part of this because it emphasized not simply more punishment and more prisons, but also protecting children through 100,000 more police officers on the street and through prevention programs that give our young people something to say yes to as well as something to say no to.

► We were able to do those things and still **reduce the deficit**. The deficit is going down by a trillion dollars over seven years, thanks to the '93 and '94 budgets.

► **More than 6.3 million new jobs** came into our economy. But we did it while saying that it takes a whole village to raise a child; that children deserve education, health and safety; that families should be strengthened and supported; that work should be exalted; and that parents have to be able to succeed in the world we are living in, both as parents and as workers.

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## INVESTING IN EDUCATION: PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RECORD VS. HOUSE GOP CUTS

### **HEAD START:**

- President Clinton increased support by \$760 million from 1993 to 1995.
- House Republicans want to **cut it to its 1994 level, cutting \$210 million** in nominal terms in 1996 alone, **\$600 million from the President's request in that year and over \$3 billion over 7 years**. The cuts will deprive up to **100,000 children** of the chance to participate.

### **TITLE ONE:**

- President Clinton **increased funding by over \$500 million** over two years **and** reoriented the program to help students reach high standards.
- Republicans would **cut** aid by \$730 million in 1996, eliminating help for over **700,000 children**.

### **GOALS 2000:**

- President Clinton **created** this initiative--and proposed a \$347 million increase in 1996.
- Republicans want to **eliminate** it--cutting off help for higher standards at 16,000 schools.

### **SAFE- AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS:**

- President Clinton has **supported** this initiative to provide for anti-drug and anti-violence activities for **39 million children at 94% of all schools**.
- Republicans **cut the program in half** in their rescission bill, and in their budget propose replacing it with a block grant with 30% less funding.

### **AMERICORPS:**

- President Clinton **created** this opportunity for young people to earn money for college by serving their communities. **20,000 young people** are already participating this year.
- Republicans want to **eliminate** it and over **300,000 opportunities** over the next 7 years.

### **SCHOOL-TO-WORK OPPORTUNITIES:**

- President Clinton **created** this initiative. By the end of this year, 28 states will be implementing School-to-Work programs.
- House Republicans would **cut it by 20% in nominal terms**--likely denying the opportunity for the other 22 states to join the program after this year, and cutting support for the rest.

### **IN-SCHOOL INTEREST SUBSIDY:**

- President Clinton has **supported** the subsidy for loans while students are in college. Over two-thirds of those who benefit earn under \$30,000.
- Republicans want to **eliminate** the subsidy, raising the costs of college by **up to \$3,000 for 4 million students** each year.

### **DIRECT LOANS:**

- President Clinton **created** this initiative, saving billions of dollars for taxpayers while making loans cheaper and easier for students. **20 million students** will be able to benefit.
- Instead of expanding this initiative, Republicans would **drastically cut** it back (cap at 40%).

### **JOB TRAINING:**

- The President wants to provide **over 2 million Skill Grants** for workers.
- Republicans want to **cut job training by 20% in nominal terms**.

### **TAX DEDUCTION FOR EDUCATION:**

- President Clinton wants to **provide a deduction for up to \$10,000**.
- While supporting tax breaks for the wealthiest, Republicans **do not yet support** this break.

## **PRESIDENT CLINTON'S COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION AND TRAINING**

The fundamental goal of President Clinton's comprehensive economic policy is to raise the living standards and expand opportunity for hard-working Americans--so that every American has the chance to realize the American Dream. While supporting deficit reduction, open trade, innovation and job creation, the President has recognized that nothing is more critical to our nation's future than ensuring that all Americans have the education and skills they need to succeed in the new economy. The President has made an unprecedented commitment to lifelong learning--from the expansion and improvement of early childhood education to a bold new reform of adult education and training programs.

### **EDUCATION IS THE KEY TO RISING STANDARDS OF LIVING**

In an economy where technology is constantly changing, trade is expanding, and capital is mobile, education has become the fundamental fault-line running through the work force. Most Americans have seen their incomes stagnate over the last fifteen years; the real income of the typical family actually declined. Yet college graduates have bucked the trend. In 1979, a male college graduate earned 39 percent more than a man with only a high school degree. By 1993, this gap had doubled, and a male college graduate out-earned his school graduate counterpart by 80 percent. In addition, the availability of health coverage, pension plans, and other work-related benefits has become closely correlated with education levels.

### **A BIPARTISAN EDUCATION RECORD**

While bringing the deficit down by historic amounts--over \$600 billion so far--President Clinton has also made investing in education a top priority. During the last Congress, Republicans and Democrats shared his commitment to lifelong learning, and together they enacted a historic series of initiatives to expand the amount and the quality of educational investment in America. Landmark legislation includes:

- **Head Start Amendments of 1994** (signed 5/18/94; passed House 393-20; Senate 98-1).
- **Goals 2000: Educate America Act** (signed 3/31/94; passed House 306-121; Senate 63-22).
- **Improving America's Schools Act** (signed 10/20/94; passed House 362-132; Senate 77-20).
- **School-to-Work Opportunities Act** (signed 05/04/94; passed House 339-79; Senate Voice Vote)
- **National and Community Service Trust Act** (signed 9/21/93; passed House 275-152; Senate 57-40)
- **Direct Lending and Pay-as-You-Can Loans** (signed on 8/10/93 as part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act)

This year, President Clinton went a step further and proposed expansions and improvements in these and other education investments. In addition, as part of his Middle Class Bill of Rights, the President has sought to work with Republicans on two new initiatives:

- **Education and Training Tax Deduction** up to \$10,000.
- The **G.I. Bill for America's Workers**--consolidating 70 programs and putting Skill Grants directly into workers' hands.



## DRAWING THE LINE ON EDUCATION

Despite the bipartisan efforts that expanded educational opportunities last year, the current House and Senate budget proposals point to a fundamental divide between the President and the Republican Congress over the right economic strategy for the nation. **While the President believes that we need to launch an all-out effort to expand educational opportunity, these budgets dramatically decrease educational opportunity in order to pay for large tax cuts and meet arbitrary deficit reduction targets.** It makes no sense to cut investments in children and workers in what is supposed to be a budget for the future. To the degree that the Republican Congress believes that cutting education and training is the way to move our nation forward, the President profoundly disagrees.

### EDUCATION TARGETED FOR CUTS

Republican budgets cut domestic discretionary spending by 30 percent in 2002. Rather than insulate a vital investment such as education from this deep cut, Republicans have subjected education investments to cuts of equal--and, in some cases, greater--magnitude.

**President Clinton will fight the efforts of Republicans to reduce, gut, or eliminate key investments in education and job training.** Following is a brief outline of the fundamental differences between the President's approach to education and the Republican approaches to education -- from pre-school through post-secondary training. The details include proposals from the Republican rescission bill and the House and Senate Budget Resolutions.

### I. PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION.

President Clinton has made expanding and improving pre-schooling the starting point for his lifelong learning agenda. Republicans would slash these investments.

- **HEAD START: *President Clinton Expands It by \$760 Million; GOP Cuts It by \$3 Billion.***

**President Clinton** expanded investment in Head Start by \$760 million from 1993 to 1995. The President has also reformed the way Head Start works to improve the quality of teaching and facilities for hundreds of thousands more children.

**Republicans** propose cutting Head Start by \$600 million in 1996 alone and over \$3 billion over 7 years. This cut would deny Head Start opportunities to as many as 100,000 children--or force severe cuts in the quality of Head Start programming.

### II. K-12 EDUCATION

President Clinton has lent national support to local efforts to reform our schools, recognizing that the federal government is an important partner with states and communities in improving K-12 education, setting high academic standards, and ensuring equitable treatment for all our children. Republicans would eliminate national support for local reform, leaving students without crucial resources they need to succeed.

- **SCHOOL-TO-WORK OPPORTUNITIES.** *President Clinton Has Supported A New 50-State Movement; Republicans Would Stop It In Its Tracks.*

**President Clinton**, with bipartisan support, signed into law the most important national program ever to ensure that all young people--including the 70% of young Americans who don't get four-year degrees--get the skills they need to obtain good jobs with a future. All states have received planning funds, and eight "leading edge" states have programs underway that are getting positive reviews from companies nationwide. Twenty more states will come into the program this year, as President Clinton has proposed increasing support by 60% for FY 1996 to \$400 million.

**Republicans** significantly cut School-to-Work in their rescission bill and would cut fully 20% to 25% in their budgets. These cuts would likely deny the opportunity for nearly half the states--22 states--to join the program after this year, and reduce support for the 28 states that will already be implementing programs by year end.

- **GOALS 2000.** *President Clinton Created It; Republicans Would Eliminate It.*

**President Clinton** helped create Goals 2000, which supports community and school efforts to raise academic standards and encourage students to work hard meet them. Forty seven states are already participating in this program. In his 1996 budget, the President calls for a \$347 million increase in funding for Goals 2000.

**Republicans** propose deep cuts in Goals 2000 in their rescission bill, eliminating support for higher standards at 2,000 schools. In their budgets, Republicans would actually **eliminate** Goals 2000--undermining what was once a bipartisan effort to spur bottom-up development of goals, standards, accountability and innovation across the nation.

- **TITLE ONE (Formerly Chapter One).** *President Clinton Has Expanded and Strengthened It; Republicans Would Cut by over \$5 billion and Deprive 700,000 Children of Added Educational Assistance.*

**President Clinton** supports Title One, designed primarily to provide much-needed resources to students from disadvantaged backgrounds. The program has been reoriented so that schools have more flexibility to support effective innovations to help all students to read and write well and meet challenging academic standards. The President increased Title One funding by \$524 million over two years.

**Republicans** would cut Title One by \$730 million in 1996 alone. This cut would mean that over 700,000 children in our poorest communities would be denied the extra instruction they need to achieve the same high standards as other children.

- **SAFE AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS:** *President Clinton Has Supported It; Republicans Would Gut It.*

**President Clinton** supports this initiative to make our schools safe from guns, drugs, and violence. The program funds everything from innovative anti-violence education and after-school programs to metal detectors and security personnel.



**Republicans** cut Safe- and Drug-Free schools in half in their rescission, cutting \$236 million and eliminating support for anti-drug and anti-violence efforts serving nearly 20 million children. In their budget, Republicans propose eliminating the program and replacing it with a block grant with 30% less funding--thereby threatening to cut off support for anti-drug and anti-violence efforts serving 39 million children in over 90% of the school districts in the nation.

- **TECHNOLOGY LEARNING CHALLENGE (TECHNOLOGY FOR EDUCATION):** *Republicans Would Gut This Clinton Initiative That Leverages Private Money for Technology in Public Schools.*

**President Clinton** has helped initiate this challenge to the private sector to join with public school districts to put computers and technology in the classroom. A \$50 million federal investment in 1996 will leverage hundreds of millions of dollars in private support.

**Republicans** would eliminate this innovative new program, denying school districts across the country the ability to participate in this initiative, and halting an effort to leverage millions more from the private sector.

- **SUMMER JOBS.** *President Clinton Supports Work Experiences for Youth; the Republicans Would Cut These Jobs.*

**President Clinton** recognizes that the summer jobs program is an important first opportunity to get work experience for many low-income youths - especially those in inner cities where jobs are scarce. Without these opportunities, these young people might not otherwise have any chance to learn skills and workplace behavior during their formative years. The President has proposed financing 615,000 jobs.

**Republicans** have proposed cutting summer jobs by 25 percent--slashing the President's request by \$300 million in 1996 and eliminating this valuable work experience for 170,000 at-risk youth each year. Over one million jobs would be denied to young people over the next seven years.

### **III. POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION**

Now more than ever, education and job training are the gateway to America's middle class. Studies show that for every year of training a person gets after high school, his or her earnings rise by 6 to 12 percent. After 15 years in which college costs increased far faster than inflation but family incomes stagnated, President Clinton has initiated historic efforts to expand college access. Republican proposals would devastate grants and loans, college and job training, setting back college access by years if not decades.

- **DIRECT LENDING AND INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION ACCOUNTS.** *President Clinton Supports Expanding These Initiatives; Republicans Want To Raise the Cost to Students and Reduce Access.*

**President Clinton** supports expanding the new direct lending program and individual education accounts. With the passage of the Student Loan Reform Act, 104 schools and over 252,000 students are already participating in the program. This year more than 1,400 schools -- representing 40% of all loans and the maximum allowed under this year's authorization -- have committed to enrolling. This program is already saving \$6.8 billion for taxpayers, lowering interest rates for students, and allowing borrowers to choose flexible repayment arrangements -- including pay-as-you-earn plans through Individual Education Accounts.

**Republicans** have proposed legislation to reduce funds available for direct lending, prevent schools from choosing to participate in the initiative, and cap participation at 40 percent of all loans.

- **IN-SCHOOL INTEREST EXEMPTION.** *Republicans Raise College Costs for 4 Million Students By Up to \$3,000 Each.*

**President Clinton** supports the in-school interest exemption, under which **four million** need-tested students with Stafford loans do not have to pay interest while enrolled in school and during the grace period (six months) between leaving school and entering repayment.

**Republicans** propose eliminating the in-school interest exemption for these 4 million students each year. This proposal could have a severe impact on college access; two-thirds of all Stafford borrowers are from families that earn less than \$30,000. For a four-year undergraduate who borrowed the maximum amount (\$17,125) at the maximum statutory interest rate (8.25%), the Republican proposal would increase costs by \$3,150--or 18 percent.

- **PELL GRANTS.** *President Clinton Raised the Maximum to a Record High; Republicans Cut It By 10 Percent Or More.*

**President Clinton** has supported the Pell Grant program, increasing the maximum Pell Grant by 12 percent to its highest level ever, \$2,620.

**Republicans** would freeze Pell Grant funding so that 4 million students will see their Pell Grants cut by about \$250 each. For millions of students, grants make the difference between going to college and not going--between staying in school and dropping out. For example, \$250 equals approximately 25% of tuition and fees of community colleges.



- **AMERICORPS.** *President Clinton Offers Opportunities to 20,000 Young People This Year Alone; Republicans Would Eliminate 300,000 Service Opportunities.*

**President Clinton** created this initiative to enable young people to earn money for education by serving their communities--teaching, caring for the sick, making the streets safer. Already 20,000 Americans are serving in AmeriCorps; hundreds of thousands more would join over the next seven years.

**Republicans** cut \$210 million in their rescission bill, preventing 15,000 young people from serving, and in their budgets propose eliminating AmeriCorps, depriving at least 300,000 young people of the chance to pay for college through national service over the next seven years.

- **EDUCATION AND TRAINING TAX DEDUCTION.** *President Clinton Supports A Deduction; With All Their Tax Breaks for the Wealthy, Republicans Don't.*

**President Clinton** supports a tax deduction for middle-class families with education and job training expenses up to \$10,000. This deduction would provide tax-favored treatment to education similar to the benefits for other investments like housing and equipment. It invests in those who invest in themselves and in America.

**Republicans** do not yet support the education and training tax deduction. With its \$20,000 tax cut for the wealthiest 1%, the Contract with America includes tax breaks for capital gains, gifts and inheritances in excess of \$600,000, and the depreciation of business purchases--but not for education.

#### IV. LIFELONG LEARNING

In order to maintain good job prospects throughout their lives in a fast-changing economy, Americans need to be trained again and again throughout their lives. President Clinton wants to support lifelong learning by reforming job training programs and putting resources and information directly into workers' hands. Republicans just want to slash job training.

- **G.I. Bill OF RIGHTS FOR WORKERS (SKILL GRANTS).** *President Clinton Supports Skill Grants for America's Workers; Republicans Want At Least a 25% Cut in Job Training Funds.*

**President Clinton's** G.I. Bill for America's Workers would consolidate or eliminate over 70 job training programs while putting resources and information directly into workers hands as Skill Grants. Under the proposal, low-income or unemployed workers could go to a One-Stop Center and learn about the services and track records of job training programs and community colleges in the fields they wanted to study. Then, they could apply their Skill Grants to skills training at those institutions. Under the President's proposal, there will be 2.1 million Skill Grants.

**Republicans** would, under the guise of consolidation, use training programs as a bank to pay for tax cuts, dramatically cutting re-employment and training opportunities for 2.1 million American workers.

## V. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

President Clinton's commitment to a lifelong learning agenda reflects his belief in the critical role of education in building America's future, and in the federal government's role as a partner in that effort. Everyone acknowledges that states and localities have been and continue to be the lead on education. But education is a national interest, and it requires a national role to ensure that all children have the opportunity to reach challenging standards of academic achievement.

**President Clinton** believes strongly that education is a national issue, and that abolishing the Department of Education now would be the equivalent of abolishing the Department of Defense in the middle of the Cold War.

**Republicans** want to abolish the Department of Education.