FINAL

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, DC
MARCH 1, 1995

[Acknowledgements: David Liederman, executive director; John Merchant, chair of the Board of Directors]

I'm deeply honored to receive this award named for Natalie Heineman, whose work on behalf of children and with the League inspires all of us to do more. I learned recently that Elizabeth Glaser, a dear friend of mine, received the award last year. As a tribute to her I hope that, as we go about our work on children's issues in the days and months ahead, we draw strength from her example, her courage, and her memory.

As you may know, the President is speaking tonight to a gathering from the Nixon Center on the dangers of isolationism and nuclear proliferation, two issues critical to the future of our children. And although he is not here to join in this celebration, he wanted you to know that children are on his mind.

For 75 years, our nation has relied on the CWLA for wisdom and moral leadership as we devise ways to help protect our most vulnerable children. That leadership is particularly crucial today, when 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 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 society, how much children really matter to us.

American children are in crisis. Twenty-three percent of our children live in poverty and millions go hungry every day. Too many children are bearing children of their own. Drugs, violence, and abuse continue to claim the lives of our young 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 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, fall-out from this war will reach far beyond the $40 billion in cuts for children's programs over the next five years, far beyond Barney and Big Bird and school lunches, far beyond summer jobs and aid for handicapped children.

What will be lost is our notion of who we are as a people and what we stand for as a society.

Let's not be fooled by the 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 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 very weak.

We don't need that sort of contract. We need a covenant. A sacred trust between government and the American people 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 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, family preservation and support, summer jobs for young people, heating fuel for the disadvantaged, and aid for poor handicapped children.

As one friend of mine said recently, cutting $7 billion out

of child nutrition programs and $4 billion out of foster care and adoption programs is not so much a revolution as "a massacre of the innocents." [Jim Weill, quoted in Herbert column in NYT].

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 War.

Few realize that the first federal immunization program was launched at the beginning of the century. Or that Congress established the Children's Bureau in 1909 to safeguard the well-being of children.

Aid for Families with Dependent Children -- 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.

Even Senator Robert Taft, a conservative Republican leader in his era, said in 1948 that the American economy was rich enough "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.

Each of these did much more than just throw money at a

problem. Each of these improved our country, gave voices to the voiceless, strengthened our nation, and protected children from harm.

Yet today, poor children and families are viewed less as objects of concern than as culprits for everything that goes 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 of Leviticus about the ancient Israelis 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.

This is an apt parable for what is happening in America today. In today's society, the goat is poor children. And somehow we think we can rid ourselves of all of our social problems by scapegoating children and exiling them to the 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 solutions to today's 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 6 million new jobs, investments in the skills and training of our people -- these are structural changes the President has fought hard for because they will help lift children and families out of the abyss of poverty.

To address our problems, parents must take responsibility too. They must provide love and nurturing to their children. They must be willing to make whatever sacrifices 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 love, support, and responsible care.

In that same pastoral letter I mentioned a moment ago, the National Council of Bishops wrote that the most important work on behalf of our children must be done "in our homes and our neighborhoods, our parishes and our community organizations. No government can love a child and no policy can substitute for a family's care."

At the same time, the Bishops wrote, "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.

While we agree that government programs cannot and should not alone solve these problems, we must appreciate the profound good that government does for millions of children and families in America every day.

For example: Child poverty in America declined from the mid 1960s until the early 1970s. It started rising again just after real wages fell in 1973. Then, in the 1980s, when the safety net began fraying, we witnessed a dramatic increase in the percentage of children living in poverty. We also saw an increase in out-of-wedlock teen pregnancies, juveniles incarcerated for violent crimes, teenagers dying violently, and low birth weight babies.

The undeniable fact is that, when the safety net is in place, fewer children fall into poverty. And government can help keep the safety net from being torn apart.

Poor children and families are not the only ones protected by the safety net. 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 pass the GED, or actively involved in job training. In every case, having access to child care enabled the parent to become more self-sufficient, more independent, and more fulfilled.

In the weeks and months ahead, as Congress works on social issues, the test of every policy and 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 public as the specifics of these budget proposals have been unveiled. The public is on our side. They want us to protect our children. And that is why we can, and will, win this fight.

Thank you very much.

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lm draft #3
wednesday 3/1/95

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cuts in current funding, elimination of programs, withdrawal of guarantees, and block grants in the name of state flexibility. If the wrong side wins, fall-out from this war will reach far beyond the $40 billion in cuts for children's programs over the next five years, far beyond Barney and Big Bird and school lunches, far beyond summer jobs and aid for handicapped children.

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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.

Even Senator Robert Taft, a conservative Republican leader in his era, said in 1948 that the American economy was rich enough "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."

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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.

[more here or somewhere on family responsibility]

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That's why, as we search for solutions to today's 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.

While we agree that government programs cannot and should not alone solve these problems, we must appreciate the role that government can play. The undeniable fact is that, when the safety net is in place, fewer children fall into poverty. And government can help keep the safety net intact.

From the mid 1960s until the end of the 1970s, child

poverty decreased in this country. But between 1980 and 1988, when the safety net began fraying, we witnessed a dramatic increase in the poverty rate. We also saw an increase in out-of-wedlock teen pregnancies, juveniles incarcerated for violent crimes, teenagers dying violently, and low birth weight babies. Virtually the only area of improvement for poor children was a reduction in the infant mortality rate, which coincided with an expansion of Medicaid in 1986 to cover low-income mothers who work.

The poor are not the only ones affected by the safety net. 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 pass the GED, or actively involved in job training. In every case, having access to child care enabled the parent to become more self-sufficient, more independent, and more fulfilled.

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What will be lost is our notion of who we are as a people and what we stand for as a society.

Let's not be fooled by the rhetoric about block grants and greater flexibility and autonomy for the states. And let's remember that rescissions of programs that help children are not going to reduce the deficit. After all, these programs only account for about 2 percent [ck] of a trillion-dollar budget.

The only people who will benefit from 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.

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We don't need that sort of contract, one that allows for the dismantling of the safety net and the erosion of a cherished American ideal that upholds society's obligation to protect children from poverty, hunger, abuse, and neglect.

We need a covenant. A sacred trust between government and the American people 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.

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Today, for all the talk about promoting work over welfare and the need to strengthen families, federal guarantees of child care assistance for low-income families and those coming off welfare are in jeopardy. So are grants for foster care and

adoption assistance, family preservation and support, summer jobs for young people, heating fuel for the disadvantaged, and aid for poor handicapped children.

If these rescissions are approved by Congress, they will represent a total reversal of an historic commitment our nation has made to children.

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Overcoming poverty requires access to a range of services. It also depends on the fluctuations in the overall 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."

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increase in the poverty rate. We also saw an increase in out-of-wedlock teen pregnancies, juveniles incarcerated for violent crimes, teenagers dying violently, and low birth weight babies. Virtually the only area of improvement for poor children was a reduction in the infant mortality rate, which coincided with an expansion of Medicaid in 1986 to cover low-income mothers who work.

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In the weeks and months ahead, as Congress does its work on social issues, the test of every policy and budget decision should be whether it helps children and strengthens families.

Your job is to hold Congress to that test. And while we are all sorry to be in this position, we must remember that children are the most noble cause we have.

In the last 10 days, we have seen the response of the American public as the specifics of these budget proposals are unveiled. The public is on our side. They want us to protect our children. And that is why we can, and will, win this fight.

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CWLA NOTES

Lieberman Hottinger

Wisconsin - waiver granted to terminate assistance to families

10 m. kids AFDC 1 of 4 = poor

Try living for a month on $366 w/ 2 kids

Call for responsibility not ltd to the poor

Lack of h.c. benefits keeps ppl on welfare

1993 nearly 3 m abused + neglected child.

1980 > 1.2 m.

Not all young mothers should work

Natl Women's Law Ctr — paternity study

$5.1 b. not paid (court ordered child support)

Anna Rosewater 2/23/95 (Wendy) 401-5180

9862923

A stepped up version of Kiwanis -
CWLA - it understands better what is happening
Lieberman been one of best screamers
In her own way has to really draw a line
League's focus is child welfare - most
vulnerable, foster care, abused + neglected
But Lieberman activities pop on welfare reform,
nutrition etc.
HRC has room for broad kids' speech w/
a little extra focus on abused/neglect
foster care
Audience has enormous regard for her; very loyal
+ wants her to reflect her long-time advocacy for kids

- Explain why draw the line in the sand -
Bigger issues
Moral imperatives
We started big a natl prog. for nutrition
b/c of draftees in WWII
Historical linkages
Child Welfare at turn of century

HRC 2/27 ph.

Block grants & 80's -
- Law enf - let mayors buy submarines
-

Just sent back to Alice - letters abt child nutrition
ask Pam re:

Natalie Heineman Award for Outstdg Vol. Svc
for Children

CWLA NOTES

Child Support Enforcement Est 197-
(part of S. Sec. Act)
$14 b paid by non custodial parents 1990
sked be $48 b

ROGER EDELMAN / Edelman
Law Enf. Assistance Adm created : Cab
Mayor of Jackson bought up a Task
armored vehicle
The child welfare block grant is diff

LEAA to replace w/ purpose programs

Destroying a system
If a child needs to be removed from home
no excuse to have 50% contrib
from fed.
Supposed to leave kid in abusive situ?
Illustrates that in some areas we want to
have a nat'l stds, nat'l principles
Fam. Pres - 2 yrs old
Title IVe - 1980 - a lot of struggle -
Pub. Law 96-272

OLIVIA GOLDEN / A whole structure - built up over time

Broad attack on ~~children~~ attachment →
Herbert column from Saturday

On Ch. care we have a nat'l std says
has to be assistance when moms go to work

WIC - proven prog. 20 years.
more fund Nutrition stds for kids - why stop day Bal

Some school districts 20-80% cuts in nutrition

Small Ed point - forget that the attack is systemic

Block grants is a trap term >
There are block grants and there are block grants
We're all for flexibility for states + cities

√ w/ Tom Cochran → cities are right — flexibility —

'935 maternal + child health block grant
73 Title 20
73 CDTA
— Comm'y Service
— CDBG - we like it - Nixon

Intellig. federalism = balance of block grants
you don't fix what's not broken

Reduced to a caricature

...gts of block grants

WELLS

Sex abuse hotline in Atlanta
Hennepin Co. study of those waiting for child care

1863 Fed spons. day nursery for mothers wkg in Civil War Hosp.
1912 Congress est. a children's bureau
1919 WW Cong – Ch. Welfare stds.
1930s WPA nurseries for needy
1935 ADC fed exc. of moth. pensions to allow mothers to care for children at hm
1960 Soc. Sec. Amends ↑ auth for child welf
1964 H. Start pilot progs.

Child Lab. laws firms w/ govt contracts
↗
1936

1943 Congress appropriates initial funds for Emergency Maternal and Infant Care
194? Nat'l School Lunch Act
Soc. Sec. Act amended + ↑ grants for Ch. + maternal health.
1952 Children's Bureau → spec. projects to provide med + soc. services for unwed moms
1954 Congress – milk for school lunches.

1965 Many states follo Child bureau proposal to require docs to notify lawenf. re cases of abuse.

CWLA (NOTES)

Book/ Poverty - not just look for child abuse protection
but get at root causes.

Across the political/ideol spectrum social scientists agree that child poverty is a fundamental social problem.

Child poverty → collapse of family
plague of illegitimacy
epidemic of child abuse
- a crisis for children.

need short-term (immediate) + long term approaches
income protection

Soc. Sec. helped ↓ poverty among seniors
40% in 1960s to less than 10% 94.
Children 15% → 20%

p 334 1990s - children captured social reformers

HRC/2/28

Respond to criticism

① We put all these programs in place & things have only gotten worse
this what ppl say

② She probs ppl have that underlie
a lot of these social issues
are not easily dealt w/
by govt

No evidence that welf ben → teen pregnancy.
Get incontrovertible evidence that too
Many ~~took~~ teens hav babies

POWS Best social policy is a good job

Repubs always ignore economic factors
believe social Darwinism
More social capital the more
What Cath. Bishops —

Want indivds to be more responsible
Let's look at circumstances that these ppl
sometimes have no control over

No econ. prospects
Some Republicans >> — yes we know effect of clim. on
Many on both fronts — ppl will have to

〈 Leviticus 16:5-28 〉

Points

1. Immediate and long term approaches
2. not all govt. solutions
3. Whose interests being protected
   Why is this happening?
4. Social Darwinism is not the answer
5. Taft
6. Contract / Covenant

Ana Rosewater

Nutrition. WIC, Head Start
Services alone not sufficient to take ppl out of poverty
- Takes a couple of econ. Δ + income supports + services
- Nobody ever argued any program alone a lever to Δ a child's life

All need children need a series of this to sustain them - whether urban, rural, rich, poor
shelter, food, love
Some capacity ~~[illegible]~~ more to get these things
Promoting access for those w/ less access

Impacts + contrasts of kids who participate + kids who don't
what extracts those supports did
we have a lot of signif. evidence about
failure to thrive ... health impacts when WIC withdrawn in some places
dilute formula
- communities where econ dislocations - farm crisis / what happened
value of EITC benefit ↓ nearly in one half

Miniscule portion of budget

An opportunity to tell these folks that they need
Courage - a call to action to voice what they know is best in selves + in America
an appreciation for your people
Compassion
that is being tested

HRC /

Give them a sense they should fight

The test continues to be + must be
whether kids will be better off + form of Am — not
whether it gives states flex
efficient

Will these dramatic proposals make kids better
we haven't heard the evidence —

Decisions she should speak to:
housing
educ. } basic elements of daily living

Proposals:
Nutrition

It's not unreasonable in fact upL to have
a debate abt how to improve the
lives of kids
But that is not what is going on
This is not a weighing of evidence —
Civil discourse a considered
↳ children's problem

(*) We should have expectations for
ourselves + for others
one side / responsibility

need goals beyond educ.

Alan/

(1) We know we can reduce childhood poverty
we should take pride in that
Proves that can do it if →

(2) how unbalanced their approach is in Ug for solutions
funnels econ driven into the ditch
loss of jobs is a global comp-ness that
until 6 yrs ago had to
policies to deal w/
cost of higher educ; health care

My honest view of this win is historical context
only looking at cuts in fed program but
some kids

No promises
They don't sg will solve problems; just save money -
& it's a picture can't live

Do we want our Children are to be permanent new underclass
Continue to do badly even when
others do better, even
when econ →

Special strategies

How complex the problems are - we know
Special
causes are more complex

Other side presumes causality that flows
Social sci or agree with -
it's time to listen in the front rooms
not be of grand theories or be
moralistic or pious.

Jim

1st 5th 23% live in poverty
1 in 4
27% of ch. under 3

p. 2 2nd > AFDC alone is 1-2%
Medicaid
& 10-20% drop in hospt

Rescissions – are not all cuts but
a form of cut for tdly back
$$ approp. for '95
a tiny % of actual cuts

~~[illegible]~~

p 3 Vouchers for food for freed slaves
after Civil War
First fed immuniz'n prog. early century
00s or 10's

p 4 $ 4 > rescissions –
weave in theme of
family responsibility –
families have to do what
parents have to take resp,
postpone resp
govt can help them find jobs

if mortality
let's get rid of
that
Finally – last
couple of pts
~~[illegible]~~ → want to
war – we at re WH
will be why w/
how to make sure
those children won't
get hurt

Child poverty stopped decreasing in 73 –
Wages & ed in 73 children's probs ↗
accelerated in 80's w/ (Regs > safety net

Octo ber 1993

Dear Reader,

Welcome to the third School Breakfast Scorecard produced by the Food Research and Action Center. This book et contains current data and explanations to assist you in evaluating efforts in the 50 states and the District of C lumbia to ensure the availability of breakfast in school to many children who may otherwise go without.

ince 1987, FRAC has coordinated the ***National School Breakfast Expansion Campaign*** to recruit, train and dvise breakfast organizers across the country. This successful effort has since become an integral part of the natic rwide ***Campaign to End Childhood Hunger*** which is designed to alert the public and policymakers to the mag itude of the problem of childhood hunger in this country and to work toward solutions. Launched in 1991 by F AC in partnership with anti-hunger advocates in every state and more than 100 national organizations, the *Can aign to End Childhood Hunger* has as one of its goals: "to make the School Breakfast Program available to all l w-income children across the country..." **The Coalition for America's Children** is working with FRAC and ve *Campaign to End Childhood Hunger* to help focus attention on school breakfast expansion through its *Wha 's for Kids and Who's Just Kidding?* campaign. See chart on page 9 for expansion success.

The School Breakfast Program is an entitlement program available to any public or non-profit private school or r sidential child care institution which chooses to participate.[1] While **all students may participate** in the pro am, they can only do so *if* their schools choose to offer the meal. Over 40 percent of the 90,000 schools that offe school lunch do not offer school breakfast. Daily, 13.2 million low-income children participate in the National School Lunch Program, while 4.5 million participate in the School Breakfast Program.

Despite these disparities, tremendous progress has been made. **For the first time in the history of the Sch ol Breakfast Program, in the 1992–93 school year:**

- **almost 60 percent of the schools that offer school lunch participate in the School Breakfast Program, the most ever; and**
- **over one-third — 35.7 percent — of low-income children participating in the National School Lu ch Program participate in the School Breakfast Program, the largest percentage ever.** (There was a five percent increase in low-income student participation in school lunch during this same time period.)

These historic levels of participation by schools and students indicate that barriers to expansion can and are being overcome. Many state directors of child nutrition programs feel that part of the increase in student participation results from the most recent economic recession. Some of the increase results from a variety of available tools for expansion, including state legislation, federal start-up grants, and increased awareness. Either way, our nation has a long way to go to ensure that this nutritious morning meal is available to **all** children who need it.

Faces of Childhood Hunger

A seven-year-old New Jersey boy is in line for school breakfast on its first day in operation. As he gets his tray, he suddenly stops and turns to the nearest adult, asking worriedly: "If we eat breakfast, do we still get lunch?"

A Kansas principal circulates the school cafeteria talking with students participating in the newly-implemented School Breakast Program. He converses with two who remark that they really like this different way of eating cereal, in a bowl with milk. They were used to having it only dry from the box or with water.

A local speaker is talking to an Ohio elementary school class about hunger. To make his point, he asks how many students skipped breakfast. A number of hands go up. He mentions a number of reasons—family doesn't usually eat breakfast, not hungry in the morning—but one little boy fails to respond to any of these scenarios. Thinking that the boy has not understood, the speaker asks him why he skipped breakfast. The boy responds seriously, "Because it wasn't my turn."

FROM LETTER WE RECEIVED FROM SENATOR BOXER.

→ MINNESOTA ADVOCATES ALSO CLAIMED THIS STORY.

[1] *School Breakfast Program Eligibility and Funding:* Funding for the School Breakfast Program is available on an entitlement basis to eligible institutions. Eligible institutions include: public schools; nonprofit, private schools (e.g., parochial schools); and, residential child care institutions or RCCIs (e.g., group homes). Any child who attends a participating institution may eat school breakfast.

The federal government reimburses schools for all or part of the cost of *every meal*. The amount children pay for breakfast depends on the financial circumstances of each child's family as reflected in applications submitted to schools or other required documentation. Children from families with incomes below 130 percent of the poverty line ($16,055 for a family of four for school year 1993–94) receive meals for free. Children from families with incomes between 130 and 185 percent of poverty ($22,848 for a family of four for school year 1993–94) receive meals at a *reduced price* (see chart page 15). All other children receive what is officially designated a paid meal.

Talking Points on Child Welfare

The Vision for Child Welfare:

- The Administration supports a vision for child welfare where:
  - The first priority of child welfare services is to ensure the safety of children and all family members.
  - All services build on the resources and strengths of families to support children's healthy development.
  - The community is the first line of support for families. While a strong public child welfare system exists, families have access to all kinds of informal family support services in neighborhoods and settings that feel comfortable and are easily accessible.
  - All communities offer a continuum of child welfare services, from early prevention to foster care, reunification, and adoption. Because children's healthy development is at the center of all decisions, children spend as little time as possible between permanent settings, returning home or to a loving adoptive family as quickly as possible.

Critical Issues:

- Given increasing need and inadequate current funding in the child welfare system, capping the amount of resources available to states for foster care maintenance and adoption assistance payments would greatly increase risk to children.
  - Between 1988 and 1993, the rate of substantiated child abuse and neglect rose by more than 25% and the foster care caseload increased by almost 50%, as states responded to increased and more severe family need. Adoption assistance payments more than doubled from 1988 to 1994 as states placed more children into permanent homes. These and other factors contributed to a tripling of Federal resources available to the states for child welfare from 1988 to 1993.
  - There is widespread agreement that the current child welfare system is overstretched in responding to current and anticipated future needs. According to Michael Petit of the Child Welfare League in testimony before the Ways and Means committee, "...the nation's response to the often life-threatening conditions in many young victims' lives is unorganized, underfunded, and completely inadequate."
- Strong Federal enforcement of basic protections for children is critical to ensuring improvement in State systems. At the same time, the Federal role must be revamped to focus on outcomes rather than process, as in the revised monitoring approaches that we are currently developing and piloting.
- The allocation of resources across states raises major issues of fairness and incentives for future investment. Any approach that allocates resources to States based on existing claims penalizes the States that may need resources the most because they have not yet made major investments in their systems and may disrupt current State commitments to make major infrastructure commitments to computer systems and training.

Chil[Welfare and the Clinton Administration:

- To achieve the vision of a quality child welfare system will require both strong national leadership and increased State flexibility. The Administration is working in partnership with the States to support continuous improvement in child welfare services by:

  - Encouraging comprehensive planning that reaches across programmatic and agency lines and that includes community-based providers and consumers;

  - Paying increased attention to outcomes, including efforts to reengineer monitoring to focus on the quality and results of State services, rather than on mere paper compliance;

  - Helping State and local programs succeed, through the provision of improved and expanded training and technical assistance; and

  - Supporting the development and implementation of State automated child welfare information systems, to support caseworkers, managers and policy-makers.

Natalie Heineman, who chaired the CWLA Board of Directors from 1971 to 1974, was one of the organization's most active and committed leaders. She still serves as an honorary member of the CWLA board and is involved with the CWLA's efforts in Chicago. She is married to Ben Heineman, the founder of Northwest Industries.

Past recipients of the Heineman Award include Elizabeth Glaser, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, Valerie Harper and Dave Thomas.

L- This is all I know.

L

Laurel Spindler
Ref:
638-4004

lm draft #2
wednesday 3/1/95

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, DC
MARCH 1, 1995

[Acknowledgements: David Liederman, executive director]

I'm deeply honored to receive this award named for Natalie Heineman, whose work on behalf of children and with the League inspires all of us to do more. I learned recently that Elizabeth Glaser, a dear friend of mine, received the award last year. As a tribute to her I would ask that, as we go about our work on children's issues in the days and months ahead, we draw strength from her example, her courage, and her memory.

For 75 years, our nation has relied on the CWLA for wisdom and moral leadership as we devise ways to help protect our most vulnerable children. That leadership is particularly crucial today, when 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 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 society, how much children really matter to us.

American children are in crisis. ~~Twenty~~ 23 percent of our children live in poverty and millions go hungry every day. Too many children are bearing children of their own. Drugs, violence, and abuse continue to claim the lives of our young 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 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 ~~rescissions and budget proposals~~ what Gop in Congress as "a war on the children of America." And if the

+ it's Gop's over for

Cut Gop current funds
elim programs
take away guarantees
block grants in name of flexibility

wrong side wins, fall-out from this war will reach far beyond the $40 billion in cuts for children's programs over the next five years, far beyond Barney and Big Bird and school lunches, far beyond summer jobs and aid for handicapped children.

What will be lost is our notion of who we are as a people and what we stand for as a society.

Let's not be fooled by the rhetoric about block grants and greater flexibility and autonomy for the states. And let's remember that rescissions of programs that help children are not going to reduce the deficit. After all, these programs only account for about 2 percent [ck] of a trillion-dollar budget.

The only people who will benefit from 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.

As one friend of mine said recently, cutting $7 billion out of child nutrition programs and $4 billion out of foster care and adoption programs is not so much a revolution as "a massacre of the innocents." [Jim Weill, quoted in Herbert column in NYT].

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 very weak.

We don't need that sort of contract [one that allows for the dismantling of the safety net and the erosion of a cherished American ideal that upholds society's obligation to protect children from poverty, hunger, abuse, and neglect.]

We need a covenant. A sacred trust between government and the American people 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.

Today, ~~for all the talk about~~ promoting work over welfare and the need to strengthen families, federal guarantees of child care assistance for low-income families and those coming off welfare are in jeopardy. So are grants for foster care and

adoption assistance, family preservation and support, summer jobs for young people, heating fuel for the disadvantaged, and aid for poor handicapped children.

If these ~~rescissions~~ cuts are approved by Congress, they 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 Congress established the Children's Bureau in 1909 to safeguard the well-being children.

Aid for Families with Dependent Children -- welfare -- began in 1935 as a way to enable mothers, many of them war 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.

Even Senator Robert Taft, a conservative Republican leader in his era, said in 1948 that the American economy was rich enough "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."

~~Until now, children have never been a partisan issue~~. Until now, we would never have dreamed of tallying cuts in services 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.
[ck exact titles]

Each of these did much more than just throw money at a problem. Each of these improved our country, and gave voice to the voiceless. Each of these protected children from harm.

and strengthened our nation.

Yet today, poor children and families are viewed less as objects of concern than as culprits for everything that goes 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 a story from Leviticus about the Israeli tribe that placed all of its 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.

This is an apt parable for what is happening in America today. In today's society, the goat is poor children. And somehow we think we can rid ourselves of all of our social problems by scapegoating children and exiling them to the wilderness of greater poverty and hopelessness.

Some in Washington and around the country justify ~~rescissions~~ in children's programs 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 can't provide shelter. A nutrition program for pregnant women can increase the likelihood of a healthy baby, but can't pay the rent.

Overcoming poverty requires ~~access to a range of~~ services. It also depends on the fluctuations in the overall 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 solutions to today's social problems, we must avoid an unbalanced approach that ~~merely~~ robs children of services while failing to address the broad economic and social forces that contribute to poverty in the first place.

While we agree that government programs cannot and should not solve these problems, we must appreciate the role that government can play. The undeniable fact is that, when the safety net is in place, fewer children fall into poverty. And government can help keep the safety net intact.

From the mid 1960s until the end of the 1970s, child poverty decreased in this country. But between 1980 and 1988, when the safety net began fraying, we witnessed a dramatic

increase in the poverty rate. We also saw an increase in out-of-wedlock teen pregnancies, juveniles incarcerated for violent crimes, teenagers dying violently, and low birth weight babies. Virtually the only area of improvement for poor children was a reduction in the infant mortality rate, which coincided with an expansion of Medicaid in 1986 to cover low-income mothers who work.

The poor are not the only ones affected by the safety net. 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 pass the GED, or actively involved in job training. In every case, having access to child care enabled the parent to become more self-sufficient, more independent, and more fulfilled.

In the weeks and months ahead, as Congress does its work on social issues, the test of every policy and budget decision should be whether it helps children and strengthens families.

Your job is to hold Congress to that test. And while we are all sorry to be in this position, we must remember that children are the most noble cause we have.

In the last 10 days, we have seen the response of the American public as the specifics of these budget proposals are unveiled. The public is on our side. They want us to protect our children. And that is why we can, and will, win this fight.

Thank you very much.

###

Cedar Rapids.

lm draft #1
tuesday 2/28/95

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, DC
MARCH 1, 1995

[Acknowledgements: David Liederman, executive director]

The President and I want to thank all of you and all 800 organizations that make up the League for your dedication year after year, decade after decade, to safeguard the well-being of our children.

For 75 years, our nation has relied on your wisdom, vigilance, and moral leadership to help protect our most vulnerable children. And that leadership is particularly crucial today, when 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 summed up the moral imperative before us now.

So today we have to ask ourselves whether, as a society, it

In a society as civilized as ours, keeping children from harm ought to be an easy concept to sell. And yet, here we are, in 1995, fighting to maintain nutrition programs for women, infants and children, school lunches, child care for working parents, and family support programs so essential to building a strong, healthy, and vibrant citizenry.

for the first time

Here we are, fighting to make sure Big Bird and Barney are not sacrificed in the name of tax breaks for the very rich. Here we are, fighting to make sure that young people yearning to better themselves have the opportunity of summer jobs, community service, and other avenues to further their educations.

Here we are, fighting to save programs that curb drug abuse in our schools, help handicapped young people, and correct the flaws in our foster care and adoption systems.

As one friend of mine said recently, cutting $7 billion out of child nutrition programs and $4 billion out of foster care and adoption programs is not so much a revolution by the Republican leadership as "a massacre of the innocents." [Jim Weill, quoted in Herbert column in NYT]

So let's not be fooled by the rhetoric about block grants

and greater flexibility and autonomy for the states: Recent actions and statements by the Republican leadership in Congress are about systematically dismantling, even destroying, a safety net that has protected children and strengthened families for decades.

You can talk about block grants all you want, but the bottom line is that children will be harmed if we cut 20 percent of the funding for child protection programs at a time when abuse and neglect are reaching epidemic proportions. Foster care, adoption assistance, family preservation and support, family violence programs and programs to care for abandoned infants are critical to strengthening families and protecting children from harm.

Children will be harmed if we deny 100,000 women, infants, and children proper nutrition.

Children will be harmed if we deny 615,000 disadvantaged young people summer jobs.

Children will be harmed if we deny 34,000 young people opportunities for job training.

Children will be harmed if we deny 15,000 young people in the National Service program the chance to immunize children, work in after school programs, and perform other community services in exchange for help with college tuition.

Children will be harmed if we deny 94 percent of the school districts in this country funding for programs that help keep drugs out of schools.

These rescissions are part of the Contract With America and they are being tallied on the Republican leadership's 100-day scorecard. So far, taking food out of the mouths of poor infants is counted as a victory. So is a reduction in school lunches for hungry children. So is cutting off fuel oil to the poor.

And it is particularly cynical to broker programs such as these -- which are so essential to our children's futures -- in order to finance a capital gains tax cut for families earning more than $200,000 a year. That is precisely what will happen if the Republican leadership has its way with the budget on Capitol Hill. And that is why the President has challenged the Republican leadership to stop "making war on the children of this country to pay for the capital gains tax cut."

Don't get me wrong. We need more flexibility and autonomy for the states, as my husband has argued as a governor and now as President. That is why his Administration has granted waivers to 24 states working on welfare reform.

But we need to inject some perspective into this debate. Not all block grants are good. Not all federal commitments are bad. And before we impulsively slash and burn and cut and gut, we ought to reflect on the origins of some of our child welfare programs and what they have meant to strengthening the fabric of our society.

The first federal effort at child care came in 1863, when the government sponsored a nursery for mothers working in Civil War hospitals.

Congress established the Children's Bureau, to safeguard the well-being of children, in 1909.

Aid for Families with Dependent Children -- welfare -- began in 1935 as a way to enable mothers, many of them war widows, to stay home with their children.

Congress appropriated funds for emergency maternal and infant care in 1943.

The National School Lunch Act was passed in 1945 [ck], after it became evident that many inductees into our Armed Forces in World War II suffered from poor nutrition as children.

The federal government launched special projects to give unwed mothers medical and social services in 1952.

Together, these and other child welfare programs which you have fought to maintain and strengthen for over seven decades, have resulted in national standards that make sure mothers and children get proper nutrition, that children have access to safe child care when parents go to work, and that parents of disabled children get some assistance in caring for their children.

The fact remains that denying WIC to a high-risk mother increases the chances of her having a low-birth weight baby; that the baby will have a far greater chance of dying in the first month of life, and that hospital care could cost hundreds if not thousands of dollars a day for that newborn. Even children who overcome that first hurdle in life still face the likelihood of more disabilities, learning disorders, and medical complications later on. And society is weaker and poorer as a result.

The fact remains that you cannot discuss welfare reform without also discussing child care and health care. We all agree that the welfare system needs a major overhaul. But we deal with reality, and reality is that many women stay on welfare now because they cannot afford child care for their children. Or they cannot afford to take a job that doesn't provide medical benefits for their kids.

It is a matter of special significance that children's programs have won support from both parties, from all kinds of Presidents and have succeeded in varied historical settings. Children and families have not been viewed solely as a Democratic or Republican concern, but as an American concern. And that's what they should remain.

The evidence is compelling that if we intervene early enough we save money and lives too. That's why legislation to safeguard the rights of disabled, abused, and hungry children has had the support of both parties. In 1974 there was the Child Abuse Prevention Act; in 1975 the Education of all Handicapped Children Act; in 1980, the Children's Welfare and Adoption Assistance Act. [ck exact titles]

Each of these did much more than just throw money at a problem. Each of these improved our country, and gave voice to the voiceless. Each of these protected children from harm.

Among the thousands of letters I have received recently was one from a woman who lives in a small town in Oklahoma. She is worried about cuts in the school nutrition programs. She wrote: "Please do not let them take away one hot meal for our low-income children. . . .This is the only nutritious meal most low-income children get. I'm not over-reacting. Ask these children what they eat at home. Ask if they even have a home. Ask if they have running water, electricity, heat. . . .We are all hoping and praying someone will hear our cry. . . . Let us have a warm home in the winter and decent food year-round. Don't let our children see the only way out is through crime. Let them see someone cares."

As David testified in the House last month, protecting children from harm must be the underlying principle guiding us in any discussion of welfare reform, block grants, or budget cuts.

If we look back over the history of the League, and the imprint your advocacy has had on our society, we can see the extraordinary progress made on behalf of neglected and abused children, children separated from their families and placed in foster care, adoptive services, family preservation, and other programs created to strengthen our families and help our children.

At the same time, we also see a society profoundly in need of renewal. We see an erosion of civic life in America that deprives too many children of the love and care they need. We see a breakdown of institutions that once supported families and helped parents meet their obligations to their children.

You and your organizations do not labor every day on behalf of children to witness the American family disintegrate . . . to

witness 13-year-olds arm themselves with high-powered weapons and kill each other over a pair of sneakers . . . to witness hopeless and helpless young girls become parents themselves . . . to witness 10- and 11-year-old in our nation's capital plan their own funerals -- right down to the clothes they want to wear and the music they want to hear -- because they are so sure they are going to die on the streets.

[ending to come]



Children's Defense Fund

FAX: **(202) 662-3550**

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO: LISSA MUSCATINE

FIRM: _____

CITY/STATE: _____

FAX NUMBER: 456-5709

FROM: JIM WEILL

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COMMENTS: Here's a draft of the press release and most of the report, FYI for the CWLA speech.

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Draft

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CRUEL HOUSE BUDGET CUTTING ASSAULTS CHILDREN

Billions Slashed from Crucial Child Protections, Undermining Child Health & Safety, Families' Ability to Work

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- In a "revolution" that has so far spared nearly everyone else, the House of Representatives has targeted children for the earliest, broadest, and by far the deepest budget cuts, according to a new report from the Children's Defense Fund (CDF).

"We are seeing a massive, multi-facetted, $40 billion assault on child protections that threatens to shred the entire federal safety net beneath them and their families while postponing for a later day, if ever, any measure of sacrifice from the interests that can afford it," said CDF President Marian Wright Edelman. "No massively federally-subsidized defense contractor has seen a dime threatened and no rich farmer has seen crop subsidies cut. No military or civil service retiree--or Member of Congress--has seen his pay or health insurance or retirement benefits trimmed. No wealthy individual has seen his capital gains benefit cut, and actually may profit from the suffering of children."

"Yet House leaders are determined to take food out of the mouths of hungry children, deny safe homes to abused and neglected children, strip child care away from infants and toddlers whose parents are trying to get off welfare or keep a job, and deprive destitute children and children with disabilities of cash assistance," she said. "Children are being made to pay for a defense buildup we don't need and tax giveaways to the rich we can't afford," Edelman said.

CDF's report, ***Unshared Sacrifice: The House of Representatives' Shameful Assault on America's Children***, provides details on the massive cuts moving through the House that

-more-

nearly exclusively target crucial protections for child health, care, and safety. The report concludes that if actions taken by House committees in recent days are not rejected by the full House and Senate or vetoed by the President, the basic safety net that has existed since the Depression to protect children from hunger, illness, homelessness, abuse and neglect will be shredded. In only two weeks, committees indiscriminately and recklessly (. . . insert chronology of block grant and rescission process):

Child Protections Cut	$ Cut Over 5 Yrs.	Children Cut by yr. 2,000
Child Care	$ 2.5 billion	378,000
School Lunches	$ 2.0 billion	2.2 million
Child Care/Head Start Food (CACFP)	$ 5.0 billion	365,000
Foster Care/Adoption Assistance	$ 5.5 billion	111,000
Cash for Poor Children (AFDC)	$12.8 billion	1.7 million
Cash for Disabled Children	$12.1 billion	516,000
Total	**$39.9 billion**	**4.9 million**

In addition to proposed cuts to safety net entitlements and successful discretionary programs such as WIC and Head Start, the House proposes to cut funds approved by Congress last year that have rescinded desperately needed after-school, weekend, and summer activities that prevent youth violence. In addition, the proposed rescissions would completely eliminate 1.2 million summer jobs for youths.

"This relentless and multi-front assault is as morally wrong as it is practically foolish. House leaders say over and over again that they want to move families from dependency to work and to cut bureaucracy," Edelman said. "But how does cutting child care assistance that enables parents to go to work every day help end dependency? How will children who are denied protection from abuse and neglect or help to cope with a serious disability grow up to become tomorrow's workforce of teachers, computer programmers, and business leaders? How does leaving children unable to pay attention in school because they have empty bellies improve the nation's future productivity? How does eliminating the entire summer jobs program for teens instill a work ethic? And how can they expect *anyone* to believe that cuts totalling nearly $40 billion will only cut bureaucracy and not hurt children? The hypocrisy is appalling."

CDF President Marian Wright Edelman was joined by Delaware Governor Tom Carper in expressing concern about the impact such deep cuts would have on children.

Governor Carper said, contrary to the House committees' claims, converting key child survival programs into block grants in the name of flexibility and then cutting funding will not help states like Delaware. "What this proposal does is cut the legs out from under working poor families and from states like Delaware that want to help welfare recipients go to work. Instead of providing us flexibility, it shifts the cost burden to states and puts us in a fiscal straightjacket. I'm concerned about the next recession, or the next disaster, that will occur in my state, or others in the country, in which people will call for our assistance," said Carper.

Parents, child care providers, and others who care for children are worried about what the cuts will mean for their children and the children they serve. Karen Higginbotham of Louisiana receives about $5,000 a year to help care for six-year-old Alison, who was born with a rare seizure disorder that left her with mental and physical disabilities, said that families like hers who are struggling now may not be able to make it.

"Many times one parent has to stop working to care for a child with disabilities and SSI helps to pick up the slack," Higginbotham said. "This helps keep families together and it is more cost-effective -- the $5,500 my family receives, for example, is less of a burden on the taxpayers than the $60,000 it would cost the state and federal governments to keep my uninsured daughter in an institution. While it appears that my family won't be cut this go around, parents of other children with disabilities won't be so lucky."

Sheryl Brussett-Chapman, executive director of the Baptist Home for Children and Families in Bethesda, MD argues that (insert quote).

"Parents and others who care for children will tell you that these cuts are not focused on government waste or programs that don't work. The targets of these cuts are children who have no PACs or powerful lobbies and cannot vote or speak for themselves," Edelman said. "Rather than pick on helpless children who have no voice, the House should pick on someone their own size."

Edelman said that at the same time that the House is moving to slash nutrition programs for children, it is pledging to spare programs that help non-needy constituents and promising a $1 billion taxpayer-funded gift to three infant formula manufacturers by taking competitive bidding out of the WIC program.

Edelman said that she hopes the full House, the Senate, and the President will work to restore the services unfairly cut in the House bills, and take constructive steps to help families work and lift children out of poverty.

"Instead of continuing the assault on children, there needs to be a discussion in the Senate about the real reforms that give parents the tools they need to work and lift their families out of poverty, such as jobs and job training, child care, and health coverage."

(Jim, please insert language that conveys we support balancing the budget but not on the backs of children and describe which programs could be cut.)

The Children's Defense Fund exists to provide a strong and effective voice for all the children of America who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. CDF pays particular attention to the needs of poor, minority, and disabled children, and works to educate the nation about the needs of children and encourage preventive investment in children before they get sick, drop out of school, suffer family breakdown, or get into trouble. CDF is a private nonprofit organization supported by foundations, corporate grants, and individual donations.

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Aid To Families With Dependent Children

On February 13, the majority members of the Human Resources subcommittee of the House Committee on Ways and Means passed a bill that -- if it were to become law -- essentially would destroy the nation's basic safety net program for very poor children and their families, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).

The bill, the Personal Responsibility Act (the "PRA"), would break a 60-year promise to America's children that subsistence benefits will be made available for families poor enough to qualify. The program has provided since its inception that needy families (with need defined by each state) could not be turned away or put on waiting lists, and that the growth of need during recessions would not be met by arbitrary denials of aid by cash-strapped states. This AFDC "entitlement" represented no more -- and no less -- than a ***promise*** to children and families in need that they can count on help with necessities. The PRA would break that promise. It would convert the program into a "block grant" and leave the states free to turn impoverished families away at any time.

The PRA would then assure that hundreds of thousands or millions of children in fact ***will*** be turned away, by freezing funding at FY 1994 levels for the next five years. Funds would be cut $12.8 billion below projected costs in the five years through FY 2000. The projected additional costs being cut are for caseload growth, not for keeping benefits up with inflation. Even though the typical AFDC family receives only $366 per month, all states have let inflation further erode benefits. (In fact, typical benefits have plummeted 47 percent since 1970.) The $12.8 billion cut means that states would have to reduce benefits even further, and would have to terminate them altogether for millions of children and families. In the fifth year of the cuts, -- millions, or -- percent of AFDC children and caretaker relatives, are projected to lose benefits.

The PRA also specifies sweeping changes in eligibility, new federal mandates that restrict the children who can qualify for assistance. Here are some of the ways children would be hurt:

- Families could not receive assistance for more than five years cumulatively, even if their stays on welfare are only a few months at a time, followed by periods of work. Families would have to be cut off after five years, whether or not jobs were available. States would have the option to cut families off much sooner, even after only a number of months. Millions of children would lose help when their parents can't find work. If all states manage consistently to run welfare-to-work programs as well as the best that have been run to date, there still would be more than 3 million children (about one-third of the caseload) cut off AFDC because of the five-year time limit, even though their parents had not found jobs.

- The PRA would limit states' ability to exempt disabled adults or children from the five-year time limit. While all the details of the bill have not yet been released, states apparently would be able to exempt only up to 10 percent of their caseloads from the five-year limit. But over 19 percent of mothers on AFDC are disabled, and another 8.4 percent care for children with disabilities. Many other AFDC children live with elderly grandparents. The PRA's rigid mandate would prevent states from meeting the needs of families for which work is virtually impossible.

- Children of mothers younger than 18 would be barred from receiving aid for their entire childhood; their mothers would not qualify, either. This provision does not simply require a minor mother to live at home, or in a supervised setting. Even if she lives with her parents, her child is disqualified from receiving aid. The mother apparently can qualify for AFDC if she has another child as an adult, but the child she bore as a teen ***cannot*** get help.

- Children born to families already on welfare would not receive any cash assistance.

- As is true in many other welfare reform proposals, parents would be required to participate in a "work activity" after no more than two years on AFDC, and states could choose to require work after a shorter period. But unlike many other reform proposals, there is ***no*** provision that child care help must be provided to the parent and child while the parent is in training or at work.

Except for these punitive provisions, the federal funding has few strings attached -- states do not even have to put up any of their own money to run the program. States could in fact add to the $12.8 billion in federal reductions with cuts of their own. Further, states would be allowed to transfer as much as 30 percent of the federal block grant funds to other block grants for nutrition, child welfare, child care, or social services. States would be encouraged to cut even more, by taking an unspecified amount of their annual federal allotment and placing it in a "rainy day" fund, to cover increased expenses in the future (theoretically to meet caseload growth during a recession). But states would not be obliged to use these funds to assure that victims of recession receive a basic minimum of assistance, and the fund is structured to allow use of AFDC funds as a form of general revenue sharing: anything over 120 percent of the annual federal block grant portion that accumulates in the rainy day fund can be used by the state for any unrelated purpose (for example, building roads).

The PRA includes a range of other objectionable provisions. But at its heart, it has little to do with personal responsibility and a lot to do just with cutting supports to children. Among the ways in which it punishes families with children no matter how much the mother tries to "play by the rules" and take responsibility are:

- No matter how quickly and fully the mother cooperates in identifying the father, the family loses $50 a month or 15 percent of the grant for as long as six months if the state does not establish paternity. In many states, it takes longer than six months for the child support bureaucracy to complete paternity establishment, so this becomes simply a back-door way of reducing assistance.

- No matter how much the mother is willing to work, the family would be cut off all cash assistance if it exceeds the state's time limit.

Supplemental Security Income For Children

As part of the Personal Responsibility Act, the majority members of the Human Resources Subcommittee of the House Committee on Ways and Means also dismantled the children's portion of the cash assistance program serving poor people with severe disabilities, Supplemental Security Income (SSI).

The bill would eliminate ***all*** SSI eligibility and benefits for more than 250,000 children with severe disabilities (out of the current children's SSI population of almost 900,000) who now receive help. Many of these children would lose Medicaid coverage as well. These 250,000 children were determined eligible because their level of functioning was judged to be significantly below age or grade level. Instead, the only children who would qualify must have a condition appearing on an official list, which, according to pediatric experts, often does not capture serious disability.

Most disabled children meeting the narrow new child disability standards of the PRA and entering the program in the future would receive no SSI cash assistance (the maximum federal monthly grant is now $446; some states offer a small supplement in addition). Instead, states would receive a federal block grant funding medical and non-medical services for the children, such as therapy or the purchase of wheelchair ramps or other accessibility equipment. States would be free to design their own list of services offered, with no assurance that all services a disabled child might need would be made available. The block grant would grow with increases in the number of eligible children, but it would be set at a base much lower than current expenditures. Cash SSI would only go to new applicants whose disabilities are so severe that the children are judged likely to be institutionalized if the family does not receive this aid.

Only children in families with low-income qualify for the current SSI program. While children with disabilities need medical care and related services, they also need food, clothing, and shelter. The SSI children's program has been a lifeline to parents faced with the struggle of caring for a disabled child. Moreover, these low-income disabled children who will be "eligible" but can only receive medical services still are deemed to be receiving SSI (an important point, because this qualifies the child for Medicaid). But the bill states in another section that no one could receive both SSI and Aid to Families With Dependent Children. Therefore, even poor children with disabilities living in wholly destitute families would be barred by the Personal Responsibility Act from receiving cash assistance from ***any*** source.

Over the five years ending in FY 2000, the PRA cuts $12.1 billion below what the children's disability component of SSI currently is projected to spend.

Services for Abused and Neglected Children

In Title II of the Personal Responsibility Act, called the Child Protection Block Grant, the majority on the Human Ways and Means subcommittee moved to slash federal services and protections for abused and neglected children.

The Child Protection Block Grant would take away the entitlement nature of the federal Foster Care Program, which has assured for more than 30 years a safe haven in foster family homes and other settings for eligible abused and neglected children who cannot be protected by their parents. It also would end the entitlement nature of the federal Adoption Assistance Program, which helps ensure permanent families for children whose disabilities, race, age, or membership in a sibling group prevent them from being adopted without help. These programs, together with a number of other programs aimed at addressing abuse and neglect, would be repealed and replaced by the block grant. Eligible children who cannot live safely at home or are waiting for adoptive families no longer would be assured of federal assistance.

The funding cuts in the block grant would make it impossible to serve even the children currently receiving care, much less the increasing numbers of children in need of protection. States would receive at least $5.5 billion less over five years through the Child Protection Block Grant than they would have received through the programs replaced by the block grant. In FY 2000, $1.7 billion less than current law estimates would be available, a reduction of 26.3 percent. If all of the reduction that year were to come from foster care, there would be room for 111,000 fewer foster children.

Funds for child protection activities also could be reduced further because states have the option in the new block grant to transfer up to 30 percent of this already limited pot to other block grants. There also would no longer be any federal requirement that states match federal dollars with state dollars or maintain state and local expenditures for these purposes.

If changes are not made in the Child Protection Block Grant, it will endanger tens of thousands of children and deny many others the care and support they need:

- Abused and severely neglected children may have to be put on waiting lists for foster care and left at home because funds are not sufficient to accommodate all the children in need of care and no child will have a right to obtain such care.

- Children with special needs who are ready for adoption may be left in foster care, often at greater cost, because potential adoptive parents will be deterred from making permanent commitments to waiting children due to the uncertainty about continued assistance for adoption.

- Children in foster care will be more likely to be in inappropriate and unsafe placements, to stay in care longer, not to have their individual cases reviewed regularly, and to be denied access to trained staff.

- Children likely will be denied the benefits of family support, family preservation, and other child abuse prevention services because the pressures to use the limited block grant funds for foster care will give states no flexibility to expand other services and may require them to cut back dollars for services to prevent abuse and neglect when foster care caseloads grow and additional resources are needed.

- Children who will be put at risk by other provisions in the Personal Responsibility Act, such as the denial of aid to children born to unmarried teens and the elimination of cash assistance for children with disabilities, will not be able to turn to the child welfare system for the services and supports they need.

- There will be no federal accountability or responsibility for the care children receive. All the enforceable federal protections to ensure that children enter care appropriately and receive quality care while in placement will be eliminated. The Secretary of Health and Human Services is specifically prohibited from reviewing the adequacy of state child protection procedures or from enforcing any provision of the Child Protection Block Grant.

Separate 1-2 page pieces will follow on: child care
school lunches
child care food/WIC

then appendices with, e.g., the numbers.

lm draft 2/28/95

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, DC
MARCH 1, 1995

[Acknowledgements: David Liederman, executive director]

The President and I want to thank all of you and all 800 organizations that make up the League for your perseverance year after year, decade after decade, in the fight to safeguard the well-being of our children.

For 75 years, our nation has relied on your wisdom, vigilance, and moral leadership to help protect our most vulnerable children. And that leadership is particularly crucial today, when 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 summed up the moral imperative before us now.

In a society as civilized as ours, keeping children from harm ought to be an easy concept to sell. And yet, here we are, in 1995, fighting to maintain nutrition programs for women, infants and children, school lunches, child care for working parents, and family support programs so essential to building a strong, healthy, and vibrant citizenry.

Here we are, fighting to make sure Big Bird and Barney are not sacrificed in the name of tax breaks for the very rich. Here we are, fighting to make sure that young people yearning to better themselves have the opportunity of summer jobs, community service, and other avenues to further their educations.

So let's not be fooled by the talk about block grants and greater flexibility and autonomy for the states: Recent actions and statements in Congress are about sytematically dismantling, even destroying, a safety net that has protected children and strengthened families for decades.

It does not help children:

-- to cut 20 percent of the funding for child protection programs at a time when abuse and neglect are reaching epidemic proportions. Foster care, adoption assistance, family preservation and support, family violence programs and programs

to care for abandoned infants are critical to to strengthening families and protecting children from harm.

-- to deny 100,000 women, infants, and children proper nutrition

-- to deny 615,000 disadvantaged young people summer jobs

-- to deny 34,000 young people opportunities for job training

-- to deny 15,000 young people in the National Service program the chance to immunize children, work in after school programs, and perform other community services in exchange for help with college tuition

-- to deny 94 percent of the school districts in this country funding for programs that help keep drugs out of schools.

And it is particularly cynical to broker programs such as these -- which are so essential to our children's futures -- in order to finance a capital gains tax cut for families earning more than $200,000 a year. That is precisely what will happen if the Republican leadership has its way with the budget on Capitol Hill.

Record # of health waivers & welfare waivers - see DOA speech

Don't get me wrong. We need more flexibility and autonomy for the states, as my husband has argued as a governor and now as President. And some block grant programs are extremely successful in giving states the latitude they need to meet the needs of their communities. [example]

communities

But we need to inject some perspective into this debate. Not all block grants are good. Not all federal ~~programs~~ are bad. And before we slash and burn and cut and gut, we ought to reflect on the origins of some of our child welfare programs and what they have meant to strengthening the fabric of our society.

The first federal effort at child care came in 1863, when the government sponsored a nursery for mothers working in Civil War hospitals.

Congress established the Children's Bureau, to ensure the welfare of children, in 1909.

Aid for Families with Dependent Children -- welfare -- began in 1935 as a way to enable mothers, many of them war widows, to stay home with their children.

Congress appropriated funds for emergency maternal and infant care in 1943.

The National School Lunch Act was passed in 1945 [ck], after it became evident that many inductees into our Armed Forces in World War II suffered from poor nutrition as children.

The federal government launched special projects to give unwed mothers medical and social services in 1952.

Together, these child welfare programs, which you have fought to maintain and strengthen for over seven decades, have resulted in national standards that make sure mothers and children get proper nutrition, that children have access to safe child care when parents go to work, and that parents of disabled children get some assistance in caring for their children.

Those of us who can afford food, clothing, and shelter, who have access to high-quality medical care, and who have never lost a job, cannot even imagine the struggles encountered by Americans who go without the basic life necessities.

I received a letter recently from a woman who . . . .

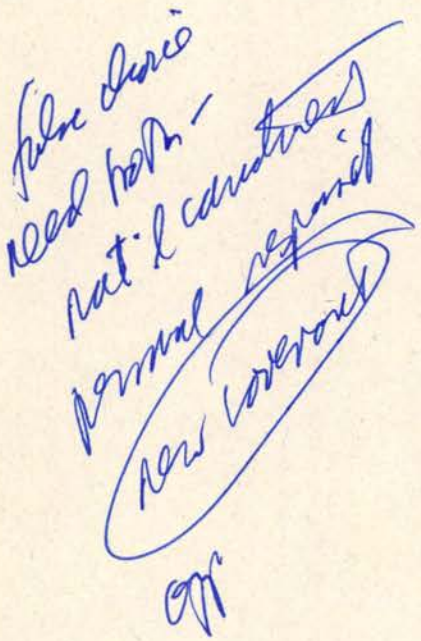
You all remember the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration block grant and the story about the mayor who used the money to buy a tank.

I'd like to point out ~~that~~ a matter of special significance: that these efforts have come from both parties & from all levels of presidents & in varied historical settings. Children & families have not been pawns of ideologues; but rather concerns of mainstream concerns & that's what they should remain.

If we look back over the history of the League, and the imprint your advocacy has had on our society, we can see the extraordinary progress made on behalf of neglected and abused children, children separated from their families and placed in foster care, adoptive services, family preservation, and other programs created to strengthen our families and help our children.

We only need look to recent history to be reminded that it has always been a coalition of ideologically diverse members of Congress who have supported children's programs & legislation to safeguard the rights of the disabled, abused, & hungry children & had the support of both parties. WIC proves it again that we can intervene early & save lives & money. In 1974 they [illegible] the Child Abuse Prevention Act; in 1975 the Bd of the Handicapped Children Act; in 1980, the Child Welfare & Adoption Assistance Act. Each of these acts did not only [illegible] they gave [illegible] a voice to the voiceless. They were shaped by Republicans & Democrats, & Presidents would take us in another direction must show us that WIC is a better way. The facts are that denying WIC to a high risk [illegible] woman increases the risk of a LBW baby; that baby has a is 40% more likely to die in the 1st month; & [illegible] one did not live more productive, learning, & responsible lives. Every $1.00 / day for [illegible] saves $3.00 in Medicaid expenditures through [illegible] lives. Surely we can look at this evid & only conclude that we must keep our commitments.

And at the same time, we can also see a society profoundly in need of moral leadership. We see an erosion of civic life in America that deprives too many children of the care and love they need. nd your organizations have not been laboring every day to see the American family disintegrate . . . to watch 13-year-olds arm themselves with high-powered weapons and kill each other over a pair of sneakers . . . to watch hopeless and helpless young girls become parents themselves . . . to watch 10- and 11-year-old in our nation's capital plan their own funerals -- right down to the clothes they want to wear and the music they want to hear -- because they are so sure they are going to die on the streets. This should not be America's definition of social progress.



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SECTION: IN THE NEWS

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HEADLINE: PREPARED TESTIMONY DAVID S. LIEDERMAN
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
PRESENTED TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
FOR THE HEARING ON WELFARE REFORM

BODY:

Chairman Shaw and Members of the Subcommittee, I am David Liederman, Executive Director of the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA), a membership organization representing nearly 800 public and voluntary child serving agencies that assist over 2.5 million children and their families nationwide. Our member agencies in each state serve troubled and vulnerable children, many of whom not only have experienced the hardship of poverty but also have been served by the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. Approximately 50 percent of children in substitute care are AFDC eligible children.

REAL WELFARE REFORM NEEDS FOCUS ON CHILDREN

I appreciate this opportunity to discuss real welfare reform. The national debate has become very complex, but my message today is simple. Real welfare reform means taking seriously the welfare of children. It means remembering, when you mark up and vote on a welfare reform bill, this watchword -- "do no harm to children."

We, as a nation, have an obligation to keep all children from harm. You, as elected national lawmakers, should hold this duty foremost. We talk a lot in this country about the value of strong families; but we often do precious little to preserve and strengthen families. When a child reaches adulthood without the education, skills, or job opportunities to succeed, we all have failed. When a child never makes it to adulthood, we have suffered the ultimate failure.

Our nation originated the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program as part of the Social Security Act of 1935. Congress' primary goal was to insure that children's basic needs are always met, and to prevent children from falling into sustained poverty and long- term dependence. Prior to that year, mothers who were unable to care for their children were often forced to rely upon poorhouses or orphanages. The program's enactment reflected the belief that the best place for children to be raised is at home with their families. As the 104th Congress considers whether to tear down our national safety net or to look for better solutions, please keep that original goal in mind.

We all want change. We all condemn the welfare system for not helping enough families obtain employable skills, find work, and climb out of poverty for good. But, it does still provide a floor of support that helps to keep many children alive and to give them a chance to succeed.

Ask your constituents. Polls indicate that they hate the welfare system. Most want parents in AFDC families to work. But they don't want children to go homeless. They don't want children to starve. They don't want children to lose needed benefits or to be sent away from their families. According to a

December 1994 poll by the Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation, 57 percent of middle-class voters surveyed don't want benefits cut to children of teen mothers. More than three- quarters (77 percent) oppose moving children from welfare families to group homes or orphanages. According to a 1993 poll by Peter D. Hart Research Associates, 80 percent of respondents said welfare provides a crucial safety net for poor children, who are not responsible for their poverty. In the same poll, 77 percent indicated they would favor a welfare reform plan that costs a lot more money than the current welfare system, due to child care, job training, and other programs that help more people to leave welfare.

We stand at a crossroads with these policies that affect so many of our children. Already, Wisconsin has set an unwelcome precedent by becoming the first state to be granted a waiver to institute complete termination of assistance to families who have broken no program rule. This committee is considering legislation that would apply similarly harmful policies to millions of children nationwide.

Unfortunately, too many of the proposals under consideration would shred the safety net more, rather than constructively reform and repair it. I urge you to reject those proposals. Almost ten million of the very poorest children in this nation receive AFDC benefits. Amother and two children on AFDC depend upon an avenge of only $366 a month for their basic needs. And it is a pittance. If you don't believe me, I challenge you to live for a month on an AFDC benefit. We tried it as legislators in Massachusetts, and it was impossible.

We must preserve the safety net for children. Already, too many children fall through it. Nearly one out of every four children is poor. In five years, the number of children under six living in poverty experienced a staggering increase, from five million in 1987 to six million in 1992.

The welfare system is in disarray. We must fix the welfare system so that children escape poverty, so that they do not become mired in a multi-generational cycle of poverty. We must preserve the promise of support, the AFDC entitlement, to ensure that all children have access to basic support for food, clothing, and shelter.

Yes, we need more personal responsibility, but that call is not limited to families on AFDC, nor is a just a call sufficient.

Don't let attackers of poor children get away with telling you that the problem is simply a lack of personal responsibility. Most parents on welfare want to work but, without training and job opportunities, they often cannot find work. Despite their parenting responsibilities, 83 percent of welfare recipients indicated that they would leave welfare immediately for a minimum wage job if it provided health care for their family.

Most families on welfare don't stay on it continually for years and years. Over 50 percent of welfare recipients leave welfare on their own within one year; 70 percent leave within two years.

The most common problem for poor families is an economic crisis. Working families are forced to begin or return to welfare due to a lack of stable employment, adequate or affordable health insurance or child care. Only 8 percent of post-welfare employment is accompanied by health care benefits. A GAO study in 1987 found that 60 percent of respondents in work programs in 38 states reported that lack of child care was a barrier to their participation in the labor force.

MASSIVE BLOCK GRANTS WOULD FAIL TO PROTECT THE MOST VULNERABLE

I have commented on previous occasions about H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act, and would like to direct my comments today to the block grant proposals, which are under serious consideration.

While careful consolidation of a number of categorical programs makes sense and is overdue, block granting virtually all activities for its own sake,

accompanied by spending cuts, would cause severe problems for children. Eliminating the entitlement guarantee, along with massive consolidation and spending reductions could, in the short- and long-term, severely undermine state and local community efforts to protect and serve children. They would then be placed at even greater risks that could lead to homelessness, neglect, or other family crises that would require child welfare intervention.

I urge the subcommittee to maintain that federal guarantee to protect children; to support efforts to establish paternity but not to penalize children by denying benefits in cases where paternity has not been established despite the mother's cooperation; to support efforts to reduce teenage pregnancy and promote marriage but not to deny benefits to children born out of wedlock to young mothers; and not to deny benefits to children due to their legal immigrant status.

The danger in permitting states to carry out misguided welfare policy is demonstrated by the recent experience of several states which cut general assistance funds for many thousands ofpeople. A report released last year by the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law found that hundreds of thousands of men and women suffered without jobs or income support after states targeted single "employable" people for welfare cuts. The report looked at welfare cuts in Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois, and found that state definitions of "employability" were totally unrealistic, most former recipients did not find jobs, and crises were immediate and severe for large numbers of individuals left homeless, hungry, and sick following the cuts. Within one year after Michigan made its cuts, 25 percent of the former recipients became homeless, according to a University of Michigan study.

These findings indicate that too often, the states' answer to welfare recipients is to let them live in the streets, begging, homeless, cold, and hungry. A welfare block grant to decentralize welfare to the states without federal minimum standards would increase competition among neighboring states to enact more punitive policies in hopes of providing a disincentive for interstate migration. A block grant accompanied by severe cuts in AFDC and other benefits and services could send millions of children into the streets, or to orphanages. CWLA has estimated the basic cost of caring for one child in a residential group care facility at $36,500 per year, ten times the cost of AFDC and Food Stamp combined benefits ($2,644 per year) for that child. Providing basic residential group care for three million of the nearly ten million children on AFDC would cost about $109.5 billion a year. Costs vary for residential group care and family foster care, but the estimates I have provided are toward the low end of the cost spectrum.

The block grant proposals would strip away assurances of protection and help for children in need and drive them into an already besieged child welfare system. Even now, the child welfare system cannot keep up with increases in the number of abused and neglected children. In 1993, 2.989 million children in the U.S. were reported abused or neglected, up from 1.154 million children in 1980. Welfare reform proposals to end AFDC assistance to millions of children would overwhelm the child welfare system, undermine its ability to protect abused and neglected children, and leave many children in jeopardy.

Charitable organizations cannot pick up the slack. They already subsidize about 30 percent of the cost of residential group care with charitable dollars. CWLA's member agencies report that their resources are stretched to the limit.

BLOCK GRANTS IGNORE GREAT UNEVENNESS AMONG THE STATES

State have widely varying capacities and experiences in meeting the needs of their most vulnerable young citizens. Vastly different resources and expertise are the rule. These wide variations have tremendous implications for children. We believe that despite the best efforts of local communities and state

governments, the work of the nation's public and private child welfare agencies will remain insufficient to the task unless the federal government provides more leadership, promotes greater accountability and commits more, not fewer, resources to the care and protection of children. We believe a national strategy is necessary and must be tied together by a federal government working in close cooperation with states and local communities in the public and private sectors.

BLOCK GRANTS DO NOT MAKE REAL WELFARE REFORM

Giving states more flexibility by itself will not achieve real welfare reform. Real welfare reform that can improve the lives of very poor children and their families means addressing individual and structural issues, demanding personal responsibility, providing the services for getting and keeping employment that enables families to be self- sufficient, and investing in economic development that will generate stable jobs that can support families. It means, among other things over the long-term, addressing child poverty in America. Congress, by greatly expanding the Earned Income Credit (EIC), already has gone a long way to ensure that no working family will live in poverty. We can do a great deal more for children andfamilies through welfare reform, but only if we utilize adequate resources and address the root causes of poverty.

Welfare reform must also value and encourage excellent parenting, the most vital means to help children grow up healthy. Some AFDC heads of household are not able to work or should not be expected to do so. Young mothers, for example, must not simply be tossed into the working world -- parenting itself is too important and parenting is indeed hard work. Instead, they should be encouraged to care for their children and pursue an education that prepares them for lifelong work, and they should be provided with appropriate job exposure and training.

Jobs

A key element to successful welfare reform will be employment. Good wage jobs need to be available for people to work but are in short supply. We must encourage and assist AFDC parents to become self- sufficient and to act responsibly, find and keep work outside of the home, pursue education, maintain adequate and stable earned income, and contribute to the care of their children. All participants should be required to engage in activities to receive the necessary skills to obtain a decent paying, stable job. AFDC requirements that discourage work and marriage should be changed. AFDC asset limits should be raised so that recipients can save for their children' s education or start a business without having to sell virtually everything they own. However, we destine our policies and families to failure if we expect that every AFDC family can move at the same speed to find employment.

AFDC recipients who are ready and able to work but cannot find a job in the private sector should be provided with quality full-time public sector work at family-supporting wages. Improved employment opportunities in the children's services sector, for example through full funding of Head Start and expansion of child care programs, could address the dual need of expanding children' s services while providing public sector jobs for adults. A higher minimum wage would promote work incentives and draw more low-income families out of poverty. Extreme care must also be taken to avoid creating workfare programs that displace existing workers and institute a new substandard minimum wage for AFDC recipients or substandard working conditions that would have a harmful impact on the labor market and promote divisiveness in the work force.

Transitional and other supports

Welfare reform must provide strong transitional support services for AFDC families to work. These service components should include high quality

education resources, job training, and child care.
Children whose families receive AFDC are among those most at risk of developmental delays and diminished educational achievement. There is widespread agreement that, in order for them to thrive and succeed in school, they need the benefits of comprehensive, high quality early childhood programs. Welfare reform will place an increased demand for child care on a system that even now cannot ensure adequate and affordable quality care. Adequate resources and an improved infrastructure must be in place in order to ensure that all children have access to quality child care. Welfare reform child care policy must include consistent standards to ensure the healthy and safe development of children regardless of the funding source for their child care assistance. In addition, parents who leave AFDC for work should receive child care assistance beyond the current twelve months, so that they are not forced to lose their job for lack of child care. It is equally important that we not further pit necessary child care for families struggling to get and staff off public assistance against the necessary child care for working low-income families struggling to stay afloat and get ahead.
In addition to specific transitional support services, a meaningful anti-poverty strategy must include improved unemployment insurance protection, a refundable children's tax credit,universal access to health care, improved paternity establishment and child support enforcement, improved access to federal nutrition programs, as well as other reforms and initiatives outside of the AFDC system.
Child support enforcement and assurance
Paternity establishment and child support enforcement and assurance are fundamental elements of welfare reform. Child support is a crucial factor to keep children and their custodial parents out of poverty, sends a message that both parents are responsible for their children, and can make a substantial difference in the financial security of all single-parent families. According to the National Women's Law Center, our nation's system of paternity establishment has overwhelmingly failed. Of child support cases in 1989, paternity was established in only 31 percent of non-marital births, and $5.1 billion of court-ordered child support was not paid to custodial parents with child support orders.
Both parents have a responsibility to support their children. Fathers should be required to contribute financially to their children's well- being, and should be strongly encouraged to be active parents and family members. Struggling families should receive case manager support in reformed AFDC offices that focus on providing family services. All AFDC recipients should be encouraged to complete high school and pursue higher education.
NEW NATIONAL EFFORT ON TEEN PREGNANCY PREVENTION IS NEF, r ED
Our nation must respond to the epidemic of teen births by instituting a national campaign to prevent teen pregnancy. Research indicates that more than haft of teens age 17 and younger are virgins. Efforts should be made by families, communities, schools, churches, and the media to support teens to abstain from sexual intercourse. Young people in the critical years of 9 to 14 should be especially targeted.
Schools should strengthen the curriculum in decision-making skills, family life education, social responsibility, and basic education and employability skills. Comprehensive family planning services should be available to counsel teens regarding sexual abstinence and appropriate medical services for sexually active teens.
A thorough network of health, education, and support care services, including medical and psychological services, should be available to all pregnant and parenting adolescents. Pregnant women, at the very least, should receive

prenatal care and education about the risks of using drugs, alcohol, and tobacco during pregnancy. Drug treatment programs should be available for all drug-abusing pregnant women and parents of infants.

Improved paternity establishment and strict enforcement of child support in cases involving teen pregnancy will send an important message to young men that fatherhood is accompanied by parental responsibilities.

Responsible adult supervision and guidance important for young parents

As we institute a national campaign to prevent teen pregnancy, we must not abandon teen parents and their children. We should continue to provide children of teen parents with safety net assistance, and encourage teen parents to get the skills they need to support themselves and their children.

CWLA supports a residency requirement for teen mothers in safe and appropriate supervised living arrangements at home or in other settings that give young parents the support and guidance they need to gain parenting and other vital life skills. Almost three-quarters of pregnant teenagers under age 18 live with one or both of their parents. Even six months after giving birth, about 60 percent of young mothers aged 15-17 are still living at home. CWLA believes that pregnant and parenting teens should remain at home for the emotional and financial support that parents can provide. For those pregnant and parenting teens whocannot remain at home because of abuse or neglect, arrangements must be made for them to live with other family members or in supervised group homes.

A CWLA survey of Florence Crittenton Agencies, conducted last year, suggests that forcing teen parents and their children to return to a parent's home without proper safeguards could place many children at severe risk of physical or sexual abuse. The survey found that:

about 62 % were estimated to have been abused or neglected by a caregiver;

almost (>4% were estimated to have had at least one unwanted sexual experience;

about 50 % of those living independently would, in the opinion of those agencies which serve such young women, be placed at risk of physical or sexual abuse if returned to their families.

The high prevalence of abuse by caregivers indicates that most of the adolescent mothers served by these agencies come from unsafe homes. These figures most likely underestimate the proportion of these mothers who have been abused or neglected by a caregiver because some agencies answered this question only in terns of substantiated abuse cases.

It is widely believed that abuse very often goes unreported or unsubstantiated. The Crittenton Agencies' staffs know these young women quite well; their report that 50% would be at risk of abuse if returned to their homes suggests that for the federal government to impose such a requirement without critical safeguards in order to receive welfare would be detrimental to thousands. It would force many adolescents to choose between seeing their children go hungry or homeless and putting both themselves and their children in danger.

Qualified "teen parent case managers" should be assigned to make careful decisions regarding whether the teen and her child should be sent back to a parent's home. These case managers would also help each minor parent draw up an individual plan to attain independence, assist her in achieving her plan by linking her with needed education, health, family planning, substance abuse treatment, and other social services. Recognizing that the teen parent case manager would play a critical role in assuring the rights and safety of teen parents and their children, caseloads of no more than 20 clients to each teen parent case manager should be maintained.

If a teen parent residency requirement program is implemented, we must ensure that young parents do not return to abusive or otherwise unsafe households, that exceptions are made when such a requirement makes no sense for a particular family, and that teen parents' special needs for intensive case management are

addressed.
Education, child care and health assistance critical supports for teen parents
Teen parents receiving AFDC should be required to complete their education. Research has shown that just over haft of all teenage mothers complete their high school education during young adulthood. Many of those who do not complete high school have low basic academic skills, and have low earning potential. Five years after giving birth, 43 percent of teenage mothers are living in poverty, according to a 1990 report by the Congressional Budget Office. Special efforts must be made to assist pregnant and parenting teens to remain in school and to further their education, thus enhancing then' chances for self- sufficiency and to avoid repeat pregnancies.
State departments of education and human resources should assist in making child care services available to help teen parents stay in school. Day care options should be readily available at or near the school site so teens can complete school. Teen parents should be expected to work in the centers as part of their parental obligation -- an excellent opportunity to learn effective parenting skills. Voluntary, early home visiting by public health and community resource persons should be expanded to reach and assist young parents.CHILD WELFARE SAFETY NET -- THE PROTECTION OF LAST RESORT MUST REMAIN INTACT Block grant proposals that strip away assurances of help for children in need would drive more children into an already besieged child welfare system. Even now, the child welfare system cannot keep up with increases in the number of abused and neglected children. Welfare reform proposals that would end AFDC assistance to millions of children would overwhelm the child welfare system, undermine its ability to protect abused and neglected children, and leave many children in jeopardy.
As you consider welfare reform and seek to address potential negative impacts on the children, I urge you to maintain the child welfare safety net -- all the Tire IV-E guarantees and the capped entitlement for family preservation and support -- to help children receive the services they need to keep them safe. It is the safety net of last resort.
Many of these children are in state custody where the state is functioning as their legal parent, and as such, has an obligation to respond when a child's safety is threatened. The federal government has an important role in enabling the states to do then' jobs by providing guidelines for protection and enforcing the protections when they are ignored.
The children needing protection and care have greater and more complex needs than ever. They require sound assessments and timely and appropriate services. The Title IV-E entitlements, under P.L. 96-272, provide the individual guarantee of support for maintenance, for "administrative costs" that principally pay for essential preplacement and permanency determination activities (e.g., child and family assessments, referral to services, recruitment of foster and adoptive families), and for training that staff who work with the children and families require. It also provides for adoption assistance that has proven very successful in removing the financial barriers to adoption for children with special needs.
The Family Preservation and Family Support Services Program, recently enacted under P.L. 103-66, provides important incentives and resources to the states to develop and expand services to prevent unnecessary placement and to reunite children with their families. Progress has been made in introducing appropriate family-focused, child-centered services and many children have been able to remain home safely or safely return to their homes. This support and direction are essential for children and their families that are clearly in crisis, but are not quite at the brink of destruction. Without this support, we will end up with a system that can only respond at the "back end," to more extensive,

expensive and intractable problems.
A child welfare block grant, currently under consideration by this subcommittee, would only further compromise children's safety should it eliminate the services' guarantees, fail to specify protections and lack enforcement. A
RESPONSIBLE FEDERAL ROLE IN WELFARE REFORM
The federal government has an important responsibility in its partnership with the states in assisting their families to take care of their children. The current welfare system is broken and the federal government needs to work with the states to change it. That means more than simply writing a check and walking away.
We must build a stronger future for children in America. Congress should take the following 10 steps toward real welfare reform:
1. Preserve the federal commitment to protect children from discrimination and serious harm by maintaining the AFDC entitlement. Ensure that children in all states have access to a basic "safety net" of support;
2. Improve federal oversight, cut unnecessary bureaucracy, and streamline where appropriate;
3. Concentrate our efforts and resources on the majority of parents who leave AFDC on their own. This is the most motivated group and we should ensure that they stay off welfare permanently by maintaining health care coverage, providing income disregards and guaranteeing quality child care.
4. Work with the private sector and states to support the creation of jobs that pay a living wage so that AFDC parents can find work, stay employed, and support their families; and ensure that all AFDC parents have access to quality job search assistance, education, internships, training, and transportation. Require states to increase participation in work programs so that at least half of each state' s WOrK program participants are employed in either private or public sector work;
5. Support efforts to increase access to high-quality day care. Lower the state match requirement, substantially increase federal funding for child care assistance, set minimum payment levels based on full market rates, and eliminate the income disregard method and statewide limit;
6. Institute a national teen pregnancy prevention campaign through education, health services, family and community efforts and the media. Support efforts to help teens to delay parenting and to stay in school;
7. Support aggressive case management and services to teen parents, including home visiting; encourage involvement of teen fathers in parenting responsibilities;
8. Reform health care so that illness does not drive families onto the welfare rolls;
9. Support responsible paternity establishment and child support enforcement and assurance; and
10. Develop a broader anti-poverty strategy, so that working families do not fall into poverty.
END

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: February 4, 1995

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

ADMINISTRATION FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY
370 L'ENFANT PROMENADE, S.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20447
February 23, 1995

TO: Lissa Rustcatine

Telephone: 456-5709
Fax:
Number of Pages (excluding cover): 23

FROM:

Wendy Jacobson
Special Assistant to the
Deputy Assistant Secretary

Telephone: (202) 260-1853
Fax: (202) 401-4678

MESSAGE:

1st installment: Timelines for Child Care Child Welfare + nutrition history.

WHEN WE REBUILD

In the 76 years that the U.S. Children's Bureau has been in existence, it has had a major positive impact on the well being of children and their families throughout the country. In recent years, that role has diminished greatly. Indications are that the number of disadvantaged children in the country is at an all time high and that the intensity of the difficulties of those children also is at an all-time high. While public knowledge of the implications of these phenomena for the future of the country is incomplete and uneven, there are indications of strong public awareness, concern, and acceptance of the need for much greater effort is needed to come to grips with the issues and problems.

These two factors,-increasing human problems and greater public concern about them,-indicate that the time may have come when rebuilding the Children's Bureau is needed and indeed may be possible.

This paper is intended to be a concept paper, or "think piece" for anyone interested in the needs of children and in developing an agenda with a process for meeting at least a considerable portion of those needs. Some of the answers already have been developed and can provide direction for the future. Additional thought, research, and effort are needed to incorporate sound proven methods, to develop new ones and to adapt them to ever changing needs of society. This paper is an attempt to look briefly at the past and present of the Children's Bureau and to suggest broad possible directions for the future, with some specific initial steps for developing that direction.

HISTORY

The Children's Bureau was established by Congress in 1912. It was an outgrowth of the first of several White House conferences on children and youth.. The first one was called by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909. In response, Congress established the Children's Bureau with the following legislation.

ACT ESTABLISHING THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU (37 Stat. 79)
Approved April 9, 1912

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That there shall be established in the Department of Commerce and Labor a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau.

Lissa

Sec 2. That the said Bureau shall be under the direction of a chief, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

The said Bureau shall investigate and report . . . upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanages, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories. . .

While the emphasis and programs of the Children's Bureau (CB) have changed over the years, CB has worked vigorously to improve conditions and services for children and has become a symbol of excellence for children's services throughout the United States and also in other countries.

CB's activities did not include provision of direct services to clients. Rather, its mission was to assist other agencies to improve their services by obtaining and disseminating needed information and by assisting them in many other ways. These included disbursement of funds through discretionary and formula grants, publishing and disseminating materials, conducting conferences, providing training and consultation and influencing legislation.

The areas addressed were broad, including any identified special needs of children such as maternal and child health, nutrition, child labor, services to families to prevent removal of children and for family reunification, day care, foster care both family and institutional, adoption and delinquency services. Congress initially established CB in the Department of Commerce and Labor. In 1913 it was transferred to the Department of Labor and in 1946 to the Federal Security Agency within the Social Security Administration. In 1963 Congress transferred the CB to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which in 1980 became the Department of Health and Human Services.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU ACTIVITIES, PAST AND CURRENT

While CB activities have changed over time, currently and in the fairly recent past they have fallen into three major categories, administration of discretionary grant funds, administration of formula grant funds and provision of consultation or technical assistance.

CB discretionary grants to child welfare agencies, universities, and other organizations involved with child welfare provide funds for research, training, development of materials, demonstration projects and replication of successful services.

MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
From: Sabrina
Re: Child Welfare League of America
Date: February 23, 1995

The Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) is an association of more than 830 public and voluntary agencies and organizations serving 2.5 million children and their families across the United States and Canada that are devoted to improving life for abused, neglected, and otherwise vulnerable children and their families. The agencies provide a range of services, including kinship and family foster care, adoption, residential group care, child day care, family preservation services, mental health services, and programs for pregnant and parenting teenagers. Other concerns are housing and homeless families, pediatric AIDS and HIV, and the effects of alcohol and drug abuse on children and families.

CWLA conducts research and develops standards of excellence for child welfare. Through its Center for Program Excellence, CWLA provides direct and sometimes long term consultation to the directors and staffs of child welfare agencies. Among its activities is the Child Welfare Training Institute, offering technical assistance and training in a full range of child welfare policy issues.

Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting

Through its Florence Crittenton Division, CWLA provides a range of pregnancy prevention services, develops programs for pregnant and parenting adolescents, and motivates the public and Congress to actively seek resolution of the problems of adolescent pregnancy.

Child Day Care

In 1993, CWLA placed renewed emphasis on child day care as a service that supports the healthy growth and development of children.

Child Protection

As rates of child abuse and neglect have reached epidemic proportions, child protection has become an increasing concern of CWLA. CWLA plans to develop and test strategies to redefine child protection in a way that more appropriately responds to the needs of children, particularly encouraging community involvement.

Housing and Homelessness

The CWLA-initiated Family Unification Program provides rental assistance to families whose children are at risk of placement in out-of-home care or whose children cannot be reunited with them because of homelessness or severe housing problems.

International Child Welfare Projects

CWLA's international child welfare initiative offers opportunities for member agencies to consult with and exchange information and technology with professional peers in other countries.

Cultural Competence

CWLA has a commitment to ensuring that child welfare services respond to changes in the cultural composition of society. They have developed a cultural competence initiative focused on agencies' needs to develop services that reflect the cultural diversity of their clients and community.

HIV Infection and AIDS

Through the interdisciplinary Task Force on Children and HIV Infection, CWLA has worked to prepare and assist child welfare personnel to care for children, youths, and families affected by HIV/AIDS.

Other Programs

CWLA oversees adoption, family foster care, group residential care, and kinship care programs.

Quotes

From the prepared testimony of David Liederman, Executive Director of CWLA to the Subcommittee on Human Resources Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives:

"Real welfare reform means taking seriously the welfare of children...We, as a nation, have an obligation to keep all children from harm...We talk a lot in this country about the values of strong families; but we often do precious little to preserve and strengthen families."

"Real welfare reform that can improve the lives of very poor children and their families means addressing individual and structural issues, demanding personal responsibility, providing the services for getting and keeping employment that enables families to be self-sufficient, and investing in economic development that will generate stable jobs that can support families."

"The federal government has an important responsibility in its partnership with the states in assisting their families to take care of their children. The current welfare system is broken and the federal government needs to work with the states to change it. That means more than simply writing a check and walking away."

Awards & Acknowledgements

CWLA Outstanding Service Awards

The s th annual CWLA Outstanding Service Awards recog ize those who deserve extra appreciation and ackn vledgement for their extraordinary efforts to help childr n, youths, and their families. Each of the five CWL regions has selected a foster parent or foster paren team, a child welfare worker (who provides case-work, education, health and/or individual, group, and family counseling services, and who possesses a bach-elor's or graduate degree in child-welfare related fields), and a direct service worker (who provides direct and regul r daily care and supervision to children, youths, and t eir families).

Western Region

Foster Pare

Carolyn and Robert Burton of San Diego County Department of Social Services, Childrens Se vices Bureau have been foster parents since 1978 and have become "experts" in c ring for medically fragile children. They have adopted five of their foster children, fou of whom have extensive special needs. The Burton's demonstrate a remarkable u derstanding and acceptance of natural parents and have been exceptional in assi ing with reunification. The Department honored them in 1992 with a special "Above a d Beyond" award and named them "Foster Parents of the Year" in 1994.

Child Welfa Worker

Lynn Sachs has been with San Diego County Department of Social Services, Childrens S rvices Bureau for eleven years, where she is currently a Protective Services W ker. She is responsible for homestudying adoption applicants and for supervising e children's dependency case once a placement has been made. She is credited wit developing, in collaboration with a fellow worker, Adoption Preparation Classes to a ist adoptive families with their transition. Ms. Sachs organizes an annual event for National Adoption Awareness Month and was named "Social Worker of the Year" in 994 by the Department.

Direct Serv e Worker

Gary Edmo ds has been a Caseworker for the Oregon Department of Human Resources, Children's Services Division for the past ten years. He has specialized in Family The apy for the past five years. Mr. Edmonds has been successful in using a variety of t chniques to assist families in trouble. He engages families to work proactively wit him, helps them recognize their responsibilities, and assists them in identifying stre ths. Mr. Edmonds strives to improve and refine, search and discover creative w s of protecting and supporting children, youths and their families. He is also a foste /adoptive parent in his private life.

Mid-A lantic Region

Foster Pa nt

Peter and Joyce Steele have been foster parents for the Children's Aid Society of Ottawa-Ca ton for over twenty-five years. They have cared primarily for developmentally h ndicapped children. The Steele's raised four biological children and adopted one o their foster children. Their caring example influenced their own children—one became a foster parent and another has adopted. The Steele's provide their foster children with a warm family life where individual differences are accepted. They also strongly support building and maintaining the natural family connection.

Child Welfare Worker

Carole Colca serves as a Treatment Foster Family Coordinator at Berkshire Farm Center and Services for Youth where she has worked for fifteen years. She supervises program staff and has overall responsibility for the Western New York Treatment Foster Family Program. Ms. Colca's clinical and supervisory skills enable her to view problems as challenges and not shirk from dealing with difficult situations. She developed significant programming in the area of independent living skills for older adolescents and is also a foster parent.

Direct Service Worker

Jennie Clinkscales has been a Staff Homemaker with the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service for twelve years. She works with families in need of assistance with child care, parenting, and home management in order to prevent foster care placement. Ms. Clinkscales is successful in developing positive relationships with families and helps them handle difficult situations. She works in collaboration with the professional staff to address each family's needs. Ms. Clinkscales enhances the image of family homemaking as an integral part of child welfare.

Mid-West Region

Foster Parent

James and Ruby Herron of Franklin County Children's Services have been foster parents for fifteen years. They provide treatment foster care for children with severe emotional and behavioral problems. The Herron's work very hard to make sure children have a strong sense of who they are individually, culturally, and spiritually. They are active in a program to recruit foster and adoptive families in the church community. The Herron's work closely with birth parents, regarding them as partners and helping them move toward the goal of reunification. Franklin County Children Services named the Herron's 1994 Foster Family of the Year.

Child Welfare Worker

Margie Mejia-Caraballo, Social Worker, has worked for Bethany Home for the past five years. She provides counseling, parent education, referral, visitation, and other services to meet individualized needs. Ms. Mejia-Caraballo is bi-lingual and has responsibility for working with Spanish-speaking clients. She is a true and effective advocate for the families she serves, helping them to understand their situation and work within the system. Ms. Mejia-Caraballo is an active participant in a local group of professionals meeting to address the needs of Spanish-speaking clients. She also provides training to increase the cultural sensitivity of other casework staff.

Direct Service Worker

Sharon Tate-Washington has been with Edgewood Children's Center for sixteen years, where she is currently a Lead Child Care Worker. She is responsible for providing daytime care for residential children who cannot participate in the regular school day. Mrs. Tate-Washington has provided comfort, caring, and stability to hundreds of anchorless children. Serving on the MCCA Certification Board, she assisted with the development of criteria for professional certification of child and youth care workers in Missouri. Mrs. Tate-Washington recently successfully completed the certification program and was named one of the three "first ever" Certified Master Child and Youth Care Workers.

Awards & Acknowledgements

Southern Region

Foster Parent

Joseph and Patti Laroche of the Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services have been foster parents since 1988. They specialize in the care of infants and young children and have adopted two of their foster children. The Laroche's are accepting of sibling groups and are very open with birth parents. They have inspired others to become foster parents and adoptive parents. The Laroche's are very active in their local Foster Parent Association, in which they have both held office. At the Texas State Foster Parents of the Year.

Child Welfare Worker

Katie Perry, Family Resource Center Coordinator and Caseworker, has worked for the Children's Home Society of Florida for the past five years. She helped establish and is responsible for two programs which provide after-school tutoring for children, counseling and assistance for families in need, and crisis intervention services for teens. Ms. Perry is a native of the community she serves and is well aware of its diverse problems. She has committed herself to improving life for all children and families and the community in which they live. She is a "social worker-at-large"--community organizer, teacher, advocate, counselor, and role-model.

Direct Service Worker

Glenda Wagoner serves as a Social Services Technician for the Texas Department of Protective and Regulatory Services where she has worked for eight years. She is responsible for providing assistance to seven caseworkers. Ms. Wagoner provides transportation for the children, assists with client records, schedules appointments, supervises in-office visits and conducts weekly parenting classes she initiated. Ms. Wagoner is also responsible for the County's annual Christmas project which provides gifts from the wish lists of over 150 children. She personally makes sure that all gets done, from soliciting donations to shopping for the many gifts.

North Atlantic Region

Foster Parent

Doris Marshall of the Massachusetts Association for Professional Foster Care has been a foster parent for over twenty-seven years. With the aid of her husband, Skip, and their four biological children, she has cared for over 450 children, adopting six of them. For the past sixteen years, Mrs. Marshall has cared for developmentally impaired infants and young children. She believes that medically needy children should be cared for in a home with a family, rather than languish in a hospital. Mrs. Marshall has been and continues to be very involved in the state and national Foster Parent associations and has received numerous awards for her outstanding service, including Foster Parent of the Year in 1991.

Child Welfare Worker

Margaret O'Brien is a Clinician for Child and Family Agency of Southeastern Connecticut where she has worked for seventeen years. She provides counseling, referral, and crisis intervention services to clients, and conducts groups and workshops on a variety of child-focused clinical topics. Ms. O'Brien has been instrumental in developing personal safety and child abuse awareness curricula. She speaks frequently and compassionately about domestic violence and child abuse, and spends an incredible amount of time educating others about these issues. Service providers and clients alike frequently request Ms. O'Brien's services specifically. She is a greatly respected and much loved "helper."

Direct Service Worker

Clark Lambey, Childcare Supervisor, has worked for Stevens-Children's Home for the past thirteen years. He is responsible for supervising the child care staff, overseeing the day-to-day functioning of the residential program, and developing in-service training. Mr. Lambey initiated discussion with the agency administration on the issue of cultural awareness. He developed and presented an inter-departmental workshop focusing on cultural sensitivity and goes out of his way advocating for and engaging the Hispanic children in his care. Mr. Lambey serves as Treasurer of the New England Association of Child Care and devotes much time and energy to the organization.

Special Acknowledgement

The Child Welfare League of America is grateful to Take the Lead, Inc. for their generous financial support of CWLA's 1995 Outstanding Service Awards.

CWLA also extends a special thanks to the members of the Regional Selection Committees.



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January 20, 1995

Ms. Marge Tarmey
White House
First Lady's Office
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Marge:

It was indeed a pleasure speaking with you today [1/19/95]. We are excited that the First Lady will be joining us on March 1st as we celebrate our 75th Anniversary.

In an effort to assist her staff in preparing remarks for the evening, I have enclosed several documents:

- CWLA's 1994 Annual Report
- 1995 Conference brochure
- CWLA's 75th Anniversary Journal (which features articles on orphanages)

As we get closer to the date, please feel free to contact me for more specific information. I can be reached at 202/638-2952.

Sincerely,

Shirley E. Marcus
Deputy Director

SEM:mlj

-enclosures-

Guardians of Children's Rights • Serving Children's Needs • 1920 • 1995

The Child Welfare League of America is an association of more than 730 public and voluntary agencies and organizations across the United States and Canada that are devoted to improving life for abused, neglected, and otherwise vulnerable children and youths and their families. Member agencies provide a wide range of services, including kinship and family foster care, adoption, residential group care, child day care, family preservation services, mental health services, and programs for pregnant and parenting teenagers. Other concerns of member agencies include housing and homeless families, pediatric AIDS and HIV, and the effects of alcohol and drug abuse on children and families.

For all the areas mentioned, CWLA has program experts who consult with and train child welfare professionals and assist agencies in other ways to advance child welfare practice and better serve their clients. Pervading all program issues is a strong emphasis on child welfare practice that is culturally responsive to the children, youths, and families being served.

CWLA conducts research and develops standards of excellence for child welfare, disseminates information to members through a library and information service, provides for the exchange of program information, and assists and supports agencies that seek accreditation.

Through its Center for Program Excellence, CWLA provides direct and sometimes long-term consultation to the directors and staffs of child welfare agencies—often large public agencies charged with protecting children in a given state or other jurisdiction. Made up of senior staff and full-time consultants with substantial child welfare expertise, the Center ranks as one the country's outstanding child welfare consulting operations. Among its activities is the Child Welfare Training Institute, offering technical assistance and training in a full range of child welfare policy, program, and practice issues.

CWLA also provides comprehensive executive support services tailored to the needs of executives in voluntary child welfare agencies. Help with strategic planning, accreditation preparation, program reviews, and professional executive search services can be accessed in a timely manner.

The public policy staff of CWLA concentrates on passage of legislation that supports child welfare services needed to protect and serve abused and neglected children and strengthen vulnerable families. CWLA's Children's Campaign is a national network of thousands of citizen advocates who write letters, make phone calls and take other actions supporting federal policies and legislation that benefit children and families.

In addition, CWLA is the largest publisher of child welfare materials in the world and provides a vast number of conferences, workshops, institutes and seminars throughout the year for child welfare professionals, members of volunteer boards of directors, foster parents, and other caregivers.

CWLA traces its beginnings to the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, convened during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, which resulted in recommendations to establish the United States Children's Bureau and a voluntary national organization of child-helping agencies and institutions. The second recommendation led in 1920 to the birth of CWLA, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization that opened its doors in New York City on January 2, 1921.

Since 1984, CWLA has been based in Washington, DC. In addition to its headquarters, CWLA has offices in San Dimas, CA, and Ottawa, ON, Canada. CWLA is supported by membership dues, foundation grants, contributions, consultation fees, publication sales, and investment income.



Child Welfare Services

In 1993, CWLA continued and expanded its many child welfare services activities. Full time senior child welfare professionals worked closely with member agencies and provided national leadership, both moving important initiatives forward in each program area and expanding efforts on cross-cutting child welfare issues. CWLA's research and evaluation capacity continued to grow, including significant new efforts involving member agencies. The year also saw the creation of a field-initiated training department to provide a range of learning oppportunities to member agencies and the child welfare field as a whole. CWLA's Library and Information Services grew, making significant strides towards automation and technological enhancement to meet the expanding needs of member agencies, the child welfare community, and the general public. Finally, CWLA maintained its commitment to standard setting, continuing the revision of two major volumes of standards in response to the changing child welfare service environment.

Program Areas

Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting

Through its Florence Crittenton Division, CWLA provides a range of pregnancy prevention services, develops programs for pregnant and parenting adolescents, and motivates the public and Congress to actively seek resolution of the problems of adolescent pregnancy and parenting. In 1993, CWLA focused its pregnancy prevention efforts on adolescents in out-of-home care. With the support of the National Florence Crittenton Mission Foundation, CWLA awarded six grants to CWLA member agencies for new program initiatives that address the needs of pregnant adolescents and held the annual Florence Crittenton Roundtable, drawing participants from 29 states. At the same time, CWLA was active in identifying and disseminating program models that address the relationships among substance abuse, HIV infection, and adolescent pregnancy; adolescent sexual activity and self-esteem; and youth empowerment.



Adoption In 1993, CWLA's adoption initiative addressed a number of critical issues that are challenging professionals involved in adoptions today: the identification and removal of the legal, administrative, practice, and fiscal barriers to the prompt adoption of all waiting children; the response of agencies to the new populations of "special needs" children, such as those affected by drugs and/or HIV; open adoption; transracial adoption; and the potential impact of the proposed Uniform Adoption Act and the Hague Convention on Intercountry Adoptions on adoption agency practice. CWLA also made significant strides in strengthening publication offerings in the area of adoption. Negotiations were begun with several key authors in the field, and CWLA published an important volume, *Adoption and Disclosure, A Review of the Law,* focusing on disclosure of pertinent background information.

Child Day Care In 1993, CWLA placed renewed emphasis on child day care as a service that supports the healthy growth and development of children and promotes and supports families by enhancing resources and responsibility. CWLA kept member agencies up to date on federal child care regulations, new grant programs, practice issues, latest trends, and legislation through newsletters, updates, mailings, and alerts. Workshops and training sessions on such topics as use and

integration of various funding streams, innovative program models, and staff development were presented at national and regional conferences. In 1993, CWLA inaugurated a new initiative to explore linkages and advance collaborations between child day care and family preservation services. Through these efforts, CWLA will examine and propose ways to support child day care as a service to strengthen and preserve families, provide support for the child and family in time of crisis, and ease the transition of children in out-of-home care back to their families.

Child Protection Child protection has continued to be an area of concern to CWLA, as rates of child abuse and neglect have reached epidemic proportions. Each year, increasing numbers of children are physically or sexually abused, neglected, or abandoned, resulting in immediate and long-lasting consequences for children, their families, and society as a whole. In response to this ever-growing problem, CWLA, in 1993, developed an initiative to transform the way in which child protection is viewed and implemented. CWLA plans to develop and, in selected communities, test strategies to redefine child protection in a way that more appropriately responds to the needs of children, particularly encouraging community ownership and the partnership of multiple systems. Discussion is currently underway with several funding sources that could support this initiative.

Family Foster Care Through its family foster care initiative, CWLA continued in 1993 to respond to policy, program, and practice issues critical to the well-being of children who must be separated from their parents because of physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, emotional maltreatment, or special medical circumstances. CWLA's efforts in 1993 were largely directed by the Commission recommendations in *A Blueprint for Fostering Infants, Children and Youths in the 1990s,* and included assistance to member agencies, potential members, and collaborating organizations to strengthen the delivery of family foster care services. Activities focused on clarifying and supporting the essential role of foster parents; building community support and strengthening public/private partnerships; and promoting teamwork among the parents of children in care, foster parents, and social work professionals. CWLA also

collaborated with the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services and other state child welfare agencies to develop a 96-hour comprehensive, competency- and video-based program for the preservice training and assessment of foster parents and adoptive parents, and for foster parent in-service training. This program, Foster PRIDE/Adopt PRIDE, already is in demand for translation and use by other countries.

Group Residential Care CWLA continued throughout 1993 to develop its residential group care agenda, providing a range of supports, training, and technical assistance to the field. While providing consultation and membership services in the basic areas of practice within the range of group care settings, CWLA developed new offerings to meet the emerging needs of the field: staff recruitment and retention strategies; assistance in professionalizing the field of child and youth care; help for traditional group care agencies to assume a greater role in working with and supporting the families of children in care; worker safety; and a range of technical assistance activities to help those who administer group care. With the support of the Annie E. Casey Foundation, CWLA initiated a new program to bring a family focus to services provided by traditional child welfare agencies and to improve the quality of services to families. Recognizing the importance of quality care for children and youths, CWLA also began efforts to create national standards that will define the field of child and youth care, establish minimum qualifications for child and youth care practitioners, and describe the education and training these practitioners need.

Housing and Homelessness CWLA's efforts in 1993 in the area of Housing and Homelessness focused on the CWLA-initiated Family Unification Program, which provides Section 8 rental assistance to families whose children are at risk of placement in out-of-home care or whose children cannot be reunited with them because of homelessness or severe housing problems. With the support of the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, CWLA provided on-site technical assistance for child welfare agencies and housing authorities to implement the Family Unification Program. In addition, CWLA turned its attention in 1993 to the Urban Revitalization Demonstration Program, a new

program administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which, for the first time in public housing history, targets substantial resources to the development of comprehensive social services for the residents of severely distressed public housing. CWLA is currently working with HUD to develop a strong technical assistance program for public housing authorities implementing this important program.

International Child Welfare Projects CWLA began its international child welfare initiative in 1993 in response to increasing interest on the part of member agencies and numerous opportunities for consultation and the exchange of technology and information with professional peers in other countries. This initiative is designed to address a range of child welfare practice, program, and policy issues concerning children and families, agencies, and professionals globally; advocate for international excellence in child welfare policy and practice; and promote world-wide information exchange and collaboration. Components of the initiative include an International Child Welfare Projects Advisory Committee; a professional exchange to Romania, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, titled "After the Change: Child Welfare in Transition;" and collaboration with European colleagues to implement foster parent training programs in central and eastern Europe and Scandinavia.

Kinship Care In 1993, CWLA expanded its kinship care initiative to further enhance program development and training and promote a comprehensive approach to kinship care as an essential child welfare service. With the support of the North American Kinship Care Policy and Practice Committee, CWLA completed a report entitled *Kinship Care: A Natural Bridge,* which addresses kinship policy and practice issues, and contains a national call to action in the areas of legislation, federal policy, and research. CWLA's kinship care activities in 1993 also included participation in intra-agency commissions and task forces, development of written materials, and provision of kinship care training with a focus on kinship care in relation to family preservation, foster care, adoption, and intergenerational services and grandparent support groups. Contacts were made with member agencies, prospective members, and advocacy organizations to strengthen the framework for the delivery of

their competence in responding to AOD issues; using ACT to train trainers across the country; and creating and implementing a national, multifaceted public awareness campaign to call attention to the plight of vulnerable children and families devastated by AOD abuse.

Cultural Competence Throughout 1993, CWLA maintained its commitment to ensuring that child welfare provides superior services to children and their families while responding to changes in the cultural composition of society. Its cultural competence initiative focused on agencies' needs to develop services that reflect and respect the cultural diversity of their clients and community, and to eliminate barriers to effective and culturally responsive programming. In 1993, activities emphasized culturally and ethnically competent practice, public policy, and public education activities. CWLA continued its work with the National Task Force on Cultural Competency and published the *Cultural Competence Self-Assessment Instrument,* for use by child welfare agencies in relation to policymaking, administrative procedures, and practice involving children, youths, and families. Next steps include the development of a culturally specific curriculum, training materials, and activities to assist member agencies and the child welfare field with issues of cultural responsiveness and cultural competence.

HIV Infection and AIDS Since 1987, through the interdisciplinary Task Force on Children and HIV Infection, CWLA has worked to prepare and assist child welfare personnel to care for children, youths, and families affected by HIV/AIDS. In 1993, the Task Force established two priority areas for its work: children who lose their parents to AIDS and the prevention of HIV infection among at-risk youths. Building on the development of the initial HIV guidelines and guidelines for providers of residential group care, child day care, and family foster care, CWLA, supported by the Prudential Foundation, launched a new initiative to help child welfare agencies serve children who lose their parents to AIDS and ensure their care by extended and adoptive families. CWLA also targeted HIV prevention activities for youths at risk, working closely with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to advance its prevention marketing campaign to reduce HIV infection among people aged 18-25.

Research and Evaluation

Throughout 1993, CWLA continued its emphasis on the conduct and dissemination of empirically-based research and evaluation in child welfare and on related activities that facilitate child welfare research and evaluation. CWLA enlisted the support of child welfare practitioners, policymakers, and researchers through meetings of the National Council on Research in Child Welfare; the development of a Research Agenda for Child Welfare, to be published as a special issue of *CHILD WELFARE* in September 1994; the formation of a consortium of CWLA member agencies for the purpose of conducting a longitudinal study of residential group care; an evaluation of the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest independent living services grant; the *CWLA Salary Study 1993* and the *CEO Compensation and Benefits Study;* and assistance in the implementation of the Adoption and Foster Care Analysis and Reporting System (AFCARS). CWLA research staff continue to be involved in the JPA Capella Project in Chicago, Illinois, a longitudinal study of child abuse and neglect funded by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, and to conduct four program evaluations as part of the Emergency Child Abuse and Neglect Prevention Services Project.

Field-Initiated Training

In 1993, CWLA developed a new field-initiated training department within the Child Welfare Services Division to offer training opportunities to the human services community. Focused specifically on children's issues and provided by national experts at a cost that is affordable to nonprofit agencies, training is offered throughout the nation on such topics as fund development, conflict management and mediation, management strategies for chief executive officers, and total quality management. A special conference, held in September 1993, was focused on "Class Action Litigation, Court Monitors, and Child Welfare Reform: Where Do We Go From Here?" and was attended by representatives of all the states in which class action litigation has been filed.



Library and Information Services

CWLA, in 1993, renewed its commitment to maximizing the resources of the Dorothy L. Bernhard Library, which houses a collection of materials that address specialized subject areas within the child welfare profession, including family foster care, adoption, kinship care, family preservation, group residential care, child day care, adolescent pregnancy, pediatric HIV/AIDS, chemical dependency, and housing/ homelessness. CWLA staff focused on refining its collection of monographs; federal and state government reports; transcripts of Congressional hearings; publications from peer child welfare organizations; conference and seminar proceedings; accreditation self-studies from child welfare agencies across the nation; CWLA-produced standards; and descriptions of field-tested model programs, supplied by member agencies. A major activity of 1993 was planning for the automation of the Library's catalog and increasing its access to computerized information sources, including CD-ROMs, commercial journal indexing services, and other child welfare-related electronic information forums. Support is currently being sought to enable CWLA to add advanced information technologies that will prepare the Library to meet the information needs of CWLA member agencies, staff, the child welfare community and the general public in the 21st century.

Standards

CWLA is internationally recognized for its historic role in setting standards of practice for the child welfare field. These standards provide targets of excellence toward which agencies aspire, and are regularly used to revise and clarify agency policies and practices; interpret services to the public, legislators, and the media; and orient and train agency staff and board members. In 1993, CWLA completed revision of its *Standards of Excellence for Family Foster Care Services* and began revision of the *Standards of Excellence for Organization and Administration.*

Public Policy

Federal policy leadership on behalf of vulnerable children and families is fundamental to CWLA's mission, and constitutes a major focus of CWLA activity. As a new federal Administration with a strong stated commitment to improving the lives of the nation's children began its work, CWLA found significant opportunities to provide input on critical national issues, such as health care, welfare reform, and the development of strategies to improve child welfare.

In 1993, a close partnership with the new Administration and the Congress led to the enactment of the most significant child welfare legislation in more than a decade. The $26-billion Children's Initiative provides new support for family preservation, family support, and other child welfare services; expands the Earned Income Tax Credit to help working families escape poverty; improves nutrition programs; and offers free vaccinations for many children. Also last year, CWLA worked closely with the Administration and Congress in designing and securing passage of a new and expanded program offering young people opportunities for national and community service.

CWLA member agencies worked hard to ensure the passage of these legislative initiatives by contacting their members of Congress and the White House. Help also came from members of the Children's Campaign, CWLA's national grassroots network of citizen advocates. Campaign members continue to educate family and friends, volunteer at child welfare agencies, and recruit new advocates.

Despite an extremely restricted federal budget, CWLA also led successful efforts to secure additional funding for essential services for vulnerable children and families, such as children's mental health, family violence prevention, family planning, substance abuse prevention/treatment, family resource and support services, child day care, housing, juvenile delinquency prevention, and community service.

In addition to working with Congress and the Executive Branch, the Public Policy Department prepared and disseminated extensive legislative and policy materials, including the *Children's Legislative Agenda; America's Priority—National and State Facts; An Urgent Call... For a National Plan for Children and Their Families;* the *Children's Monitor,* a regular public policy newsletter; and testimony, analyses, fact sheets, and updates on key child welfare issues and legislation. CWLA's public policy efforts draw on the knowledge of CWLA program directors, representatives of member agencies, and others who serve on CWLA commissions, task forces, and special projects.

Center for Program Excellence

CWLA provides direct consultation to public and private agencies seeking to improve the quality of their services. The Center for Program Excellence, comprising senior staff and full time consultants, is the country's largest child welfare consulting operation.

The Center serves CWLA member agencies on a reduced fee-for-service basis. Areas of consultation include program reviews for child welfare and juvenile justice; handling crises (such as child abuse deaths); legislative studies; public education; quality assurance; computer system assessments; crafting responses to class action litigation; child-centered, family-focused practice; budget analyses; staff training and development; and strategic action planning. Some Center projects are long term. For example, a six-month contract generated a strategic plan for a large city agency, with recommendations and workplans for the city's child welfare and juvenile justice systems.

The Center also provides training to public and private agencies in the full range of child welfare policy, program, and practice issues. In 1993, Center staff were involved in several major training initiatives, including a multistate

collaboration for the development of a comprehensive, competency-based curriculum for preparing and assessing foster parents and adoptive parents and a 66-hour foster parent inservice training program.

In 1993, the Center also joined in a major effort with Andersen Consulting, a world-wide leader in the development of information technology, to promote comprehensive child welfare information systems.

Conferences

CWLA's national and regional conferences attracted nearly 5,000 people in 1993. Executives, administrators, front-line workers, foster parents, board leaders and other volunteers, and child advocates all came out in record numbers.

Senators John D. Rockefeller (D-WV) and Christopher S. Bond (R-MO) were honored at the national conference for their outstanding leadership as chief sponsors of comprehensive child welfare legislation. Congressman Charles B. Rangel (D-NY) was honored for his long-term and effective advocacy in behalf of poor children and families.

Awards were presented to outstanding social workers, direct care staff, and foster parents selected from each of CWLA's five regions. The first J. Burt Annin award was given posthumously to our dear friend Burt for his leadership and achievement in HIV prevention and awareness.

CWLA member agencies rolled out the red carpet in Columbus, OH; Little Rock, AR; Newark, NJ; and Hartford, CT for our very successful regional training conferences.

$10

CHILD WELFARE

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JOURNAL OF POLICY, PRACTICE, AND PROGRAM

SPECIAL ISSUE

Lessons from the Past: A History of Child Welfare

edited by

Eve P. Smith
and
Lisa Merkel-Holguín



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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

As the Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) celebrates its 75th anniversary of guarding children's rights and serving children's needs, how fitting it is that we reflect on the history of child welfare with this special issue. It is also a time to honor CWLA's long-standing mission to preserve, protect, and promote the well-being of all children and their families.

CWLA traces its beginnings to the 1909 White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, where it was recommended that the United States Children's Bureau and a voluntary national organization of child-helping or child-caring agencies and institutions be established. In 1915, a group of agency executives formed the Bureau of Exchange Among Child-Helping Agencies (BEI) to share ideas and to provide assistance to one another.

By 1918, the Bureau's Executive Committee had received proposals to develop a national society in the children's field. With funding from the Russell Sage Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund of New York, the hopes for a national organization were within reach. The BEI membership selected Dr. C.C. Carstens, who worked with the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity and the New York Charity Organization and as Executive Secretary of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, to lead the movement. On December 20, 1920, the BEI met and adopted a new constitution, transforming the organization into the Child Welfare League of America. CWLA's "Initial standards for membership required that casework services be under the supervision of a person trained and experienced in casework; that the treatment of every request for placement of a child into care be based on casework." Carstens, whom many consider to be the father of modern child protective service practices, became CWLA's first executive director.

In 1921, with 65 charter member agencies (private societies that placed children in foster homes and for adoption, child protection agencies, and public departments of child care), an

initial budget of $20,000, and three staff members, CWLA's goals were (1) to promote a better understanding of child welfare problems; (2) to establish and improve methods in all forms of service to children; (3) to provide information on sound child welfare practices and report currently on successful efforts in any part of the field; and (4) to develop interagency service.

The structure of CWLA has changed markedly in 75 years, but its goals remain virtually the same. With approximately 780 child welfare agency members in the U.S. and Canada, a budget of $8 million, and a staff of 75, CWLA still seeks to (1) develop and promote standards for the improvement of child welfare practice in the support, care, and treatment of children and their families for the delivery of services, and for the conduct of agencies; (2) formulate, promote, and advocate public policies for the benefit of all children and their families; (3) improve our ability to meet the needs of children and their families by increasing, serving, and strengthening the membership of agencies and individuals; and (4) ensure that all activities, services, and programs are conducted in a manner that is sensitive to and shows respect for the cultural and ethnic diversity of our constituents.

CWLA's accomplishments over the past 75 years are too numerous to list, but a few deserve particular mention. At the national level, CWLA has been a driving force behind legislation and policies to better the lives of children:

- the Lanham Act of the 1940s, which established the first federally funded day care centers in the country;
- the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980 (P.L. 96–272), which has significantly changed the way child welfare services are provided, including mandating reasonable efforts to keep children with their families whenever possible, permanency planning, and out-of-home care placement in the least restrictive setting;
- postlegal adoption service funding;
- independent living preparation programs;

- the Family Unification Program of the Housing Act of 1990, which provides housing subsidies to families in the child welfare system; and
- most recently, the Family Preservation and Support Services program provisions of the Omnibus Budget Act of 1993 (P.L. 103–66), which provides critical funds for a range of services for children and families.

To assist those who practice child welfare, CWLA

- publishes nationally recognized standards for practice in every child welfare field;
- cofounded and sponsors the Council on Accreditation of Services for Children and Families;
- provides the country's most extensive and comprehensive consultation service to public and voluntary agencies in all aspects of child welfare services;
- developed the first child welfare research center; and
- maintains the largest child welfare library and information service in the country.

CWLA reaches out to child welfare professionals throughout the world through its extensive publishing program, conferences, and trainings, and to the general public through the Children's Campaign. CWLA's merger with the Florence Crittenton Association in 1976 allowed it to expand its work in adolescent pregnancy and parenting services.

Now more than ever, with skyrocketing rates of child abuse and neglect, adolescent pregnancy, and poverty, the child welfare field needs high standards of practice, advocacy for child-friendly public policies, and the ability to provide quality and culturally competent services for children and their families. We look to the history of child welfare and to the strength and leadership that CWLA has provided for the past 75 years to help us plan the future. There is much to be done.

David S. Liederman
Executive Director, CWLA

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FOREWORD

CHILD WELFARE has a proud record of consistent advocacy for the well-being of children. When this journal began publication on July 15, 1922, the first issue included comments on infant mortality data published by the American Child Hygiene Association; took note that the Bureau of Children of the Department of Public Welfare of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, had adopted policies that held that "the best interest of the child" should control child placement decisions; and reported that Boston's South Bay Settlement had established a "Habit Clinic" for preschool children [*Bulletin* 1922].

As we approach the year 2000, infant mortality rates, child placement dilemmas, and appropriate socialization of children continue to challenge the field of child welfare. How important it is, then, that *CHILD WELFARE* pauses to reflect on the history of child welfare. The carefully selected topics explored in this issue underscore the importance of recovering past events and themes still relevant for today's child welfare field. It is the hope of every historian that her or his research will show contemporary readers how study of the past can deepen understanding and perhaps stir those readers to think about the usefulness of what they have read for improving their current work.

History offers many examples of practices that have direct import for those who struggle to support children. Who is not bothered by what seem to be increasing acts of violence by children against children? The role of hidden cruelty to children in perpetuating violence is illuminated by study of the past [Miller 1983]. Historians and others have gone far in illuminating the history of the family, and by implication, their revelations greatly increase our understanding of society's complex responses to children over time, from early assumptions that children were little more than miniature adults to the "discovery" of childhood

as a special developmental period necessitating careful attention and nurturance by adult caregivers. Current efforts to keep families intact by avoiding unnecessary out-of-home care of children are reminiscent of debates in the late nineteenth century over the wisdom of "rescuing" children by removing them from the home—the common practice of organizations whose mission it was to prevent cruelty to children. By 1909, at the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, it was proclaimed that "home life is the highest and finest product of civilization . . . . children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons" [Proceedings 1909: 18]. Here was acceptance of a theory that informs modern child welfare practice and has shaped so many family preservation efforts nationwide.

The American philosopher George Santayana once remarked that a person who does not know the past is condemned to repeat it. Although the authors assembled here would make no such claim, they do link past efforts to tackle tough problems related to children's well-being to today's struggles. When *CHILD WELFARE* began publishing 74 years ago, the United States had recently emerged from participation in World War I. Women still did not have universal suffrage and brutal child labor was not unusual. Harsh legal codes separating the races were widespread, and those bent on improving the lot of children knew that reform meant commitment to an uphill struggle. Much has changed since 1922. For example, child labor, while still present, has been outlawed in most industries, women vote, and de jure racial segregation is largely a memory. Yet the state of children continues to be precarious. In April 1994, the United States' General Accounting Office (GAO) reported dramatic increases in the number of infants and toddlers living in poverty. During the 1980s, a decade similar to the 1920s in its conservative mood, the number of infants and toddlers in poverty increased by 26%. In some cities and rural areas, more than 45% of infants and toddlers lived in poverty [GAO 1994].

Since its beginnings 75 years ago, the Child Welfare League of American has advocated in behalf of at-risk children. Today, many children are uninsured and thereby have limited access to health care; the number of homeless children and families is increasing; and infant mortality continues to be a problem, particularly in socially and economically oppressed areas [Merkel-Holguín 1993].

While we do have excellent federal, state, and local programs that strive to address the needs of vulnerable children and their families, more are needed. Head Start, the children's program that both conservatives and liberals support, serves only about 1% of infants and toddlers living in poverty [GAO 1994]. Given the goal articulated in 1990 by President Bush and the nation's governors that by the year 2000 "all children in American will start school ready to learn, will arrive at school with healthy minds and bodies, and all disadvantaged children will have access to developmentally appropriate preschool programs" [U.S. General Accounting Office 1994: 3–4], it is clear that we have far to go.

How better to proceed then by pausing on the 75th anniversary of the Child Welfare League of America to reflect on the history of efforts to deal with the needs of children. I think this issue will demonstrate to the many readers of *CHILD WELFARE* that their work has an important past. I hope that it provides encouragement to continue the uphill struggle to improve the well-being of those who represent the future.

John M. Herrick, Ph.D.
Professor, School of Social Work
Michigan State University
President, Social Welfare History Group

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INTRODUCTION

Lessons from the Past, a special issue of *CHILD WELFARE* commemorating the Child Welfare League of America's 75th anniversary, endeavors to (1) illustrate the importance of, and stimulate interest in, child welfare history; (2) demonstrate the linkages between historical and current child welfare practice and policy; and (3) encourage researchers to include child welfare history in their research perspectives. It is our hope that this historical issue will encourage readers to ask themselves a series of questions: What can the child welfare field learn from its past? How does and/or should child welfare history influence present-day practice and policy? How can I incorporate lessons from the past into my work?

Overarching Themes

The 15 articles in this collection cover a range of social conditions, public policies, and approaches to solving problems. Though history does not repeat itself precisely, problems, controversies about solutions, and certain themes do. For example, our society is currently experiencing a recurrence of the kind of social and economic conditions that correlate with increasing rates of child abuse and neglect and an increasing number of children in out-of-home care. The public perception that we see being resurrected from the past is that many impoverished families are a bad influence on their children and that the children are better off removed from them, which is followed by controversy and polemics over ways to cope with the situation.

Some approaches have been useful, others have not. Success, however, has never meant that society would remember what worked. Some policy decisions, when viewed from a historical perspective, were clearly made in ignorance. It is evident that the child welfare system needs to make use of its own past, evaluat-

ing the lessons learned, studying past mistakes, and building on successes.

The Articles

Although it is impossible to cover all the arenas and aspects of the child welfare field in one volume, we have attempted to provide a range of perspectives, and in doing so, we hope to demonstrate the uses of history.

Child Welfare's Challenge

The collection begins with four articles about conditions that led to the need for child welfare services, and society's views of impoverished families and children:

- In *Child Welfare in Fiction and Fact*, Robert Bremner describes the portrayal of child welfare conditions in novels and stories of nineteenth century English and American literature, and points out that these stories reflect then-prevailing views regarding the child welfare system. Prominent was the idea that keeping children with their own families, or placing them in new families that would love and care for them, was best for the children.
- The movement against child labor brought new difficulties for family service workers in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Beverly Stadum's article, *The Dilemma in Saving Children from Child Labor*, concerns the actions of children, families, and social workers who were caught up in the conflict between the economic pressures of families who needed children's incomes and the implementation of new child labor policies.
- In *The Child Welfare Response to Youth Violence and Homelessness*, Kristine Nelson compares the economic conditions and social crises of the growing number of homeless children and the rates of violence of the 1850s to those of the 1980s. Nelson notes that both crises were consequences of laissez-faire economic policies.
- Despite research that almost always connects neglect with problems of poverty, society continues for the most part to blame mothers instead of working toward systemic change. In *An Outrage to Common Decency*, Karen Swift documents historical connections to present-day views of child neglect.

Responding to the Need

Solutions to the problems discussed above were as varied as the professionals who advocated for them. The eight articles in the next section include discussions of child day care, various forms of out-of-home care, and adoption.

- William Tuttle, in *Rosie the Riveter and Her Latchkey Children*, describes the U.S. government's swiftness in moving to create and fund a system of child day care during the Second World War, as well as food programs for working mothers and their children. This demonstration proved that rapid program development and implementation for children and families is possible when the need of the nation is great enough.
- In *Bring Back Orphanages? What Policymakers of Today Can Learn from the Past*, Eve Smith describes the orphanages of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and concludes that inherent difficulties would make it virtually impossible—or at best, extremely expensive—to recreate them. She also reminds us that even in the heyday of orphanages, many professionals criticized institutional living as not being in children's best interests, and preferred family care.
- The social ethos that evolved during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to the development of institutions by the African American community.

Struggling against racism and segregation, African American women pursued the development of child welfare facilities for African American children. Wilma Peebles-Wilkins describes the nature of such developments with her article, *Janie Porter Barrett and the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls.*

- Turning to the subject of family foster care, Tim Hacsi, in *From Indenture to Foster Care,* affords an overview of the history of out-of-home care, stressing major societal changes that led to program changes. He shows how conflicting and difficult-to-reconcile goals and beliefs contribute to the current shape of government-funded care.
- Jeanne Cook, in *A History of Placing-Out: The Orphan Trains,* describes the program of the Children's Aid Society, which sent approximately 150,000 children to homes in western states between 1853 and 1929. The Society deliberately removed children from the reach of parents—ostensibly for the good of the children.
- A new—and yet very old—form of family foster care receiving much attention of late is kinship care. In *From Family Duty to Family Policy,* Rebecca Hegar and Maria Scannapieco describe the evolution of informal and formal kinship care—the full-time nurturing and protection of children separated from their parents and living with relatives. Kinship care, especially in child placement, is expanding.
- Over the history of child welfare practice, adoption has not escaped its share of controversy. Two articles demonstrate the evolution of program and policies. In *Adoption and Disclosure of Family Information,* E. Wayne Carp presents a picture of the cyclical nature—more openness, less openness—of adoption disclosure policies concerning children's medical and social backgrounds. He concludes that in response to lawsuits by adoptive parents accusing agencies of failing to provide information or fraudulently misrepresenting children's backgrounds, it is likely that the current trend toward fuller disclosure policies will continue.
- Patricia Collmeyer, in *From "Operation Brown Baby" to "Opportunity,"* traces the history of minority placements and transracial adoption from 1944 to 1977 at the Boys and Girls Aid Society of Oregon. As the need for adoptive families became apparent, the agency first recruited homes in minority communities and then began to accept Caucasian parents for children of color, a practice advocated by some today and looked on with disfavor by others.

Advocating for Change

Historically, advocacy groups have often been responsible for, or contributed to, major policy change. Marc Mannes, in *Factors and Events Leading to the Passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act,* describes the long and tortuous path that led to the legislation's passage. On a similar note, Mary Jean McDonald, in her article, *The Citizens' Committee for Children of New York and the Evolution of Child Advocacy (1945–1972),* documents the waxing and then waning effectiveness over time of one kind of child advocacy organization, the Citizen's Committees for Children of New York, Inc. She describes the shifts in advocacy organizations, including agenda changes, strategy and goal modifications, and the importance of informal, unofficial contacts between advocates and officials.

Finally, to encourage further study of child welfare history, we conclude this special issue of *CHILD WELFARE* with *Information Sources on Child Welfare Archives* by Murray Wortzel and Laura Delaney Brody. The authors offer sources and practical suggestions for those who would like to further pursue this fascinating area of study.

Special Acknowledgments

The editors are especially thankful to members of the Social Welfare History Group of the Council on Social Work Education. This group of scholars, practitioners, and supporters of historical research on social welfare issues helped bring to birth this interesting body of work through a special symposium in March 1992. Lastly, the editors wish to thank the contributors, external reviewers, *CHILD WELFARE* editors, and all those who offered their help and support.

Eve P. Smith, D.S.W.
University of Windsor School of Social Work

Lisa A. Merkel-Holguín, M.S.W.
Child Welfare League of America

MEMORANDUM

To: Lissa
From: Sabrina
Re: Child Welfare League of America
Date: February 23, 1995

The Child Welfare League of America (CWLA) is an association of more than 730 public and voluntary agencies and organizations serving 2.5 million children and their families across the United States and Canada that are devoted to improving life for abused, neglected, and otherwise vulnerable children and their families. The agencies provide a range of services, including kinship and family foster care, adoption, residential group care, child day care, family preservation services, mental health services, and programs for pregnant and parenting teenagers. Other concerns are housing and homeless families, pediatric AIDS and HIV, and the effects of alcohol and drug abuse on children and families.

CWLA conducts research and develops standards of excellence for child welfare. Through its Center for Program Excellence, CWLA provides direct and sometimes long term consultation to the directors and staffs of child welfare agencies. Among its activities is the Child Welfare Training Institute, offering technical assistance and training in a full range of child welfare policy issues.

Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention and Parenting

Through its Florence Crittenton Division, CWLA provides a range of pregnancy prevention services, develops programs for pregnant and parenting adolescents, and motivates the public and Congress to actively seek resolution of the problems of adolescent pregnancy.

Child Day Care

In 1993, CWLA placed renewed emphasis on child day care as a service that supports the healthy growth and development of children.

Child Protection

As rates of child abuse and neglect have reached epidemic proportions, child protection has become an increasing concern of CWLA. CWLA plans to develop and test strategies to redefine child protection in a way that more appropriately responds to the needs of children, particularly encouraging community involvement.

Housing and Homelessness

The CWLA-initiated Family Unification Program provides rental assistance to families whose children are at risk of placement in out-of-home care or whose children cannot be reunited with them because of homelessness or severe housing problems.

International Child Welfare Projects

CWLA's international child welfare initiative offers opportunities for member agencies to consult with and exchange information and technology with professional peers in other countries.

Cultural Competence

CWLA has a commitment to ensuring that child welfare services respond to changes in the cultural composition of society. They have developed a cultural competence initiative focused on agencies' needs to develop services that reflect the cultural diversity of their clients and community.

HIV Infection and AIDS

Through the interdisciplinary Task Force on Children and HIV Infection, CWLA has worked to prepare and assist child welfare personnel to care for children, youths, and families affected by HIV/AIDS.

Other Programs

CWLA oversees adoption, family foster care, group residential care, and kinship care programs.

Quotes

From the prepared testimony of David Liederman, Executive Director of CWLA to the Subcommittee on Human Resources Committee on Ways and Means, House of Representatives:

"Real welfare reform means taking seriously the welfare of children...We, as a nation, have an obligation to keep all children from harm...We talk a lot in this country about the values of strong families; but we often do precious little to preserve and strengthen families."

"Real welfare reform that can improve the lives of very poor children and their families means addressing individual and structural issues, demanding personal responsibility, providing the services for getting and keeping employment that enables families to be self-sufficient, and investing in economic development that will generate stable jobs that can support families."

"The federal government has an important responsibility in its partnership with the states in assisting their families to take care of their children. The current welfare system is broken and the federal government needs to work with the states to change it. That means more than simply writing a check and walking away."

the Interstate Banking Efficiency Act -- a major deregulatory accomplishment. The House Republicans would deny hundreds -- even thousands -- of community banks funding by eliminating funding for the Community Development Bank and Financial Institution bill.

TALKING POINTS
Monday, February 27, 1995

President Clinton begins the week by moving forward on his pledge to end welfare as we know it while Congress tries to develop a national response to welfare reform.

REFORMING WELFARE

TODAY, THE PRESIDENT SIGNS AN EXECUTIVE ORDER MAKING IT EASIER TO FIND PARENTS WHO OWE CHILD SUPPORT AND TO MAKE THEM PAY WHAT THEY OWE.

- **DEMANDING PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY.** The President's action is another important step in the effort to bring the federal government in line with the values of our people. Parents have a responsibility to take care of their children -- and any parent who isn't paying child support should be forced to pay. Too many children in this country suffer because of a parent's irresponsible behavior. Responsible welfare reform must include measures to enforce child support obligations.

- **MAKING PARENTS PAY WHAT THEY OWE.** The President has made child support enforcement one of his top priorities, and this executive order will make it easier to find federal employees who don't meet their obligations to their children. It will also improve our ability garnish their paychecks and force them to pay the support they owe.

- **BUILDING ON A RECORD YEAR FOR ENFORCEMENT.** The President's action today builds on the work he has done the past two years to step up child enforcement. Last week, the Department of Health and Human Services reported that we had collected a record $703 million in delinquent child support for 1993 by garnishing income tax refunds of parents who failed to pay. This 13% increase in collections helped almost one million families.

MORE DEMOCRATIC ACTION ON WELFARE REFORM

- **Another Welfare Waiver.** On Monday, Secretary Shalala grants another federal waiver for state welfare reform, bringing to 24 the number of states that President Clinton has given flexibility to improve their system.

- **Opposing Efforts to Cut School Lunches.** Also on Monday, Governor Howard Dean (VT), the Chairman of the National Governors' Association, and other Democratic Governors release a study showing the harm GOP cuts in school lunches would do to children in their states.

A GOOD TRADE DEAL WITH CHINA

- **A WIN FOR AMERICAN WORKERS.** Over the weekend, the Clinton Administration won another battle in the fight to create high paying jobs for Americans. On behalf of U.S. workers, President Clinton has used every tool at his disposal to fight foreign barriers to U.S. exports. That strategy paid off yesterday when the United States and China today signed an agreement on intellectual property.

- **ELIMINATING UNFAIR TRADE PRACTICES.** The agreement with China will eliminate practices that have cost Americans over $1 billion a year in high value exports. It will mean thousands of jobs for Americans in key industries, including computer software, pharmaceuticals, agricultural and chemical products, books, and audio visual products.

James MacG. Burns book on FDR
p. 169 - 170

The Lion and the Fox

April 13 = Day 100
50 = Anniv. of FDR death

Fax Transmission

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To: Ms. Lissa Muscatine
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Total # of pages, including this cover sheet: 2

v cc: Melanne

February 26, 1995

To: Hillary Rodham Clinton

Re: recissions by republicans

I think the recent recissions by the House Republicans afford a wonderful opportunity for you to dramatize your concern for children in a higher profile way.

I would suggest a series of visits to school lunches, school breakfasts, child immunization centers, WIC feeding programs, Headstart classes and other children's programs which face cuts in the recission package.

At these events, I would urge you to steer clear of sharp or confrontational rhetoric, but, instead, say that you are here to dramatize for the nation "the good work these programs are doing. Too often these programs are just numbers on a budget spread sheet and I want America to see that these programs are flesh and blood children with empty stomachs. I want us all to realize that the meals these children have here are often the only ones they will have all day that give them proper nutrition. These children and their parents are often not good at speaking out for themselves and I am here to lend them a hand in making their needs known.

I would sidestep criticism of the Republican package by saying that this visit is not "for a political purpose, but for an informational purpose -- to show people in America how important these programs really are."

Q Mrs. Clinton would you like to send a message to the republicans who are trying to cut this program

A I would just ask that they, too, come and visit these programs to see how worthwhile they are.

Q Do you oppose the recissions the House seems about to vote?

A. Any cut in aid to these children would be very bad and I want America to meet some of the mouths that depend on this food.

But stop short of any characterization of the Republicans behind the cuts as meanspirited or bad intentioned. Just defend the program and talk about its useful work and how the cuts will stop some of this useful work from going on. Praise the program, hit the cuts, but don't hit the cutters.

The mammogram and gulf war efforts have done well, but don't reach a large audience. This will, and if the advocacy is positive and pro-children rather than partisan and anti-Republican, it will prove effective both in focusing attention on the cuts and in improving perceptions of you.

Awards & Acknowledgements

CWLA National Child Welfare Scholarships

The CWLA National Child Welfare Scholarships are presented to ten employees of full member agencies, two from each of the five CWLA regions. The scholarship recipients are outstanding individuals with a demonstrated commitment to serving children, youths and their families and a desire to pursue and integrate an MSW degree into their child welfare career. Each regional scholarship recipient will receive a total of $10,000 ($5,000 from CWLA and $5,000 from the CWLA sponsoring agency) to defray the costs of pursuing an MSW beginning in the 1995 academic year.

Western Region

Diana Blue has always been very aware of the general difficulties all children experience growing up. She came to realize the value of social support in periods of developmental vulnerability when she first became a parent herself. This reality became the guiding star of her work with children and families. Ms. Blue finds her direct service work as a Counselor at the Children's Home Society of Washington very satisfying. She is mindful that available, useful and acceptable services in the broader community increase the web of support for children and families. Therefore Ms Blue also spends time and energy on several diverse community projects that benefit kids and families. She has also taken extraordinary initiative in becoming an expert in her chosen area of interest—adoption. Ms. Blue feels graduate training will allow her to do her work more capably, more professionally, and with greater knowledge.

Xiomara Flores-Holguin, a Social Worker for the Los Angeles County Department of Children's Services, was born and raised in the inner-city of Los Angeles, the daughter of Nicaraguan immigrants. She grew up in an unstructured single-parent families, domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, latch-key children, juvenile delinquency, drug abuse, and alcoholism. Mrs. Flores-Holguin learned at an early age that she wanted to work toward alleviating these problems. Her mother and preschool teachers taught her that individuals can change things and make a difference. These role models taught Mrs. Flores-Holguin the importance of choice, pride, compassion and action. Over the years she has worked as a counselor and social worker and has also conducted parenting classes, family therapy, and career guidance workshops. Mrs. Flores-Holguin hopes to pursue post-graduate study at the University of California, Los Angeles, School of Public Policy and Social Welfare, with an emphasis on domestic violence.

Mid-Atlantic Region

Eglantine Ugbogbo immigrated from Nigeria, West Africa in 1978 and experienced what it is like to need assistance from others. Her family had taught her the importance of helping others help themselves. Ms. Ugbogbo feels that her parent's example and the family's tradition of assisting those in need is an integral part of who she is. She has been in the helping profession since coming to the United States. Ms. Ugbogbo has worked as a manager at a facility for the mentally retarded, a project director for a youth center, and currently serves as a Social Worker for Leake & Watts Children's Home in Yonkers, NY. She has also assisted immigrants with documentation, housing and employment, and is engaged in a social club that sends financial contributions to Africa to families in need and orphanage homes. As a graduate social worker, Ms. Ugbogbo hopes to develop and implement policies and procedures that will assist children and families in their attempt to rebuild their families.

Yva Jean-Louis, an Intake Senior Social Work Technician for Brookwood Child Care in Brooklyn, NY, feels that her interest in helping others was awakened while she was taking two sociology courses in college. A native Haitian, she had been majoring in French and Spanish due to her difficulty with English. A sociology professor suggested that the more languages she mastered the more people she could help. Ms. Jean-Louis comes from a single-parent family with nine siblings and little money. Her childhood experiences help her to relate well to, and sympathize with, the children and families she works with. Ms. Jean-Louis hopes that her graduate studies in social work will help her gear her career toward family preservation. She understands that foster care is not the best solution every time. Ms. Jean-Louis would like to be able to work with families to strengthen them and avoid foster placement. She also feels that community involvement can make a real difference in helping families raise healthy and happy children.

Mid-West Region

Joann Simard, a Child Care Supervisor for the Children's Home and Aid Society of Illinois, sustained a lower back injury in high school which ended her ambition to become a professional tennis player. She suffered through back braces, walking sticks, a wheel chair, and eventually surgery and rehabilitation. Ms. Simard believes that her own life experiences has helped her better understand the difficulties that children and families go through, and enabled her to be the compassionate and empathetic individual she is today. She feels her bachelor's degree in secondary education has served her well in her work in residential treatment. Ms. Simard also recognizes the importance of truly understanding the clinical manifestations for the children's services. She believes that a master's degree in social work will enable her to work more productively with the children, their families, and her team—the child care staff and the social worker.

Terry McLaughlin's interest in the human service field was sparked at an early age through his parents commitment to helping others. In addition to raising five children of their own, his parents served as foster parents for more than ten years. Mr. McLaughlin's volunteer work at a crisis center served as the catalyst for his decision to leave his job with a small industrial firm and pursue a full time career working with children and families. After graduating from Eastern Michigan University with a bachelor's degree in social work, he began working as a Family Counselor for Judson Center in Royal Oak, MI. Mr. McLaughlin, who worked for Judson Center for less than four years, became their first Family Counselor with only a bachelor's degree to be promoted to Primary Therapist. He believes that retaining his skills as a therapist through new training and exposure to other professionals with enhance his career in the social work field.

Southern Region

As an adolescent, Sabina Shaw, a Crisis Counselor for the Children's Home Society of Florida, developed a relationship with a child who was physically abused. Although a challenging, her relationship with the child served as a catalyst that pulled her toward a career helping others. Ms. Shaw pursued her college education but had to put her plans for a master's degree in social work on hold due to a serious and sudden family illness. She later accepted an entry level position with the Children's Project Safe Place/SOS Crisis Counseling program and soon realized that her specific area of interest was in the counseling profession. Ms. Shaw hopes an MSW degree will enhance her knowledge and skills to help youth and families in crisis while providing therapy in a hospital setting. She notes that her personal achievements are not measured in certificates and awards but, rather, in the awareness she has played a part in helping the many youths she has counseled.

Awards & Acknowledgements

Amalia Gonz... has had life experiences, as both a child and an adult, which contributed to h... desire to work with children and families in need. Her family's difficulties during her c... hood as well as her single parenthood at an early age have made her realize the ... any hardships the children in our society endure. Ms. Gonzales committed herself t... working closely with families and children to ensure that the risk of abuse is reduced. ... he serves as a Home Based Therapist/Social Worker with the DePelchin Children's C... nter in Houston, TX. Ms. Gonzales provides in-home services to families referred by ... hild Protective Services. She is also very involved in facilitating a children's grou... to enhance positive development. Ms. Gonzales recognizes that she has reached a ... int in her career where it is important for her to connect her experience with a broa... g knowledge base and participate in more theoretical learning.

North Atlantic Region

Kim Pearson, a College Manager at St. Vincent's Home in Fall River, MA, had several childhood experiences which prompted her to seek a career in child welfare. Her family taught her to highly value children and that their needs are of the utmost importance. She realized early on that she enjoyed interacting with children and that they related well to her. Ms. Pearson also learned first hand the impact that alcoholism has on a family. She understands the unique support children from dysfunctional families need in order to develop in a healthy manner. Ms. Pearson started at St. Vincent's as an intern during her undergraduate studies and has become a valued and respected supervisor, manager, and direct care service provider. She sees a career in child welfare as a way to utilize her personal knowledge, natural ability, education, and training in a manner that would improve the quality of life for children and their families.

Jennifer Hickey learned patience, tolerance, and respect growing up in a household with several siblings. Her parents always seemed to have an infinite amount of time, love, and affection for each of the children and were also always giving of themselves to others. Ms. Hickey believes she inherited her desire to pursue a career in child welfare from her family. Her position as a Children's Services Caseworker at the Maine Department of Human Services has allowed her to assist children and families in need and inspired her to believe that she can indeed make a difference in someone's life. After pursuing her MSW degree, Ms. Hickey would like to work more intensely with a smaller clientele in a private practice setting. This she feels would have more of an impact in their lives and hopefully help them before intervention from the social service system is required.

Special Acknowledgement

The Child Welfare League of America is grateful to Freddie Mac for their generous financial support of CWLA's National Child Welfare Scholarships.

CWLA also extends a special thanks to the members of the Scholarship Selection Committee: Dr. Araceli Francis, Council on Social Work Education; Jake Terpstra, Children's Bureau-HHS; Joan Levy-Zlotnik, National Association of Social Workers; and Pamela Day and Bea Moore of CWLA.

CWLA Wishes to Thank

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HEADLINE: In America;
Inflicting Pain on Children

BYLINE: By BOB HERBERT

BODY:

The Republican jihad against the poor, the young and the helpless rolls on. So far no legislative assault has been too cruel, no budget cut too loathsome for the party that took control of Congress at the beginning of the year and has spent all its time since then stomping on the last dying embers of idealism and compassion in government.

This week Republicans in the House began approving measures that would take food off the trays of hungry schoolchildren and out of the mouths of needy infants. With reckless disregard for the human toll that is sure to follow, they have also aimed their newly powerful budget-reducing weapons at programs that provide aid to handicapped youngsters, that support foster care and adoption, that fight drug abuse in schools and that provide summer jobs for needy youths.

They have also targeted programs that provide fuel oil to the poor and assistance to homeless veterans. And they have given the back of their hand to President Clinton's national service corps.

The United States has entered a nightmare period in which the overwhelming might of the Federal Government is being used to deliberately inflict harm on the least powerful people in the nation. The attacks on children have been the worst. If the anti-child legislation that is moving with such dispatch through the House actually becomes law, "the results will be cataclysmic," according to James Weill, general counsel to the Children's Defense Fund.

Mr. Weill said: "The Republican leadership has targeted children for almost all of the pain. They've cut, I think, $7 billion out of the child nutrition programs. . . .

"Foster care and adoption have been cut by $4 billion over five years. They've cut Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and they're eliminating most of the entitlements as they go along. They're just smashing their way through all of the children's programs. To me, this so-called revolution is more like a massacre of the innocents."

President Clinton denounced the cuts and accused the G.O.P. majority in Congress of "making war on children." At a press conference yesterday in Ottawa, Canada, Mr. Clinton said: "What they want to do is make war on the kids of this country to pay for the capital gains tax cut. That's what's going on."

There is a breathless, frenzied quality to the Republican assault, as if the party leaders recognize that they must get their work done fast -- while the Democrats are still in a post-election stupor, and before the public at large becomes aware of the extremes of suffering and social devastation that are in the works.

"This agenda is too harsh," said Senator Paul Wellstone, a Democrat from Minnesota. "I realize that the Republicans won the election, but these measures are too extreme, too mean-spirited. They go beyond what the goodness of the people in this country would permit. Most Americans do not want to see vulnerable people hurt, especially children."

Mr. Wellstone has irritated some of his Republican colleagues by frequently offering a legislative amendment that says the Senate "will not enact any legislation that will increase the number of children who are hungry or homeless." Each time it is offered, the amendment is defeated.

The Senate majority leader, Bob Dole, dismissed the Wellstone amendment as an "extraneous" measure designed solely to make Republicans "look heartless and cold." No doubt. But Senator Wellstone is right on target when he says that the Republican legislative strategy was carefully designed to hurt the people "who aren't the big players, who aren't the heavy hitters, who don't make big contributions, who don't have lobbyists, who don't have clout."

If anything is funny in this dismal period, it's that the Republicans are touchy about being called heartless and cold. That's a riot. Has anyone listened to Newt Gingrich lately? To Dick Armey? To Phil Gramm? This is the coldest crew to come down the pike since the Ice Age.

An indication of just how cold and heartless the Republicans have become is the startling fact that Mr. Dole, of all people, is starting to look a little warm and fuzzy.

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(Draft of CDF document) Report

Intro

In a "revolution" that has so far spared just about everyone else, the House leadership and key committee majorities have targeted America's children for the earliest, broadest and by far the deepest pain in budget cuts, program restructuring, and rescissions. In less than two weeks key committees and subcommittees have voted to cut $40 billion from crucial child survival programs, and to end the federal safety net for children and their families. This is a wholly unshared sacrifice: the House seems to be postponing for a later day, if ever, any contemplation of major cuts for other constituencies. Savings from savage cuts in programs for needy and helpless children will be used to fund a new and unnecessary defense build-up; to pay for a capital gains tax cut of which 71 percent goes to the richest one percent of Americans; and to reducing a tax on the richest 13 percent of the elderly by $56 billion (over 10 years) when that tax goes to pay part of Medicare's cost.

While the House majority's welfare plan has gotten the most media attention, that plan's unprecedented savaging of children is merely symptomatic of a broad-gauged assault on hungry children's nutrition programs, disabled children's disability assistance, pre-school children's child care and child development centers, unemployed youths' summer jobs, sick children's medical care, and abused children's foster care and hope for adoptive families. Block grants, rescissions and consolidations have been used in a multi-front attack on children's services. Not even proven money-saving programs like Head Start have been spared. And in the midst of this series of savage reductions, the most severe have been reserved for the most vulnerable children -- those who are disabled or in foster care.

Based on data from the Congressional Budget Office, the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Agriculture, and analysis of Congressional numbers by the Children's Defense Fund, there were $40 billion in core safety net program cuts adopted in the last two weeks that would force out of these programs millions of the children eligible under current rules:

	Dollars cut over 5 years	Dollars cut in the fifth year (2000)	Children losing benefits in the year 2000	Percentage of all eligible children who would lose benefits in the year 2000
AFDC	$12.8 billion	$3.7 billion	1.7 million (3-5 million in later years)	18.1 percent
SSI for children	$12.1 billion	$5.5 billion	516,000	67 percent
Foster Care and Adoption Assistance	$5.5 billion	$1.7 billion	111,000	26 percent
School Lunches	$2 billion	$510 million	2.22 million	8.8 percent
Child Care	$2.5 billion	$612 million	378,000	24 percent
Child & [illegible] Food [illegible]ogram	$5 billion	$1.1 billion	1,048,000 ~~365,000~~	50 ~~15~~ percent

These numbers assume that states would reduce spending by the amount of federal reductions, and do so by eliminating eligible children from the program, rather than reducing benefits across-the-board. In some programs like AFDC and SSI, that strategy of dropping children is virtually dictated by the proposed legislation. In others, it is possible for states to spread out the cuts and reduce benefits for more children, but completely deny benefits to fewer. In that case, many more children would be hurt, but the damage to each would be a bit less. In either instance, the pain will be massive.

The numbers in this report actually understate the real depth of the cuts, since they assume there is no recession driving up the number of children needing help; assume there are no transfers from the new block grants to other programs (as is allowed with some of the funds); assume that there are not larger cuts in state funds by states that would be freed from any matching requirements; and don't account for how cuts in one area (e.g., AFDC) will drive up the need in other areas (e.g., foster care). Moreover, the AFDC losses in 2000 disguise the full impact of the House welfare plan: three to five million children will lose AFDC when it is fully phased in.

This assault on America's children is also an assault on America's future. The millions of infants and toddlers who will be denied food necessary for their physical and intellectual development in the years ahead are the ones America will want to be computer programmers in 2017. The millions of five year olds who will be denied any cash aid for housing, food or clothing are the ones we will want to be learning in college or apprenticing in industry in 2012. The thousands of battered ten year olds denied counselling and foster care and adoptive homes are the ones we will want not to be violent 16 year olds in 2001. By ravaging the childhoods of millions of American children, the House will simultaneously be pillaging America's economic and democratic future.

The assault on children is unique in its size and severity. No other group, except for legal aliens, has been touched by more than a small fraction of the cuts aimed at children. No massively subsidized corporation has yet to see a dime threatened. (In fact, a handful of big businesses got a $1 billion gift from higher prices on infant formula -- and less formula purchased -- when the House Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities voted down competitive bidding in the WIC program, a step USDA says will cause "increased malnutrition, growth stunting, and iron deficiency anemia.") No farmer has had his crop subsidies cut. No military or civil service retiree -- or member of Congress -- has seen his pay or health insurance or retirement benefits cut. Defense contractors have been given a gift of new and higher spending. Programs for poor families have faced extra cuts in order to spare traditional "pork" like visitors' centers or NRA-sponsored efforts to teach school children to shoot guns. The House majority has put almost all its cost-cutting effort into slashing and burning their way through programs for children and the parents, grandparents, foster parents and others who are struggling to care for them.

This is not what America voted for. This is not what Americans want. This is not what America needs. Nevertheless, in just 10 days in February, House committees voted to slash these basic supports:

<u>Food for children</u>. The House Economic and Educational Opportunities Committee voted to take away the guarantee that low-income children can get free or reduced price school lunches and breakfasts. The plan indiscriminately lumps these programs together and cuts them $2 billion over five years. In a separate block grant, the Committee ended the guarantee of food for children in Head Start and child care centers through the Child and Adult Care Food Program and lumped this with the WIC program of food for poor pregnant women and infants, the summer food program, and food for the homeless, and cut the package by $5 billion over five years. Cutting fat? Hardly. Experts estimate that hundreds of millions fewer meals will be served to needy children in the year 2000, thanks to the cut. Sharing the pain? Hardly. No other food program has yet been cut, whether the cafeteria for members of the House of Representatives or the programs that feed the elderly.

House Speaker Gingrich has promised, as well he should, not to cut food programs for the elderly. But it is perverse to treat food for seniors as deserving of protection but food for children as a waste of national resources. We can afford to feed both.

Income support for children. The House Ways and Means Committee's Human Resources Subcommittee voted to take away the guarantee that poor children can get AFDC; voted to order states to deny throughout childhood any aid to children born out of wedlock to young mothers (even though the mother may eventually requalify for aid); and voted to limit to five years the receipt of welfare for those children who might still qualify despite the other rule changes. In the year 2000, $3.7 billion will be taken away from poor children. Is this aimed at parents and personal responsibility? Not really. The plan cuts off children even when parents can get benefits, cuts off families even when they have been working and complying with all rules, and tells a child who has been living with his low-income, elderly grandparents since birth that he'll get no help after the age of five. Cutting fat? No! In the year 2000, 1.7 million children who by definition do not have enough for food or shelter are projected to lose AFDC. Even more will lose help if states cut back further or divert state and federal AFDC funds to other purposes. Sharing the pain? Hardly. No other government income program for the rich, or middle class -- or the adult poor -- has been cut so deeply as this most basic safety net program for children, although the other programs cost many times more than AFDC.

Foster care and adoption assistance. Some of the millions of children being cut off AFDC may well end up at the door of the already overburdened child protection system for help, but they will likely find the door slammed in their faces. The House Republicans have amended their initial Contract to take away the guarantee, which they had originally preserved, that an eligible abused or neglected child who cannot live safely at home will be assured a foster home, group home, or adoptive family. Even as caseloads continue to rise, the new Child Protection Block Grant further endangers children by cutting more than $5 billion over five years from foster care, adoption assistance, and a range of child abuse prevention and treatment services, and ending any federal oversight of the protection for these children. Beginning in FY 1998, states will have less available to them for the entire block grant than they are now projected to be spending that year for foster care and adoption assistance alone. The cuts in FY 2000 could force states to deny foster care to more than 100,000 abused and neglected children.

Children with Disabilities. The House is not even letting indigent children with severe disabilities escape the omnibus assault. It is virtually eliminating the program of cash assistance to children with disabilities whose parents cannot support them. Just cutting the fat? The plan will cut 250,000 out of 900,000 children with disabilities off the program now, and stop all cash assistance to almost all children entering the program in the future. No matter how bad a child's condition and no matter how poor the family, the child won't get cash assistance unless it is necessary to keep him from being institutionalized. Blind children, deaf children, children with cerebral palsy or muscular dystrophy all have been found to be unworthy of help in meeting their needs for food, clothing or shelter. Sharing the pain? The subcommittee made only small cuts in the program for disabled adults. No poor, disabled American should see assistance withdrawn -- our society is wealthy enough to help all low-income people with disabilities. The House seems to agree -- if you are an adult on Social Security, veterans benefits, civil service or military retirement, or SSI. But they have decided to single out children with disabilities, people who do not vote, as unworthy of help.

Children in Child Care. A child care block grant that ends child care entitlements targeted at getting and keeping families off welfare sweeps these programs in with other child care funds and then cuts the total $2.5 billion over five years -- 24 percent in the fifth year. This and other cuts show that the House leadership is not truly interested in putting welfare recipients to work or supporting lower-income families in their work efforts. A far higher priority is simply slashing programs for children.

This report focuses on the massive damage to children' entitlements -- the destruction by the House of the decades-old promise that children and families in need can count on modest help in obtaining the most basic necessities. The targeting of these safety net programs, if it prevails in the House and Senate, will be the most damaging action Congress can take with regard to children. But as the House turns to other authorization, budget and appropriations issues, it is demonstrating that it will single out children for the harshest pain there as well. As just one example, during the week of February 20th House appropriations subcommittees singled out low-income Americans, but particularly low-income children, for the brunt of the $17.1 billion in rescissions they propose. Employment training and jobs programs capture the essence of this anti-child frenzy. ~~The six~~ Seven of the largest employment program rescissions came in ~~six~~ five adult programs and four youth programs. The adult programs were cut an average of 3.2 percent. The youth programs were cut 87.8 percent.