

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (1 page)	05/05/1995	b(6)
002. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (3 pages)	06/02/1995	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19010

FOLDER TITLE:

Childcare #1 [Binder] [4]

2013-0534-S

ry1701

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

5/8/95

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
DATE: MONDAY, MAY 8, 1995
FINAL

WASHINGTON, DC/MOSCOW, RUSSIA

TRAVELING PARTY: KELLY CRAIGHEAD, TRIP DIRECTOR
MELANNE VERVEER, DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF
LISA CAPUTO, PRESS SECRETARY

LEAD ADVANCE
MOSCOW, RUSSIA: ROSHANN PARRIS

SCHEDULER: SARA GROTE
202-456-2922 OFFICE
202-456-2317 FAX
202-483-7312 HOME
1-800-528-7823 WHCA #4363

PREV RONThe White House

NOTE TO STAFF:

Baggage Call Baggage call for staff on AF I or Support Plane is
8:30 am Monday outside of OEOB 89 1/2 or 11:15 pm
Sunday night at Andrews Air Force Base.

Staff Vans Staff vans will depart from West Executive Drive
en route Andrews Air Force Base at 11:30 am.

8:30 am

(b)(6)

[001]

9:30 am-
10:00 am

RECEPTION FOR The Advertising Council
State Dining Room/Blue Room
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY

Format:

NOTE: Rahm Emmanuel and Mike McCurry will speak before HRC
arrives.

- Offstage announce of HRC
- HRC to deliver brief remarks
- Receiving line in Blue Room

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, MAY 8, 1995
PAGE 2

Participants: Approx. 130 people to attend.
[See briefing for more info.]

Staff Contact: Dave Anderson
456-7105

12:05 pm **OFFICIAL PHOTO W/Michael Shilinski and Chaz
Fisher, First Lady Scheduling Interns
Diplomatic Reception Room
WHITE HOUSE PHOTO ONLY**

12:10 pm **DEPART White House South Portico
EN ROUTE Pentagon Landing Zone
[drive time: 15 minutes]**

NOTE: HRC will travel alone to Pentagon. Staff will meet up with
her at Andrews.

12:25 pm **ARRIVE Pentagon Landing Zone**

NOTE: The President will arrive at Pentagon at 12:35 pm.

12:40 pm **WHEELS UP VIA MARINE ONE Pentagon Landing
Zone
[flight time: 10 minutes]**

12:50 pm **WHEELS DOWN Andrews Air Force Base**

1:00 pm **WHEELS UP VIA AIR FORCE ONE Andrews Air Force
Base
EN ROUTE Moscow, Russia**

FLIGHT TIME: 8 HOURS, 55 MINUTES [+8]

HRC/POTUS RON Air Force One

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, DC:
-Sunny skies. Low 48. High 70.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AD COUNCIL RECEPTION

DATE: Monday, May 8, 1995
LOCATION: State Dining Room
TIME: 9:30am
FROM: Dave Anderson **DA**

I. PURPOSE

To acknowledge the many achievements of the Advertising Council, thank them for their important recent public service collaborations with this Administration and discuss their new mission, Commitment 2000: Raising a Better Tomorrow.

II. BACKGROUND

The Event

You will be hosting a White House Reception in honor of the quadrennial Washington Conference of the Advertising Council. In your remarks, you will acknowledge the important contributions to this country made by the Ad Council throughout this and other Administrations while offering an endorsement of their new mission. You will also be thanking them for last year's collaborative efforts on behalf of crime prevention (see below) as well as for their latest Administration collaboration -- a soon-to-be-released anti-teen pregnancy campaign that will feature the President. Following your remarks you will take photos with Ad Council members.

Who Will Be in Attendance

Those in attendance at this morning's reception are members of the Ad Council's board of directors and make up a who's who list of today's media leaders. Over 130 people will be in attendance at the reception, including: Reg Brack, Chairman of *Time* and Chair of the Ad Council, Thomas Curley, the Publisher of *USA Today*, Ramsey Crain of Crain Communications, Oscar Gossett of Saatchi and Saatchi, Carlo Vittorini, Publisher of Parade Communications and many others (full list attached).

Note: Secretaries Riley, Pena and Shalala as well as AG Reno and Carol Browner will also be addressing the Ad Council's convention this week.

Why the Ad Council

The Ad Council has produced two of this Administration's most important public service campaigns: last year's anti-crime PSAs which featured the President and Alicia Brown (a young girl who had lost seven friends to violence), and -- currently in production -- a major teen pregnancy public service campaign which will also feature a message from the President.

Last year's anti-crime PSAs (storyboards attached) were filmed a year ago February and unveiled by the President at a White House ceremony that March. This was a very significant public service campaign. Because of the quality of the advertisements, and the efforts and reputation of the Ad Council, this campaign became one of the biggest in Ad Council history -- the latest tally puts free media exposure of these spots at \$50 million. Much of that exposure came during the heat of the crime bill debate.

This year we are again working with the Ad Council to produce a similarly high-profile public service campaign on the subject of teen pregnancy. This campaign (storyboards attached) will be aimed at getting citizens and community leaders involved in organizing local anti-teen pregnancy initiatives. We expect these spots to be filmed soon and on the air by late summer.

Background on the Ad Council

The Ad Council was conceived by FDR during WWII to aid the War Department in its promotion of the war effort. Originally based in the Old Executive Building, the Ad Council created the concept of public service advertising. They continue to be, far and away, the largest provider of public service advertising in the world. Some of their best-known concepts have included: Smokey the Bear, the crash test dummies, the UNCF's "The Mind is a Terrible Thing to Waste" campaign, and the McGruff "Take a Bite Out of Crime" campaign among many others. Yearly, the organization generates more than \$600 million in free media coverage from the 22,000 media outlets who print, broadcast and display Ad Council PSAs. Almost two-thirds of that media support is for government-supported campaigns. The Council was conceived by FDR during WWII to aid the War Department in its promotion of the war effort. Every subsequent Administration has acknowledged their efforts in the arena of public service advertising by receiving the Council at the White House.

The Ad Council's New Mission Statement

The Council is preparing to launch a new campaign, Commitment 2000: Raising a Better Tomorrow, which will focus exclusively on the health and well-being of America's youth. This is a refocusing of the Ad Council's mission statement in order to focus all of their service efforts on the needs of children and their well-being so that they can live up to their full-potential.

III. SCHEDULE

9:20 - 9:25	Rahm Emanuel speaks
9:25 - 9:30	Mike McCurry speaks
9:30 - 9:35	First Lady speaks
9:35 - 10:00	First Lady meet and greet/photos

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press.

V. PARTICIPANTS

The President (possible)
The First Lady
Mike McCurry
Rahm Emanuel

VI. REMARKS

Prepared remarks are being provided.

Attachments: Complete list of attendees
Storyboard and results of anti-crime PSAs
Proposed storyboard for upcoming PSA on teen pregnancy

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR THE RECEPTION FOR THE ADVERTISING COUNCIL
THE WHITE HOUSE
MAY 8, 1995

I am delighted to welcome all of you to the White House -- and to thank you, on behalf of the President and his entire Administration, for the extraordinary public service you perform. [JOKE: I just want to say that I recently found out that Smokey the Bear is 51 years old this year; he hasn't aged a bit.]

We all admire the work that Reg Brack and Ruth Wooden do in leading and managing the Ad Council. And the President and I have greatly enjoyed working with Eva Kasten and her staff as we try to get the word out to the American public about crime prevention and lowering teen pregnancy.

These two public service campaigns address two of the greatest social challenges of our times. And just as you have been so effective in helping our nation meet the challenges of drunk driving, the spread of forest fires, drug abuse, motor vehicle deaths caused by the failure to wear seat belts, and so many more, I know that your commitment to help us reduce crime and lower teen pregnancy will have an enormous impact on this country.

That said, I want to add that I am especially thrilled about your new initiative, Commitment 2000: Raising a Better Tomorrow, because it comes at such a crucial time. Nothing is more important to the future well-being of this nation than our children. Today, American children shoulder greater burdens than ever before. Yet we don't do enough to respond to their needs or their cries for help. We don't do enough to ensure that every child in this country has the opportunity to fulfill his or her God-given potential.

By raising awareness about social issues affecting young people, you can and will do immeasurable good. I think we all agree that investing in and protecting the potential of our children is just as important as any other social cause we pursue. And I applaud you, and thank you, for devoting your resources to help the kids we all care so deeply about.

###

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

5/16/95

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
DATE: TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1995
FINAL

CHICAGO, IL/WASHINGTON, DC

Lead Advance: Nancy Chestnut
Hyatt Regency
312-565-1234 RM 3318
312-565-2966 fax
1-800-SKYPAGE #840-0951
202-365-0884 cellular

Site Advance: Laine Feldstein
Laura Bishop

Press Lead: Liz Sears
1-800-278-0364 pager

Scheduler: Sara Grote
202-456-2922 office
202-456-5340 fax
202-483-7312 home
800-514-7823 WHCA#4363

PREV RON Hyatt Regency
151 East Wacker Drive
Phone: 312-565-1234
Fax: 312-565-2966

BAGGAGE CALL: 7:30 am outside of Kelly Craighead's Room.

NOTE: Solis and Ebeling will join traveling party in Kelly Craighead's Room between 7:45 am-8:00 am [Room 3326, West Tower, Phone: 312-616-4343].

8:15 am DEPART Hyatt Regency
EN ROUTE Harpo Studio, 110 North Carpenter
[drive time: 15 minutes]

8:30 am ARRIVE Harpo Studio

Greeter: Amy Craig, Associate Producer; Oprah Winfrey Show

8:35 am-
8:55 am

HOLD/BRIEFING
Holding Room: Green Room #1

NOTE: HRC will put on a lav at this point.

9:00 am-
10:00 am

OPRAH WINFREY SHOW
Studio

OPEN PRESS

NOTE: The Oprah Winfrey Show will be aired **live** in Chicago. It will air at 3:00 pm in Washington, DC.

Format:

Segment 1 [6-7 minutes]

- Oprah introduces HRC
- HRC proceeds to stage
- HRC and Oprah have discussion

Segments 2-4 [8-9 minutes per segment]

- Dr. Berry Brazelton is introduced and proceeds to stage
- HRC, Dr. Berry Brazelton and Oprah have discussion

Segments 5-6 [4-5 minutes per segment]

- Q & A with audience, primarily with children

Segment 7 [3 minutes]

- HRC, Dr. Berry Brazelton and Oprah close discussion

Segment 8 [1 minute]

- Closing sign off and credits

Participants: Approx. 200 people in audience.

10:05 am

DEPART Harpo Studio
EN ROUTE Hotel Intercontinental
[drive time: 15 minutes]

10:20 am

ARRIVE Hotel Intercontinental

Greeter: Rex Rice, Regional VP; Hotel Intercontinental

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1995
PAGE 3

10:25 am PROCEED TO 35th Floor

10:30 am-
11:00 am DOWN TIME
Presidential Suite, 3500

11:00 am-
11:35 am PRIVATE MEETING
Dining Room
OFF THE RECORD

11:40 am PROCEED TO 32nd Floor

11:45 am-
12:00 pm RECEPTION
Tower Lounge [Phone: 312-944-4100 ex. 8334]
CLOSED PRESS

Format: Informal meet and greet.

Participants: Approx. 20 people to attend.

12:05 pm PROCEED TO 8th Floor

NOTE: HRC will do group photo with Chicago Children's Choir upon arrival to 8th Floor.

12:10 pm-
1:45 pm FAMILY CIRCLE LUNCH
Grand Ballroom
OPEN PRESS

Dais Participants in Seated Order [left to right]:

- John Heins, President and CEO, Gruner + Jahr USA Publishing
- HRC
- Dr. Berry Brazelton
- Susan Ungaro, Editor-in-Chief, Family Circle

PODIUM

- James McEwen, Publisher, Family Circle
- Mrs. Chrissie Brazelton, spouse
- Andreas Wiele, Senior VP and General Manager, Gruner + Jahr USA Publishing
- Christina Brazelton, daughter

Program:

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1995
PAGE 4

- HRC and Dr. Brazelton proceed to dais
- James McEwen, Publisher, Family Circle, to deliver welcoming remarks and introduce the dais participants
- Lunch is served. **NOTE:** Program begins as dessert is served.
- Susan Ungaro, Editor in Chief, Family Circle, to deliver remarks and introduce video
- Video [approx. 10 minutes]
- Susan Ungaro introduces Dr. Brazelton and presents him with Award
- Dr. Brazelton delivers remarks
- Susan Ungaro introduces HRC and presents her with Family Circle Women Who Make A Difference Award
- HRC delivers remarks
- Susan Ungaro delivers closing remarks
- HRC and Dr. Brazelton depart stage left. Ropeline optional.

Participants: Approx. 200 people to attend.

1:50 pm

DEPART Hotel Intercontinental
EN ROUTE United Center
[drive time: 20 minutes]

2:10 pm

ARRIVE United Center

NOTE: Rick Jasculca will meet HRC curbside.

Greeters: -Bill Daley
-Maggie Daley, spouse of Mayor Richard Daley
-Richard Notebaert, President & CEO of Ameritech Corporation
-Deb DeLee
-Terry Savarise, Senior VP of Operations, United Center

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1995
PAGE 5

2:15 pm-
2:25 pm

BRIEFING
Press Lounge
Phone: 312-455-4537
Fax: 312-455-4199
CLOSED PRESS

2:30 pm-
2:45 pm

TOUR OF CONVENTION SITE
United Center
OPEN PRESS

Format: HRC will tour convention site with list of participants below. Terry Savarise will present HRC with a gift at the end of the tour.

Participants:
-HRC
-Bill Daley
-Maggie Daley
-Richard Notebaert
-Deb DeLee
-Terry Savarise

NOTE: Second tour will follow HRC tour.

Participants:
-Leslie Fox, Executive Director; Host Committee
-Janet Greene
-Julie Burns
-Maggie Williams
-Patti Solis
-Lisa Caputo
-Barbara Feinman
-Betsey Ebeling

2:45 pm

PROCEED TO Club Level

2:50 pm-
3:20 pm

MEET & GREET WITH Fundraisers for Convention Stadium Club
United Center
CLOSED PRESS-DNC PHOTO ONLY

Format: Bill Daley will introduce HRC. HRC to deliver brief, informal remarks. Meet and

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1995
PAGE 6

greet/receiving line.

Participants: Approx. 20 people to attend.

3:25 pm **DEPART** United Center
 EN ROUTE Airport
 [drive time: 30 minutes]

3:55 pm **ARRIVE** Airport

4:00 pm [CDT] **WHEELS UP** Chicago, IL
 Chicago Midway Airport
 FBO: Million Air Service
 5320 W. 63rd Street
 Phone: 312-284-2867
 Fax: 312-284-5879
 CLOSED PRESS DEPARTURE

FLIGHT TIME: 1 HOUR, 30 MINUTES [+1]

6:30 pm [EDT] **WHEELS DOWN** Andrews Air Force Base

6:35 pm **DEPART** Andrews Air Force Base
 EN ROUTE White House
 [drive time: 25 minutes]

7:00 pm **ARRIVE** White House

RON The White House

WEATHER FORECAST FOR CHICAGO, IL:

-Mostly cloudy skies with a chance of afternoon rainshowers and thunderstorms. Windy. Low 54. High 79.

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, DC:

-Sunny becoming partly cloudy. Low 51. High 79.

TO: Hillary
FR: Lisa
RE: Family Circle Luncheon
DT: May 15, 1995

You are scheduled to attend a luncheon hosted by Family Circle honoring Dr. Barry Brazelton on Tuesday in Chicago. Brazelton is celebrating his 10th anniversary as Family Circle's Contributing Editor.

At the luncheon, you will be presented with Family Circle's "Women Who Make a Difference Lifetime Achievement Award." Three women from Chicago will be presented with the magazine's "Women Who Make a Difference Award."

You will be expected to give brief remarks of 7-8 minutes. Lissa is preparing talking points.

The luncheon schedule and participants is attached. Before the luncheon, Family Circle is hosting a private reception with Dr. Brazelton's family and VIP guests.

VIP RECEPTION GUEST LIST

Dr. T. Berry Brazelton
Chrissie Brazelton, wife
Christina Brazelton, daughter
Casey Schwartz, assistant to Dr. Brazelton
Susan Ungaro, Family Circle Editor-in-Chief
Ellen Stoianoff, Family Circle Editor
Alyssa Bernstein Schaler, Family Circle PR Director
John Heins, G + J USA Publishing President and CEO
Andreas Wiele, G + J USA Publishing Senior VP and General Manager
Jim McEwen, Family Circle Publisher

REVISED
PRE-LUNCHEON ITINERARY—TUESDAY, MAY 16

7:30 AM — Limosine pick-up at Inter-Continental Hotel, south entrance on No. Michigan for 15-20 minute drive to Harpo Studios. (Susan Ungaro/FC, Ellen Stoianoff/FC, Jim McEwen/FC, ~~Andrea Kaplan/G+J USA~~, Alyssa Bernstein Shaier/G+J USA, Dr. & Mrs. Brazelton, Christina Brazelton, Casey Schwartz). Mrs. Clinton to arrive separately. Limos to wait for return trip to hotel upon completion of taping.

→ Andreas Wiele
 General Manager
 G&J USA,
 Robyn Mautz
 G&J USA

9:00 AM — Oprah Winfrey Show taping begins

11:30 AM — Private VIP Reception/Tower Lounge, 32nd Fl., Inter-Continental

Mrs. Clinton
 Dr. Brazelton
 Mrs. Brazelton
 Christina Brazelton
 Casey Schwartz
 Susan Ungaro
 Ellen Stoianoff
~~Andrea Kaplan~~ Alyssa Bernstein Shaier
 John Heins, President/G+J USA
 Andreas Wiele, General Manager/G&J USA
 Jim McEwen, Family Circle Publisher
 Women Who Make A Difference & guests:
 Linda Bremner + Dhun Battivala
 Ann Blair + Shaya Hayum + Earle Chisolm-El
 Barbara Parker-Bush + Bernard Bush

11:30 AM — Welcome Reception for Guests, 8th Floor Ballroom Balcony

Approximately 200 guests/Chicago advertising community.
 Chicago Children's Choir to entertain.

11:30 AM — Press Check-In begins, 7th Fl.

Robyn Mautz check
 Alyssa Bernstein Shaier to provide credentials.

11:55 AM — Depart Tower Lounge to Luncheon

Renee Lawin/FC to escort all VIP reception guests except Mrs. Clinton to Grand Ballroom on 7th Fl. for start of luncheon.

12:00 PM — Chimes/Luncheon Seating Begins

Guests leave balcony and descend left staircase to 7th Fl. VIP guests arrive at Grand Ballroom and take assigned seating; Dais (l-r): John Heins, Mrs. Clinton, Dr. Brazelton, Susan Ungaro, center podium, Jim McEwen/FC Publisher, Mrs. Brazelton, Andreas Wiele, Christina Brazelton. Once room is seated, Mrs. Clinton arrives via balcony staircase.

12:15 PM — See program itinerary under separate cover from Andrea Kaplan.

*Gruner + Jahr USA is the parent company of Family Circle.

FamilyCircle

110 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10011
Telephone (212) 463-1000

Family Circle Salutes
DR. T. BERRY BRAZELTON
Making A Difference for America's Children
The Hotel Inter-Continental
Tuesday, May 16, 1995

- 12:15 - 12:17 Welcome/Dais Introduction -- James McEwen, publisher, *Family Circle*
- 12:17 - 1:00 Luncheon
- *1:00 - 1:05 Remarks -- Susan Ungaro, editor-in-chief, *Family Circle*
- 1:05 - 1:15 Video
- 1:15 - 1:18 Presentation of Award to Dr. T. Berry Brazelton -- S. Ungaro
- 1:18 - 1:23 Dr. Brazelton Speaks
- 1:23 - 1:26 Presentation of Award to Mrs. Clinton -- S. Ungaro
- 1:26 - 1:33 Mrs. Clinton Speaks and Accepts Award
- 1:33 - 1:34 Closing Remarks -- S. Ungaro

* Program will begin as soon as dessert and coffee are served.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FAMILY CIRCLE LUNCH HONORING DR. T. BERRY BRAZELTON
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MAY 16, 1995

[Acknowledgements: James McEwen, publisher of Family Circle; Susan Ungaro [un-GAR-oh], editor in chief, who will introduce you; Mrs. Brazelton, and daughter Christina (NOTE: The Brazelton's recently celebrated their 45th wedding anniversary)]

Thank you so much for this award. As flattered as I am at times like this, it is difficult not to think about the millions of women across our country who work hard and give of themselves every day to make a difference for children. They often do so with no recognition or reward because they understand the moral imperative we have as individuals and as a nation to care for all our children.

I must also say that I find it very humbling to think about Linda Bremner, Ann Blair, and Barbara Parker-Bush. These women [profiled in the magazine for "making a difference" and will be in the audience] are examples of boundless love, unwavering commitment, and selfless concern for the well-being of children in the Chicago area.

We all want to express our appreciation to Family Circle and Dr. Brazelton for a wonderful 10-year relationship. The magazine, and Dr. Brazelton's contributions in particular, have helped millions of parents and families cope with the responsibilities and demands of raising children.

As a mother, I have long relied on Dr. Brazelton's wise words and counsel. My daughter often says that I worry too much -- one of the occupational hazards of being a mother, I suppose. But she has no idea how much more I would have worried over the years if I hadn't had Dr. Brazelton's books or columns to turn to.

As an American who cares about the future of this country, I am also grateful for his efforts to focus attention on the role that government can play -- along with individuals -- in making life better for children.

Today, our children are in crisis. Twenty-three percent live in poverty. As Dr. Brazelton has said: "Never before has one generation been less healthy, less cared for, less prepared for life than their parents were at the same age. Families are under more stress than they can handle. As a result, we're paying a terrible price for it."

This is no time to turn our backs on children. If anything, we must work harder to safeguard their futures. Investing in children is a moral imperative and an economic imperative.

Dr. Brazelton is one of the most respected, most passionate voices speaking up for America's children and families. He has tirelessly campaigned to strengthen institutions that support families and help parents be responsible parents. He is the pre-eminent "family advocate."

- He lobbied hard for the Family and Medical Leave law.
- He understands that you cannot have real welfare reform without providing quality child care for those expected to join the workforce.
- He has worked for to ensure health care coverage for all children.
- In 1991, he served on the National Commission on Children, which recommended tax breaks for parents; tougher child support enforcement, and expansion of Head Start.

- He believes that we must do more as a nation to help women working outside the home.

I am honored to be here to salute a man who has devoted the better part of his life to children, parents, families, and to helping ensure that this nation lives up to its potential in the years ahead.

Thank you very much.

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View Related Topics

May 17, 1995, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; Pg. C01

LENGTH: 857 words

HEADLINE: The First Lady Charms the Second City

BYLINE: Megan Garvey, Special to The Washington Post

DATELINE: CHICAGO, May 16

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton -- wife, mother, concerned citizen and political pro -- visited her home town today looking very traditional in freshwater pearls and a soft pink blouse. Mrs. Clinton made "The Oprah Winfrey Show," spoke on children's rights and ended her day looking around the United Center, where her husband will most likely be renominated for the presidency.

For the first lady, who has been pilloried for being controlling and aggressive, it was a day with no hard edges. On "Oprah" in the morning Mrs. Clinton smiled and nodded as T. Berry Brazelton, child development expert and longtime friend of the Clintons, explained how women should learn to "cheat on their workplace."

"And when your boss calls, you don't go the first time; just sort of cool it as you walk down the hall," said Brazelton. "When you get there -- you know, take dictation very slowly and save up energy."

If Mrs. Clinton -- a high-powered Yale-educated law partner before her husband became president -- was biting her tongue, she showed no signs of it. She sat quietly as Brazelton explained that once home, women should gather their children up and rock them before heading to the kitchen to make dinner. The first lady even referred to herself at the time of Chelsea's birth as a "person who had been in school longer than I needed to be."

In fact in Chicago today there were few overt signs of the **Hillary Clinton** who by all accounts is gearing up for her husband's reelection bid. The day's theme and sound bites were all about children. The most hard-edged it got was Mrs. Clinton decrying violence on television, saying, "I am so convinced that what people see on television absolutely affects how they treat children and how they feel about themselves. And I am tired of folks saying we can't change television because that's censorship. . . . We ought to start by saying we're going to change what we see and how we treat each other."

Winfrey kept the conversation on track, briefly mentioning the need for health care reform but never directing any questions to Mrs. Clinton on her ill-fated campaign on that subject last year.

Instead, the first lady came across as warm and friendly, telling the crowd that she missed trips to the grocery store. Mrs. Clinton was interrupted sporadically by applause from the audience when she spoke about laws to inform neighborhoods about child molesters in their midst, adding that "after a certain point, adults should lose their rights if they have abused children."

Mrs. Clinton talked about improving parenting skills, saying of herself: "I was sitting there learning how to breast-feed Chelsea one day in the hospital and so I had her at a funny angle. All of a sudden I see stuff -- foam -- coming out of her nose. I thought my baby was dying. And I punch all the buttons and

the nurses run in, and the nurse says, 'Well, it would help if you just sort of lift her head up a bit.' "

Between folksy anecdotes and her honey-blond flip cut, it was easy to wonder where the other **Hillary Clinton** had gone -- the policy maven and hard-hitting political adviser, the woman Rush Limbaugh loves to hate. Where was that Hillary, and would she be wearing oversize faux pearl earrings if she were here? Was this the woman who inspired bumper stickers like "Impeach President Clinton and Her Husband Too"?

Self-effacing Hillary was a big hit with the audience, among which many nodded in agreement with the first lady over the course of the hour-long show, which was shown live in Chicago and taped for broadcast elsewhere. After the cameras stopped rolling, Mrs. Clinton took an additional 15 minutes of questions from the audience to talk openly about how harsh criticism has affected her and her family, saying that she and her husband -- whom she repeatedly called "wonderful" -- explained to Chelsea early on that people in politics will "say anything."

After a luncheon given by **Family Circle** magazine to honor Brazelton, the first lady headed to the United Center, where she walked a red carpet onto the surface of the hockey arena that is home to the Blackhawks and gazed in amazement around the facility before kneeling down to touch the ice. Mrs. Clinton deflected questions about her involvement in planning the convention, and laughed when a reporter asked if she would be choosing decorations and assigning seats.

"Oh, no," she said, flanked by convention CEO Debra DeLee and Maggie Daley, Mayor Richard M. Daley's wife, who joined in the laughter. Mrs. Clinton, however, expressed delight with the facilities.

"I consider this coming home," the first lady told the local press corps, which had waited hours for the sound bite. "I am very excited about the convention being in Chicago. The rest of the country and indeed the world will get to see Chicago and get to really appreciate it the way I do."

Her final position was sure to play in Chicago. About the Bulls' chances? Mrs. Clinton thrust two thumbs into the air. "I'm hopeful," she said about their playoff basketball game against the Orlando Magic later tonight. "They seem to have hit their stride."

GRAPHIC: Photo, ap, Right at home: **Hillary Clinton** and host discuss children on "Oprah" in Chicago yesterday. Oprah Winfrey, **Hillary Clinton** and T. Barry Brazelton after taping a show devoted to children. (Photo ran in an earlier edition)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 17, 1995

FOCUSTM

Search: General News;family circle and hillary w/2 clinton

To narrow this search, please enter a word or phrase:

Example: House of Representatives

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View Related Topics

May 17, 1995 Wednesday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: CHICAGOLAND; Pg. 1; ZONE: N

LENGTH: 646 words

HEADLINE: LUNCH WITH FIRST LADY PROVIDES INSIGHTS IN STYLE AND SUBSTANCE

BYLINE: Mary Schmich.

BODY:

This is the totally unexpurgated, official eyewitness report on My Lunch with Hillary.

This exclusive piece of reportage will answer all your questions about the controversial Mrs. Clinton. To wit:

Has she turned into a traditional first lady?

Is she really smart?

Is she scary?

How'd she look?

Let's start with last things first.

It is noon Tuesday in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Inter-Continental in Chicago. In front of 200 luncheonnaires, **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** is sitting at a long table on a dais, squinting distance from the exiles in the far-flung press corral.

A female reporter approaches a member of Mrs. Clinton's entourage. Urgent question!

"Is her suit black or navy?"

I had earlier decided that this question was beneath the first lady's dignity and mine. Consequently, I am delighted someone else has asked it.

"Navy," says the press aide.

"And the shirt? Peach or pink?"

"I think it's pink," the press aide says, and sighs. "I know people want to read it, but it's unbelievable to me."

From our outpost here in press Siberia, we have a clear view of Mrs. Clinton's hair-sleek and golden, styled in a new shoulder flip.

"I love her hair, that way," the press aide says.

The other newshound nods. "It's very Mary Tyler Moore."

But you serious members of the reading public do not care about such nonsense. You cry, "Give us

substance!"

OK. Though substance is an elusive quarry back here in the press corral, a source has leaked to me an official staff memo pertaining to this event.

It reveals that lunch will begin with wild greens with toasted pine nuts, grilled asparagus, sun-dried tomatoes and goat cheese, to be followed by broiled salmon on a bed of leeks. It also notes that the service is "white glove."

While dining, Mrs. Clinton chats with other dignitaries on the dais, including the celebrity pediatrician, Dr. T. Berry Brazelton.

Countless formal luncheons into her tour of duty, and Mrs. Clinton still appears engaged, engaging. She talks and chops the table, talks and molds air with her hands. Animated, bright-eyed, quick to smile, she is a woman with something to say and unafraid to say it.

And yet she seems so normal. A hotel source who sees VIPs by the limo-load confides that Hillary was unlike most. She had just entered the hotel through a private entrance, beyond the reach of cameras, when several women-strangers-saw her. "Hillary!" they cried.

She immediately greeted them and began to chat.

"Just like old girlfriends," says the source.

Mrs. Clinton's presence here might be seen as proof that she has been backed into the cozy, pastel corner inhabited by so-called "traditional" first ladies.

The luncheon is being sponsored by **Family Circle** magazine-whose current cover trumpets "Look Pounds Thinner" and "Instant Age Erasers"-and the day's theme is children.

And Mrs. Clinton's speech is just a luncheon speech, more platitudes than policy or poetry.

But she talks with conviction, her voice low and smooth, no hint of coy girlishness, her manner an alloy of grace and iron. The word that comes to mind is "gravity."

The heart of what she says is this: The country is having a false debate over family vs. government. On the one side are those who claim that families must be responsible for themselves. On the other are those who believe government must support even irresponsible parents.

"A child is the result of both the family and the larger society," she says.

You can't know the first lady just by watching her at lunch, but these are the things you would know if you did:

If scary means remote, she's not.

The new flip is fabulous.

And if traditional means understanding the huge overlap between feminism and the **Family Circle** crowd, if it means understanding that the lives of women and children are as important as defense widgets-well, some of us just call that smart.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: May 17, 1995

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

6/2/95

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (3 pages)	06/02/1995	b(7)(E)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 19010

FOLDER TITLE:

Childcare #1 [Binder] [4]

2013-0534-S
ry1701

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
JUNE 2, 1995
FINAL

MACKINAC ISLAND, MI/ GLADSTONE, MI/ESCANABA, MI/WASHINGTON, DC

TRAVELING PARTY:HRC
KELLY CRAIGHEAD 800SKYPAGE PIN# 207-4790
LISA CAPUTO
MELANNE VERVEER 800SKYPAGE PIN# 216-9822
BARB KINNEY
(b)(7)e
2 USAF

[002]

LEAD ADVANCE
MACKINAC ISLAND: BRIAN MCPARTLIN
PHONE: 906-847-3312
FAX: 906-847-3833
CELL: 202-494-9814
PAGER: 800SKYPAGE PIN# 207-4693

LEAD ADVANCE
ESCANABA, MI: TED CARR
DAYS INN HOTEL
2603 N. LINCOLN RD.
PHONE: 906-789-1200
FAX: 906-789-
CELL: 202-757-9394
PAGER: 800SKYGRAM PIN# 261-2500

SITE: JOANNA AUGUSTINSKI

PRESS: LANI FELDSTEIN

SCHEDULING DESK: ESTHER WATKINS
202-456-5315 OFFICE
202-456-2317 FAX
202-483-6050 HOME
1-800-528-7823 WHCA #4188

PREV RON The Grand Hotel
Mackinac Island, MI

10:30 am DEPART VIA CARRIAGE Grand Hotel
EN ROUTE Coast Guard
[drive time: 10 minutes]

Greeters: Tony Smith, General Manager - Grand Hotel
Steve Kulaga, Convention Manager - Grand Hotel

10:40 am ARRIVE AND BOARD Coast Guard Boat

10:45 am-

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1995
PAGE 2

11:00 am BOAT RIDE
11:05 am DEPART Coast Guard
EN ROUTE Chippewa County Airport
[drive time: 45 minutes]

(b)(7)e

11:50 am ARRIVE Chippewa County Airport
FBO: Midwest Air
Phone: 906-495-5119
Fax: 906-495-5254
CLOSED PRESS DEPARTURE

11:55 am WHEELS UP Chippewa County

FLIGHT TIME: 45 minutes
MANIFEST: HRC, CRAIGHEAD, CAPUTO, VERVEER, KINNEY (b)(7)e, 2 USAF
STUPAK PLANE 2: STUPAK, STUPAK, DINGELL,
FOOD: SNACK

12:40 pm ARRIVE Delta County Airport
FBO: United Express Hanger
Phone: 906-789-9440
Fax: 906-786-2583
HRC HOLD: Airport Manager's Office

Greeters: Mayor Charles Zader, Escanaba
Mayor Dale Jamieson, Gladstone
Doug Bovin - Chair of the Delta County Board of
Commissioners and National Chair of County Commissions

12:45 pm DEPART Delta County Airport
EN ROUTE Terrace Motor Inn
[drive time: 15 minutes]

(b)(7)e

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1995
PAGE 3

NOTE: Mrs. Stupak will depart for Bonifas Art Center upon arrival at the airport.

1:00 pm **ARRIVE** Terrace Bay Inn
 7146 P Road
 Gladstone, MI
 Phone/Fax: 906-786-7554
 HRC Hold: Guest Room 155
 HRC Phone: 906-786-7554 ext. 156

Greeter: Kimberly Mahoney, catering manger

1:00 pm-
1:15 pm

HOLD/LUNCH

1:15 pm-
1:40 pm

SENIORS EVENT
Terrace Bay Inn
OPEN PRESS

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 400 senior citizens.

FORMAT:

- HRC and Cong. Stupak arrive and are announced into room and seated at head table
- Peter Denman, emcee, intros John Dagenais (pronounced dahj-na)
- John Dagenais, Bresnan Communications (host of event), intros Congressman Stupak
- Cong. Stupak intros HRC
- HRC speaks
- John Dagenais announces 8 "Super Senior Award" winners, HRC presents plaques to recipients and has individual photos and one group photo taken with winners
- Following presentation, program is concluded
- HRC works ropeline and departs

Note: This event will be carried live on local radio and taped

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1995
PAGE 4

for broadcast statewide on cable TV.

Contact: John Dagenais 906-786-2244

1:45 pm DEPART Terrace Bay Inn
EN ROUTE Bonifas Art Center
[drive time: 15 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST:
LEAD: CARR
LIMO: HRC
STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, CAPUTO, VERVEER, KINNEY
VIP VAN: STUPAK, DINGELL

1:50 pm -
2:05 pm

OTR

2:15 pm ARRIVE Bonifas Arts Center
700 First Avenue South
Escanaba, MI
Phone: 906-786-3833
Fax: 906-786-3840
HRC HOLD: Green Room
HRC Phone: 906-786-8760

Greeter: Vicki Soderberg, Ex. Dir of Bonifas

2:15 pm-
2:25 pm

CHILDREN'S ART CLASS
Art Studio
POOL PRESS

PARTICIPANTS:

- HRC
- Cong. Stupak
- Pasquam Warstler, Visual Arts and Education Director
- 50 children

FORMAT:

- Pasquam Warstler escorts HRC through the studio

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1995
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-- HRC greets children working on art projects
at two tables and children working on easels

Contact: Vicki Soderberg 906-786-3833

2:25 pm-
2:35 pm

TOUR GALLERY
Iron Mountain Exhibit
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO ONLY

PARTICIPANTS:

-HRC
-Cong. Stupak
-Vicki Soderberg, Executive Director of Bonifas

FORMAT: Vicki Soderberg escorts HRC on brief tour
of art exhibits

Contact: Vicki Soderberg 906-786-3833

2:40 pm-
3:15 pm

UPPER PENINSULA CHILDREN'S COALITION MEETING
Bonifas Art Center
OPEN PRESS

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 275 people will be present.

FORMAT:

-- HRC and Mrs. Stupak proceed from backstage
area to podium on stage

-- Mrs. Stupak intros HRC

-- HRC gives remarks

-- Following remarks, HRC responds to questions
from audience while Mrs. Stupak moderates

-- At the conclusion of Q&A, Mrs. Stupak
presents HRC with flowers and a painting

-- On departure, HRC greets children seated
behind her on risers and two tables of

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1995
PAGE 6

coalition members on stage

-- HRC departs

Contact: Laurie Stupak

3:20 pm DEPART Bonifas Art Center
 EN ROUTE Delta County Airport
 [drive time: 15 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST:
LEAD: CARR
LIMO: HRC
STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, CAPUTO, VERVEER, KINNEY,
VIP VAN: STUPAK, STUPAK, DINGELL

3:35 pm ARRIVE Delta County Airport

3:35 pm-
4:00 pm

MEET & GREET
Delta County Airport
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO ONLY

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 230 people will be present.

FORMAT:

-- Cong. Stupak intros HRC

-- HRC gives brief remarks

___ HRC works ropeline and departs

4:05 pm PROCEED TO AIRCRAFT

4:10 pm-
4:15 pm

GREET VOLUNTEERS
Tarmac
CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO ONLY

FORMAT: HRC will do brief photo line with
volunteers on departure.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1995
PAGE 7

4:15 pm WHEELS UP Escanaba, MI

FLIGHT TIME: 1 hour and 35 minutes

MANIFEST: HRC, CRAIGHEAD, CAPUTO, VERVEER, KINNEY, DINGELL, (b)(7)e

(b)(7)e, 2 USAF

FOOD: SNACK

5:50 pm ARRIVE Andrews AFB

5:55 pm DEPART Andrews AFB
EN ROUTE White House
[drive time: 35 minutes]

MOTORCADE MANIFEST:

LIMO: HRC

STAFF VAN: CRAIGHEAD, CAPUTO, VERVEER, DINGELL, KINNEY

6:30 pm ARRIVE White House South Portico

7:30 pm DINNER & MOVIE w/POTUS
Family Theater
CLOSED PRESS

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 50 guests will attend.

Contact: Ann Stock

RON The White House

WEATHER FORECAST FOR MACKINAC ISLAND, MI: Cloudy with rain likely. Highs in the low 70's, lows in the 50's

WEATHER FORECAST FOR GLADSTONE, MI/ESCANABA, MI: Rain Possible. Highs in the 70's lows in the 50's.

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, DC: Cloudy with light rain, drizzle, and a chance of afternoon rain showers and thunderstorms. Wind southwest at 10 knots. Low 62 to 67 degrees. High 80 to 85 degrees.

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1995
PAGE 8

NO OVERNIGHT GUESTS

WASHINGTON, DC EVENTS:

KENNEDY CENTER:

- NSO
- Crazy for You
- The Complete History of America
- Angels in America
- Shear Madness

ARENA STAGE:

- A Newt World Order
- A Month in the Country
- The Plough and the Stars

FORD'S THEATER:

- Nunsense II

WOLFTRAP:

- Shawn Colvin & Bruce Cockburn

**REMARKS TO THE UPPER PENINSULA CHILDREN'S COALITION
GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING**

DATE:	Friday, June 2nd
TIME:	2:00 - 3:15 pm
LOCATION:	William Bonifas Fine Arts Center Escanaba, MI
FROM:	Nicole Rabner

I. PURPOSE

To participate in the Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition membership meeting, make remarks about the importance of investing in children and families and tour the William Bonifas Fine Arts Center, where the meeting will take place.

II. BACKGROUND

Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition

The Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition (UPCC) was founded in 1986 by a group of eight human services agencies and has since grown into a voluntary membership organization composed of over 80 member agencies and individuals. According to UPCC, the purpose of the organization is "to work with all Upper Peninsula organizations and individuals concerned with children in order to identify children's needs, promote their services and rights, and provide long-range planning for positive change." Its primary goal is to maintain existing resources and address the need for additional services.

The UPCC examines existing children's services, reviews and takes positions on proposed legislation affecting youth, supports communication and training regarding young people's issues, and is active in the support of prevention initiatives. The UPCC sponsors workshops, speakers programs, and a yearly conference on children's issues, and has published comprehensive reports on children's services in the Upper Peninsula region.

You will be speaking to a general membership meeting of the UPCC. The meeting is open to UPCC members and their guests. Currently, the UPCC consists of representatives from regional programs such as school districts, courts, law enforcement, departments of social services, agencies of community mental health, substance abuse, and health care, as well as concerned individuals. Members include the regional Girl Scouts organization, Catholic Social Services, Big Brothers/Big Sisters of Delta County and many social service agencies. The cost of membership in the Coalition is \$30.00 per year for agencies and \$10.00 for individuals.

Laurie Stupak, the Congressman's wife, is the current Chairperson of the UPCC.

William Bonifas Fine Arts Center

The UPCC membership meeting will take place in the auditorium of the William Bonifas Fine Arts Center. The Bonifas Center is a regional, non-profit arts center offering a range of cultural programs to the Delta County community. Incorporated in 1974, the center sponsors visual and performing arts programs, provides outreach services to all of the area schools, runs a summer arts program, and acts an information resource for arts events in the area. The center receives its funding from direct community contributions, event admissions and fundraisers, class tuitions and grants.

According to the center, approximately 10,000 Delta County schoolchildren come to the Bonifas Arts Center each year to participate in its arts programming.

HRC Participation

Upon arrival at the William Bonifas Fine Arts Center, you will briefly tour the center. First, you will visit a classroom in which approximately 50 third through fifth grade schoolchildren from around the county will be working on arts projects. Next, you will briefly view an exhibition in the center's art gallery. The exhibition is a display of the work of the North Woods Art League, painting and other mediums. The North Woods Art League is a group of artists from Iron Mountain, a small Upper Peninsula town approximately one hour west of Escanaba. Also on display in this gallery are three paintings which represent the regional winners of the annual nationwide Congressional High School Arts Competition, "An Artistic Discovery." Each district of the country selects a high school art project to be displayed on Capitol Hill.

Following the tour, you will proceed to the Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition Meeting and proceed to stage. Mrs. Stupak will introduce you and you will make remarks. Following your remarks, you will greet children seated behind you on risers and two tables of UCCP members on stage.

III. PARTICIPANTS

William Bonifas Fine Arts Center Tour

- Mrs. Clinton
- Cong. Bart Stupak
- Vicki Soderberg, Bonifas Arts Center Director (center tour)
- Pasquam Warstler, Visual Arts and Education Director (classroom visit)

The Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition General Meeting

- Mrs. Clinton
- Cong. Bart Stupak
- Mrs. Laurie Stupak
- Manfred Tatzman, Michigan Dept. of Mental Health
- Bruce Suardini, Great Lakes Recovery Center and UPCC Vice Chair
- Kathy Soltwisch, Peninsula Waters Girl Scouts and UPCC Treasurer

- Danny Peterson, Child and Family Services of the Upper Peninsula
- Richard Stratton, UPCC Secretary
- Ken Rowe, WUP Health Dept.

-Approx. 275 Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition members and their guests (see attached list of participants)

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- HRC arrives at Bonifas Fine Arts Center
- HRC proceeds to hold
- HRC proceeds to Children's Art Class and visits with children
- HRC proceeds to Art Gallery and views exhibition
- HRC proceeds to Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition Meeting
- HRC proceeds from backstage area to podium on stage
- Mrs. Laurie Stupak introduces HRC
- HRC gives remarks
- Following remarks, Mrs. Stupak presents gifts to HRC
- HRC greets children seated behind her on risers and two tables of coalition members on stage

V. PRESS PLAN

Children's Art Class: POOL PRESS
 Gallery Tour: CLOSED PRESS/WH PHOTO
 Upper Peninsula Children's Coalition Meeting: OPEN PRESS

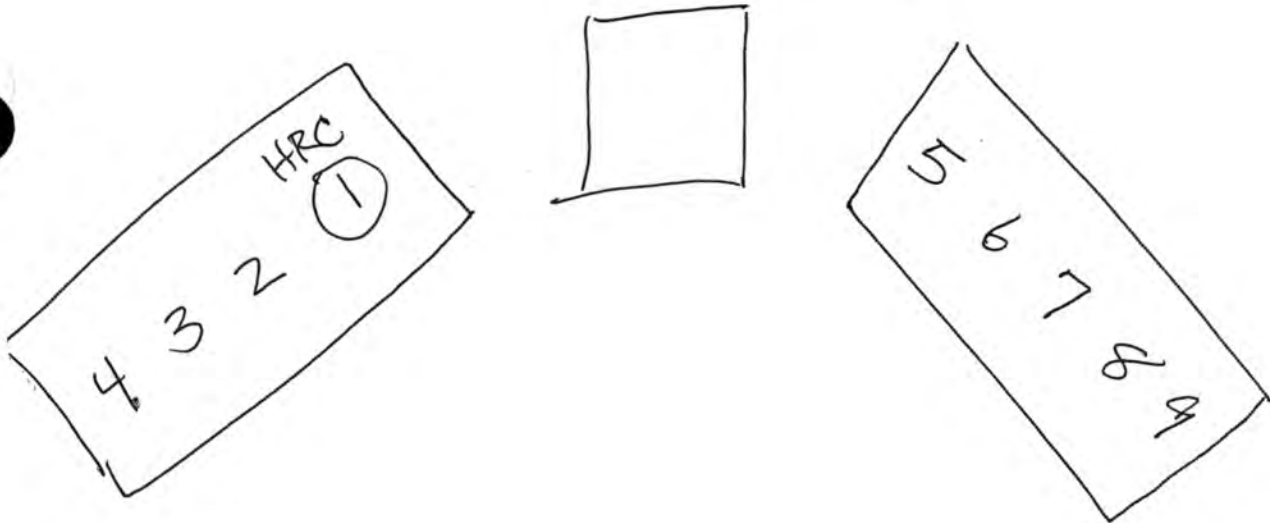
VI. REMARKS

Provided by Lissa Muscatine

UPPER PENINSULA CHILDREN'S COALITION
GENERAL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

HEAD TABLES SEATING CHART

1. Mrs. Clinton
2. Cong. Bart Stupak
3. Mrs. Stupak
4. Manfred Tatzman, Michigan Dept. of Mental Health
5. Bruce Suardini, Great Lakes Recovery Center and UPCC Vice Chair
6. Kathy Soltwisch, Peninsula Waters Girl Scouts and UPCC Treasurer
7. Danny Peterson, Child and Family Services of the Upper Peninsula
8. Richard Stratton, UPCC Secretary
9. Ken Rowe, WUP Health Dept.



DRAFT

REPUBLICAN BUDGETS' ATTACK ON CHILDREN

This material is organized in three sections: (1) education; (2) welfare; and (3) Medicaid. For each section there are marked back-up materials: state-by-state breakdowns on education, CDF analysis of welfare, and two charts on Medicaid.

I. EDUCATION

Rather than shield education from cuts, Republicans have targeted education for cuts as deep--and in some cases, deeper--than the rest of the budget. The House cuts funding for the education account of the federal budget ("Function 500") by well over 30% compared to the traditional, "current services" baseline. Indeed, the cut is over 20%--fully one-fifth--compared to a baseline that does not take inflation or population growth into account. By contrast, other areas like transportation take much milder hits in the House GOP budget.

Below are the impacts of specific cuts Republicans have outlined. For additional information, see the final page of the attachments:

- **100,000 CHILDREN CUT FROM HEAD START.** House Republicans freeze funding for Head Start at its FY94 level of \$3.33 billion through 2002. This represents a \$210 million cut from the 1995 funding level of \$3.5 billion, and a \$610 million cut below the President's proposed funding level for 1996. As a result of this cut:
 - If the savings were achieved only by reducing program enrollments, the action would lead to a cut of 100,000 children from the Head Start rolls in 1996.
 - Alternatively, significant quality reductions would be necessary--eroding efforts to retain top quality staff (historically a major problem for Head Start) and improve facilities; eliminating full-day services to meet the needs of low-income working families; and eliminating new initiatives like Early Head Start, currently serving 19,000 infants and toddlers.
- **700,000 CHILDREN CUT FROM TITLE ONE.** Title One (formerly Chapter One) provides funds to improve the performance and equalize the funding for students from disadvantaged backgrounds. The House Republican proposal would eliminate the BIA set-aside and "concentration grants," the portion of Title One funding targeted at areas with the highest levels of need. **Since Title One only assists areas that are disadvantaged to begin, this cut effectively reduces aid for the poorest of poor children.** In 1995, \$730 million were appropriated for these purposes; the cut would eliminate that amount of funding in 1996 and \$5.1 billion over seven years (using the noninflated baseline--higher at current services level).
 - This cut would eliminate services helping more than 700,000 of the most disadvantaged children in the public schools.

DRAFT

- **GOALS 2000 ELIMINATED:** Goals 2000 is a bipartisan effort to support community and school efforts to raise academic standards and encourage students to work hard meet them. Forty-seven states are already participating in this program, and ultimately, every school in the nation could have the opportunity to improve teaching and learning as a result of this program. In 1995, Goals 2000 received \$403 million in funding; in 1996, President Clinton proposed increasing funding to \$750 million.
- House Republicans propose eliminating Goals 2000 entirely, with five-year savings totalling \$2 billion. This cut would negatively affect 9,000 schools enrolling 5 million students.
- **SAFE SCHOOLS AND TEACHER TRAINING GRANTS BLOCK GRANTED AND CUT BY 30%:** The Safe- and Drug-Free Schools program provides funding for 94% of school districts to engage in anti-crime activities ranging from after-school education programs to the purchase of metal detectors and security personnel. Eisenhower Grants provide funding for 400,000 teachers per year to obtain additional training and professional development, particularly important so they can help students to reach the challenging new standards required by Goals 2000. Republicans would fold these two programs, along with the so-called "Title Two" flexible funding, into a block grant to states. The three programs together now receive \$1.2 billion.
- Kasich would cut the level of funding for the three programs in aggregate by 30%, with \$350 million less in 1996 and \$2.5 billion less over 7 years (non-inflated baseline).
- If the effects of Kasich's cut were distributed evenly between Safe Schools, Eisenhower Grants, and Title Two, then 12 million children would lose the benefits of the Safe- and Drug-Free Schools program, and 120,000 would lose assistance for teacher training.
- With Kasich's block grant, assistance for neither teacher training nor anti-drug education would be assured.
- **A MILLION SUMMER JOBS CUT.** House Republicans propose block granting and cutting summer jobs by 20 percent, while the Senate proposes blocking and cutting them by 25 percent. The Senate cut slashing the President's request by \$300 million in 1996, eliminating this work experience for 170,000 at-risk youth each year. One million jobs would be denied to young people over the next seven years.
- **300,000 AMERICORPS OPPORTUNITIES ELIMINATED.** Republican budgets propose eliminating AmeriCorps, depriving at least 300,000 young people of the chance to pay for college through national service over the next seven years.

- **IN-SCHOOL INTEREST SUBSIDY ELIMINATED FOR 4 MILLION STUDENTS:** The current subsidy is for four million students who need assistance paying for college: nearly two-thirds of those who benefit are from families that earn less than \$30,000, and nearly one-third are from families earning under \$11,000. These four million students do not have to pay interest on their federal student loans while enrolled in school and during the grace period (six months) between leaving school and entering repayment.
 - House Republicans propose eliminating the in-school interest exemption. This proposal will save \$21 billion over 7 years, but could have a severe impact on college access.
 - For a four-year undergraduate who borrowed the maximum amount (\$17,125) at the maximum statutory interest rate (8.25%), the Republican proposal would increase costs by \$3,150--or 18 percent.
- **PELL GRANTS CUT BY \$250 EACH FOR 4 MILLION STUDENTS.** Domenici's plan specifically states that he will maintain current law funding for the Pell Grant program-- i.e., providing the same amount as under the 1995 budget. Currently, Pell Grants receive \$6 billion. The President proposes an increase in Pell Grant funding for 1996 of about \$1 billion, including an increase in the maximum award from \$2,340 to \$2,620. Because of the Domenici budget as compared to the President's request:
 - 4 million students will see their Pell Grants cut by about \$250 in 1996. Note that \$250 equals approximately 25% of tuition and fees at community colleges.
- **THREE MAJOR STUDENT AID PROGRAMS ELIMINATED:** While the Clinton Administration has proposed eliminating certain duplicative student aid programs this year and in the past, proposed cuts have always been offset by major expansions in aid through the basic programs like Pell Grants and direct loans. By contrast, Republicans have proposed zeroing out these programs without making any offsetting increases, thus reducing the net level of college aid:
 - The House budget simply eliminates funding for State Student Incentive Grants (SSIGs), which provide need-based grants to 212,000 students; funding is \$63 million in 1996 and \$440 million over 7 years.
 - The House eliminates the federal contribution to the Perkins loan revolving loan fund (\$158 million in 1995 and \$1.1 billion over 7 years), which provides need-based, low-interest loans to more than 683,000 college students in over 1,000 projects around the country.
 - The House budget eliminates funding for TRIO programs, which provide academic assistance and support to 700,000 disadvantaged students each year in 1,000 projects around the country, enabling them to apply to and succeed in college. Funding for TRIO is \$463 million in FY95 and FY96 and \$3.2 billion over 7 years.

DRAFT

II. WELFARE

See the attached analysis from the Children's Defense Fund. All figures marked "HHS" are drawn directly from analysis by HHS. One other note: perhaps the most powerful fact concerning school lunches is that had the Republican plan been in place starting in 1989, funding would have been 17 percent below its actual level in 1994, and over 1 million children who were added to the school lunch rolls over that period could not have been served.

III. MEDICAID

The House budget cuts Medicaid by \$187 billion and the Senate budget cuts Medicaid by \$175 billion over 7 years.

- As shown in the chart, the per capita rate of growth in Medicaid would be held close to zero by Republicans--and a rate over 10 times below than the per capita rate of growth in private health care. This means a drastic reduction in the quality of care for the millions of children covered only by Medicaid.
- If distributed evenly between eliminating eligibility for the elderly and disabled, eliminating eligibility for children, cutting services, and cutting provider payments, Republican cuts in 2002 alone would mean:
 - 5-7 million children would lose coverage--a clear step backward, adding to the ranks of the uninsured and increasing cost-shifting.
 - Millions more children would lose important services like preventive screening--policy that is penny-wise but pound-foolish.

V. SUPPLEMENTAL SECURITY INCOME FOR DISABLED CHILDREN (SSI)

- The Republican proposal would cut funding for disabled children under SSI by \$12.1 billion over five years. (An additional \$1.24 billion would be cut with the denial of benefits to drug addicts.)
- The Republican proposal would eliminate SSI benefits for children currently receiving SSI because of an "individual functional assessment" showing they are exhibiting age-inappropriate behavior. As a result **over 165,000 children--18 percent of the SSI caseload--would lose their SSI benefits immediately.**
- The proposal would retain direct cash payments indefinitely only for families whose children are institutionalized or would become institutionalized without cash payments. **About 6 percent of children fall into this category--the only category of children for whom SSI would continue to be an entitlement.**
- Disabled children currently receiving direct cash benefits from SSI would continue to do so. However, in the future, all children (except the small group identified above) would be eligible but not guaranteed benefits through a block grant to the state. **Had the Republican plan been in place in 1991, then by today, more than 75% of the children who have qualified for SSI since then--600,000 disabled children--would not be guaranteed SSI assistance.**
- The block grant would be worth approximately 75 percent of the funding currently available to the children it would be intended to cover. **As a result, states would need to either cut the number of children served or reduce the assistance to them.**

VI. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)

[TO CONFUSING WITH WELFARE REFORM--DO NOT USE

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

6/13/75

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1995
FINAL

Scheduling Desk: Julie Hopper
202-456-7561 office
202-456-2317 fax
202-387-6842 home
1-800-528-7823 WHCA #5446

PREV RON The White House

11:00 am PRIVATE MEETING
Residence
CLOSED PRESS

1:25 pm-
1:35 pm DROP BY
Map Room
WH PHOTO ONLY -- CLOSED PRESS

1:40 pm DEPART VIA PRESIDENTIAL MOTORCADE
The White House South Portico
EN ROUTE St. John's Church
[Drive Time: 5 minutes]

1:45 pm ARRIVE St. John's Church

No Greeters

1:45 pm-
1:55 pm VISIT with Aspin Family
Parlor
CLOSED PRESS

2:00 pm-
3:30 pm MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR LES ASPIN
St. John's Church
CLOSED PRESS/PRINT REPORTERS ONLY

FORMAT:
-- Mr. James O. Aspin delivers welcoming
remarks

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1995
PAGE 2

- The Honorable Richard C. Holbrooke,
Assistant Secretary of State for Bureau
of European and Canadian Affairs,
delivers remarks
- The Burial Anthems
- The Collect
- Representative John M. Spratt, Jr.
delivers remarks
- Mr. Christopher Meuler reads Psalm 15
(Read unison with the congregation)
- Dr. Leslie Gelb, President of the
Council on Foreign Relations, delivers
remarks
- The Honorable Rudy de Leon,
Undersecretary of the Air Force, reads
the Lesson
- General John Shalikashvili, Chairman of
the Joint Chiefs of Staff, deliver
remarks
- Captain Dottie Schott, USN, reads Psalm
67 (Read in unison with congregation)
- The Honorable William J. Perry,
Secretary of Defense, delivers remarks
- The Reverend Albert J. DiUlio, S.J.,
President of Marquette University,
delivers remarks
- The Prayers
- St. John's Church Quartet sings anthem
- The President delivers remarks
- The Blessing
- Ceremony concludes. The President
departs

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1995
PAGE 3

3:40 pm DEPART VIA PRESIDENTIAL MOTORCADE
St. John's Church
EN ROUTE The White House
[Drive Time: 5 minutes]

3:45 pm ARRIVE The White House South Portico

4:10 pm-
5:10 pm CASEY JOURNALISTS
Blue Room
CLOSED PRESS/ON-THE-RECORD WITH JOURNALISTS
ATTENDING/WH PHOTO ONLY

PARTICIPANTS: Approx. 50 expected to attend

FORMAT:

-- HRC gives welcoming remarks and opens
discussion

-- Q & A with journalists

7:00 pm-
7:05 pm

PHONE CALL
From Residence

FORMAT:

-- Acknowledgements and brief remarks

RON

The White House

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

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

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

Conference Participants

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

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

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

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

Agenda

Casey Journalism Center for Children and Families

"Protecting the Welfare of Children"

June 11-16, 1995

University of Maryland

University College Conference Center

SUNDAY, JUNE 11

6:30 p.m.

Reception: East Patio

7:00 p.m.

Dinner: Regents Room (1110)

Keynote Speaker:

Leon Dash, Reporter, *The Washington Post*,
and 1995 Pulitzer Prize winner

MONDAY, JUNE 12

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

8:30-10:00 a.m.

"Welfare Trends"

Douglas J. Besharov, Resident Scholar,
American Enterprise Institute

10:30 a.m.-Noon

"Child Poverty Trends"

Donald J. Hernandez, Chief,
Marriage and Family Statistics Branch,
U.S. Bureau of the Census

Noon-2:00 p.m.

Luncheon: Founders Room

"Poverty and Child Welfare Policy"

David T. Ellwood,
Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation,
U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

3:00-5:00 p.m.

"Impact of Welfare Reform on Children and Families"

Robert Greenstein, Executive Director,
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities;
Robert Rector, Senior Policy Analyst,
The Heritage Foundation

Tuesday, June 13 (continued)
2:50 p.m. PROMPT!

Board bus for White House in front of Conference Center

4:00 p.m.

"An Interview With The First Lady"

Hillary Rodham Clinton

5:30-6:00 p.m.

Board Bus for University of Maryland

7:30 p.m.

Cocktails: Founders Room

"Roundtable Discussion with Fellows"

Discussion Leader:

Deborah Cohen, Assistant Editor,

Education Week, and 1993 Casey Journalism Center Fellow

8:00 p.m.

Dinner: Founders Room

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

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

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14

8:00 a.m. PROMPT!

Board Bus for Baltimore in front of Conference Center

"Child Welfare and the Juvenile Court"

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

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

Journalists split into groups to observe hearings

12:30-1:30 p.m.

Working Lunch and Remarks: Judge Mitchell

1:45-3:00 p.m.

"Urban Teen Pregnancy Issues"

Peter Beilenson, Commissioner of Health,
Baltimore City Health Department

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

FRIDAY, JUNE 16

8:30-10:30 a.m.

"The Media and Child Welfare Systems"

Jess McDonald, Director,
Illinois Department of Children and Family Services;
Benjamin Wolf, Director, Children's and Institutionalized
Person's Project, ACLU of Illinois;
Rob Karwath, Assistant Metropolitan Editor,
The Chicago Tribune;
Steven M. Gorelick, Assistant to the President and Adjunct
Professor of Communications, Graduate School and
University Center, City University of New York;
Richard Wexler, Assistant Professor
of Communications, Pennsylvania State University, and
Vice President, National Coalition for
Child Protection Reform

10:30-11:00 a.m.

Please check out and store bags

11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

"Covering Child Welfare Issues"

Pam Curry, Reporter and Special Projects Producer,
WFAA-TV, Dallas;
Jane Daugherty, Associate Editor/Children First,
Detroit Free Press;
Martha Shirk, Reporter,
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

12:30-1:30 p.m.

Luncheon: East Patio

1:30-3:30 p.m.

"Getting Good Data"

Brett Brown, Research Associate,
Child Trends, Inc.
Patricia Donovan, Senior Associate for Law and Public
Policy, Alan Guttmacher Institute;
Bill O'Hare, KIDS COUNT Coordinator,
Annie E. Casey Foundation

—End of Conference—

(Please Turn In Your Evaluation Forms)



The Children's Beat

Maaguel

Vol. 2, No. 3

COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

Spring 1995

Inside Story

Apply Now:
The Casey
Medals for
Meritorious
Journalism

...7

Source Box

...6

31 Journalists Selected for Casey Conference on Child Welfare Issues

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

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

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

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

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

continued on page 2

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Milwaukee

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

continued on page 3

continued from previous page

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

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

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

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

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

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

Enquirer continued from page 1

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

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

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

At Other News Organizations

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

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

continued on page 4

Winning Casey Medals Entries Available

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

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

continued from page 3

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

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

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

The Enquirer's Children's Index

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Woman's Day

1633 Broadway

New York, NY 10019

212/767-6000

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Stories that *Woman's Day* are likely to pursue in the future include looking at children as they become adults, in the years between 20 and 25. This is an evolving time in their relationship with their parents, McFadden said.

Although the magazine has millions of readers with small children, most *Woman's Day* readers are Baby Boomers, now in their mid-40s, and the issues of children approaching adulthood are of great interest to them.

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

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

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

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

###

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

COVERING CHILDREN



Attorney General Janet Reno with Casey Journalism Center fellows

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

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

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

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

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

Photos by John De Fabbio.

Conference Speakers

(in order of appearance)

Janet Reno, U.S. Attorney General

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

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

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

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

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

Robin Keys, caseworker, City Lights School

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

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

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

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

Law Billingsley, chair, department of family studies, University of Maryland at College Park

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Heath J. Meriwether, executive editor, Detroit Free Press

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

Leslie Baldacci, family beat reporter, Chicago Sun-Times

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

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

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

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

THE CHILDREN'S BEAT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

—Attorney General Janet Reno

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BUST THROUGH STEREOTYPES

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

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

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

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

THE STATUS OF AMERICA'S CHILDREN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

NEW MODELS

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

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

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

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

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

THE PLAGUE OF VIOLENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A REAL ATTENTION SPAN

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

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

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

But some journalists saw potentially dangerous conflicts.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SELLING THE BEAT

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

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

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

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

REBUILDING FAMILIES

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

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

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

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

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

organization's self-interest.

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

That doesn't mean "dumbing down" to women, she cautioned, but recognizing that they are interested in a broad array of issues, from health care reform to local school news. Woodhull also urged reporters to get involved in the ways their news organizations cover issues—and speak out about problems. "I say force yourself into news meetings if you are not invited," she said. "And go into that news meeting with your kid hat on."

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

AT ABOUT YOUR OWN KIDS?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thirty Fellows Selected for the Casey Journalism Center Conference

Pam Adams, Journal Star, Peoria, Ill.

Leslie Baldacci, Chicago Sun-Times

Randi Bjornstad, Register-Guard, Eugene, Ore.

Matthew Bowers, Virginian-Pilot, Norfolk

Catherine Clabby, Times Union, Albany

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

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

Jane Daugherty, Detroit Free Press

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

Leslie Dreyfous, Associated Press, New York

Roberta de Boer Durham, The Blade, Toledo, Ohio

Sara Engram, Evening Sun, Baltimore

Margie Fisher, Roanoke Times & World News, Va.

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

David Fritze, Arizona Republic, Phoenix

Diane Granat, Washingtonian, Washington, D.C.

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

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

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

Mary Loftus, The Ledger, Lakeland, Fla.

Charles Madigan, Chicago Tribune

Carla Marinucci, San Francisco Examiner

Linda Matchan, Boston Globe

Mary Mohler, Ladies' Home Journal, New York

Laurie Petrie, Cincinnati Post

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

April Saul, Philadelphia Inquirer

Barbara Vobejda, Washington Post

Celeste Williams, Milwaukee Journal

John Woestendiek, Philadelphia Inquirer

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

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

"Children"

WHAT WORKS FOR CHILDREN, YOUTH & FAMILIES

It is clear that children, youth and families need our support today more than ever.

- In 1993 -- the last year we have accurate data -- about 23% of America's children were poor -- almost 16 million of them. That was the highest number in 30 years.
- And in 1993 more than 9 million had no health insurance at all.
- Today nearly 6 million of America's children live in homes without fathers. Every day in America 3 children die from child abuse... 15 children die from guns... 27 children die from poverty... 95 babies die before their first birthday... 2217 teenagers drop out of school.
- In order to create a society in which all of America's children are healthy, hopeful, and safe, we must focus our efforts on what we know works.

We need to build on existing knowledge about what works.

Federal and local programs/services must build on what research and evaluation have found effective and communities need to plan strategies based on known principles.

Start early and sustain the effort.

- Early experiences of children and youth shape later behaviors. The habits, attitudes, and values formed in childhood and adolescence are sustained throughout adulthood. We know that it is easier to prevent negative behaviors before they start than to curb them once they are ingrained.
- For example, many researchers argue that early intervention to respond to child abuse and family violence is a key part of a comprehensive crime prevention strategy since we know that children who are abused have a greater possibility to become adult abusers.

Build on strengths.

- Every family needs services. But too often, when working with vulnerable children, youth and families, professionals think only of providing services. It simply is not true that we have to fix before we develop. All youth and families need clear opportunities and available supports. All children and youth need positive futures.

- We must promote health among children, youth and families by educating children and parents about good nutrition, healthy habits, dealing with conflicts non-violently and developing positive social relationships. In addition, we must work to broaden opportunities for physical, social, civic, personal and intellectual development by:
- Enhance parenting skills and provide access to adult education;
- Help parents build and make connections to a solid economic base for their families;
- Ensure access to and knowledge about basic services (eg. health care, transportation, housing, child care).
- That is why the President signed the Family and Medical Leave Act and the Family Support Act. The FMLA allows workers to take time off without losing their jobs when a child is born or takes sick. The FSA supports the development of family resource centers that help families help themselves and their children.

Be comprehensive.

- Children, youth, and families with numerous problems need a variety of supports and assistance. It is seldom effective to address education or behavior problems without attending to family or health problems.
- Comprehensive services cannot be effectively delivered in piecemeal fashion. In addition to carrying out responsibilities within their own organizations, staff should be able to collaborate effectively with others across programs and disciplines.

Be family-centered, tailoring services to meet needs and respect culture.

- Individuals, families, and neighborhoods vary enormously. Generic prevention strategies do not work. Services should be adapted to individual circumstances and provided at convenient times and places.
- Together, families, youth, and providers must construct services that are welcomed by families, support their independence, and strengthen their community ties. Given adequate tools and information, they can make informed decisions.
- The needs of children, youth and families can vary dramatically from community to community. Communities have different strengths and resources for meeting their needs. Ultimately, prevention requires community involvement.

- Strategies have to be tailored to the behaviors, experiences, and environments of the children and youth being served. Tailored strategies are particularly important for prevention efforts targeting youth.
- It is equally important that strategies be culturally appropriate and promote positive cultural values rather than stereotypes.

Focus on families and neighborhoods as well as children and youth.

- Prevention efforts are not effective if they target only individual behaviors. Helping young people avoid negative outcomes and achieve success requires a broader focus on families and communities.
- Families, schools, neighborhoods, and community centers are either places that support development or places that contribute to youth problems.
- Families, schools, workplaces, community centers and neighborhoods are places where behaviors are learned and reinforced. Law enforcement, social services, advocates, educators, policy makers, community leaders, parents, and young people all have roles to play in determining the issues and devising the solutions.
- The Community Empowerment program was created with that premise in mind. The President has created a program where distressed communities would design their own solutions. This program does not consider these problems in isolation, but instead recognizes that these issues must be addressed simultaneously.

EXAMPLES OF WHAT WORKS FOR CHILDREN, YOUTH AND FAMILIES

- Prenatal and infancy nurse home visitation improved a wide range of maternal and child health outcomes among poor unmarried teenage women bearing first children in Elmira, NY.
- Home visits lead to teenage mothers having healthier babies, and postnatal home visits decrease recorded physical abuse and neglect of children during the first two years of life.
- Intensive health education for pregnant mothers and mothers with young children has been associated with significant reduction in mothers' substance abuse, resulting in healthier babies.
- Promoting Alternative Thinking Strategies (PATHS) Curriculum reduces early antisocial behavior by integrating emotional, cognitive, and behavioral skill development in young children.
- The Perry Preschool Program in Ypsilanti, Michigan was the original model for the Head Start program. The Perry Program involved two-years of developmental preschool and intensive contact with parents through weekly home visits. By age 19 - fourteen years after completing the Perry Program -- only 31% of participants had ever been arrested, compared to 51% of the control group. By age 27, 7% of the participants had been arrested five or more times, compared with 35% of the control group; similarly, 7% of participants had been arrested for selling drugs compared to 25% of the control group.
- Working with local groups, a Youth Task Force made up of young people (ages 12-19) designed summer recreation programs for children and youth and set up and publicized the park-based events in New York City's "Take Back the Parks." Activities such as concerts, movies, workshops in the arts, parades and speakouts were available five days a week for up to 15 hours a day. Having constructive activities helped neighborhood children, and the parks, actively used, were cleaner and more trouble-free.
- A Columbia University study of Boys & Girls Clubs in public housing projects found that projects containing a Boys & Girls Club had crime rates 13% lower than those projects that did not. Prevalence of drug activity is 22% lower in projects with a Club, and crack presence is 25% lower.
- The Ford Foundation's Quantum Opportunities Program provided counseling, academic and life-skills instruction, and community service projects to welfare-dependent students their high school years. Compared to randomly assigned control groups, QOP participants were 150% more likely to attend post-secondary school, one-third less likely to have children while in school, and almost 50% less likely to be arrested during the four years of the program.

- Fort Myers, Florida used a \$1.7 million federal grant to implement its "Success through Academic and Recreational Support" (STARS) program for high risk youth age 11-14. The program provides a variety of activities focused on academic enrichment and organized recreation. Since STARS began, juvenile crime rates have declined for almost three consecutive years, and the overall crime rate has fallen by almost one-third. Among 11 and 12 year old offenders, the recidivism rate dropped 64%; for 13 and 14 year-olds, the rate dropped 26%.
- Silver Spring Neighborhood Center in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, operates a combined therapy and recreation program for 9 to 13 year old youths who have a record of previous anti-social behavior. The center also brings in the parents of these youngsters to take part in their own discussion groups, positive role modeling, and recreational activities with other families. In one year, only three of the 83 youth participants were involved in any kind of trouble with the law. There were clear improvements in self-esteem and family relationships.
- San Antonio and Corpus Christi are two of the seven cities which recently developed comprehensive, citywide crime prevention plans through broad-based local government and community coalitions. Although each of the seven city plans included recommendations on youth recreation, these two cities put particular emphasis on the issue. In 1993, Corpus Christi developed a citywide youth sports network to coordinate youth activities. In the same year, San Antonio increased city funding for youth recreation by \$10 million as part of a comprehensive youth crime strategy which balances enforcement with prevention and intervention. Juvenile crime has declined noticeably in both cities.
- Youth residents of Macon, Georgia public housing communities have been trained as state-certified teen community representatives, working under the supervision of a health professional to educate other youth about drugs, sexually transmitted disease and pregnancy prevention. The Macon program is considered one of the most effective of the many youth programs run by the local housing authority.

PRESIDENT CLINTON ADDRESSES NGA SUMMIT ON YOUNG CHILDREN

Tuesday, June 6, 1995

Outlining his Administration's accomplishments and continued commitment to bettering the lives and futures of America's children, President Clinton will address a day-long conference in Baltimore today on children and families, sponsored by the National Governors' Association. In his remarks to the NGA "Summit on Young Children," the President will also reiterate his dedication to passing tough, comprehensive welfare reform legislation that moves people from welfare to work. As the full Senate prepares to take up the important issue of welfare reform, the President will detail, in his most specific terms to date, what he expects from the Senate in the critical areas of work and child care.

President Clinton has previously voiced his opposition to the extreme welfare reform legislation, passed by the House of Representatives, that punishes children and fails to move welfare recipients into work. The Senate legislation passed recently by the Finance Committee was an improvement on the House bill, but still fails to give states the tools they need to move people from welfare to work. According to the Congressional Budget Office, only six states would be able to fulfill the bill's work requirements by the year 2,000 -- while 44 states would fail.

In his remarks today, President Clinton will reiterate his hope that Congress will work with him to produce final welfare reform legislation that has real work requirements and does not punish children. In order to move welfare recipients from a welfare check to a paycheck, final legislation must include the tools states need to move people into work: child care, job training and performance bonuses for states that move recipients into work.

Hosted by NGA Chairman Vermont Governor Howard Dean, the day long summit brings together six Governors, as well as more than 150 business leaders, religious leaders and advocates for children for sessions on the problems facing children in America. Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala will also address the summit later in the day.

The objectives of the summit are as follows:

- to focus public attention on the needs of young children and to reorient and reform service delivery systems to more effectively meet these needs
- to reach agreement about the need to develop a broad consensus at the state and community level on the benchmarks that should guide the development of programs and the allocation of resources
- to reach agreement on a process that will support state and local efforts to develop benchmarks and to implement the steps necessary to achieve them

A fact sheet on the Clinton Administration's accomplishments for children and families is attached.

HIGHLIGHTS OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S COMMITMENT TO CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

CHILD CARE

Quality child care is critical to the millions of working families struggling to make ends meet. President Clinton is committed to expanding and improving the quality of child care.

- Increased Funding for Child Care Every budget submitted by President Clinton has included increases in child care. The FY96 budget increases funding \$100 million.
- A Central Element of Welfare Reform The Work and Responsibility Act introduced last year continued the guarantee for families moving toward self sufficiency and expanded child care assistance for working families - part of the effort to "make work pay." The President's plan included a \$1.5 billion increase in child care funding over five years for working poor families "at-risk" of welfare dependency.
- Improving Coordination The Administration has worked to make programs more consistent and coordinated, proposing new regulations to reduce red tape, improve quality, give states more flexibility, and streamline child care operations into a single Child Care Bureau.
- Technical Assistance The Clinton Administration revamped and strengthened technical assistance to the states, territories and tribes to ensure they have access to the best available information on quality issues, particularly health and safety. In addition, the Administration has launched a National Child Care Information Center for policymakers and the general public.

CHILD WELFARE

The Clinton Administration is committed to improving the child welfare system - child protective services, foster care, adoption, family preservation and support, and assistance to abandoned infants - to ensure the safety of children and strengthen the capacity of parents to nurture healthy children. Given the critical nature of these services, the Administration supports an approach that provides states and communities with the flexibility to develop services that are responsive to the needs of their citizens. This Administration seeks to work in partnership with the states to assure child safety and help families improve their ability to care for their children.

- Family Preservation and Support Act This legislation, passed in 1993, provided almost \$1 billion over five years for the development of preventive and supportive services.

- Waivers and Demonstration Projects The President signed legislation authorizing development and implementation of 10 state waiver / demonstration projects in the child welfare arena.
- Multi-Ethnic Placement Act Legislation passed in 1994 will help increase the number of adoptions, by allowing certain factors such as race to be considered in the adoption process but prohibiting discrimination based on race or ethnicity.
- Increased Funding The Administration has increased adoption and foster care funds have increased by almost \$600 million from 1994 - 1995.

CHILD SUPPORT AND WELFARE REFORM EFFORTS

Rooted in the bedrock American values of work and responsibility, the Administration's approach to welfare reform can be summarized in a few simple goals: to move parents off welfare and into jobs as quickly as possible so they can support themselves and their families; to require absent parents to meet their responsibilities and pay child support; and to reduce teen pregnancy. The President's proposal includes:

WORK

- Welfare reform should be about work. Welfare should provide people the *opportunity* to move from welfare to work as quickly as possible.
- In return, people must take *responsibility* for supporting themselves and their families. All those who can work must go to work to support their families.
- Welfare should be a second chance, not a way of life. No one who can work should be able to stay on welfare forever.
- We must reward work over welfare. No one who works full time should have to raise a child in poverty. *That's why we increased the Earned Income Tax Credit for 15 million working Americans, why our welfare plan included an increase in child care, and why we proposed expanding health care coverage.*

RESPONSIBILITY

- We must hold BOTH parents responsible for their children.
- That's why we proposed the toughest child support enforcement measures ever - suspending drivers' licenses, tracking delinquent parents across state lines, and letting states make them work off what they owe.
- We also want to reduce teen pregnancy - young people must understand the responsibilities involved before they get pregnant or father a child. That's why the President has called for a National Campaign Against Teen Pregnancy.

FLEXIBILITY

- The President is firmly committed to giving states the flexibility to fix the welfare system at the local level.
- That's why we have granted half the states waivers to proceed with welfare reform.
- And that's why the administration wants to eliminate the need for waivers, letting states work within broad federal rules to decide how best to meet their needs.

LIFELONG LEARNING AGENDA

The Clinton Administration has made an unprecedented commitment to reforming the federal role in education and training and to expanding the opportunities available to American children and adults to improve their skills and maximize their potential. The President announced at the beginning of his Presidency his commitment to a Lifelong Learning Agenda - from expansion and improvement of early childhood education to reform of adult education and training programs. Much of that agenda has been enacted over the past two years.

HEAD START

- In his first two budgets, the President increased Head Start spending by \$760 million, and now proposes an additional \$400 million in FY96 for this program which provides comprehensive services for disadvantaged children, ages three to five, and their families.
- The President appointed the Head Start Advisory Commission to examine the program after 25 years of operation and to recommend ways to improve its operation. The Commission's recommendation formed the basis of the 1994 reauthorization, passed with bipartisan support.

GOALS 2000

- Legislation passed in 1994 to support meaningful state and community school improvement efforts, based on raising academic and occupational standards, improving teaching and expanding the use of technology.
- In his 1996 budget proposal, he calls for a \$347 million increase in funding for states and communities to proceed with their education reform agenda. More than 40 states have already chosen to participate in Goals 2000 and with the leadership of local communities, parents, teachers and school administrators have developed their own strategic plans for educational reform.

NATIONAL SERVICE

- With passage of the National Service legislation, Americorps has 20,000 volunteers worked in schools, hospitals, neighborhoods and parks. Reiterating his belief that National Service can change the way government works by enabling participants to further their education while helping to change communities, President Clinton is asking for \$812.5 million in 1996 to expand the program to 47,000 participants.

DIRECT LENDING

- With the passage of the Student Loan Reform Act, 104 schools and over 300,000 students are already participating in the program. This year more than 1,400 schools - representing 40% of the total number of loans and the maximum allowed under this year's authorization - have committed to enrolling. This program cuts bureaucracy and saves taxpayers and students billions of dollars, while allowing more borrowers flexible repayment arrangements -- including pay-as-you-earn plans through Individual Education Accounts.

ESEA

- Designed primarily to help disadvantaged children, this law focuses on improvements in teaching in more than 50,000 schools and has a direct impact on five million children in high poverty areas. By increasing school flexibility to use federal aid and supporting effective innovations, this law is a significant step in helping ALL students meet high academic standards.

SCHOOL TO WORK

- Broadens educational, career and economic opportunities for students not immediately bound for four-year colleges through local partnerships among businesses, schools, community organizations and state and local governments. By equipping students with the knowledge and skills necessary to pursue work or post-secondary training, this law helps ensure that America will be capable of performing and prospering in a competitive global economy.

"FAMILY FRIENDLY" POLICIES

During the 1992 campaign, President Clinton pledged a number of initiatives to "treat families right." and "put people first." In 1993, the Family and Medical Leave Act was passed in February 1993, the first major legislative accomplishment of his administration.

- Requires public employers and private-sector employers of 50 or more employees to provide up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave a worker to take care of a newborn or a sick child, spouse or parent.
- Protects a worker who has a serious health condition that prevents him or her from working. Pre-existing group health benefits must be maintained during the leave and employees must be restored to the same or equivalent positions. Effective August 5, 1993, this law affects an estimated 45 million U.S. workers and 300,000 U.S. businesses.

CRIME AND VIOLENCE

The Clinton Administration passed the smartest, toughest, and most comprehensive Anti-Crime bill in this country's history...a bill that provides police, prisons, punishment and prevention so that the streets we live on are safer. The Administration's Department of Justice (DOJ) supports the Crime bill initiatives through a multi-front assault on crime against children and families.

1994 CRIME BILL

The Clinton Crime Bill attacks crime and protects children and families on many fronts:

- Puts 100,000 more police on the street in community policing and represents the federal government's biggest commitment ever to local law enforcement -- \$8.8 billion -- or an almost 20% increase in the nation's police force levels.
- Includes tough new punishments and more prison cells to help keep criminals behind bars:
 - a targeted "three strikes and you're out" provision to keep career violent offenders behind bars for life;
 - the death penalty for the murder of a federal-law enforcement officer and other heinous crimes
 - increased penalties for sex offenders and a registration requirement for sexually violent offenders;
 - \$7.9 billion for 100,000 more prison cells to help states make sure that violent offenders serve their full sentences; and
 - \$1.9 billion to help states pay for the costs of incarcerating criminal aliens.
- Sends a strong no gangs, guns and drugs message to the 6% of young criminals who commit a majority of serious crimes. It bans handguns for juveniles; creates stiff penalties for crime-committing gang members; establishes Boot Camps and Drug Courts to discipline first-time, non-violent and drug offenders; and provides for hardened young criminals -- as young as 13-years-old -- to be tried as adults.
- Reinforces the difference between right and wrong by giving at-risk kids positive alternatives to say "yes" to by investing billions of dollars for after-school, weekend and summer programs for at risk youth; prevention block grants; and other efforts that provide kids with safe havens and teach them the dangers of drugs, gangs and guns.
- Bans on the 19 deadliest assault weapons and their copies.

STRONGER NEIGHBORHOODS AND CITIES

The Clinton Administration is increasing housing opportunity, creating stronger neighborhoods and cities, and giving special attention to the needs of children and families.

- HUD provided rental assistance to 102,000 low-income households.
- HUD insured more than 1.3 million loans for homeowners, and 450,000 of these were for first-time homeowners.
- HUD Funded 7,665 units of elderly housing and 2,559 units of disabled housing.
- HUD initiated an innovative partnership with pension funds to help build 2,500 units of housing.
- HUD provided 100,000 new units of housing through the HOME program in FY 1994.

America's economic health and family stability are inextricably linked with the health and stability of its cities. The Clinton Administration has taken bold steps to help children and families by fostering the economic health and development of the nation's cities:

- The Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities initiative which gives communities across America critical resources for economic and social development. The initiative will foster job development in neighborhoods and move people into the economic mainstream.
- The Section 108 program which in the past two years has successfully infused \$579 million into economic development projects.

CHILD HEALTH AND NUTRITION

The Clinton Administration is standing up for America's children by supporting and improving child health by marshalling and coordinating efforts of the private sector, health care professionals and volunteer organizations to ensure that the youngest of our children are safe from vaccine-preventable diseases and that they have proper nutrition.

- Improve the Quality and Quantity of Vaccine Delivery Services In October 1993, this Administration provided \$129 million (\$83 million in new federal resources) to states and large local health departments, based on plans they developed, to improve and expand existing immunization services.
- Reduce Vaccine Cost for Parents In October 1994, the Vaccines for Children Program was initiated to provide the neediest children with free vaccine. By March 1995, more than 21,000 private provider sites were enrolled in the VFC program.

- Increase Community Participation, Education and Partnerships A National Outreach Program was established in September 1993. Through this program, outreach workers -- community organizers -- enhance involvement, expand participation, facilitate coordination and communication among all sectors of the community.
- Improve Systems to Monitor Diseases and Vaccinations The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has expanded its ability to assess immunization rates at the local, state and national levels in order to pinpoint which populations are not receiving the benefits of infant vaccination.
- Improve Vaccines and Vaccine Use In January 1995, a simplified immunization schedule for administration of the childhood vaccines was issued. This was an effort that harmonized differing recommendations of two national groups. In April 1995, the Food and Drug Administration approved a vaccine for prevention of chicken pox.
- Increased Funding for Nutrition The President's FY96 budget requests more than \$42 billion for nutrition assistance, up from \$40.2 billion allotted in FY95.
- Expanding WIC The Clinton Administration has expanded funding for the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) dramatically -- \$610 million in the first two years, and a further proposed increase of \$350 million in FY96 to serve an additional 400,000 women, infants and children. This program works: Every \$1 invested in WIC has proven to save up to \$4.25 in preventive health-care costs.
- Reforming the School Lunch Program The Administration has developed a School Meals Initiative for Healthy Children to update and improve school meals. The Initiative provides nutrition education for children, offers school food service directors nutrition training and technical assistance, streamlines administrative burdens, and invites public and private sector participation in local school meal decisions.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 6, 1995

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT NGA NATIONAL SUMMIT ON YOUNG CHILDREN

Stouffer Renaissance Harbor Place
Baltimore, Maryland

1:38 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. To Governor Dean and Governor Leavitt and all of the governors who are here -- Governor Glendening and Mayor Schmoke, and Congressman Cardin. I'm glad to be back in Baltimore. I'm going to have to register as a citizen and begin to pay taxes if I don't stay out of your state a little more, Governor.

I am delighted to be here in Baltimore because Baltimore was one of the six cities which won a highly-contested race for the empowerment zones in our country. And I congratulate Mayor Schmoke on that, and I look forward to his work, along with the Governor and others, in making Baltimore an even stronger and greater city as a result of that.

Governor Dean, I want to thank you for your leadership of the Governors Association. I don't think I ever enjoyed any job more than being Chairman of the Governors Association, although it was not always easy to please all the governors. I think it's still not always easy to please all of the governors. (Laughter.)

I'm delighted to see so many representatives of state government, county government, local government here. My good friend, Representative Blute from North Carolina; it's nice to see you here. Representative Campbell and Commissioner Franke, thank you for your work, sir.

I thank all of you for coming here to meet about the fate of our children. This has been a concern of mine, as the Governor said, for a long time and, of course, a profound concern for my wife. When I met her, she was spending an extra year in law school to do four years instead of three so that she could devote a year to the study of the laws that affected our children. And I might say she then predicted a lot of the more disturbing trends which we've seen unfold in our country over the last 20 years.

Hillary is working on a book now about children's issues and the responsibilities we owe to them, and she picked the title of the old African proverb: "It takes a village to raise a child." I want to come back to that a little bit during my remarks because I think there is a great difference of opinion about that in the United States today. I began with the premise that the first responsibility for children lies with their parents; but that since all our futures are bound up in theirs, the rest of us share a responsibility in the United States and in our states and in our communities for their welfare. I do believe, in other words, that it takes a village to raise a child, especially when you consider the facts of life that children face today.

I ran for this job because I wanted to ensure a better future for our children -- to ensure that instead of losing so many of our children and seeing so many of them grow up with the American Dream beyond their grasp, that they could be rewarded for their work, and that the values that we all share of work and family and community would be stronger, not weaker, when they came of age.

I realize that people my daughter's age were in danger of growing up to be the first generation of Americans to do worse economically than their parents, but perhaps even more important, to live in a country that was less supportive of the kind and quality of life that most people in my generation took for granted.

The recent report of the Carnegie Corporation tends to corroborate a lot of those disturbing trends with statistics you all know well. In the quiet crisis, they say, that still, after years of effort -- compared to other industrialized countries, our infant mortality rates are higher, our low-birth-weight baby rates are higher, our teen pregnancy rates are much higher, our childhood immunization rates are lower, and, of course, our children are subjected to far, far higher rates of violence in the United States than they would be in any other country in the world.

If we are going to rescue our children's future, we have to do a number of things. We have to grow the middle class and shrink the underclass. We have to support policies that reinforce work and families and communities. We have to change the way the government operates so that it promotes independence, not dependence; opportunity and not bureaucracy. We have to give our youngest children things that they can't guarantee for themselves.

If you believe it takes a whole village to raise a child, it means that the government has a responsibility, working with people in the private sector, to guarantee children who can't get it for themselves health, safety and education; and then when they get older, to empower them to make the most of their lives. To do that, I believe, we need not another ideological war, but a passionate and practical commitment to what we know will work.

The whole issue of welfare is at the core of that. But let me just say for a moment, for the last two and a half years a great deal of what I have sought to do has been centered in that conviction -- that we have to have a passionate and practical effort to go beyond ideological wars right to the heart of what will make life better for our children.

We've worked hard to strengthen families and to give children a better start. The earned income credit will now provide a tax reduction for working families with children with incomes below \$27,000 an average of a \$1,000 a year. That's a pro-family policy. We should continue that, not reverse it. The Family and Medical Leave law, more than anything I've done as President, has caused ordinary citizens to come up to me and say: Thank you -- I had a sick child; I had a sick spouse; my wife had a baby; we were able to continue to work and to provide for ourselves; we were able to be good parents and successful workers.

That, it seems to me, is the kind of thing that we ought to do. Secretary Shalala, who is here, has worked very hard to expand immunization so that all of our children under the age of two will be properly immunized by the turn of the century. We have expanded Head Start dramatically. The Goals 2000 program in which many of you have participated -- most of you have -- emphasizes grass-roots reforms to achieve national, indeed, international standards of excellence.

When children are more independent, we have given them access to lower cost, better repayment terms for college loans with tougher requirements to repay them. We've worked with you for more apprenticeship programs for the young people who don't go to four-year colleges and universities, through the School-to-Work program. And, of course, many of you have been very active in the national service program, AmeriCorps, which gives our young people a chance to give something back to their communities and earn more funds to go on to school. And I want to say a special word of thanks to Senator Mikulski of Maryland for her work on national service.

The crime bill was an important part of this because it emphasized not simply more punishment and more prisons, but also protecting children through 100,000 more police officers on the street and through prevention programs that give our young people something to say yes to as well as something to say no to.

We were able to do those things and still reduce the deficit. The new majority in Congress uses seven-year terms. We use -- the deficit is going down by a trillion dollars over seven years, thanks to the '93 and '94 budgets. More than 6.3 million new jobs came into our economy. But we did it while saying that it takes a whole village to raise a child; that children deserve education, health and safety; that families should be strengthened and supported; that work should be exalted; and that parents have to be able to succeed in the world we are living in, both as parents and as workers.

One thing we did not do is to pass comprehensive welfare reform. And that is now what is before the Congress. And that, more than anything else in this debate, captures a lot of the philosophical arguments that are at the core of what is going on in our national discussion today.

I don't think there's any question that I believe we ought to reform the welfare system. I was proud to represent the governors when the Family Support Act was written under President Reagan's administration with strong bipartisan support. I realize what the shortcomings of it are, especially since it was never properly funded. And therefore, I have now given -- the Secretary and I have -- 29 of the 50 states exemptions from federal rules and regulations to pursue your own path to welfare reform to move people to work. Nothing like that has ever been done before.

In Missouri, Vermont and Wisconsin, Governors Carnahan, Dean and Thompson are using their waivers to impose time limits and to require work. In Ohio and Oregon, Governors Voinovich and Kitzhaber are moving people to work by using money now spent on welfare and food stamps to subsidize private sector jobs. Others are doing other things that are very important. Every governor I've ever spoken with, without regard to party, understands that welfare reform is important and must, first and foremost, be about work.

Unfortunately, to my mind, the welfare reform bill in Congress -- or the debate -- has not focused as much as it should have about work. And I believe that in important respects the tenor of the debate not only in the House, but also in the Senate, puts both children and states at risk. The House bill, clearly, was too tough on children and too weak on work. Finally, after a lot of efforts, the House did agree to be tough on deadbeat parents -- something that everyone among the governors agreed it needed to be done. The Senate Finance Committee reported a bill out the other day that clearly is a step in the right direction in many areas, but I believe, still misses the point on work and on children.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the current Senate Finance Committee bill will not succeed in moving people from welfare to work. The Congressional Budget Office and the person who wrote the report was generally acknowledged to be one of the preeminent Republican experts on welfare reform, concluded that only six of our states

would be able to fulfill the bill's work requirements in the year 2000 with the bill's funding provisions. Forty-four states will fail. Six out of 50 in baseball is a .120 batting average. You can't play for the Orioles with that batting average. You can't stay in the minor leagues, and you sure won't elevate children or end welfare as we know it.

The reason the Senate bill failed on the standard of work seems to me is clear: It takes away the tools that states now use to move people from welfare to work -- child care, job training, greater incentives for job placement.

I very much want to work across party lines to solve this problem. But if we're going to end welfare as we know it, Congress must pass a bill that meets some basic principles. First, we have to require people who can work to go to work and make sure that they have the child care to do it so that they don't have to hurt their children to do the right thing as citizens. It defies common sense to insist that people go to work when they have very young children if doing so will actually cost them money.

Second, the legislation should have real work requirements, but it ought to be backed up with the resources necessary to get people into jobs and keep them there.

According to the CBO, the Congressional Budget Office, it would cost you, the states, \$10 billion a year by the year 2000 to meet these requirements just in the Senate bill. And yet, this bill asks you to meet these requirements with less money than you have now.

Now, I was a governor long enough to remember what an unfunded mandate is. A lot of you -- Governor Voinovich was in the Rose Garden celebrating when we signed the unfunded mandates bill; I strongly supported it. Just because this doesn't say it's one doesn't mean it isn't by another term. So I think we have to look at this forthrightly.

The third thing that I think is important is that welfare reform should have real incentives to reward the states who do succeed in putting people to work, not for cutting them off. The current bill gives states an incentive, instead, to save money simply by throwing people off the welfare roles.

The House bill even gives states what the Catholic Church has called "an illegitimacy bonus," an incentive for more people to have abortions. That is not welfare reform. If we're going to change the culture of welfare, we have got to reward success, we've got to depart from the status quo. I want a performance bonus, but one that will force the welfare bureaucracy and the welfare recipients to focus on work.

The fourth thing I believe is that the legislation should protect states so they can continue to move people from welfare to work, even when there is an economic

downturn, extraordinary population growth or unpredictable emergencies. In their current forms, these bills could really hurt the high-population states, the growth states, like Florida and Utah and others, and could put every state at risk in the next recession or profound natural disaster.

Finally, let me say we ought to protect our children. If you believe it takes a whole village to raise a child, we should avoid mean-spirited restrictions on benefits to children; we should avoid cuts in child nutrition and adoption and child protective services; we should give states more flexibility, but we should also make sure states continue to fulfill their responsibilities.

The proposed legislation contains no incentives or requirements for states to maintain their own funding for cash assistance or for child care or work supports.

Now, I know that if you believe in the pure theory of state experimentation -- and you know that I believe a lot of that, because if you just look at what's in these 29 waivers, I have pretty much gone along with anything the states wanted to do to move people from welfare to work. So you might argue that, in theory, if we believe that states ought to have great flexibility, why don't we just give them a block grant without any requirement for local maintenance or anything of that kind. But the serious danger there is that this will become a race to the bottom. It's always cheaper to cut people off welfare than to move them to work. It will always be cheaper to lower benefits than to figure out how to reduce the caseload by moving them to work.

We already do less for young children than most of our major competitors -- perhaps all of our major competitors -- throughout the world. And I just believe that we cannot allow welfare reform to be a race to the bottom.

Let me say again, I know in theory it's right, but let me remind all of you, I served for 12 years as a governor. I served in good times and bad times. I know that the last two years, this is the second year in a row when in all probability all 50 states will have economic growth. That is a highly unusual circumstance over the last two decades.

And I'm just telling you, I've been in enough state legislatures in my life, not just in my state but all around this country, to know what's going to happen. If you put this welfare reform block grant with less money and no local maintenance requirement up against the Medicaid cuts and the education cuts and the other things that are in this budget, you tell me how the poor children of your state are going to fare when they have to deal with the nursing home lobby. And I'm not complaining about the nursing home lobby; you just tell me how they're going to fare. (Applause.)

You know, everybody wants to cut Medicaid to shreds, because they say that's just a poor person's health care. You know as well as I do almost 70 percent of that money goes to the elderly and the disabled. And they're all coming to see you and your state legislators.

Now, how are they going to do? How are these poor children going to do? How are they going to do against some of my favorite lobbies -- the education lobbies? How are they going to do? Not very well. How are they going to do against a lobby that no one can say no to, the prison lobby? The crime rate goes up and your legislature stiffens sentences and people don't want you paroling folks that have no business on the street. And the only way you can get this federal money for prisons is if you promise to leave people in longer and ignore your own parole laws. When you have to match that money, or build prisons on your own, how are you going to stand up and say well, somehow we're going to keep doing what we used to do for poor children? And you can walk away and say, well, what we used to do doesn't work, so maybe we shouldn't do anything. But the truth is we do less -- I will say it again -- we do less for children than the countries with which we compete.

And this is not a partisan issue; at least it never has been before. Everything that happened in the last two years on Head Start, on every education initiative we did, on the Family and Medical Leave -- every single thing was a bipartisan issue. Everything.

Now, I think there are two big debates that are undergirding this welfare debate, and I'd like to just put it out on the table today. One is the debate about what causes people to be on welfare. Is it economics and politics or is it culture? That's really what's behind all this debate about what's in the movies and in the rap lyrics and all.

And, by the way, I think it's a positive thing. You know, Mrs. Gore was talking 18 years ago about the dangers of destructive entertainment forces on children. I've been challenging Hollywood and the television networks to reduce violence for years. I don't mind this debate. I think this is a good debate.

But the truth is, it's not either/or. You see, there was one young girl interviewed in a movie line last week -- asked her, what do you think about this debate in Washington about whether movies were causing the breakdown of families. And she said, well, my father's working three jobs. I'll tell you, that's not good for our family. I wish he'd just come home and spend some time with me.

On the other hand, people who deny that culture is a force are wrong. The states in this country with the lowest incarceration rates also have the highest high school graduation rates and they often don't spend the most money. There are almost no poor children in families with two parents in the home. So if I could just wave a magic wand and make this problem go away, I would never have another kid in a home where there weren't

two parents until the child reached a certain age so that then the child could take care of himself or herself. That would be a wonderful thing if that could be done. And in that sense, there is a cultural component to all this.

So the people that are out there exhorting parents to be more responsible, and especially male parents to be more responsible -- people like this Promisekeepers Group - they deserve our support. They deserve our support. There is a cultural element in all this. But to say that there is no national responsibility on the economic and political side, I think is just plain wrong and defies the experience of every, single, solitary country in the world. And, I might add, that all the people that are out there working in the private charities, go interview them and ask them if they think that we can just walk away from this.

So I would say, this cultural debate is a very good thing and we ought to have it. But there is plainly a political and economic root to this. If you look at rising poverty and stagnating middle-class incomes in this country, it is clearly the result of international economic trends sweeping all advanced countries and national economic policies. And all those things are reinforced, one with another.

We are on the verge of having a 40-year low in the minimum wage. Why would somebody who was on welfare who had two kids, who at least had health care from Medicaid, and they've got food stamps go to work, if we won't even raise the minimum wage to keep it up to where it was 10 years ago -- in fact, we're going to let it go to a 40-year low.

So I implore you, governors are supposed to be the places where people look at the real world and they get away from all this theory and look at the practice. There's a political and an economic element to this problem, and there is a cultural element to the problem. That is one big deal. I think there is a public responsibility and there is a private responsibility -- both, not either/or.

There's another debate going on here which is, what is the most important thing we can do to help grow the economy and help stabilize the society? And on one side of that debate there are those who say the most important thing we can do is to reduce the deficit and shrink the government. And nothing else really matters because the federal government would mess up a one-car parade. And on the other side of that debate are not people who say we need a government; we need an expanded bureaucracy. That debate is not existent in Washington.

You look at the record. We have reduced already, with the two budgets already adopted, the size of the federal government by 270,000. Congressman Cardin's already voted to do that -- to bring the federal government to its smallest size since President Kennedy was President. We've had dramatic changes in regulation. The 29 states with the waivers from federal rules on welfare is just one example. The deficit has been brought down

three times in a row for the first time since Mr. Truman was here. Nobody is for a higher deficit. That is not the issue.

The issue is, are there any other responsibilities of the national government. I believe there are some. I think we have to help people who cannot help themselves through not fault of their own -- not because they're irresponsible, but through no fault of their own, like little children who are poor. And I think we have to empower people to make the most of their own lives, because that way we'll all be better off. That's what I believe. Therefore, I don't think that you can sacrifice our responsibility to educate people and our responsibility for basic health and safety, security issues, on the alter of deficit reduction.

You know, sometimes I think my big problem is that I was for some of these things before they were popular, like deficit reduction. Everybody's for it now. That doesn't mean we didn't do a lot of it in the last two years.

So we have to decide that. Now, don't kid yourself -- from the point of view of the Congress, welfare reform has stopped being welfare reform primarily. Primarily welfare reform is a way to cut spending on the poor so that we don't have to worry about it and we can balance the budget in seven years and give a big tax cut, largely benefitting upper-income people who have done pretty well in the 1980s. That's what this is about. (Applause.)

It is true that a lot of people genuinely believe the states ought to have more say over this. So do I. It is true that a lot of people believe the prior system didn't do much good for people who were permanently dependent on welfare. So do it. And I have for 15 years. But we should not confuse -- if we really say it's more important to cut spending so that we can balance the budget in seven years and still give a tax increase to upper income people, even if we're going to hurt poor children, people ought to just say that flat out because that's what's really underneath this.

So I ask you to think about it. What's it going to be like the next time the coasts are growing and the middle west is in a depression, when the farmland goes to pieces? What's it going to be like the next time there's a high-tech collapse and the coasts are in trouble, and only the heartland is doing well? What's it going to be like the next time we have a serious national recession if there is not even a maintenance of effort requirement? If there is not real effort to have work? You know what it's going to be like. You'll have less people moving from welfare to work, more people getting less money, and the most important thing is our children, our future, will be in more difficult circumstances.

You could not design a program that would be too tough on work for me. You could not design a program that would give the states any more flexibility than I want to

give them as long as we recognize that we, our American village, have a responsibility to our children; and that in the end our political and economic policies must reinforce the culture we're trying to create. They ought to be pro-family and pro-work. But if we get in the fix in this country where people cannot succeed as parents without being derelict at work, or they cannot succeed at work without being derelict to their children, which is exactly what exists for too many people in America today or that is their deep worry, then we are going to suffer. We are going to suffer economically and we are going to suffer culturally.

Now, I think this is a huge opportunity. We can save some money and reduce the deficit in this welfare area. I have proposed that. I think we can. I don't believe every penny we're spending is sacrosanct, but I just would say to you we must not walk away, and you should not walk away. And you shouldn't want us to put you in a position to walk away from our fundamental responsibilities. Just imagine all the debates that are going to occur here. Children are not very well organized. Poor children are very poorly organized. They will not do well on balance in all the state legislatures of the country the next time things are really bad and, especially, after all the other budget cuts come down to all the other people who will also be on your doorstep.

We can have welfare reform. We can balance the budget. We can shrink the government and still be faithful to our fundamental responsibilities to our children and our future. Let's don't make it either/or. Let's do it all, do it right and take this country to the next century in good shape.

Thank you and God bless you all. (Applause.)

END

2:07 P.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

Internal Transcript

March 1, 1995

REMARKS BY THE FIRST LADY
AT THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE
75th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AND DINNER

MRS. CLINTON: -- Thank you, thank you all. Thank you so much, David and John and all of you who are gathered here this evening on behalf of the work that we are doing and will continue to do on behalf of children. I am deeply honored to receive this award named for Natalie Heineman. Her work with children and with the League inspires all of us to do more and to reach further.

I'm also pleased that my friend, Elizabeth Glaser, received this award last year. And as a tribute to her, I hope that as we go about our work on behalf of children, we remember the sacrifice and commitment she displayed, and draw strength from what she did on behalf of -- (applause.)

As some of you may know, the President is speaking tonight to a gathering at the Nixon Center on the dangers of isolationism and nuclear proliferation -- two issues critical to the future of our children and children everywhere. And although he is not able to join us tonight in celebration of the Child Welfare League, he wanted you to know that children are on his mind and they will stay on his mind in the days and months ahead. (Applause.)

For 75 years you and this League have given all kinds of leadership to our nation, and our nation has relied on you for wisdom and moral leadership. We have to continue to call on your leadership, because we have to continue to devise ways to help protect our most vulnerable children. Your leadership is so crucial because today the youngest among us face new and greater burdens than ever before.

When David Liederman testified in the House last month on welfare reform, he talked about our obligation as a nation to keep all children from harm. That single phrase, "to keep all children from harm," summed up the moral imperative before us now. For decades, Americans have stood out for their compassion for children. We have prided ourselves on the high aspirations and expectations we have held for children. But today, we find ourselves at a rare moment in history when we must decide as a nation how much children really matter to us.

American children are in crisis. Twenty-three percent of our children live in poverty, and millions go without essential services every day. Too many children are bearing children of their own. Drugs, violence and abuse continue to claim the futures and even the lives of our young people before they reach adulthood.

Surely, as we search for solutions to such complex human problems, we need a full and honest debate. Yet that discussion is not taking place today. There is no real exchange of ideas. There is no weighing of evidence. There is simply a full-scale assault on nearly every program that helps the neediest, most vulnerable and disadvantaged among us.

The President has described recent actions in Congress as a war on the children of America. The war is taking many forms: cuts in current funding, elimination of programs, withdrawal of guarantees and block grants in the name of state flexibility. If the wrong side wins in this war on children, fallout from this war will reach far beyond the \$40 billion in cuts in children's programs over the next five years. Far beyond Barney and Big Bird and school lunches; far beyond summer jobs and aid for children with disabilities. What will be lost is our notion of who we are as a people and what we stand for as a society. (Applause.)

Let's not be fooled by rhetoric about block grants and greater flexibility and autonomy for the states. And let's remember that cutting programs that help children is not going to significantly reduce the deficit. The only people who will benefit from being the evisceration of children's programs are families earning more than \$200,000 a year who will be eligible for a capital gains tax cut. In 57 short days, we have learned that the Contract with America is indeed a financial arrangement, one that assigns far more importance to the interests of the very wealthy and the very powerful, than to the interests of the poor, the needy and the weak. We do not need that sort of contract in America. (Applause.)

We need instead, a covenant, a sacred trust between government and the American people, and among the American people themselves that reflects our long-held belief that every citizen, rich or poor, urban or rural, young or old, has the right and responsibility to rise as far as their God-given talents and determination can take them, and to give something back to their society in return. That is the underlying principle of the President's New Covenant, which, as he said in his State of the Union address, is actually grounded in some very old ideas. Those old ideas have guided us for more than a century in our efforts to protect children from harm.

Yet today, the foundation which we have built to promote work over welfare and strengthen families is in jeopardy. Federal guarantees of child care assistance for low-income families and those coming off welfare, grants for foster care and adoption assistance, Medicaid coverage, summer jobs for young people, heating fuel for the disadvantaged and aid for poor children with disabilities are just a few of the programs at risk.

As a friend of mine said recently, cutting \$7 billion out of child nutrition programs and \$4 billion out foster care and adoption programs is not so much a revolution as -- quote -- "a massacre of the innocence."

If Congress weakens these programs, it will represent a total reversal of an historic commitment our nation has made to children.

Few Americans realize that the first federal effort at child care came in 1863 when the government sponsored a nursery for mothers working in Civil War hospitals. Few realize that food vouchers, an early version of food stamps, were given to freed slaves after the Civil War. Few realize that the first federal immunization program was launched at the beginning of this century, or that Congress established a Children's Bureau in 1909 to safeguard the well being of children. Aid for Families With Dependent Children, called welfare, began in 1935 as a way to enable mothers, many of them widows, to stay home with their children.

Children were protected by labor laws beginning in the 1930s. Congress appropriated funds for emergency maternal and infant care in 1943. The National School Lunch Act was passed in 1946 after it became evident that many inductees into our Armed Forces in World War II suffered from poor nutrition as children.

Throughout much of our history, children's programs have received broad bipartisan support because there is such compelling evidence that early intervention saves money and lives, and reaffirms the values of opportunity and responsibility that built America.

Senator Robert Taft, a conservative Republican leader in his era, said in 1948 that the American economy was rich enough --and I quote -- "to prevent extreme hardship and maintain a minimum standard floor under subsistence, education, medical care and housing to give to all a minimum standard of decent living, and to all children a fair opportunity to get a start in life."

Before now we would never have dreamed of counting cuts in programs for children on a 100-day scorecard. Before now, we came

together as Americans to safeguard the rights of disabled, abused and hungry children through WIC, Head Start, the Child Abuse Prevention Act of 1974, the Education of All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, and the Children's Welfare and Adoption Assistance Act of 1980, passed under both Republican and Democratic presidents. Each of these did more than throw money at a problem. Each of these represented a moral commitment to children that improved our country, gave voices to the voiceless, strengthened us and protected children from harm.

Yet, today, poor children and families are viewed less as objects of concern than as culprits for everything that is wrong in society. Drugs, violence, illegitimacy and abuse are viewed as afflictions only of the poor and, in turn, it is poor children and families who are singled out for punishment.

My minister gave a sermon recently in which he related the story in Leviticus about the ancient Israelites who annually placed all of their miseries and sins on the head of a goat and then sent the goat off into the wilderness. When the goat reached the wilderness, the tribe was cleansed of all problems, all evils, all sins. This is an apt parable for what is happening in America today. In today's society, the goat is poor children and their parents. And somehow we think we can rid ourselves of all our social problems by scapegoating children and exiling them to a wilderness of greater poverty and hopelessness.

Some in Washington and around the country justify these extreme budget cuts by saying, we have all these children's programs in place, but things are only getting worse. Obviously, the programs don't make a difference. Well, nobody ever conceived of government programs as a panacea. We all know that services alone will not lift a child out of poverty. A school lunch program can help a child's physical and intellectual development, but it can't provide shelter. A nutrition program for pregnant women can increase the likelihood of a healthy baby, but it can't pay the rent.

To overcome poverty, children and families need the basic necessities in life. They also need to be buffered by a strong economy. As the National Council of Bishops stated in a pastoral letter in 1991 entitled "Putting Families First," many families are poor because of economic forces beyond their control: recession, industrial restructuring, erosion of real wages, unemployment and discrimination in hiring and promotion.

That's why, as we search for a solution to today's real social

problems, we must avoid an unbalanced approach that both robs children of services and fails to address the broad economic and social forces that contribute to poverty in the first place. Meaningful deficit reduction, the creation of nearly six million new jobs, investments in the skills and training of our people -- these are structural changes that, as the President has fought for and articulated, will help lift children and families out of poverty over the long run.

To address our problems, parents and families must take responsibility, too. They must provide the love and nurturing and discipline their children need. They must be willing to make the sacrifices that are necessary to create conditions within the family that enable children to flourish. And, in some cases, young men and women must postpone having children until they have the means to provide the love, the support, and the responsible care. And in other cases, parents with children should think harder and longer about divorce and, instead, put their children's needs and interests first. And child support, as the President made clear at the beginning of this week, has to be part of what it means to be a decent, responsible parent.

In that same pastoral letter I just mentioned, the bishops also wrote that the most important work on behalf of our children "must be done in our homes and our neighborhoods and our community organizations. No government can love a child, and no policy can substitute for a family's care. But at the same time, government can either support or undermine families as they cope with the moral, social and economic stresses of caring for children."

Both national policies and personal values must play a role. It is time to end the false debate that pits national policies against personal values. We need to support both if we expect to have healthy -- children. (Applause.) We know that what happens to poor children and their families also has ripple effects throughout the rest of society. We also know that many of the programs under attack are not aimed just at poor families, because the safety net that was kept in place even during the 1980s did provide services for many families who, themselves, were on the brink of falling into poverty.

A few weeks ago I visited a federally-supported child care center in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. There was not a single parent I met who was not working, going to college, taking courses to try to get a GED, or actively involved in job training. Having access to that kind of child care that they could count on enabled them to go forward to build a stronger family.

In the weeks and months ahead, as Congress works on social issues, the test of every policy and every budget decision should be whether it helps children and strengthens families. I want you to know that the White House and the Clinton administration will work with you to ensure that our children are kept from further harm.

In the last 10 days, we have seen the response of the American people as the specifics of budget proposals have been unveiled. People know better. They often can put a face on all of the abstract rhetoric about budgets and programs. They can see the children that I saw earlier today in Arlington, Virginia, at a school where three-fifths of the children in an affluent community are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches. They can see the little girl, Ellen, who sat across from me, or Zachary, who came up to ask about Socks, the cat. They know that when it finally becomes a question as to whether we will support abstract ideology or concrete personal lives in the faces and futures of our children, that they will want our children protected.

And that is why we can, and we will, with your help, continue to protect the children of America from harm. It will not be an easy struggle, because, as I said earlier, there are powerful forces that refuse to recognize the costs that will be borne by our entire society in return for privileges for a few if we eradicate the progress that we have made so far. But I'm confident that America will once again rise to this challenge, and that our children will be given the future they deserve.

Thank you all very much. (Applause.)

END

General Children's Funding

- Q. Given all the proposed cutbacks affecting children, and the fact that there don't seem to be any strong new efforts to support children, what do you propose to ensure that there is a safety net for children?
- A. The battle for efficiency in government is one in which we are all on the same side. But this Administration doesn't believe it should be turned into a war on those who can least defend themselves - the children. There is always going to be a role for government at all levels, but it is not only a government responsibility to protect children and to promote their healthy development and opportunities for success. Families, schools, businesses, churches and synagogues, and the voluntary and charitable groups with which this country is so blessed -- all of us have a role, and that is what the Clinton Administration has been trying to promote. We have done so through a variety of exciting efforts....

Background

Three examples:

Early Head Start -- Early Head Start will provide early, continuous, intensive and comprehensive child development and family support services on a year-round basis to low-income family with children under age three, and pregnant women. The purpose of the program is to enhance children's physical, social, intellectual, and emotional development; to assist parents in fulfilling their developmental roles; and to help parents move towards self-sufficiency. In FY 1995, \$106 million is available for Early Head Start.

Community Schools -- The Community Schools program was passed as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994. It provides funds to community based organizations in each of the states and territories to form partnerships with schools and other community organizations so that schools or community centers can be kept open after hours, on weekends, and during the summer as safe places for young people to spend time with their friends, get involved in activities, and study. Approximately 700 applications were received for the Community Schools program, which has \$26 million for awards in FY 95. However, the rescission bill (vetoed by the President) would have eliminated FY 95 funding for the Community Schools program.

Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities --

The Empowerment Zone / Enterprise Community initiative is an effort to enable the self-revitalization and growth of distressed urban and rural areas throughout the nation. The Empowerment Zone /

Enterprise Community initiative encourages localities to develop and implement holistic, outcome-based approaches for comprehensive community, economic, and human development services. It cuts across disciplines and divisions to coordinate the full range of efforts that communities must engage to help themselves -- to create jobs, preserve families, promote public safety, educate and train residents, provide health care, and protect the environment.

In December 1994, President Clinton announced the designation of 112 socio-economically distressed areas to receive focused federal economic and human development assistance. These communities were selected from more than 500 applicants that competed for designation.

Nutrition

NUTRITION ASSISTANCE REFORM ACT OF 1995 (S. 904)

On Friday, June 9, Senator Lugar introduced the Nutrition Assistance Reform Act of 1995 (S. 904). This bill would maintain nutrition as a federal responsibility -- including Food Stamps, National School Lunch, and WIC. However, the proposal makes deep cuts in these programs:

- \$16 billion over five years in the Food Stamp program; and
- \$2 billion in the Child Nutrition Programs.

The Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry is scheduled to consider this bill on Wednesday, June 14.

Food Stamp Program

- o **Most of the \$16 billion in cuts comes from lowering food stamp benefits and tightening eligibility requirements.** Five areas for cuts have been proposed:
 - reducing maximum allotments from 103 percent to 100 percent of the cost of the Thrifty Food Plan;
 - reducing the standard deduction;
 - counting energy assistance as income;
 - limiting participation of working-age adults without children; and
 - including persons under 21 in their parent's household.
- o **S. 904 would increase State administrative flexibility** by eliminating many statutory requirements (many of which were identified in our proposal), allowing States to simplify program rules for those receiving cash welfare, and expanding the Secretary's waiver authority.
- o **The proposal would address work and personal responsibility** by limiting participation of able-bodied adults without children to six months in every 12 unless they are working or participating in an employment and training program. While this provision seeks appropriately to encourage work, it goes too far; many participants could be eliminated from the program not from an unwillingness to participate in work or training, but because they lack the opportunity to do so.

The proposal also creates State options to use food stamps to subsidize wages, offer cash in place of coupons for some households with substantial earnings, require the cooperation of both parents with Child Support Enforcement, and disqualify non-custodial parents who fall behind in their court-ordered child support payments.

Child Nutrition Programs**The proposal would:**

- o **Reduce child nutrition program costs through changes in cost of living adjustments to reimbursement rates.** Changes such as rounding rates down to the nearest cent and freezing cost of living adjustments for 24 months for paid meals and commodities in the NSLP, SBP, child care centers, and for paid milk in the Special Milk Program and a cost of living adjustment freeze of 12 months for commodities account for most of the savings.
- o **Reduce reimbursement rates** by ending a two-cent rate differential for the School Lunch Program for lunches served in schools serving mostly low-income children, reducing Summer Food Service Program rates for lunches, breakfasts, and snacks, and reducing the overall rate for paid breakfasts to the amount paid in cash for paid lunches.
- o **Target Family Day Care funds** by creating a second, lower, tier of reimbursement rates for homes not in low income areas, or where the day care home provider's income is low. Such homes may get the higher rate for children served from families whose income is below 185 percent of poverty.
- o **Reduce spending** on Nutrition education and grants to expand the School Breakfast and Summer Food Service programs.

Senator Lugar's bill would also reauthorize four programs--the Commodity Supplemental Food Program, The Emergency Food Assistance Program, The Soup Kitchens and Food Bank Program, and the National Commodity Processing Program--without any changes.

June 12, 1995

THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

Background

- The Food Stamp Program (FSP) is the cornerstone of our Nation's endeavor to get food to people who need it. Throughout its history, the FSP has produced significant and measurable nutrition outcomes among participating children and families.
- Each month the FSP provides more than 27 million Americans with the means to purchase food for a nutritious diet. The total cost of the program in fiscal year 1994 was \$24.5 billion, \$22.7 billion of which was spent on food stamp benefits.

Congressional Action

- The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 (H.R. 4), passed by the House on March 24, would result in the unraveling of the national nutrition framework that has successfully narrowed the gap between the diets of low-income and other families. The bill would:
 - ✓ reduce nutrition benefits for people who need them by billions of dollars,
 - ✓ eliminate the national nutritional safety net,
 - ✓ create a system that can't respond to economic changes, and
 - ✓ reduce food spending and harm the food industry and farm economy.
- While the Senate has not finalized its own bill, Senate Agriculture Committee Chairman Lugar has proposed significant changes in the Food Stamp Program. Further, the Budget Resolution passed by the Senate calls for a \$45 billion reduction over seven years in nutrition and farm programs, and the Senate Budget Committee has stated through a non-binding resolution that no more than 20 percent of this reduction can come from farm programs, leaving \$36 billion to be cut from food and nutrition assistance programs.

Administrative Initiative

- In March, we proposed a 13-point anti-fraud plan to improve the integrity of the Food Stamp Program by ensuring that only legitimate stores participate, improving the Department's ability to monitor authorized stores, and strengthening penalties against retailers and recipients who violate program rules.
- On May 23, the Secretary of Agriculture announced a comprehensive reform package that will transform the Food Stamp Program into a more flexible program that meets the nutrition needs of families into the next century.
- The Administration's proposal was guided by six key reform principles: provide for nutrition security, improve program integrity, modernize benefit delivery, expand State flexibility, ensure economic responsiveness, and promote personal responsibility.

FOOD STAMP PROGRAM REFORM: TALKING POINTS

USDA'S food stamp reform proposal offers a responsible alternative for change - As part of its vision for the 1995 Farm Bill, USDA is proposing to reform the \$27 billion dollar Food Stamp Program; to return the program to its nutrition roots so that it better serves American children and families, to ensure that benefits are issued and used properly, and to afford States' more flexibility in operating the program. Between block grants and the status quo, our reform proposal offers a responsible alternative for people who want to change the Food Stamp Program for the better.

Strengthening our nutrition safety net for children and families - Ensuring access to a healthy, nutritious diet is at the core of our Nation's nutrition strategy. And food stamps are a vital part of that strategy. Along with other Federal Nutrition Programs like WIC and School Meals, Food Stamps get food to people who need it, especially children. And they've produced significant, measurable nutrition and health results among participants. We will integrate nutrition into the program so that it reflects current science, and increase nutrition education, so that the whole family can make and enjoy healthy food choices.

Fighting fraud means ensuring benefits are used properly - By cracking down on high issuance error, and on retailers and recipients who misuse benefits, and by removing barriers to Electronic Benefits Transfer, our reforms will strengthen the direct link between food stamp benefits and a healthy, nutritious diet. We have already proposed comprehensive anti-fraud legislation; this proposal builds on that package, and adds other measures to ensure that States deliver benefits accurately.

Food stamps should be a temporary bridge over hard times for American families - Most people who receive food stamp benefits are on the program for less than a year. Our reforms will strengthen work requirements, and require recipients to move towards self-sufficiency. And they reflect the belief that both parents should take financial responsibility for their children, and demonstrate personal responsibility by using benefits to purchase a healthy diet for themselves and their families.

Replacing red tape with a streamlined system that gives States the ability -- and flexibility -- to meet national goals - Federal standards are the reason the program works, but how they are administered must be made easier for States to comply with. Our reform will bring a significant change in the way States administer the program. We propose to eliminate unnecessary regulations and statutory requirements that tell States not only what to do but also how to do it, and replace them with a system that allows States to design their own guidelines for meeting national goals. We anticipate that this effort will reduce the number of Food Stamp regulation pages in the Code of Federal Regulations by 50 percent.

THE CHILD NUTRITION PROGRAMS

Background

- The Child Nutrition Programs--The National School Lunch, School Breakfast, Summer Food Service and Child and Adult Care Food Programs--assist State and local governments in providing free or low-cost nutritious meals to children in schools, child care institutions and summer recreation programs as well as elderly or disabled adults in certain adult care centers.
- Each day over 25 million children receive school lunches, over 6 million children receive school breakfasts and over 2 million children receive meals and snacks in child care. During summer months when school is not in session, over 2 million children are served daily through the Summer Food Service Program.
- The programs are expected to provide over \$8 billion in meal reimbursements and commodities in Fiscal Year 1995.

Congressional Action

- The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 (H.R. 4), passed by the House on March 24, would block grant funding for these programs. The bill would:
 - ✓ reduce spending on nutrition assistance to children by nearly \$7 billion over five years,
 - ✓ eliminate the national standards that guarantee America's children access to healthy meals at school,
 - ✓ jeopardize the ability to move low-income households from welfare to work by slashing support to 185,000 family day care homes, and
 - ✓ create a system that cannot respond to economic changes.
- The Senate Budget Resolution would make no changes in School Lunch or Breakfast Programs, but would cut \$1.9 billion from CACFP over 5 years, in part because meal benefits are not currently means tested in family day care homes. The Resolution provides no specifics as to how the reductions would be implemented.

Administration Initiative

- The School Meals Initiative for Healthy Children is the first comprehensive overhaul of the school meals program since their initiation by President Harry Truman nearly fifty years ago. It recognizes the scientific link between diet and health and would require that all school meals meet the dietary guidelines by 1996.
- The School Meals Initiative is comprised of two components: a regulatory initiative that updates the nutrition standards for the programs and streamlines administration and

Team Nutrition, a national nutrition education and technical assistance effort. Team Nutrition is a two-tiered approach to build skills and motivate children to make healthy food choices in schools, and ensure that school food service personnel have the education, motivation, training and skills necessary to provide healthy meals that appeal to the children served.

- The Administration proposed a restructuring of reimbursement rates in family day care homes as part of last year's welfare reform initiative. The proposal would reduce reimbursements for meals served to upper-income children while preserving subsidies to low-income children and ensuring the ongoing viability of family day care homes.



DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
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A School Lunch Block Grant Would Jeopardize Nutrition Outcomes for Children

On March 24, 1995, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 4, the Personal Responsibility Act. Democrats are opposing the proposal, which will block grant most of USDA's nutrition programs, including the School Meal Programs. The legislation will place children at risk by creating a funding mechanism that can't respond when the economy changes, and by eliminating nutrition standards responsible for improved children's health.

- **National standards protect children -- all children -- no matter where they live.** More than 25 million school children participate in the National School Lunch Program; approximately half of them are low income and the other half are middle and above middle income. Federal standards have a fifty year history of successful health outcomes for the children. The Committee plan could result in widely varied nutrition standards between states, and no accountability mechanism would guarantee that these standards would be met. Thus, children's health would suffer if States' set -- or alter -- standards to meet shifting budgets.
- **The risks to children's health would increase during recessions under block grants.** Between 1990 and 1994, the number of children applying for free school lunches increased by 23 percent, due to the recession and rising childhood poverty. USDA's nutrition programs expanded to meet the need. But block grants don't protect children from recessions. If the School-Based Nutrition Block Grant had been enacted in 1989, 17% fewer resources would have been available to feed school children in 1994. Children's health would be jeopardized by States' limited ability to meet growing needs. Nutrition benefits could be reduced, or unavailable, just when children need them most.
- **States that serve a larger percentage of low-income children than the national average would be penalized.** States that serve more total meals fare better in the allocation formula. Since it costs more to serve free meals to low-income children, States have an incentive to serve more affluent students. Without national standards, states might also be inclined to cut the quality or amount of food provided in order to serve more meals.

The Administration is opposed to block grants for nutrition programs:

- **President Clinton has said that nutrition programs are in the national interest.** Programs must be more flexible and easier for States to administer. But we won't support changes that jeopardize children's health -- or getting food to people who need it. Only a national system of federal nutrition programs can establish and meet nutrition standards, respond to economic changes, and ensure children's health will be protected.
- **We're ready to work with Congress to bring about lasting and meaningful change in federal nutrition programs.** We support preserving the health and nutrition goals that are in the national interest, consolidating what's redundant, and reforming what's outdated and unnecessary. Nutrition security is an important part of welfare reform and Federal nutrition programs are the foundation for children to grow on.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTAL FOOD PROGRAM FOR WOMEN, INFANTS, AND CHILDREN (WIC)

Background

- WIC provides supplemental foods, nutrition education and counseling and health care referrals to low-income pregnant, postpartum, and breastfeeding women, infants, and children up to age five.
- In 1993, WIC served about 60 percent of eligible women, infants, and children.
- In Fiscal Year 1995, WIC will serve about 7 million women, infants, and children each month with an annual budget of nearly \$3.5 billion.

Congressional Action

- The Personal Responsibility Act of 1995 (H.R. 4) proposes to eliminate the national WIC Program and include funds for WIC-type services as part of a Family Nutrition Block Grant to each State. This proposal would:
 - ✓ immediately force states to eliminate WIC benefits to 168,000 women, infants, and children,
 - ✓ remove national nutrition standards for the WIC program, thereby threatening the proven effectiveness of WIC, especially in the area of improved birth outcomes,
 - ✓ decrease Medicaid cost savings associated with WIC prenatal benefits, now valued at \$400 million to \$1.3 billion,
 - ✓ increase WIC food costs by diminishing infant formula cost containment efforts; currently about \$1 billion in 1995, which allows the program to reach an additional 1.6 million women, infants, and children.
- The recent Senate budget resolution proposes to provide \$1.9 billion in additional funds for WIC over a seven-year period, about \$275 million per year. The proposed funding is insufficient to maintain 1995 WIC participation, which is expected to reach 7.3 million by September. The annual shortfalls would range from \$55 million to \$540 million.

Administration Initiative

- The President has demonstrated a commitment to invest in WIC. Since 1993, funding for WIC has increased from \$2.86 billion to \$3.47 billion, allowing participation to grow by 1.1 million. The Administration requested \$3.8 billion for WIC in FY 1996, a \$350 million increase over 1995.
- The President's request would allow the Program to serve 400,000 more women, infants, and children each month in 1996.

"Child Protection
Programs"

Child Protection: Questions and Answers

Why are child protection/child welfare programs important?

In 1993, nearly 3 million children -- 4% of America's children -- were the subjects of abuse and neglect reports. This represents an increase of almost 25% since 1988. About 40% of the reports were substantiated, affecting almost 1 million children.

At the end of 1993, almost 450,000 children were in foster care, nearly a 50% increase since 1988. They represent vulnerable children and families whose numbers are growing.

The child welfare system today is in crisis, overwhelmed by the increasing caseloads; the increasing need of the families and children it serves; and diminished resources.

In 22 jurisdictions courts have found agencies in violation of state and federal laws for protecting abused and neglected children.

What has the Clinton Administration done to protect vulnerable children?

The Federal role focuses on new partnerships with states to improve services and outcomes for children and families served by public child welfare systems.

- ▶ Under the new Family Preservation and Support program each state, in partnership with the Federal Government, is developing a comprehensive plan to strengthen and integrate children's services in the child welfare system.
- ▶ Launched five national resource centers to provide information and technical assistance to States and private agencies to improve services to abused, neglected, and abandoned children and their families.
- ▶ Supported the reinvention of child welfare monitoring. We are implementing a comprehensive approach which assures stewardship, improves outcomes and emphasizes State/Federal partnerships.

What is the status of child protection programs in the Congress?

The House-passed welfare reform bill (HR 4) includes a child protection block grant that would reduce federal funding for these services by an estimated \$3.5 billion through FY 2000. It eliminates important safeguards for children, and would reduce the likelihood of states making desperately needed improvements in their child welfare systems.

When the Senate Finance Committee approved its welfare reform legislation on May 26, it did not include provisions affecting child welfare programs. This means that the Senate Finance proposal would continue current law regarding foster care, adoption assistance, family preservation and support, and child welfare services.

ADOPTION: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Who are the children who need adoptive homes?

- ▶ In December 1990, there were approximately 69,000 foster children in the country for whom state agencies had determined that adoption was the appropriate goal. Approximately 20,000 of these children were legally free to be adopted (their parents' legal rights to ever regain custody had been terminated) and were waiting to be adopted.
- ▶ There are an equal number of white and African-American children who are primarily school-age, have special needs and/or are part of a sibling group.

Why does it take so long and why do so many children go unadopted?

- ▶ Of the children awaiting adoption at the end of 1990, about 46% had already waited two years. Minority children, older children and sibling groups wait longer.
- ▶ Finding adoptive homes for older children and those with emotional or physical problems requires sustained aggressive action by agencies, and most of the children waiting for adoption fall into these categories.
- ▶ Lengthy processes to terminate parental rights, lack of financial resources for adoption, excessive caseloads and difficulty in recruiting foster and adoptive families contribute to the slow adoption of many of these children.

What is the Clinton Administration doing to increase adoptions?

- ▶ The Administration is ensuring that states make full and effective use of the Adoption Assistance program, which provides critical economic support to families who adopt special needs children, since they may have large medical and other expenses. Under the Clinton Administration, the number of children for whom adoption subsidies are provided has increased by about 30%.
- ▶ Grants have been provided to public and private agencies to develop successful models for recruiting families, provision of post-legal adoption services, support for parent groups, and the development of training curricula.
- ▶ The Administration is committed to fully enforcing the Multiethnic Placement Act, whose non-discrimination and recruitment provisions should increase the number of children who are adopted.

What is the status of adoption programs in the Congress?

- ▶ HR4 abolishes the Adoption Opportunities Program and the Adoption Assistance Program which provided support to states in strengthening their program and direct assistance to adoptive parents of special needs children.
- ▶ The Senate has left these programs in place in the Finance Committee's mark.

Youth Development and the Community Schools Program: Questions and Answers

What is the Administration's Community Schools Program?

The Community Schools program was passed as part of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.

It will provide funds to community based organizations in each of the states and territories to form partnerships with schools and other community organizations so that schools or community centers can be kept open after hours, on weekends, and during the summer as safe places for young people to spend time with their friends, get involved in activities, and study.

Why is this program so important?

When the school day ends at 3:00, many young people find themselves with nothing to do and nowhere to go. The school doors are locked when classes are over. In many neighborhoods, the streets are not safe places to play or to walk to and from school. There are no community centers or other places to go for activities or doing homework.

In a time of scarce resources, several communities around the country have taken an innovative approach to providing places for young people to go and things for them to do. They are turning to a community resource that is already available - the neighborhood school.

Because the Community Schools program guarantees at least one grant in each state, we expect these funds to provide fuel to a spark that has already been lit in several cities and states around the country. New York's Beacon Schools, California's Healthy Start, Florida's Full Service Schools, and New Jersey's Schools Based Youth Services are a few examples of innovative partnerships that have been formed to make schools or other appropriate locations centers for community activity.

What is the status of the Community Schools Program in the Congress?

Approximately 700 applications were received for the Community Schools program, which has \$26 million for awards in FY 95. However, the rescission bill (vetoed by the President) would have eliminated FY 95 funding for the Community Schools program.

There are several bills which have been introduced and/or passed that would repeal the program including HR 728, the Local Law Enforcement Block Grant Act of 1995; S 3, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Improvement Act; and S 673, the Youth Development Community Block Grant Act.

Family Violence Prevention: Questions and Answers

What is the scope of the problem?

While accurate information on the extent of domestic violence is difficult to obtain because of extensive underreporting, it has been estimated that about 2.1 million women were victims of domestic violence each year from 1978 to 1982.

It has also been found that children whose mothers were victims of wife battery were twice as likely to be abused themselves as those children whose mothers were not victims of abuse. When children witness violence in the home they have been found to suffer many of the negative symptoms that are experienced by children who are directly abused.

What has the Administration done to address family violence?

With enactment of the Crime Bill, the Administration has taken some important steps to address family violence, including:

- Launching a national domestic violence hotline;
- Enhancing shelter services for women and children;
- Increasing economic development and employment opportunities within disadvantaged communities.
- Targeting funds to combat violent crimes against women and to reduce sexual assaults against women and runaway and homeless youth;
- Establishing model education programs about domestic violence for students of all ages;

The Administration has built four national resource centers with 1-800 number access provide comprehensive information, policy development, and technical assistance to enhance community response to and prevent domestic violence.

We have launched an effort to coordinate child abuse and family violence programs. Demonstration projects are underway to help improve services to families where both child abuse and spouse/intimate abuse are present.

What is the status of family violence prevention services in Congress?

Proposals to repeal the crime bill would undermine the Administration's efforts to reduce family violence.

**Highlights of Administration Accomplishments for Families
as Noted by the President Before the NGA, June 6, 1995**

We've worked hard to strengthen families and to give children a better start.

► The Earned Income Credit will now provide a tax reduction for working families with children with incomes below \$27,000 an average of a \$1,000 a year. That's a pro-family policy. We should continue that, not reverse it.

► The Family and Medical Leave law, more than anything I've done as President, has caused ordinary citizens to come up to me and say: Thank you -- I had a sick child; I had a sick spouse; my wife had a baby; we were able to continue to work and to provide for ourselves; we were able to be good parents and successful workers.

► Secretary Shalala, who is here, has worked very hard to expand immunization so that all of our children under the age of two will be properly immunized by the turn of the century.

► We have expanded Head Start dramatically.

► The Goals 2000 program emphasizes grass-roots reforms to achieve national, indeed, international standards of excellence.

► We've worked for more apprenticeship programs for the young people who don't go to four-year colleges and universities, through the School-to-Work program.

► We've worked hard to develop the national service program, AmeriCorps, which gives our young people a chance to give something back to their communities and earn more funds to go on to school.

► The crime bill was an important part of this because it emphasized not simply more punishment and more prisons, but also protecting children through 100,000 more police officers on the street and through prevention programs that give our young people something to say yes to as well as something to say no to.

► We were able to do those things and still reduce the deficit. The deficit is going down by a trillion dollars over seven years, thanks to the '93 and '94 budgets.

► More than 6.3 million new jobs came into our economy. But we did it while saying that it takes a whole village to raise a child; that children deserve education, health and safety; that families should be strengthened and supported; that work should be exalted; and that parents have to be able to succeed in the world we are living in, both as parents and as workers.

Education

Education

**INVESTING IN EDUCATION:
PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RECORD VS. HOUSE GOP CUTS**

HEAD START:

- President Clinton increased support by \$760 million from 1993 to 1995.
- House Republicans want to **cut it to its 1994 level, cutting \$210 million** in nominal terms in 1996 alone, **\$600 million from the President's request in that year and over \$3 billion over 7 years**. The cuts will deprive up to **100,000 children** of the chance to participate.

TITLE ONE:

- President Clinton **increased funding by over \$500 million** over two years and reoriented the program to help students reach high standards.
- Republicans would **cut aid by \$730 million** in 1996, eliminating help for over **700,000 children**.

GOALS 2000:

- President Clinton **created** this initiative--and proposed a \$347 million increase in 1996.
- Republicans want to **eliminate** it--cutting off help for higher standards at 16,000 schools.

SAFE- AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS:

- President Clinton has **supported** this initiative to provide for anti-drug and anti-violence activities for **39 million children** at **94% of all schools**.
- Republicans **cut the program in half** in their rescission bill, and in their budget propose replacing it with a block grant with 30% less funding.

AMERICORPS:

- President Clinton **created** this opportunity for young people to earn money for college by serving their communities. **20,000 young people** are already participating this year.
- Republicans want to **eliminate** it and over **300,000 opportunities** over the next 7 years.

SCHOOL-TO-WORK OPPORTUNITIES:

- President Clinton **created** this initiative. By the end of this year, 28 states will be implementing School-to-Work programs.
- House Republicans would **cut it by 20% in nominal terms**--likely denying the opportunity for the other 22 states to join the program after this year, and cutting support for the rest.

IN-SCHOOL INTEREST SUBSIDY:

- President Clinton has **supported** the subsidy for loans while students are in college. Over two-thirds of those who benefit earn under \$30,000.
- Republicans want to **eliminate** the subsidy, raising the costs of college by **up to \$3,000 for 4 million students** each year.

DIRECT LOANS:

- President Clinton **created** this initiative, saving billions of dollars for taxpayers while making loans cheaper and easier for students. **20 million students** will be able to benefit.
- Instead of expanding this initiative, Republicans would **drastically cut** it back (cap at 40%).

JOB TRAINING:

- The President wants to provide **over 2 million Skill Grants** for workers.
- Republicans want to **cut job training by 20% in nominal terms**.

TAX DEDUCTION FOR EDUCATION:

- President Clinton wants to **provide a deduction for up to \$10,000**.
- While supporting tax breaks for the wealthiest, Republicans **do not yet support** this break.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The fundamental goal of President Clinton's comprehensive economic policy is to raise the living standards and expand opportunity for hard-working Americans--so that every American has the chance to realize the American Dream. While supporting deficit reduction, open trade, innovation and job creation, the President has recognized that nothing is more critical to our nation's future than ensuring that all Americans have the education and skills they need to succeed in the new economy. The President has made an unprecedented commitment to lifelong learning--from the expansion and improvement of early childhood education to a bold new reform of adult education and training programs.

EDUCATION IS THE KEY TO RISING STANDARDS OF LIVING

In an economy where technology is constantly changing, trade is expanding, and capital is mobile, education has become the fundamental fault-line running through the work force. Most Americans have seen their incomes stagnate over the last fifteen years; the real income of the typical family actually declined. Yet college graduates have bucked the trend. In 1979, a male college graduate earned 39 percent more than a man with only a high school degree. By 1993, this gap had doubled, and a male college graduate out-earned his school graduate counterpart by 80 percent. In addition, the availability of health coverage, pension plans, and other work-related benefits has become closely correlated with education levels.

A BIPARTISAN EDUCATION RECORD

While bringing the deficit down by historic amounts--over \$600 billion so far--President Clinton has also made investing in education a top priority. During the last Congress, Republicans and Democrats shared his commitment to lifelong learning, and together they enacted a historic series of initiatives to expand the amount and the quality of educational investment in America. Landmark legislation includes:

- **Head Start Amendments of 1994** (signed 5/18/94; passed House 393-20; Senate 98-1).
- **Goals 2000: Educate America Act** (signed 3/31/94; passed House 306-121; Senate 63-22).
- **Improving America's Schools Act** (signed 10/20/94; passed House 362-132; Senate 77-20).
- **School-to-Work Opportunities Act** (signed 05/04/94; passed House 339-79; Senate Voice Vote)
- **National and Community Service Trust Act** (signed 9/21/93; passed House 275-152; Senate 57-40)
- **Direct Lending and Pay-as-You-Can Loans** (signed on 8/10/93 as part of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act)

This year, President Clinton went a step further and proposed expansions and improvements in these and other education investments. In addition, as part of his Middle Class Bill of Rights, the President has sought to work with Republicans on two new initiatives:

- **Education and Training Tax Deduction** up to \$10,000.
- **The G.I. Bill for America's Workers**--consolidating 70 programs and putting Skill Grants directly into workers' hands.

DRAWING THE LINE ON EDUCATION

Despite the bipartisan efforts that expanded educational opportunities last year, the current House and Senate budget proposals point to a fundamental divide between the President and the Republican Congress over the right economic strategy for the nation. **While the President believes that we need to launch an all-out effort to expand educational opportunity, these budgets dramatically decrease educational opportunity in order to pay for large tax cuts and meet arbitrary deficit reduction targets.** It makes no sense to cut investments in children and workers in what is supposed to be a budget for the future. To the degree that the Republican Congress believes that cutting education and training is the way to move our nation forward, the President profoundly disagrees.

EDUCATION TARGETED FOR CUTS

Republican budgets cut domestic discretionary spending by 30 percent in 2002. Rather than insulate a vital investment such as education from this deep cut, Republicans have subjected education investments to cuts of equal--and, in some cases, greater--magnitude.

President Clinton will fight the efforts of Republicans to reduce, gut, or eliminate key investments in education and job training. Following is a brief outline of the fundamental differences between the President's approach to education and the Republican approaches to education -- from pre-school through post-secondary training. The details include proposals from the Republican rescission bill and the House and Senate Budget Resolutions.

I. PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION.

President Clinton has made expanding and improving pre-schooling the starting point for his lifelong learning agenda. Republicans would slash these investments.

- **HEAD START: *President Clinton Expands It by \$760 Million; GOP Cuts It by \$3 Billion.***

President Clinton expanded investment in Head Start by \$760 million from 1993 to 1995. The President has also reformed the way Head Start works to improve the quality of teaching and facilities for hundreds of thousands more children.

Republicans propose cutting Head Start by \$600 million in 1996 alone and over \$3 billion over 7 years. This cut would deny Head Start opportunities to as many as 100,000 children--or force severe cuts in the quality of Head Start programming.

II. K-12 EDUCATION

President Clinton has lent national support to local efforts to reform our schools, recognizing that the federal government is an important partner with states and communities in improving K-12 education, setting high academic standards, and ensuring equitable treatment for all our children. Republicans would eliminate national support for local reform, leaving students without crucial resources they need to succeed.

- **SCHOOL-TO-WORK OPPORTUNITIES.** *President Clinton Has Supported A New 50-State Movement; Republicans Would Stop It In Its Tracks.*

President Clinton, with bipartisan support, signed into law the most important national program ever to ensure that all young people--including the 70% of young Americans who don't get four-year degrees--get the skills they need to obtain good jobs with a future. All states have received planning funds, and eight "leading edge" states have programs underway that are getting positive reviews from companies nationwide. Twenty more states will come into the program this year, as President Clinton has proposed increasing support by 60% for FY 1996 to \$400 million.

Republicans significantly cut School-to-Work in their rescission bill and would cut fully 20% to 25% in their budgets. These cuts would likely deny the opportunity for nearly half the states--22 states--to join the program after this year, and reduce support for the 28 states that will already be implementing programs by year end.

- **GOALS 2000.** *President Clinton Created It; Republicans Would Eliminate It.*

President Clinton helped create Goals 2000, which supports community and school efforts to raise academic standards and encourage students to work hard meet them. Forty seven states are already participating in this program. In his 1996 budget, the President calls for a \$347 million increase in funding for Goals 2000.

Republicans propose deep cuts in Goals 2000 in their rescission bill, eliminating support for higher standards at 2,000 schools. In their budgets, Republicans would actually **eliminate** Goals 2000--undermining what was once a bipartisan effort to spur bottom-up development of goals, standards, accountability and innovation across the nation.

- **TITLE ONE (Formerly Chapter One).** *President Clinton Has Expanded and Strengthened It; Republicans Would Cut by over \$5 billion and Deprive 700,000 Children of Added Educational Assistance.*

President Clinton supports Title One, designed primarily to provide much-needed resources to students from disadvantaged backgrounds. The program has been reoriented so that schools have more flexibility to support effective innovations to help all students to read and write well and meet challenging academic standards. The President increased Title One funding by \$524 million over two years.

Republicans would cut Title One by \$730 million in 1996 alone. This cut would mean that over 700,000 children in our poorest communities would be denied the extra instruction they need to achieve the same high standards as other children.

- **SAFE AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS:** *President Clinton Has Supported It; Republicans Would Gut It.*

President Clinton supports this initiative to make our schools safe from guns, drugs, and violence. The program funds everything from innovative anti-violence education and after-school programs to metal detectors and security personnel.

Republicans cut Safe- and Drug-Free schools in half in their rescission, cutting \$236 million and eliminating support for anti-drug and anti-violence efforts serving nearly 20 million children. In their budget, Republicans propose eliminating the program and replacing it with a block grant with 30% less funding--thereby threatening to cut off support for anti-drug and anti-violence efforts serving 39 million children in over 90% of the school districts in the nation.

- **TECHNOLOGY LEARNING CHALLENGE (TECHNOLOGY FOR EDUCATION):** *Republicans Would Gut This Clinton Initiative That Leverages Private Money for Technology in Public Schools.*

President Clinton has helped initiate this challenge to the private sector to join with public school districts to put computers and technology in the classroom. A \$50 million federal investment in 1996 will leverage hundreds of millions of dollars in private support.

Republicans would eliminate this innovative new program, denying school districts across the country the ability to participate in this initiative, and halting an effort to leverage millions more from the private sector.

- **SUMMER JOBS.** *President Clinton Supports Work Experiences for Youth; the Republicans Would Cut These Jobs.*

President Clinton recognizes that the summer jobs program is an important first opportunity to get work experience for many low-income youths - especially those in inner cities where jobs are scarce. Without these opportunities, these young people might not otherwise have any chance to learn skills and workplace behavior during their formative years. The President has proposed financing 615,000 jobs.

Republicans have proposed cutting summer jobs by 25 percent--slashing the President's request by \$300 million in 1996 and eliminating this valuable work experience for 170,000 at-risk youth each year. Over one million jobs would be denied to young people over the next seven years.

III. POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Now more than ever, education and job training are the gateway to America's middle class. Studies show that for every year of training a person gets after high school, his or her earnings rise by 6 to 12 percent. After 15 years in which college costs increased far faster than inflation but family incomes stagnated, President Clinton has initiated historic efforts to expand college access. Republican proposals would devastate grants and loans, college and job training, setting back college access by years if not decades.

- **DIRECT LENDING AND INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION ACCOUNTS.** *President Clinton Supports Expanding These Initiatives; Republicans Want To Raise the Cost to Students and Reduce Access.*

President Clinton supports expanding the new direct lending program and individual education accounts. With the passage of the Student Loan Reform Act, 104 schools and over 252,000 students are already participating in the program. This year more than 1,400 schools -- representing 40% of all loans and the maximum allowed under this year's authorization -- have committed to enrolling. This program is already saving \$6.8 billion for taxpayers, lowering interest rates for students, and allowing borrowers to choose flexible repayment arrangements -- including pay-as-you-earn plans through Individual Education Accounts.

Republicans have proposed legislation to reduce funds available for direct lending, prevent schools from choosing to participate in the initiative, and cap participation at 40 percent of all loans.

- **IN-SCHOOL INTEREST EXEMPTION.** *Republicans Raise College Costs for 4 Million Students By Up to \$3,000 Each.*

President Clinton supports the in-school interest exemption, under which **four million** need-tested students with Stafford loans do not have to pay interest while enrolled in school and during the grace period (six months) between leaving school and entering repayment.

Republicans propose eliminating the in-school interest exemption for these 4 million students each year. This proposal could have a severe impact on college access; two-thirds of all Stafford borrowers are from families that earn less than \$30,000. For a four-year undergraduate who borrowed the maximum amount (\$17,125) at the maximum statutory interest rate (8.25%), the Republican proposal would increase costs by \$3,150--or 18 percent.

- **PELL GRANTS.** *President Clinton Raised the Maximum to a Record High; Republicans Cut It By 10 Percent Or More.*

President Clinton has supported the Pell Grant program, increasing the maximum Pell Grant by 12 percent to its highest level ever, \$2,620.

Republicans would freeze Pell Grant funding so that 4 million students will see their Pell Grants cut by about \$250 each. For millions of students, grants make the difference between going to college and not going--between staying in school and dropping out. For example, \$250 equals approximately 25% of tuition and fees of community colleges.

- **AMERICORPS.** *President Clinton Offers Opportunities to 20,000 Young People This Year Alone; Republicans Would Eliminate 300,000 Service Opportunities.*

President Clinton created this initiative to enable young people to earn money for education by serving their communities--teaching, caring for the sick, making the streets safer. Already 20,000 Americans are serving in AmeriCorps; hundreds of thousands more would join over the next seven years.

Republicans cut \$210 million in their rescission bill, preventing 15,000 young people from serving, and in their budgets propose eliminating AmeriCorps, depriving at least 300,000 young people of the chance to pay for college through national service over the next seven years.

- **EDUCATION AND TRAINING TAX DEDUCTION.** *President Clinton Supports A Deduction; With All Their Tax Breaks for the Wealthy, Republicans Don't.*

President Clinton supports a tax deduction for middle-class families with education and job training expenses up to \$10,000. This deduction would provide tax-favored treatment to education similar to the benefits for other investments like housing and equipment. It invests in those who invest in themselves and in America.

Republicans do not yet support the education and training tax deduction. With its \$20,000 tax cut for the wealthiest 1%, the Contract with America includes tax breaks for capital gains, gifts and inheritances in excess of \$600,000, and the depreciation of business purchases--but not for education.

IV. LIFELONG LEARNING

In order to maintain good job prospects throughout their lives in a fast-changing economy, Americans need to be trained again and again throughout their lives. President Clinton wants to support lifelong learning by reforming job training programs and putting resources and information directly into workers' hands. Republicans just want to slash job training.

- **G.I. Bill OF RIGHTS FOR WORKERS (SKILL GRANTS).** *President Clinton Supports Skill Grants for America's Workers; Republicans Want At Least a 25% Cut in Job Training Funds.*

President Clinton's G.I. Bill for America's Workers would consolidate or eliminate over 70 job training programs while putting resources and information directly into workers hands as Skill Grants. Under the proposal, low-income or unemployed workers could go to a One-Stop Center and learn about the services and track records of job training programs and community colleges in the fields they wanted to study. Then, they could apply their Skill Grants to skills training at those institutions. Under the President's proposal, there will be 2.1 million Skill Grants.

Republicans would, under the guise of consolidation, use training programs as a bank to pay for tax cuts, dramatically cutting re-employment and training opportunities for 2.1 million American workers.

V. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

President Clinton's commitment to a lifelong learning agenda reflects his belief in the critical role of education in building America's future, and in the federal government's role as a partner in that effort. Everyone acknowledges that states and localities have been and continue to be the lead on education. But education is a national interest, and it requires a national role to ensure that all children have the opportunity to reach challenging standards of academic achievement.

President Clinton believes strongly that education is a national issue, and that abolishing the Department of Education now would be the equivalent of abolishing the Department of Defense in the middle of the Cold War.

Republicans want to abolish the Department of Education.

"Children and
Violence"

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RECORD ON VIOLENCE AND HOLLYWOOD (updated 6/2/95)

Town Hall Meeting in Billings, Montana, Thursday, June 1, 1995

Q. Mr. President, G. Gordon Liddy, the NRA and some right-wing groups are using incendiary rhetoric about federal agencies with whose policies they disagree. They seem to have forgotten the advice the political right used against protestors against the U.S. policy in Vietnam in the '60s and '70s when their answer was love it or leave it. What is your perception of the contrast between the protestors of the '60s and '70s and those of the '90s and the response of the U.S. government? Thank you.

The President. Well, first of all, there were some people in the '60s and '70s who went beyond their First Amendment rights and advocated violence. And they were wrong then, and this crowd is wrong now.

And it's very interesting to me to see that there are some public officials in our country who are only too happy to criticize the culture of violence being promoted by the media in our country or the rap lyrics that are coming out in some of our recordings -- which I have also criticized before they did, by and large -- but are stone-cold silent when these other folks are talking and making violence seem like it's okay.

And I believe, again, if we're going to create an American community where we can disagree, vote differently, work through our differences, but all think we're friends and neighbors and get closer together, we have to have a uniform standard that says violence is wrong, illegal conduct is wrong, and people that are out there encouraging people and explicitly tell them when it's okay for them to take the law into their own hands and be violent, they're wrong.

Character Education Conference, the White House, May 20, 1995

The President. If you think about -- let me mention the entertainment industry, there's been a lot said about that and I got a big standing ovation at the State of the Union from both Republican and Democratic members of Congress when I talked about the damage that comes to our society from incessant, repetitive, mindless violence coming through entertainment. There are lots of studies showing that young people tend to get numbed to violence, and to the consequences of it, from constant overexposure to it.

And I say this, not to point the finger at anybody. I have enjoyed more than my fair share of what I would call cheap thrills movies in my time. So, I am not being sanctimonious about this. I'm just saying it is an established fact that if children from very early ages are exposed to huge volumes of a certain kind of entertainment, it desensitizes them to the same sort of conduct in the real world. There's lots of evidence about that.

And that's why, frankly, I welcome the networks' recent efforts to reduce prime-time violence, and why I would applaud the decision that Time-Warner announced this week to set standards for controversial music and to balance creative expression with corporate responsibility. And I applaud the efforts of Bill Bennett, who was here yesterday, to get that done. The country owes him a debt of gratitude and we should applaud Time-Warner, as well. (Applause.)

The Children's Educational Television Act -- Television Education Act was passed back in 1990. I think there is more to do here. We need -- the broadcasters need to read that Act again and adhere to its spirit, as well as to its letters. We should be thinking twice before movies and rap music that celebrate violence against women or law enforcement officers are put out there in huge volume, in piling one on top of one another.

There is a connection, in this sense, between words and deeds. We do get dulled of that to which we are overexposed in a banalizing way.

Interview on 60 Minutes, April 23, 1995

Mr. Wallace. Final question -- do we see too much violence in movies and television in the United States?

The President. Well, I have said before, I said in my State of the Union Address, that I think we see it sometimes when it's disembodied and romanticized, when you don't deal with the consequences of it. I think -- when a movie shows violence, if it's honest and it's horrible and it's ugly and there are human consequences, then maybe that's a realistic and a decent thing to do. That movie "Boyz N the Hood," I thought, did a good job of that.

But when a movie -- when movie after movie after movie after movie sort of romanticizes violence and killing and you don't see the human consequences, you don't see the faces of the mothers and the children that I saw today, the husbands and the wives, then I think too much of it can deaden the senses of a lot of Americans. And we need to be aware of that.

But it's not just the movies showing violence. It's the words spouting violence, giving sanction to violence, telling people how to practice violence that are sweeping all across the country. People should examine the consequences of what they say and the kind of emotions they are trying to inflame.

CNN Interview, April 13, 1995

The President. Well, I would remind you that long before Senator Dole said anything about it, I actually went to Hollywood and challenged them to deglorify violence, to deglorify sexual misconduct, to deglorify drug use, to deglorify destructive behaviors, and to try to help to build this country up. I also said the same thing in the State of the Union Address. And if you'll remember, it got as strong a response as anything that we had done. I think there --

Ms. Woodruff. And you're still saying that?

The President. Absolutely. And I think there has to be -- I think what we need nobody wants to abolish the First Amendment, but people who can shape our culture have a responsibility to try to help build it up. And when they show things that are destructive, they need to be shown in a destructive light, not in a glorified light.

So if I might give you two examples, I think that one reason people liked "Forrest Gump" is they thought it reasserted American values. And it didn't hide the problems of the sixties, seventies, and eighties; in fact, it explored them, but it showed them in a sad and tragic light.

The movie "Boys N The Hood" was a violent movie, but it deglorified, it demystified gang life. No one could watch that movie and walk away from it with anything other than that children should not do these things. So there is a way for these subjects to be dealt with and to be commercially successful and still send cultural messages that bring us together and make us stronger.

1995 State of the Union

"For people in the entertainment industry in this country, we applaud your creativity and your world-wide success, and we support your freedom of expression. But you do have a responsibility to assess the impact of your work and to understand the damage that comes from the incessant, repetitive, mindless violence and irresponsible conduct that permeates our media all the time. (Applause.)"

Radio Address, December 11, 1993

"I've spoken to leaders from the religious community and the entertainment community about the obligation we all share to fight violence with values. Last week I was proud to hear that the Inner-city Broadcasting corporation of New York, which owns five radio stations throughout the country, will no longer play songs that advocate violence or show contempt for women. And I understand that two stations in Los Angeles -- KACE, owned by former Green Bay Packer Willy Davis; and KJLH, owned by Stevie Wonder -- have also adopted this policy. Whether we're ministers or moviemakers, business people or broadcasters, teachers or parents, we can all set our sons and daughters on a better path in life so they can learn and love and lead decent and productive lives."

Creative Artists Agency, December 3, 1993

But what might be entertaining to us -- a violent, thrilling movie or television program, a torrid but fundamentally amoral use and manipulation of people in what may be for us just an entertaining 30 minutes or an hour -- if it's 10 or 11 hours a day of relentless exposure into the minds of people who have never been taught to understand the consequences of their action, never had any kind of internal structure motivated and driven by seeing their parents

go to work every day and having a regular relationship with family and having other institutions, then these things can unintentionally set forth a chain reaction of even more impulsive behavior, even more inability to deal with conflict in nonviolent ways and to pass up the aggressive influences and impulses that all of us feel but most of us learn at some point in our lives not to act on. And it all gets worse if the void left by the loss of family and work and other institutions is filled by gangs and guns and drugs.

So, what I ask you for tonight is not to wear a hair shirt and say, "Mea culpa, I wish I hadn't done this, that, or the other thing," but to recognize that what may be one person's moment of entertainment, even exhilaration, the taking your mind off the pressures of the day, can, when multiplied by 1,000, have a cumulative impact that at the very least does not help to bring a whole generation of people back from the brink.

I'm telling you, if we don't find a way to deal with this, the rest of these endeavors ultimately will fail. We will not be able to make a strength out of our diversity. We will not be able to restore the ladder from poverty to the middle class that can be climbed through work and education. We will not be able to put our people back together again and use our money on education and opportunity instead of crime and jail.

So what I ask you to do is to join a partnership with me, not to stop entertaining or even titillating, not to stop frightening or thrilling the American public, but to examine what together you might do to simply face the reality that so many of our young people live with and help us as we seek to rebuild the frayed bonds of this community, as we seek to give children nonviolent ways to resolve their own frustrations, as we seek to restore some structure and some hope and some essential dignity and purpose to lives that have been dominated by chaos or worse.

We must do this. Make no mistake about it. No society, no society can prosper allowing huge pockets of people to go on forever without the opportunity to work, allowing huge pockets of children to go on without the opportunity to get a decent education, allowing huge sections of cities to be no man's lands, where the law of the automatic assault weapon controls. We cannot do well if we permit that to happen. We need every last dollar we can to invest in growth and opportunity and positive good things. And we have to use every means at our command.

Rainbow Coalition, June 13, 1992

You had a rap singer here last night named Sister SoulJah. I defend her right to express herself through music, but her comments before and after Los Angeles were filled with the kind of hatred that you do not honor today and tonight.

Just listen to this, what she said. She told the Washington Post about a month ago and I quote, "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people. So you're a gang member and normally kill somebody. Why not kill a white person."

Last year she said, "You can't call me or any black person anywhere in the world a racist. We don't have the power to do to white people what white people have done to us. And even if we did, we don't have that low down and dirty nature. If there are any good white people I haven't met them. Where are they?" Right here in this room. That's where they are.

I know she is a young person, but she has a big influence on a lot of people. And when people say that, if you took the words white and black and reversed them, you might think David Duke was giving that speech.

Let me tell you, we all make mistakes and sometimes we're not as sensitive as we ought to be. But we have an obligation, all of us, to call attention to prejudice wherever we see it.

A few months ago I made a mistake. I joined a friend of mine and I played golf in a country club that didn't have any African-American members. I was criticized for doing it. You know what, I was rightly criticized for doing it. I make a mistake. And I said I would never do that again.



EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY
7:00 PM PDT

REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY
SENATOR BOB DOLE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MAY 31, 1993

Good evening. It's good to be back in California.

Thank you, John Herrington for that kind introduction, and thank you all for being here tonight.

I want to talk with you tonight about the future of America — about issues of moral importance, matters of social consequence.

Last month, during my announcement tour, I gave voice to concerns held across this country about what is happening to our popular culture. I made what I thought was an obvious point, a point that worries countless American parents: that one of the greatest threats to American family values is the way our popular culture ridicules them. Our music, movies, television and advertising regularly push the limits of decency, bombarding our children with destructive messages of casual violence and even more casual sex. And I concluded that we must hold Hollywood and the entire entertainment industry accountable for putting profit ahead of common decency.

So here I am in California — the home of the entertainment industry and to many of the people who shape our popular culture. And I'm asking for their help. I believe our country is crying out for leaders who will call us as a people to our better nature, not to profit from our weaknesses; who will bring back our confidence in the good, not play on our fears of life's dark corners. This is true for those of us who seek public office. And it is true for those who are blessed with the talent to lead America's vaunted entertainment industry.

Actors and producers, writers and directors, people of talent around the world dream of coming to Hollywood. Because if you are the best, this is where you are. Americans were pioneers in film, and dominate world-wide competition today. The American entertainment industry is at the cutting edge of creative excellence, but also too often the leading edge of a culture becoming dangerously coarse.

I have two goals tonight. One is to make crystal clear to you the effect this industry has on America's children, in the hope that it will rise to their defense. And the other is to speak more broadly to America about the corporate executives who hide behind the lofty language of free speech in order to profit from the debasing of America.

There is often heard in Hollywood a kind of "aw shucks" response to attempts to link societal effects with causes in the culture. It's the "we just make movies people want" response. I'll take that up in a minute. But when they go to work tomorrow, when they sift through competing proposals for their time and their money, when they consider how badly they need the next job, I want the leaders of the entertainment industry to think about the influence they have on America's children.

Let there be no mistake: televisions and movie screens, boomboxes and headsets are windows on the world for our children. If you are too old, or too sophisticated, or too close to the problem, just ask a parent. What to some is art, to our children is a nightly news report on the world outside their limited experience. What to some is make believe, to them is the "real skinny" on the adult world they are so eager to experience. Kids know firsthand what they see in their families, their schools, their immediate communities. But our popular culture shapes their view of the "real world." Our children believe those paintings in celluloid are reflections of reality. But I don't recognize America in much of what I see.

My voice and the rising voices of millions of other Americans who share this view represent more than the caddy old attempt of one generation to steal the fun of another. A line has been crossed -- not just of taste, but of human dignity and decency. It is crossed every time sexual violence is given a catchy tune. When teen suicide is set to an appealing beat. When Hollywood's dream factories turn out nightmares of depravity.

You know what I mean. I mean "Natural Born Killers." "True Romance." Films that revel in mindless violence and loveless sex. I'm talking about groups like Cannibal Corpse, Geto Boys and 2 Live Crew. About a culture business that makes money from "music" extolling the pleasures of raping, torturing and mutilating women; from "songs" about killing policemen and rejecting law. The mainstreaming of deviancy must come to an end, but it will only stop when the leaders of the entertainment industry recognize and shoulder their responsibility.

Let me be clear: I am not saying that our growing social problems are entirely Hollywood's fault. They are not. People are responsible for their actions. Movies and music do not make children into murderers. But a numbing exposure to graphic violence and immorality does steal away innocence, smothering our instinct for outrage. We have reached the point where our popular culture threatens to undermine our character as a nation.

Which brings me to my second point tonight. Our freedom is precious. I have risked my life to defend it, and would do so again. We must always be proud that in America we have the freedom to speak without Big Brother's permission. Our freedom to reap the rewards of our

capitalist system has raised the standard of living around the world. The profit motive is the engine of that system, and is honorable. But those who cultivate moral confusion for profit should understand this: we will name their names and shame them as they deserve to be shamed. We will contest them for the heart and soul of every child, in every neighborhood. For we who are outraged also have the freedom to speak. If we refuse to condemn evil, it is not tolerance but surrender. And we will never surrender.

Let me be specific. One of the companies on the leading edge of coarseness and violence is Time Warner. It is a symbol of how much we have lost. In the 1930s its corporate predecessor, Warner Brothers, made a series of movies, including "G-Men," for the purpose of restoring "dignity and public confidence in the police." It made movies to help the war effort in the early 1940s. Its company slogan, put on a billboard across from the studio, was "Combining Good Citizenship with Good Picture Making."

Today Time Warner owns a company called Interscope Records which columnist John Leo called the "cultural equivalent of owning half the world's mustard gas factories." Ice-T of "Cop Killer" fame is one of Time Warner's "stars." I cannot bring myself to repeat the lyrics of some of the "music" Time Warner promotes. But our children do. There is a difference between the description of evil through art, and the marketing of evil through commerce. I would like to ask the executives of Time Warner a question: Is this what you intended to accomplish with your careers? You have sold your souls, but must you debase our nation and threaten our children, as well?

Please do not answer that you are simply responding to the market. That is not true. In the movie business, as Michael Medved points out, the most profitable films are the ones most friendly to the family. Last year, the top five grossing films were the blockbusters "The Lion King", "Forrest Gump", "True Lies", "The Santa Clause" and "The Flintstones." To put it in perspective, it has been reported that "The Lion King" made six times as much money as "Natural Born Killers."

The corporate executives who dismiss my criticism should not misunderstand. Mine is not the objection of some tiny group of zealots or an ideological fringe. From inner city mothers to suburban mothers to families in rural America -- parents are afraid, and growing angry. There once was a time when parents felt the community of adults was on their side. Now they feel surrounded by forces assailing their children and their code of values.

This is not a partisan matter. I am a conservative Republican, but I am joined in this fight by moderates, independents and liberal Democrats. Senator Bill Bradley has spoken eloquently on this subject, as has Senator Paul Simon, who talks of our nation's "crisis of glamorized violence." And leaders of the entertainment industry are beginning to speak up, as well.

Mark Canton, the president of Universal Pictures, said, "Any smart business person can see what we must do -- make more 'PG'-rated films." He said, "Together . . . we can make the

needed changes. If we don't, this decade will be noted in the history books as the embarrassing legacy of what began as a great art form. We will be labeled, 'the decline of an empire'."

Change is possible -- in Hollywood, and across the entertainment industry. There are few national priorities more urgent. I know that good and caring people work in this industry. If they are deaf to the concerns I have raised tonight, it must be because they do not fully understand what is at stake. But we must make them understand. We must make it clear that tolerance does not mean neutrality between love and cruelty, between peace and violence, between right and wrong. Ours is not a crusade for censorship, it is a call for good citizenship.

When I announced I was running for President, I said that my mission is to rein in our government, to reconnect the powerful with the values which have made America strong and to reassert America's place as a great nation in the world. Tonight I am speaking beyond this room to some of the most powerful arbiters of our values. Tonight my challenge to the entertainment industry is to accept a calling above and beyond the bottom line -- to fulfill a duty to the society which provides its profits. Help our nation maintain the innocence of its children. Prove to us that courage and conscience are alive and well in Hollywood.

Thank you for listening to me tonight. I am grateful for the support you have shown by being here, and feel a great sense of hope and confidence that together we will succeed -- not only in this Presidential race, but in our larger mission to reaffirm the goodness and greatness of the United States of America.

Thank you very much.

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► EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE IN THE MASS MEDIA

Nearly 4 decades of research on television viewing and other media have documented the almost universal exposure of American children to high levels of media violence. Ninety-eight percent of American homes have at least one television, which is watched each week for an average of 28 hours by children between the ages of 2 and 11 and for 23 hours by teenagers. Children from low-income families are the heaviest viewers of television.

The level of violence on commercial television has remained constant during nearly two decades. In prime time there are five to six violent acts per hour; there are 20 to 25 violent acts per hour on Saturday morning children's programs. Although there is less research on cable television and VCRs, the rate of violence for MTV, for example, far exceeds that on commercial television. More graphic violence, sexual content, and mature themes are readily accessible in the 60% of homes in which cable television and VCRs are available.

There is absolutely no doubt that higher levels of viewing violence on television are correlated with increased acceptance of aggressive attitudes and increased aggressive behavior. Three major national studies—the Surgeon General's Commission report (1972), the National Institute of Mental Health Ten Year Follow-up (1982), and the report of the American Psychological Association's Committee on Media in Society (1992)—reviewed hundreds of studies to arrive at the irrefutable conclusion that viewing violence increases violence. In addition, prolonged viewing of media violence can lead to emotional desensitization toward violence.

Children's exposure to violence in the mass media, particularly at young ages, can have harmful lifelong consequences. Aggressive habits learned early in life are the foundation for later behavior. Aggressive children who have trouble in school and in relating to peers tend to watch more television; the violence they see there, in turn, reinforces their tendency toward aggression, compounding their academic and social failure. These effects are both short-term and long-lasting: A longitudinal study of boys found a significant relation between exposure to television violence at 8 years of age and antisocial acts—including serious, violent criminal offenses and spouse abuse—22 years later.

In addition to increasing violent behaviors toward others, viewing violence on television changes attitudes and behaviors toward violence in significant ways. Even those who do not themselves increase their violent behaviors are significantly affected by their viewing of violence in three ways:

- Viewing violence increases fear of becoming a victim of violence, with a resultant increase in self-protective behaviors and increased mistrust of others;
- Viewing violence increases desensitization to violence, resulting in calloused attitudes toward violence directed at others and a decreased likelihood to take action on behalf of the victim when violence occurs (behavioral apathy); and

Social and Cultural Experiences That Affect Youth Violence

- Viewing violence increases viewers' appetites for becoming involved with violence or exposing themselves to violence.

Film and television portrayals of women in victim roles and ethnic minorities in aggressive and violent roles exacerbates violence experienced by women and ethnic minorities. The effects on aggressive behavior of video and film modeling of violent behaviors have been demonstrated consistently and conclusively in psychological literature. Although the television and film industries can be credited for showing more ethnic minorities and women in a wider range of roles in recent years, the more common portrayals of such group members remain negative. Ethnic minority group members continue to be cast as criminals, gang members, or delinquents—exhibiting aberrant or antisocial behavior. In some instances, the showing of specific films depicting ethnic minority group members in this way have been linked to episodes of violence.

In explicit depictions of sexual violence, it is the message about violence, more than the sexual nature of the materials, that appears to affect the attitudes of adolescents about rape and violence toward women. Sexual violence in the media includes explicit sexualized violence against women including rape, images of torture, murder, and mutilation as well as the nonexplicit sexual aggression shown on commercial TV and cable and on videos available for viewing at home. Films that depict women as erotically surrendering to a rapist and willingly being raped have been shown to increase men's beliefs that women desire rape and deserve sexual abuse. Male youth who view sexualized violence or depictions of rape on television or in film are more likely to display callousness toward female victims of violence, especially rape. Laboratory studies also have shown an increase in men's aggression against women after exposure to violent sexual displays. Such sexual violence is found in X- and R-rated videotapes that are widely available to teenagers.

The concept of reality and how others live is also affected by the viewing of television programming and commercials. Low-income and ethnic minority children and youth are presented with a television world often quite different from their own. The contrast between the television "haves" and their own "have

not" status can elicit strong desires in youth eager to share in the consumer products shown in programs and commercials. Furthermore, television often demonstrates how these desirable commodities can be obtained through the use of aggression and violence.

The effects of viewing violence on television can be mitigated. Children can be taught "critical viewing skills" by parents and in schools so that they learn to better interpret what they see on television. For example, children can learn to distinguish between fictional portrayals and factual presentations. In addition, children can be taught to recognize ways in which violence is portrayed unrealistically (e.g., when it is portrayed without any negative consequences). Children can also learn to think about alternatives to the violence portrayed, a strategy that is particularly effective when an adult viewing the violence with the child expresses disapproval of violence as a means of solving problems and then offers alternatives. The availability of such protective measures for some parents, however, does not absolve the film and television industries from their responsibility for reducing the level of violence portrayed on the screen.

Television can be an effective and persuasive teacher of prosocial attitudes and has the potential to make a major contribution toward reducing violence. Among the strategies that may strengthen television's positive effects are:

- Inclusion of more prosocial messages and nonviolent problem-solving in television productions;
- Compliance with laws requiring broadcasters to serve the educational and informational needs of children by providing television programs that help educate children to prevent violence;
- Restricting times when dramatized violence is shown; and
- Creating and using a meaningful rating system that is based on a program's potential for damage to the child rather than on parents' sensitivities.

VIOLENCE & YOUTH:

Psychology's Response

Volume I: Summary Report of the
American Psychological Association
Commission on Violence and Youth



AMERICAN
PSYCHOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

1993

PSYCHOLOGY AND YOU

Violence on Television

What do Children Learn? What Can Parents Do?

Violent programs on television lead to aggressive behavior by children and teenagers who watch those programs.

That's the word from a 1982 report by the National Institute of Mental Health, a report that confirmed and extended an earlier study done by the Surgeon General. As a result of these and other research findings, the American Psychological Association passed a resolution in February 1985 informing broadcasters and the public of the potential dangers that viewing violence on television can have for children.

What Does the Research Show?

Psychological research has shown three major effects of seeing violence on television:

- o Children may become less sensitive to the pain and suffering of others
- o Children may be more fearful of the world around them
- o Children may be more likely to behave in aggressive or harmful ways toward others

Children who watch a lot of TV are less aroused by violent scenes than are those who only watch a little; in other words, they're less bothered or upset by violence in general, and less likely to see anything wrong with it. One example: in several studies, those who watched a violent program instead of a nonviolent one were slower to intervene or to call for help when, a little later, they saw younger children fighting or playing destructively.

Studies by George Gerbner, Ph.D., at the University of Pennsylvania, have shown that children's TV shows contain about 20 violent acts each hour and also that children who watch a lot of television are more likely to think that the world is a mean and dangerous place.

Children often behave differently after they've been watching violent programs on TV. In one study done at Pennsylvania State University, about 100 preschool children were observed both before and after watching

television; some watched cartoons that had a lot of aggressive and violent acts in them, and others watched shows that didn't have any kind of violence. The researchers noticed real differences between the kids who watched the violent shows and those who watched nonviolent ones.

"Children who watch the violent shows, even 'just funny' cartoons, were more likely to hit out at their playmates, argue, disobey class rules, leave tasks unfinished, and were less willing to wait for things than those who watched the nonviolent programs," says Aletha Huston, Ph.D., now at the University of Kansas.

Real-Life Studies

Findings from the laboratory are further supported by field studies which have shown the long-range effects of televised violence. Leonard Eron, Ph.D., and his associates at the University of Illinois, found that children who watched many hours of TV violence when they were in elementary school tended to also show a higher level of aggressive behavior when they became teenagers. By observing these youngsters until they were 30 years old, Dr. Eron found that the ones who'd watched a lot of TV when they were eight years old were more likely to be arrested and prosecuted for criminal acts as adults.

A Continuing Debate

In spite of this accumulated evidence, broadcasters and scientists continue to debate the link between viewing TV violence and children's aggressive behavior. Some broadcasters believe that there is not enough evidence to prove that TV violence is harmful. But scientists who have studied this issue say that there is a link between TV violence and aggression, and in 1992, the American Psychological Association's Task Force on Television and Society published a report that confirms this view. The report, entitled *Big World, Small Screen: The Role of Television in American Society*, shows that the harmful effects of TV violence do exist.



AMERICAN
PSYCHOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION

What Parents Can Do

While most scientists are convinced that children can learn aggressive behavior from television, they also point out that parents have tremendous power to moderate that influence.

Because there is a great deal of violence in both adult and children's programming, just limiting the number of hours children watch TV will probably reduce the amount of aggression they see.

In addition:

Parents should watch at least one episode of the programs their children watch. That way they'll know what their children are watching and be able to talk about it with them.

When they see a violent incident, parents can discuss with their child what caused the character to act in a violent way. They should also point out that this kind of behavior is not characteristic, not the way adults usually solve their problems. They can ask their children to talk about other ways the character could have reacted, or other nonviolent solutions to the character's problem.

Parents can outright ban any programs that they find too violent or offensive. They can also restrict their children's viewing to shows that they feel are more beneficial, such as documentaries, educational shows and so on.

Parents can limit the amount of time children spend watching television, and encourage children to spend their time on sports, hobbies, or with friends; parents and kids can even draw up a list of other enjoyable activities to do instead of watching TV.

Parents can encourage their children to watch programs that demonstrate helping, caring and cooperation. Studies show that these types of programs can influence children to become more kind and considerate.

For More Information

If you're interested in reading more about the research and public issues discussed in this brochure, you may find the following books and articles helpful:

Comstock, G. (1991). *Television in America*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 4, 1994

REMARKS OF THE FIRST LADY
VIA SATELLITE TO CHILDREN NOW CONFERENCE,
VIA SATELLITE

Thank you all very much. I want to thank Dr. Kennedy and Mr. Steyer, for helping organize this conference and for inviting me to be a part of it.

It is an honor to speak to such this gathering that includes child advocates, academics, journalists, and educators, as Geoff already said. I know that many of you have traveled across the country to participate in the panels over the next few days, and I want to thank you for your willingness to tackle a subject as complicated, controversial and important as children and the news media. I'm only sorry I can't be there to join your discussions in person.

As you know so well, we live in an age of great promise -- and great peril -- for our children. While we have made considerable strides in improving the health, education, and job opportunities of our young people, our children continue to shoulder burdens never encountered by children in any other civilized society before this time.

To be sure, our children today have advantages that even those of us my age didn't know: things like computers and global information networks, in some ways a more united world, and the absence of Cold War tensions. But they also have disadvantages -- disadvantages that inject cynicism, anxiety, and fear into their young lives.

On the eve of the 21st century, American children are growing up in a world where competition for jobs is more intense than ever, where health care in our country is too costly, where college tuitions get higher and higher, and where poverty and neglect are increasing instead of decreasing.

And now, adding to those burdens, comes a plague of violence, both in reality and through the perceptions that

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are promoted by the media, that is claiming, in realistic terms, far too many lives, but is also engendering a climate of fear because of what children see and hear every day.

American children are immersed in a culture of violence. They see violence on television. They see violence in movie theaters. They see it on the streets where they live. They see it in their schools. They see it in their homes.

In too many neighborhoods, gunfire has become a daily ritual of life. An Uzi has become a badge of honor. A bullet wound has become an emblem of adulthood. Just this last week, on Monday, I was across the country, in New York, where I visited a very large hospital in Brooklyn, a hospital that treats gunshot wounds and knife wounds every hour.

And the doctors there told me that the most discouraging part of their work is that the age of the victims gets younger and younger, and that after they finish patching up a 13 or 14-year old from a gang shooting or a drive-by shooting, or a knife fight, they anticipate they will see that same young person in just a few months or years again.

In Washington, our nation's capital, a young four-year-old girl was shot in the head when young men opened fire on an elementary school playground as a crowd watched a pickup football game.

Last summer, again in Washington, gunshots rang out at a pool as children sought relief from 90-degree heat. A young mother is dragged by the side of her car during a car jacking that had the child in the car and the mother being killed trying to hang on to the car.

I could tell you many, many stories like that, but I think you know what happens every day in every neighborhood. This horrible chronicle of malicious violence goes on and on, every day and every week, every month, across the nation.

The reason we know about these tragic incidents -- the murders, the car jackings, the kidnappings, the beatings, the rapes -- is because the news media reports about them. And I'm sure that everyone in this audience today would agree that reporting about these sorts of incidents is part of the

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news media's job.

I think we all agree that the public needs to know about crime and violence. I'm sure that, to some degree, news coverage of crime has heightened public support for deterrents such as gun control. And it might also help this Administration and this President get a crime bill with real possible hope for change this year.

At the same time, we have to stop and ask ourselves some very important questions:

First, has the exhaustive -- and perhaps excessive -- coverage of violence contributed to increasing alienation and dysfunctional behavior on the part of our children and youth?

And second, does the news coverage engender so much cynicism and distrust among young people that they grow up with no faith in any of our institutions and little motivation to make something of their own lives?

These are questions I hope you will explore and that I think we must answer.

Over the past few years, a lot of attention has been paid to violence in movies and in television programming, and in the records that young people listen to. And on that score, things are beginning to improve. As the President said earlier this week, the entertainment industry has -- as a result of public concerns -- become much more involved in efforts to reduce violence in network programming. Their willingness to set up a voluntary monitoring system is a step in the right direction.

In the meantime, we're only now beginning to focus on the issue of violence and the news media, and it's a very tricky issue, given that information today comes from so many different sources -- newspapers, radio, local television, network television, television tabloids. This is an issue that must be addressed, even as we recognize that these different news media sometimes go about their jobs in different ways.

Just yesterday I read about the results of a new survey put out by the Center for Media and Public Affairs. It showed that network news coverage of murder and violence

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had doubled last year -- even though the nation's overall crime rate had remained the same.

Some of the coverage was a result of unusual cases, like the Branch Davidians, the World Trade Center bombing, the Menendez brothers' trial, the Polly Klass case, and the murders of tourists in Florida.

But what about the rest? Were the stories really newsworthy? Or were they part of a troubling pattern of sensationalism that threatens to desensitize viewers -- particularly children -- to the point where violence is considered a normal, accepted part of life?

Children Now's recent survey reports that young people are deeply affected by news stories they read or see on television. More than half the children surveyed said they felt angry or depressed after watching or reading the news. And about 60 percent of kids between the ages of 11 and 16 said the news too often conveyed negative images of young people.

The fact is that we all want to stop violence. We all want our children to experience their childhoods without being afraid, without being vulnerable, and without being insecure.

We want them to be able to be children -- to feel safe in school, to enjoy sports and recreation, to develop extracurricular interests, and to build healthy relationships.

But those kinds of positive childhood experiences seem less and less real to children who are routinely bombarded with words and pictures that seldom portray young people living that way. Saturating children with increasingly graphic and sensational stories of violence prevents them from developing the emotional and psychological tools they need to deal with violence.

One of the biggest dangers of excessive coverage of violence is that, in a child's eye, the stories validate, sometimes even glamorize, dysfunctional behavior. Violence becomes normal -- and, in an odd way, even painless. It becomes harder for a child to distinguish between fact and fiction. The latest drive-by shooting on the evening news looks a lot like the Terminator blowing his fictional enemy

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to bits on the movie screen.

The second danger of excessive coverage is that children become numbed -- or, as social scientists say, "desensitized" -- to violence. Children become so habituated to seeing and hearing about violence that shootings, beatings -- even death -- come to seem normal to them.

They develop an ironic detachment from life, a fatalism that prevents them from trusting anyone or anything. Recently I read a story about young children planning their own funerals. These children were so sure they were going to die violently that they had told their families what clothes they wanted to wear at their funerals, what music they wanted played, all with a casual detachment about what living and dying really means.

The third danger of excessive coverage of violence is that it exacerbates stereotypes. If African-American and Latino youth are usually portrayed on the news committing crimes, that stereotype is etched into the public consciousness. The same is true for women, who are often portrayed as victims.

Whether coverage of violence actually incites violent acts is one question we have to answer, and I know that researchers have debated it for years. Another equally important question is whether such coverage leaves us -- and particularly children -- with the impression that no one in our society ever does anything good or anything right.

For example, if children hear story after story about priests or clergy who molest children -- but never hear about those priests and clergy members who help children -- they are not likely to grow up trusting their churches. And yet, there are far more priests and ministers, and rabbis, in this country helping children than hurting them.

We need to ask ourselves whether some of our news coverage contributes to this lack of trust and whether it perpetuates a cynical detachment which, in turn, leads to abnormal behavior, including violence. Of course, I'm not suggesting that all news coverage of violence is bad or wrong, or that the media's treatment of violence alone accounts for our social ills. As I said earlier, the public has to be kept informed, including children.

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But I think there must be balance. Judgment must be exercised, and when it comes to children, prudence is certainly called for.

In past generations, children got most of their information about the outside world from their parents, their teachers, their church, their local youth organization, from intermediary adults. Today, children get most of their information from the media -- largely from television.

And frankly, children can't cope with much of what they see. Watching indiscriminate violence and sex does not strengthen a child's emotional, social or psychological development. Watching a daytime talk show about bestiality is neither educational nor informative to a small child -- nor, for that matter, I would argue, to an adult.

I know that journalists need to treat their subjects as objectively as they can. But I think that sometimes subjectivity, remembering what it's like to be a child, or be a parent raising children, is probably okay, too, as long as it's subjectivity grounded in values.

After all, we all rely on our personal experiences and feelings -- as mothers and fathers, as brothers and sisters, as daughters and sons -- to inform our judgments as professionals. And I think there are probably times when journalists should too, especially when it comes to children.

We shouldn't have to wait for the next national survey -- some objective, quantitative analysis -- to become aware of the fear that children feel when they are chronically exposed to violence on television, at the movie theater, or in their newspapers. Think about it. When you or I see violent images or read about violent acts taking place around us, we get scared. We get anxious. And we're supposedly adults. We could even put these events in context. Children, particularly small children, cannot.

When violence is newsworthy enough to be reported, it should be balanced with stories that provide children with positive images of themselves and those around them, particularly adults in authority. Journalists should work extremely hard to avoid exacerbating negative stereotypes. And they should work extremely hard not to contribute to what social scientists call the "mean world syndrome," where children become so self-critical that they take on the

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attributes of the negative world they see portrayed in the media.

After all, good judgment and caution, or prudence, do not violate the journalist's First Amendment rights. They do not deny the public their right to know. But good judgment and caution, and prudence do and can make a difference to children.

This is a debate that is long overdue. And perhaps we are having it now, in our country, because we are recognizing the unintended consequences of the explosion of information, the competition among news media outlets to try to get there first and be sensational enough to keep the audience looking.

We know that as we drive down a road where there is an accident, we can't help but turn our head and watch, and perhaps say to ourselves, thank goodness we're not among them. But a steady diet, every day, of that kind of sensational violence is not how any of us were raised or live our lives on a day-to-day basis.

And what we have to try to do is to create the sort of balance that we know is difficult but imperative if we expect our children to be given a fair shot at a childhood that allows them to develop emotionally and psychologically into adults that can be productive and deal with the world in all of its good and bad, in a constructive way.

Thank you all very much.

A PARTICIPANT: Mrs. Clinton, you've been kind enough to agree to stay for a while in the conversation, and I know you're used to cream-puff questions from journalists. We have five very positive role models here of young students who, in fact -- some of them are journalists -- who want to engage in a dialog with you, as well as asking some questions.

What I want -- I think you have some brief bios on them, but I'd like them each to introduce themselves and then to have them ask you a question or make an observation that might be helpful.

Luis, perhaps you could start.

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A PARTICIPANT: You want me to ask to ask the questions?

A PARTICIPANT: I want you to tell who you are. Introduce yourselves, and then we'll come back with questions.

MR. CRUZ: Okay. Hi. My name is Luis Cruz, and I'm 18 years old. I'm a freshman at the University of California, Berkeley, and I'm a reporter for Straight Talking Teens. You might have heard of us from Mrs. Gore, who was there, and so I just want to offer you an open invitation any time you're in town.

MRS. CLINTON: Thank you.

MS. BROWN: Hi. My name is Shawntee Brown I'm 10 years old.

MRS. CLINTON: Great.

MS. BEHR: Hi. My name is Madeleine Behr (phonetic). I'm 11 years old. I go to Wood School in Alameda, and I'm a reporter at Children's Express.

MRS. CLINTON: Great.

MS. STRASSBERG: Hi. My name is Suzanne Strassberg (phonetic). I am 12 years old, and I attend the seventh grade at California Junior High School, and I have won several Young Authors awards.

MRS. CLINTON: Good for you.

MS. CHANG: Hello. My name is Lydia Chang (phonetic). I'm the student body president of Leland (phonetic) High School. I'm also the California State Junior Miss. I'll be representing California in the America's Junior Miss competition, and I am a correspondent for CNN's Real News for Kids.

MRS. CLINTON: Good.

A PARTICIPANT: Lydia, why don't you start with the first --

MS. CHANG: Okay. Mrs. Clinton, your talks about

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cynicism, how seeing all this violence in the news presents stereotypes, negative stereotypes of a lot of people in society, not just young people -- I'm concerned that because these images are being presented, and they're at least distorted if not inaccurate images, that adults watching the news are also garnering images that are false of young people.

And I'm really concerned about people on Capitol Hill -- legislators, Mr. President, yourself, who are all policy makers -- and if you get these images and your opinions from watching the news, then perhaps they're inaccurate. And so I'm just wondering, where do you get your information about young people? Do you get them from the news? Do you think -- does it ever occur to you that some of those portrayals might be inaccurate?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, one thing that I can tell you is that my husband and I never watch the news. We consider that part of our mental health routine, and so we don't get our images about you or anybody from watching the news. We do it from actually interacting with people.

And my husband likes to spend lots of time with young people. We have many groups of young people coming into the White House. He goes out and visits young people in schools and other settings, and I do the same as often as possible. I really like to look at people face to face. I like to hear from them, like I'm hearing from you, because I think that your point is well taken.

There is a lot of fear among adults about children, particularly teenagers, because of the constant images of teenagers being threatening, particularly young men, particularly young black and Hispanic men. And I think that it does present a distorted view and makes it very difficult for individuals to be treated fairly and given the chance to be whom they are trying to be.

So it is important that you and other young people really keep insisting that you be seen as who you are and not filtered through some media image that stereotypes you along with other young people. And we'll do our part the best we can, in Washington, to try to make it clear that most American children and teenagers are good kids. They are working as hard as they can in school or on the job. They are responsible, they don't get in trouble, and they deserve

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to be treated with respect by the rest of us.

A PARTICIPANT: Suzanne?

MS. STRASSBERG: Okay. Well, my school is sort of in an upper class neighborhood, and there was a random shooting that occurred just recently, and -- sorry -- and it was covered on every news station in Sacramento. But I've noticed that if something like a random shooting happened in a sort of poor neighborhood, it's just counted as an everyday thing, like it happens every day. And what can we do to help people realize that shootings are an everyday thing everywhere?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think that part of what we have to do is recognize that violence is no respecter of anybody, anymore. You find it throughout our country, in rural areas as well as city areas.

And one of the things that the President has tried to do in this crime bill that I mentioned in my remarks, is to put more police on the streets, to try to come up with alternative punishments, to try to get guns out of the hands of criminals -- not just the Brady Bill, which actually went into effect this week, but try to ban some of the assault weapons and other things that kids get a hold of and use against one another. So there is at least some willingness now to recognize the problem.

It's not just somebody else's problem. It affects all of us. And so I think that once we are willing to say that, then we've got a chance to fix it. As long as it was somebody else's problem, you know, it only happened to a certain kind of people who lived in certain kinds of neighborhoods -- unfortunately there were too many Americans who were willing to ignore or deny what was happening.

Now, finally, we've got a President -- and I hope a majority of congress and the majority of the country -- who want to try to help everybody stop this epidemic of violence.

MS. BEHR: The media often covers stuff about adults without health coverage, but not usually do you hear stuff about homeless kids without education or health care. Do you think this is right? And what can we do to bring the subject up to the public?

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MRS. CLINTON: Let me make sure I heard you: what can we do to make sure that people know more about homeless kids -- who are homeless and without education?

MS. BEHR: About how that affects the need for health care -- health coverage, too.

MRS. CLINTON: Right. Well, that's one of the things we're trying to do with health care reform, is to make sure that every American and every child gets health coverage. Right now, you're right, that too many children don't have health insurance, either because their parents don't work for somebody who helps provide health care, or because they're not poor enough to qualify for government health care, or because they just get lost in the system, like some of the homeless children in shelters that I have visited or seen on the streets.

Under what the President is proposing, health care will be available to every American. It will no longer matter whether you work, or where you work, or if you've been sick. Everybody will get health care. That's particularly important for children, especially children like the ones you care about, who are in terrible situations right now without health care, and they deserve to have the same kind of health care I try to give to my daughter.

A PARTICIPANT: Were you asking the question, too, Madeleine, if there was more coverage -- about children and the problems that they have with health care -- would that help to affect the public debate on health care?

MRS. CLINTON: Oh, I think it would.

A PARTICIPANT: And how much of the coverage seems to -- of course, you don't watch the news, so you may not be a good witness on this. (Laughter.)

MRS. CLINTON: People tell me about it, though.

A PARTICIPANT: How much of the coverage has focused on children and their need for health care?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, you know, it's -- this is slightly, I guess, off the subject, but I think it's related in that part of what we need is a consistent discussion about important issues like violence or like health care. And too

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often the news media thinks if they've done it once, then they've done it, and they've got to move on to something else, and particularly with the debate over health care.

Most Americans are only now beginning to focus on health care, so they need constant information. And it may be boring to people who follow this closely or watch the news every night, but for most of the rest of us Americans, we want to see something covered over and over again, so we really do get information.

And her point about covering what happens to children, particularly children who are falling between the cracks, that are not getting health care, is something that I think we should have a lot of coverage about, because we are paying a very high price in both money terms and human terms because we don't take care of our children and give them decent health care.

A PARTICIPANT: Shontee, I know that much of what the First Lady said in her opening remarks about violence on television is part of what has concerned you. Do you want to maybe talk a little about your own feelings as well as asking her a question about it.

MS. BROWN: Okay. The way that I feel about violence, that kids -- kids of color is being portrayed by the media because if -- because if you go to (inaudible) to shoot -- to shoot up somebody, they won't -- they won't put that on the news. They'll put a white kid going on a rampage (inaudible) just shooting everybody. I think they -- the media -- is just judging on whites instead of blacks.

MRS. CLINTON: You know I think that the concerns that you express are ones that I really share with you, because we've got to get, in our country, to a point where we see individuals as individuals, not as members of groups. If someone does something wrong, that individual should be punished, and that individual should be held accountable.

But whether a person is black or white, that doesn't make any comment on everybody else who is black or white. We ought to just look at the individual behavior and try as hard as we can to eliminate, you know, racial and ethnic, and other kinds of stereotypes. And the news media needs to help us do that as best it can, because it has such influence over how people see the world. And I think you're

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right to be concerned.

A PARTICIPANT: Luis?

MR. CRUZ: Mrs. Clinton, I've noticed that there aren't too many good stories in the media about public education. How do you feel about that, and how do you feel about the fact that you seem to contribute to this perception by sending your kid to -- your daughter to a private school?

MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think that's a fair question, because all during the time that we lived in Arkansas, when my husband was the governor there, Chelsea always attended public school. And we worked very hard and believed very strongly in public school. And if her father were still the governor of Arkansas, or were not the President of the United States, she would still be in public school.

But we have, unfortunately, some special considerations having to do with security and some other things, that I wish we didn't have. I mean, I wish that we could still live like former presidents lived, who could walk out their front door and go for a walk, who didn't have to be surrounded by secret service people all the time, who didn't have to have their daughter surrounded by secret service.

But the world we're living in doesn't permit us to do that. So we had to make a decision based as parents because of her father's position. But I don't think you'll find any two people more committed to public education than we are, because it works. Again, here is an unfair characterization.

Most public education works for most kids. It doesn't work for every student, and we need to do better. But it is unfair to dismiss public education the way too many people do, when it is working. And you are a result, other people are a result of good public schools, and I think we ought to celebrate the successes.

We try to do something most other countries don't try to do, to educate all of our kids, no matter what language they speak, no matter what background they come from. And we ought to be proud of that.

A PARTICIPANT: If you have a couple of more

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minutes, I'd love to follow up with the students' feelings about some of the points you raised in your comments and maybe give you a chance to ask a question or two of them, if you'd like to.

MRS. CLINTON: They're telling, me, Geoff, that I've got about three or four more minutes, so I'd be glad to.

A PARTICIPANT: Okay. Madeleine, you told a story this morning about your father and television news, that I think might be interesting for the First Lady to hear.

MS. BEHR: Well, at my household my parents sometimes watch the news. We don't -- we don't watch it, like, daily, every night, but my dad usually doesn't like me watching the news because he knows that almost 100 of the things on it is violence, and he doesn't want me to go to sleep with bad nightmares, that I'm going to be kidnapped right out of my household or something like that. So he doesn't -- he doesn't really like me watching the news.

MRS. CLINTON: I can understand that. You know, one of the things that the news media cannot really deal with is the range of its audience -- who turns on the TV, who sits in front of it. But it is very clear to anyone who has studied it that children of a certain age and below take very literally what they see on the news. And there are just countless stories of children becoming very anxious and concerned about what they see, and thinking it was going to happen to them.

And it used to be possible, in previous times, and certainly before television was as pervasive as it is, to protect children of a certain age from that kind of information. You know, children -- when you're growing up, you have a lot of work to do. I mean, you know, babies have to learn to walk and talk, and then you've got to learn about how you write and you read, and you've got to figure out how the world works around you, like how you relate to the people in your family and everything.

I mean, I think a lot of adults forget what hard work it is to be growing up and to deal with the problems any child has to deal with. If you add on top of that a steady diet of violence that makes children feel frightened and scared, and anxious, it makes it more difficult for them to deal with what they have to do just as a daily part of

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growing up. Then you are interfering with what is or should be a kind of positive development in children's lives.

So I think your father and mother make a very good decision to try to at least act like the adults in your life, and protect you from being unnecessarily exposed to stuff that you can do nothing about, and that which only can make you anxious and block out your doing other things you should be doing and thinking about. So that's one of the problems we've got.

I mean, how do we let children be children, and grow up to be able to cope with all these things? If you get a steady diet of it too soon, it's like eating too much of anything. You get indigestion, and it interferes with your being able to deal with other problems. And I think that's happening with too many of our children.

* * *

"Remarks"

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
ROUNDTABLE WITH CASEY FOUNDATION JOURNALISM FELLOWS
THE WHITE HOUSE
JUNE 13, 1995

TALKING POINTS

I am delighted to have all of you here and to have the chance to learn more about the work you do. When I first became involved in children's issues more than 20 years ago, I don't think any reporters were assigned exclusively to a beat on children or families.

So I view it as a sign of progress that so many newspapers and television stations now devote resources and space to covering these issues. Still, I'm sure it is often a struggle to convince your editors that the consequences of poverty and teen pregnancy are as important to write about as the O.J. Simpson trial.

As I said when I returned from South Asia, too often issues involving women, or children, or families are dismissed as "soft" or marginal to economic and social progress. In fact, they are directly linked to our future as a country and as a world, and your stories can help people understand that connection.

Journalists in your position play a critical role in educating Americans about the public policy debates in Washington and in your state capitals, as well as about the burdens and uncertainties that so many families shoulder as they try to raise their children.

When I first began working on children's issues as a law student in the early 1970s, we never heard terms like "child abuse" or "child neglect." Now these terms are part of our daily lexicon, in large part because journalists have helped expose the crisis our children find themselves in today.

I suspect that the main difficulty you encounter in your jobs is that so many stories about children exacerbate negative stereotypes. Your greatest challenge is to use the journalistic spotlight responsibly, intelligently, and in ways that help children rather than further harm them.

That means getting beyond simplistic assumptions, presumptions and solutions and exploring the underlying economic and social roots of violence, teen pregnancy, welfare dependency. I hope that you and other journalists covering these issues will remind your audiences that your job is not to satisfy prurient interests but to raise awareness about deep and difficult problems in our society.

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View Related Topics

June 15, 1995, Thursday, Home Edition

SECTION: Life & Style; Part E; Page 1; View Desk

LENGTH: 940 words

HEADLINE: THE FIRST LADY'S FAMILY VALUES;
PARENTING: **HILLARY CLINTON** IS JUST LIKE ALL MOTHERS OF 15-YEAR-OLDS -- SORT
OF. SHE, TOO, GRAPPLES WITH ALL THE TOUGH ISSUES. AND THEN SOME.

BYLINE: By ELIZABETH MEHREN, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

So **Hillary Clinton**, what do you think about sex education and teen pregnancy?

"A mother of a teen-ager is probably the worst person to ask!"

And then, "My own theory is don't do it until you're 21, and then don't tell me about it."

Clearly the First Lady was being jocular, but she was also expressing the dilemma of many parents of teen-age girls when she had a 70-minute "conversation" on Tuesday with 30 journalists from around the country. The meeting was held in the White House Blue Room, where Clinton sipped tea and spoke informally with fellows from the University of Maryland's **Casey Journalism Center** for Children and Families.

After a couple of quips, Clinton moved quickly into serious discourse on a wide array of family issues. Her observations ranged from bewilderment over "why we are so obsessed with sex and sex education in this country" to the suggestion that "sex has been around for a long time. I just wish we could relax a little, and talk about it with our children when they can understand it, which is when they are very young."

But even though she believes that "kids are naturally curious," she issued a firm condemnation of teen-age sex.

During the meeting, Clinton drew from a wealth of information, including a 1991 pastoral letter, "Putting Families First," published by the National Council of Catholic Bishops.

Among the topics the First Lady addressed were:

- * Corporate downsizing and the "grave disservice" done to families when businesses overlook how seriously overwhelmed families can be by job loss or restructuring.

- * The "false debate," waged with "increasing ferocity," that has made government "the target of everything that is wrong with families." Without denying the impact of government policies on the family, Clinton said, "Clearly there is more than enough accountability to go around."

- * The well-documented ability of teen-agers to test the limits of parental authority, much as preschoolers like to lean over the top of the stairs when their parents are at the bottom. With adolescents, the First Lady said, "if you don't do anything to stop them, hey, it's 'Lord of the Flies' time."

* The "terrible Hobson's choice" faced by working parents whose child care is less than adequate. "I have seen places where people are forced to leave their babies where I wouldn't leave my cat," she said.

In a lighter moment, she said children's issues are marginalized because "children not only can't vote, they can't take legislators duck hunting." And she indirectly responded to recent remarks by Republican presidential contender Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.) about loose values reflected by Hollywood.

"It's such a hypocrisy for people in this town to talk about sex in movies when sex is used to sell everything," Clinton said.

She deflected inquiries about conversations that might have gone on in the Executive Mansion about welfare reform, in light of congressional bills on the subject.

"Well, I don't talk about discussions in the White House," she said.

But, again indirectly, she took a stab at proposed block grants for states, referring to efforts in the 1980s to direct federal funds intended for families and children to the states.

"They built prisons, they built bridges, they built homes for the elderly because the nursing-home lobby took care of that -- everything but taking care of children," she said.

On the subject of welfare, she described most mothers on public assistance as loving and caring toward their children, but also "overwhelmed and resentful, and not sure how to get out." She echoed her husband's call for time limits on welfare payments, and proposed that if there are not enough jobs to go around in the private sector, "I think we ought to put (welfare mothers) to work in the public sector -- not for pay, necessarily."

Welfare mothers in her home state of Arkansas had benefited from a highly structured parent training program modeled after an Israeli system, the First Lady observed. Similar efforts are in place elsewhere, she said, but little is done to coordinate or replicate those that succeed.

"In the current political climate, it's every family for themselves," she said. "It's 'push those mothers into the work force, get them off welfare' " as quickly as possible. "I think we pay a very big price."

On the other hand, the First Lady said, the rights of children should sometimes supersede those of their parents. In situations where children are bounced from foster home to foster home -- or "where kids are found in abandoned cars, living with their mother and her latest boyfriend -- I think there should come a time when certain parental rights should be terminated. That is a really harsh thing to say, and many people have attacked me by saying I was advocating the breakup of families. Nothing could be further from the truth."

The First Lady expressed amazement about what she termed illogical use of existing public resources. "Let's privatize child care," she said, "but do it in the school buildings."

She came to the defense of fathers, lamenting the "double-edged message" that is sent when fathers are ridiculed on television and elsewhere. Rather, she advocated "anything you can do to promote the idea of fatherhood as a great adventure," encouraging a joint commitment to child-rearing by mothers and fathers.

But the failure of fathers to put in equal time on the home front is "an age-old problem, and not even an American problem," she said. "How do you keep fathers from going out in search of whales, going out West, I don't know, joining the Crusades? I mean, this is not a new problem."

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HEADLINE: First lady: 'Cool it' on sex in advertising

BYLINE: Leslie Phillips

BODY:

First lady **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** joined the debate over moral values Tuesday, condemning the use of sex in advertising.

In a White House interview with the **Casey Journalism Center** for Children and Families, Clinton said a national obsession with sex was partly responsible for increased sexual activity among young people.

"It is such a hypocrisy for some people in this town to yell about our movies when we use sex to sell everything in America," she said, apparently referring to Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole's recent attack on sex and violence in Hollywood movies.

"If you look at the consumer messages we send to kids, sex is pervasive.

"If adults would just kind of cool it themselves and not use sex in an exploitative way to sell products, . . . I think we could begin to expect our children to calm down a little bit.

"I just wish we'd relax. Sex has been around a really long time. And we're here because of it. So it's an important part of who we are and how we live."

Despite the culture's "obsession" with sex, she said, parents find it difficult to discuss it with their kids. She expressed bewilderment at objections to sex education in schools: "We can have 100 hours of television exploiting sex, and parents go nuts if kids have their gym teacher tell them how it's done."

Parents should talk about commitment, love and "honoring one's body" as soon as their children are old enough to understand, she said.

What about having sex? "Teen-agers are too young. My theory is don't do it before you're 21 - and then don't tell me about it."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, b/w, AP

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