

Meeting with African American Organizations on Welfare Reform
Friday, May 27th, 10am
Roosevelt Room, West Wing, The White House

Agenda

I. Greeting

Alexis Herman, Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Liaison

II. Overview

David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Policy and Evaluation, DHHS will present an overview of welfare reform and an update to the March 22nd document.

III. General Discussion

An opportunity for the participants to voice their concerns, ask questions and give suggestions.

IV. Discussion of the rhetoric of welfare reform

Avis LaVelle, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, DHHS

WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM, FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE

MEMORANDUM

TO: David Ellwood
Bruce Reed
Avis LaVelle
Alexis Herman

FROM: Patricia Sosa

SUBJECT: Meeting with African-American organizations

I. Location and Participants

We have scheduled a meeting with key leaders in the African-American community for Friday, May 27th at 10:00 am in the Roosevelt Room, West Wing of the White House. The following individuals have confirmed their attendance:

Eddie Williams, President, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
Elaine Jones, Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense Fund
Ramona Edelin, President and CEO, National Urban Coalition
Dr. Benjamin Chavis, President, NAACP
Wade Henderson, Director of DC Office, NAACP
Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women
C. Dolores Tucker, National Political Congress of Black Women
Marian Wright Edelman, President, Children's Defense Fund
Joseph Lowery, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
State Representative David Richardson, Pennsylvania
Earlene Parmon, Commissioner, Forsyth County, NC
Mayor Emanuel Cleaver, Kansas City, MO

From the Working Group, the following people will attend:

David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health and Human Services
Bruce Reed, Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
Avis LaVelle, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Department of Health and Human Services
Kathi Way, Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy
Patricia Sosa, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Children and Families and Director of Public Outreach for the Working Group on Welfare Reform

From the White House, the following people will attend:

Alexis Herman, Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Liaison
Ben Johnson, Associate Director of the Office of Public Liaison
Chris Lin, Special Assistant to the Director of the Office of Public Liaison
Marcia Hale, Assistant to the President and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs

John Monahan, Director of Intergovernmental Affairs, Department of Health and Human Services, will also attend.

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II. Goals

We have organized a meeting with these politically-influential leaders in an effort to: 1) provide them with an overview of the Working Group's plan, as it currently stands; 2) send a strong message that we are serious about the issues and that we are committed to an honest dialogue without racial undertones; and 3) hear their concerns and open the doors for ongoing dialogue as we proceed with welfare reform. All participants have received copies of the Working Group's March 22nd document.

III. Agenda

See attached agenda.

IV. Background Information/Previous Interaction with the Working Group

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

The Joint Center is a nationally acclaimed, nonpartisan, research and policy institution: its staff of 55 includes professionals in the fields of economics, political science, law, social science, communications and international relations. The Joint Center serves the national interest by helping black Americans participate fully and effectively in the political and economic life of our society.

Katherine McFate, Associate Director for Social Policy, at the Joint Center has been very involved with the Working Group since she testified by the Group in Washington, DC last summer. Katherine attended issue group meetings, as well as larger organization meetings, on August 26, 1993; October 4, 1993; January 14, 1994; and March 7, 1994. The concerns of the Joint Center include: the design of the WORK program, how it would operate, and whether individuals would be allowed to refuse an assignment, as well as they magnitude of the WORK program; the family cap; paternity establishment, particularly the consequences that women may suffer if they refuse to cooperate. In a January 1994 meeting, Ms. McFate spoke very positively regarding the framing of the proposal and in March 1994 brought to the table some polling data that showed the black community's support for welfare reform. The Working Group has not met with Eddie Williams, President, before this meeting.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

As you know, the NAACP is the oldest and largest civil rights organization in America. The principle objective of the NAACP is to ensure the political, educational, social and economic equality of minority group citizens among the citizens of the United States. The NAACP is a network of more than 1,800 branches covering all fifty states, the District of Columbia, Japan and West Germany. They are divided into seven regions and are managed and governed by a National Board of Directors. Total membership exceeds 500,000 people.

Wade Henderson, Director of the Washington, DC Office, and Edward Hailes, Jr., Counsel for the NAACP, have had much contact with the Working Group to this point. They attended meetings with the Working Group in August 1993 and again on March 7, 1994 and have kept in close contact with our office. Wade Henderson's primary concerns are with the WORK program and the question of where are the jobs? He sees a need for the White House to better communicate the Administration's commitment to job creation. He recommended that we coordinate a conference outlining the different initiatives for workforce development. He is also concerned with the family cap provision. After the

NAACP chapter in Maryland voted to support a proposal which includes a family cap, national groups have been lobbying the national office to take a position against it. Wade suggested that it would help if a national figure wrote an op-ed piece explaining why the family cap makes sense as a part of welfare reform.

National Urban Coalition

The National Urban Coalition (NUC) is an urban action and advocacy organization headquartered in Washington, DC. Its affiliate network includes 39 organizations in 32 cities in 19 states. It was founded at an Emergency Convocation of 1200 leaders from business, labor, civil rights, government and community organizations called together in 1967 to respond to urban riots. Today, the NUC's primary focus is ensuring that urban residents have the skills and basic education to succeed in the workforce. Its national education program, *Say Yes to a Youngster's Future*, operates in-school and family learning centers in Houston, Washington and New Orleans. Through its affiliate network, the Coalition seeks to build partnerships among representatives of the private sector, government and people of urban communities, to stabilize and revitalize America's cities.

Louise Lindbloom from the National Urban Coalition has been in contact with the Working Group. She attended meetings on both January 25, 1994 and March 7, 1994 with the Working Group. Overall, the Coalition has been supportive of the framework of the proposal, particularly the major expansion of the JOBS program. Their concerns, like the NAACP, include the need for real job creation in the black community and the family cap.

National Council of Negro Women (NCNW)

The National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) is a coalition of national womens' organizations, united for strength. NCNW reaches out to all women and their families to advance their quality of life through programs of service and advocacy. NCNW has 4 million members. It is based in Washington, DC, with affiliates nationwide as well as in Senegal, Egypt and Zimbabwe.

Eleanor Hinton Hoytt, Director of Programs, for the NCNW has attended meetings on March 7, 1994 and March 28, 1994 with the Working Group. Her concerns have been generally with the family cap and also with the treatment of noncustodial parents.

National Political Congress of Black Women

The National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc. is a non-profit, non-partisan organization founded in 1984 by a group of women, including Shirley Chisholm, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, Alexis Herman, Congresswoman Maxine Waters, Eleanor Holmes Norton and others. Dr. C. Delores Tucker is its National Chair and Convening Founder, she succeeded Ms. Chisholm as National Chair in 1992.

NPCBW's mission is to identify, elect and act as a mentor to African American women and encourage them, regardless of party affiliation, to register to vote and engage in other political activities. As a national advocacy group, NPCBW develops policy positions and participates in platform development and strategies beneficial to the needs of the African American community at every level of government.

The National Political Congress has not had any previous interaction with the Working Group.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was founded in 1957 by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Joseph Lowery and others, following the Montgomery bus boycott. Since that time, SCLC, based in Atlanta, GA, has remained on the cutting edge of national and international change. Dr. Lowery was Vice President of the Conference from 1957 to 1967 and has served as its President since 1967.

SCLC has not had any previous interaction with the Working Group. Mary Jo Bane sent Dr. Lowery a letter in early May, inviting their input on the Working Group's draft proposal. The organization does not work directly with the issue of welfare reform, but they support the idea of reform and also welfare rights. They have said that they would like to help with welfare reform when possible.

Children's Defense Fund

Clearly, the Children's Defense Fund has been one of the most involved advocacy organizations in the welfare reform process. Dr. Edelman specifically has written several letters to the President and to Secretary Shalala on the issue. CDF's primary concerns include: the WORK program (it threatens the safety net; does not make work pay; against denying EITC in the WORK program and against time-limiting the WORK program); sanctions; the family cap; and the lack of a strong job creation component. CDF is a strong supporter of child care programs.

State Representative David Richardson, National Black Caucus of State Legislators

David Richardson is a past president of the National Black Caucus of State Legislators (NBCSL) and their spokesperson on welfare reform. He is currently Vice Chairperson of the Welfare Reform Task Force of the National Conference of State Legislatures. Representative Richardson is a proponent of what he refers to as "true welfare reform" that would assure that private sector employment would be available for people leaving the AFDC system. Moreover, NBCSL feels that AFDC recipients should not be penalized (e.g., reduced benefits) for working and that the welfare system must treat people with dignity. NBCSL opposes the family cap.

Representative Richardson has met with David Ellwood (via conference call) to discuss these issues.

Earlene Parmon, National Organization of Black County Officials

Earlene Parmon is a Commissioner from Forsyth County (Winston Salem) North Carolina and a member of the National Organization of Black County Officials' (NOBCO) Board of Directors. NOBCO feels that two years is not enough time for many welfare recipients to move from welfare to work. In their view, 3-5 years is more feasible, given the need for intense training, job search, child care, case management, etc. NOBCO has also expressed concern about the public misperception that African Americans are primarily the recipients of AFDC, and hope that the Administration will use this proposal to correct this view.

Mayor Emanuel Cleaver, U.S. Conference of Mayors

Mayor Emanuel Cleaver has worked with the U.S. Conference of Mayors to reach out to other African American mayors on welfare reform. Chief among African American mayors' concerns is the issue of job creation and who will control these jobs at the local level. Black mayors feel strongly that public sector jobs should be "real" jobs, not jobs of last resort. Black mayors are supportive of

the prevention component of the proposal and the expanded EITC. This group does not support the family cap, which they view as punishing children. Mayor Cleaver has met with David Ellwood prior to this meeting.

cc: Ben Johnson
Chris Lin
Emily Bromberg
Marcia Hale
John Monahan
Kathi Way

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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1. letter

Lawrence Haygood to Reed re: meeting, 1p (partial).

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P6/B6

P1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
P2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
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A SURVEY OF ATTITUDES AMONG THE BLACK COMMUNITY

January 1994

Peter D. Hart Research Associates
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009

Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.

 Printed on Recycled Paper

MEMORANDUM

TO: Administration Officials
FROM: Marian Wright Edelman
DATE: May 25, 1994
RE: National Poll of Black Adults & Youth



Tomorrow morning at 9:30, the Children's Defense Fund (CDF) and Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) which CDF coordinates, will release a recently completed poll on the status of Black children in America. Conducted by Peter Hart Research Associates, the survey of Black adults and youth is one of the most comprehensive taken and indicates broad areas of concern not only for the Black community but for our nation. It is a call to urgent action and I hope you will review the findings and concerns of Black parents and youth with your staff and others to see how your agency's policies can respond.

The poll confirms what many Black leaders already know: that the Black child crisis, one of the worst since slavery, is real. The disturbing news to our nation is that this is just the tip of the American iceberg of pervasive child and family neglect and the disintegration of spiritual, community, and family values across race and class.

The heartening news is that the Black community is mounting a crusade to do something about the crisis. But all Americans must help. I hope you will carefully review the poll's findings and share with me and others your thoughts on ways we can work together to improve the lives of our nation's children and families. We will be seeking meetings with you soon.

BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

Information and Resources

1993 Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) Publications

Progress and Peril: Black Children in America
Prophetic Voices: Black Preachers Speak on Behalf of Children
Prayers for Black Children
Black Children in Ohio
Beat the Odds Manual (How to Celebrate Children In Your Community Who Are Making It Despite the Odds)

1994-1995 Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) Publications

Advocate's Guide to the Summer Food Service Program
Ceasefire In the War Against Children: Key Myths and Facts on Violence and Children
Monographs for the Anti-Violence Network: Federal Funding for Community Anti-Violence Programs
Special Report: Violence and Children (CDF Reports)
Black Student Leadership Network Organizing Manual
A Freedom School Curriculum Guide
Children's Sabbath Materials for African-American Congregations
Special Report: Children's Sabbath Planning Guide (CDF Reports)
How To Plan and Run a Freedom School In Your Community
Report on Black Males: An Action Agenda (Summary of a two year seminar)
BCCC Clearinghouse Report: 25 Programs Making a Difference for Youths
Biased Tides and Leaky Boats: African Americans in the U.S. Economy
The Status of Black Children in America
Collection of Great Black Speeches for Community Oratorical Contests
Adolescent and Young Adult Fact Book (teen pregnancy prevention emphasis)

BCCC Regional Offices Publications

Report on Black Children in California (Urban Strategies Council)
Clearinghouse Report on Effective Mentoring Programs (Urban Strategies Council)
National Report on Strategies That Are Working to Prevent Youth Violence
(Urban Strategies Council)
Data Profiles for Oakland and Los Angeles (Urban Strategies Council)

Ongoing BCCC Information Assistance

Necessary (newsletter)	Quarterly
We Speak (Black Student Leadership Network newsletter)	Quarterly
Child Watch Columns (in over 100 Black newspapers)	Weekly
Religious Action Columns	Quarterly
BCCC PSAs and video (for house and community meetings)	
Anti-Violence Posters, Products, Radio, and Television Ads	
1-800-ASK-BCCC (Toll free number manned by volunteers)	
Children's Sabbath Materials	

BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

Working Committee

Bishop John Hurst Adams (I)

Senior Bishop
7th Episcopal District
AME Church
400 Arbor Lake Drive, Suite B-300
Columbia, SC 29223
803-691-0771
803-691-0674 (fax)

Kent Amos (I&II)

Founder and President
Urban Family Institute
Suite 302
1400 Sixteenth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-939-3490
202-939-3492 (fax)

Bylye Y. Avery (I)

President
National Black Women's
Health Project
925 Strathaven Avenue
P.O. Box 535
Swarthmore, PA 19801
215-328-5451

Clementine Barfield (II)

Founder and President
Save our Sons and Daughters (SOSAD)
2441 West Grand Avenue
Detroit, MI 48208
313-361-5200
313-361-0055 (fax)

Barbara Wright Bell (I)

President
Amelior Foundation
310 South Street
Morristown, NJ 07960
201-540-9148
201-540-0519 (fax)

Angela Glover Blackwell (I&II)

Executive Director
Urban Strategies Council
672 Thirteenth Street
Oakland, CA 94612
510-893-2404
510-893-6657 (fax)

Unita Blackwell (II)

President-Mayor
139 Twin Oaks Drive
P. O. Box 188
Mayersville, MS 39113
601-873-4281
601-873-2796 (fax)
601-873-6977 (alternate)

Geoffrey Canada (II)

President/CEO
Rheedlen Centers for
Children & Families
2770 Broadway
New York, NY 10025
212-866-0700
212-932-2965 (fax)

Dr. Geraldine Carter (I)

Executive Director
Survival Skills Institute
1501 Xerxes Avenue North
Minneapolis, MN 55411
612-522-6654
612-522-0792 (fax)

James Comer, MD (I)

Maurice Falk Professor
Child Study Center
Yale University
230 South Frontage Road
(P. O. Box 3333)
New Haven, CT 06510-8009
203-785-2548
203-785-3359 (fax)

Dr. James A. Forbes, Jr. (I&II)

Senior Minister
The Riverside Church
Riverside Drive at 122nd Street
New York, NY 10027
212-749-7035
212-749-7009 (fax)

John Hope Franklin, PhD (I)

Professor (Retired)
Department of History
Duke University
6727 College Station
Durham, NC 27708
919-684-2465

Harvey Gantt (I)

Gantt, Huberman Architects
112 West Fifth Street
Charlotte, NC 28202
704-334-6436
704-342-9639 (fax)

Dr. Henry Louis Gates (II)

Chair
Department of Afro-American Studies
Harvard University
1430 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-495-7832
617-496-2871 (fax)

Dr. Edmund Gordon

Gordon & Gordon
3 Cooper Morris Drive
Pomona, NY 10970
914-354-5809
914-362-8589 (fax)

Henry E. Hampton (I&II)

President
Blackside, Inc.
486 Shawmut Avenue
Boston, MA 02118
617-536-6900
617-536-1732 (fax)

Dr. Dorothy Height (I)

President
National Council of Negro Women
Suite 700
1667 K Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-628-0015
202-628-0233 (fax)

Honorable Leon Higginbotham, Jr. (II)

30 Clover Drive
Chapel Hill, NC 27514
919-968-8349
919-968-8428 (fax)

**** After July 1994**

84 Apen Avenue
Newton (Auburndale), MA 02166

Otis S. Johnson, PhD (I&II)

Executive Director
Chatham-Savannah Youth
Futures Authority
128 Habersham Street
Savannah, GA 31401
912-651-6810
912-651-6814 (fax)

William Lynch, Jr. (I&II)

McAndrews & Forbes
38 E. 63rd Street
New York, NY 10021
212-572-8482
212-572-8427 (fax)

Steven A. Minter (II)
Director
The Cleveland Foundation
1400 Hanna Building
Cleveland, OH 44115
216-861-3810
216-861-1729 (fax)

Robert Peterkin, EdD (I&II)
Director
Harvard Urban Superintendents Program
Six Appian Way
Gutman Library, 4th floor
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-496-4827
617-496-3095 (fax)

Hugh V. Price (I&II)
Vice President
The Rockefeller Foundation
1133 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10036
212-869-8500
212-764-3468 (fax)

Deborah Prothrow-Smith, MD (I)
Harvard School of Public Health
677 Huntington Avenue
Boston, MA 02115
617-432-0814
617-432-0068 (fax)

Carolyn Reid-Green, PhD (I&II)
President
Drew Child Development Corporation
Suite 203
320 East 111th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90061
213-249-2950
213-249-2970 (fax)

Barbara J. Sabol (I&II)

P6/(b)(6)

Elsie L. Scott, PhD (II)
Deputy Commissioner of Training
New York City Police Academy
235 East 20th Street
New York, NY 10037
212-477-9746
212-477-9270 (fax)

Dr. Donald M. Stewart (II)
President
The College Board
45 Columbus Avenue
New York, NY 10023-6917
212-713-8036
212-713-8282 (fax)

Lisa Sullivan (I&II)
1801 Fayetteville Street
William Jones Building
Room 100
North Carolina Central University
Durham, NC 27701
919-683-2785
919-688-0529 (fax)

Dr. Carl Taylor (I)
Professor
Institute for Children
Youth and Families
Michigan State University
#2 Paolucci Building
East Lansing, MI 48824
517-353-6617
517-336-2022 (fax)

Reed V. Tuckson, MD (I&II)
President
Charles R. Drew University
of Medicine and Science
1621 East 120th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90059
213-563-4987
213-563-5987 (fax)

John Turner, DSW (I)
University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill, CB 3570
Abernathy Hall, Room 211
223 East Franklin Street
Chapel Hill, NC 27599
919-962-3382
919-962-1486 (fax)

Coruel West, PhD (I)
Director, Afro-American Studies
Professor, Department of Religion
Princeton University
1879 Hall
Princeton, NJ 08544
609-258-4270
609-258-5095 (fax)

Roger Wilkins (I)

P6/(b)(6)

Terry Williams, PhD (I)
House 3, #4G
1925 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10026
212-229-5644
212-229-5315 (fax at the New School)

BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

Black Student Leadership Network National Coordinating Committee

Deidre Bailey

P6/(b)(6)

April J. Coleman

P6/(b)(6)

Errol K. James

P6/(b)(6)

Jimmie Robinson-Jones

P6/(b)(6)

Malkia Lydia

P6/(b)(6)

Charles McNair

P6/(b)(6)

919-682-8323 (w)

Louis Negrón

P6/(b)(6)

Lisa Sullivan

BSLN Field Director
William Jones Building
1801 Fayetteville St.
Room 100
Durham, NC 27707
919-683-2785 (w)

April Thompson

P6/(b)(6)

Steve White

BSLN Director
25 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001
202-662-3502

Freedom School Curriculum & Program Development Committee

James Couer, MD *
Maurice Falk Professor
Yale Child Study Center
230 South Frontage Road
P.O. Box 3333
New Haven, CT 06510-8009
203-785-2548

Olive Covington
Director
CDF Marlboro County
117 Cheraw Street
Bennettsville, SC 29512
803-479-0605

Dr. Edmund Gordon, Chair *
Gordon & Gordon
3 Cooper Morris Drive
Pomono, NY 10970
914-354-5809

Matthew Klein
L.E.A.P.
179 Ellsworth Avenue
New Haven, CT 06511
203-773-0770

Michelle Pierce
Director
Summer Bridge New Haven
Hopkins School
986 Forest Road
New Haven, CT 06612
203-397-1001
203-389-2249

Steve White
Director
BSLN
Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001
202-662-3502

(* Indicates membership to the
Education Advisory Committee

Education Advisory Committee

Linda Darling-Hammond
Professor & Co-Director
National Center for Restructuring
Education, Schools & Teaching
Teachers College -
Columbia University
525 West 120th Street
P.O. Box 31
New York, NY 10027
212-678-4142

Dr. Deborah M. McGriff
The Edison Project
Whittel Communications
Seagrams Building
Suite 3105
375 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10151
212-309-1600

Robert Peterkin, Ed.D.
Director
Harvard Urban
Superintendenta Program
6 Appian Way
Gutman Library, 4th floor
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-496-4827

Hugh V. Price
Vice President
The Rockefeller Foundation
1133 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10036
212-869-8500

Dr. Donald M. Stewart
President
The College Board
45 Columbus Avenue
New York, NY 10023-6917
212-713-8036

BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

**African American Males Project
Convened by Dr. Edmund W. Gordon**

Dr. Walter Allen
Department of Sociology
UCLA
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90024-1551
310-206-7107
310-206-9838 (fax)

Dr. Elijah Anderson
Department of Sociology
University of Pennsylvania
113 McNeil Building
3718 Locust Walk
Philadelphia, PA 19104
215-898-6721
215-573-2081 (fax)

Dr. Fayneesse Miller Biral
Education Department
Brown University
Box 1938
Providence, RI 02912
401-863-2407
401-863-1276 (fax)

Dr. Ana Marie Cauce
Department of Psychology
NI-25
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195
206-543-2640
206-685-3157 (fax)

Dr. Ronald Ferguson
Harvard University
John F. Kennedy School
of Government
79 John F. Kennedy Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
617-495-1104
617-496-9053 (fax)

Dr. Anderson J. Franklin
City College of New York
101 Clarke Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
718-624-7178
212-650-5673 (fax)

Dr. Edmund T. Gordon
Department of Anthropology
University of Texas
Austin, TX 78712
512-471-4206; 7532

Dr. Edmund W. Gordon
Yale University/ CUNY
(Maitrayee Bhattacharyya-staff)
3 Cooper Morris Drive
Pomona, NY 10970
914-354-5809
914-362-8589 (fax)

Dr. Susan G. Gordon
Gordon & Gordon Associates
3 Cooper Morris Drive
Pomona, NY 10970
914-354-5809
914-362-8589 (fax)

Dr. Vinetta Jones
The College Board
45 Columbus Avenue
New York, NY 10023-6992
212-713-8268
212-713-8293 (fax)

Dr. Marvin McKinney
Michigan State University
Institute for Children Youth
and Families
Palducci Building #2
East Lansing, MI 48824
517-353-6617
517-336-2022 (fax)

Dr. Sandra M. Nettles
Center for Social Organization
of Schools
3505 N. Charles Street
Baltimore, MD 21218-2495
410-516-0370
410-516-6370 (fax)

Dr. David Rollock
Department of PsychSciences
Purdue University
1364 PsychSciences Building
Room 1162
West Lafayette, IN 47907
317-494-0783
317-496-1264 (fax)

Dr. Margaret Beale Spencer
Board of Overseers Professor
of Education
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education
3700 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6228
215-898-4610
215-573-2115 (fax)

Dr. Ron Taylor
Department of Psychology
Temple University
Philadelphia, PA 19122
215-787-1551, 7321
215-787-5139, 5539 (fax)

BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

Human Services Administrators Advisory Committee

Audrey Rowe, Co-Chair
Commissioner
State of Connecticut
Department of Social Services
110 Bartholomew Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106
203-566-2008
203-566-6478 (fax)

Barbara J. Sabol, Co-chair

P6/(b)(6)

Alvin C. Collins, Director
Baltimore City
Department of Social Services
1510 Guilford Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21202
410-361-2201
410-361-3150 (fax)

Carolyn W. Colvin, Secretary
State of Maryland
Department of Human Services
311 West Saratoga Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
410-333-0001
410-333-0099 (fax)

Julia Danzy
Director of Social Service Policy
City of Philadelphia
Room 494, City Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19107
215-686-3430
215-563-3162 (fax)

Marva Hammons, Administrator
City of New York
Human Resources Administration
Room 1500
250 Church Street
New York, NY 10013
212-274-2664
212-274-3218 (fax)

Leila Hardaway
Deputy Director of Social Services
Franklin County Department
of Human Services
80 East Fulton Street
Columbus, OH 43215
614-462-5818
614-462-4531 (fax)

Mary Dean Harvey, Director
State of Nebraska
Department of Social Services
301 Centennial Mall South
5th floor
Lincoln, NE 68509-5026
402-471-9105
402-471-9449 (fax)

Margaret Hilliard, Social Worker
Richmond Department
of Social Services
900 East Marshall Street
Richmond, VA 23219
804-780-7576
804-780-7018 (fax)

Sondra M. Jackson
University of Maryland
School of Social Work
525 West Redwood Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
410-706-3637
410-706-6046 (fax)

Ivory Johnson, Deputy Director
County of San Diego
Children's Services Bureau
6950 Levant Street
San Diego, CA 92111-6098
619-694-5112
619-694-5249 (fax)

Micheline Malson, Director
Division of Family Development
North Carolina Department of
Human Resources
101 Blair Drive
Raleigh, NC 27603
919-733-6847
919-733-7447 (fax)

Shirley E. Marcus
Deputy Director
Child Welfare League of America
Suite 310
440 First Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001-2085
202-638-2952
202-638-4004 (fax)

Charlene Lewis Meeks
Community Services Director
Department of Social Services
744 P Street
Sacramento, CA 95814
916-657-2648
916-657-3783 (fax)

George G. Musgrove, Director
Department of Human Services
1101 City Hall Avenue
Norfolk, VA 23510
804-441-2925
804-441-1173 (fax)

Joan Reeves, Commissioner
Department of Human Services
1401 Arch Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
215-686-6000
215-988-0346 (fax)

Barry Stanback
Deputy Secretary
Department of Human Resources
101 Blair Drive
Raleigh, NC 27603
919-733-6818
919-715-4645

Clarice Walker, Commissioner
Department of Human Services
609 H Street, NE
Washington, DC 20022
202-727-5930
202-727-5971 (fax)

Shawn Wooden
Assistant to Commissioner Rowe
State of Connecticut
Department of Social Services
110 Bartholomew Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106
203-566-2008
203-566-6478 (fax)

BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

Task Force on Violence Prevention

Carolyn Abdullah
Acting Director, D.C. Project
Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001

Kent Amos
Founder and President
Urban Family Institute
Suite 302
1400 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
202-939-3490
202-939-3492 (fax)

Deidre Bailey
National Coordinating
Committee Co-Chair
Black Student
Leadership Network
1121 D Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-224-8576
202-224-8567 (fax)

Clementine Barfield
Founder and President
Save Our Sons and Daughters
(SOSAD)
2441 West Grand Avenue
Detroit, MI 48208
313-361-5200
313-361-0055 (fax)

Angela Glover Blackwell
Executive Director
Urban Strategies Council
Suite 200
672 Thirteenth Street
Oakland, CA 94612
510-893-2404
510-893-6657 (fax)

Geoffrey Canada
President/ CEO
Rheedlen Centers for Children
and Families
2770 Broadway
New York, NY 10025
212-866-0700
212-932-2965 (fax)

Mylan Denerstein
Skadden Fellow/ Staff Attorney
Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001
202-662-3596
202-662-3550 (fax)

Otis S. Johnson, Ph.D.
Local Initiatives Coordinator
BCCC
Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202-662-3505
202-662-3580 (fax)

Deborah Prothrow-Stith, M.D.
Chair
Harvard School of Public Health
677 Huntington Avenue
Boston, MA 02115
617-432-0814
617-432-0068 (fax)

Hattie Ruttenberg
Assistant General Counsel
Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20001
202-662-3596
202-662-3550 (fax)

Elsie L. Scott, Ph.D.
Deputy Commissioner of
Training
New York City Police Academy
235 East 20th Street
New York, NY 10003
212-477-9746
212-477-9270

Dr. Carl Taylor
Professor
Institute for Children
Youth and Families
Michigan State University
#2 Paolucci Building
East Lansing, MI 48824-1110
517-353-6617
517-336-2022 (fax)

Terry Williams, Ph.D.
Professor
New School for Social Research
House 3, #4G
1925 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10026
212-316-5644
212-229-5315 (fax at the New
School)

BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

Juvenile and Family Court Judges' Working Committee

Angela Glover Blackwell
Executive Director
Urban Strategies Council
672 Thirteenth Street
Oakland, CA 94612
510-893-2404
510-893-6657 (fax)

The Honorable Gloria Dabiri
Brooklyn Family Court
Judge's Chambers, 6th Floor
283 Adams Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
718-643-3444
718-643-5103 (fax)

David Gamble, Ph.D.
Manager of Curriculum
and Training
National Council of Family
and Juvenile Court Judges
P.O. Box 8970
Reno, NV 89557
702-784-6631
702-784-6628 (fax)

The Honorable Ernestine Gray
Judge, Orleans Parish
Juvenile Court
421 Loyola Avenue
New Orleans, LA 70112
504-565-7326
504-565-7391 (fax)

The Honorable Julian Houston
Associate Justice
The Superior Court
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
40 Thorndyke Street
Cambridge, MA 02141
617-494-4277
617-494-1768 (fax)

**The Honorable
Glenda Hatchett Johnson**
Chair
Judge
Fulton County Juvenile Court
445 Capitol Avenue
Atlanta, GA 30312
404-730-1128
404-730-1120 (fax)

Otis S. Johnson, Ph.D
Local Initiatives Coordinator
BCCC/ Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202-662-3505
202-662-3580 (fax)

**The Honorable
Henry Kennedy, Jr.**
Associate Judge
Superior Court
500 Indiana Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202-879-1202
202-879-4829 (fax)

The Honorable Alice A. Lytle
Judge, Superior Court
Sacramento County
State of California
9601 Kiefer Blvd.
Sacramento, CA 95827
916-855-8020 (general)
916-855-8466 (office)
916-855-8468 (fax)

**The Honorable
Veronica Morgan-Price**
Judge, District Court
Juvenile/ Family Division
3540 West Dallas
Houston, TX 77019
713-521-4291
713-521-4148 (fax)

The Honorable Claire Pearce
Judge, Brooklyn Family Court
283 Adams Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201
718-643-4546
718-643-5103 (fax)

Judy Pennington
Fulton County Juvenile Court
445 Capitol Avenue
Atlanta, GA 30312
404-730-1137
404-730-1120 (fax)

The Honorable Frances Pitts
Judge, Probate Court
Juvenile Division
1025 E. Forest
Detroit, MI 48201
313-577-9276
313-577-9483 (fax)

**The Honorable
Wilmont Sweeney**
Judge
Alameda County Superior Court
400 Broadway
Oakland, CA 94612
510-268-4104
510-268-4169 (fax)

The Honorable Marcus Tucker
Supervising Judge
Los Angeles Superior Court
201 Centre Plaza Drive
Suite #3
Monterey Park, CA 91754-2158
213-526-6377
213-881-3794 (fax)

BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

Media Advisory Board

Alelia Bundles
Producer, ABC
American Agenda
1717 DeSales Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036
202-887-7777

Roger Wilkins

P6/(b)(6)

Thomas R. Draper
President
ComRel, Inc.
7135 Hollywood Blvd.
Suite 506
Los Angeles, CA 90046
213-851-7560
213-851-7652 (fax)

Henry E. Hampton
President
Blackside, Inc.
486 Shawmut Avenue
Boston, MA 02118
617-536-6900
617-536-1732 (fax)

Robert E. Johnson
President
Black Entertainment Television
1232- 31st Street, NW
Washington, DC 20007
202-337-5260

William A. Kirk, Jr. Esquire
Reid & Preist
701 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Suite 800
Washington, DC 20004
202-508-4353

LeBaron Taylor
Vice President and General Manager
Corporate Affairs
Sony Software Corporation
711 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10022
212-702-2929
212-702-6292 (fax)

**BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN
RELIGIOUS ACTION NETWORK**

Religious Advisory Board

Reverend Dr. Charles Adams
Pastor
Hartford Memorial Baptist Church
18900 James Couzens Hwy.
Detroit, MI 48235
313-861-1300

Bishop John Hurst Adams
Senior Bishop
AME Church and Congress of
National Black Churches
400 Arbor Lane Drive
Suite B300
Columbia, SC 29233
803-691-0771

Reverend Dr. E.K. Bailey
Pastor
Concord Missionary
Baptist Church
3410 Polk Street
Dallas, TX 75224
214-372-4543

Reverend Dr. Calvin Butts
Pastor
Absynnian Baptist Church
132 W. 138th Street
New York, NY 10031
212-862-7474 ext.210

Dr. Delores Carpenter
Howard University
School of Divinity
1400 Shepherd Street, NE
Washington, DC 20017
202-806-0500

Reverend Yvonne Delk
Community for Renewal
332 S. Michigan Avenue
Suite 500
Chicago, IL 60604
312-427-4830

Dr. James A. Forbes, Jr.
Senior Minister
The Riverside Church
Riverside Drive & 122nd Street
New York, NY 10027
212-222-5900

Dr. Robert M. Franklin
Emory University
Candler School of Theology
Atlanta, GA 30322
404-727-0818

**The Right Reverend
Barbara C. Harris**
Suffragan Bishop
Episcopal Diocese
138 Tremont Street
Boston, MA 02111
617-482-5800 ext. 222

Bishop J. Clinton Hoggard
AME Zion Church
1511 K Street, NW
Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
202-347-1419

Ms. Bernice Powell Jackson
Executive Director
United Church of Christ
Commission for Racial Justice
700 Prospect Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44115-1110
216-736-2100

Reverend Carolyn A. Knight
Pastor
Philadelphia Baptist
Church of Christ
427 W. 154th Street, #6
New York, NY 10032
212-283-4519

Reverend Raymond LeBlanc
Pastor, First Lutheran Church
19707 S. Central Avenue
Carson, CA 90746
310-631-6189

Reverend H. Michael Lemmons
President
Congress of National
Black Churches
1225 I Street, N.W.
Suite 750
Washington, DC 20005
202-371-1091

Reverend Dr. Vashti McKenzie
Pastor
Payne Memorial AME Church
1714 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21217
410-669-8739

**Reverend Dr.
Michael Noble, Jr.**
Pastor, Olivet Baptist Church
3101 S. King Drive
Chicago, IL 60616
312-842-1081

Bishop John H. Ricard, S.S.J.
Auxiliary Bishop
Archdiocese of Baltimore
320 Cathedral Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
410-547-5452

Reverend Dr. Wallace C. Smith
Pastor, Shiloh Baptist Church
1500 9th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20077
202-387-2046

Reverend Charles Stith
Pastor
Union United Methodist Church
485 Columbia Avenue
Boston, MA 02118
617-536-0872

**Reverend Dorothy
McKinney Wright**
705 Oneida Place, N.W.
Washington, DC 20011
202-829-0401

Reverend Dr. Jeremiah Wright
Pastor
Trinity United Church of Christ
532 W. 95th Street
Chicago, IL 60628
312-962-5650

Dr. Prathia Hall Wynn
Associate Dean of Spiritual
and Community Life
United Theological Seminary
1810 Harvard Boulevard
Dayton, OH 45406
513-278-5817

Women's Religious Advisory Council

Mrs. Mittie R. Buchanan
Episcopal Church Women
Diocese of Washington
514 Shelfar Place
Ft. Washington, DC 20744
301-763-7807

Ms. Gwendolyn Carr
Women of the Evangelical
Lutheran Church in America
4832 Talisman Court, South
Salem, OR 97302
503-373-8734

Reverend Suzanne Graves
Associate for Advocacy and
Program Development
700 Prospect Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44115
216-736-2150

Ms. Thelma Chambers-Young
President
Young Women's Department
Progressive National
Baptist Convention, Inc.
11117 N. Florida Avenue
Oklahoma City, OK 73120
405-755-1722 (h)

Ms. Leodia Gooch, J.D.
National Black Catholic Congress
1349 Nutmeg Street
St. Charles, MO 63303
314-385-6750

Dr. Shirley Alexander Hart
President
International Assn. of Ministers'
Wives & Ministers' Widows, Inc.
305 Dexter Street, East
Chesapeake, VA 23324
804-543-0427

Ms. Edna Pincham
American Baptist Church-USA
536 Clearmont Drive
Youngston, OH 44503
216-788-3682 (h)

Dr. Mary O. Ross
President, Women's Department
National Baptist Convention-USA
8401 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, MI 48202
313-872-7155

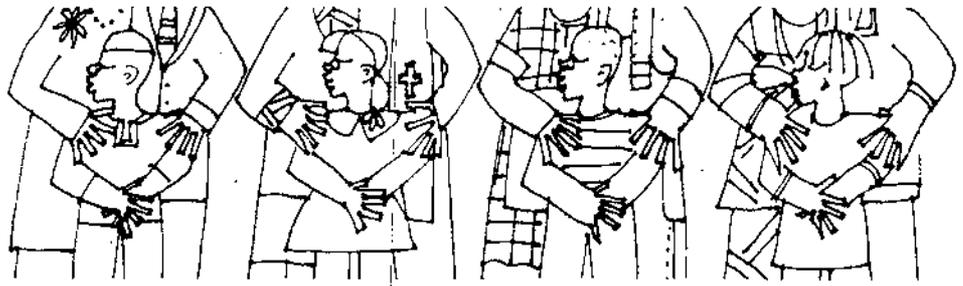
Ms. Helen Scott-Carter
Director of Christian Education
AME Zion
1303 Quid Court
Capital Heights, MD 20743
202-396-0638

Ms. Joanne Walker
President
Women's Intermediate
Mission Auxiliary
National Baptist Convention-America
9760 S. Woodlawn Avenue
312-822-2534

Ms. Dolores L. Kennedy Williams
President
Women's Missionary Society
AME Church
1134 11th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202-371-8886

THE BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND



QUOTES FROM ADULT POLL AND FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

HONORARY CO-CHAIRS

Dorothy Height
John Hope Franklin

BCCC WORKING COMMITTEE

John Hurst Adams*
Kent Amos*
Bylye Y. Avery
Clementine Barfield
Barbara Wright Bell
Angela Glover Blackwell*
Unto Blackwell
Geoffrey Canada*
Geraldine Carter
James Comer
Marian Wright Edelman*
James A. Forbes, Jr.
Harvey Gantt
Henry Louis Gates
Edmund W. Gordon
Henry E. Hampton
A. Leon Higginbotham
William Lynch, Jr.
Steven A. Minter*
Robert Peterkin*
Deborah Prothrow-Stith
Carolyn Reid-Green
Barbara J. Sabol*
Elsie L. Scott
Donald M. Stewart
Lisa Sullivan*
Carl Taylor
Reed V. Tuckson*
John Turner*
Camel West
Roger Wilkins*
Terry Williams

*Steering Committee

The Black Community
Crusade for Children is
coordinated nationally
by the Children's Defense
Fund in partnership with
established regional
organizations.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202 628 8787
202 662 3580 FAX

EASTERN REGION

Rheedien Centers for
Children & Families
2770 Broadway
New York, NY 10025
212 866 0700

MIDWEST REGION

Greater Cleveland Project
1501 Euclid Avenue
Suite 535
Cleveland, OH 44115
216 241 5000

Greater Cincinnati Project
256 Erkenbrecher Avenue
Cincinnati, OH 45229
513 751 2332

WESTERN REGION

Urban Strategies Council
672 13th Street
Oakland, CA 94612
510 893 2404

Drew Child Development Corp.
1770 E. 118th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90059
213 249 2950

FEARS

"I hope my child lives to become an adult."

A mother from Illinois

"I tell my son, '[When] you go to the recreation center, you watch your back when you're coming down the street.' I don't go to sleep until my son is in the house. At one point in time, I would call my daughter [at college] every night to make sure she was in her dorm. I just fear."

A single mother from Washington, DC

"It's dangerous out there, and maybe one day someone will call and tell me my child got shot."

A father from Georgia

"When you look at what's going on around you, when it becomes the norm that you can go outside your door and find a dead body. When it becomes the norm that when you hear something cracking you fall to the floor. When it becomes the norm [that these things are going on], then you have to only wonder."

A Black father in Washington, DC

"Are we doing everything so fast because we're worried that we may not be around tomorrow? Do the younger generation really feel and see that they have a future?"

A father from Washington, DC

HOPES

"I want my children to get an education and a good job like the white kids who get a college degree."

A mother from South Carolina

"I hope that my children finish high school without a criminal record."

A mother from New York

"I want people to recognize him when he's walking on the street. Because I couldn't have it, I want him to. I want every door open to him."

A father from Washington, DC

"I want to see more Black faces in chemistry labs, doctors, and head coaches."

A father from Louisiana

"I wish that my child will live to be 25."

A mother from Michigan

"I would tell young people to try to rise above their present situation and that education is power. It will uplift them."

A mother from Ohio

SOLUTIONS

"People have a tendency to take the youth, especially Black youths in the city, and put them in a barrel and say, Because you are there, these are the things you are going to do. You're going to steal and you're going to break into cars, you're going to rob, or you're going to use drugs. And that's sad. As adults in this country, we have to do a better job. We as Black people, Black men, Black women, Black fathers, Black mothers, have to do a better job by sitting down and communicating with our children. What does the child see? When that child looks at you as his father or mother or brother or cousin, or just a friend, what does he see? Are we setting a good example, [being] a good role model for that child?"

A father from Washington, DC

"I would sit [my children] down and tell them my life experiences. It would give them the opportunity to say, 'Hey, I am not going to go this road. If he can make it, I can make it.'"

A father from Tennessee

"Adults should be there for [children]. Listen to them. We are there, but we need to listen. Help them to find the right solutions to their situations."

A mother from Georgia

"Teach them morals and Christian standards so that they'll grow up the way they should."

A father from Texas

"We as community activists, as community leaders, as church leaders, have to take responsibility. I just can't be concerned about my home and not be concerned about my neighbor's home and the school down the street.... We just have a responsibility to reach out. It's my responsibility as an individual to continue to reach out to all those in the community and neighborhood."

A single father from Washington, DC

"If we were in charge of a campaign to improve circumstances for Black children in America, I would instill in children that this land they live in is for them, too, not just for one group. With the right guidance, they don't have to resort to violence and gangs."

A father from South Carolina

"When I was coming up, I didn't communicate with my dad. Even today, we have a distant relationship. I want my kids to be able to come to me and tell me anything. First and foremost, I want to be a friend... We have to be fathers to them."

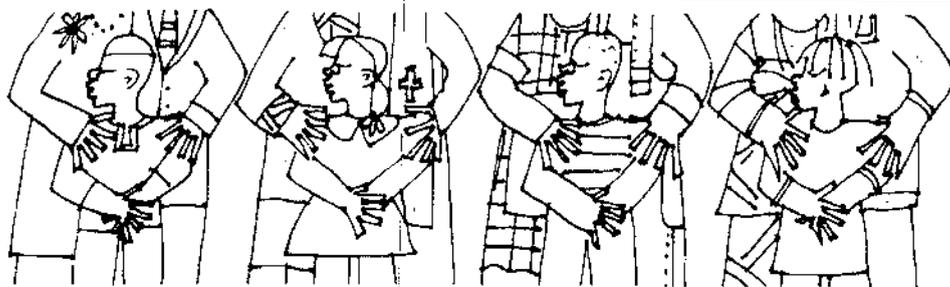
A father from Washington, DC

"Give [your children] love and understanding. Be there when they need someone to talk to."

A mother from Michigan

THE BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND



HONORARY CO-CHAIRS

Dorothy Height
John Hope Franklin

BCCC WORKING COMMITTEE

John Hurst Adams*
Kent Amos*
Bylye Y. Avery
Clementine Barfield
Barbara Wright Bell
Angela Glover Blackwell*
Unita Blackwell
Geoffrey Canada*
Geraldine Carter
James Comer
Marian Wright Edelman*
James A. Forbes, Jr.
Harvey Gantt
Henry Louis Gates
Edmund W. Gordon
Henry E. Hampton
A. Leon Higginbotham
William Lynch, Jr.
Steven A. Miller*
Robert Peterkin*
Deborah Prothro-Stiff
Carolyn Reid-Green
Barbara J. Sabal*
Elsie L. Scott
Donald M. Stewart
Lisa Sullivan*
Carl Taylor
Reed V. Tuckson*
John Turner*
Camel West
Roger Wilkins*
Terry Williams

*Steering Committee

QUOTES FROM YOUTH POLL AND FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

"Violence touches each and everyone of us each day. The neighborhood I live in, there are shootings all the time. I don't even go outside. I have to worry about being in the wrong place at the wrong time. I want to be able to be free to go where I want to. On Easter morning, guys drove down the street shooting; little kids couldn't even go to church."

Sixteen-year-old girl from Washington, DC

"We have it good now, but we are just making it hard for ourselves with violence and killing."

A 10th grader

"I know people on the streets, and when they go home, they don't have nobody to go home to. No one to sit down and talk to, no one to tell them right from wrong. Kids are the way they are today because they don't have anybody to discipline them or even sit down and talk about something [with]. Even if it's sitting down to talk about a movie, to a child that's a joyous feeling to know that someone is listening to you. Role models and attention from parents make the difference."

A Washington, DC 17-year-old

"My grandmother tells me right from wrong. She's a friend, someone I can talk to on any subject. It's like she's on my level. She accepts me for what I am. I want to be just like her."

A high school senior

"My aunt is my hero because she brought me up from day one. She's been there for me through thick and thin. She's the sweetest person there could be. My aunt loves children so much she's a foster parent for DC public services."

Tenth-grade girl from Washington, DC

"Just to raise five kids by herself, I think that's wonderful right there. And she does volunteer work; she's a community person, a people person. A lot of people in the neighborhood talk to her like she is their mother."

A teenager

"I call [my minister] my 'stepfather.' He's like my adopted father. He helps me out a lot. I won't say that I want to be a pastor, but I want to be successful like him. He's someone I can talk to."

A teenager in Washington, DC

"I'm going to make sure I'm in college five years from now. I will get a degree."

A teenage girl

The Black Community Crusade for Children is coordinated nationally by the Children's Defense Fund in partnership with established regional organizations.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202 628 8787
202 662 3580 FAX

EASTERN REGION

Rheaden Centers for
Children & Families
2770 Broadway
New York, NY 10025
212 866 0700

MIDWEST REGION

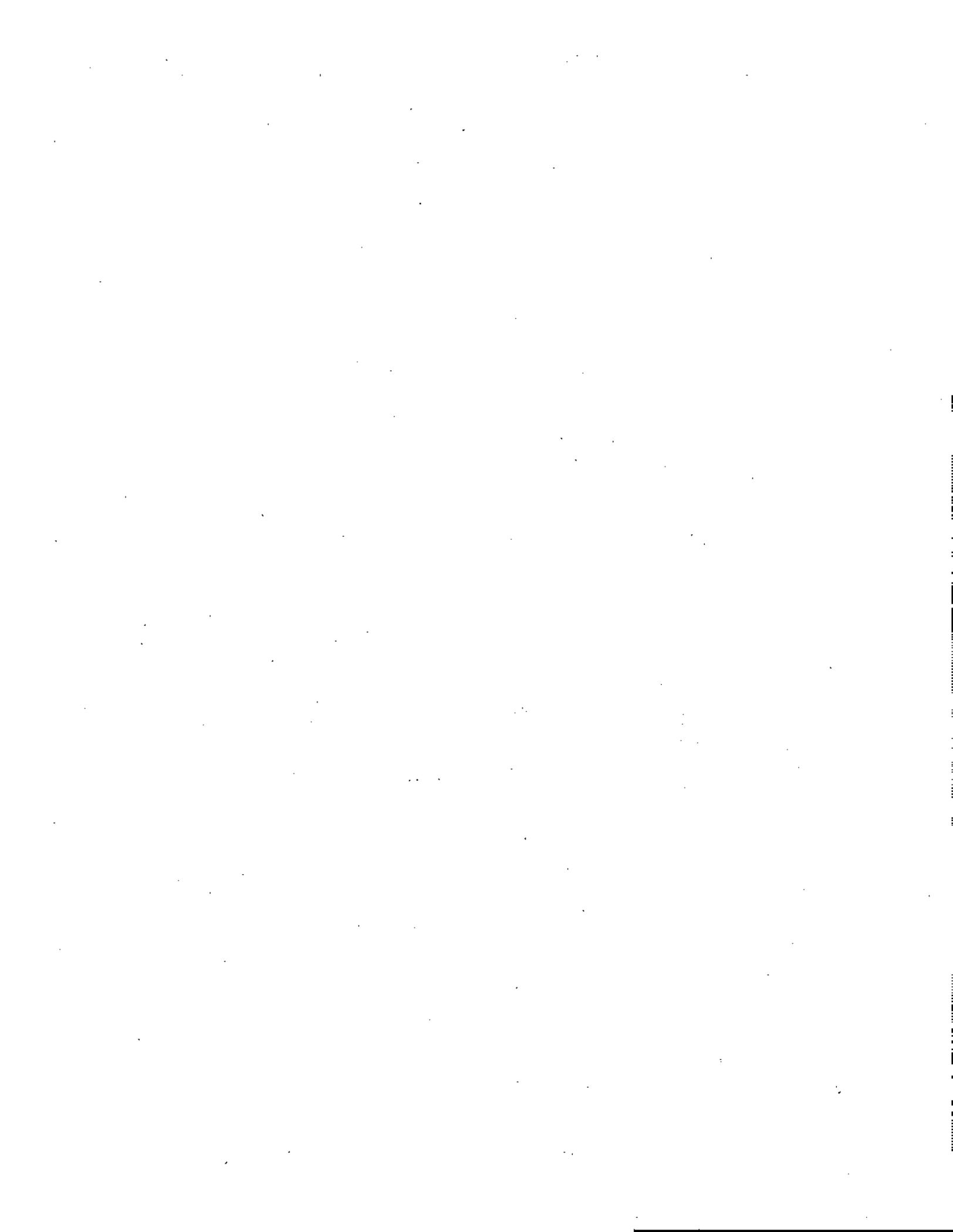
Greater Cleveland Project
1501 Euclid Avenue
Suite 535
Cleveland, OH 44115
216 241 5000

Greater Cincinnati Project
258 Erkenbrecher Avenue
Cincinnati, OH 45229
513 751 2332

WESTERN REGION

Urban Strategies Council
672 13th Street
Oakland, CA 94612
510 893 2404

Drew Child Development Corp.
1770 E. 118th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90059
213 249 2950



MOMENTS IN AMERICA FOR BLACK CHILDREN

Every 44 minutes a Black baby dies.

Every 10 minutes a Black child is arrested for a violent crime.

Every 7 minutes a Black baby is born to a woman who had late or no prenatal care.

Every 6 minutes a Black baby is born at low birthweight.

Every 3 minutes a Black baby is born to a teen mother.

Every minute of the school day a Black child drops out.

Every 104 seconds a Black teenager gets pregnant.

Every 85 seconds a Black baby is born into poverty.

Every 65 seconds a Black teenager becomes sexually active for the first time.

Every 4 hours a Black child dies from firearms.

IF BLACK CHILDREN FACED THE SAME ODDS AS WHITE CHILDREN, EACH YEAR:

3,011,000 fewer Black children would live in poverty.

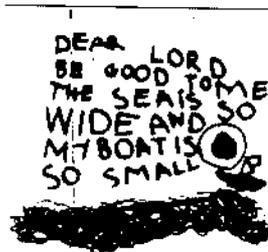
61,000 more Black high school graduates would start college.

7,114 fewer Black babies would die.

2,175 fewer Black youths would be killed by guns.



THE BLACK COMMUNITY
CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN



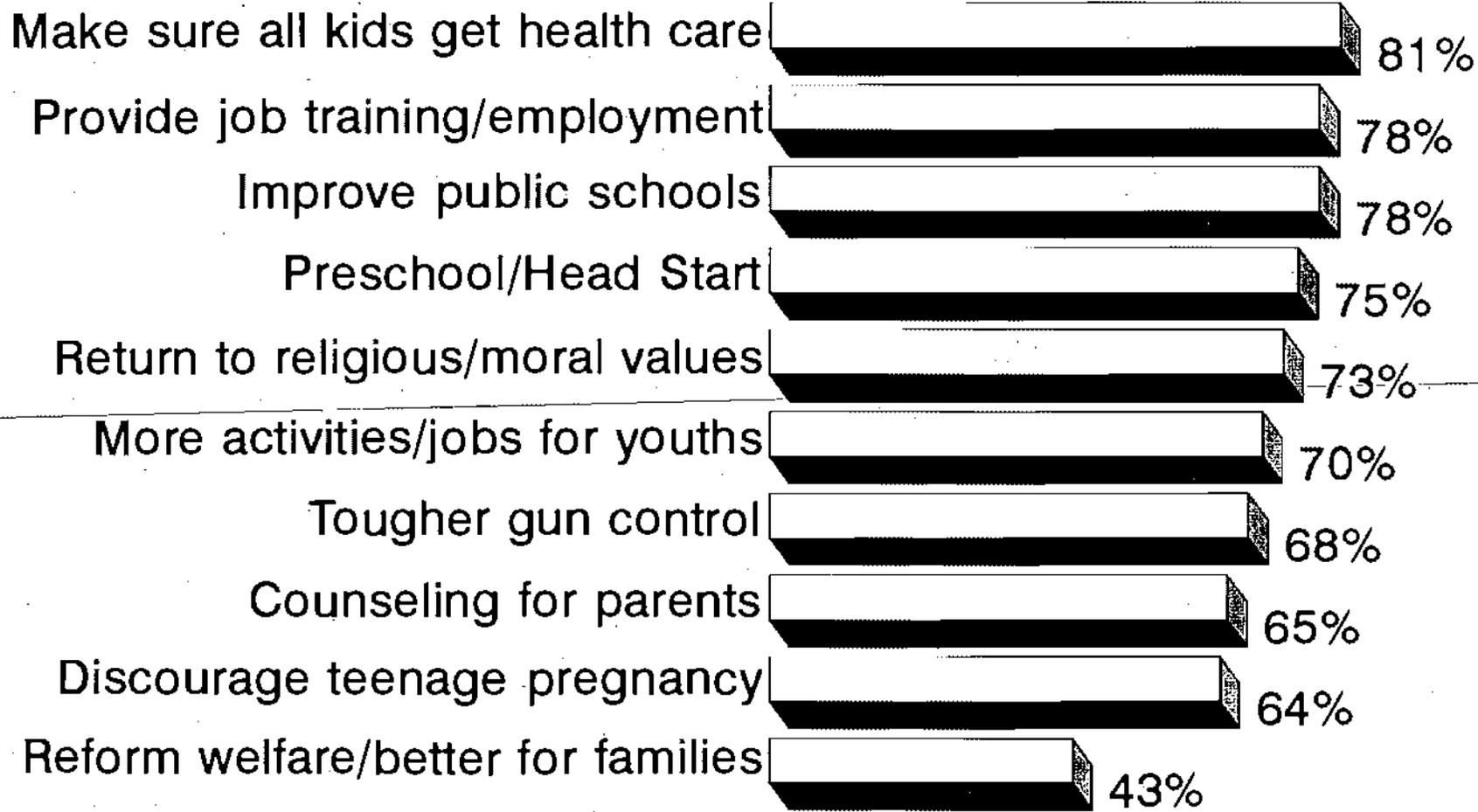
Children's Defense Fund

**THE BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN,
COORDINATED BY THE
CHILDREN'S DEFENSE FUND**

**25 E STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20001
1-800-ASK-BCCC**

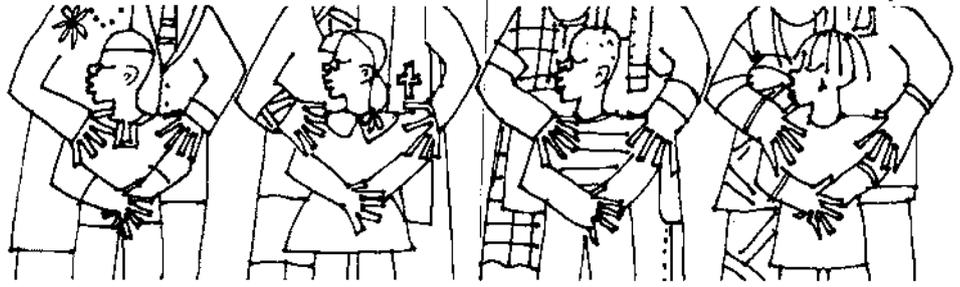
Policies & Strategies For Helping Black Children

(% who say each should be *at the top of the list*)



THE BLACK COMMUNITY CRUSADE FOR CHILDREN

LEAVE NO CHILD BEHIND



Embargoed for Release
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Contact: Lisa Butler McDougal, 202-662-3615

HONORARY CO-CHAIRS

Dorothy Height
John Hope Franklin

BCCC WORKING COMMITTEE

John Hurst Adams*
Kent Amos*
Bylye Y. Avery
Clementine Borfield
Barbara Wright Bell
Angela Glover Blackwell*
Unita Blackwell
Geoffrey Canada*
Geraldine Carter
James Comer
Marion Wright Edelman*
James A. Farber, Jr.
Harvey Gantt
Henry Louis Gates
Edmund W. Gordon
Henry E. Hampton
A. Leon Higginbotham
William Lynch, Jr.
Steven A. Minter*
Robert Peterkin*
Deborah Prothrow-Stith
Carolyn Reid-Green
Barbara J. Sabol*
Elsie L. Scott
Donald M. Stewart
Lisa Sullivan*
Cori Taylor
Reed V. Tuckson*
John Turner*
Cornel West
Roger Wilkins*
Terry Williams

*Steering Committee

The Black Community Crusade for Children is coordinated nationally by the Children's Defense Fund in partnership with established regional organizations.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

Children's Defense Fund
25 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
202 628 8787
202 662 3580 FAX

EASTERN REGION

Rheeden Centers for
Children & Families
2770 Broadway
New York, NY 10025
212 866 0700

MIDWEST REGION

Greater Cleveland Project
1501 Euclid Avenue
Suite 535
Cleveland, OH 44115
216 241 5000

Greater Cincinnati Project
258 Erkenbrecher Avenue
Cincinnati, OH 45229
513 751 2332

-MORE-

WESTERN REGION

Urban Strategies Council
672 13th Street
Oakland, CA 94612
510 893 2404

Drew Child Development Corp.
1770 E. 118th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90059
213 249 2950

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF BLACK ADULTS FEAR FOR CHILDREN'S SAFETY AND FUTURE

*Poll Message: Strong Parents, Strong Moral Values, & Strong Investment Policies
All Key to Black Child Success*

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- An overwhelming majority (83%) of Black adults say these are "really bad times" (50%) or "tough times" (33%) for Black children and many worry that their children will not live to reach adulthood, according to a new poll released today by the Black Community Crusade for Children (BCCC) and the Children's Defense Fund (CDF). Despite the obstacles they face, Black children are more hopeful - 75% feel these are very good times for them personally.

A pervasive fear of violence, the presence of guns, and the influence of drugs and gangs has left 77% of Black adults worried about their own children or children they know becoming victims of violence. One father articulated what many parents expressed as their greatest fear:

"When I was coming up, I always thought my life expectancy was about 45. But to be 15 and think that you ain't going to make it to 19 -- that's real serious."

Good health care (81%), job training and employment opportunities (78%), and high-quality public schools (78%) and preschool programs like Head Start (75%) topped the list of strategies Black adults feel would improve children's lives. Black adults

also stressed returning to traditional moral and religious values (73%), more after-school activities and jobs for youth (70%), and tougher gun control laws (68%) as important strategies to help children.

"The poll confirms that the Black child crisis, one of the worst since slavery, is real," said CDF President Marian Wright Edelman. "The disturbing news is that this is just the tip of the American iceberg of pervasive child and family neglect and the disintegration of spiritual, community, and family values across race and class. The hopeful news is that the African American community is mobilizing to do something about it and is calling on the nation to do its part for our children and all children. Without adequate investment in jobs for youths and parents, we can neither end violence nor welfare as we know it. This nation has got to stop imprisoning rather than educating and employing our young," Edelman said.

Black Youth Share Adult Concerns But Remain Hopeful

When asked about the children they know, Black youth state these concerns:

- ◆ kids having guns (70%);
- ◆ drugs (68%);
- ◆ violence in school (66%);
- ◆ dropping out of school (64%);
- ◆ living in a dangerous neighborhood (64%);
- ◆ involvement with gangs (63%);
- ◆ involvement with people who are a bad influence (63%);
- ◆ having a difficult family life (55%); and
- ◆ not having enough to do outside of school (52%).

"It is crucial to affirm our children's hope and provide positive alternatives to the street," said Geoffrey Canada, president of the Rheedlen Centers for Children and Families and eastern regional coordinator for the BCCC. "The many good efforts to prevent violence must be supported by greater investment in jobs and after-school programs."-more-lack Families

Top Community Concerns Range from Jobs to Violence, Teen Pregnancy, & Racial Prejudice

The comprehensive national survey of 1,004 Black adults and 421 youths (ages 11-17) was commissioned by the BCCC as part of its intensive, long-term effort to mobilize the African American community and all Americans on behalf of children and families. Conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates, the poll reveals that 73% of Black adults feel it is harder for children growing up today than it was for them and 67% think the obstacles Black children face outweigh the opportunities.

- ◆ two-thirds (67%) of Black adults think that at least half of all Black children will become teenage parents;
- ◆ two-thirds (65%) think that half or more of all Black children will be denied important opportunities because of racial prejudice;
- ◆ three-fifths (62%) think that at least half of Black children will have their lives destroyed by drugs;
- ◆ three-fifths (61%) believe that half or more of Black children will get in trouble with the law;

Black Community Begins Crusade for Children: Challenges Nation to Do Its Part

"These are more complex times than the 1960's and we must plan and implement more complex remedies," said Dr. James Comer, Maurice Falk professor at Yale University and BCCC spokesperson. "Black and White leadership must see the interrelated connection between national and personal values, between programs and policy, between community empowerment strategies and politics, and stop the piecemeal approach to helping children and families."

Coordinated by the Children's Defense Fund in partnership with effective regional child serving organizations, the BCCC seeks to weave and reweave the rich fabric of community that historically has been the cornerstone for the healthy development of Black children; to tap into and strengthen the strong Black community tradition of self-help; and to rebuild the bridges

between the generations and between the Black middle class and poor. The Crusade's goals are to ensure that No Child is Left Behind, that every child gets a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, and a Safe Start in life, and has the support of caring adults and nurturing communities.

"As has been true throughout our history, the African American community must take the responsibility for saving itself and helping the nation achieve fairness and opportunity," said BCCC spokesperson, Dr. Dorothy I. Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women. "This time the focus of the struggle is not abolition, not legal segregation, but rescuing America's children, families, and future."

To achieve these goals, the BCCC is:

- ◆ Communicating the crises facing Black children and what must be done. A new quarterly newsletter, *Necessary*, along with a range of other publications and public education campaigns are underway.
- ◆ Mobilizing a range of anti-violence, education, economic development, health, and juvenile justice experts to develop and implement national policies and community strategies to save children.
- ◆ Training and empowering a new generation of young Black leaders through the Ella Baker Child Policy Institute. More than 600 Black college students have been trained to date.
- ◆ Sponsoring summer academic, nutrition, and recreation programs. The Black Student Leadership Network (BSLN) ran summer programs for 2,000 children nationwide in 1993 and another 200 Black college students will run summer programs in 1994.
- ◆ Ensuring that the needs of Black families and children are heard on crucial policy issues like national health and welfare reform, and violence prevention policies.
- ◆ Celebrating what most of our children do right rather than what some of them do wrong. The BCCC encourages local communities to celebrate and support children who are beating the odds, staying in school, and helping others. Los Angeles, New York, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Minneapolis, and East St. Louis are doing just that.

"For the past three years, Black community leaders across disciplines, generations, and geographic areas have come together to lay the groundwork for a massive Crusade to save Black children and all children," said BCCC Coordinator Angela Glover Blackwell, head of the Oakland-based Urban Strategies Council. "Our community knows that the solutions must begin at home by strengthening parents, rebuilding community, teaching our children strong spiritual and family values, and providing supportive and nurturing families. However, these efforts will be hampered if the nation fails to adequately address epidemic poverty, economic inequality, racial intolerance, and easy access to deadlier firearms that undermine parents' ability to raise children."

Solutions Begin At Home: Mom More Influential than Michael Jordan

Black youths seek adult attention, time, and involvement. They find their heroes not among famous athletes or entertainers, but in their own homes: an overwhelming 83% of young people name their parents, grandparents, siblings, and aunts and uncles as their role models. Religious leaders were mentioned, second only to relatives, as the greatest influence on young people.

Black adults agree that strong parents are crucial to Black children. Three-fifths believe it is parents who could do the most to make a positive difference for Black youth. While parents hold themselves accountable, they also decry the cultural messages that make their jobs more difficult. Television and movies (75%) and Rap music and culture (61%) are named by a huge majority of Black adults as hurting more than helping Black youths.

Edelman said that every sector of society must join forces to save children. "The optimism of our youth is a strong basis on which to build a movement for children in America."

"The President, Congress, and entire nation must affirm their hope for safe communities and economic and education success -- that is every American's dream. If frustrated, that dream will become a nightmare of despair and insecurity for us all. That's why we must act now to provide all our children and families good health care, jobs, and positive alternatives to the violence that is engulfing us."

The Children's Defense Fund exists to provide a strong, effective voice for the children of America who cannot vote, lobby, or speak for themselves. CDF's goal is to educate the nation about the needs of children and encourage preventive investment in children before they get sick, drop out of school, suffer family breakdown, or get into trouble.

For copies of the poll, please send \$3.50 (for shipping and handling) to CDF Publications, 25 E St., NW Washington, D.C, 20001 or call (202) 662-3652. Press copies are available by calling 202-662-3512. Inquiries about the BCCC should be directed to 1-800-ASK-BCCC.

**SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS FROM A NATIONWIDE SURVEY OF BLACKS
ON ISSUES FACING THE BLACK COMMUNITY**

Sponsored by the Black Community Crusade for Children

1

From January 11 to 22, 1994, Peter D. Hart Research Associates conducted telephone surveys among two national cross sections of Black respondents: 1,004 adults (including 501 caregivers—that is, parents, grandparents, other relatives, and guardians with responsibility for children under age 18) and 421 children age 11 to 17. Prior to the surveys, three informal focus group discussions were held in Washington, DC: two with Black teenagers and one with Black parents. The research and analysis were performed by Geoffrey D. Garin, president, and Debbie Klingender, senior analyst, of Peter D. Hart Research. The margin of error for the total adults sample is $\pm 3.2\%$; for the subsample of caregivers, it is $\pm 4.5\%$; and for the sample of young people, it is $\pm 4.8\%$.

Painted in broad strokes, Blacks' outlook on the situation for Black children in America is a dismal one. An overwhelming majority (83%) of adults say these are tough times (33%) or *really bad times* (50%) for Black children; only 14% feel times are very good (2%) or okay (12%) for Black youths in America.

The reasons underlying this downbeat view are revealed in some key statistics from the survey regarding Black adults' perceptions of the extent to which specific problems will touch Black children's lives:

- ☛ two-thirds (67%) of Black adults think that at least half of all Black children will become teenage parents;
- ☛ two-thirds (85%) think that half or more of all Black children will be denied important opportunities because of racial prejudice;
- ☛ three-fifths (62%) think that at least half of Black children will have their lives destroyed by drugs;
- ☛ three-fifths (61%) believe that half or more of Black children will get in trouble with the law;
- ☛ 44% think that at least half of Black children will get involved with gangs; and
- ☛ 41% think half or more of Black children will get AIDS.

Violence is a pervasive fear that eclipses all other concerns among Black adults and children alike. Black adults fear the presence of guns, the influence of drugs and gangs, and they even fear that children will not grow up to adulthood.

- ☛ Eighty-two percent of caregivers (and 77% of all Black adults) say they worry a great deal (60%) or quite a bit (22%) about their own children or kids they know becoming the victim of violence.

Asked to explain in their own words their greatest worries or concerns for their own children or the young people they know, Black adults express first and foremost a dread of violence.

- ☛ Forty-six percent of all adults surveyed (and 53% of all caregivers) mention a worry about Black children's personal safety and freedom from violence, including 20% who speak generally about violence among Black youth, 8% who say they fear their children will get shot, 6% who talk about the lack of a safe environment for Black kids growing up today, 6% who cite the phenomenon of Black-on-Black crime, 5% who hope that kids will stay away from guns, and 4% who simply and poignantly say that they worry about Black children staying alive and surviving.

Though not as downbeat as adults, Black youths also offer a largely negative evaluation of conditions for young Blacks in general.

- ☛ A 64% majority feel these are tough times (45%) or *really bad times* (19%) for Black kids in America.
- ☛ Though 42% see the present as a good time for Black kids, with lots of opportunities to get ahead and achieve their goals, half (49%) feel this is a hard time for Black kids, with lots of problems that make it difficult to achieve their goals.

Black youths' perceptions of specific problems they confront are very similar to their elders' views. Asked to think *only about the Black kids they know*, majorities of young people say the following are very serious or pretty serious problems:

- ☛ kids having guns (70%);
- ☛ drugs (68%);
- ☛ violence in school (66%);
- ☛ dropping out of school (64%);
- ☛ living in a dangerous neighborhood (64%);
- ☛ involvement with gangs (63%);
- ☛ involvement with people who are a bad influence (63%);
- ☛ having a difficult family life (55%); and
- ☛ not having enough to do outside of school (52%).

Black adults suggest that several basic national policies and programs can begin to provide remedies to many of these problems. Two-thirds or more of all Black adults insist that the following specific strategies for improving the lives of Black children should be at the top of the list of priorities:

- ☛ ensuring good health care for all children (81%);
- ☛ providing effective job training and employment opportunities (78%);
- ☛ improving the quality of the public schools (78%);
- ☛ providing high-quality preschool programs like Head Start (75%);
- ☛ encouraging a return to traditional moral and religious values (73%);
- ☛ offering more after-school activities and jobs for youths (70%); and
- ☛ passing tougher gun control laws (68%).

While sobering, the study also reveals a compelling note of hopefulness in adults' and young people's clear conviction that other means

of fighting problems and effecting positive change lie largely within home and community. As well, the survey uncovers a strong sense of personal optimism among Black youths that seems implicitly to call for action.

- ☛ Seventy-five percent of Black youths feel these are very good (23%) or okay (52%) times for them *personally*.
- ☛ When speaking of their own potential, Black youths are enthusiastically confident: 74% believe that if they work hard and try their best, they can be successful and have the kind of life they want; only 23% feel that, even if they work hard and put in their best effort, it still will be very difficult to succeed.

Black youths find their real heroes right in their own homes: an overwhelming 83% of 11- to 17-year-olds name either both parents (53%), their mother (26%), or their father (5%) when asked which two or three people they most look up to and admire as role models. For young Blacks, in fact, it is the people with whom they share their everyday life—not only the moms and dads but the grandparents (21%), brothers and sisters (18%), aunts and uncles (12%), even cousins (2%)—who win their greatest respect.

Adults, too, feel it is parents who could do the most to help change the situation for Black children.

- ☛ Three-fifths (58%) of all Black adults believe *it is parents*—more than government (4%), national Black leaders (4%), local Black community leaders and groups (5%), schools (4%), business leaders (1%), or even churches (15%)—*who could do the most to really make a positive difference on the problems associated with Black youths.*

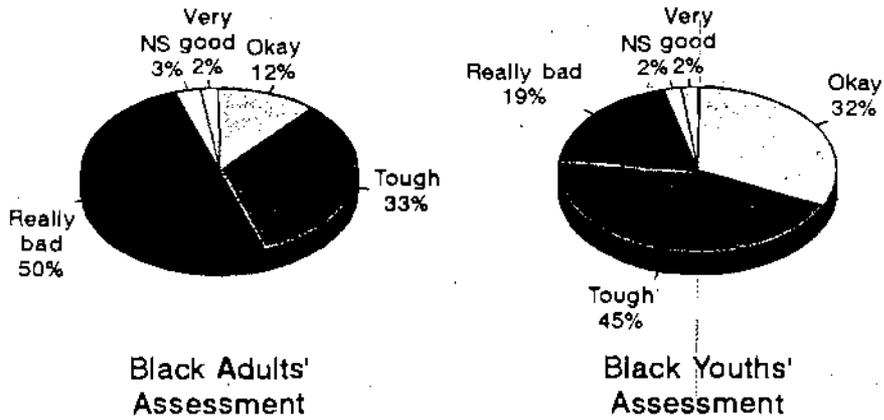
Alongside parents and the home environment, other key institutions and groups in whom Blacks place a lot of faith include religious leaders and the church, educators and the schools, and Black leaders at the national and especially the community level.

- ✳ Three-quarters of Black adults perceive the church as doing more to help (74%) than to hurt (5%) when it comes to the challenges confronting Black youths in America. Twenty-one percent of adults name ministers and church leaders as among the most positive role models for young Black people these days. Two-thirds (66%) of Black youths see ministers and priests as "really caring a lot" about Black kids like themselves. Three-quarters (77%) of Black young people say they attend church at least a couple times a month, and 64% indicate religion is very important in their life.
- ✳ Adults perceive the education system as doing more to help (61%) than to hurt (16%) Black youths. Teachers also are viewed as role models by both Black adults (13% of whom suggest that teachers are among the two or three most influential people in Black youths' lives) and children (11% of whom name a teacher as one of their heroes).
- ✳ Two-thirds of Black youths (67%) feel that national Black leaders really care a lot about them, and three in five Black adults (59%) believe civil rights leaders are doing more to help Black kids than to hurt. Local community groups (seen by 68% as doing more to help) and community leaders (seen by 57% as doing more to help), however, may have greater potential to have a direct impact on Black youths.

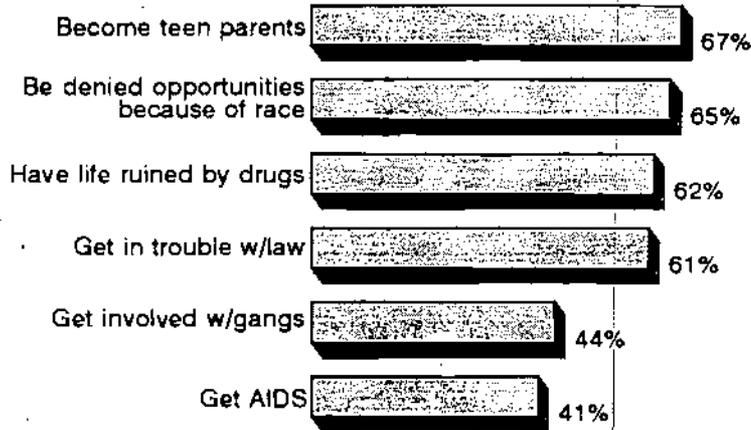
"We as community activists, as community leaders, as church leaders, have to take responsibility," insists a single father. "I can't just be concerned about my home and not be concerned about my neighbor's home and the school down the street. We have a responsibility to reach out. It's my responsibility as an individual to continue to reach out to all those in the community and neighborhood."

Black Community Crusade for Children National Survey
Fact Sheet 1: The Situation For Black Youths In America

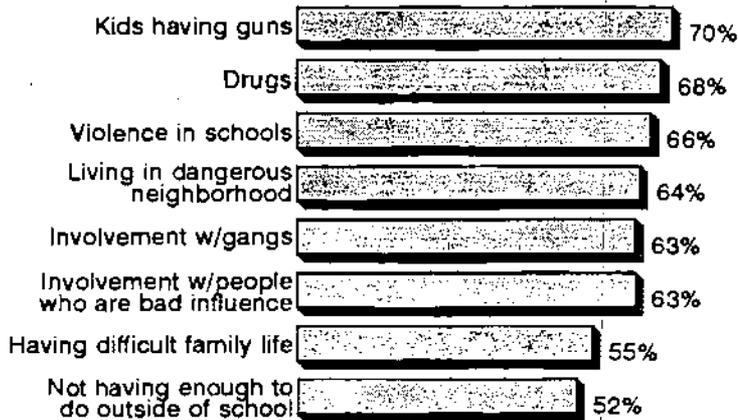
Outlook On Times For Black Children In America



Adults Who Say At Least Half Of Black Children Will:



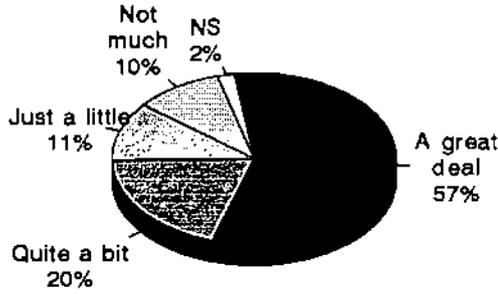
Youths Who Say The Following Are Serious Problems Among The Black Kids They Know



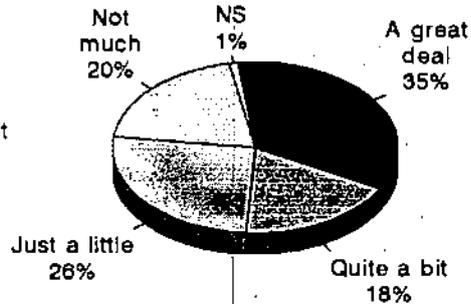
Black Community Crusade for Children National Survey

Fact Sheet 2: The Pervasive Fear Of Violence

Black Adults' And Youths' Concerns About Young People Being Victim Of Violence

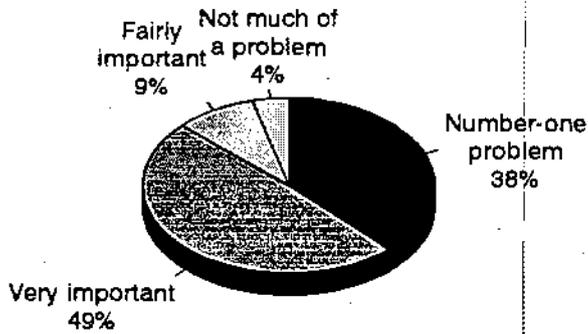


Black Adults' Degree Of Worry That Their/Other Kids Will Be Victim Of Violence

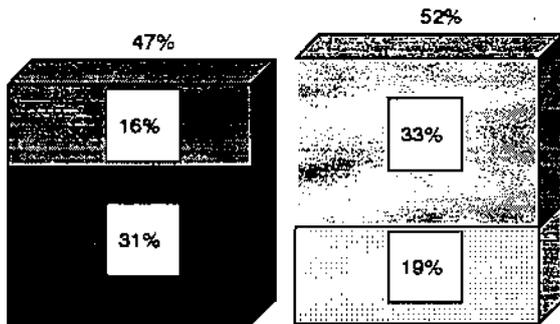


Black Youths' Degree Of Worry That They/Family Member Will Be Victim Of Violence

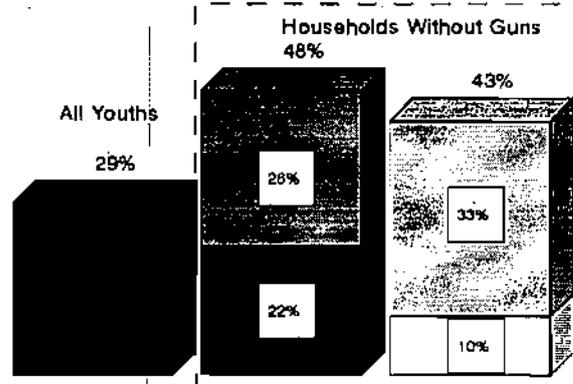
How Big A Problem Is Violence For Young Black People Today? According To Youths



How Much Do You Worry About Your Kids/ The Kids You Know Committing A Crime?



Does Your Household Have A Gun? How Easy Would It Be To Get One Quickly?



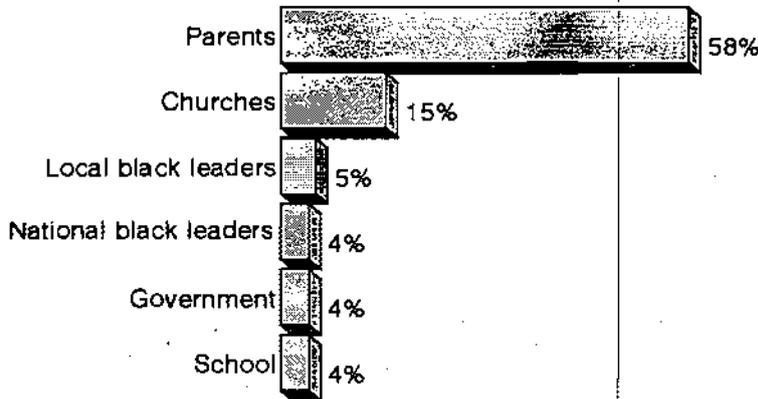
■ A great deal ■ Quite a bit ■ Just a little ■ Not much

■ Have gun ■ Very easy ■ Pretty easy □ Pretty difficult □ Very difficult

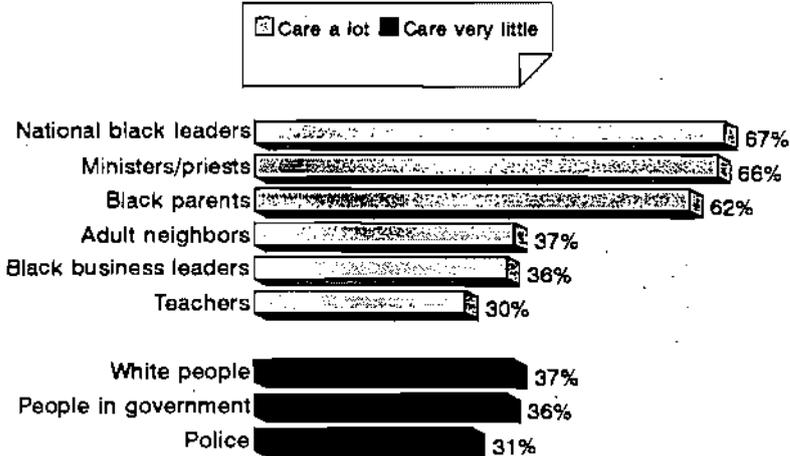
Black Community Crusade for Children National Survey

Fact Sheet 3: Where The Solutions Lie

Who Could Do The Most To Really Make A Positive Difference On Problems For Black Youth?
(According To Black Adults)



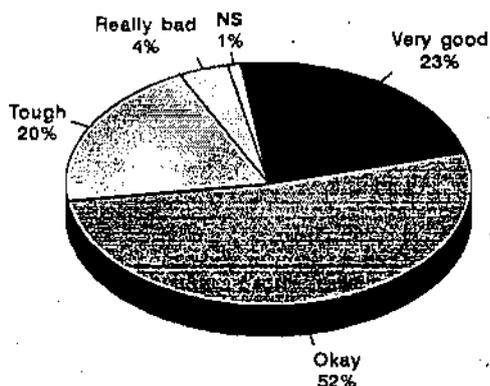
Youths' Perceptions Of Who Cares A Lot/
Who Cares Very Little About Black Kids



Who Are Your Heroes?
Youths Answer In Their Own Words

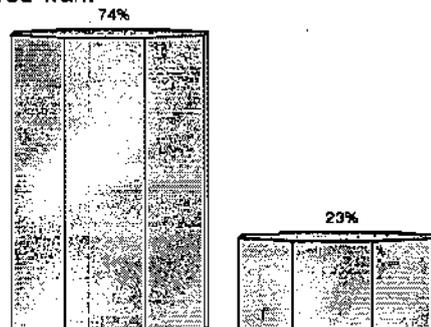
- ▶ 83% Name A Parent
 - 53% name both parents
 - 26% name mom
 - 5% name dad
- ▶ 48% Name Other Relatives
 - 21% name grandparents
 - 18% name siblings
 - 12% name aunt/uncle
- ▶ 11% Name A Teacher

Youths' Assessment Of Times For Them Personally



Do You Personally Feel That:

If you work hard & try your best, you can usually be successful & have the kind of life you want



Even if you work hard & put your best effort, it will still be difficult to be successful & have the life you want

KEY FINDINGS FROM A NATIONWIDE SURVEY OF BLACKS

ON ISSUES FACING THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Sponsored by the Black Community Crusade for Children

Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.



Printed on Recycled Paper

Introduction

Between January 11 and 22, 1994, Peter D. Hart Research Associates conducted telephone surveys among two national cross sections of black respondents: 1,004 adults (including 501 caregivers--that is, parents, grandparents, other relatives, and guardians with responsibility for children under age 18) and 421 children age 11 to 17.

Prior to designing the two survey instruments, we assembled three informal focus group discussions in Washington, D.C.--two with black teenagers and one with black parents--in which we explored in detail the participants' attitudes toward their own circumstances and their perceptions of the problems confronting the black community in general and black children in particular. The findings from this qualitative phase of the research are reported here as illustrations of or complements to the survey results.

The research and analysis were performed by Geoffrey D. Gann, president, and Debbie Klingender, senior analyst, of Peter D. Hart Research.



REALLY BAD TIMES: THE SITUATION FOR BLACK CHILDREN IN AMERICA

When you look at what's going on around you--when it becomes the norm that you can go outside your door and find a dead body, when it becomes the norm that when you hear something cracking you fall to the floor, when it becomes the norm [that these things are going on]--then you have to only wonder.

A black father in Washington, D.C.

In the eyes of black adults, the world in which black children are growing up today is a disheartening one. In fact, an overwhelming majority (83%) of adults say these are tough times (33%) or *really bad times* (50%) for black children; only 14% feel the times are very good (2%) or okay (12%) for black youths in America. Even compared to the way black adults view circumstances for the black community as a whole--75% say times are tough (44%) or really bad (31%) for blacks in general--their outlook on the challenges facing the younger generation of blacks in particular is bleak.

As revealed in some key statistics from the survey, black adults' perceptions of the extent to which specific problems will touch black children's lives are stunningly downbeat. For example:

- ▶ two-thirds (67%) of black adults think that at least half of all black children will become teenage parents;
- ▶ two-thirds (65%) think that half or more of all black children will be denied important opportunities because of racial prejudice;
- ▶ three-fifths (62%) think that at least half of black children will have their lives destroyed by drugs;
- ▶ three-fifths (61%) believe that half or more of black children will get in trouble with the law;
- ▶ 44% think that at least half of black children will get involved with gangs; and
- ▶ 41% think half or more of black children will get AIDS.



Black youths themselves indicate that drugs (68%), dropping out of school (64%), and involvement with gangs (63%) are serious problems for the black kids they know.

Although a slight majority of black adults believe that at least half of all black children will have a strong family support system as they are growing up (54%) and 60% say half or more of black kids will grow up to feel confident in their ability to succeed, only 46% think that at least half of black children will get the kind of education they need.

Strikingly, just 55% of adults believe that half or more of all black youths will reach adulthood without being victims of violence; two in five (40%) think *less than half* will grow up untouched by violence.

Stacked against these grim predictions about what the future holds are black adults' hopes for their own children and the young people they know. Though less than a majority envision most black kids getting the education they need, black adults' number-one wish for children is that they will get an education and stay in school, volunteered by 49% overall (including 10% who say they want black youths to go to college and get a degree). "To be able to get educated and achieve the most they can without drugs and violence being an influence on them" is what a Pennsylvania man hopes; a mother from South Carolina wants her children to "get an education to get a good job like the white kids who get a college degree." The fear of harmful influences comes through in a New York



mother's sobering wish that her children "finish high school without a criminal record."

Economic success ranks second on adults' wish list: 33% overall say they would like young people to be successful in general (13%), have a good job (12%), or have a better life than theirs, with less struggle (10%). "I wish they could have all the opportunities I didn't have," states a Michigan man who is himself only in his mid-20s. A Washington, D.C., father wants his son "to be someone. I want people to recognize him when he's walking on the street. Because I couldn't have it, I want him to; I want every door open to him." Similarly, a father from Louisiana wants to "see more black faces in chemistry labs, doctors, and head coaches," and a mother dreams that her child will "become president of the United States."

A number of black adults talk not so much about these typical kinds of dreams and wishes as about their fears. One in five (20%), in fact, express their greatest "hopes" in negative terms, citing underlying concerns for black children's safety and freedom from violence. A mother from Michigan says simply that she wishes her children will "live to be 25," while a Tennessee man in his 50s hopes "that they will stop fighting among themselves and killing each other."

STAYING ALIVE: BLACKS' GREATEST FEAR FOR CHILDREN

I hope my child lives to become an adult.

A black mother in Illinois

It's dangerous out there, and maybe one day someone will call and tell me my child got shot.

A black father in Georgia

Are we doing everything so fast because we're worried that we may not be around tomorrow? Do the younger generation really feel and see that they have a future?

A black father in Washington, D.C.



Although black adults see many serious problems confronting the younger generation, the threat of violence eclipses all others, generating a pervasive, almost palpable fear that dominates the outlook of all blacks, whether college-educated or non-college-educated, upper-income or lower.

Asked to tell us in their own words their greatest worries or concerns for their own children or the young people they know, black adults express first and foremost a dread of violence. Nearly half (46%) of all adults surveyed (and 53% of all caregivers) mention a worry about black children's personal safety and freedom from violence. In detailing their concerns, 20% speak generally about violence among black youth, 8% say they fear their children will get shot, 6% talk about the lack of a safe environment for black kids growing up today, 6% cite the phenomenon of black-on-black crime, 5% hope that kids will stay away from guns, and 4% say simply and poignantly that they worry about black children staying alive and surviving.

Black adults fear the presence of guns, the influence of drugs and gangs, and they even fear that children will not grow up to adulthood. One father reveals the flip side of that fear, which is what living with violence does to those who are most exposed to it: "There was a time when I thought I didn't have a future; I know what it feels like. When I was coming up, I always thought my life expectancy was about 45, but to be 14 and 15 and think that you ain't going to make it to 19-- that's real serious."

"I got a phone call a week ago from the school, from [my son's] teacher, and I thought the worst," recalls another father in Washington, D.C., who goes on to report that his son had been caught in the boys' bathroom with some other kids who were misbehaving. Although he felt relieved that the news from school was not what he most feared, this parent explains that he told his son, "even though you didn't do anything, . . . you're guilty by association; you made a bad decision.' He has to be conscious of the choices that he makes because they have [grave] consequences," such as being in the wrong car, walking down the wrong street, or hanging around with the wrong people at the wrong time when what this father fears most--the random act of violence--does occur.

Today, parents expect the worst, seeming to feel it is only a matter of time until their children become victims. Eighty-two percent of caregivers (and 77% of all black adults) say they worry a great deal (60%) or quite a bit (22%) about their own children or kids they know becoming victims of violence. When asked to speak not in general terms but about the situation *in the particular community in which they live*, majorities of adults consider violence (64%) and the presence of guns (72%) to be very or fairly serious problems.

Black youths echo the adults' concerns. Thirty-eight percent say violence is *the number-one problem* facing black kids today, and another 49% consider it a very important problem. Fifty-three percent admit they worry about themselves or a family member becoming a victim of violence. Moreover, strong majorities of all black youths surveyed report that violence in school (66%), living in a

dangerous neighborhood (64%), and kids having guns (70%) are serious problems--again, not in general, but *among the black kids they know*.

On a very personal level, three in ten adults (28%) say that they or a family member has been a victim of violence in the past few years, a figure duplicated in the survey of 11- to 17-year-olds (27%). A Colorado man describes how his brother "was stabbed getting off a train, for no reason," and an Arkansas woman says her niece "was shot in the head [last] April." Another respondent was involved in a carjacking and shootout, and a father reports that "there was a shooting in [his] daughter's dorm." A single mother in the Washington, D.C., focus group describes how the fear of violence informs her family's everyday life: "I tell my son, '[When] you go to the recreation center, you watch your back when you're coming down the street.' I don't go to sleep until my son is in the house. At one point in time, I would call my daughter [at college] every night to make sure she's in her dorm. I just fear."

A 16-year-old girl sums up: "Violence touches each and every one of us each day. The neighborhood I live in, there are shootings all the time. I don't even go outside. I have to worry about being in the wrong place at the wrong time. I want to be able to be free to go where I want to. On Easter morning, guys drove down the street shooting; little kids couldn't even go to church."

Black adults worry not only about youths' being on the receiving end of violent acts, but also about their involvement in perpetrating violence: nearly half



(47%) say they worry a great deal (31%) or quite a bit (16%) that their own children or those they know will commit a violent crime.

Three in ten black youths (29%) say there is a gun in their household, and nearly half (48%) of those who say there is no gun at home claim it would be very (22%) or pretty (26%) easy for them to get a gun in a few hours if they wanted one.

The solutions to violence lie far closer to the roots of the problem than to its aftermath, according to survey respondents. A majority of all black adults (56%, including 60% of all caregivers) say the most effective way to reduce violent crime is to focus on the problems, such as poverty and homelessness, that often lead people to get involved in violent street crime; just one in three (35%) believe the most effective way to reduce violent crime is to have stricter law enforcement policies and tougher punishments for people who commit these crimes.

Indeed, when asked to explain in their own words what they would do to reduce violence, blacks emphasize preventive efforts, such as teaching young people moral and religious values (volunteered by 25%), especially through parental example. "I would sit [my children] down and tell them my life experiences," admits a father from Tennessee. "It would give them the opportunity to say, 'Hey, I am not going to go this road. If he can make it, I can make it.'" A Michigan man says he would "try to set an example and use myself. [I would] teach them to respect other black people."

Although 17% of black adults say they would try to get guns off the street and enact stiffer gun control, only 2% mention tougher legal penalties for violent crime.

About one in five adults (19%) say they would establish healthier alternatives and programs for young people to dissuade them from getting involved in a life of violence, including after-school activities, community programs, recreational centers, and counseling programs or support groups. Similarly, 17% volunteer that they would encourage black youths to stay in (or go back to) school and convince them of the importance of education, or would provide training and make it easier for young people to find good jobs.

Throughout adults' responses to the question of decreasing violence among black youths are clear calls for better parenting (volunteered by 10%) and communication (15%), as respondents emphasize the importance of sitting down and talking to children and educating them about the dangers of violence.

THE SOLUTIONS BEGIN AT HOME

When I was coming up, I didn't communicate with my dad. Even today, we have a distant relationship. I want my kids to be able to come to me and tell me anything. First and foremost, I want to be a friend. . . . We have to be fathers to them.

A black father in Washington, D.C.

Give [your children] love and understanding. Be there when they need someone to talk to.

A black mother in Michigan



As seen through blacks' eyes, the problems and risks confronting black children in America are daunting, but blacks also suggest that some of the most effective potential solutions to these ills are within grasp.

Fifty-eight percent of all black adults (and 63% of caregivers) believe *it is parents*--more than government (4%), national black leaders (4%), local black community leaders and groups (5%), schools (4%), business leaders (1%), or even churches (15%)--*who could do the most to really make a positive difference on the problems associated with black youth.*

Adults also think first and foremost of parents (volunteered by 36%) when asked to name the two or three people they think are the most positive role models for young blacks these days. More important, youths themselves find their heroes not among famous athletes or entertainers, but in their own homes: an overwhelming 83% of the 11- to 17-year-olds surveyed name either both parents (53%), their mother (26%), or their father (5%) when asked which two or three people they most look up to and admire as role models.¹ For young blacks, in fact, it is the people with whom they share their everyday life--not only the moms and dads but the grandparents (21%), brothers and sisters (18%), aunts and uncles (12%), even cousins (2%)--who win their greatest respect.

A teenage focus group participant explains why her mother is the person she most reveres: "Just to raise five kids by herself--I think that's wonderful right

¹Interestingly, boys (58%) are more likely than girls (48%) to name both parents as heroes, while girls (37%) single out their mothers far more than do boys (15%); 8% of boys and just 1% of girls say their father is the person they most admire.

there. And she does volunteer work; she's a community person, a people person. A lot of people in the neighborhood talk to her like she is their mother." The extent to which young people seek communication, support, and guidance at home is emphasized by another 10th-grader, who says her aunt is her hero because "she brought me up from day one. She's been there for me through thick and thin. She's the sweetest person there could be. My aunt loves children so much she's a foster parent for D.C. public services."

A young woman in her last year of high school idolizes her grandmother, who "tells me right from wrong. She's a friend, someone I can talk to on any subject. . . . It's like she's on my level. She accepts me for what I am. I want to be just like her."

Accounts like these are heartening, but the flip side is that not all black children feel they have someone they can turn to or whom they would try to emulate. Fifty-five percent of all black youths say that, among the black kids they know, having a difficult family life is a serious problem. Moreover, in "grading" the parenting job being done by black adults in their community, young people send their elders home with only a "C+" on their report card (a grade point average of 2.51).

A Washington, D.C., 17-year-old describes the situation, as she sees it, for many kids in her neighborhood: "I know people on the streets, and when they go home, they don't have nobody to go home to--no one to sit down and talk to, no one to tell them right from wrong. Kids are the way they are today because they



didn't have anybody to discipline them or even sit down and talk about something [with]. Even if it's sitting down to talk about a movie, to a child that's a joyous feeling to know that someone is listening to you. Role models and attention from parents make the difference."

Adults, too, not only view parents as having the greatest potential to fix what is wrong for black children, but also point a finger at parents as having most let black kids down: 29% of black adults single out parents as the group with whom they are most disappointed.

In large measure, the ways in which a parent or other influential adult can help a black child come down to basics. Two in five black adults (42%) volunteer that helping black kids can be done through involvement and support, which includes simply talking with children and spending quality time together (22%), letting kids know they are loved (16%), and being supportive and encouraging (8%). "Love them," says a mother in her 30s. "Make sure they keep up with homework. . . . Send the right message. We don't talk to them enough. Even if they are not our own, talk to them and encourage them." A mother from Georgia urges adults to "be there for [children]. Listen to them; we are there, but we need to listen. Help them to find the right solutions to their situations."

One-third of black adults (33%) think the best way to help black children is to impart moral and religious values that shape character, which means teaching kids right from wrong (11%), instilling good values (8%), emphasizing spiritual development (6%), and teaching them to respect others (5%). As a grandmother



in Michigan puts it, "Train them and teach them. Parents should give them a good spiritual background." A father in Texas stresses that it is important to "teach them morals and Christian standards so that they'll grow up the way they should."

Sixteen percent of adults also acknowledge the importance of setting a good example--"Practice what you preach"--and being the right kind of role model for children--"Keep them straight by being a good role model." Just as black adults' biggest wish for black children is that they will get a good education, so too do adults believe that one of the most important things an individual can do for young people is to make certain they stay in school (volunteered by 11%).



A CALL TO COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

I call [my minister] my "stepfather." He's like my adopted father. He helps me out a lot. I won't say that I want to be a pastor, but I want to be successful like him. He's someone I can talk to.

A black teenager in Washington, D.C.

It's the grass-roots organizations that are doing the most, because they are on the forefront. They are the ones dealing with it day to day.

A black father in Washington, D.C.



Alongside parents and the home environment, other key institutions and groups in whom the black community places a lot of faith include religious leaders and the church, educators and the schools, and black leaders at the national and especially the community level.

The influence of religion in the black community, for adults and children alike, should not be taken for granted, nor should the potential for church leaders to be part of the solution to the problems plaguing black youths. Seventy-three percent of all black adults feel that efforts to encourage a return to traditional moral and religious values should be at the top of the list of ways to help black children. Three in four black adults perceive the church as doing more to help (74%) than to hurt (5%) when it comes to the challenges confronting black youths in America. Second only to family, in fact, ministers and church leaders (volunteered by 21%) are named by adults as the most positive role models for young black people these days. And from their perspective, a strong majority of black youths (66%) see ministers and priests as "really caring a lot" about black kids like themselves.

In practice, more than three-quarters of 11- to 17-year-olds (77%) report attending church at least a couple of times a month (including 51% who say they attend services once a week or more), which echoes what is reported by black caregivers (73% of whom go to church twice a month or more). Sixty-four percent of black youths also claim religion is very important in their life, as do 82% of black caregivers.



The fundamental worth of education is widely recognized by survey respondents and, despite its woes, the education system is perceived as doing more to help (61%) than to hurt (16%) black youths, according to adults. Teachers also are viewed as role models by both black adults (13% of whom suggest that teachers are among the two or three most influential people in black youths' lives) and children (11% of whom name a teacher as one of their heroes).

Two-thirds of black youths (67%) feel that national black leaders really care a lot about them, and three in five black adults (59%) believe civil rights leaders are doing more to help black kids than to hurt them. Local community groups (68% doing more to help) and community leaders (57% doing more to help), however, may have greater potential to have a direct impact on black youths.

In the focus group discussion with parents, some members of a neighborhood group in a housing project recounted how their organization takes a hands-on approach to dealing with problems in their community. A mother explained, for example, that when she saw a particular group of young men "hanging out" on the street day after day, her organization convinced two local grocery stores to hire these teenagers part time on a trial basis; this creative approach to "getting kids off the street" benefited the new employer, the neighborhood, and the youths themselves. Moreover, awareness that the community group's watchful eyes are on them provides the teenagers with an extra motivation to keep up their end of the bargain.



Just as there are institutions and leaders to whom the black community turns for role models, so too are there groups that fall short in blacks' perceptions of their responsibility to children. After parents (chosen by 29%), government is seen by adults as the entity that has most let black kids down (25%); elected officials in general are essentially damned with faint praise, as they are thought to have no effect either way on black youths (38%), rather than to be either helping (31%) or hurting (20%) them. We note, however, that President Clinton is viewed as doing more to help (47%) than to hurt (12%), although one-quarter of black adults (27%) think the President is having no effect either way. A focus group participant asserts, "We have a better opportunity under President Clinton, in terms of having a leader that is compassionate, having a leader that understands, having a leader that is a people person, because he's been there. And that makes a difference."

While blacks do not play much of a blame game in assessing the factors that contribute to the dangers and difficulties faced by black children today--if anything, they tend to be most critical of parents, of themselves--*they send a clear message that other institutions and groups could be doing a great deal to help give black youths a brighter future.* Those with whom young people regularly interact and whom they hold in high esteem--ministers, teachers, and community leaders--have an opportunity and an obligation, according to blacks, to shape young lives for the better.

"We as community activists, as community leaders, as church leaders, have to take responsibility," insists a single father. "I can't just be concerned about my home and not be concerned about my neighbor's home and the school down the street. . . . We just have a responsibility to reach out. It's my responsibility as an individual to continue to reach out to all those in the community and neighborhood."



THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF BLACK YOUTHS

People have a tendency to take the youth--especially black youths in the city--and put them in a barrel and say, "Because you are there, these are the things you are going to do. You're going to steal and you're going to break into cars, you're going to rob, or you're going to use drugs." And that's sad. As adults in this country, we have to do a better job. We as black people--black men, black women, black fathers, black mothers--we have to do a better job by sitting down and communicating with our children. . . . What does that child see? When that child looks at you as his father or mother or brother or cousin, or just a friend, what does he see? Are we setting a good example, [being] a good role model for that child?

A black father in Washington, D.C.



Though not as downbeat as adults, black youths offer a largely negative evaluation of conditions for young blacks in general: a 64% majority feel these are tough times (45%) or really bad times (19%) for black kids in America. While two in five youths (42%) see the present as a good time for black kids, with lots of opportunities to get ahead and achieve their goals, half (49%) feel this is a hard time for black kids, with lots of problems that make it difficult to achieve their goals.

Slightly more than half of black children (53%) say it is easier being a black kid today compared to when their parents were growing up, but two in five (41%) feel it is harder being a kid today. "We have it good now," explains a 10th grader, "but we are just making it hard for ourselves with violence and killing."

Indeed, in recounting the specific problems confronting black children and teenagers, youths offer opinions that fairly closely match adults' bleak perspective on violence and other threats. Asked to think *only about the black kids they know*, majorities of young people say the following are very serious or pretty serious problems:

- ▶ kids having guns (70%);
- ▶ drugs (68%);
- ▶ violence in school (66%);
- ▶ dropping out of school (64%);
- ▶ living in a dangerous neighborhood (64%);
- ▶ involvement with gangs (63%);
- ▶ involvement with people who are a bad influence (63%);
- ▶ having a difficult family life (55%); and
- ▶ not having enough to do outside of school (52%).

Some of the difficulties young blacks face are related to peer pressure and other negative influences. Although adults single out rap music and culture (61% say rappers are doing more to hurt than help black youths) and TV and movies (75%) as the outside forces harming kids, black children themselves point to much more immediate influences.

In fact, three in five youths (63%) say that, among the black kids they know, involvement with people who are a bad influence is a serious problem. As well, while 57% of the black children surveyed say it is usually pretty easy to stay on the right path, others have a harder time resisting temptation or peer pressure: almost two in five (38%) say it is usually pretty hard *not* to get involved with things that are dangerous or wrong, because of the pressure from other kids to go along with what they are doing.

Some of the teenage focus group participants express a fear of succumbing to dangerous temptations or surrendering to "street" pressures when searching for direction. Parents, too, worry about what can happen to their children beyond their parental sphere of influence. A single mother of two teenagers claims, "You could have the best child in the world and, at some point in time, somebody . . . is going to break that child and coax them, like a bee with honey. You have to do everything in your power to try to steer your child straight, keep them straight, and then peer pressure gets you every time."

Despite the serious challenges they face in growing up, however, many black youths convey a sense of hopefulness about their future. In contrast to their



downbeat view of the circumstances facing black children in general, these 11- to 17-year-olds display a strong sense of *personal* optimism. Three-quarters of black youths (75%) feel these are very good (23%) or okay (52%) times for them personally; only one-quarter (24%) say times are tough (20%) or really bad (4%). And when speaking of their own potential, black youths are enthusiastically confident: 74% believe that if they work hard and try their best, they can be successful and have the kind of life they want; only 23% feel that, even if they work hard and put in their best effort, it still will be very difficult to succeed.

When asked to describe in their own words their biggest hopes and dreams for the future, nearly half of all youths (49%) mention economic success and career aspirations, including 14% who say they want to become doctors, 9% who want to get a good job, 6% who want to become lawyers, 5% who wish to make money and have a comfortable life, and 5% who would like to become teachers.

In order to achieve the success to which they aspire, black youths realize they will need the foundation of a good education: 31% cite getting a degree or going to college as their biggest hope or dream. "[In five years] I'll be in college majoring in forensic pathology," asserts a female teenager; another claims, "I'm going to make sure I'm in college [five years from now]. I *will* get a degree." One-quarter of black children (26%) mention self-fulfillment--being successful, being all they can be, having a good life, being somebody important, and making an impact--as their biggest hope or dream.

How can we reconcile the personal optimism that seems to belie the inordinately tough problems that black youths tell us their generation faces? Perhaps one answer can be found in the very simplicity of what young people want from adults. In order to have the kind of life and opportunities for success that they dream of, black youths do not expect more than what black adults also feel is due to any child: love and nurturing, guidance and support.

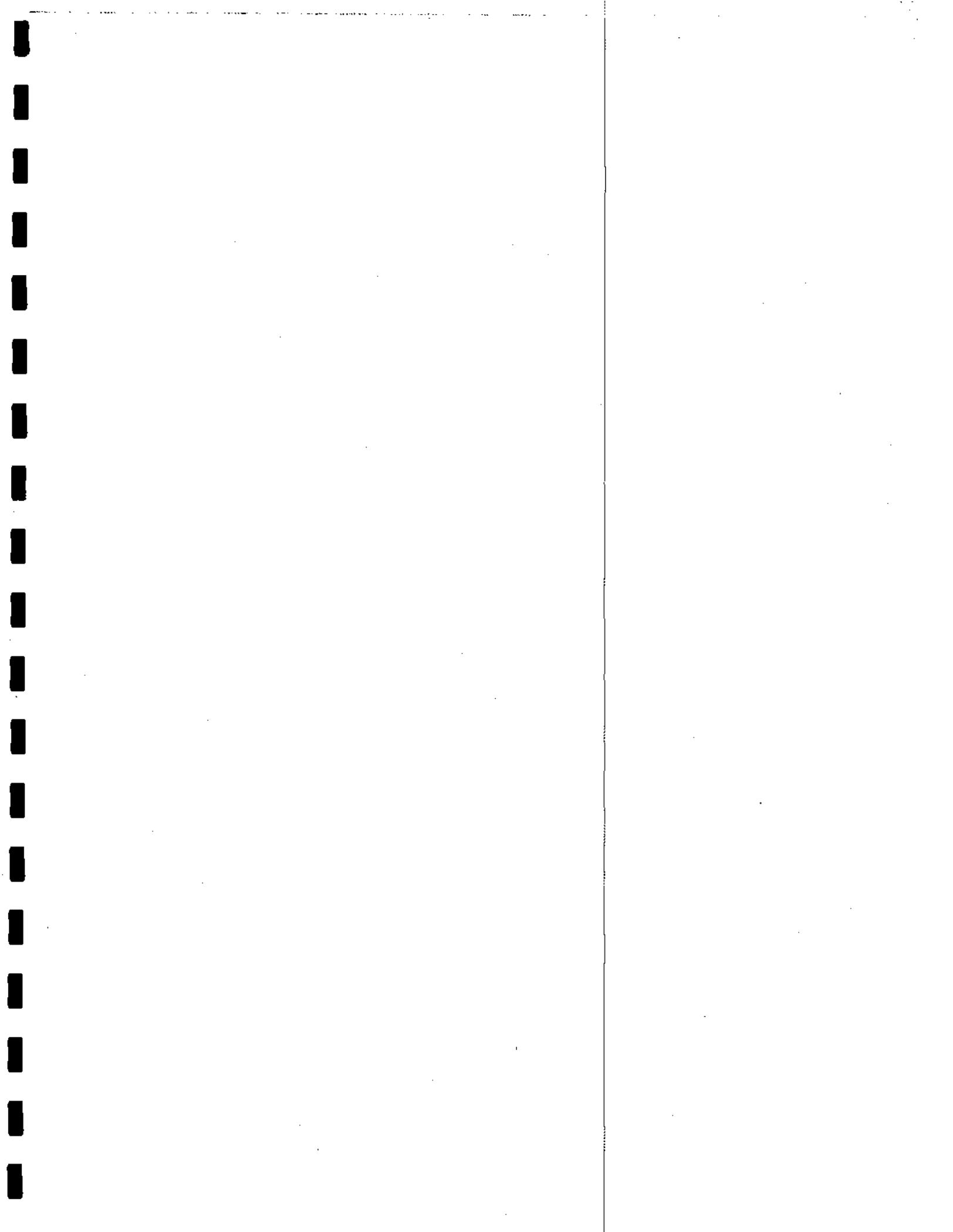
When asked to describe in their own words what is the best thing a parent or other adult can do to help a black child, 53% of youths say involvement and support are the keys. To them, this includes interacting and spending time with children, showing love and affection, being there for kids and supporting them, helping them now before it is too late, and encouraging them--virtually the same kinds of "good parenting" and mentoring described by black adults. An implicit confirmation that it is never too late to help a child is seen in the finding that the older youths in the survey (63% of 16- to 17-year-olds) are even more likely than are the youngest kids (52% of 11- and 12-year-olds) to want black parents to be very involved in their children's lives.

One in five youths (20%) volunteer that teaching moral values and character--including keeping children from doing wrong, teaching and showing them what is right, guiding them in the right path, and instilling religious values--is elemental in helping black kids today.

Youths also state that encouraging children to stay in school (12%) and being a good role model and good influence (11%) are among the best things an

adult could do. Finally, black youths cite tough love (11%), which includes keeping kids off the streets, enforcing a curfew, and being strict, as another way in which parents and other adults can help black children.

The threats and obstacles that shape black adults' outlook for children are a little less daunting when tempered by black youths' optimism. Indeed, black young people's sense of hopefulness rather than defeat, and their high expectations for the future, despite the adversity and challenges that threaten their present-day life, may be a foundation on which to begin building solutions for change.



MEMORANDUM

**TO: Mary Jo Bane, Assistant Secretary for Children and Families
David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Planning and
Evaluation
Bruce Reed, Special Assistant to the President**

**FROM: Patricia Sosa, Director, Public Outreach, Welfare Reform
Working Group**

RE: Meeting with African American leadership

Date: December 15, 1993

I asked Chris Lin, White House Office of Public Liaison, to inquire with Alexis Herman, Director (WHOPL), about coordinating meetings with some leading figures in the African American community and the three Chairs of the Working Group. Alexis has agreed that this is a good idea and is suggesting one on one meetings. As an important liaison between the African American community and the Administration, Alexis would also be part of these meetings. Chris and I are recommending that these meetings take place between January and February with the following individuals.

Benjamin Chavis, NAACP
Jessie Jackson, Rainbow Coalition
Coretta Scott King, Martin Luther King Jr. Center
Joseph Lowery, National Black Leadership Forum, Southern
Christian Leadership Conference
John Jacob, National Urban League
Ramona Edelin, National Urban Coalition

I am assuming this suggestion is O.K. with you unless you let me know otherwise.

cc:
Ann Rosewater
Jeremy Ben-Ami
Chris Lin

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mary Jo Bane, Assistant Secretary for Children and Families
(ACF)
David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Planning and
Evaluation (ASPE)
Bruce Reed, Special Assistant to the President

FROM: Patricia Sosa, Director, Public Outreach, Welfare Reform
Working Group

RE: Native Americans in Indian Country

DATE: December 13, 1993

The purpose of this memorandum is to bring to your attention the concerns of the Native Americans and Alaskan Natives particularly those who reside in Indian reservations.

1. Outreach

As part of my outreach responsibilities I have held a series of meetings with Native American and Alaskan Native organizations. I also attended the Annual Conference of the National Congress of American Indians in Reno, Nevada, December 2, 1993. At Reno I gave a presentation at the plenary session and participated in a small meeting with individuals who are currently running or working in Tribal JOBS programs. In addition, I am also aware that Mark Ragan has met with some other groups. See attached list of groups we have met with.

2. Policy concerns:

Throughout these meetings the issues raised have been very similar. Because of the tribal government special relationship with the federal government, the Administration's welfare reform initiative could have particular policy implications for Native Americans living in Indian country. For example, residents of Indian country receive their AFDC benefits through state agencies but receive some of the support services, including education and training (Tribal JOBS program) and day care, through the tribal government. If a family is denied AFDC benefits they can apply for General Assistance (GA), a program financed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They are very concerned with what is going to happen to the resources available for tribal programs with a two years time limit and a strong emphasis on jobs placement as well as the overwhelming impact the time limit could have in the GA program. In addition, economic opportunities in a number of the Indian reservations are minimal so placing welfare recipients in private sector jobs without a strong economic development component is not perceived as a realistic alternative. See attached a memorandum by Norman DeWeaver highlighting some of these issues.

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3. Process:

Tribal representatives have expressed great concerns about the consultation process. They recognize that there are over 500 recognized Indian nations, and we cannot possibly meet with everybody. However, they think it is important that we try to be as inclusive as possible. They feel strongly that any initiative needs to be extremely sensitive to local circumstances throughout the whole process particularly when evaluating its effectiveness.

4. Recommendations:

My recommendation is that the Working Group assign a policy person to coordinate the policy discussion and the consultation process with the tribal leadership. I strongly advise that this person works very closely with tribal JOBS programs and other tribal leaders. I see the working relationship between the Working Group and tribal leadership very similar to the one with Governors and other elected officials.

cc:

Ann Rosewater
Jeremy Ben-Ami
Mark Ragan

**List
Native American Organisations
contacted by the Outreach Office**

Sharon Olsen, JOBS, JTPA and Child Care Director, Tlingit Haida
Central Council, Juneau, Alaska.
Michael Hughes, Inter-Tribal Council of Arizona
JoAnn Chase, Legislative Director, National Congress of American
Indians
David Simmons, Northwest Indian Child Welfare Association
Norm DeWeaver, Indian Employment and Training Coalition
Tom Tremain, Spokane Legal Services Center
Charlee Ardrabault, Rosebud, South Dakota
Arlene Krulish, JOBS Program, Devils Lake Sioux Tribe, North
Dakota
Janell Ward, JOBS Program, Janell Ward, Cheyenne River Sioux
Tribe, South Dakota
Ron Dumont, Coordinator, JOBS Program, Ft. Pack Tribes, Poplar,
Montana
Norm DeWeaver, Indian and Native American Employment and Training
Coalition, Washington, DC

Indian and Native American Employment and Training Coalition

An Indian Dialogue in the Discussion of Welfare Reform

President Clinton has pledged to "end welfare as we know it." The Administration, led by the Domestic Policy Council and the Department of Health and Human Services, has launched an extensive effort to work with all interested groups in the reform of federal public assistance programs.

There must be an Indian dialogue within the overall welfare reform debate. Welfare reform proposals would have very different effects among Indian people and in Indian and Alaska Native communities than they might elsewhere.

- Indian tribes and institutions represent a unique level of government within the American intergovernmental system and have a unique government-to-government relationship with the federal government.
- Indian communities, particularly reservation areas, though very diverse are frequently characterized by severely underdeveloped economies and geographic isolation.
- Indian programs operate on a totally different scale than do state government-based programs. Indian programs relate to economically disadvantaged clients on a person-to-person, face-to-face basis, not through the several levels of administrative structures that characterize state-administered programs.
- Indian people have a different relationship to their own communities and institutions than do other groups.

A number of the general tenets of the current welfare reform discussion raise fundamentally different issues when applied in an Indian context.

For example, JOBS programs run by tribes under direct funding from ACF operate in economic environments where there are few private sector jobs to use to obtain economic self-sufficiency for AFDC clients. Indian people not eligible for AFDC may qualify for a separate income transfer program provided

- 2 -

by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Indian tribes have had a number of years of experience in operating jobs-of-last-resort programs under the former CETA law. Child welfare support enforcement in many reservation settings involves tribal court systems.

To insure that any Administration proposals for welfare reform would operate effectively in an Indian context, they must incorporate the ideas of Indian leaders and involve Indian tribal governments and organizations.

Potential participants in such a dialogue include:

- Tribal JOBS programs. Tribal JOBS staffs are the one group of people at the tribal level that work with the AFDC system on a day-to-day basis.
- Tribal child care providers and advocates involved with several programs, including the Indian component of the new Child Care and Development Block Grant program and the long-established Indian Child Welfare Act program.
- Tribal social service providers, operating social service programs financed through the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- Tribal court systems involved with the regulation of family affairs on many reservations.
- Indian education programs, providing a variety of educational services to youth and adults.
- Tribal elected officials, represented by the National Congress of American Indians and a number of regionally-based intertribal organizations.
- The Indian research community, including the National Indian Policy Center.

WR - Blacks

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1993

Reverend Doctor Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr.
P.O. Box 688
Tuskegee, AL 36083

Dear Reverend Haygood:

Thank you for sharing with me your interest in working for this Administration within the Domestic Policy Council. We have no openings on this staff at this time; however, I will keep your resume on file for future reference.

I have asked Bruce Reed and Kathi Way of the Domestic Policy Council staff to contact you to discuss welfare reform.

Again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,



Carol H. Rasco
Assistant to the President for
Domestic Policy

CHR:rk

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Reverend Doctor Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr.
P.O. Box 688
Tuskegee, AL 36083



SOUTHERN VOCATIONAL COLLEGE

P. O. BOX 688
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA 36083
OFFICE PHONE: (205) 727-5220



LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD, JR.
PRESIDENT

June 22, 1993

Ms. Carol Rasco
President's Domestic Policy Advisor
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
West Wing - Second Floor
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Ms. Rasco:

I am indeed grateful to you for serving our country and our President during these days of change and renewal.

Ms. Alexis M. Herman has reminded me that she shared my recent letter to her with you. I strongly support the aspirations of President Bill Clinton and would like to assist him and his administration in fulfilling his goals for America. Therefore, I am enclosing a copy of my resume for your review and consideration.

I would be delighted to visit with you for the purpose of having authentic discourse and philosophical engagement in the arena of domestic policy. I have particular interest in President Clinton's stated commitment to welfare reform. During the past twenty-five years, I have empowered persons on public welfare to reach self-sufficiency and responsible citizenship through education, training and economic development.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr.
Founder

LFH/cwa
ENCLOSURE

*I have asked
Bruce Reed & Kathi
Way of the Domestic
Policy Council staff to contact
you to discuss welfare reform.*

*Reg - Use the form that
states no openings on
DPC. Add #1*

Personal si

REVEREND DOCTOR LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD, SR.
P. O. BOX 688
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA 36083
OFFICE PHONE #: (205) 727-5220
HOME PHONE #: (205) 727-1109
FAX #: (205) 727-1511

VITAE INFORMATION

PERSONAL DATA:

Date of Birth : **March 29, 1933**

Place of Birth : **Coffee Springs, Alabama**
Geneva County

Marital Status : **Married to the former Shep Taylor;**
three children

Gender : **Male**

Race : **African American**

EDUCATION:

Elementary : **Coffee Springs Elementary, High Bluff Elementary,**
Alabama; Hazel Street Elementary, Macon, Georgia

High School : **Graduated from Ballard-Hudson High School**
Macon, Georgia, 1951

College : **Graduated from Stillman College**
Tuscaloosa, Alabama; Cum Laude
1955, English, B.A.

Seminary : **Graduated from Union Theological Seminary**
Richmond, Virginia, 1960
B.D. later converted to M.Div.

Graduate Work : **Hampton University - Educational Administration**
Hampton, Virginia

Honorary Degree, Doctor of Divinity, Mary Holmes College, Mississippi

STUDENT PASTORATES

17th Street Presbyterian Mission
1955-56; Richmond, Virginia

Good Hope Presbyterian Church
Bessemer, Alabama, 1957

Woodville Presbyterian Church
Richmond, Virginia, 1957-59

Candidate for Ministry - Augusta-Macon Presbytery, 1950
Ordained: By Norfolk Presbytery, 1960

PASTORATES

Covenant Presbyterian Church
Norfolk, Virginia, 1959-62

Parway Gardens Presbyterian Church
Memphis, Tennessee, 1962-66

Westminster Presbyterian Church
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Campus Pastor and Pastor of Westminster, 1965-72

Mt. Calvary Baptist Church
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1972-76

OTHER EMPLOYMENT

Recruitment Officer, Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama, 1956
Recruited students for Stillman College from the Southeast.

Instructor, English Communications
Norfolk State College, Norfolk, Virginia, 1960-62
Taught basic grammar, English composition and reading to freshman students.

OTHER EMPLOYMENT CONTINUED

Business Development Officer, EDA Grant
Auburn, Alabama, 1970-74
Assisted minority business to secure loans.

Chairman of Macon County Commission
Tuskegee, Alabama, 1976-82
Managed 3 million dollar a year budget.

Founder and President of Southern Vocational College
Tuskegee, Alabama, 1969-84;
Development Officer, 1984-93
A fully accredited Technical College by the Southern Association of Colleges
and Schools. Founded in 1969.

PUBLICATIONS, HONORS, AWARDS

"The Triumphant Life of the Poor in Spirit," a sermon published in the Book,
The Unsilent South edited by Don Shriver.

"God Loves You Just As You Are," an album of gospel and spiritual songs.

Contributor to: Day by Day

"Toward a Racially Inclusive Church" an article published by the Presbyterian
Outlook.

Work in Tuskegee and Rural Alabama Treated in Dr. Charles Hamilton's Book:
The Black Preacher in America.

Listed in Who's Who in Religion in America.

Listed as one of the most Outstanding Personalities in the South.

Received "S" award from Stillman College as one of its most outstanding
graduates.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Chairman, Rural Employment and Manpower Programs of the National Association of Counties.

Tuskegee Area Health Education Center, Founding Member of the Board of Directors.

District Five Ancillary Manpower Committee of the State of Alabama, Appointee.

Southeast Alabama Health Systems Council, Appointee.

Tuskegee Model Cities Community Development Commission, Representative.

Alabama Rural Council, Founding Member of the Board of Directors.

Administrative Committee, Alabama Association of Counties, Appointee.

Macon County Community Action Agency, Former Board Member.

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

American Association of Higher Education.

American Vocational Education Association.

Steering Committee on Employment, National Association of Counties.

KEY ADDRESSES

Stillman College, Founder's Day

Two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.

Sunday Morning Sermon, Presbyterian World Mission Conference
Montreat, North Carolina

Baccalaureate: Southwestern at Memphis, Tennessee

THE REVEREND DOCTOR LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD, SR.
VITAE
PAGE 5

KEY ADDRESSES CONTINUED

Commencement: Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond, Virginia

Commencement: Southern Vocational College, Tuskegee, Alabama

Alpha Phi Alpha Founder's Day, Tuskegee Institute Chapel, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

COMPETENCIES

Administration, planning, organization, project management, fiscal management, personnel management, counseling, proposal development, speech writing and delivery, proposal marketing, fundraising, grants and contracts compliance, public relations at the local, state, national business, church and foundation levels, reporting to Board, funding agencies, and regulatory agencies, and program design and evaluation.



SOUTHERN VOCATIONAL COLLEGE

P. O. BOX 688
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA 36083
OFFICE PHONE: (205) 727-5220



LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD, JR.
PRESIDENT

TELECOPIER COVER PAGE

TO: MR. Bruce Reed

COMPANY: Domestic Policy Council / The White House

TELEFAX NUMBER: (202) 456-7739

SENDER: Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr.

DEPARTMENT: Southern Vocational College

DATE: 7/20/93 TIME: A. M. P. M.

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE): 3

OUR TELEFAX NUMBER: (205) 727-1511

COMMENTS:

Bruce (Katie's way also his
his) OK

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LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD, JR.
PRESIDENT

July 20, 1993

Mr. Bruce Reed
Domestic Policy Council
The White House
Old Executive Office Building
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Reed:

First, I sincerely appreciate the remarks you made concerning welfare reform on Friday, July 9, 1993. I listened to your presentation on C-SPAN.

Second, I commend you for formulating President Clinton's Local and State Task Force on Welfare Reform.

Third, Ms. Carol H. Rasco, in her June 30, 1993 letter to me, indicated that she had asked you and Mrs. Kathi Way to contact me for the purpose of discussing welfare reform.

Fourth, I telephoned Mrs. Kathi Way on Friday, July 16, 1993, and we had a meaningful discussion on welfare reform. I promised to send her a position paper on welfare reform, and I indicated that I would send the same paper to you. Ms. Kathy Mays of your office called me on Monday July 19, 1993 on your behalf. I told her that I had talked with Mrs. Way, and I gave her the context of our conversation.

Fifth, I wrote a brief position paper on welfare reform last night; however, I read for the second time the Progressive Policy Institute's, Mandate For Change. I carefully read chapter 10, "Replacing Welfare With Work." I was positively overwhelmed and encouraged with this perceptive, relevant, and comprehensive work. It suddenly dawned upon me that what President Clinton needs is not a position paper on welfare reform, for he already has that in the Mandate For Change. What President Clinton needs is a cadre of people who have the commitment, expertise and mental agility to implement the goals articulated in, "Replacing Welfare With Work." This document is an excellent foundation to begin welfare reform discussion.

THIS FORM MARKS THE FILE LOCATION OF ITEM NUMBER 1
LISTED IN THE WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER.

THE FOLLOWING PAGE HAS HAD MATERIAL REDACTED. CONSULT THE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET AT THE FRONT OF THIS FOLDER FOR FURTHER
INFORMATION.

Mr. Bruce Reed
July 20, 1993
Page 2

You have taken the first bold step by appointing the Local and State Task Force on Welfare Reform. Since said Task Force is made up of public officials, you will now need to formulate a Task Force made up of service providers from the private nonprofit, for profit, business, foundation, religious and educational communities. After that, a Task Force from the welfare community should be formulated. Doing such, you will have input from a group of people who will need to work in partnership to truly sharpen the President's agenda so that it may be immediately sold to the American public.

Sixth, it is my firm conviction that the most urgent need in America today is that of overhauling the current welfare system. A strong national defense, economic growth, global competitiveness, health care reform, and reduction of the deficit are contingent upon our changing the welfare system as we know it today. The overhauling of the welfare system must demand both opportunity provided by the federal government and responsibility carried out by those who are enslaved by the welfare system. This point is stated vividly in the Conclusion of, "Replacing Welfare With Work." The authors remind us that: "While government's responsibility is to expand opportunities for the poor to enter the mainstream of American life, the poor have a reciprocal responsibility to work hard, exercise individual responsibility, and avoid behavior that has high social costs."

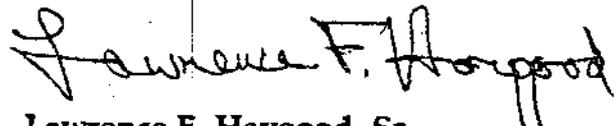
In conclusion, I wish to request a meeting with you and Mrs. Kathi Way at your office in Washington before this session of the Congress adjourns. My proposed agenda for discussion will be pages 217-236 taken from Mandate For Change, "Replacing Welfare With Work. My date of birth is [REDACTED] My Social Security number is [REDACTED] My home address is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

P6/(b)(6)

With the best of good wishes and highest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr.
Founder

LFH/cwa