

WR-Communications

December 9, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR CAROL RASCO

FROM: BRUCE REED & RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT: WELFARE REFORM

There are three stories we should set out to accomplish before all interest in politics dies out for the holiday season: 1) Signing of the waiver for Indiana, 2) Announcement of time and place for White House Welfare Reform Working Session, and 3) HHS preparing for mid-week report on the cost of orphanages per child and what that would do to the Federal Government. The waiver signing and the announcement of the Welfare Working Session should occur on the same day. All of these events should be coordinated with the larger message of the next two weeks.

Waiver Signing

Someone should draft a scheduling request for this event and coordinate the timing with the larger goal of President Clinton's speech next week.

There should be a White House photo released of President Clinton calling Governor Bayh before the signing.

We should use this opportunity to reiterate the President's principles for Welfare Reform, ie.) rewarding work, breaking the cycle of dependency, etc. The principles should be drafted in a statement to be released with the photo.

White House Welfare Reform Working Session

The President struck a bipartisan tone in the meeting with Governors on this issue, but in his Radio address he sharply attacked Gingrich on the issue of orphanages. In order to regain our bipartisan message we need to quickly announce the time and place of this event, and to emphasize the bipartisanship of the event.

In preparation for the announcement of the time and place of this event, someone needs to be responsible for the invites and the agenda.

HHS Report on orphanages

HHS will release their study or give it to a church to release sometime next week. The report will attack the orphanage proposal from the perspective of cost.

WR - Communications



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

A fax message from:

Melissa T. Skolfield
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
Phone: (202) 690-6853 Fax: (202) 690-5673

To: Bruce Reed
DPC

Fax: _____ Phone: _____

Date: _____ Total number of pages sent: _____

Comments:

As you heard, there is no consensus on whether or not to use this - and I don't really care. Just let Aris know Monday what your views are - I'll be on vacation!

In case of emergency, it's
Talk to you soon -

P6(b)(6)

ym.

DRAFT 1

WELFARE STORY

At the age of 16, "Sarah," a typical American teenager, became pregnant and dropped out of high school.

Under today's welfare system, Sarah would have few options and little hope. Under President Clinton's welfare reform proposal, however, Sarah's future would be dramatically different. This chart shows how our proposed reforms would make welfare a transitional system and provide Sarah with new opportunities for work and responsibility.

MINOR MOTHERS STAYING AT HOME

Now

Eager to have her own place, Sarah takes her welfare check and moves out. Her check is larger than it would be if she lived with her parents, but she often feels lonely and uncertain about how to raise her child.

SCHOOL

Now

Child care is difficult to find, and returning to school is unappealing. GED classes are also available, but Sarah refuses to attend.

MARRIAGE PENALTY

Now

Good news--Sarah's boyfriend gets a job. Sarah and her boyfriend discuss marriage, but they know that Sarah would lose her welfare eligibility. They decide not to get married.

Clinton Plan

Sarah must live at home or with a responsible adult in order to receive benefits. Her mother gives her advice, and helps her care for her baby.

Clinton Plan

Sarah must attend high-school in order to receive benefits. Case management and guaranteed child care allow her to complete her degree.

Clinton Plan

States may eliminate special eligibility requirements for two-parent families. Sarah and her boyfriend can choose to marry and raise their child together without being penalized.

CHILD SUPPORT

Now

Sarah loses contact with her child's father shortly afterwards, and paternity is never established. The father leaves the state soon afterward. Although Sarah gives his name to her case worker and tries to press her case through the courts, the state fails to collect child support. Without this safety net, Sarah is even less able to leave welfare.

EXEMPTIONS

Now

A welfare worker tells Sarah about JOBS, and encourages her to take GED or job training classes. But Sarah is exempt from education, training, and work requirements until her child is three. If she then has another child, she will receive a second three-year exemption. Benefits continue indefinitely, and her check increases with her second child.

Clinton Plan

Even if they don't get married, Sarah's boyfriend has acknowledged paternity through a hospital-based program when the baby was born. After briefly paying child support, he leaves the state without a forwarding address. But new enforcement tools -- including a national clearinghouse, expanded wage withholding, and license suspension -- ensure that he remains responsible for his child's financial well-being.

Clinton Plan

Sarah has finished high school and is given help with her resume and interviewing skills. She undertakes mandatory job search and starts looking for work. She knows that since she's 18, she will have a lifetime maximum of 24 months of benefits. States will be allowed not to increase her benefits if she gets pregnant again.

WORKNow

Sarah knows that work doesn't make sense. Her mother had worked hard, but her meager wages kept them below the poverty line. Sarah knows that if she works, her benefits will be reduced dollar for dollar, and she will probably lose both her child care and health insurance. As a result, she'd be worse off in a minimum wage job than she would be on welfare.

Clinton Plan

Sarah takes a minimum-wage job at a local restaurant. She receives the Earned Income Tax Credit, which effectively makes a minimum-wage job pay \$6.00 an hour. After a year of guaranteed child care, she is eligible for ongoing child care subsidies for the working poor. Because of health care reform, she receives health benefits from her employer.



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Bruce
P. S. Hande
Office of the Assistant Secretary
for Public Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20201

May 23, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Carol Rasco
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

FROM: Avis LaVelle *AL*
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

Melissa Skolfield *MS*
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

SUBJECT: Welfare Reform Communications

Attached for your consideration is a preliminary communications rollout plan for welfare reform, assuming an introduction date of June 14. We have discussed this rollout strategy with Rahm Emmanuel and Bruce Reed; with David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane; and with the legislative and intergovernmental team working on welfare reform here at the department. However, while this document incorporates many of the legislative activities discussed in a separate memo to Susan Brophy, it has not been formally reviewed by the White House legislative affairs, public liaison, or intergovernmental affairs offices. We look forward to discussing these recommendations in more detail at your convenience.

ATTACHMENTS:
Talking Points
Suggested Rollout Schedule

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **OVERALL PLAN**
May 4, 1994

"It's time to honor and reward people who work hard and play by the rules. That means ending welfare as we know it--not by punishing the poor or preaching to them, but by empowering Americans to take care of their children and improve their lives. No one who works full-time and has children at home should be poor anymore. No one who can work should be able to stay on welfare forever. We can provide opportunity, demand responsibility, and end welfare as we know it." President Clinton, Putting People First, p. 164.

Welfare reform is based on two simple principles: work and responsibility. Unfortunately, the current welfare system undermines these values by making welfare more attractive than work, and allowing parents to avoid responsibility for supporting their children. The President's plan would restore the basic values of work and responsibility, provide opportunity, and promote the family.

Under the President's plan, welfare will be about a paycheck, not a welfare check. To reinforce and reward work, our approach is based on a simple compact. Support, job training, and child care will be provided to help people move from dependence to independence. But after two years, anyone who can work, must work--in the private sector if possible, in a public service job if necessary.

Reform will make welfare a transitional system leading to work: a second chance, not a way of life. From the very first day, the new system will focus on making young mothers self-sufficient. With child care and job search assistance, many people will move into the workforce well before the two-year time limit. And from the very first day, teenage mothers will be required to live with their parents, stay in school, and attend job training or parenting classes. Everyone will be moving toward work.

Our approach also correctly focuses on young parents--those who have the most to gain and the most at risk. By initially focusing our resources on mothers under age 25, we will send a strong signal to teenagers that welfare as we know it has ended. They must get the message that staying in school, postponing pregnancy, preparing to work, and supporting their children are the right things to do. As welfare reform is phased in, a larger percentage of the caseload will be covered; and states which want to move even faster will be able to use federal matching funds to do so.

To support work and responsibility, work must pay. Already, 70 percent of welfare recipients leave the welfare rolls within two years--but most will eventually return. That's why we must use the Earned Income Tax Credit, guaranteed health care at work, and child care to make any job more attractive than welfare. The EITC alone will effectively make a minimum wage job pay \$6.00 an hour, helping

to lift millions of people who work out of poverty.

To reinforce personal responsibility, the plan will take new steps to require full payment of child support. It sets up a new system of paternity establishment to enforce the responsibility of both parents from the moment the child is born. It involves the IRS in tracking delinquent parents from the moment they start a new job to the point that child support is delivered to the family. And it sets up a computer system to be sure that parents don't avoid their responsibilities by crossing state lines.

Responsibility and accountability must also extend to the welfare office itself. Unfortunately, the current system focuses too often on simply sending out welfare checks. We must change the welfare office to a place that is fundamentally about moving people into the workforce. To do that, we must reward performance, not process, and change the culture of the welfare office.

Our approach builds on the successful philosophy of the Family Support Act, championed by then governor Clinton in 1988. More federal funding will help states provide increased job opportunities and basic skills training to mothers over age 25, even before the plan is fully phased in.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY
SUGGESTED WELFARE REFORM ROLLOUT SCHEDULE

Several assumptions underlie the recommendations made in this communications plan, which covers the next eight weeks. First, we assume that the "rollout" of welfare reform should be relatively low-key, especially in the first few weeks, as the Administration keeps the spotlight on health care reform. For that reason, we have relied mainly on surrogates (Cabinet secretaries and the Welfare Reform Working Group co-chairs) to carry the message during most of the period covered by this rollout document.

Second, the communications plan is designed to reinforce the three central elements of our plan: work, responsibility, and a focus on young parents. These three themes are reflected in the attached talking points; have been discussed with key congressional staff as a thematic focus for the early congressional hearings; and also provide what we believe is the best overall message to head off any attack from the right. Because the plan is likely to face continued and unfounded attacks for being "scaled back" or "not tough enough," it is particularly crucial to aggressively communicate our approach to teen pregnancy and to phasing in the plan early and visibly. We believe this is best accomplished by initially focusing attention on the young teen mothers who have the most at risk in the welfare reform debate.

We are suggesting a three-step process to build up to the announcement of welfare reform: stage-setting interviews by the President; a visible series of events focusing on child support enforcement, the most widely supported yet often overlooked part of the plan; and a series of media briefings by the co-chairs in the days immediately preceding the announcement.

We have also assumed that the announcement itself will be in Washington, D.C., and we are strongly recommending that welfare recipients be a visible part of the announcement event. As you know, the President has expressed interest in visiting one or more local welfare-to-work programs with members of Congress, and we are suggesting that one such event be scheduled for the week the plan is unveiled. But however the public rollout is structured, we believe it is important that the first Presidential activities on this issue convey that the Clinton Administration is "ending welfare as we know it - not by punishing the poor or preaching to them, but by empowering Americans to take care of their children and improve their lives."

Finally, we have suggested a number of events in June and July designed to show continued momentum of the welfare reform legislation. Because this latter part of the rollout schedule is the most difficult to plan in advance, this document shows only a relatively low-profile series of events keyed to a tentative congressional hearing schedule. We want to point out, however, that there are many exciting welfare-to-work, child support enforcement, and teen pregnancy prevention programs across the country which could easily be added to the travel schedules of the President, Vice President, and Cabinet secretaries.

WEEK OF MAY 23

FOCUS

Given the constraints of the President's schedule and the continued focus on health reform, we recognize that any welfare reform activities should be relatively low profile during this first week. However, we believe it is important for the President to accept interview requests from the four news magazines that are now preparing major cover stories on welfare reform. If possible, we are suggesting that he also do interviews with the major dailies.

The White House and HHS intergovernmental affairs team also suggests that the appropriate Administration officials meet with the leadership of the National Governors' Association, which is meeting in Washington, D.C. this week.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

POTUS:

Media interviews with Time, U.S. News, Newsweek, Business Week.
Media interviews with major dailies: Washington Post, New York Times, Los Angeles Times, USA Today, Wall Street Journal.
Private meeting with the NGA, if appropriate.

SHALALA/CO-CHAIRS:

If the NGA meeting is added to the presidential schedule, the Welfare Reform Working Group co-chairs, Secretary Shalala, and other Cabinet Secretaries should attend. We might also follow the meeting with a press briefing about how welfare reform will build on successful state efforts. If the NGA meeting is not placed on the President's schedule, no media activities of this kind seem necessary.

WEEK OF MAY 30

Congressional Recess - POTUS in Europe

FOCUS

With Congress in recess, we suggest using this week to focus attention on the child support enforcement provisions of the welfare reform plan, which are unlikely to receive media attention the day of the plan's announcement. There is wide agreement on the value of increasing parents' responsibility for their children, and a public event with members of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues could help increase their support for the overall plan. A background paper on child support enforcement has been prepared by HHS, and would be released this week as well.

Subject to the health reform schedule, district town hall meetings with members of Congress might also be arranged for the Welfare Reform Working Group co-chairs and for Secretary Shalala. Briefings for key staff (including House and Senate Democratic press secretaries) might also be arranged this week as well.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

SHALALA:

Child support event with members of the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues. (Although Congress is in recess, a number of local-area members of Congress could be invited to attend.)

CO-CHAIRS:

Release of child support background paper/press release.
Small background briefing on our child support enforcement plan.

NOTE: During the Welfare Reform Working Group's hearings around the country, several divorced and single mothers testified compellingly about the need for improvements in the child support system. Interviews with these single parents would be arranged for television and radio outlets. We may also want to develop features on programs which provide noncustodial fathers with job training to help them meet their child support obligations.

WEEK OF JUNE 6

Congressional recess ends June 7
POTUS in Europe through June 9

FOCUS

In the week immediately preceding the plan's announcement, we suggest taking advantage of the recess lull to hold a series of briefings for key Washington reporters. In addition, Secretary Shalala's previously scheduled speech to the U.S. Conference of Mayors would be used to preview the broad outlines of the plan. (The USCM will be voting on a welfare reform resolution during their conference.) While in Portland, Secretary Shalala and David Ellwood might also do a welfare reform site visit with members of the Oregon delegation and/or some of the mayors in attendance.

Secretary Shalala might also attend a welfare reform event with Rep. Lynn Woolsey (a former welfare recipient) or other members of the California delegation while she is on the west coast. If the schedule permits, she and David Ellwood might also plan to attend a Los Angeles Times editorial board meeting.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

SHALALA:

Welfare reform event with selected members of the California delegation, June 10.
U.S. Conference of Mayors speech in Oregon, June 12.

CO-CHAIRS:

Washington Post editorial board meeting; possible Washington Times editorial board meeting.

Embargoed background briefings for columnists; major dailies; White House press corps; Capitol Hill press corps; minority press. Features pitched to print and broadcast media on local "programs that work."

Briefings for Hill; intergovernmental groups; relevant interest groups.

NOTE: Ellwood in Portland for the USCM conference.

WEEK OF JUNE 13

INTRODUCTION WEEK

FOCUS

If the schedule permits, we are suggesting several events that focus attention on the basic philosophy of the Administration's plan: work and responsibility. As discussed in the introduction, we believe it is important for welfare recipients to be visibly involved in some way in the suggested events. Subject to their mark-up schedule for health reform, the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee have also expressed interest in holding hearings shortly after the plan's announcement.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

POTUS:

JUNE 13: Announcement speech at Georgetown University, where the President first spoke of welfare reform as part of the "new covenant." The President would be introduced by a former welfare recipient; other young mothers who testified at the working group's hearings should be present and acknowledged in some way. Members of the Working Group invited to attend.

JUNE 14: President tours a local welfare-to-work program with the congressional leadership, the Vice President, and Secretaries Shalala, Reich and Riley. One possible location for this site visit is Jubilee Jobs.*

JUNE 15: In a separate memo, HHS has suggested that the President provide pre-taped remarks for a previously scheduled welfare-to-work teleconference with businesses in eleven cities across the United States. (The conference is jointly sponsored by HHS, the Department of Labor, the Department of Education, and the National Alliance of Business.) This would provide a third day of regional press, and might also be of interest to the television networks.

SHALALA/CO-CHAIRS:

Attend above, plus:

JUNE 13: Shalala/Bane/Ellwood/Reed: morning shows, satellite media tours, radio interviews.
Ellwood on MacNeil/Lehrer (pending request).

JUNE 15: Testify at kickoff House Ways and Means Committee hearing (subject to committee schedule).
Participate in HHS welfare-to-work conference, possibly with Secretary Reich and Secretary Riley.

JUNE 16: Testify at kickoff Senate Finance Committee hearing (subject to committee schedule).

WEEK OF JUNE 13, cont.

JUNE 16: Shalala at National Press Club. (pending request)

JUNE 17: To provide a transition to the next week's focus on young teen mothers, Secretary Shalala is planning a visit to a teen pregnancy prevention program she helped found in New York City while at Hunter College. While there, she could also meet with the New York Times editorial board and do a media roundtable with reporters and editors from women's magazines.

JUNE 19: Shalala on Sunday public affairs shows.

* Founded in 1981, Washington, D.C.'s Jubilee Jobs operates on the premise that the best step for a person ready and able to work is to be placed in a job as quickly as possible. Jubilee Jobs places over 500 applicants in entry-level jobs annually; no fees are charged. As part of its assessment process Jubilee Jobs runs Cana Industries, a bulk mailing service that is its main work-training program for the long-term unemployed. In addition, Jubilee Jobs runs the Barnabus Self-Employment Fund, a micro-enterprise development fund designed to provide training and small loans to prospective business owners.

WEEK OF JUNE 20

FOCUS

This week would be the first of three weeks of activities spotlighting teen pregnancy prevention, work, and responsibility. As discussed in the introduction, we are suggesting a "theme a week" approach to continue the momentum of the President's announcement. Ideally, each week would be anchored by a congressional hearing.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

POTUS:

Visit to a local teen pregnancy prevention program with members of the Maryland or Virginia congressional delegation. One possible location for this site visit is the Paquin School in Baltimore.*

CO-CHAIRS:

One of the co-chairs should testify at a Congressional hearing focusing on our "carrots and sticks" approach to teen pregnancy prevention: case management, pregnancy prevention grants, sanctions for failure to live at home and stay in school, and a phased-in approach to time limits that starts with young women under age 25.

As discussed in the introduction, we are suggesting a strong, early defense of our approach to teen pregnancy prevention and the phase-in to help pre-empt expected attacks from the right.

* The Laurence G. Paquin School, a Baltimore City Public Alternative School, serves expectant and parenting middle and secondary school adolescents. Approximately 300 students between the ages of 12 and 19 are enrolled, and the curriculum is a comprehensive program for grades 7-12. Support services include a health center, career counseling, and an on-site day care program. Special programs include 'Young Sensations,' a vocational entrepreneur program which designs and manufactures clothes for infants and toddlers; 'For Dads Only,' a counseling program for young fathers; and 'Pair and Share,' an inter-generational education program to help the students' mothers return to school and learn marketable skills.

WEEK OF JUNE 27

FOCUS

The second week after the announcement focuses on work, and the fundamental transformation of welfare into a transitional system designed to move young mothers quickly from dependence to independence. While it is extremely difficult to predict the congressional workload four weeks from now, we are again assuming that one of the relevant committees would be interested in a thematic hearing focused on the core of the President's plan.

It might be possible to add other events to the schedule, depending on interest groups' endorsement of the plan. These events might be structured press conferences, or friendly groups might simply testify at congressional hearings.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

CO-CHAIRS:

Reed or Bane testify at Congressional hearing focusing on moving welfare recipients from welfare to work. The hearing would focus on the promise of education and training; the new time limits and work requirements; local flexibility in designing the work program; and the involvement of the private sector.

WEEK OF JULY 4

Congressional recess

FOCUS

By early July, we should be able to make a good assessment of the legislative status of both health reform and welfare reform, and perhaps schedule the Welfare Reform Working Group co-chairs for a more ambitious set of district town hall meetings with members of Congress. Additional momentum could be generated by a Presidential (or Secretarial) address to the NAACP during their Chicago convention.

If the President's schedule permits a trip to Chicago, we would suggest adding a stop at Chicago's Project Match, one of the most successful and well-known welfare-to-work programs in the country.*

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

POTUS:

Speech to NAACP July 9 in Chicago/site visit to Project Match.

SHALALA/CO-CHAIRS:

District town hall meetings with members of Congress.

* Project Match has worked with more than 740 residents of the Cabrini-Green community in Chicago. After receiving an initial assessment, participants are placed in one or more of a range of activities, including education, training, employment, and volunteer work. The program has been demonstrably successful in increasing labor force participation and wages.

WEEK OF JULY 11

During this week, we would continue our thematic congressional hearings with a hearing focusing on responsibility, particularly child support enforcement. We might also want to arrange a fourth hearing on accountability and responsibility within the welfare system itself; the focus of that hearing would be the anti-fraud provisions, the new performance standards, and other measures to "change the culture" of the welfare office.

As noted in the introduction, more high-profile events or site visits could easily be added to the schedule.

**GOAL NUMBER ONE
Strengthening Families**

WR - Comm.

"We are working on reforming the welfare system, so that more people can move from dependence to independence; can be successful parents and successful workers."

**President Bill Clinton
Boston, MA on March 14, 1994**

"If we value strong families, we cannot perpetuate a system that penalizes those who stay together..."

"If we value personal responsibility, we cannot ignore the \$34 billion in child support that absent parents ought to be paying to millions of mothers and children. To absent parents who aren't paying their child support, we'll say, 'If you're not providing for your children, we'll garnish your wages, we'll suspend your license, we'll track you across state lines, and if necessary, we'll make some of you work off what you owe. People who bring children into this world can't just walk away...'"

"We will say to teenagers, 'If you have a child out of wedlock, we will no longer give you a check to set up a separate household. We want families to stay together...'"

"We dramatically increased the Earned Income Tax Credit to lift them out of poverty, to reward work over welfare, to make it possible for people to be successful workers and successful parents..."

**President Bill Clinton
State of the Union Address
January 25, 1994**

POLICY COMPONENTS:

Helping Working Parents Support Their Children

- ▶ Child Care (All Components)
- ▶ Child Support Assurance Demonstrations
- ▶ Two-Parent Families Treated as Fairly as Single Parents
- ▶ EITC
- ▶ Health Insurance

Enforcing Responsibility for Non-Custodial Parents

- ▶ Paternity Establishment
- ▶ Child Support Enforcement
- ▶ Non-Custodial Parent Demonstrations

Preventing Dependency for Teenagers

- ▶ Pregnancy Prevention
- ▶ Requirements to Stay in School
- ▶ Minor Mothers Live at Home

GOAL NUMBER TWO
Welfare As A Transition To Work

"And to all those who depend on welfare, we should offer this simple compact: We will provide the support, the job training, the child care you need for up to two years. But after that, anyone who can work must work -- in the private sector, if possible, in community service, if necessary. We will make welfare what it ought to be: A second chance, not a way of life..."

President Bill Clinton
State of the Union Address
January 25, 1994

POLICY COMPONENTS:

Changing the Culture of the Welfare Office

- ▶ Education and Training
- ▶ Child care and Transportation Assistance
- ▶ Job Search
- ▶ Focus on Moving To Work
- ▶ Real Case Management

Two-Year Time Limit

- ▶ Everyone Who Is Able Is Expected To Do Something From The First Day
- ▶ Limited Exemptions Available at State Determination
- ▶ Work for Wages/A Paycheck, Not a Welfare Check

Promoting Work and Opportunity

- ▶ Preference for Private Sector Jobs
- ▶ Public Sector Jobs as Last Resort
- ▶ The Dignity and the Responsibility of a Real Job

GOAL NUMBER THREE
Building A Realistic Partnership For Change

"We gave the states more power to innovate -- because we know that great ideas can come from outside Washington -- and many states are using it..."

"I worked for years on this welfare problem, and I can tell you: the people who most want to change welfare are the very people on it. They want to get off welfare, and get back to work, and support their children..."

President Bill Clinton
State of the Union Address
January 25, 1994

POLICY COMPONENTS:

Responsiveness To States

- ▶ Responding to the Local Labor Market
- ▶ Stepped-up Phase-in
- ▶ Encouraging State Innovation

Private Sector Involvement

- ▶ Subsidies
- ▶ Microenterprises
- ▶ Private Industry Councils

A New Compact With Recipients

- ▶ Personal Responsibility Contracts
- ▶ Employability Plan
- ▶ Exemption Determination

GOAL NUMBER FOUR
Responsibility and Accountability

"Just as we must transform our unemployment system, we must also revolutionize our welfare system. It doesn't work. It defies our values as a nation..."

President Bill Clinton
State of the Union Address
January 25, 1994

POLICY COMPONENTS:

Accountability for Taxpayers

- ▶ Rewarding Work, Not Dependency
- ▶ Ending Disincentives in the Current System
- ▶ Reinforcing Values: Work, Family, Opportunity, Responsibility

Preventing Fraud

- ▶ National Database
- ▶ Better Use of Technology

Rewarding Performance, Not Process

- ▶ Simplification Between Programs
- ▶ Performance Incentives
- ▶ Co-ordinated Dissemination of Information of Various Assistance Programs
- ▶ More Efficient Use of Resources through Bureaucratic Simplification

MR - COMM.

The following summarizes requests for paper, information and other projects from the various external affairs offices involved in welfare reform. The Working Group communications staff will work closely with ACF and ASPE to collect information and prepare it in the most useful format. The ASPE staff contact will be Marcy Carlson, and the ACF staff contacts will be designated in both OFA and OPE.

More detailed descriptions of these efforts are found in the following pages:

Paper

1. Talking Points/Q and A's
2. Program Fact Sheets
3. Model Program Information
4. Issue Files
5. State Profiles
6. Individual Profiles
7. Working Group Information
8. Working Papers
9. Other Documents

Other Projects

1. Morning Report
2. Side by Side Comparison of Plans
3. List of Outside Contacts/Surrogates
4. List of Reporters
5. Clinton Speeches/Quotes
6. Press Kit
7. Good Clips
8. Video
9. Recipient Focus Groups
10. Academics Briefing
11. Editorial Writers/Columnists
12. Site Visits for External Use
13. Shared Database

1. Talking Points/Q and A's

Current general talking points and model questions and answers will be maintained for use by administration officials in speeches and interviews.

Three versions of talking points (one page, three pages, and five pages) are currently being developed.

Not for public use.

Current versions will be maintained in the welfare reform binders.

Current talking points will be maintained by Jeremy Ben-Ami (401-6954) and will be developed with Melissa Skolfield and approved by the co-chairs.

2. Program Fact Sheets

These fact sheets describe programs as they currently exist:

AFDC
AFDC-UP
EITC
Child Support Enforcement
Child Care Programs
JOBS
Waivers

For Public Use

Available in Welfare Reform Binder

Requests for new ones: Abbie Gottesman 205-3600

- coordinate with David Siegel ACF/OFA

3. Model Program Profiles

These are one page descriptions of programs around the country that are models which the administration hopes to encourage through welfare reform:

New Hope
Project Match
Teen Parent Demonstration
Parents Fair Share
Riverside GAIN
ASSETS
LEAP (Mississippi)
CAP (New York)
Single Parent Employment Demo (Utah)
Kenosha JOBS
Paternity Affidavit Program (Washington)

Additional model programs will be included in the state profiles.

For Public Use

Available in Welfare Reform Binder

Requests for new ones: Helene Grady 401-4886

- coordinate with relevant programs*
- incorporate materials from John Wolff*

4. Issue Files

Working Group staff will maintain files on particular information of importance that includes important facts, talking points, suggested outside contacts on the issue, and relevant clippings. Examples of issues include:

Two Parent Families
Minor Parents
Private Sector Subsidies
Child Support Assurance
etc.

There will eventually be files on most of the hottest issues that are likely to be the subject of questions from the press, public or elected officials.

Not for Public Use

Current files on these issues will be maintained by Toby Graff (401-9258). Information will be prepared in coordination with ASPE (Marcy Carlson will coordinate) and ACF/OPE.

5. State Profiles

These documents will contain the following information about key states:

- basic political information - elected officials, party affiliation, etc.
- 2 pages of standard info on demographics, caseloads, etc.
- description of state welfare policy, including legislation
- description of waivers, current or planned
- model programs in the state (beyond those mentioned above)
- profiles of individual people in the state whose stories can be used in speeches or to whom press can be referred.
- a summary of the press coverage of the issue in the state, including the editorial leanings of major newspapers, and a summary of local activists whom the local press consults

The following state profiles are complete:

Illinois
New Jersey
California
Tennessee

The following will be complete by mid-January:

Pennsylvania	New York
Louisiana	Rhode Island
Minnesota	Texas
Michigan	Missouri
Oklahoma	Washington
Iowa	Oregon
Kansas	

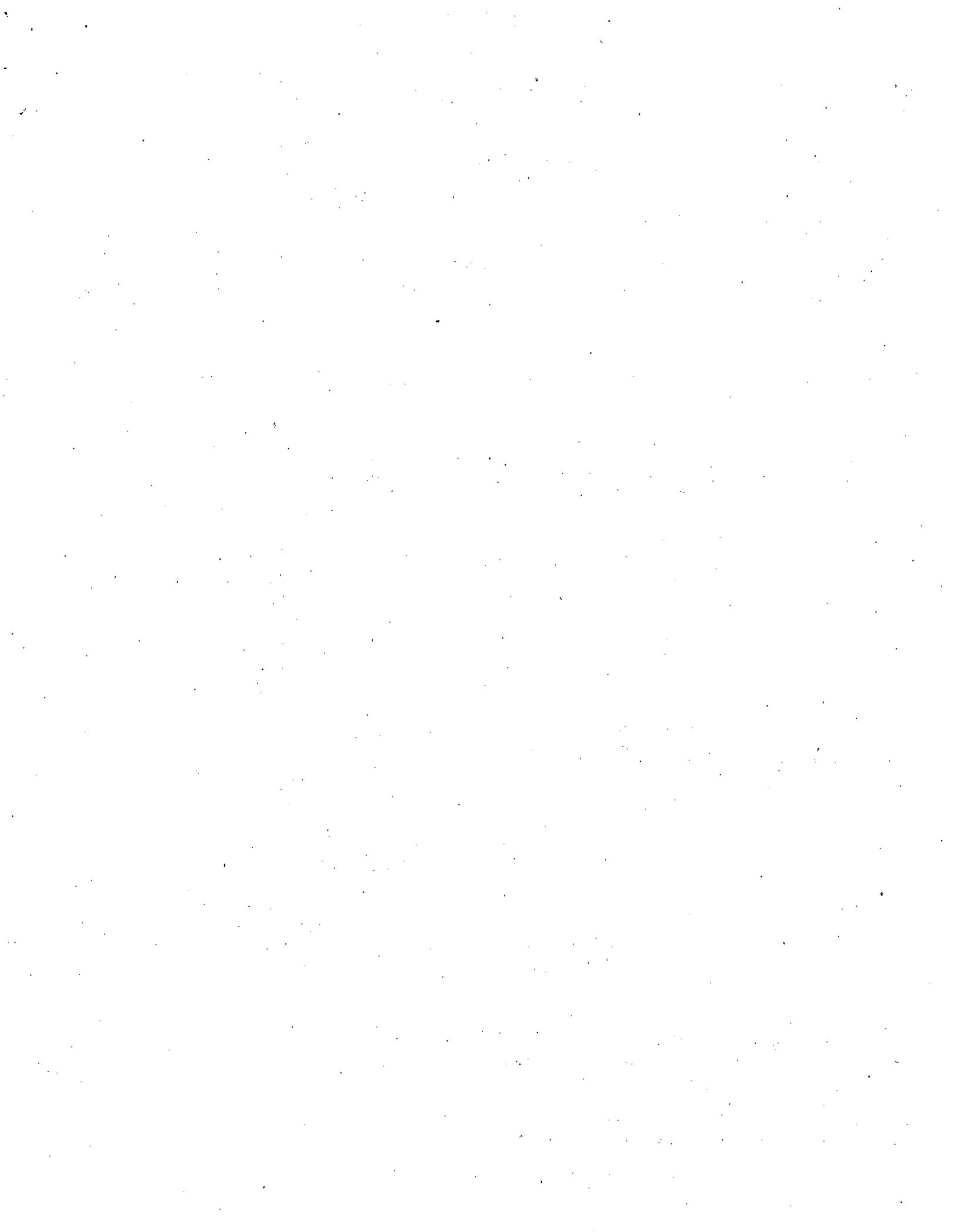
Others can be prepared as needed. Among those under consideration are:

Maryland
Virginia
Wisconsin
Massachusetts

These are not for public use.

Current profiles will be provided in a second binder in January. We are looking into the possibility of making these available on a limited basis through a shared database between ASL, ASPE, ACF, ASPA, and Intergovernmental. This would allow updated contacts with the states and their elected officials to be shared among the offices.

Current information will be maintained by Helene Grady 401-4886. All information will be cleared through ASPE and ACF/OPE before being shared.



6. Individual Profiles

Profiles of individuals around the country whose experiences with the welfare system are illustrative either of problems we are trying to solve or of solutions we are trying to emulate will be maintained. These stories will be derived from the hearings, from letters received by the Working Group, and from staff research for the state profiles. All individuals will give their approval prior to the use of their stories.

At first, there will be a national list. Once enough stories have been written up, they will be provided regionally and by issue. Eventually, the stories will be provided on a state by state basis.

The stories are for public use, but the write-ups are not for public distribution.

The stories will be provided in the welfare reform binder and in the state profiles.

The most current stories will be available through Helene Grady (401-4886).

7. Working Group Information

Basic factual information about the Working Group, its composition, process, outreach, etc. will be compiled into one piece prepared for public use.

Currently, there are several pieces of information available:

- Description of Working Group
- List of Members
- Summary of Outreach efforts
- Summary of Hearings
- Summary of Consultation with Welfare Recipients

These documents are for internal use. A public document will be prepared.

Current versions are in the welfare reform binder.

8. Working Papers

Detailed background papers on a variety of welfare reform issues are being prepared for public distribution.

The current list of topics includes:

The case for welfare reform
AFDC program description and recipient characteristics
Dynamics
Child support
Work and training programs
Child care
Noncustodial parents

Other topics are under consideration.

These papers will receive wide public distribution.

The release dates will begin in late January.

The release and preparation of the papers is being coordinated by ASPE. Questions should be directed to Ann McCormick (690-5880).

9. Other Documents

Other papers will need to be developed to explain and justify the welfare reform proposal. They could include:

- the draft discussion paper, which at some point would be revised to be the actual proposal and incorporate the vision, need for reform, the strategy, and perhaps some justification of the particulars (about 25-30 pages)
- the specifications document, which will incorporate vision and rationale, a description of current law, and a detailed description of the proposal (a lengthy document)
- rationale - why the proposal should be adopted

The first two documents will evolve from our on-going activities. The third document will need to be developed.

In addition, other papers are being considered for drafting, including a substantive piece that could serve as a response/rebuttal to Charles Murray's position, and a summary of the evidence on the role of welfare as a causative factor in changing family and economic behavior.

These documents will ultimately be for public use and distribution. Their preparation will be coordinated by ASPE. Questions should be directed to Wendell Primus (690-7409).

1. Morning Report

Each morning, schedules, clippings, and other pertinent information is being faxed to all relevant offices.

The report is for internal use only.

The contact person for the report is Toby Graff, 401-9258.

2. Chart Comparing Republican Plan/Current Law/Draft Paper

This is a side by side comparison of 25 key elements of the draft proposal, the Republican plan, and current law. It is being prepared at ASL's request.

For Internal Use Only

The chart is being prepared by Abbie Gottesman, 205-3600, and will be reviewed by ASPE and ACF prior to being distributed.

3. List of Outside Contacts/Surrogates

This chart will list people outside government who are willing to do one of the following:

- answer press questions
- make public presentations on behalf of the administration
- write op-eds, letters to the editor, etc.

This chart will provide information on specific issues that the person is willing to address. It will also eventually be broken down regionally. The issue files will also contain names of people willing to speak about the specific issue being addressed.

For Internal Use.

List will be prepared by Toby Graff, 401-9258, and will be circulated for approval by the three co-chairs.

4. List of Reporters

An up-to-date list of reporters covering welfare on the national and local level is being maintained as part of the Welfare Reform database. The list has mailing addresses, phone and fax numbers.

The list is being maintained by Helene Grady, but will be updated and reviewed by Melissa Skolfield and the HHS Press Office.

5. Clinton Speeches/Quotes

An up-to-date file of speeches, quotes and interviews by the President on welfare reform will be maintained.

The suggestion is for the ACF Office of Public Affairs to create and maintain this list.

6. Press Kit

The materials provided to the press in response to general inquiries regarding welfare reform will be updated.

This material is obviously for public use.

Requests for press kits should be forwarded to Melissa Skolfield's office, 690-6853.

7. Good Clips

A file of stories which we wish to distribute to the public and to other press will be kept.

This material is obviously for public use.

The suggestion is for the ACF Office of Public Affairs to develop and maintain this file.

8. Video

The Working Group staff is developing a script for a video to be distributed when the plan is released describing the welfare reform effort, the general problems that are being addressed and some of the model solutions that are being tested around the country.

This video will obviously be for public use.

Jim Hickman, 401-6958, is working with the production staff of HHS public affairs to develop the outlines of this project.

9. Recipient Focus Groups

Focus groups with welfare recipients are being scheduled for January.

Jim Hickman is pulling this project together.

10. Academics Briefing

A briefing for key academics is being organized for the second week in January.

Jim Hickman is organizing this briefing. Suggestions for invitees should be forwarded to him.

11. Editorial Writers/Columnists

We will be asking the co-chairs to brief a series of key editorial writers and columnists about the plan in the near future. A list has been developed by Melissa Skolfield that will be circulated for comments and additions. The chairs will then divide up the list and can either brief people over the phone or set up time to meet with the people they have chosen.

[Melissa has prepared the initial list and will follow through with this project.]

12. Site Visits for External Use

We will organize a series of site visits through January, February and March which can be used by the various external affairs groups to show legislative staff, columnists, etc. some of the model programs in the D.C. area and give them an opportunity to interact with welfare recipients.

Jim Hickman is organizing this project. He will be contacting each office to schedule times in the coming months for visits.

13. Shared Database

We are looking into the possibility of arranging to share computer files between the various offices -- ASL, Intergovernmental, ASPA, Public Liaison, etc. -- such as the issue files, the state profiles so that the latest versions can be accessed directly from a shared database.

Abbie Gottesman is pursuing this project and will report back to us within the next week.

COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGY 8/11 - 9/15
WELFARE REFORM
DRAFT

TIME PERIOD: AUGUST 11 - SEPTEMBER 15

MAJOR THEME: CHILD SUPPORT

IMPORTANT DATES: 8/19 Washington, D.C. event
9/9 New York/New Jersey event

I. AUDIENCES

1. Members of Congress
 - A. Democrats
 - B. Republicans
2. Media "opinion leaders"
3. General public/general media
 - A. Regional media - New Jersey/New York
 - B. Local media - Washington, D.C.
4. State and local officials
4. Interest groups

II. MESSAGE

CHILD SUPPORT IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF WELFARE REFORM

1. One of four missions
2. Reinforces values: responsibility, family
3. Need is great
4. There are solutions

II. POSSIBLE STRATEGIES

1. To Members of Congress
 - A. Special briefings
 - B. Child support briefing paper
 - C. Sample weekly column on child support
2. To Media Opinion Leaders
 - A. Individual meetings
 - B. Editorial board meetings: New York, New Jersey, Washington, D.C.
 - C. Briefing paper
 - D. Op/ed

3. To General Media/General Public

- A. Washington D.C. hearing
 - i) press availability
 - ii) local interviews - radio, television
- B. Release of briefing paper
 - i) with background briefing?
- C. Child support site visit
 - i) video news release
 - ii) radio feed
- D. Coordination with interest groups
 - i) "Most Wanted" list
- E. Individual stories on solutions
 - i) IRS disclosure to ACF/
offsets from tax refunds
 - ii) Department of Justice involvement
- F. New Jersey hearing
 - i) special child support panel?
- G. Presidential executive order?
Presidential proclamation of child support month?

File:
WR -
Communications

To: Mary Jo Bane
David Ellwood
Bruce Reed

From: Jeremy Ben-Ami

Subject: Public Events

Date: May 7, 1993

This memo explores the issues and options surrounding the public events to be held during the summer by the Welfare Reform Working Group.

We need to come to a consensus soon on our objectives and vision of the events so planning can begin. A number of objectives have been discussed ranging from public education to consensus building to an opportunity for public input. While all worthy goals, they may not all be attainable through any single event or type of event. We have a wide variety of avenues open to us to do these things: consensus building can be done outside the public process, public education is more effective when done through more focussed and controlled vehicles. Trying to make these events meet all the objectives that have been discussed may make them ineffective at achieving any of them.

This memo lays out the objectives that have been discussed, outlines the options for structuring the events, discusses those options and makes recommendations on how to proceed.

Objectives

The following objectives have been discussed:

1. Create Consensus/Involvement -- It is critical to bring important players (NGA, APWA, labor, advocacy groups, etc.) into the policy development process and desirable to try to achieve some level of consensus among them on as many components as possible of the program being developed. The more these events provide these groups an opportunity to have an impact on the policy, the more the groups will buy into and have a stake in the ultimate proposal.

2. Open Process -- There have to be opportunities for those who want to have their say on welfare reform to be heard by members of the Working Group during the development process. The "openness" of the process will be as critical to its public acceptance as its actual substance.

3. Information Gathering -- Members of the Working Group can use these public events as an opportunity to listen to people beyond the Beltway and to learn more about the effects of the system and the potential consequences of different approaches to reform.

4. Public Education -- These events can also be a vehicle for informing the public about welfare reform, improving awareness of the issue and understanding of the program being proposed.

While these are each important objectives for our welfare reform effort in general, they need not be goals for these particular events. For instance, public education will be critical to passing welfare reform legislation, but these events may not be the best vehicle for achieving that goal.

Options

We have discussed a variety of ways to structure the events. The following are the primary options:

1. Public Hearings -- The traditional approach is to hold a hearing where people and groups have the opportunity to present testimony to and answer questions from members of the Working Group. This would further both the goal of having an open process and of gathering information for the Working Group, but is generally unsatisfactory in building consensus and involving participants in the process.

2. Conversations/"Town Meetings" -- Structuring the events as roundtable discussions provides greater opportunity for involvement by participants. This model has, among others, the following elements:

- o Members of the Working Group participate with representatives of organizations such as NGA, APWA, labor, CDF, etc. in an open discussion of a series of issues such as how to make the EITC most effective, prevention strategies, how to structure public employment. There is no formal testimony, only open discussion with all participants on an equal footing, moderated perhaps by an outsider such as an academic.
- o The discussion can be kicked off by presentations by people who have compelling stories to tell (the mother who has given up a job to stay on welfare because of the health benefits;

the director of a model welfare-to-work program who talks about the reasons her program is successful; the social worker who has seen the effects of the system on pregnant teenagers, etc.).

- o The event is open to the public and the press, and, if properly produced and packaged, can be either videotaped and made available for later distribution, or even carried live or on tape by C-Span or local news channels.

The "Conversation" model was used by the Health Care Task Force and participants felt a sense of greater involvement than from a traditional hearing. However, the "Conversation" model is still somewhat unsatisfying since, as with a hearing, it yields no conclusion or decision, and therefore no clear impact on policy. It is also by nature more exclusive, as only a limited number can participate in the discussion if it is to be effective.

3. Consensus building process -- It is possible to imagine a series of events designed to bring a group of actors together for discussions of either broad principles or specific policy proposals that would ultimately lead to the development of a consensus position designed to affect policy. This would represent the extreme to which one could go toward achieving the first objective, but is even more closed to the public. Likely elements of this type of process include:

- o There would have to be a series of questions put before the participants that the Working Group felt comfortable seeing discussed in such an open way. One approach would be to seek consensus on broad principles; another would be to take the guiding principles as givens and to put into debate more nitty-gritty issues such as how to structure the community service jobs program.
- o A mechanism for decision making would have to be agreed to ahead of time so that the process would actually lead to the formation of a consensus on the questions discussed.
- o There would need to be clear up-front understanding about the effect the decisions reached by the group would have on the administration's ultimate proposal. If the consensus is simply a non-binding opinion that could be disregarded, the process will do little to further the goal of creating a stake in the process for the participants. If the consensus is to have some binding impact on the ultimate policy, then careful thought has to be given to the scope of the questions ultimately placed before the group.

No

It is not clear whether this consensus building process needs to take place in the context of these regional public events.

4. Site Visits -- Highly public visits to "model" programs and meetings with clients and workers are valuable tools for generating greater public awareness of the issues and of the programs that have been developed to address them. Such events are valuable for public education but have no bearing on the other objectives discussed above.

Private visits for information gathering purposes by members of the Working Group are, of course, a different issue.

5. Focus Groups -- Meetings with groups of people affected by various aspects of the system and/or with people who work in the system are effective ways for Working Group members to get a "real-world" sense of the problems and effectiveness of solutions being considered. As with the site visits, it makes sense for Working Group members to take part in focus groups. However, they can be worked in around the public events, and do not have to be a driving force behind the scheduling and design of the public events.

Discussion

The following are some points to consider in our planning:

- o Remember our audience this summer. During the development of the plan, our audience is primarily the individuals and organizations with a pre-existing interest in welfare: interest groups, members of the media, Congress, other governmental actors, and academics. Prior to announcing a program, we want to ensure they (1) feel involved in the process and (2) become as well informed as possible about the options being considered and the possible direction in which the policy is moving. For this audience, we need to disseminate large quantities of fairly detailed information and engage them in substantive discussions about the policy. This audience will not be effectively addressed by media-oriented public events.
- o Whatever we do this summer will not receive much attention from the general public for a variety of reasons: (1) with Bosnia, the budget, and health reform on the front pages, we would have to settle for relatively minimal coverage even if we made coverage our primary goal; (2) we simply won't have a story that is all that sexy for major news outlets: members of the Working Group visiting cities to talk about reform will generate some local coverage and maybe one initial national story, but without a principal (the President, Mrs. Clinton), major national coverage is unlikely. The general public's attention needs to be focussed at

the time of the announcement of the proposal. At that point, flashier public events with straightforward messages will be more effective.

- o We have to remain aware that designing a process to be open, so that anyone who wants to can have a voice, stands in contrast to a process that brings key "players" around a table to reach consensus and buy into a proposal.
- o Rather than try to make any one event meet all objectives, it is probably better to do a series of events combining different strategies and meeting more goals.
- o The more the events are designed to actually provide some consensus advice to the Working Group, the closer we come to the FACA rules.
- o Our single greatest media story is to highlight the alternatives to welfare that work: New Hope, Project Match, Riverside, etc. These are the projects we want people to become familiar with the way they know about the effects of Head Start in the context of the Ypsilanti study, or, in New York, Andrew Cuomo's HELP program for the homeless. These are the stories we want written when the President announces his plan and sends it to Congress. The events this summer do not need to be oriented around these projects or locations if we envision them as critical to our sales effort in the fall. We should hold some of our best ammunition in reserve.

No

Recommendations

1. We need to decide quickly how serious we are about designing these events as a consensus building process as this would clearly become the driving force in how we proceed.
2. Whatever we decide on #1, I would recommend that we plan a combination of event types: four "Conversation" events and two standard hearings. One of these hearings should be in Washington to accommodate the national organizations.
3. Our goal for media coverage of these events should be the creation of the perception of an open process. Any further substantive message should be gotten out through different means.
4. We should plan to highlight model programs and engage in broader public education during the "roll out" from the announcement of the plan this fall rather than during the summer.

5. The more limited focus of these events would not affect our other plans this summer to inform, educate, and engage those audiences with a pre-existing interest in welfare.

Let's discuss and reach some closure at the Steering Committee meeting on Tuesday.

cc: Avis Lavelle
Rich Tarplin
John Monahan
Paul Legler
Ann McCormick