

**WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM,  
FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE**

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Reed

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM,  
FAMILY SUPPORT, AND INDEPENDENCE

FROM: MARY JO BANE  
DAVID T. ELLWOOD  
BRUCE REED  
WORKING GROUP CO-CHAIRS

SUBJECT: MATERIALS FOR NOVEMBER 20 MEETING

DATE: NOVEMBER 19, 1993

We enclose materials for our meeting tomorrow. They consist of:

Tab A: Draft Welfare Reform Options Paper -- CONFIDENTIAL  
Tab B: Background on Working Group Outreach and Site Visits  
Tab C: Background on Republican Welfare Reform Plan  
Tab D: Statistics on the State of the Child

It is very important that the draft options paper be treated as highly confidential. It does not represent Administration policy, but rather is a vehicle designed to start discussion. The President has not seen this paper. Everything in it is an option open for discussion.

Please keep distribution of the draft paper to a bare minimum within your agency, and share it only with your close associates whom you trust, so that we can avoid leaks. In addition, we ask that you not discuss this paper with the press, either on or off the record. Please refer any calls from the press to Avis LaVelle, HHS Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. We look forward to using this draft as the basis for vigorous discussion tomorrow. We will open the day by asking each Working Group member to identify two or three major areas that you would most like to discuss.

Other details about the meeting:

Food -- If you haven't already requested a box lunch, we assume that you will bring your own, or buy something at the hotel or nearby. If you have requested lunch, please be prepared to pay \$11 by check or cash.

Dress -- Casual

Questions -- Please call Ann McCormick at 690-5880 with any questions.





**Outreach Efforts  
Welfare Reform Working Group**

Outreach to advocacy organizations has been one of the top priorities of the Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence. Since the announcement of the Working Group in June, the outreach efforts have focussed on reaching out to a broad range of organizations with general information about the mandate of the Working Group and the principles on which the welfare reform proposal for the President will be based. A priority in this phase of outreach was also to solicit input and ideas from a wide range of interested organizations.

Since the creation of the Working Group, members have met with over 200 organizations in over 95 meetings, ranging from meetings with religious organizations, women's advocacy groups, legal groups, father's rights advocates, African American organizations, Native American organizations, child support advocates, social workers, hunger groups, housing advocates and Hispanic organizations. Members of the Working Group have also spoken about the work of the Working Group at over 40 conferences and meetings hosted by numerous advocacy organizations. Examples of these meetings include the annual conferences hosted by the National Association of Social Workers, National Alliance of Business, National Black Child Development Institute, National Council of La Raza and Women Work (formerly known as the National Displaced Homemakers Network).

Additionally, the Working Group heard testimony from over 150 groups during the five hearings held in Chicago, New Jersey, Washington, D.C., Sacramento and Memphis.

**WELFARE REFORM WORKING GROUP  
REGIONAL VISIT SUMMARY**

The Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence conducted five public forums from August to November 1993. The forums were held in Chicago, Ill., Washington, D.C., Cranford, N.J., Sacramento, CA., and Memphis, TN. The Working Group heard from over 220 witnesses, including 24 witnesses who once or are currently receiving AFDC and three witnesses with child support problems.

An essential element of the four regional visits outside of Washington, D.C., was the time spent in the community gathering information. Working Group members went to neighborhoods, visited programs, and met with local residents before each hearing. Overall, the Working Group visited 12 program sites and two private residences, held informal focus group discussions with 66 AFDC recipients, and met with 34 caseworkers. Finally, most members that attended a public forum outside of Washington, D.C., observed an AFDC eligibility interview in a local welfare office.

**FORUM SUMMARIES**

Each forum had a particular focus. The first three forums centered on three of the President's themes: Make Work Pay, Child Support Enforcement, and Education and Training. The fourth forum explored welfare reform in a rural setting.

Chicago, Illinois  
August 10-11, 1993

The Chicago visit focused on the principle of Making Work Pay. The Working Group visited Project Match in the Cabrini-Green housing project, where they conducted informal focus groups with staff and participants of Project Match and the New Hope Project of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Working Group members also observed AFDC eligibility interviews and met with caseworkers at four Illinois Department of Public Aid offices.

During the morning session of the Chicago forum the Working Group heard from six AFDC recipients and program directors from Project Match, New Hope Project, Chicago Commons, and the Teen Parent Demo. The afternoon session featured testimony by Mayor Richard M. Daley, Jr., Congressman Bobby Rush, and Illinois Department of Public Aid Acting Director Robert Wright. Overall, 37 witnesses presented testimony to the Working Group in Chicago.

Washington, D.C  
August 19-20, 1993

The Washington, D.C. event was a day and a half policy forum discussing the four principles with state and local elected officials, researchers, advocates, and AFDC recipients. The Working Group heard from 66 witnesses over two days. In addition to five AFDC recipients, other notable witnesses included Del. Eleanor Norton Holmes (D- D.C.), Patricia Ireland, National Organization for Women; Will Marshall, Progressive Policy Institute; Robert Greenstein, Center for Budget and Policy Priorities and William H. Kolberg, National Alliance of Business.

Cranford, N.J.  
September 9-10, 1993

The New Jersey visit focused on Improving Child Support Enforcement. The Working Group visited the Parents Fair Share demonstration project "Operation Fatherhood" in Trenton, N.J., where they conducted informal focus groups with staff and non-custodial fathers. The Working Group then met with court, probation, and administrative representatives of the N.J. child support enforcement system. Finally, the Working Group visited the Middlesex County Social Services office and conducted informal focus groups with staff and AFDC participants from The Work Group, a model welfare-to-work program from Camden, N.J..

During the morning session of the New Jersey forum the Working Group held a roundtable discussion with single parents, non-custodial parents and advocates for both groups. Of the 30 witnesses, the Working Group heard from four single parents and three non-custodial parents. Other notable testimony was presented by Governor Jim Florio, Assemblyman Wayne Bryant, William Waldman of the N.J. Department of Human Services, N.Y. State Senator Stephen M. Saland, and N.Y. Dept. of Social Services Commissioner Michael Dowling.

Sacramento, CA  
October 7-8, 1993

The California visit focused on Education, Training, and Support services, examining lessons from the California GAIN program. The Working Group visited the Alameda County GAIN office and conducted informal focus groups with staff and participants from both Alameda and San Francisco County GAIN programs. The Working Group then visited the Contra Costa County GAIN program for additional focus group meetings.

The morning session of the California forum was a roundtable discussion of the lessons from the GAIN program. The afternoon session covered the four principles and included an open public comment period. Of the fifty witnesses testifying, six were AFDC recipients. Other witnesses included John Wallace from MDRC, Larry Townsend of Riverside County, and Robert Friedman of the Corporation for Enterprise Development. Elected officials presenting testimony included Assemblyman Tom Bates, State Senator Mike Thompson, and County Supervisor Grantland Johnson.

Memphis, TN  
November 8-9, 1993

The focus of the Tennessee visit was on both economic development and service delivery in a rural setting. At the suggestion of Congressman Harold Ford (D-TN), the Working Group visited Project Self-Initiative at Hurt Village and conducted a community meeting with staff and residents. Working Group members then visited the private homes of two AFDC recipients in rural counties to see and hear about welfare services and living conditions in a rural setting. Working Group members also held a lunch meeting with staff and AFDC recipients in Fayette County, and travelled to Tipton County for additional focus groups and eligibility interviews.

The morning session of the forum discussed ways that a national welfare reform plan could create incentives for job development in a rural setting. The afternoon session reviewed the challenges and barriers to delivering social services in a rural setting. The Working Group heard from 3 AFDC recipients as part of the 39 witnesses testifying. Other witnesses included former Congressman Ed Jones, Congressman Harold Ford (videotaped remarks), Ray Bryant of the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission, Julia Vindasius of the Arkansas Good Faith Fund, and Department of Human Services commissioners from the states of Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, and North Carolina.

## WORKING GROUP OUTREACH TO WELFARE RECIPIENTS

The President's Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence has made reaching out to and involving welfare recipients in its work a top priority since it was appointed in June. The Group has met with welfare recipients in the Washington, D.C. area and across the country in conjunction with its regional forums on welfare reform. These efforts complement ongoing outreach by the Group to a wide array of advocacy organizations. Members of the Group and its staff have met with over 200 organizations with an interest in social services and welfare issues, and there have been five regional hearings at which over 150 groups have testified.

This report provides a brief summary of the range and scope of the Working Group's efforts over the past few months to seek input from the people affected most by the welfare system.

### REGIONAL SITE VISITS/FOCUS GROUPS

During each of its regional visits to hold a public forum, the Working Group has dedicated a day to additional off-the-record site visits and focus groups at local offices and programs. These visits have allowed members to talk in a less structured and formal setting with AFDC recipients and participants in other social service programs. During the four regional visits, members met with a total of 66 current or former AFDC recipients participating in six different model programs around the country:

- in Chicago with participants in Project Match based in Cabrini Green and in Milwaukee's New Hope Project
- in New Jersey with participants in the Work Group from Camden, New Jersey
- in California with people enrolled in the GAIN programs in San Francisco, Alameda and Contra Costa counties.
- and in Tennessee with two families in their homes in rural Fayette county as well as AFDC recipients from Tipton and Fayette counties.

In addition, the Working Group spent the morning in New Jersey visiting Operation Fatherhood, a federally funded demonstration program serving non-custodial fathers whose children are on AFDC. In Tennessee, the Group visited the Hurt Village Initiative in Memphis, a community center funded by a federal JOLI grant and run by Free the Children, a local non-profit advisory organization.

In Chicago and Tennessee, members visited local Public Aid offices and sat in on intake interviews with applicants for AFDC who happened to be in the office that afternoon. Members also met informally with staff and other clients throughout both afternoons.

## HEARINGS

During the hearings, the Working Group has made a special effort to include current and former AFDC recipients on the panels testifying before it and in roundtable discussions. A total of 24 current or former AFDC recipients have testified in these hearings.

- In Chicago, the morning session of the public forum was devoted almost entirely to testimony from clients as six participants in welfare to work program participated in two panels discussing strategies for supporting mothers going to work.
- The national forum, in Washington, D.C., featured testimony from several individual AFDC recipients on each of the first three panels.
- In New Jersey, the morning session was devoted to child support enforcement. Four mothers and three fathers testified on separate panels and then participated in a joint roundtable discussion which explored their experiences with the system and recommendations for changing it.
- In California, the morning roundtable on lessons from the GAIN program included six mothers who had participated, or tried to, in the GAIN program. They, along with 15 other participants contributed their thoughts on how the California experience should influence the national reform effort. Several individuals receiving AFDC testified during the public testimony period in the afternoon.
- The Tennessee hearing focused on issues particular to rural areas and featured testimony by three AFDC recipients who emphasized the problems with rural service delivery.

## OTHER SITE VISITS, MEETINGS

Nearly every staff member involved in the development of the welfare reform plan visited at least one welfare or service program during the summer. 80 staff visited a dozen sites in the Washington D.C. area and met with several hundred AFDC clients.

The Working Group also visited Project Independence in Prince Georges County, Maryland, where it spent a couple of hours with a class of 30 JOBS participants discussing their experiences with the program and their thoughts about welfare reform.

Several welfare rights organizations have met with the Working Group to provide their input into and feedback on the welfare reform proposals of the administration. These include the National Welfare Rights Union and the National Welfare Rights and Reform Union.

## Intergovernmental Outreach

The Office of Intergovernmental Affairs has participated in the outreach activities associated with the Welfare Reform Forums held in five cities. The purpose was to ensure that there was representation from the major public interest groups at each forum. In addition, the forums would give the public an opportunity to present the Working Group with their ideas and opinions, and for the Group to get public reaction to some of the ideas being considered. The public interest groups include: the National Association of Counties (NACo), U.S. Conference of Mayors (USCM); the National League of Cities (NLC), and the American Public Welfare Association (APWA).

These fact-finding events lasted two days, with the first day spent doing site visits at local welfare offices, talking with case workers as well as with clients, and visiting clients' homes. The second day of the forum consisted of public hearings that featured testimony by state and local elected officials, representatives of local and national advocacy organizations, and clients. Among the elected officials to speak were Speaker Willie Brown, Lois DeBerry, Speaker Pro Tem of the Tennessee House, and Eleanor Holmes Norton.

In a taped message for the Memphis hearing, Cong. Harold Ford praised the efforts of the Working Group, saying that he is anxious to receive legislation early next year. Like many others, Cong. Ford expressed concern about the two-year timelimit, because of the need to re-train workers and the need to help them find adequate child care. Moreover, many speakers noted the need to streamline and simplify the current system, because of the array of rules governing various programs.

Now that the forums have concluded, the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs has developed a workplan to involve the public interest groups in more in-depth discussion about the actual plan. Working in concert with the White House (Kathi Way), ASL, ASPA, ASPE and ACF staff, Intergovernmental Affairs will meet with interest group key staff in preparation for a meeting between individuals they select and the Working Group to discuss options the Working Group is considering.

November 12, 1993

## CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATION ON WELFARE REFORM

The President's Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence and HHS staff have undertaken extensive consultation with Congress over the past few months. Numerous meetings, briefings, forums and other activities held with Members of Congress and their staff have provided considerable information and insight on the key players, issues and challenges that will be involved in successfully moving major welfare reform legislation through Congress. The following briefly summarizes Congressional consultations to date.

### Congressional Contacts

In coordination with ASL, Working Group members and HHS staff have had extensive contacts with Democratic and Republican Members of Congress and staff concerning welfare reform. The Working Group co-chairs, David Ellwood, Mary Jo Bane and Bruce Reed, have met individually with scores of Senators and Representatives, and held group meetings with numerous others. A team of ASL, ASPE and ACF staff have also met with a substantial number of Congressional staffers since July.

A number of additional efforts have been undertaken to solicit the views and suggestions of Members of Congress and keep them informed of the Working Group's efforts. For example, Co-chairs and Working Group members have:

- ▶ consulted with the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources at the request of Chairman Harold Ford (D-TN), and held a similar meeting with key Republican Committee Members;
- ▶ conferred with the Mainstream Forum -- a group of moderate Democrats who have formed a Task Force on Welfare Reform chaired by Representatives Slattery (D-KS), Shepherd (D-UT) and Fingerhut (D-OH);
- ▶ participated in an all-day conference sponsored by Representative Mink (D-HI) and her colleagues from the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues;
- ▶ addressed an Issue Forum on welfare reform sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus.

The public forums and private site visits conducted by the Working Group provided further opportunity for Congressional

input, as members and staff were invited to present testimony and otherwise participate.

Continued consultation with Members of Congress and their staff, including meetings, briefings, hearings and site visits, are planned for the weeks ahead.

### Key Players and Committees

Numerous Democratic and Republican Senators and Representatives -- including party leaders, chairs and members of a variety of committees, subcommittees and caucuses -- are expected to play important roles in welfare reform legislation. In each house, several committees (see attached) will be involved in the development of legislation and complicated jurisdictional issues may arise. Further, fundamental differences with respect to process, politics and substance exist between the House and the Senate.

**House of Representatives.** Consultations with House members and staff together with a review of the membership of the House Committees and Subcommittees with jurisdiction over some aspects of welfare reform legislation suggests that:

African-American, Hispanic, and women members have a strong interest in welfare reform, are well-represented on key committees and can be expected to play a major role in the development of welfare reform legislation in the House.

Mainstream Forum members have formed a Task Force on Welfare Reform, united around common principles and also can be expected to play an active role on welfare reform in the House.

House Republicans have joined together to introduce comprehensive welfare reform and deficit reduction legislation, and can be expected to forcefully press for many of its provisions.

The House leadership is likely to play an intermediary role -- steering the legislation through the committee process and overseeing the floor debate -- rather than taking active policy positions on welfare reform.

The following House Committees may exercise jurisdiction over some aspects of welfare reform legislation:

The Ways and Means Committee, chaired by Representative Rostenkowski (D-IL), and its Human Resources Subcommittee, chaired by Representative Harold Ford will have primary jurisdiction over welfare reform legislation.

The Education and Labor Committee, chaired by Representative William Ford (D-MI), is likely to handle several components (including education and training, job placement, child care) of welfare reform legislation -- under the auspices of the Human Resources Subcommittee, chaired by Representative Martinez (D-CA) and/or the Labor-Management Relations Subcommittee, chaired by Representative Williams (D-MT).

Other Committees in the House may have jurisdiction over some parts of welfare reform legislation, including the Budget; Judiciary; Energy and Commerce; Agriculture; Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committees and the Rules Committee.

**Senate.** Contacts with Senators and staff together with a review of committee membership and priority issues indicates that:

The Key Players expected to be involved in welfare reform in Senate include party leaders and committee and subcommittee chairs. Few clear factions have emerged on welfare reform in the Senate.

Bipartisan Efforts are more likely in the Senate, with the Democratic leadership and committee staff strongly in support of such an approach.

Senate Floor Debate on welfare reform will be extremely difficult as numerous amendments to committee-approved legislation will be considered.

The following Senate Committees may exercise some jurisdiction over various aspects of welfare reform legislation:

The Finance Committee, chaired by Senator Moynihan (D-NY) will exercise primary leadership over welfare reform in the Senate.

The Labor and Human Resources Committee, chaired by Senator Kennedy (D-MA), is likely to handle some parts of welfare reform legislation.

Other Committees, including the Judiciary; Agriculture; Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; and Budget may exercise jurisdiction over parts of welfare reform legislation.

## HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

### ROSTENKOWSKI, DAN (IL), CHAIRMAN

#### DEMOCRATS (24)

Gibbons, Sam (FL)  
Pickle, J.J. (TX) =  
Rangel, Charles (NY) \*  
Stark, Pete (CA) @  
Jacobs, Andrew, Jr. (IN)  
Ford, Harold (TN) \*  
Matsui, Robert (CA)  
Kennelly, Barbara (CT) o  
Coyne, William (PA)  
Andrews, Mike (TX)  
Levin, Sander (MI)  
Cardin, Benjamin (MD)  
McDermott, Jim (WA) @  
Kleczka, Gerald (WI)  
Lewis, John (GA) \*  
Payne, Lewis (VA) =  
Neal, Richard (MA)  
Hoagland, Peter (NE) =  
McNulty, Michael (NY)  
Kopetski, Michael (OR)  
Jefferson, William (LA) \* =  
Brewster, Bill (OK)  
Reynolds, Mel (IL) \*

#### REPUBLICANS (14)

Archer, Bill (TX), Ranking  
Crane, Philip (IL)  
Thomas, Bill (CA)  
Shaw, E. Clay, Jr. (FL)  
Sundquist, Don (TN)  
Johnson, Nancy (CT) o  
Bunning, Jim (KY)  
Grandy, Fred (IA)  
Houghton, Amo (NY)  
Herger, Wally (CA)  
McCrery, Jim (LA)  
Hancock, Mel (MO)  
Santorum, Rich (PA)  
Camp, Dave (MI)

= Mainstream Forum

\* Congressional Black Caucus

# Hispanic Caucus

o Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues

@ Progressive Caucus

**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES**

FORD, HAROLD E. (TN), CHAIRMAN \*

DEMOCRATS (7)

Matsui, Robert (CA)  
McDermott, Jim (WA) @  
Levin, Sander (MI)  
Kopetski, Mike (OR)  
Reynolds, Mel (IL) \*  
Cardin, Benjamin (MD)

REPUBLICANS (4)

Santorum, Rick (PA)  
Shaw, E. Clay, Jr. (FL)  
Grandy, Fred (IA)  
Camp, Dave (MI)

= Mainstream Forum  
\* Congressional Black Caucus  
# Hispanic Caucus  
o Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues  
@ Progressive Caucus  
\*\* Delegate

# HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

## FORD, WILLIAM (MI), CHAIRMAN

### DEMOCRATS (27)

Clay, "Bill" William, (MO)\*  
Miller, George (CA) @  
Murphy, Austin (PA)  
Kildee, Dale (MI)  
Williams, Pat (MT)  
Martinez, Matthew (CA) #  
Owens, Major (NY) \*@  
Sawyer, Thomas (OH)  
Payne, Donald (NJ) \*  
Unsoeld, Jolene (WA) o@  
Mink, Patsy (HI) o@  
Andrews, Robert (NJ)  
Reed, Jack (RI)  
Roemer, Tim (IN) =  
Engel, Eliot (NY)  
Becerra, Xavier (CA) #  
Scott, Robert "Bobby" (VA) \*@  
Green, Gene (TX) =  
Woolsey, Lynn (CA) o@  
\*\*Romero-Barcelo, Carlos (PR) #  
Klink, Ron (PA) =  
English, Karan (AZ) =  
Strickland, Ted (OH)  
\*\*DeLugo, Ron (VI)  
\*\*Faleomavaega, Eni (AS)  
Baesler, Scotty (KY) =

### REPUBLICANS (14)

Goodling, William (PA), Ranking  
Petri, Thomas (WI)  
Roukema, Marge (NJ) o  
Gunderson, Steve (WI)  
Armey, Richard (TX)  
Fawell, Harris (IL)  
Ballenger, Cass (NC)  
Molinari, Susan (NY) o  
Barrett, Bill (NE)  
Boehner, John (OH)  
Cunningham, Randy "Duke" (CA)  
Hoekstra, Peter (MI)  
McKeon, Howard "Buck" (CA)  
Miller, Dan (FL)

= Mainstream Forum  
\* Congressional Black Caucus  
o Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues  
@ Progressive Caucus  
# Hispanic Caucus  
\*\* Delegate

**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RESOURCES**

MARTINEZ, MATTHEW (CA), CHAIRMAN #

**DEMOCRATS (8)**

Kildee, Dale (MI)  
Andrews, Robert (NJ)  
Scott, Robert (VA) \*@  
Woolsey, Lynn (CA) o@  
\*\*Romero-Barcelo, Carlos (PR) #  
Owens, Major (NY) \*@  
Scotty Baesler (KY) =

**REPUBLICANS (3)**

Molinari, Susan (NY) o  
Barrett, Bill (NE)  
Miller, Dan (FL)

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\* Congressional Black Caucus  
o Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues  
@ Progressive Caucus  
# Hispanic Caucus  
\*\* Delegate

**HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS**

WILLIAMS, PAT (MT), CHAIRMAN

DEMOCRATS (16)

Clay, William "Bill" (MO) \*  
Kildee, Dale (MI)  
Miller, George (CA) @  
Owens, Major (NY) \*@  
Martinez, Matthew (CA) #  
Payne, Donald (NJ) \*  
Unsoeld, Jolene (WA) o#  
Mink, Patsy (HI) o@  
Klink, Ron (PA) =  
Murphy, Austin (PA)  
Engel, Eliot (NY)  
Becerra, Xavier (CA) #  
Green, Gene (TX) =  
Woolsey, Lynn (CA) o@  
\*\*Romero-Barcelo, Carlos (PR) #

REPUBLICANS (9)

Roukema, Marge (NJ), Ranking o  
Gunderson, Steve (WI)  
Armey, Richard (TX)  
Barrett, Bill (NE)  
Boehner, John (OH)  
Fawell, Harris (IL)  
Ballenger, Cass (NC)  
Hoekstra, Peter (MI)  
McKeon, Howard "Buck" (CA)

= Mainstream Forum  
\* Congressional Black Caucus  
o Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues  
@ Progressive Caucus  
# Hispanic Caucus  
\*\* Delegate

# HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

KIKA DE LA GARZA (TX), CHAIRMAN #

## DEMOCRATS (29)

George Brown (CA)  
Charles Rose (NC)  
Glenn English (OK) =  
Dan Glickman (KS) =  
Charles Stenholm (TX)  
Harold Volkmer (MO)  
Tim Penny (MN) =  
Tim Johnson (SD) =  
Bill Sarpalius (TX) =  
Jill Long (IN) o  
Gary Condit (CA) =  
Collin Peterson (MN) =  
Calvin Dooley (CA) =  
Eva Clayton (NC) \*o  
David Minge (MN)  
Earl Hilliard (AL)  
Jay Inslee (WA)  
Tom Barlow (KY) =  
Earl Pomeroy (ND) =  
Tim Holden (PA) =  
Cynthia McKinney (GA) \*o  
Scotty Baesler (KY) =  
Karen Thurman (FL) o=  
Sanford Bishop (GA) \*=  
Bennie Thompson (MS)  
Sam Farr (CA)  
Pat Williams (MT)  
Blanche Lambert (AR) o=

## REPUBLICANS (19)

Pat Roberts (KS), Ranking  
Bill Emerson (MO)  
Steve Gunderson (WV)  
Tom Lewis (FL)  
Robert Smith (OR)  
Larry Combest (TX)  
Wayne Allard (CO)  
Bill Barrett (NE)  
Jim Nussle (IA)  
John Boehner (OH)  
Thomas Ewing (IL)  
John Doolittle (CA)  
Jack Kingston (GA)  
Robert Goodlatte (VA)  
Jay Dickey (AR)  
Richard Pombo (CA)  
Charles Canady (FL)  
Nick Smith (MI)  
Terry Everett (AL)

\* Congressional Black Caucus

# Hispanic Caucus

o Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues

@ Progressive Caucus

= Mainstream Forum

# HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

## BROOKS, JACK (TX), CHAIRMAN

### DEMOCRATS (21)

Edwards, Don (CA)  
Conyers, John (MI) \*  
Mazzoli, Romano (KY)  
Hughes, William (NJ)  
Synar, Mike (OK)  
Schroeder, Patricia (CO) o  
Glickman, Dan (KS) =  
Frank, Barney (MA) @  
Schumer, Charles (NY)  
Berman, Howard (CA)  
Boucher, Rick (VA) =  
Bryant, John (TX) @  
Sangmeister, George (IL)  
Washington, Craig (TX) \*  
Reed, Jack (RI)  
Nadler, Jerrold (NY) @  
Scott, Robert (VA) \*@  
Mann, David (OH) =  
Watt, Melvin (NC) \*@  
Becerra, Xavier (CA) #

### REPUBLICANS (14)

Fish, Hamilton (NY), Ranking  
Moorhead, Carlos (CA)  
Hyde, Henry (IL)  
Sensenbrenner, Jim (WI)  
McCollum, Bill (FL)  
Gekas, George (PA)  
Coble, Howard (NC)  
Smith, Lamar (TX)  
Schiff, Steven (NM)  
Ramstad, Jim (MN)  
Gallegly, Elton (CA)  
Canady, Charles (FL)  
Inglis, Bob (SC)  
Goodlatte, Robert (VA)

= Mainstream Forum

\* Congressional Black Caucus

# Hispanic Caucus

o Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues

@ Progressive Caucus

## SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

MOYNIHAN, DANIEL, P. (NY), CHAIRMAN

### DEMOCRATS (11)

Baucus, Max (MT)  
Boren, David (OK)  
Bradley, Bill (NJ)  
Mitchell, George (ME)  
Pryor, David (AR)  
Riegle, Jr. Donald (MI)  
Rockefeller, John (WV)  
Daschle, Thomas (SD)  
Breaux, John (LA)  
Conrad, Kent (ND)

### REPUBLICANS (9)

Packwood, Bob (OR), Ranking  
Dole, Robert (KS)  
Roth, William (DE)  
Danforth, John (MO)  
Chafee, John (RI)  
Durenberger, Dave (MN)  
Grassley, Charles (IA)  
Hatch, Orrin (UT)  
Wallop, Malcolm (WY)

# SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

## KENNEDY, EDWARD (MA), CHAIRMAN

### DEMOCRATS (10)

Pell, Claiborne, (RI)  
Metzenbaum, Howard (OH)  
Dodd, Christopher (CT)  
Simon, Paul (IL)  
Harkin, Tom (IA)  
Mikulski, Barbara (MD)  
Bingaman, Jeff (NM)  
Wellstone, Paul (MN)  
Wofford, Harris (PA)

### REPUBLICANS (7)

Kassebaum, Nancy (KS) Ranking  
Jeffords, James (VT)  
Coats, Dan, (IN)  
Gregg, Judd (NH)  
Thurmond, Strom (SC)  
Hatch, Orrin (UT)  
Durenberger, Dave (MN)

# SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

BIDEN, JOSEPH (DE), CHAIRMAN

## DEMOCRATS (10)

Kennedy, Edward (MA)  
Metzenbaum, Howard (OH)  
DeConcini, Dennis (AZ)  
Leahy, Patrick (VT)  
Heflin, Howell (AL)  
Simon, Paul (IL)  
Kohl, Herb (WI)  
Feinstein, Diane (CA)  
Moseley-Braun, Carol (IL)

## REPUBLICANS (8)

Hatch, Orrin (UT), Ranking  
Thurmond, Strom (SC)  
Simpson, Alan (WY)  
Grassely, Charles (IA)  
Specter, Arlen (PA)  
Brown, Hank (CO)  
Cohen, William (ME)  
Pressler, Larry (SD)

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PATRICK LEAHY (VT) - CHAIRMAN

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Tom Harkin (IA)  
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J. Robert Kerrey (NE)  
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Bob Dole (KS)  
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Paul Coverdell (GA)  
Charles Grassley (IA)

# Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

October 19, 1993

Dear Mr. President:

We of the Mainstream Forum are writing today to share with you our support for reform of this nation's welfare system. We are encouraged that your Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence is conducting a thorough review of the system and are hopeful that its findings will lead to greater efficiency. We support the key provisions in your campaign promises to "end welfare as we know it": making work pay and establishing a two-year transitional period to move recipients off of welfare into jobs.

We applaud the Administration's effort to reform this country's health care system so that access to affordable health care is available to all. Affordable health care is key to moving welfare recipients off of welfare into jobs. Your work on health care should eliminate the need to choose between staying on welfare and receiving Medicaid benefits or working at a low wage job that does not provide coverage.

Our priority in reforming welfare must be to ensure access to job opportunities that move individuals from dependency to self-sufficiency. In calling for such job access, we strongly endorse prioritization of job placement, and access to adequate education and training. We support the establishment of a two-year transitional period on benefits, during which welfare recipients remain active in either a job search and/or work, or, when necessary, training and education.

The business community should be encouraged to play an active role in reshaping job training, education, and employment factors. Serious consideration must be given to economic incentives for private sector job creation. We also strongly endorse your call for community service employment for those welfare recipients who are not able to find jobs in the private sector.

Enforcement of child support is also essential at the federal level to ensure that, along with the recent increase in the EITC, working parents have the funds available to pay for child care and other costs associated with raising a child while working. Further, child care issues must be addressed in order to allow parents to pursue employment while feeling secure that their children are being cared for in a safe and supportive environment.

Finally, we believe that the costs and frustrations caused by the fragmented administration of the various welfare programs can be reduced by streamlining and updating existing processes and procedures.

We look forward to working with you on this critical issue.

Sincerely,

Representative Jim Bacchus  
Representative Scotty Baesler  
Representative James Barcia  
Representative Thomas Barlow  
Representative Sanford Bishop  
Representative Rick Boucher  
Representative Glenn Browder  
Representative Bob Carr  
Representative Jim Chapman  
Representative Bob Clement  
Representative Ron Coleman  
Representative Gary Condit  
Representative Jim Cooper  
Representative Sam Coppersmith  
Representative Jerry Costello  
Representative Bud Cramer  
Representative Pat Danner  
Representative Buddy Darden  
Representative Nathan Deal  
Representative Calvin Dooley  
Representative Chet Edwards  
Representative Glenn English  
Representative Karan English  
Representative Anna Eshoo  
Representative Bob Filner  
Representative Eric Fingerhut  
Representative Martin Frost  
Representative Pete Geren  
Representative Dan Glickman  
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Representative Peter Hoagland  
Representative Tim Holden  
Representative Jay Inslee  
Representative William Jefferson  
Representative Don Johnson

Representative Tim Johnson  
Representative Ron Klink  
Representative Blanche Lambert  
Representative Martin Lancaster  
Representative Larry LaRocco  
Representative Greg Laughlin  
Representative Bill Lipinski  
Representative Nita Lowey  
Representative Dave McCurdy  
Representative Paul McHale  
Representative David Mann  
Representative Martin Meehan  
Representative David Minge  
Representative Jim Moran  
Representative Bill Orton  
Representative Frank Pallone  
Representative Lewis F. Payne  
Representative Collin Peterson  
Representative Pete Peterson  
Representative Earl Pomeroy  
Representative Glenn Poshard  
Representative David Price  
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Representative Bill Sarpalius  
Representative Phil Sharp  
Representative Karen Shepherd  
Representative Ike Skelton  
Representative Jim Slattery  
Representative Louise Slaughter  
Representative John Spratt  
Representative Bart Stupak  
Representative Dick Swett  
Representative John Tanner  
Representative Gene Taylor  
Representative Frank Tejeda  
Representative Karen Thurman  
Representative Tim Valentine  
Representative Charlie Wilson



**SUMMARY OF WELFARE REFORM LEGISLATION  
SPONSORED BY HOUSE REPUBLICANS\*  
Fall, 1993**

**I. ATTACKS THE TWO FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF WELFARE**

***CAUSE 1: NONWORK***

- Less than 10% of welfare mothers work
- Although many mothers leave welfare within 2 years, many stay for 8 years or more; today there are more than 3 million mothers on AFDC who will remain on welfare during 8 years or more

***THE SOLUTION: MANDATORY WORK***

- When fully implemented, the Republican bill requires 63% of mothers who have been on AFDC for at least 2 years to work 35 hours per week for their benefits; mothers do not lose their benefits if they work in community or private sector jobs arranged by the state
- Mothers must use the first 2 years on AFDC (less at state option) to participate in education, training, work experience, and job search to prepare for a position in the private economy; if they do not find a job within that 2 years, they must participate in a community work job in order to continue receiving welfare benefits
- Provides states with an additional \$10 billion to provide welfare mothers with employment services, including day care
- One adult in two-parent families on welfare must work 32 hours per week and search for a job 8 hours per week starting the first day they receive welfare
- Mothers applying for welfare must participate in a job search program while their application is being processed
- Fathers of children on welfare who do not pay child support must also participate in work programs
- Mothers who refuse to work have their benefits reduced and then terminated; states failing to ensure that parents work suffer serious financial penalties

***CAUSE 2: ILLEGITIMACY***

- Illegitimacy has risen wildly in recent years; now 2 of every 3 black children and 1 of every 5 white children are born out of wedlock — and the rates are still rising
- Of illegitimate babies born to teen mothers, a shocking 80% will be on welfare within 5 years
- Teen mothers are the most likely to stay on welfare for many years without working
- Most of the increase in poverty and welfare in recent years is caused, not by a poor economy or reduced government spending (both are up), but by increased illegitimacy

***THE SOLUTION: ESTABLISH PATERNITY, RESTRICT WELFARE, CRACK DOWN ON DEADBEAT DADS***

- All mothers applying for welfare must identify the father or they will not receive benefits
- After identifying the father, mothers receive a reduced benefit until paternity is legally established
- Mothers who are minors must live at their parent's home, thus preventing them from using an illegitimate birth to establish their own household
- States must increase their paternity establishment rates, over a period of years, to 90% or suffer stiff penalties
- States are required to stop increasing welfare checks when families on welfare have additional children; states can avoid this requirement only if they pass a law exempting themselves
- States are required to stop paying welfare benefits to parents under 18 years of age; states can avoid this requirement only if they pass a law exempting themselves
- Deadbeat dads with children on welfare are required to pay child support or work

\*Members of Republican Welfare Reform Task Force: Rick Santorum, Tom DeLay, E. Clay Shaw, Dave Camp, Michael Castle, Gary Franks, Fred Grandy, Wally Heger, Tim Hutchinson, Bob Inglis, Nancy Johnson, Joe Knollenberg, Jim Kolbe, and Marge Roukema.

## II. SLASHES WELFARE FOR NONCITIZENS

### *THE PROBLEM: TOO MUCH WELFARE FOR TOO MANY IMMIGRANTS*

- Hundreds of thousands of noncitizens are added to the nation's welfare programs each year
- A recent study by the Social Security Administration shows that more than 11% of all recipients and 20% of elderly recipients of Supplemental Security Income are noncitizens
- Noncitizens also qualify for Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Food Stamps, Medicaid, housing, and other welfare benefits

### *THE SOLUTION: STOP WELFARE FOR NONCITIZENS*

- Simply end welfare for most noncitizens
- Allow refugees to receive welfare for only a fixed number of years unless they become citizens
- Allow noncitizens over 75 to receive welfare
- Continue the benefits of current noncitizens receiving welfare for 1 year

## III. EMPHASIZES PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY

- Requires mothers who are minors to live at their parent's home
- Requires states, in most cases, to stop welfare payments to unmarried parents under age 18
- Requires states to terminate the cash welfare benefits of families that do not have their preschool children immunized
- Encourage states to reduce the cash welfare benefit of families that do not assure that their children attend school regularly
- Allows states to require AFDC parents to participate in parenting classes and classes on money management
- Allows states to discourage parents from moving to a new school district during the school year

## IV. ATTACKS SEVERAL ADDITIONAL WELFARE PROBLEMS

- Requires adults applying for welfare to engage in job search before their benefits start
- Requires addicted recipients of welfare to participate in treatment programs or lose their benefits
- Converts 10 major food programs into a block grant that provides states with almost complete discretion over spending; funding for the programs is reduced by 5%
- Caps spending on Supplemental Security Income, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Food Stamps, Public and Section 8 Housing, and the Earned Income Tax Credit to inflation plus 2% per year
- Provides states with much greater control over means-tested programs so they can coordinate and streamline welfare spending
- Encourages states to provide financial incentives to induce mothers on welfare to work and marry
- Allows states to let welfare recipients accumulate assets to start a business, buy a home, or attend college
- Allows states and local housing authorities to use more generous income disregard rules to promote work incentives
- Requires addicted recipients of Supplemental Security Income benefits to submit to drug testing; ends SSI benefits for those testing positive for illegal drugs

## V. ACCOMPLISHES ALL THE ABOVE IN A BILL THAT REDUCES THE DEFICIT BY \$20 BILLION OVER 5 YEARS

- The training and mandatory work provisions of the bill cost nearly \$12 billion over 5 years
  - The paternity establishment, job search, parental responsibility, block grant, and immigration provisions of the bill save about \$31 billion over 5 years.
- Thus, the net impact of the bill is to reduce the budget deficit by almost \$20 billion over 5 years.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
10 NOVEMBER 1993

CONTACT: Amy Tucci 225-4021  
Trish Brink 225-5951

## HOUSE REPUBLICANS UNVEIL WELFARE REFORM PACKAGE

House Republicans today introduced a sweeping package of welfare reforms that save taxpayer dollars while empowering welfare recipients to become self-sufficient. The legislation would prepare mothers and fathers on welfare for the workplace, require parents to return to work after a maximum of two years of receiving benefits, establish tough paternity standards to assist in child support enforcement, and end welfare benefits for most alien U.S. residents.

"The Republican Task Force on Welfare Reform chaired by (U.S. Reps.) Tom DeLay and Rick Santorum deserves a lot of credit for tackling the difficult problems of welfare reform and providing a tough but compassionate approach to controlling burgeoning welfare rolls and costs," said House Republican Leader Bob Michel.

"Candidate Clinton promised to end welfare as we know it by requiring work. But he has done little to deliver on his promise. Our bill gives him an opportunity to get the reform process moving," said House Republican Whip Newt Gingrich.

The legislative package, co-sponsored by 160 House Republicans, was designed by a leadership-appointed task force of 14 Members, including several from the House Ways and Means Committee. The package was approved by the full House Republican Conference on October 13, making it the official policy position of House Republicans.

"This bill emphasizes the view that the majority of people now on welfare want to support themselves and their families and will do so if given the proper encouragement and support," said U.S. Rep. Rick Santorum (R-PA), co-chair of the task force. "Republicans want to provide the needed balance between new benefits to support the transition to the workplace and new requirements for benefits to motivate some welfare recipients."

"We are anxious to learn how President Clinton will back up his promise to end welfare as we know it," added U.S. Rep. Tom DeLay (R-TX), task force co-chair. "This legislation goes a long way toward helping provide those who are trying to work their way out of the system an opportunity to develop a sense of self-worth and dignity."

U.S. Rep. E. Clay Shaw (R-FL), a senior member of the task force, compared the politics of welfare reform to the politics of NAFTA. "Because a majority of Democrats are almost certain to oppose serious reform," said Shaw, "the President will

need overwhelming Republican support if he wants to actually do something about the welfare tragedy."

**Highlights of the bill:**

o Requires 90% of those who receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) for two years or more to work for their benefits. This provision attacks long-term welfare dependency while promoting self-sufficiency and self-worth;

o Emphasizes the responsibility of fathers to support their children. These provisions include new standards for paternity establishment, requirements for job search by unemployed fathers, and mandatory work;

o Establishes tough new standards to combat illegitimate births. The bill encourages states to refuse welfare to unmarried parents, requires unmarried minor mothers who do receive welfare to live with their parents, and reduces federal payments to states that do not achieve high rates of paternity establishment;

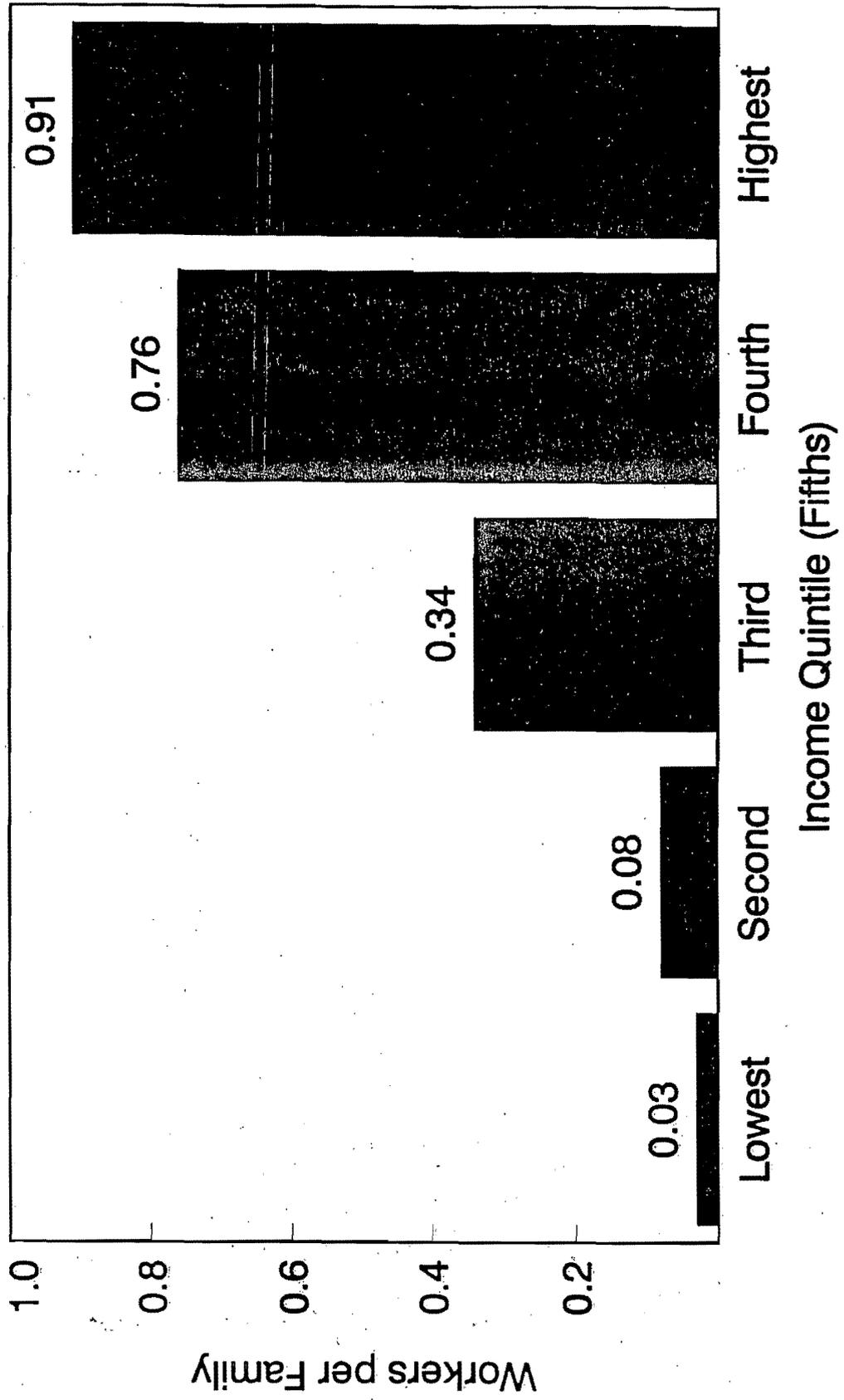
o Ends welfare for most non-citizens. The bill offers a one-year grace period after which most resident aliens receiving benefits from AFDC, food stamps, Medicaid, Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and other welfare programs would be dropped from the rolls.

o Establishes a more effective welfare system that costs less while providing education, work-skills training, work experience, and job search programs for needy parents;

o Accomplishes and pays for the reform measures outlined above while saving \$20 billion over 5 years.

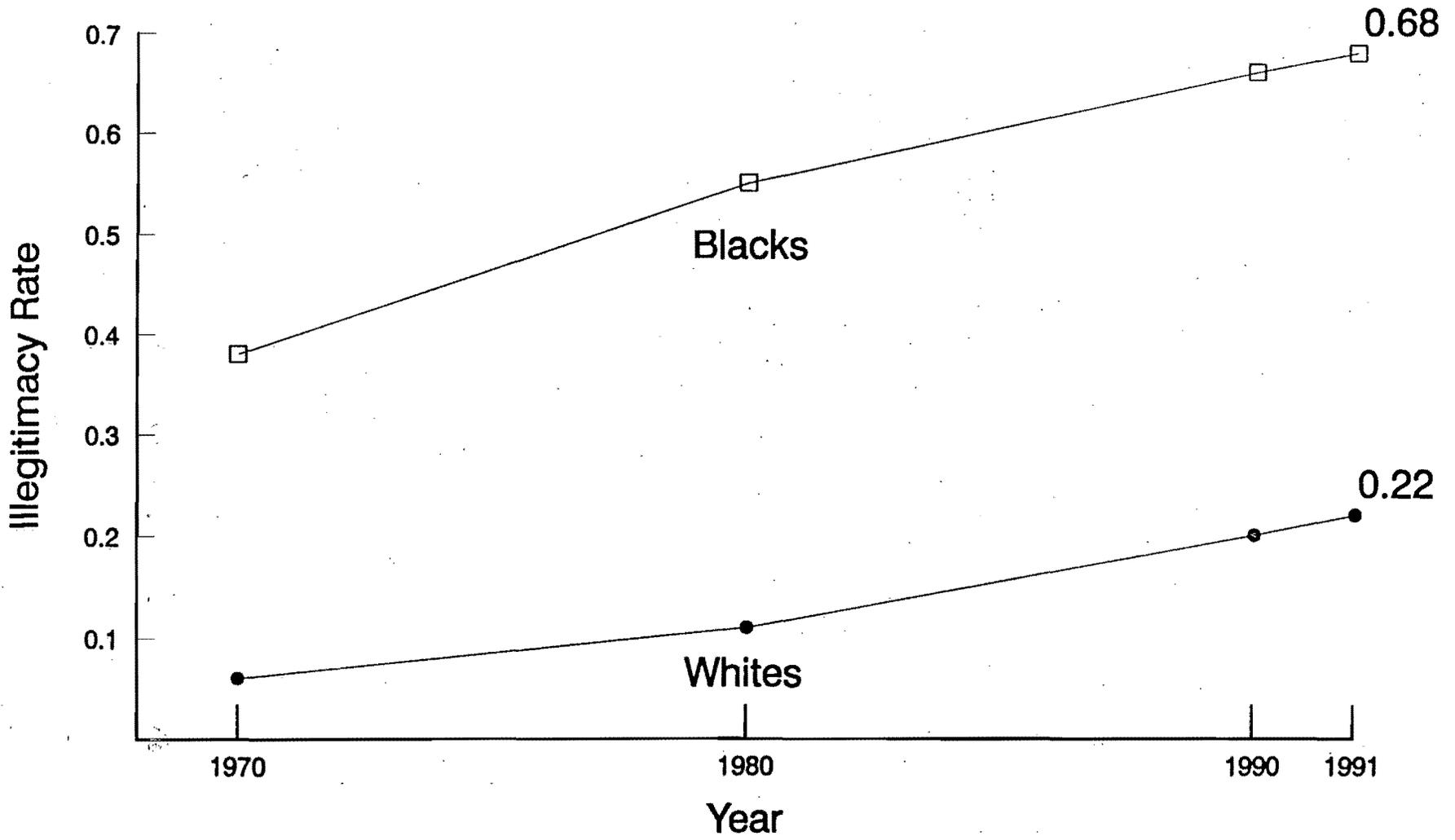
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# Number of Full-time Workers per Female-Headed Family by Income Level

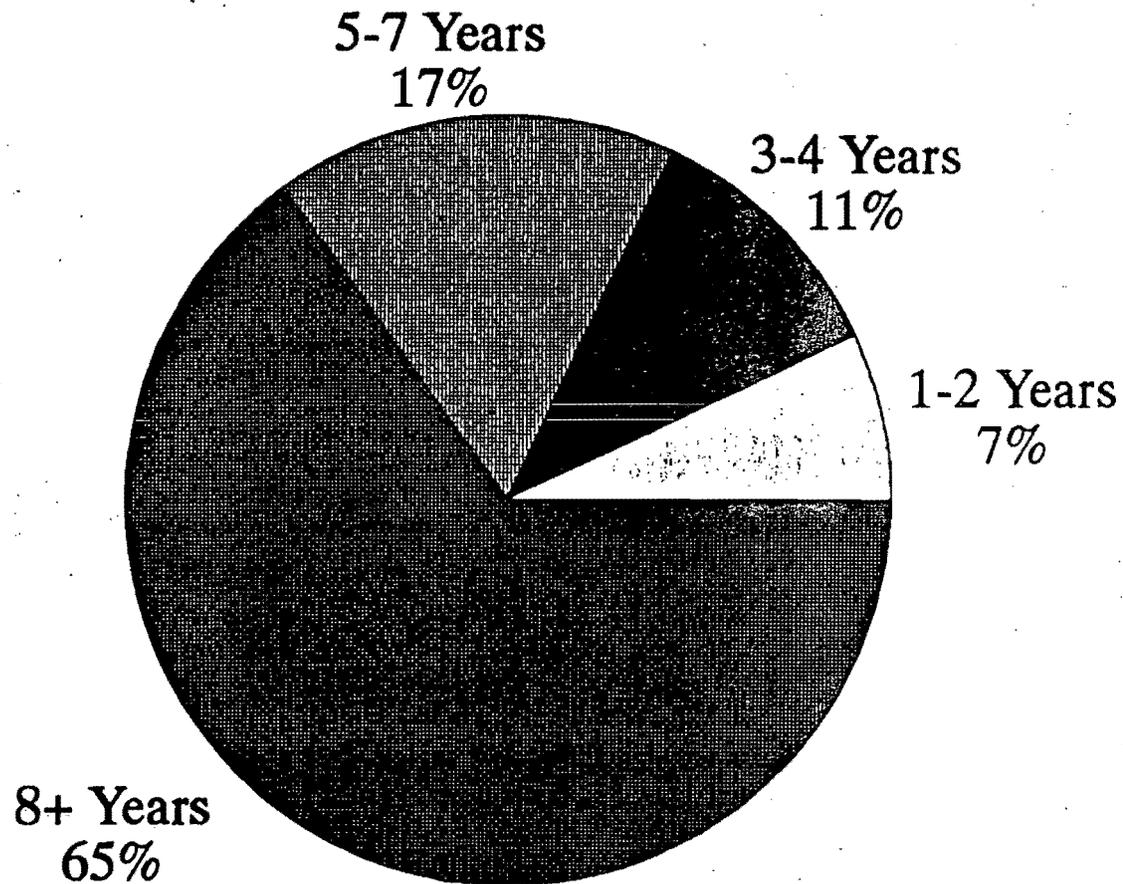


# Illegitimacy Rates for White and Black Births, 1970-1991

43



# WELFARE AS WE KNOW IT: Long-Term Dependency



Source: David Ellwood

## **Major Provisions of Republican Welfare Reform Bill**

1. Require Work
2. Require paternity establishment
3. End welfare for aliens
4. Promote state and local control
5. Save \$20 billion

President Clinton's Comments on Welfare Reform  
February 2, 1993

"We will scrap the current welfare system and make welfare a second chance, not a way of life. We will empower people on welfare with the education, training and child care they need for up to two years so they can break the cycle of dependency."

Putting People First

"Responsibility starts at the top...An America where we end welfare as we know it. We will say to those on welfare, you will have and you deserve the opportunity through training and education, through child care and medical coverage, to liberate yourself."

July 16, 1992  
Democratic Convention

"...we are going to end this system of welfare as we know it, we will invest more in your education and training and support for your children. But then you must work. We have got to end the system as we know it."

June 3, 1992 Speech  
Los Angeles, CA

"Most people who are trapped on welfare and don't go to work don't do it because they have no education, they have no skills."

April 22, 1992 Speech  
University of Pittsburgh

"A strict time limit for AFDC recipients, coupled with a real commitment to help them support their children, provide them the education and transportation they need, would literally make welfare what it ought to be, a temporary hand to people who have fallen on tough times."

September 11, 1992 Speech  
Jonesboro, GA

"I know a lot about the welfare system...I hate it. I want to change it....The people who are trapped in it, they hate it, too. It's like being caught on a reservation and kept in dependency. And it's no good for anybody."

April 22, 1992 Speech  
University of Pittsburgh

"I have found all over America that people know they need independence, not dependence. They want a hand up, not a handout. They want empowerment, not entitlement. But somebody's got to get about the business of doing it and quit talking about it."

September 16, 1992 Speech  
Los Angeles, CA

"We must break the permanent culture of dependence which embraces 20-25 percent of those on public assistance."

May 6, 1992, ANPA Speech  
New York, NY

Republican Task Force Welfare Reform Bill  
 Summary of Preliminary CBO Estimates\*  
 October, 1993

| Provision                 | Year       |            |            |            |            | Total       |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
|                           | 94         | 95         | 96         | 97         | 98         |             |
| <b>A. <u>Savings</u></b>  |            |            |            |            |            |             |
| Welfare for Noncitizens   |            |            |            |            |            |             |
| Food Stamps               | -          | 0.4        | 0.8        | 0.8        | 0.8        | 2.8         |
| AFDC                      | -          | 0.1        | 0.3        | 0.3        | 0.3        | 1.0         |
| SSI                       | -          | 1.2        | 2.5        | 2.7        | 3.0        | 9.4         |
| Medicaid                  | -          | 0.9        | 2.1        | 2.4        | 2.7        | 8.1         |
| Paternity Establishment   | 0.1        | 0.2        | 0.4        | 0.4        | 0.4        | 1.6         |
| Food Block Grant          | 2.2        | 2.0        | 1.4        | 1.4        | 1.3        | 8.3         |
| Subtotal                  | 2.3        | 4.8        | 7.5        | 8.0        | 8.5        | 31.1        |
| <b>B. <u>Spending</u></b> |            |            |            |            |            |             |
| State Options**           | -0.1       | -0.3       | -0.3       | -0.3       | -0.3       | -1.3        |
| Work Programs             | -          | -          | -1.0       | -1.5       | -2.7       | -5.2        |
| Day Care                  | -          | -          | -0.7       | -1.4       | -3.0       | -5.1        |
| Subtotal                  | -0.1       | -0.3       | -2.0       | -3.2       | -6.0       | -11.6       |
| <b>TOTAL</b>              | <b>2.2</b> | <b>4.5</b> | <b>5.5</b> | <b>4.8</b> | <b>2.5</b> | <b>19.5</b> |

Note. Rows and columns may not add to totals due to rounding.

\*CBO has not yet estimated all provisions of the bill.

\*\*Assuming half the stated participate in each option.



THE STATE OF THE CHILD

| Living Arrangements of Children under 18 (in thousands) | 1960   | 1980   | 1990   | 1991   |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Total child population                                  | 63,727 | 63,427 | 64,137 | 65,093 |
| Percent of all children:                                |        |        |        |        |
| Living with one parent                                  | 9.1    | 19.7   | 24.7   | 25.5   |
| Living with never-married parent                        | 0.4    | 2.9    | 7.6    | 8.6    |

| Out-of-Wedlock Births (as a percent of all births) | 1980    | 1990      | Percent change 1980-90 |
|--|---------|-----------|------------------------|
| Under age 15                                       | 9,024   | 10,675    | 18.3                   |
| Ages 15-19   | 262,777 | 349,970   | 33.2                   |
| Ages 20-24   | 237,265 | 403,873   | 70.2                   |
| Ages 25-29   | 99,583  | 229,991   | 131.0                  |
| Ages 30-34   | 40,984  | 118,200   | 188.4                  |
| Ages 35-39   | 13,187  | 44,149    | 234.8                  |
| Age 40 and over                                    | 2,927   | 8,528     | 191.3                  |
| Total  | 665,747 | 1,165,384 | 75.0                   |

| Teenage Pregnancy              | 1973       | 1980       | 1985      | 1990      |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Female Population (ages 15-19) | 10,193,000 | 10,413,000 | 9,174,000 | 8,709,000 |
| Births                         | 604,096    | 552,161    | 467,485   | 521,826   |
| Legal Abortions                | 232,440    | 444,780    | 399,200   | NA        |
| Estimated Miscarriages         | 144,060    | 149,000    | 114,000   | NA        |
| Pregnancies                    | 980,600    | 1,145,941  | 980,685   | NA        |

| Child Poverty (Number in thousands and rate)      | 1974          | 1979          | 1989          | 1992          |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Children below poverty                            |               |               |               |               |
| Total   | 10,156 (15.4) | 10,377 (16.4) | 12,590 (18.6) | 14,617 (21.9) |
| Black   | 3,755 (39.8)  | 3,833 (41.2)  | 4,375 (43.7)  | 4,938 (46.6)  |
| White   | 6,223 (11.2)  | 6,193 (11.8)  | 7,599 (14.8)  | 8,955 (16.8)  |
| Hispanic  | NA (NA)       | 1,535 (28.0)  | 2,603 (36.2)  | 3,116 (39.9)  |
| Child poverty rate by race and family type, 1992: |               |               | Female Head   | Male Present  |
| Total   |               |               | 54.3          | 10.9          |
| Black   |               |               | 67.1          | 18.2          |
| White   |               |               | 45.3          | 9.9           |
| Hispanic  |               |               | 65.7          | 28.5          |

| Labor Force Participation of Women (by age of youngest child) | 1950 | 1970 | 1980 | 1992 |
|---|------|------|------|------|
| No children under 18  | 31.4 | 42.8 | 48.1 | 52.3 |
| With children under 18, total                                 | 21.6 | 42.4 | 58.6 | 67.2 |
| Age 6 to 17 only  | 32.8 | 51.6 | 64.3 | 75.9 |
| Under age 6   | 13.6 | 32.2 | 46.8 | 58.0 |

| International Infant Mortality Rates (deaths per 1,000 live births) | 1950-52 | 1970-72 | 1980-82 | 1986-88 |
|---|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Japan   | 55.9    | 12.4    | 7.1     | 5.0     |
| Sweden  | 20.9    | 11.0    | 6.9     | 6.0     |
| Canada  | 39.4    | 17.8    | 9.7     | 7.5     |
| United States (white)   | 26.0    | 17.1    | 10.5    | 8.7     |
| England and Wales   | 29.1    | 17.7    | 11.3    | 9.3     |
| United States (total)   | 28.7    | 19.2    | 12.0    | 10.1    |
| Hungary   | 77.0    | 34.7    | 21.4    | 17.4    |
| United States (black)   | 45.1    | 30.9    | 20.3    | 17.8    |

| Educational Achievement                              | 1968 | 1980 | 1985 | 1990 |
|--|------|------|------|------|
| High school dropouts (percentage of status dropouts) |      |      |      |      |
| Total  | 16.2 | 14.1 | 12.6 | 12.1 |
| White  | 14.7 | 13.3 | 12.2 | 12.0 |
| Black  | 27.4 | 19.3 | 15.7 | 13.2 |

| Governmental Policy--Disposable Income of<br>mother and 2 children (1992 \$) | 1972   | 1980   | 1992   | Percent change<br>1972-92 |
|--|--------|--------|--------|---------------------------|
| <b>Wages of \$0</b>  |        |        |        |                           |
| AFDC   | 8,283  | 6,092  | 4,785  | -42.2                     |
| Food Stamps  | 2,087  | 2,282  | 2,871  | 37.6                      |
| Total  | 10,370 | 8,374  | 7,657  | -26.2                     |
| <b>Wages of \$7500</b>   |        |        |        |                           |
| Wages  | 7,500  | 7,500  | 7,500  | 0.0                       |
| AFDC   | 5,421  | 2,712  | 380    | -93.0                     |
| Food Stamps  | 884    | 594    | 1606   | 81.7                      |
| Federal Taxes (Refunds)  | 0      | 290    | 1235   | -                         |
| Total  | 13,805 | 11,881 | 10,721 | -22.3                     |

| Child Support Enforcement                                  | 1978 | 1989 | 1989                     |                  |
|--|------|------|--------------------------|------------------|
|  |      |      | Divorced or<br>Remarried | Never<br>Married |
| Families with children with<br>an absent father (millions) | 7.1  | 10.0 | 5.6                      | 3.0              |
| Percent with awards  | 59   | 58   | 78                       | 24               |
| Percent who received payment                               | 35   | 37   | 51                       | 14               |
| Percent receiving full payment                             | 24   | 26   | NA                       | NA               |

| Foster Care and Child Welfare     | 1970    | 1981    | 1988                | 1991                |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Number of children in foster care | 330,400 | 274,000 | 323,000             | 429,000             |
| Reported child abuse cases        |         |         | 1980<br>1.0 million | 1989<br>2.5 million |

| Income Distribution<br>(by quintile) | Percent change in income<br>1977-89 |                           |                              |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
|                                      | Elderly                             | Families<br>with children | Families<br>without children |
| Lowest                               | 14.2                                | -20.3                     | -4.8                         |
| Second                               | 24.6                                | -9.3                      | -4.0                         |
| Middle                               | 19.9                                | 0.0                       | 0.3                          |
| Fourth                               | 15.3                                | 6.2                       | 6.8                          |
| Highest                              | 41.9                                | 26.4                      | 22.1                         |
| Average                              | 31.5                                | 9.0                       | 9.3                          |

| Anti-Poverty Effectiveness<br>(in thousands, rate in paren.) | Number in poverty:         |                           | Percent<br>reduction<br>in poverty |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
|  | Before tax<br>and transfer | After tax<br>and transfer |                                    |
| <b>Total</b>   |                            |                           |                                    |
| 1979   | 41,695 (19.1)              | 21,606 (9.9)              | 48.2                               |
| 1989   | 49,052 (19.9)              | 28,941 (11.8)             | 41.0                               |
| <b>Elderly</b>   |                            |                           |                                    |
| 1979   | 10,385 (60.0)              | 2,577 (14.9)              | 75.1                               |
| 1989   | 11,971 (54.9)              | 2,354 (10.8)              | 80.3                               |
| <b>Single-headed families with children</b>                  |                            |                           |                                    |
| 1979   | 11,480 (50.0)              | 6,925 (30.1)              | 39.7                               |
| 1989   | 14,074 (48.1)              | 10,648 (36.4)             | 24.3                               |

| Federal Government Spending (1990) | Elderly | Children |
|------------------------------------|---------|----------|
| Total outlays (in billions)        | 352.6   | 65.6     |
| Per person                         | 31,200  | 1,820    |

Source: Data compiled from the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the Bureau of the Census and the Committee on Ways and Means Green Book

**Antipoverty Effectiveness of Cash and Noncash Transfers (Including Federal Income and Payroll Taxes)  
for All Persons for Selected Years, 1979-92**

|  | 1979    | 1983    | 1989    | 1992    | Change  |         |         |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
|  |         |         |         |         | 1979-89 | 1979-83 | 1989-92 |
| Total population (thousands)                                   | 222,903 | 231,700 | 245,992 | 253,969 | 23,089  | 8,797   | 7,977   |
| Number of poor individuals (thousands):                        |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| Cash income before transfers                                   | 43,412  | 53,187  | 49,142  | 57,287  | 5,730   | 9,775   | 8,145   |
| Plus social insurance  | 28,765  | 37,232  | 34,082  | 39,847  | 5,317   | 8,467   | 5,765   |
| Plus means-tested cash transfers                               | 26,072  | 35,303  | 31,528  | 36,880  | 5,456   | 9,231   | 5,352   |
| Plus food and housing benefits                                 | 22,115  | 31,952  | 27,717  | 32,680  | 5,602   | 9,837   | 4,963   |
| Less Federal taxes   | 22,737  | 33,962  | 29,003  | 33,102  | 6,266   | 11,225  | 4,099   |
| Number of individuals removed from poverty due to (thousands): |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| Social insurance   | 14,647  | 15,955  | 15,060  | 17,440  | 413     | 1,308   | 2,380   |
| Means-tested cash, food, and housing benefits                  | 6,650   | 5,280   | 6,365   | 7,167   | -285    | -1370   | 802     |
| Federal taxes  | -622    | -2010   | -1286   | -422    | -664    | -1388   | 864     |
| Total  | 20,675  | 19,225  | 20,139  | 24,185  | -536    | -1450   | 4,046   |
| Percent of individuals removed from poverty due to:            |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| Social insurance   | 33.7    | 30.0    | 30.6    | 30.4    | -3.1    | -3.7    | -0.2    |
| Means-tested cash, food, and housing benefits                  | 15.3    | 9.9     | 13.0    | 12.5    | -2.4    | -5.4    | -0.4    |
| Federal taxes  | -1.4    | -3.8    | -2.6    | -0.7    | -1.2    | -2.3    | 1.9     |
| Total  | 47.6    | 36.1    | 41.0    | 42.2    | -6.6    | -11.5   | 1.2     |
| Poverty rate (in percent):                                     |         |         |         |         |         |         |         |
| Cash income before transfers                                   | 19.5    | 23.0    | 20.0    | 22.6    | 0.5     | 3.5     | 2.6     |
| Plus social insurance  | 12.9    | 16.1    | 13.9    | 15.7    | 1.0     | 3.2     | 1.8     |
| Plus means-tested cash transfers                               | 11.7    | 15.2    | 12.8    | 14.5    | 1.1     | 3.5     | 1.7     |
| Plus food and housing benefits                                 | 9.9     | 13.8    | 11.3    | 12.9    | 1.3     | 3.9     | 1.6     |
| Less Federal taxes   | 10.2    | 14.7    | 11.8    | 13.0    | 1.6     | 4.5     | 1.2     |
| Total reduction in poverty rate                                | 9.3     | 8.3     | 8.2     | 9.5     | -1.1    | -1.0    | 1.3     |

NC: Not calculated.

Source: Poverty counts are based on special calculations by the Census Bureau. Table prepared by ASPE staff.

**Antipoverty Effectiveness of Cash and Noncash Transfers (Including Federal Income and Payroll Taxes)  
for Children under 18 for Selected Years, 1979-92**

|   | 1979   | 1983   | 1989   | 1992   | Change  |         |         |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|
|   |        |        |        |        | 1979-89 | 1979-83 | 1989-92 |
| Total population  | 63,375 | 62,333 | 64,144 | 66,834 | 769     | -1042   | 2,690   |
| Number of poor individuals (thousands):                           |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |
| Cash income before transfers                                      | 12,761 | 16,146 | 14,331 | 16,890 | 1,570   | 3,385   | 2,559   |
| Plus social insurance   | 11,364 | 14,405 | 13,254 | 15,442 | 1,890   | 3,041   | 2,188   |
| Plus means-tested cash transfers                                  | 10,377 | 13,911 | 12,590 | 14,617 | 2,213   | 3,534   | 2,027   |
| Plus food and housing benefits                                    | 8,421  | 12,464 | 10,919 | 12,813 | 2,498   | 4,043   | 1,894   |
| Less Federal taxes  | 8,620  | 13,293 | 11,300 | 12,694 | 2,680   | 4,673   | 1,394   |
| Number of individuals removed from poverty<br>due to (thousands): |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |
| Social insurance  | 1,397  | 1,741  | 1,077  | 1,448  | -320    | 344     | 371     |
| Means-tested cash, food, and housing benefits                     | 2,943  | 1,941  | 2,335  | 2,629  | -608    | -1002   | 294     |
| Federal taxes   | -199   | -829   | -381   | 119    | -182    | -630    | 500     |
| Total   | 4,141  | 2,853  | 3,031  | 4,196  | -1110   | -1288   | 1,165   |
| Percent of individuals removed from poverty due to:               |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |
| Social insurance  | 10.9   | 10.8   | 7.5    | 8.6    | -3.4    | -0.2    | 1.1     |
| Means-tested cash, food, and housing benefits                     | 23.1   | 12.0   | 16.3   | 15.6   | -6.8    | -11.0   | -0.7    |
| Federal taxes   | -1.6   | -5.1   | -2.7   | 0.7    | -1.1    | -3.6    | 3.4     |
| Total   | 32.5   | 17.7   | 21.1   | 24.8   | -11.3   | -14.8   | 3.7     |
| Poverty rate (in percent):  |        |        |        |        |         |         |         |
| Cash income before transfers                                      | 20.1   | 25.9   | 22.3   | 25.3   | 2.2     | 5.8     | 3.0     |
| Plus social insurance   | 17.9   | 23.1   | 20.7   | 23.1   | 2.7     | 5.2     | 2.4     |
| Plus means-tested cash transfers                                  | 16.4   | 22.3   | 19.6   | 21.9   | 3.3     | 5.9     | 2.3     |
| Plus food and housing benefits                                    | 13.3   | 20.0   | 17.0   | 19.2   | 3.7     | 6.7     | 2.2     |
| Less Federal taxes  | 13.6   | 21.3   | 17.6   | 19.0   | 4.0     | 7.7     | 1.4     |
| Total reduction in poverty rate                                   | 6.5    | 4.6    | 4.7    | 6.3    | -1.8    | -2.0    | 1.6     |

NC: Not calculated, as percent change would be meaningless.

Source: Poverty counts are based on special calculations by the Census Bureau. Table prepared by ASPE staff.

**Antipoverty Effectiveness of Cash and Noncash Transfers (Including Federal Income and Payroll Taxes)  
Summary Table for Selected Years, 1979-92**

(In thousands)

|   | Change in number of<br>poor individuals |                            | Percent of individuals<br>removed from poverty<br>due to taxes & transfers |      | Change in number of<br>poor individuals |                            | Change in number of<br>poor individuals |                            |
|---|---|----------------------------|--|------|---|----------------------------|---|----------------------------|
|   | Before<br>transfers                     | After taxes<br>& transfers |  |      | Before<br>transfers                     | After taxes<br>& transfers | Before<br>transfers                     | After taxes<br>& transfers |
|   | 1979-89                                 | 1979-89                    | 1979   | 1989 | 1979-83                                 | 1979-83                    | 1989-92                                 | 1989-92                    |
| All Persons   | 5,730                                   | 6,266                      | 47.6   | 41.0 | 9,775                                   | 11,225                     | 8,145                                   | 4,099                      |
| White   | 3,819                                   | 3,847                      | 51.1   | 45.5 | 7,537                                   | 8,076                      | 5,968                                   | 2,861                      |
| Black   | 1,060                                   | 1,854                      | 39.0   | 28.6 | 1,564                                   | 2,529                      | 1,771                                   | 962                        |
| Hispanic  | 2,797                                   | 2,574                      | 32.9   | 22.1 | 2,050                                   | 1,976                      | 1,822                                   | 892                        |
| Children  | 1,570                                   | 2,680                      | 32.5   | 21.1 | 3,385                                   | 4,673                      | 2,559                                   | 1,394                      |
| White   | 1,038                                   | 1,507                      | 31.2   | 22.2 | 2,823                                   | 3,327                      | 1,760                                   | 928                        |
| Black   | 249                                     | 963                        | 35.4   | 18.7 | 266                                     | 1,042                      | 632                                     | 362                        |
| Hispanic  | 1,098                                   | 1,096                      | 27.4   | 17.0 | 856                                     | 944                        | 694                                     | 362                        |
| Ages 18 to 24   | 257                                     | 751                        | 29.4   | 16.9 | 1,482                                   | 1,851                      | 721                                     | 359                        |
| Ages 25 to 44   | 3,158                                   | 2,947                      | 32.3   | 23.9 | 4,055                                   | 3,891                      | 2,389                                   | 1,324                      |
| Ages 45 to 64   | -1205                                   | 277                        | 49.3   | 33.4 | 719                                     | 910                        | 2,110                                   | 492                        |
| Ages 65 & over  | 948                                     | -388                       | 75.0   | 79.5 | 133                                     | -99                        | 1,368                                   | 530                        |
| Individuals in female-headed<br>families with children  | 1,434                                   | 2,559                      | 37.7   | 24.2 | 1,598                                   | 2,917                      | 2,204                                   | 1,244                      |
| White   | 954                                     | 1,139                      | 37.6   | 28.8 | 1,191                                   | 1,653                      | 978                                     | 642                        |
| Black   | 275                                     | 1,264                      | 38.1   | 18.9 | 286                                     | 1,161                      | 1,161                                   | 550                        |
| Individuals in married-couple<br>families with children | 651                                     | 1,538                      | 33.0   | 22.9 | 4,947                                   | 5,653                      | 2,151                                   | 711                        |
| White   | 538                                     | 1,263                      | 32.3   | 21.7 | 4,250                                   | 4,556                      | 1,843                                   | 582                        |
| Black   | -179                                    | 43                         | 37.7   | 29.1 | 344                                     | 720                        | 181                                     | 136                        |

Source: Poverty counts are based on special calculations by the Census Bureau. Table prepared by ASPE staff.