



A project of the Jefferson Center

364 Century Plaza • 1111 Third Avenue South • Minneapolis, MN 55404  
Phone (612) 333-5300 • Fax (612) 344-1766

September 12, 1994

Bruce Reed  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Reed:

In June, you were a witness at the Tim Penny Welfare Reform Citizens Jury in Winona. We at the Jefferson Center have now completed the final report on that project and would like you to have a copy.

We are very grateful for the part you played in the jury process. The 18 jurors carefully considered and weighed all the information they were given over the course of the six days and developed solid and credible objectives and recommendations for the reform of welfare programs in America. Your willingness to share your knowledge and expertise made that result possible.

If you have questions or comments about either the Citizens Jury process or the specific findings of the Winona jury, please do not hesitate to write to us or to give me a call at the Jefferson Center. If you would like additional copies of the report to share with colleagues or others concerned with the welfare issue who should have access to the findings of the Citizens Jury, please let us know and we will send you extra copies.

Once again, please accept the thanks of the Jefferson Center staff for appearing as a witness in Winona. We greatly appreciate the time, the preparation and the effort you took to help inform the jurors about welfare and welfare reform ideas.

Sincerely yours,

Karen Seay  
Co-director, Jefferson Center



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Dear Friends:

A group of Minnesotans from the First Congressional District met early this summer for six days on the Winona State University campus in southern Minnesota to study and make recommendations on the issue of national welfare reform. The week was a busy, stimulating, sometimes frustrating time, but the 18 people on the Tim Penny Congressional Welfare Reform Citizens Jury panel gave the issue their very best for six days. In the end they created a package of objectives and recommendations worthy of serious consideration in the ongoing debate about how to reform welfare.

As a part of the effort to get the word out about the recommendations of these ordinary citizens, the Jefferson Center has prepared the enclosed summary report. It sets forth the details of the process which brought the jury together and laid the groundwork for their findings, as well as the objectives and recommendations they crafted over the course of the week.

We hope that this summary will be enlightening and thought-provoking for you, whether you are a member of Congress or of the administration; whether you were a contributor, witness, juror or advisor who made the process possible; or whether you are simply a concerned individual who believes our government needs to take the informed wisdom of ordinary citizens well into account as public policy is determined.

Our joint thanks to all who made the project a success. We could not have done it without the support and assistance of many people and organizations who contributed time, money, information and expertise in the effort. If you were among that group, you have our sincerest gratitude.

If you have questions or comments about the Citizens Jury process or the results of the welfare reform jury, or if you would like additional copies of the report, please call either the Jefferson Center or the Penny Washington office at (202) 225-2472.

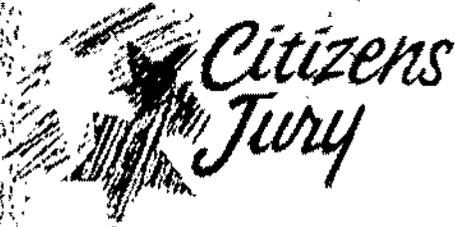
Sincerely yours,

Tim Penny  
U.S. House of Representatives

Sincerely yours,

Karen Seay  
Director, Citizens Jury  
Operations

WR - Minnesota



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THE JEFFERSON CENTER FOR NEW  
DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

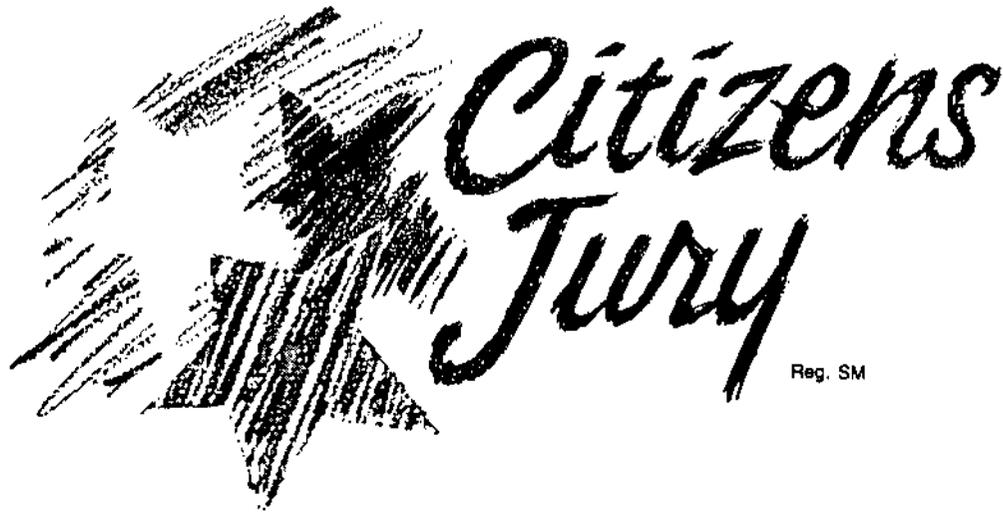
**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY Reg. SM ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JUNE 4 and 6 - 10, 1994**

**Final Report**

*I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.*

-- Thomas Jefferson



**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JUNE 4 AND 6-10, 1994**

**FINAL REPORT**

**Underwriters:**

Patricia Benn and Ned Crosby

Little Six Inc.

United HealthCare

Dayton Hudson Corporation

Deikel Family Foundation

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Inter-Regional Financial Group (Dain Bosworth Foundation)

Southeastern Minnesota Initiative Fund

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Piper Jaffray Companies Inc.

**The Jefferson Center for New Democratic Processes**

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**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

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## TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM

### SUMMARY

In early June, 1994, U.S. Representative Tim Penny took an unprecedented step. The congressman from Minnesota's First Congressional District brought a difficult American policy issue--one on which he expects ultimately to cast votes in Congress--back to the people who elected him.

Rep. Penny asked the Jefferson Center to convene a Citizens Jury to take a long and thoughtful look at welfare programs in America. He charged the jurors to consider the issues of why and how the nation's system of social welfare programs should be reformed. He did not promise to vote the jurors' recommendations; he did promise to listen carefully to them and to carry their conclusions and recommendations to his colleagues in the Congress.

To the degree that there has been any true national debate on welfare reform, its focus has been very limited: whether "two years and out" of AFDC is appropriate and whether the availability of AFDC encourages out-of-wedlock births.

The welfare reform issue, perhaps more than most others, has been captured by those on both ends of the political spectrum who would rely on stereotypical anecdotes as a basis for policy making. While most Americans know that there is something very wrong with the way social welfare programs in the United States are currently structured and administered, there is no clear national consensus on what the country should try to accomplish with reform or how to begin to make the needed changes.

The 18 citizens from Minnesota's First District who spent six days learning about and deliberating on this issue were chosen from a randomly selected group of 3,000 phone numbers to reflect certain characteristics of the district's population. By design, the group included a number of people who had either past or current experience with public assistance programs, including AFDC.

The jury's charge was to provide answers to the question: "What are our three objectives for the reform of welfare programs in America, and what specific provisions should be enacted as part of that reform?" The jury's findings reflect the amount of time and thought they invested in the issue. The jury had a chance to listen to and question more than 20 witnesses, including several members of Congress with welfare reform bills pending, administrators of social welfare programs, AFDC recipients who have had varying degrees of success in becoming self-sufficient, and others.

The jurors rejected the pat answers demanded by the superficial nature of the public debate on welfare reform. They arrived at four major objectives for reforming welfare and agreed that the overriding goal should be to move welfare recipients to self-sufficiency. They then made specific suggestions for accomplishing that goal, concluding that the same solution will not work for everyone. They recommended that each family's individual situation be taken into account in the crafting of a plan for becoming self-sufficient. They said the plan should include the obligations of the recipient family and prescribe the penalties for failure to meet those obligations.

The jury made a real effort to balance the needs of those who must depend on public assistance for some period of time with the interests of society in having people be responsible and self-supporting to the degree that is possible. The recommendations, taken as a whole, comprise a direction, a set of goals and specific reforms to be studied by policy makers committed to more democratic decision making. Of necessity, the recommendations do not answer the detail questions. What they do provide is clear guidance on key points of the welfare reform issue, based on the informed wisdom of ordinary people.

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**SUMMARY, cont.**

The Citizens Jury concept exists to empower ordinary citizens to participate in policy decisions and to have their voices heard and considered. For those like Congressman Penny, who are willing to encourage citizens to speak up in an informed, reflective way, and who are willing to listen and take their voices into account, the Citizens Jury process can also help to liberate policy makers from the tyranny of moneyed special interests and traditional opinion polling.

Once again, we at the Jefferson Center are impressed and very heartened by the work of a group of "ordinary" Americans; their capacity and willingness to dedicate themselves to the real work of democracy is always remarkable. With them--and with others like them--lies the hope that participatory democracy can, with dedication and trust, rebuild and renew the institutions which must serve our society wisely and well.

**Karen Seay  
Project Director  
August 1994**

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**PROJECT OVERVIEW**

- Purpose:** To demonstrate what a representative panel of 18 ordinary residents of Minnesota's First Congressional District would determine about federal welfare reform if given access to a broad range of information and the time to study, debate and deliberate.
- Question:** What are our top three objectives for reforming welfare programs in America? What specific provisions should be enacted as part of that reform?
- Held:** June 4 and 6-10, 1994, Winona State University, Winona, Minn.
- Jurors:** Eighteen adult citizens living in Minnesota's First Congressional District--which includes some Twin Cities' southern suburbs, Rochester, Austin, Mankato, Albert Lea, Winona, as well as many small towns and rural areas--chosen from a randomly selected pool to be a microcosm of the district in terms of age, gender, education, race, geographic locale, political preference and experience with welfare. (The jury included people who are currently being served by welfare or were served at one time in their lives).
- Witnesses:** A variety of local and national witnesses, including Paul Offner, chief welfare counsel, U.S. Senate Finance Committee; Bruce Reed, co-chair, White House Working Group on Welfare Reform; Rep. Jan Meyers (R-Kan.); Rep. Mike Kopetski (D-Ore.); Gov. Arne Carlson; Commissioner Mark Andrew, Hennepin County Board chairperson; and Don Fraser, former U.S. Rep. (D-Minn.) and former mayor of Minneapolis. Sam Newlund, retired Minneapolis *Star Tribune* reporter, was the juror resource person.
- Moderators:** Ned Crosby, Jefferson Center founder and chair; and Karen Seay, project director, Tim Penny Congressional Citizens Jury on Welfare Reform
- Sponsor:** Rep. Tim Penny (D-Minn.), United States House of Representatives

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**AGENDA**

**Performing Arts Center  
Winona State University  
Winona, Minnesota**

**Saturday, June 4**

**Day 1: Introduction**

a. m.

Welcome and introductions  
Description of the Citizens Jury process  
Lunch with Congressman Penny and Penny staff members

p. m.

Meet with Congressman Penny to discuss charge: "What are our three objectives for reforming welfare programs in America, and what specific provisions should be enacted as part of that reform?"  
First reform witness: Paul Offner, chief welfare counsel, U.S. Senate Finance Committee

**Monday, June 6**

**Day 2: Background**

a. m.

Historical perspectives on social welfare programs in America. Presented by Prof. Clarke A. Chambers, Department of History, University of Minnesota  
Background: "Welfare as we know it--what is it?" Presented by Sam Newlund, retired Minneapolis *Star Tribune* journalist  
Background: "How do the major American welfare programs work, and how do they compare with some foreign programs?" Presented by Sam Newlund

p. m.

Background: "How well does AFDC work, and what does it accomplish?" Presented by Sam Newlund  
Panel discussion: "Who is calling for welfare reform? What do the various groups mean by 'reform?' What do those calling for reform hope to accomplish?" Commentary and background presentations by Mitchell Pearlstein, president of the Center of the American Experiment; Tonja Orr of the Legal Services Advocacy Project; and Sam Newlund.  
Second reform witness: U.S. Rep. Mike Kopetski (D-Ore.)

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**AGENDA, cont.**

**Tuesday, June 7**

**Day 3: Values and Cost Considerations**

a. m.

Values: "Value received for money spent on U.S. welfare programs."  
Presented by Craig Brooks, director, Winona County Human Services

Small group discussion: "Is saving money an important objective of welfare reform?"

Panel of welfare recipients, led by Tutti Sherlock, director of Rochester-based Child Care Resource and Referrals. Panel included Tamara Daly, Jeannie Grebin and Betty Collins.

Small group discussion: "Who do we want to help with social welfare programs?"

p. m.

Third reform witness: Rep. Jan Meyers (R-Kan.)

Values: "Who should we be trying to help with welfare reform efforts?"  
Presented by Laura Kadwell, Children's Defense Fund of Minnesota

Small group discussion: "What do we want to accomplish with social welfare programs in America?"

Large group discussion: Three main objectives of welfare reform

**Wednesday, June 8**

**Day 4: Ideas for Reform**

a. m.

Deliberations: "What are our three main objectives for welfare reform?"

Fourth reform witness: Commissioner Mark Andrew, Hennepin County Board

Fifth reform witness: Gene Kussart, Office of the Secretary, Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services

Sixth reform witness: Bruce Reed, co-chair, President's Working Group on Welfare Reform

p. m.

Seventh reform witness: Robert Rector, Heritage Foundation

Eighth reform witness: Barbara Parks Faltesek, human resources consultant

**Thursday, June 9**

**Day 5: Ideas for Reform and Deliberations**

a. m.

Ninth reform witness: Gov. Arne Carlson (Minn.)

Tenth reform witness: John Petroborg, deputy commissioner, Minnesota Department of Human Services

Eleventh reform witness: Donald Fraser, former mayor of Minneapolis and former U.S. Rep. (D-Minn.)

Twelfth reform witness: Kathy Keeley, chief of staff to Minneapolis Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**AGENDA, cont.**

**Thursday, June 9**

**Day 5: Ideas for Reform and Deliberations, cont.**

p.m.

Deliberations: "Are the main objectives for welfare reform which we identified on Day 4 still our main objectives, and are they still prioritized correctly?"

Deliberations: "What specific welfare reform provisions should Congress enact to bring about each of our major objectives?"

**Friday, June 10**

**Day 6: Deliberations and Conference with Congressman Penny**

a.m.

Deliberations in small groups: "Objective One: Move people from welfare to self-sufficiency. Objective Two: Require accountability and responsibility of both parents to care for children, preserve the family unit and instill better moral values."

Deliberations in large group: Objectives One and Two

Deliberations in small groups: "Objective Three: Use money more effectively. Objective Four: Give state and local government more control to administer programs under federal guidelines."

Deliberations in large group: Objectives Three and Four

Deliberations: "Funding recommendation: If any of our recommended provisions would require a tax increase to citizens like ourselves, would we still want it to be enacted, or would we delete it from the list?"

Juror evaluations of the Citizens Jury process and the Jefferson Center Election of Oversight Committee members

p.m.

Meet with Congressman Penny by teleconference to report and discuss objectives and recommendations

News conference to report results to the news media

Adjourn

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JUROR OBJECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFORM**

**Objective 1: Move people from welfare to self-sufficiency.**

- \* We support tailor-made contracts for each family, which identify the methods by which the family will become self-sufficient, similar to the types of contracts used by the Minnesota Family Investment Plan and the Wisconsin plan.

The contract will include incentives for fulfilling the contract. Failure to fulfill the contract will result in penalties.

The contract will be developed with a caseworker who will provide personalized support.

The Citizens Jury makes these recommendations based on the belief that every able-bodied person should be required to work. Those recipients unable to find work in the private sector would receive employment opportunities provided by the state in the form of government-subsidized jobs in the private sector or government jobs.

- \* Make work more profitable than welfare.
- \* Revise the current welfare benefits structure to provide an equitable transition from welfare to work so that:
  1. an individual working to support his or her family maintains a higher standard of living than an individual drawing benefits without working; and
  2. two-parent families are equally as eligible for welfare benefits as single-parent families. This is to discourage single parents from starting families and to encourage parents to stay together.

**Objective 2: Require accountability and responsibility of both parents to care for children, preserve the family unit and instill better moral values.**

- \* We support the use of any and all means necessary to enforce child support payments. A key component would be a national database to track deadbeat dads across state lines.
- \* As part of the family program, identify the needs of children and require the parents to implement activities to meet those needs. We support more early intervention programs such as Head Start.
- \* To improve accountability and responsibility, we think it is necessary that no AFDC payments are made to individuals before the age 18, assuming that an appropriate custodial adult is available for the minor parent.

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JUROR OBJECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REFORM, cont.**

**Objective 3: Use money more effectively.**

- \* The programs should be restructured so as to coordinate and consolidate services to make them more effective and to improve their communication with recipients.
- \* Simplify the process of helping the working poor, so they do not have to deplete their resources and can avoid welfare.
- \* Enhance efforts to detect and prosecute welfare fraud.

**Objective 4: Give state and local government more control to administer programs under federal guidelines.**

- \* Facilitate and expedite the system of granting federal waivers to states.
- \* Federally mandated programs (such as, but not limited to, AFDC) would be replaced by block grants to states. This would allow the states to design programs which would address the specific needs of the states.
- \* Under federal guidelines all states must provide equalized welfare benefits with adjustments only for differences in costs of living among the states

**Juror's Statement About Funding**

Given that many of our witnesses were unable to be precise with regard to the costs of programs, we cannot attach a dollar amount to these recommendations. However, we have adopted the following statements with regard to the funding of our recommended provisions:

- \* We are not in favor of tax increases, but if tax increases are necessary to carry out the recommendations we have made, we would support them (Vote: 17 yes; 1 no).
- \* We believe that some cuts in non-means tested programs for wealthy individuals should be considered (Vote: 17 yes; 1 no).
- \* We should limit SSI benefits for legal immigrants (Vote: 14 yes; 2 no; 2 abstentions).

Had we had additional time to consider some specific funding measures, we would have done so, but these statements represent our thoughts about a funding direction.

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

<b>JURORS</b>	<b>Home town</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Age</b>
Richard Abraham	Mankato	Retired Minnesota state trooper	61
Sylvia Brink	Harmony	Teacher aide	56
Joseph A. Casey Jr.	Rochester	Self-employed	59
Sherry Chavez	Byron	Homemaker	37
Bill Coleman	Minnesota City	Housekeeping supervisor/ boiler engineer	28
Jerry Dooley	Rochester	Marketing programs manager	54
Ronald E. Hedin	Albert Lea	Factory worker	57
LaVoie House	Red Wing	Teacher	44
Cynthia LaFreniere	Preston	Homemaker	39
Kendall Langseth	Albert Lea	Extension educator	39
Betty Lehmann	Kasson	Drugstore clerk	67
Mitchell Long	Rochester	Programmer	30
Gloria Nelson	Stewartville	Senior sales/ pharmacy department	53
Sherry Peterson	Hayfield	Laborer	40
Tracy Prebe	Altura	Riverside Electronics and SEMCIL	21
Fern Marie Roth	Homer	I.S. system operator	30
Tamara Vosejпка	Lonsdale	Secretary	36
Nancy White-Finne	Rochester	Daycare provider	28

This Citizens Jury panel was chosen from a random pool of 3,000 adults living in Minnesota's First Congressional District to be a microcosm of the district in terms of age, gender, education, race, geographic locale, political preference and experience with welfare. Jurors were paid their expenses and a stipend of \$75 per day for a week of meetings in Winona, Minn.

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JURY COMPOSITION**

**Gender**

Male	9
Female	9

**Age**

18-30	5
31-49	6
49-older	7

**Race**

White	16
Black	1
Hispanic	1

**Education**

High school	9
Some college	3
College	6

**1992 presidential election**

Clinton	6
Bush	6
Perot	4
Didn't vote	2

**Rural/urban**

Olmstead County	5
Other	13

**Experience with welfare**

None	14
Former	3
Former and current	1

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**PARTICIPANTS**

Witnesses

<b>Paul Offner</b>	Chief welfare counsel, U.S. Senate Finance Committee, Washington, D.C.
<b>Clark Chambers</b>	Professor of history, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis
<b>Tonja Orr</b>	Attorney, Legal Services Advocacy Project, St. Paul
<b>Mitchell Pearlstein</b>	President, Center for the American Experiment, Minneapolis
<b>Mike Kopetski</b>	U.S. Representative (D-Ore.)
<b>Craig Brooks</b>	Director, Winona County Human Services, Winona
<b>Tutti Sherlock</b>	Director, Child Care Resources and Referrals, Rochester. Recipient panel included Tamara Daly, Jeannie Grebin and Betty Collins.
<b>Jan Meyers</b>	U.S. Representative (R-Kan.)
<b>Laura Kadwell</b>	President, Children's Defense Fund of Minnesota, Minneapolis
<b>Mark Andrew</b>	Commissioner, Hennepin County Board, Minneapolis
<b>Gene Kussart</b>	Office of the Secretary, Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services, Madison
<b>Bruce Reed</b>	Co-chair, President's Working Group on Welfare Reform, Washington, D.C.
<b>Robert Rector</b>	Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.
<b>Barbara Parks Faltsek</b>	Human resources consultant, Minneapolis
<b>Arne Carlson</b>	Governor (R), State of Minnesota, St. Paul
<b>John Petroborg</b>	Deputy commissioner, Minnesota Department of Human Services, St. Paul
<b>Donald Fraser</b>	Former mayor of Minneapolis and former U.S. Rep. (D-Minn.), Minneapolis
<b>Kathy Keeley</b>	Chief of staff, Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton's office, Minneapolis

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**PARTICIPANTS, cont.**

Moderators

**Ned Crosby**                      Founder and board chair, Jefferson Center

**Karen Seay**                      Project director

Juror Resource

**Sam Newlund**                      Retired journalist, Minneapolis *Star Tribune*

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**THE JEFFERSON CENTER FOR NEW DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES**

The Jefferson Center is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization conducting research and development into new methods of democratic decision-making. Founded in 1974 in Minneapolis, the center is the creator of the Citizens Jury process, through which randomly selected, representative panels of American adults meet for several days to examine major policy decisions and/or evaluate key campaign issues.

The center was founded by its chair, Ned Crosby, a community leader with a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Minnesota. Crosby is currently the acting CEO of the center. The center's co-directors are Nancy Hopf and Karen Seay.

Citizens Jury projects currently under development include state and national public policy juries and election-issue juries; congressionally sponsored juries; and university conducted juries. The center has also created the Extended Policy Discussion and Values Review Exercise reforms.

The Tim Penny Congressional Citizens Jury on Welfare Reform is the center's 16th Citizens Jury project and the first congressionally sponsored Citizens Jury. Prior juries include:

Yale Citizens Jury on At-Risk Children	1994
America's Tough Choices: Health Care Reform	1993
America's Tough Choices: The Federal Budget	1993
1992 Pennsylvania U.S. Senatorial Election Issues	1992
Hennepin County Budget Priorities	1991
Low Income Housing	1991
Arts in the Schools	1990
1990 Minnesota Gubernatorial Election Issues	1990
St. Paul Mayoral Election Issues	1989
School-based Health Clinics	1988
Organ Transplants	1986
Agriculture and Water Policy	1985
Peacemaking Project for the Presbytery of the Twin Cities Area	1981
1976 Presidential Election Issues	1976
National Health Care Plan	1974

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JEFFERSON CENTER BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

<b>Pierre Baston</b>	Citizens Jury Oversight Committee chairperson and 1992 Pennsylvania U.S. Senatorial Election Issues juror
<b>Harriette Burkhalter</b>	Former vice president, National League of Women Voters and former president, Minnesota League of Women Voters
<b>Ned Crosby</b>	Political scientist and Jefferson Center founder and chair
<b>Ed Garvey</b>	Chair, Minnesota Pollution Control Agency and legislative assistant for U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger
<b>Joan Growe</b>	Minnesota Secretary of State and former president of the National Association of Secretaries of State
<b>Peter Heegaard</b>	Managing principal, Norwest Capital Advisors
<b>Tom Horner</b>	Partner, Himle Horner Inc. public relations and political commentator for Minnesota Public Radio and KTCA-TV
<b>Susan Lederman</b>	Professor of public administration, Kean College and immediate past president of the National League of Women Voters
<b>Robert Meek</b>	Political commentator for Minnesota Public Radio and former Jefferson Center president and CEO
<b>Vance Opperman</b>	President, West Publishing Co.
<b>Jon Schroeder</b>	Minnesota director for U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger and a former weekly newspaper publisher
<b>Vin Weber</b>	President of Empower America; former U.S. Representative (R-Minn.); co-director, Hubert H. Humphrey Institute Public Policy Forum; and political commentator for National Public Radio

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JEFFERSON CENTER ADVISORY COUNCIL**

<b>Philip Brunelle</b>	Founder and artistic director, Plymouth Music Series
<b>Guido Calabresi</b>	Dean, Yale Law School
<b>Robert Courson</b>	Retired, Minneapolis Star Tribune
<b>Robert Dahl</b>	Professor emeritus, Yale University
<b>Peter Dienel</b>	Professor emeritus, University of Wuppertal, Germany
<b>James Fishkin</b>	Ph.D., University of Texas, Austin
<b>Donald Fraser</b>	Former mayor of Minneapolis and former U.S. Representative (D-Minn.)
<b>Bill Frenzel</b>	Senior fellow, Brookings Institute and former U.S. Representative (R-Minn.)
<b>Nathan Garvis</b>	Manager of public affairs, Dayton Hudson Corp.
<b>H. Theodore Grindal</b>	Partner, Schatz, Paquin, Lockridge, Grindal & Holstein law firm
<b>Sally Howard</b>	Director of health science relations, University of Minnesota Health Sciences
<b>Peter Hutchinson</b>	Superintendent, Minneapolis Public Schools
<b>Kathleen Hall Jamieson</b>	Dean, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania
<b>Richard Moe</b>	President, National Trust for Historic Preservation
<b>Mitchell Pearlstein</b>	President, Center for the American Experiment
<b>Jim Scheibel</b>	Director, Action D.C. and former mayor of St. Paul
<b>Sharon Schuster</b>	Immediate past president, American Association of University Women
<b>Charles Slocum</b>	Executive director, Metro Channel 6
<b>Phillipa Strom</b>	Professor of political science, City University of New York
<b>Paul Thatcher</b>	Member, Twin Cities Metropolitan Sports Commission
<b>Robert Vanasek</b>	Vice president, Metropolitan State University and former speaker, Minnesota House of Representatives
<b>Paul Wellstone</b>	U.S. Senator (D-Minn.)

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JUROR EVALUATION**

The answers to the following three questions were tabulated from responses taken from each juror on the final day of the jury.

1. In general, how do you feel about the Tim Penny Congressional Citizens Jury on Welfare Reform? (check one)

9 Very satisfied  
7 Satisfied  
2 Neutral  
0 Dissatisfied  
0 Very dissatisfied

2. How do you feel about the different parts of the project (how useful were they to you)?

	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dis-satisfied	Very Dissatisfied
Saturday meeting with Congressman Penny	11	6	1		
Monday background information	10	5	3		
Tuesday small group discussions	7	11			
Tuesday cost/values presenters and panel	5	10	2	1	
Presentations by reform witnesses	7	10	1		
Deliberations	3	6	5	4	

3. One of our aims is to have the staff and volunteers of the Jefferson Center conduct the project in an unbiased way. How satisfied are you with their performance in this regard?

14 Very satisfied  
4 Satisfied  
0 Neutral  
0 Dissatisfied  
0 Very Dissatisfied

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JUROR COMMENTS**

Each juror was given the opportunity to record a personal opinion about any part of the Citizens Jury process, with the proviso that the statement be signed in order to be included in the final report.

I had no idea how difficult it would be to incorporate my personal ideas into the jury's goals. Perhaps this is a tiny glimpse of what it is like to be a politician trying to do what is best for the greatest number of people. I hope the Citizens Jury can continue to grow and be a vital part of the policy making decisions of our government agencies.

Sylvia Brink  
Harmony, Minn.

What a terrific opportunity to participate and contribute to the democratic process. I am looking forward to taking this experience with me, sharing it with others and using it in ways to contribute to my community and our government.

Gerald Dooley  
Rochester, Minn.

I believe that in the six days we spent together we accomplished as much as possible. It is an experience I will never forget.

Tracy Prebe  
Altura, Minn.

I was very impressed by how it was run--very professional and informative.

Richard Abraham  
Mankato, Minn.

I thought the jury was an excellent innovation in bringing ideas from everyday citizens directly to government.

Mitchell Long  
Rochester, Minn.

This week has been enjoyable, frustrating and very educational. I felt we all had an equal voice. Thank you for including me in this process.

Cindy LaFreniere  
Red Wing, Minn.

To the Jefferson Center, its staff and supporters, I commend your vote of confidence in ordinary people.

Gloria Nelson  
Stewartville, Minn.

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**JUROR COMMENTS, cont.**

Welfare is a very complicated issue, which I never realized before. The jury experience helped me to understand the facts.

Sherry Chavez  
Byron, Minn.

I was very impressed with the organization of this jury and the set-up of this process. Every detail was paid attention to. The process allowed us to learn and understand the system before we began hearing testimony and form our objectives.

Fern Marie Roth  
Homer

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**SURVEY ANALYSIS**

In the initial stages of the process, when we were calling potential jurors to see whether they were interested in serving, we asked some "attitude" questions which we planned to use as a balance check and also as a comparison to national polling data. These questions were incorporated into the surveys which the 18 jurors took both at the beginning and the end of the process, so that we could also do some comparisons with those responses.

All questions used were taken from recent national survey questions so that results from the jurors, both before and after the Citizens Jury process, could be compared with the national data.

While we did not ask jurors to sign their survey forms, we did take care to pair the beginning and end surveys for each juror, so that we could track the individual changes. This analysis does not include that individualized information.

Here is the overall breakdown of both the beginning and ending surveys and, where applicable, the initial survey questions, with comparisons with the national data.

**1. Do you favor or oppose a proposal that would end welfare benefits for unmarried mothers under age 21, and would turn the savings over to the states for programs to care for children, so there will not be any economic benefit to unmarried young women for having children?**

a. Favor

b. Oppose

c. Not sure

**Beginning**

**End**

**National (5/94)**

a. 6 (33.3%)

a. 13 (72%)

a. 55 %

b. 6 (33.3%)

b. 4 (22%)

b. 34 %

c. 6 (33.3%)

c. 1 (6%)

c. 11%

**2. Which one of the following proposals for welfare reform do you prefer?**

a. A proposal that would provide job training for welfare recipients, and that would end their benefits after two years if they had not found a job, whether or not there were a job available at that time.

b. A proposal that would provide job training to welfare recipients, and that would require them to take a job whenever one became available, but no one would lose benefits without being offered a job.

c. Neither

d. Not sure

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**SURVEY ANALYSIS, cont.**

<u>Beginning</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>National (2/94)</u>
a. 1 (6%)	a. 3 (17%)	a. 36%
b. 13 (72%)	b. 13 (72%)	b. 59%
c. 3 (17%)	c. 1 (6%)	c. 3%
d. 1 (6%)	d. 1 (6%)	d. 2%

**3. In your view, are most people who receive welfare payments genuinely in need of help, or are they taking advantage of the system?**

**a. Need help**

**b. Taking advantage of the system**

**c. Not sure**

<u>Phone survey (3/94)</u>	<u>Beginning</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>National (2/94)</u>
a. 8 (44%)	a. 10 (56%)	a. 14 (78%)	a. 39%
b. 10 (56%)	b. 6 (33%)	b. 2 (11%)	b. 49%
c. not included	c. 2 (11%)	c. 2 (11%)	c. 12%

It is difficult to account for the difference in the results of the phone survey done in March and the pre-jury survey done on June 4. The same 18 people were being surveyed, and the Jefferson Center had made no effort to educate them prior to their taking the beginning survey. One possible explanation is that because they knew they had been selected for the Citizens Jury they had begun to pay more attention to the issue and had either begun to read or to listen to news reports and were less likely to rely on anecdotal or hearsay information and their own preconceptions about the issue.

**4. What do you think should be the main goal of any welfare reform plan? Do you think it should be to cut the cost of welfare in the short term, or to get welfare recipients into the workforce, or to cut down on the number of illegitimate children born in poverty, or some other goal?**

**a. Cut costs**

**b. Get people into the workforce**

**c. Cut down on illegitimate children**

**d. Other, please elaborate**

**e. Don't know**

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**SURVEY ANALYSIS, cont.**

<u>Beginning</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>National (4/94)</u>
a. 1 (6%)	a. 1 (6%)	a. 6%
b. 10 (56%)	b. 16 (89%)	b. 73%
c. 5 (28%)	c. 5 (28%)	c. 17 %
d. 4 (22%)	d. 2 (11%)	d. 1%
e. 0	e. 0	e. 3%

The numbers and percentages for the juror answers on this questions add up to more than 18 and 100% because several of the jurors on both the beginning and end surveys identified more than one "main goal" of welfare reform.

**5. In order to pay for changes in the welfare system, would you favor or oppose cutting all aid to immigrants who have entered the United States legally until they have lived here at least five years?**

- a. Favor
- b. Oppose
- c. Don't know

<u>Beginning</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>National (4/94)</u>
a. 6 (33.3%)	a. 13 (72%)	a. 69%
b. 6 (33.3%)	b. 5 (28%)	b. 28%
c. 6 (33.3%)	c. 0	c. 3%

**6. Would you be willing or unwilling to pay more in taxes order to provide job training and public services jobs people on welfare so that they can get off welfare?**

- a. Willing
- b. Unwilling
- c. Don't know

<u>Beginning</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>National (1/94)</u>
a. 4 (22%)	a. 9 (50%)	a. 61%
b. 11 (61%)	b. 8 (44%)	b. 34%
c. 3 (17%)	c. 1 (6%)	c. 5%

When our jury selection survey was being designed, we noted something interesting in the statistical data we were reviewing to design the "attitude" questions. There were a pair of questions that were essentially identical except for the final phrase, but that phrase appeared to have made an impressive difference in the answers people gave to the question. The two questions were as follows:

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**SURVEY ANALYSIS, cont.**

"Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on **assistance to the poor?**" (Emphasis mine)

Too little	63%
About right	22%
Too much	12%
Don't know	3%

"Are we spending too much, too little, or about the right amount on **welfare?**" (Emphasis mine)

Too little	16%
About right	25%
Too much	54%
Don't know	5%

Because it appeared that the word "welfare" may be a loaded term, we decided to do a test of our own by asking the questions using the phrase "assistance to the poor" on the initial phone survey and then to change the term to welfare on both the beginning and end surveys done at the jury. The results were as follows:

7. Do you think we are spending too much, too little or about the right amount on (assistance to the poor) welfare?

- a. Too little
- b. About right
- c. Too much
- d. Don't know

<u>Phone survey (3/94)</u>	<u>Beginning</u>	<u>End</u>	<u>National</u>
(assistance to the poor)	(welfare)	(welfare)	(welfare)
a. 4 (22%)	a. 1 (6%)	a. 2 (11%)	a. 16%
b. 6 (33.3%)	b. 1 (6%)	b. 11 (61%)	b. 25%
c. 4 (22%)	c. 11 (61%)	c. 3 (17%)	c. 54%
d. 4 (22%)	d. 5 (28%)	d. 2 (11%)	d. 5%

**Karen Seay  
Project Director  
July 1994**

**TIM PENNY CONGRESSIONAL  
CITIZENS JURY ON WELFARE REFORM**

**"DEAR COLLEAGUE" LETTER AND NEWS CLIPS**

TIMOTHY J. PENNY  
1ST DISTRICT MINNESOTA

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Many of you may not be familiar with the Citizens Jury. You should be. Not only a great method for Members to take the political temperature of their districts, the Citizens Jury empowers ordinary citizens and is a real-life model of how our democratic process was intended to work.

It's really very simple: you assemble a group to resemble a microcosm of your district — balance it for age, race, gender, income, and political preference, and spend one week presenting to them both sides of a public policy issue. The Jefferson Center of Minneapolis has been doing this for nearly 20 years — on issues from health care to balancing the federal budget. I asked them to come to my district to study welfare reform.

The Jury convened on June 4 in Winona, a small town overlooking the Mississippi River in southern Minnesota. They spent a week listening to experts like Congresswoman Jan Meyers and Bruce Reed from the White House. At the end of the week, the 18 jurors presented me with their conclusions. They weren't revolutionary, but they made good sense. I'd like to share their ideas with you.

They said that our overriding goal should be to make welfare recipients self-sufficient. Welfare recipients should, together with a caseworker, develop individual contracts outlining their plans to get off the system. And we should change the "disregard" formula, so checks aren't reduced dollar-for-dollar with every paycheck earned.

Misguided welfare policies have hastened the breakdown of the American family. We should stop penalizing two-parent families and do a better job holding "deadbeat dads and moms" accountable for child-support. Early intervention programs with a proven track record of success, like Head Start, should be expanded, and cash grants should be denied to mothers under the age of 18. Lastly, the jury thought it wise to consolidate and streamline the 77-odd programs that comprise our federal welfare system and give state governments more room to improvise.

We can all benefit from a dose of home-grown common sense. The Citizens Jury performs a unique service that can be especially valuable to Members of Congress: letting us know what the American public really thinks.

Rochester Post-Bulletin  
MAY 31, 1994  
Jury adds needed voice

It's easy to get angry about government policies or government leaders. Americans feel their voices are not being heard. So they write to and call their representatives. They send messages on the information superhighway. They make their points on radio call-in programs.

But the best way for citizens to "interface" with government may not be a high-tech way. The best way is for citizens to become well-informed and to present their conclusions in a respected forum.

The Minneapolis-based Jefferson Center has been arranging such forums for several years. They are called Citizens Juries and they bring together random samplings of citizens from different racial, class and political backgrounds. Jury members get fully briefed on issues, hear "testimony" from different perspectives and later reach a "verdict."

Beginning Saturday, and continuing June 6-10, a jury of 18 people in the 1st Congressional District will meet at Winona State University to address welfare reform.

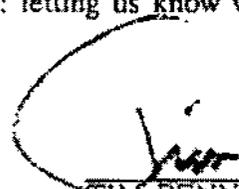
It is the first of what the Jefferson Center hopes will be a long, long series of forums, on a variety of top-

ics, in congressional districts all over the country. U.S. Rep. Tim Penny is sponsor of the jury in Winona.

Citizens Juries have demonstrated the ability of Americans to make tough decisions once they become informed on issues. In recent years, juries have looked at political races in Minnesota in 1990, affordable housing in Rochester in 1991 and at a U.S. Senate race in Pennsylvania in 1992.

Last year, the jury went national for the first time. A panel of 24 jurors met in Washington in January and agonized over a tough combination of tax increases and spending cuts after hearing testimony on federal budget problems. In October, a second panel of 24 jurors learned about health care. They rejected the status quo, rejected the Clinton plan and endorsed 25 recommendations, including universal care and price guidelines.

Welfare reform is an ideal topic for a Citizens Jury. Everybody has an opinion, but few people have all the facts. Penny's jury may not come up with the ultimate solution, but it will add a thoughtful, reasoned and needed voice to a shrill discussion.

  
TIM PENNY, M.C.

# 18 area residents on welfare-reform Citizens Jury

By John McCormick  
The Post-Bulletin

When Cynthia LaFreniere leaves her Preston home a week from today, she will be setting out to make her mark on welfare reform.

"I think it should be very interesting because we all come from different backgrounds," said LaFreniere, who will be one of 18 southeastern Minnesota residents who will participate in the Citizens Jury project.

The effort is sponsored by the Jefferson Center, a nonpartisan organization founded in 1974 in Minneapolis to conduct research and development into new methods of democratic decision-making.

It will be conducted on behalf of 1st District Rep. Tim Penny, who will be present the first and last day of the six-day effort.

Jurors from Rochester, Austin, Manicoto and numerous other cities will be given detailed background on the welfare system and hear from a variety of expert witnesses.

## Jury

■ Makeup of the 18 jury members, which the Jefferson Center says roughly reflects the composition of Minnesota's 1st District:

Age 18-44: 10 jurors

Age 45+: 8 jurors

Gender: 8 men, 8 women

Race: 17 white, 1 minority

Education: 10 high school or less, 8 more than high school

1992 presidential vote: 6 Clinton, 5 Bush, 5 Perot, 2 didn't vote

Public Assistance: 2 currently receiving, 3 have previously received and 13 never have received.

The governors from both Minnesota and Wisconsin have been invited to speak to the group. A

total of 20 witnesses are expected to be heard, including testimony from Bruce Reed, co-chair of President Clinton's Working Group on Welfare Reform.

An attempt was made to have jurors be representative of southeastern Minnesota in terms of age, gender, education, race, 1992 presidential preference and experience with the welfare system.

"We've tried to select a microcosm of the district," said Diane O'Brien, a spokeswoman for the Jefferson Center.

Jurors were selected after answering a telephone interview earlier this year. More than 3,000 people were contacted and asked if they would be interested in participating.

LaFreniere said she hopes the

experience will allow her to get beyond the rhetoric of welfare reform and allow her to help come up with some solutions.

"I think we should all have a say on what goes on," she said. "I feel this is a good platform."

The event is open to the public and will be at Winona State University June 4, and June 6 to 10.

The Jefferson Center had its first

two national Citizen Jury projects in 1993, one to draw up a federal budget and a second to evaluate President Clinton's health care reform proposal.

# Welfare on docket

By Rep. Tim Penny

D-MINNESOTA

Part of my frustration with Washington is our reliance on old-style solutions to solve modern problems. Our intrinsic resistance to ushering out the old has bred a stockpile of Depression-era policies ill-equipped to deal with today's problems.

We appropriately look to Congress and the president to determine national priorities. However, special interests prevail too often and render Congress conspicuously less than objective.

A group in Minneapolis has found a way to bring the average citizen's voice back to government decision-making. The Citizens Jury — a group of citizens, balanced demographically and brought together to study public issues in depth — was pioneered by Ned Crosby in 1974 when he founded the Jefferson Center. Citizens Juries have since achieved national prominence, most recently last year in Washington, D.C., on health-care reform.

I have asked the Jefferson Center to be host to a Citizens Jury in Winona, Minn., on reforming national welfare policy. America needs to take a fresh look at the system through the eyes of ordinary citizens. Eighteen randomly selected citizens will convene this week to study various proposals with nationally renowned experts. At the end of six days, I will receive their recommendations and share their proposals with other policy-makers.

Our national welfare policy is a clear example of a solution that has not kept pace with societal problems. Aid to Families with Dependent Children is the primary means of support for most people on public assistance. A minor provision in the sweeping Social Security Act of 1935, AFDC was designed to help widows to care for their children.

In 1940, 2 percent of children received AFDC. Today more than a quarter of our children are raised in single-parent homes, and 14 percent of American children depend on AFDC.

This program discourages self-sufficiency and encourages governmental dependence. Under the current system, recipients are penalized for taking work and quickly figure out that they do best economically when they do the least to help themselves.

In combination with food stamps, Medicaid, and housing and child-care subsidies, many families on welfare are doing better financially than the working poor. We've not only squandered precious federal dollars; we've wasted invaluable human potential.

Welfare policies reinforce behavior inconsistent with our cultural values: work, family and community. We inhibit individual initiative, promote the breakup of families, and fail to promote a sense of responsibility to communities. The welfare culture that has evolved has become an acceptable way of life.

Welfare should provide a safety net of transitional support. Individuals, in return, have a responsibility to work. It should be seen not as an entitlement but as a contract with mutual obligations. In the end, the most valuable thing we can give people is the chance to help themselves.

The time is ripe for reform. Now for the first time we have a president who has pledged to "end welfare as we know it" and a Congress that is receptive to the idea. Opinion polls show the public supports reform, as do both major political parties.

In the absence of federal action, states have taken the lead in reforming public assistance programs, and their results have inspired the national debate. Minnesota is in the vanguard of these reforms with the recently implemented Minnesota Family Investment Plan. Minnesota's reforms, for the most part, concentrate on making work literally pay more than welfare.

Wisconsin focuses more on the proverbial "stick" and will abolish AFDC by 1999, as opposed to the "carrot" of financial enticement offered in Minnesota. There are as many ways to approach the issue as there are states in the union. New Jersey denies an increase in benefits to women who have children while on welfare. Connecticut, Florida and Oklahoma impose time limits for public assistance.

Forums such as the Citizens Jury empower people to take part in a meaningful public debate. Washington could use fresh input — which is exactly what will come for the 18 1st District jurors.

# Penny to hold 'Citizen's jury'

## Welfare reform tops agenda

By Jonathan Maze  
Winona Daily News

Tim Penny is a politician from a rare mold. In an act somewhat unheard of from people of his profession, he acknowledges his unfamiliarity with a subject.

Such is the case with welfare reform. The 1st District congressman says he knows little about it.

Thus, Penny has scheduled a "Citizen's Jury" at Winona State University's Performing Arts Center to combat his lack of knowledge. The jury, which begins Saturday at 10 a.m. will consist of a week of hearings from those who do know about welfare reform in front of a randomly selected jury of 1st District



Tim Penny

constituents.

"I'm not deeply involved in the welfare issue," said Penny, whose main issue is agriculture, given his farm-intensive district. "I don't consider myself an expert. I hope to learn along with my constituents."

Eighteen people will make up the jury. They range from a state trooper from Mankato to a Harmony teacher's aide to a Kasson drugstore clerk.

Jurors were picked randomly from people who responded to an early survey given by Jefferson Center, a non-profit research organization based in Minneapolis.

The jury will hear continuous testimony from a variety of experts on welfare reform.

Minnesota Gov. Arne Carlson is expected to talk about the Minnesota "Investment" plan. Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson may

► Please see JURY/4A

## ► Jury

From page 1A

show up to discuss his reform plan. Jan Meyers, a Republican congresswoman from Kansas and an author of one of several welfare reform proposals, will give her view. Bruce Reed, one of President Bill Clinton's domestic policy advisers, also will talk.

Others also are invited. The final line-up of speakers will be made available later today.

Penny will charge the jury today with hearing testimony and preparing a final recommendation on welfare reform. Monday through Thursday, the jurors will receive testimony and get background on the issue.

The jurors will then deliberate midday Thursday through Friday, when they will prepare their final proposal, which will be presented to Penny and the public on Friday.

The public is invited and encouraged to attend. Each day's testimony will begin at 9 a.m. Monday through Thursday.

The jury's benefits, say Penny and Jefferson Center spokeswoman Diane O'Brien, will be numerous.

"It's an exercise in deliberative democracy," O'Brien said. "It's an opportunity for a congressman, such as Tim Penny, to hear what ordinary citizens in his dis-

trict feel about the issue of welfare reform.

"There's more thought than a phone poll or an ordinary survey. There's people with a spectrum of opinions on the subject of welfare reform."

And that, Penny says, will benefit everybody involved.

"It should be an educational week," Penny said. "And where better than Winona State?"

Penny, of course, is a WSU alum.

Welfare reform, said both Penny and O'Brien, is a difficult issue. While most people feel the country needs to help its citizens, they also believe the welfare system has gotten a tad out of whack.

"It's a complicated issue and I don't think most folks have a real handle on what goes into the welfare system," Penny said. "Yet we all understand that the system needs to be reformed, because there's faults within the system that make it difficult for people to move from welfare back into secure employment."

And these questions, according to O'Brien, aren't always answered in a poll.

"That substantial information sometimes gets lost," she said. "I think it's going to be a valuable experience."



Jonathan Maza/Winona Daily News

Tim Penny, 1st District Congressman, instructs 18 people comprising the Citizen's Jury, which he sponsors. The group will hear a week of tes-

timony about welfare reform and will prepare a reform recommendation for Penny at the end of the week.

## Penny opens welfare reform talks; jury probes Offner plan

By Jonathan Maza  
Winona Daily News

At 21, Tracy Prebe is the youngest member of the Citizen's Jury on welfare reform. A resident of Alba, Minn., and graduate of St. Charles High School, he now spends his time working at Riverside Electronics and SEMCIL.

As the warm Saturday afternoon sun beamed through the windows of Winona State University's Performing Arts Center, one had to wonder why a young buck like Prebe would be spending his time inside.

"I work for SEMCIL," he said. "And we have problems with the welfare system. The guy I work for gets paid through welfare. And he's losing money.

"Then there's this girl down the street. She just got a divorce, has no children, works, but is on welfare. She has a job, but she doesn't make enough. Yet she can lay out in the sun all day."

Problems like that expounds what many perceive

as the trouble with the current welfare system, and why there needs to be reform.

And why Prebe has volunteered his time for the Citizen's Jury.

"I hope it will make a difference," he said.

On Saturday, Prebe and his 17 fellow jurors were introduced to the subject of welfare reform and the concept of a Citizen's Jury. Tim Penny, 1st District Congressman and sponsor of the jury, spoke to the jurors for about an hour, giving the jurors their charge of recommending a plan for welfare reform.

Penny told the jurors what they need to think of in their reform recommendation, like how much the federal government is going to dictate welfare, how much the system is going to spend on the program and where that money will come from.

"We hope that, over time, it will be a less expensive system," Penny said. "But we realize it's going to cost money up front."

Penny said the jury's recommendation, which

► Please see PENNY/5A

## ► Penny

From page 1A

will be given Friday, will be brought to Washington, where it will be given to several offices who will work toward welfare reform.

However, with Congress tangled up in President Bill Clinton's health care reform bill, welfare reform may wait until late in this session, or, more likely, next session.

"The problem with Congress is that, unless the President is driving the agenda, we're not on a schedule," Penny said. "And right now, the President is driving health care reform. It's a matter of time. Many of the committees responsible for welfare also are responsible for health care, and we can't expect them to do both at once."

After Penny was finished, the jurors then heard from the first witness, Paul Offner, the chief welfare counsel for the senate finance committee.

Offner spoke on a reform plan that would create public jobs for teenage mothers and fathers "to change the incentives facing young women and young men" to reduce out-of-wedlock births.

The plan apparently would create several service-oriented public jobs for mothers on welfare. The plan would include benefits for those on the plan and would cost \$10-12 billion.

Offner said his plan, which also would limit the amount of time people can stay on welfare, would create incentives for people to get off welfare, mainly the 20 percent who remain on welfare for long periods of time.

Offner was also the first witness to be drilled by the jury.

His plan drew criticism from several of the jurors. One juror said Offner was "minimizing the problem," forgetting several other aspects of welfare.

Said another: "I think we're being pretty idealistic if we think we're going to get the 20 percent off welfare. If they don't want to work, they don't work."

# Gov. Carlson to address Citizen's Jury this morning

By Jonathan Maze  
Winona Daily News

Minnesota Gov. Arne Carlson will tell jurors at today's Citizen's Jury on Welfare Reform that more people are migrating to Minnesota for its welfare system than many people think.

According to Brian Dietz, a Carlson spokesman, the governor will quote a state demographer's study that says people are migrating here for welfare. He will use the figures, said Dietz, to say there needs to be a reformed welfare system in the state.

Carlson is expected to try and sell his "Minnesota Works" plan at the meeting, which will be held at 9 a.m. at the Performing Arts Center on the Winona State University campus.

The plan, according to Dietz, calls for several changes in the

## Citizen's Jury agenda

U.S. Rep. Tim Penny's Citizen's Jury on welfare reform has run all week and continues today and tomorrow at Winona State University's Performing Arts Center.

Gov. Arne Carlson will be here this morning.

All meetings are open to the public.

Here's the agenda for the rest of the week:

► Today — Gov. Carlson will be here at 9 a.m. At 9:50 a.m., Minnesota Department of Human Services head John Petrobord will talk. Ex-Minneapolis Mayor Don Frasier will talk at 11 a.m., and Cathy Keeley, assistant Minneapolis mayor, will be here at 11:50 a.m.

The jury will deliberate at 2:40 p.m. Thursday, and will continue deliberations on Friday. At 1:30 p.m. Friday, the jury will present its recommendation on welfare to Penny, with a press conference soon afterward.

welfare system, including putting people to work, instead of simply giving them a weekly check.

The Citizen's Jury, sponsored by 1st District Congressman Tim

Penny, will hear from additional witnesses and deliberate in the afternoon, when it will prepare a recommendation to Penny on welfare reform.

## Carlson's plan would 'focus on work'

By Jonathan Maze  
Winona Daily News

Minnesota Gov. Arne Carlson is proposing a welfare reform plan that would "focus on work."

He said the plan, outlined at the Citizen's Jury on Welfare Reform Thursday morning, would promote "work ethic and self-esteem" rather than "promoting dependency."

The main points of his plan are:

- The elimination of cash benefits to welfare applicants who apply for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) during the first six months after they apply.

Instead, applicants will be given assistance finding a job in the private sector and will have access to vouchers for transportation, child care, food stamps and other services.

- New state and federal earned income tax credits will be distributed to working parents at the end of each month. This payment can total up to \$225 per month.

- The governor's plan requires minor mothers

who seek public assistance to live at home with their parents. "Obviously, this requirement has to be flexible, based on the situation," Carlson said.

- Child support laws will be strengthened to utilize the enforcement and collection capabilities of the Minnesota Department of Revenue. Minnesota is also working with other states to pass uniform collection laws to help track deadbeat parents from state to state. And a law was just passed to publish the names of the most egregious parents in the local newspaper. "Give them the prominence they so richly deserve," Carlson said.

- The governor proposes an aggressive paternity identification program to be initiated in Minnesota's larger public hospitals to name fathers at the time of birth. Such a program was set into motion in 1993, but warrants further action.

- The governor would allow people to keep some of their benefits after they enter the work force.

- The governor would impose sanctions on welfare recipients who, after two years, refuse to either work or participate in job training. Cash benefits will be reduced for the adult by \$150 a month.



Gov. Carlson delivers his message to the Citizen's Jury Thursday.

# Carlson talks welfare reform

## Governor tries to sell his plan to Citizen's Jury in Winona

By Jonathan Mass  
Winona Daily News

As he walks the 1994 campaign trail, Minnesota Gov. Arne Carlson stopped at Winona State University's Performing Arts Center to speak at the Citizen's Jury on Welfare Reform.

There, he tried to sell his welfare reform proposal for the state that will radically change welfare in Minnesota and require the elimination of the Work Readiness Program.

Speaking to a crowd that contained more photographers and reporters than spectators, Carlson told the jury why the present Minnesota system needs to be reformed, and outlined his plan to shift welfare's focus.

The governor also used statistics from the state demographer's office, which said that many people are migrating to the state for its generous welfare system.

According to Census Bureau statistics, 14,300 people on welfare entered the state between 1985 and 1990, comprising 4 percent of all welfare recipients. Minus the 6,600 welfare recipients who left the state in that time, 7,700 people entered the state on welfare.

The cost, according to the demographer's office, is about \$38

▶ State welfare migration up/BA

▶ Carlson says no new taxes to support welfare reform/BA

million Minnesota's payment to those recipients figures to be \$17 million — 8 percent of the state's welfare budget.

The figures apparently back up the long stated notion that people move to Minnesota for its welfare system, Carlson said he doesn't want to reform the system based solely on those statistics, but instead wants to put every welfare recipient to work.

"We have a system right now that does exactly the opposite of what it was intended to do," Carlson said. "The system says that if you try to become successful, if you try to find work, we'll punish you. It says that if you stay in the system, we'll reward you."

"It rewards dependency and punishes initiative."

The governor continuously reiterated the state's policy that, if an Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) recipient works 100 hours, they are taken off welfare. He says that, more



Gov. Arne Carlson testifies before a Citizen's Jury on Thursday about his Minnesota Works welfare reform proposal. The jury, which has

been meeting all week at Winona State University, will recommend to U.S. Rep. Tim Penny its welfare reform proposal today.

than anything, discourages people from working.

▶ Please see CARLSON/4A

## Carlson

From page 1A

"If you work more than 100 hours, if you try to get back on the mainstream, we push you off," he said.

Carlson then outlined his plan that would instead focus on keeping the recipient working, and help them with the transition from welfare into work (see related story).

The plan, the governor said, passed both the Senate and the House, but got tangled up with a debate on abortion and never reached his desk.

"Basically, I'm just here to sell my welfare plan," Carlson said. "It will definitely be on the 1995 agenda."

The plan would eliminate immediate cash benefits to AFDC recipients, instead focusing on finding them work. It would also issue income tax credits, require minor mothers to live at home if they seek public assistance, strengthen child support laws and reduce payments to those who refuse to work or participate in job training.

Carlson said his plan would initially cost \$15 million, but would save taxpayers money after five years.

The main benefactor of this plan, said Carlson, is children

who live on AFDC. In Minnesota, 120,000 children are presently on welfare, and his goal is to increase the self-esteem of those kids.

"I want kids to grow up in a society that rewards initiative," Carlson said. "You don't hear a Winona coach tell the kids before they go out for a game 'by the way, I don't care if you win, just try to get along.'"

While he said the plan isn't perfect — "No plan is," he said — it is still better than the current system, which consistently fails.

"I don't think we understand the wickedness of the current system," he said. "It's like if a football team has an 0-11 record year after year and doesn't come within 30 points of winning a game. How can you do worse than that?"

He also said that risks would be taken with his plan. But, he said, risks can be important.

"It's like we're saying now, 'I'm afraid to throw the forward pass because someone might intercept it,'" he said. "It's time now that maybe we take some risks."

"But," he said later, "this plan isn't radical. It's based on work ethic and family values that I think everybody agrees with."

# Panel releases welfare ideas

► Welfare reform 'no easy matter,' jury members find

By John Hughes  
The Post-Bulletin

WINONA — Able-bodied welfare recipients should be required to work, a citizen panel concluded Friday.

But how to realize that goal is another question.

The 18 citizens who met for a week at Winona State University showed welfare reform is no easy matter, not even for non-politicians.

"I knew this was going to be hard," said Bill Coleman, a panelist from Minnesota City, "but I had no idea. This is one complicated issue."

The citizens, who were carefully selected to represent a cross-section of the 1st District, met as part of an ongoing experiment in democracy by the Minneapolis-based Jefferson Center.

The non-profit center has assembled 16 "Citizen Juries" since 1974 as a way to involve ordinary citizens in analyzing key policy issues.

The crux of their solution is that government should enter individualized contracts with welfare recipients that move them off dependency and into self-sufficiency, presumably by setting targets for training, education or a job search.

Those who don't abide by the contract would face some kind of penalty, but the group was uncertain what that penalty would be.

Nor were they certain how much their plan would cost, or whether it would cause a tax increase.

In a perhaps surprising conclusion, the citizens said "if tax increases are necessary to carry out the recommendations we have made, we would support them."

The group worked under the direction of U.S. Rep. Tim Penny, who promised to share their welfare reform suggestions broadly on Capitol Hill.

Penny, who carefully quizzed the panel members through a satellite hookup from Washington, seemed pleased with their report.

"I wish a citizens jury could be empaneled in every congressional district across the country," he said.

In forming its conclusions, the group

interviewed several key policy makers, including Gov. Arne Carlson and a representative of Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson.

They resoundingly concluded that the current welfare system is broken, and that the federal government needs to give states the flexibility to improve it.

"The price we're paying is having a system that encourages people to stay on welfare," said Mitchell Long of Rochester. "It's a system that encourages dependence."

As one solution to the reform gridlock, they suggested federally-mandated programs, such as Aid To Families With Dependent Children, be replaced with block grants so states could fashion programs of their own.

They said the U.S. government should also make it easier for states to get waivers from federal mandates.

But despite what is believed to be a broad citizen dissatisfaction with government, panel members' suggestions largely resemble programs that are already in various stages of development within government.

For instance, the panel spoke highly of the Minnesota Family Investment Project, a state plan in the pilot stages that has been hailed by DFLers and Independent-Republicans alike.

The plan has state officials making a plan with welfare recipients for getting off welfare. Those who don't abide by the plan see their welfare benefits partially cut.

The Minnesota plan also allows welfare recipients to take a low-wage job without having their welfare benefits, and hence their health benefits, cut off.

But the family investment project is considerably more expensive than keeping the welfare system as it is.

Panelists also suggested better enforcement of child support payments, including the use of a national database to track parents who are behind on their child support.

They said they wanted to encourage families to stay together and be accountable. Hence, they suggested no AFDC payments go to parents under age 18 if they live with their parents.

But Long acknowledged that the group has no perfect, end-all solution for the nation's welfare problem.

"If we could do that," he said, "I think we would belong in office rather than here as citizens."

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**They resoundingly concluded that the current welfare system is broken, and that the federal government needs to give states the flexibility to improve it.**

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# Carlson revives proposals for shift in welfare policy

## ■ Plans would limit aid to newcomers

LINDA FULLERTON STAFF WRITER

Gov. Arne Carlson, resurrecting plans to reform welfare, released a study Thursday showing that in 1989 the state spent \$63 million in public assistance on adults who moved to Minnesota from other states and nations.

Carlson, presenting the study during a policy-making forum at Winona State University, said it was evidence that Minnesota needs to make it more difficult for new residents to receive welfare benefits without first seeking work.

The governor — who's facing a strong challenge at next week's Republican Party Convention from conservative Allen Quist — used the study to reintroduce his ideas for tightening welfare laws, which were tabled by the Legislature this year.

Carlson cited findings from the study showing that twice as many people needing public assistance moved to Minnesota than left the state between 1985 and 1990, though the extra costs represented 8 percent of the welfare budget.

"Basically for the first time a net impact has been identified in terms of people on welfare who've moved into the state vs. people who've moved out," said John Petraborg, deputy commissioner of the Department of Human Services.

Previous studies, from the early 1980s, had indicated an outward migration of the poor and unemployed, according to the Minnesota Planning Agency, which developed the latest findings.

"Minnesota is attracting people for many of the right reasons — we have good jobs, educational opportunities and a high quality of life," Carlson said. "Unfortunately, some may also be coming to take advantage of our reputation as a compassionate state."

The study, developed from U.S. Census data, counted people who were on public assistance in 1989 and had moved to Minnesota be-

tween 1985 and 1990.

The findings are considered significant because they provide a snapshot of newcomers who apply for and receive public assistance shortly after moving to Minnesota.

The arrivals generally were white women in their 20s who had moved from other Midwest states, including Illinois, Wisconsin, North Dakota and South Dakota.

They totaled 14,300 — representing 4 percent of the new residents in Minnesota during that period. Of that number, 11,600 arrived from other states, and 2,500 moved from other nations.

A quarter were born in Minnesota. And 40 percent were high school graduates with some college education or training at technical schools.

They received \$63 million in public assistance in 1989. The funding was state and federal dollars.

The study fails to show whether the number of new arrivals applying for public assistance — including welfare assistance and Social Security payments for disabilities — is increasing each year, said Tom Gillaspay, state demographer.

And the study did not ask recipients why they moved to Minnesota. But some politicians, including Carlson, said they believe that the state's welfare system is a draw.

Curt Johnson, Carlson's deputy chief of staff, said that Carlson, in proposing to change welfare rules, wants to send out the message: "Don't come to Minnesota if you don't expect to work."

The state so far has failed in its attempts to make it more difficult for new arrivals in Minnesota to receive welfare benefits.

It did adopt a plan that would pay new residents the same amount of welfare benefits they received in the state from which they moved. But the Minnesota Supreme Court ruled against the state and would not allow it.

This year the Legislature adopted a 60-day waiting period for new residents applying for certain welfare benefits. But the proposal was included in a large human services bill that the governor vetoed.

# Welfare fix

## MFIP incentives belong in federal reform

President Clinton proposes to fulfill his campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it" with a reform package being characterized with another slogan: "two years and off." Fortunately, the president's full proposal to lessen chronic dependency on welfare isn't as simplistic or inflexible as that sounds.

But as rhetoric goes, "two years and off" is useful. If the phrase sinks into public consciousness, it will help Americans adjust their expectations about the nation's safety net. It should not forever ensnare the people it catches.

So, credit Clinton for crystallizing the nation's long-felt misgivings about welfare, and seeking change. Credit him for emphasizing work over idleness, and parental responsibility over victimhood and neglect. Credit him, too, with advancing some of the best ideas that have been flowing from reform-minded states — including Minnesota.

But recognize — as the president himself does — that welfare reform is just one of several vital public-policy strategies for redeeming Americans from poverty. Clinton's proposed requirement that AFDC recipients make good-faith efforts to find employment within two years, or lose their grants, will likely push some welfare-dependent women and children more quickly into the ranks of the working poor. But there too many will stay unless the country also invests in health care, child care, education and job training.

Welfare has become a trap for too many poor families because, for them, work doesn't pay. Lack of employment skills forces them to take low-wage jobs that don't pay the bills — and generally don't provide health insurance. Child

care costs can be prohibitive and, in Minnesota and elsewhere, state-subsidized child care programs don't reach far enough.

Clinton is right to ask Congress to require welfare recipients to make prompt entry into the work force. But, useful though Clinton's "two years and off" line may be in changing minds about welfare, Congress should not make a standardized timetable the main feature of a new law.

Better would be the work incentive approach of Minnesota's seven-county experiment known by the unpronounceable acronym MFIP, the Minnesota Family Investment Plan. MFIP extends partial support to welfare recipients who take low-wage jobs, assuring that even minimum-wage work will bring them more income than welfare alone. MFIP assigns recipients to a caseworker who develops a personalized contract charting the way from welfare to work and self-sufficiency. It sets no time limit on benefits, but imposes financial penalties on those who fail to live up to their contract's work or training requirement. Last week, a Citizens Jury on welfare reform in Minnesota's First Congressional District endorsed combining a work requirement with MFIP's work incentives and personalized case management. Significantly, five of the 18 jury members were either former or current welfare recipients.

Congress, please note: MFIP promises both free child care and health coverage to those moving toward self-support in the program. Those aren't fringe benefits — they are integral to the program's success. They deserve to be elevated from Minnesota's welfare reform effort to Clinton's national program.

# No tax dollars went to Citizen's Jury

Are taxpayers bearing the cost of the Tim Penny congressional Citizen's Jury on Welfare Reform?

No tax dollars were spent on the June 4-10 Citizen's Jury, according to spokeswomen for the Jefferson Center for New Democratic Processes.

Penny lent his name, but the jury's \$45,000 budget was picked up by the Jefferson Center and several underwriters (Patricia Benn and Ned Crosby, Dayton Hudson Corp., Dain Busworth Foundation, Piper Jaffray Companies Inc., Carleton College, Deikel Family Foundation, Fingerhut Family Foundation, United Health Care, Southeastern Minnesota Initiative Fund and Little Six Inc.), explained Karen Seay and Diane O'Brien of the Jefferson Center, based in Minneapolis.

That \$45,000 covered the cost of



Stan Schmidt  
Managing editor

## Ask the Editor

Finding 18 willing and able jurors from the 1st Congressional District (a research firm made 3,000 phone calls); transportation, lodging and meals for the jurors; transportation and expenses for witnesses; and rental of Winona State University facilities

and equipment.

Each juror received \$75 a day to cover lost wages and \$10 a day for dinner. Breakfast and lunch were served at WSU.

The jury originally was planned for Rochester, with a budget of \$85,000. By moving the jury to Winona and reducing the number of jurors from 24 to 18, the Jefferson Center reduced costs to \$45,000.

The Jefferson Center describes itself as a non-profit, non-partisan organization conducting research and development into new methods of democratic decision making.

Winona was the Jefferson Center's 16th citizen's jury. Others have included presidential election issues in 1976; agriculture and water policy in 1985; Minnesota gubernatorial election in 1990 and at-risk children in 1994.

The Jefferson Center was founded in 1974 by Ned Crosby, whose family was among the founders of General Mills.

The 18 Winona jurors were chosen from a randomly selected pool to be a microcosm of the 1st Congressional District (Twin Cities suburbs, Rochester, Austin, Mankato and Winona) in terms of age, gender, education, race, geographic locale, political preference and experience with welfare. They included people who are or were served by welfare.

The jurors were: Richard Abraham, Mankato; Sylvia Brink, Harmony; Joseph A. Casey Jr., Rochester; Sherry Chavez, Byron; Bill Coleman, Minnesota City; Jerry Dooley, Rochester; Fern Marie Goodfellow, Homer; Ronald E. Hedin, Albert Lea; LaVoie House, Red Wing; Cynthia LaFreniere, Preston;

Kendall Langseth, Albert Lea; Betty Lehman, Kasson; Mitchell Long, Rochester; Gloria Nelson, Stewartville; Sherry Peterson, Hayfield; Tracy Prebe, Altura; Tamara Vosejka, Lonsdale; and Nancy White-Finne, Rochester.

## Got a question?

Ask the Editor is a regular feature of the Daily News' Editorial page.

If you have a question — about the Daily News, Winona, Minnesota, Wisconsin, anything — call or write. I'll do my best to dig up the answer.

Call me at: 454-6500 or 1-800-328-2182.  
Fax me at: 507-454-1440.

Write to me at: Stan Schmidt,  
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# Plain folk see what's wrong even if bureaucrats can't

By Sam Newland

Does it make sense to give welfare only to fatherless families?

Is it fair to offer a destitute mom and her two kids \$23 a month in Alaska but only \$120 in Mississippi?

Would anybody say yes to such questions? Not likely, and the nay-sayers include 18 members of a Citizens Jury that struggled through six days of intense study and deliberation last month in Winona, Minn.

These were ordinary folks from a southern Minnesota area (the First Congressional District) not known as a cauldron of hot liberalism. But on the questions posed above, at least, they were a liberal jump ahead of President Clinton's welfare reform plan announced June 14. Clinton's proposal would permit states to junk the nasty rules governing Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) for two-parent families. But it wouldn't require them to do so.

Here's what AFDC-UP rules now tell an impoverished mom and dad who want to stay together or get together, without lowering benefits: The primary breadwinner in the house must have a specific work history, and to qualify he must work no more than 100

hours a month, even if the family would remain "poor" if he worked full time. If he clocks more than 100 hours the whole family is bumped from AFDC.

This version of welfare is called AFDC-UP, for unemployed parent. Only about 7 percent of 5 million AFDC families get it.

Make sense? Not much, especially when one of the most agreed-upon indictments of "welfare as we know it" (which Clinton promised to end) is that it shatters families and encourages illegitimacy. While the Clinton plan merely allows states to provide benefits for intact families — without the nasty 100-hour rule — the Citizens Jurors were more direct. They said:

"Two-parent families should be equally as eligible for welfare benefits as single-parent families. This is to discourage single parents from starting families and to encourage parents to stay together."

No bureaucratic lingo, just plain talk from a representative sample of 18 plain folks — a former state trooper, a teacher's aide, a homemaker, a boiler engineer . . . They had soaked up relentless testimony from federal, state and local welfare mavens, politicians and advocates.

Witnesses included a co-chair of Clinton's

Makes sense. But a level playing field would be costly and tough to establish under present rules. The lower a state's per capita income, the higher the federal share of AFDC (and Medicaid). Although Mississippi is in the benefit basement, it tops the list in federal cost-sharing (79 percent). Equalization would mean a huge cost increase for Mississippians, and probably lots of others. Where would the money come from?

Like Clinton, the jurors made some hard-nosed proposals: They called for use of "any and all means" to crack down on deadbeat dads. They advocated penalties for failure to work or train. They wanted enhancement of anti-fraud efforts, denial of AFDC to teen mothers who can live at home, contracts specifying how recipients will work off welfare, and assurance that work is more profitable than welfare. And they wanted more state and less federal control.

Other proposals were more "liberal":

Personalized support from caseworkers, more Head Start-like programs, and coordination and consolidation of services.

An overwhelming majority said they don't want to raise taxes but would do so, if necessary, to carry out their recommendations. Cuts in "non-means-tested programs for wealthy individuals" — presumably Social

Security — should be considered, they said. And Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for legal immigrants, they agreed, should be limited.

A few preconceived notions shifted during the week, some in a conservative direction, others toward the liberal. Thirteen jurors changed their minds about whether too much is spent on welfare, and seven of them, the largest number to shift, changed from "too much" to "about right."

Rep. Tim Penny, D-Minn., was the official host. He met personally with jurors on Day One and again on Day Six by interactive TV from Washington, promising to bring the recommendations to the appropriate power brokers at the Capitol.

If nothing else, 18 Minnesota citizens now know more about welfare than just about anybody they might run into on the street — or in the halls of Congress. And if you believe that "an informed citizenry" is essential to democracy, then what these Minnesotans have to say is worth hearing. I hope Congress and the president are listening.

Sam Newland is a retired welfare reporter for the Star Tribune, was an expert resource person for the Winona Citizens Jury.