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TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

REMARKS BY

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

TO THE

CASEY JOURNALISM CENTER

FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

CONDENSED TRANSCRIPT

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(25) consumerism, which is of course a necessary

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(1) REMARKS BY
 (2) FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
 (3) TO THE CASEY JOURNALISM CENTER
 (4) FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES
 (5) June 13, 1995
 (6) MRS. CLINTON: I would like
 (7) this to be a conversation and I really do not
 (8) have, could I have some tea? Thank you so
 (9) much, I appreciate that. I do not really have
 (10) anything prepared or profound, or either, to
 (11) say about this except to thank all of you for
 (12) being part of this venture on behalf of
 (13) children and journalism.
 (14) It has long been my concern and
 (15) the concern, obviously, of many others that
 (16) for whatever reason a lot of stories about the
 (17) condition of children either do not get
 (18) covered or get covered in an episodic way or
 (19) do not get the kind of sustained attention that
 (20) many of us believe they deserve.
 (21) So, I commend the Casey
 (22) Foundation for their efforts over the past
 (23) several years to build a cadre of journalists
 (24) who care about children's issues and I would
 (25) hope would become as visible talking about

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(1) part of a free market economy as we define it,
 (2) we rarely pay attention to the impact that
 (3) consumerism has on how children think about
 (4) themselves and the values that they are
 (5) taught.
 (6) So, this false debate which I think
 (7) has been futile and has not led to much good
 (8) analysis, needs to be rejected in favor of a
 (9) much broader examination of the many
 (10) different factors in our lives that effect our
 (11) children's well-being.
 (12) So, looking at the business world
 (13) is as important as looking at government
 (14) policy. Looking at individual and family
 (15) responsibility is as important as looking at
 (16) cultural norms as played out in movies or
 (17) television. They are all part of the whole
 (18) culture in which children are being raised.
 (19) I would commend to you a
 (20) document that I frequently talk about because
 (21) it is one of the clearest descriptions of the
 (22) tensions that we live with in our efforts to try
 (23) to define what we mean by family policy and
 (24) children's needs and that is the 1991 Pastoral
 (25) Letter put out by the United States

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(1) children's issues and writing about them as
 (2) we see people who have, for a number of
 (3) years, focused on foreign affairs or economic
 (4) trends or anything else that is important to
 (5) our lives together.
 (6) The second point I would make is
 (7) that I have tried in the last couple of years to
 (8) build on the work I have done over the past 25
 (9) years which is really, in some measure,
 (10) focused on trying to convince people that
 (11) issues affecting children are not marginal
 (12) issues, they are issues that really are at the
 (13) core of what kind of country we have, what
 (14) kind of investments we should make, what our
 (15) priorities ought to be and I do not know that
 (16) we are making much progress on that, but
 (17) anything that any of you do to reiterate the
 (18) point that children's issues are not soft
 (19) issues, but rather the very essence of who we
 (20) are as a people, how we treat our children and
 (21) what kinds of support we give them will, I
 (22) hope, continue to make the case for including
 (23) concerns about children in everything else
 (24) that we do.
 (25) Not only is it government policy

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(1) Conference of Catholic Bishops called Putting
 (2) Families First, and in that there are a number
 (3) of very important points that are made about
 (4) this false debate, one being that there are
 (5) many families under stress whose children
 (6) exhibit the effects of that stress because of
 (7) economic conditions beyond their control, and
 (8) it does a grave disservice to those families
 (9) not to recognize the impact that downsizing,
 (10) that two parent families trying, both working
 (11) to make a living for a family, single parent
 (12) families stretched to the limit to try to make
 (13) a living, the kind of jobs that used to be
 (14) available for a father to support a family no
 (15) longer being in the marketplace for people of
 (16) limited educational skills, on and on and on.
 (17) The other point the Bishops make
 (18) about this false debate is that children are
 (19) the result of the values of both their families
 (20) and the broader society in which they are
 (21) raised, and to pretend that the family is some
 (22) kind of little fortress immune from the effects
 (23) of what goes on beyond its wall, is as equally
 (24) irresponsible as pretending that government
 (25) policy or business policy can substitute for a

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(1) making, but a community consideration, as
 (2) well, and particularly in business relations
 (3) because the third point I would like to make is
 (4) that we have been engaged in a false debate in
 (5) our country for a number of years, but it
 (6) certainly has had increasing ferocity in the
 (7) last several in which the government becomes
 (8) the target of choice with respect to
 (9) everything that is wrong with the American
 (10) family and American children when, in fact, it
 (11) seems to me that there is more than enough
 (12) accountability to go around, were we to spend
 (13) our time thinking about it, that clearly
 (14) business practices, what one political
 (15) scientist calls turbo charged capitalism, has
 (16) had as dramatic an impact on the quality of
 (17) our life together and on our family life and on
 (18) our children, as anything government has
 (19) done, and that there has been very little
 (20) attention paid to the choices that have been
 (21) made for economic reasons that have affected
 (22) the way families are able to function.
 (23) We also give lip service, but
 (24) rarely much more than that, to the impact that

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(1) family's love, concern and attention to
 (2) children.
 (3) So, to get beyond the either/or
 (4) and, frankly, to get beyond what in journalism
 (5) too often is the way, because of pressures of
 (6) space and time, you have to present issues by
 (7) posing these false choices, by setting up
 (8) these confrontations, is one of the hopes I
 (9) have for what you are engaged in, so that all
 (10) of us can kind of move beyond these false
 (11) debates and really, seriously examine what we
 (12) are doing in our own lives and in our own
 (13) neighborhoods and communities, in our work
 (14) places and as public citizens that is either
 (15) benefiting or undermining the capacity for our
 (16) children to have healthy and productive lives.
 (17) So, with that I would be happy to
 (18) spend the rest of our time answering
 (19) questions or hearing suggestions or however
 (20) else you would prefer to...
 (21) MR. EVAN: Mrs. Clinton?
 (22) MRS. CLINTON: Yes.
 (23) MR. EVAN: You have been
 (24) quoted in a number of places as supporting

(25) the broad concept of some degree of

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- (1) preventive intervention in the early stages in
- (2) childhood development and I was wondering
- (3) whether there was a particular model, perhaps
- (4) the Hawaii Healthy Family, something that you
- (5) have a particular concrete attachment to, that
- (6) you might be willing to advocate for at some
- (7) political level, or whatever, or are you
- (8) sticking with the broad issue at this point?
- (9) MRS. CLINTON: No, there are
- (10) a number of programs and models that I think
- (11) hold great promise, some of which I have
- (12) personally advocated for. One is the Hawaii
- (13) Healthy Families Model. I have spent time
- (14) studying it, I have visited two of their sites.
- (15) I think it is a very promising model of the kind
- (16) of intervention that brings support to families
- (17) and enables families to make better decisions.
- (18) A program that I brought to
- (19) Arkansas called HIPPIY, the Home Instruction
- (20) Program for Preschool Youngsters, which was
- (21) created in Israel as a result of the obvious
- (22) problems that North African Jews immigrating
- (23) to Israel in the late '60s and early '70s had
- (24) with their children becoming successful in
- (25) school despite the social support system in

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- (1) Israel.
- (2) So, this program pioneered by a
- (3) woman who, herself, had been involved in
- (4) creating Head-Start in America, took the idea
- (5) that I think is so important, which is working
- (6) with the mother and using people from the
- (7) same community as the mother, to role model
- (8) with the mother so that the mother could learn
- (9) better ways to help structure her own child's
- (10) learning, and I brought that to Arkansas and
- (11) we have probably the biggest program outside
- (12) of Israel. I think it is a very important model.
- (13) I think Head-Start, where Head-
- (14) Start works, has a proven track record. A lot
- (15) of the programs that we now take for granted
- (16) such as WIC, which is intervention at a very
- (17) early stage for nutritional reasons, could be
- (18) better tied to some help for mothers beyond
- (19) just the provision of good nutrition, but the
- (20) nutrition itself is very important.
- (21) I have long advocated using
- (22) welfare as a means for ensuring that certain
- (23) key developmental needs of children are met
- (24) whether it is immunization or whether it is
- (25) WIC or whether it is any other kind of

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- (1) intervention that a mother who participates in
- (2) would benefit her child.
- (3) So, there are many, many programs
- (4) and I could give you a longer list if you were
- (5) interested, but those are just some of them
- (6) that I think are already existing either in
- (7) federal policy or at the state level that should
- (8) be promoted.
- (9) One of the big problems we have,
- (10) and some of you have done a lot of work, you
- (11) have seen programs that work well on a small
- (12) level, you have seen programs about
- (13) intervening in violence, you have seen
- (14) programs about mentoring. We have never
- (15) really done the work needed to replicate those
- (16) programs beyond the very small models that
- (17) show success.
- (18) I think we know a lot about what
- (19) works. We have not put together that
- (20) research and information and experience with
- (21) the political will and the funding necessary to
- (22) provide the technical assistance that would
- (23) replicate successful programs.
- (24) So, as much as we could focus on

(25) taking things that work and trying to persuade

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- (1) people to replicate them and providing maybe
- (2) inducements to do so instead of continuing to
- (3) recreate the wheel, I think would help
- (4) stabilize a lot of the programs and provide a
- (5) good base on which to build.
- (6) So, there are many, many that I
- (7) could cite to you and I will be happy to go
- (8) into that further in different areas that I think
- (9) work, but those are a few.
- (10) MS. RYAN: Catherine Ryan
- (11) from Gannett Newspapers in New York. This
- (12) morning, one of the speakers that we heard
- (13) was Lawrence Meade from Princeton and he
- (14) talked about putting welfare mothers to work
- (15) as having a positive outcome for children and
- (16) that the quality of child care did not make any
- (17) difference at all.
- (18) I wonder what you thought about
- (19) that and along the lines of what you were
- (20) saying about business, what role that it might
- (21) play in that?
- (22) MRS. CLINTON: Well, I do not
- (23) know on what basis Lawrence Meade said that
- (24) the quality of child care makes no difference
- (25) at all. I would have to know a little bit more

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- (1) about that statement before I could really
- (2) comment on it because I do not agree with
- (3) that as a blanket statement.
- (4) I think that we now know quite a
- (5) bit about the effect of bad child care on
- (6) children and there is a continuum of child
- (7) care, as there is a continuum of nearly
- (8) everything else, but certainly the idea that
- (9) any child care is better than no child care
- (10) with respect to removing the mother as the
- (11) primary care giver, is something I would be
- (12) reluctant to agree with and do not agree with.
- (13) If what he means, however, is that
- (14) giving welfare mothers the opportunity to be
- (15) productive and to demonstrate that they can
- (16) make a contribution and can take care of their
- (17) own children and, by doing so, go into the
- (18) work force like millions of mothers do who are
- (19) not on welfare and have to pick among often
- (20) not very good child care alternatives, then I
- (21) guess I can see where he is driving at.
- (22) It is a terrible Hobson's choice,
- (23) though, for us to make in the sense that there
- (24) are many working parents today who are
- (25) leaving their children in situations that are

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- (1) not very good for the children and certainly
- (2) do not give the parents much peace of mind,
- (3) but they are doing so out of necessity. They
- (4) must continue to work.
- (5) So, if we want every mother and
- (6) father to be in that same boat, then certainly
- (7) we should not give any better child care, I
- (8) suppose his argument would be, to welfare
- (9) mothers than we give to working mothers.
- (10) Well, I do not know why we have
- (11) to make those choices. Those are more of
- (12) those false choices that I think we are
- (13) constantly forcing on our society instead of
- (14) taking a step back and saying, what is it that
- (15) we could do that would, number one, enable
- (16) more parents to make the decision for at least
- (17) one to stay home during preschool years
- (18) without being pushed below the poverty line
- (19) or being pushed very hard financially?
- (20) There are lots of things we could
- (21) do and some of which the President has tried
- (22) to do by removing 15 million working families
- (23) from the tax rolls through the earned income
- (24) tax credit. That was a value statement. Now,

(25) nobody has paid much attention to it because

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- (1) it was not a huge fight or confrontation, but
- (2) it was a way of saying we want to reward work
- (3) and giving you more income in the home may
- (4) enable some families to make the choice that
- (5) one parent should be there.
- (6) Now, that is not available to
- (7) single parents and we have not figured out
- (8) what many societies have, that it is often
- (9) more effective to help parents with some kind
- (10) of family allowance or some kind of negative
- (11) income tax or some kind of financial support,
- (12) so that they do not basically have to spend a
- (13) large percentage of their disposable income
- (14) on child care, but can spend more time taking
- (15) care of their own child before they have to go
- (16) out into the work force.
- (17) Now, given the current political
- (18) climate, I think what we are confronting is an
- (19) attitude that it is every family for themselves
- (20) and cut off welfare benefits and push those
- (21) mothers into the labor force and do very little
- (22) to help support working families.
- (23) I think we pay a big price in that.
- (24) I think we pay a very big price in ways that
- (25) are not so noticeable, in, for example, the

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- (1) kind of conflicts we set up with parents and
- (2) newborns when the parent has to be back at
- (3) work at two weeks or four weeks or six weeks
- (4) and has to leave her baby in a setting that is
- (5) not going to nurture that baby.
- (6) Now, maybe they will keep the
- (7) baby safe and change the baby's diapers and
- (8) makes sure the baby gets a bottle, but there is
- (9) not much else going on and if Lawrence Meade
- (10) thinks that is good for children, I just
- (11) respectfully disagree.
- (12) So, what we do is create these
- (13) internal conflicts in parents which I believe
- (14) often lead parents, particularly mothers who
- (15) themselves are the ones more likely to anguish
- (16) over those choices, in a real psychological
- (17) bind because, how do you get through the
- (18) workday when you have dropped your newborn
- (19) baby off or your four month or six month old
- (20) baby, in a setting that is all you can afford
- (21) and you do not necessarily feel good about it,
- (22) but you have to pretend and make yourself
- (23) feel good about it because you do not have
- (24) any other choice?
- (25) I think we create emotional

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- (1) distance, then, between that mother and that
- (2) baby because if you are totally consumed with
- (3) worry and guilt about where you have left
- (4) your baby, you know, you cannot perform at
- (5) work. If you do not perform at work you might
- (6) lose your job because, remember, we are
- (7) talking about jobs that are not the kind of
- (8) jobs most of us have had. They are very
- (9) marginal jobs, by and large, and they are jobs
- (10) for which people punch in and punch out and
- (11) are held accountable in a very disciplined
- (12) way.
- (13) So, you have got to kind of turn
- (14) that off and I think that turning off is a big
- (15) emotional burden that I think has caused a lot
- (16) of disinvesting in very young children because
- (17) of the dilemma that we, as a society, create
- (18) for working parents.
- (19) I also think that we have been
- (20) very foolish in how we use our institutions.
- (21) We have parents driving madly all around town
- (22) to pick up babies by 6:00 o'clock or they start
- (23) getting charged five dollars a minute for every
- (24) minute they are late. Meanwhile, the schools

(25) shut up, shut down and everybody goes home.

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- (1) Why do we not start getting
- (2) logical about how to use our existing
- (3) institutions? Let us privatize the child care,
- (4) run it out of the schools, go ahead and have
- (5) people who are concessionaires who have to
- (6) meet certain standards using the classrooms,
- (7) using the gyms, using the cafeterias so that
- (8) we have existing buildings where people who
- (9) have older siblings can go and check on their
- (10) younger siblings and you create some sense of
- (11) an extended family and a community.
- (12) So, there are so many things we
- (13) could do that would make the child care
- (14) burden less of a dilemma for working parents
- (15) and I, for the life of me, have never
- (16) understood why most communities and most
- (17) businesses have this hands-off attitude and,
- (18) in fact, a real hostility for the whole question
- (19) of child care when the issues about child care
- (20) effect absenteeism, effect productivity.
- (21) Lots of businesses I know, you
- (22) have got women whispering into the phone at
- (23) 3:00 o'clock to make sure their latchkey kid
- (24) gets home, you have got people sneaking
- (25) around with personal phone calls when they

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- (1) are worried they are going to be ten minutes
- (2) late to pick up their child and they are
- (3) begging the child care worker not to charge
- (4) them because they could not help it. I mean,
- (5) this is insane, this is not family friendly or
- (6) supportive of children.
- (7) So, I do not know, I guess I will
- (8) have to read what Lawrence Meade said, but
- (9) he ain't ever been there if that is what he
- (10) said. He has never seen some of the places I
- (11) have seen where people are forced to leave
- (12) their babies where I would not have left my
- (13) cat and I think that is really unfair. Yes?
- (14) MS. SPRATLING: If Congress
- (15) passes only one piece of legislation to
- (16) improve the welfare of children during the
- (17) remainder of the Clinton Administration or
- (18) Clinton Term, what would you like that to be?
- (19) MRS. CLINTON: Well, I would
- (20) like to continue on the path of trying to
- (21) provide better economic opportunities for
- (22) families because I believe that much of the
- (23) stress on children and many of the problems
- (24) families have are related to their economic
- (25) conditions.

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- (1) So, continuing the earned income
- (2) tax credit and not permitting the Senate to
- (3) eliminate it which would throw these 15
- (4) million families back into the tax rolls, trying
- (5) to get a tax credit for children so people
- (6) would have more money in their pockets at an
- (7) income level that the country can afford,
- (8) giving a tax deduction for education so that
- (9) families would have more disposable income to
- (10) spend on their necessities, but also be able to
- (11) afford education.
- (12) I think anything we can do to
- (13) promote the economic security and lower the
- (14) anxiety level of the American family will be
- (15) good for children because so much of what is
- (16) going on now, is a result of the strain that
- (17) people are feeling because they are going
- (18) through this global shift of economic
- (19) conditions and most people are not well
- (20) equipped for it.
- (21) Now, the people you see, the
- (22) talking heads on TV pontificate on everything.
- (23) They are very well suited for it because they
- (24) are glib, they are flexible, they can move with

(25) the tide. That is great, they are part of that

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- (1) small minority of Americans who have just
- (2) sort of slid into the information age in great
- (3) shape, but most Americans are not there.
- (4) We only have like 30 percent of
- (5) our people who have ever gotten a four year
- (6) college degree who were born after 1960. We
- (7) do not have a lot of people who, themselves,
- (8) have gone through the full education
- (9) experience, who feel equipped to deal with all
- (10) this uncertainty and all of these new changes
- (11) that technology has brought and frankly
- (12) believe that they have been dealt a bad hand
- (13) because they have worked hard, they have
- (14) done everything they thought they were
- (15) supposed to do.
- (16) They are just not quick enough and
- (17) smart enough and glib enough and
- (18) sophisticated enough to figure out how they
- (19) are supposed to make a living after they lose
- (20) that good job they had for 25 years, or how
- (21) they are supposed to keep body and soul
- (22) together and the kids from straying off the
- (23) right path when both the mother and father
- (24) are working swing shifts.
- (25) I think that anything we can do to

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- (1) support the economic well-being of the
- (2) American family so they can make the best
- (3) decisions for their own kids is what we ought
- (4) to be doing, and that does not mean once
- (5) again going back to trickle down economics
- (6) that rewards the people who have already
- (7) made it.
- (8) I am all for that and
- (9) congratulations, but that is not where our
- (10) problems right now are in the sense of trying
- (11) to recreate some confidence in the vast
- (12) majority of our people so that they then can
- (13) take care of their own children.
- (14) MR. GREGG: Mrs. Clinton, it
- (15) looks like the onus of providing for children is
- (16) falling more and more on states as far as
- (17) getting effective programs going that help
- (18) children. Are there any states out there that
- (19) you see that are ahead of the rest on
- (20) providing effective programs, who is ahead on
- (21) Head-Start, things like that?
- (22) MRS. CLINTON: You know,
- (23) that is a good question especially now that
- (24) there is a big move afoot to transfer so many
- (25) of the responsibilities to the states.

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- (1) I heard somebody say the other
- (2) day, which I thought was kind of apt and sort
- (3) of funny, that he was thinking seriously about
- (4) all of these proposals to transfer more federal
- (5) responsibilities to the state as he stood for
- (6) hours in the line at the Motor Vehicle
- (7) Department at the state capitol.
- (8) I have to say some states do a
- (9) better job than other states on providing for
- (10) children and families, but many of them are,
- (11) in my opinion, living off the investments that
- (12) were made in previous decades, so that they
- (13) already had a very good educational system,
- (14) they already had full day kindergarten, they
- (15) already had some kind of system of child care,
- (16) for example, that reached a good proportion of
- (17) their citizens.
- (18) I cannot really point to one state
- (19) that I think has a better model across the
- (20) board, that I am confident under the kind of
- (21) responsibilities and financial pressures that
- (22) they are going to face will be able to continue
- (23) that in the future.
- (24) That is one of the things that

(25) bothers me because, as someone who has done

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- (1) alot of work in the states, I have never
- (2) believed that children's voices were any more
- (3) respected at the state level than they are at
- (4) the federal level. I used to say in Arkansas,
- (5) that children not only cannot vote, they do
- (6) not take legislators duck hunting and so their
- (7) rights and needs are not going to get the
- (8) attention they deserve to have and that does
- (9) bother me a lot.
- (10) Now, I do think that some states
- (11) are better equipped to deal with the
- (12) challenges they are going to be given by a lot
- (13) of this devolution to the state level and I
- (14) hope that is the case, but they are the kind of
- (15) predictable states, you know, the states that
- (16) have a higher than average per capita income,
- (17) a higher than average per capita education
- (18) level. They are the states that always have
- (19) the higher scores on the SAT's.
- (20) They are better able to cope
- (21) because, frankly, they do not have the
- (22) concentrated problems that a lot of other
- (23) states do to the same degree, but if you were
- (24) to take any of our large states with big urban
- (25) populations, I do not know how they are going

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- (1) to cope with the problems that they currently
- (2) have with fewer funds and with legislatures
- (3) that will clearly want to use those funds in
- (4) other ways.
- (5) We tried hard during the '80s, if
- (6) you remember, to send a lot of the Medicaid
- (7) decisions to states and you go back and read
- (8) and some of those stories. They built
- (9) prisons, they built courthouses, they built
- (10) highways, they did just about everything with
- (11) the money besides taking care of poor mothers
- (12) and kids and disabled people.
- (13) They did spend their Medicaid on
- (14) nursing home care for the elderly because the
- (15) nursing home lobby made sure of that, but
- (16) otherwise they did not really spend the
- (17) money, in many respects, the way they were
- (18) supposed to.
- (19) So, I am concerned about
- (20) children's needs once again being left out and
- (21) even some of those states with good
- (22) infrastructure being put under so much
- (23) pressure that it will get whittled away, as it
- (24) is now.
- (25) MS. LEINWAND: Donna

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- (1) Leinwand with The Miami Herald. You have
- (2) made some mention about parental
- (3) responsibility. I was wondering what
- (4) responsibilities do you think welfare mothers
- (5) should have in order to get the welfare?
- (6) MRS. CLINTON: Well, for
- (7) many years I have advocated that welfare
- (8) mothers should have, as I mentioned before,
- (9) the responsibility to do what responsible
- (10) mothers are supposed to do for their babies.
- (11) They should not get a welfare check if they
- (12) cannot prove the baby has been immunized,
- (13) they should not get a welfare check if they do
- (14) not pick up their commodities or their WIC
- (15) nutritional supplements, they should not get
- (16) a welfare check if they do not attend
- (17) parent/teacher conferences, if they do not do
- (18) what needs to be done to enroll their children
- (19) in Head-Start, if that is available.
- (20) I just think there are lots of basic
- (21) responsibilities that welfare mothers, because
- (22) they are getting direct government
- (23) assistance, should be expected to fulfill.
- (24) Now, I think their most fundamental

(25) responsibility is to get off welfare. I believe

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- (1) that that is something that should be part of
- (2) their objective.
- (3) Now, I think that the vast majority
- (4) of welfare mothers want to do that. I have
- (5) spent a lot of time talking with and working
- (6) with welfare mothers and there are some
- (7) pathological cases of people who fit the
- (8) stereotype that we have been hearing about so
- (9) often, but most of the women I know are
- (10) overwhelmed by and trapped by their
- (11) circumstances and resentful of those
- (12) circumstances and looking for ways off and
- (13) not quite sure exactly how to do it on their
- (14) own and they do need both the carrot and the
- (15) stick.
- (16) So, they do need to be pushed and
- (17) expected to move, and I thought my husband
- (18) was right when he put a time limit on his
- (19) welfare proposal. But having said that, I
- (20) think we have to recognize that it is going to
- (21) be difficult for some of those people to hold
- (22) private sector jobs initially and I think we
- (23) ought to put them to work in the public
- (24) sector. Not for pay, necessarily, but for their
- (25) welfare benefits. I do not see anything wrong

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- (1) with that at all, something that gives them
- (2) some feeling of investment in their own
- (3) futures and in the larger community.
- (4) I was very disappointed when I
- (5) heard, I think it was in Baltimore, when there
- (6) had been a decision made that people who
- (7) lived in public housing who were on welfare
- (8) should have some role in cleaning up and
- (9) monitoring and fixing up the place and
- (10) somebody else said, oh, that is unfair.
- (11) I do not think it is unfair at all. I
- (12) think it is perfectly appropriate. People have
- (13) to feel part of something larger than
- (14) themselves and particularly people who are
- (15) trapped in a situation in which there are very
- (16) few visible routes out and very few supportive
- (17) role models for them.
- (18) So, they have got to be exposed to
- (19) a broader community, they have got to be
- (20) given some opportunity to take part on their
- (21) own behalf and create a future for
- (22) themselves.
- (23) This HIPPY program I mentioned
- (24) before, we worked primarily with welfare
- (25) mothers and one of the benefits of it is that,

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- (1) since it was so structured, the mothers got a
- (2) lot of personal experience with success, and
- (3) let me just say something about that because
- (4) this is one of my pet peeves about a lot of
- (5) programs aimed at helping parents become
- (6) better parents.
- (7) A lot of the programs I had
- (8) personal contact with or watched or have read
- (9) about over the years kind of take a lecture
- (10) mode and a broad array of choices to choose
- (11) from. So that, here is a list of all the things
- (12) you can do to be a better parent and here is a
- (13) box of toys you can use to stimulate your
- (14) child, and it really does not help a lot of
- (15) people I know who are themselves in kind of
- (16) disorganized systems, structure themselves to
- (17) be that better parent.
- (18) What this HIPPY program and
- (19) others like it, and I am just using this as an
- (20) example, is that a paraprofessional worker
- (21) comes into the home and role models with the
- (22) mother, so that the mother acts like the child
- (23) and the paraprofessional like the mother and
- (24) there are little lesson plans that are very

(25) simple, very straightforward, in which there

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- (1) are lessons to be learned and success to be
- (2) gained and all the mothers have to do is
- (3) promise to spend 15 minutes a day with their
- (4) children.
- (5) Now, when we brought that into
- (6) rural areas and housing projects in Arkansas,
- (7) alot of people and a lot of educators said,
- (8) these mothers are not going to be able to do
- (9) that, most of them never finished high school,
- (10) they do not have much education, but the
- (11) importance of the program was, it was so
- (12) simple and it used things around the house.
- (13) You did not have to go to Toys R
- (14) Us and buy educational toys. You could teach
- (15) lessons to your child using what was in the
- (16) house. So that, for example, when your child
- (17) shows up in kindergarten, what is one of the
- (18) first things that happens? One of the first
- (19) things that happens is they get these little
- (20) mimeographed pages and they have little
- (21) shapes on them and the children are told,
- (22) circle the figure that is round, circle the
- (23) figure that is higher and all of a sudden they
- (24) have to use these discriminating skills.
- (25) From the very beginning, a lot of

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- (1) kids who come from homes where they do not
- (2) know to help educate their own children that
- (3) way or have been in the kind of child care
- (4) Lawrence Meade says is okay so they have
- (5) never been stimulated, they show up, they do
- (6) not know what bigger and smaller and higher
- (7) and lower or any of that stuff means.
- (8) So, from the very beginning the
- (9) teacher gets that page, and teachers who are
- (10) human beings which we often forget, think,
- (11) oh, my gosh, look at this poor kid. Maybe we
- (12) ought to consider special ed, maybe this kid is
- (13) just never going to make it.
- (14) Now, if you are in a program like
- (15) this HIPPY program and you have a glass and
- (16) you have a cup and the lesson is bigger and
- (17) smaller, the mother knows what bigger and
- (18) smaller means, she has just never walked
- (19) down supermarket aisle talking to her kid the
- (20) way a lot of us do saying, look at that big
- (21) thing there or look at that small thing there.
- (22) So, she can take a glass from the kitchen and
- (23) she says, now, which is bigger and all of a
- (24) sudden the kid starts getting concepts.
- (25) So, what I found in working with

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- (1) programs like this is, that as the mother
- (2) realized she could teach her own baby, and
- (3) remember, most of us are our children's first
- (4) teacher either by action or default, and so
- (5) many of these mothers about whom we are
- (6) talking who are labeled welfare mothers, want
- (7) to be good mothers. They love those kids to
- (8) death. They are given a bad rap about their
- (9) motherly concern for these children, but they
- (10) are overwhelmed. This breaks down into little
- (11) bite size chunks.
- (12) So, if I were running the welfare
- (13) system, I would make every welfare mother be
- (14) a part of a program like this because, not only
- (15) do the children learn, but I have seen over and
- (16) over again how as the self esteem of the
- (17) mother rises, you begin to see this mother
- (18) getting a GED, going on to school.
- (19) The single thing we know, not just
- (20) from America but from around the world, is
- (21) that the single biggest correlate between a
- (22) child's educational attainment and any causal
- (23) relation is the education level of the mother.
- (24) So, anything you do to invest in the

(25) education, training of mothers, has a direct,

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- (1) positive effect on the ability of the child to
- (2) function well. So, I would do things like that,
- (3) if I could. Yes?
- (4) MS. LEE: Marcella Lee from
- (5) Columbus, Ohio. We talk a lot about the
- (6) mother and her role on children and we talk
- (7) about children's issues, but something that
- (8) we have all talked about the last couple of
- (9) days is the role that the father can play and
- (10) how maybe you think that we can get the
- (11) father to take a more active role in the
- (12) parenting.
- (13) MRS. CLINTON: I think it is
- (14) really important. There are many, many
- (15) exceptions and I think we ought to honor and
- (16) respect the exceptions about two parent
- (17) families, but I think it is on balance better if
- (18) you can have a mother and a father committed
- (19) to raising children together over a substantial
- (20) period of time.
- (21) It is, I think, an age old problem,
- (22) it is not an American problem, about how you
- (23) keep fathers involved in child rearing and how
- (24) you keep fathers from going off and hunting
- (25) whales or going out west or joining the

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- (1) crusades, I mean, this is not a new problem.
- (2) So, we should not be too hard on
- (3) ourselves, but we should recognize that
- (4) anything we can do to promote among boys
- (5) and men the idea that fatherhood is a heroic
- (6) adventure, it is in many respects one of the
- (7) most difficult things they will ever do. It is
- (8) so much easier going out into the so-called
- (9) real world than trying to figure out what to do
- (10) with babies and be committed to taking care
- (11) of a home and all of the things.
- (12) Those are so fraught with
- (13) emotional baggage and I think that we have a
- (14) real double-edged message in our society to
- (15) fathers. If you watch a lot of popular
- (16) television, the father is often the butt of the
- (17) joke. Everybody is sort of making fun of the
- (18) father, both the mother and the kids, people
- (19) in the community, they laugh at the father and
- (20) it is a long way from what I was raised on
- (21) which was, you know, father knows best and
- (22) all the rest of that.
- (23) Now, I am not saying that either
- (24) stereotype is necessarily healthy because
- (25) they both oversimplify to the point of

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- (1) absurdity, but to some extent, if I were a
- (2) father and I were watching the way fathers
- (3) are portrayed in most modern culture, I would
- (4) think, who needs that? Why do I need to stick
- (5) around for that?
- (6) So, I think there has got to be sort
- (7) of a reinvestment in the honoring of fathers
- (8) and I have no problem with some of the
- (9) movements that are going on now that are
- (10) trying to get fathers to reinvest in their
- (11) children and their families and the like.
- (12) I think that so long as it is not an
- (13) excuse to return to being oppressive and all
- (14) knowing and all that, but I think in a very
- (15) balanced way it can make a big difference in
- (16) how men see themselves and their roles.
- (17) I also think for a very long time,
- (18) and certainly going back to the post World
- (19) War II generation, the division between home
- (20) and work was so stark for men and it was okay
- (21) when the work that men did gave them some
- (22) sense of permanence and security and a
- (23) decent income, but so much of that has been
- (24) stripped out from under men.

(25) So, not only do so many men today

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- (1) feel kind of at sea with respect to their
- (2) domestic responsibilities, they feel betrayed
- (3) and knocked around by what has happened to
- (4) them in the work place which creates a lot of
- (5) anger.
- (6) I think that it is not real
- (7) complicated if you look out and see stagnant
- (8) wages and you see a lot of people whose
- (9) manhood and identity were defined by the
- (10) work they did, that work is no longer done or
- (11) it is not done in this country or it is done at
- (12) wages that do not support a family, I mean,
- (13) why there is all this tension and anxiety on
- (14) the part of men.
- (15) I think it is a major problem and
- (16) many of the men who make decisions in our
- (17) business world are not understanding that you
- (18) cannot have long term profitability in a
- (19) consumer economy if you cut the guts out of
- (20) the capacity of people to make decent livings
- (21) so that they can both be consumers and
- (22) productive citizens.
- (23) So, there just has to be a lot of
- (24) work and thought given about how we create
- (25) a kind of respect for manhood and fatherhood

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- (1) again in this society.
- (2) Now, having said that, I mean,
- (3) obviously, I do not want to turn the clock
- (4) back and I do not want to make men feel
- (5) better at the expense of women or any of that,
- (6) but it seems to me there ought to be a way to
- (7) handle this with a certain maturity that
- (8) enables us to honor and respect each other,
- (9) men respecting women, women respecting
- (10) men, and giving them the sense that they are
- (11) important again, to both the work they do and
- (12) the families they father, and I think that is
- (13) very, very important to our society right now.
- (14) Yes?
- (15) MS. WALLACE: Susan Wallace
- (16) from Fredericksburg. We have been talking a
- (17) lot about teenage pregnancy in the last day or
- (18) so. I am wondering, especially as the mother
- (19) of an adolescent daughter, what your thoughts
- (20) are on sex education in our schools, how it is
- (21) doing, how it could be more effective and
- (22) what age you think maybe we should start
- (23) teaching kids about these issues?
- (24) MRS. CLINTON: Well, a
- (25) mother of a teenager is probably the worst

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- (1) person to ask. First of all, I do not
- (2) understand why we are so obsessed with sex
- (3) in this country and with sex education in this
- (4) country. If we were a little more relaxed
- (5) about it, you would start talking to your
- (6) children about sex when they could
- (7) understand what you were saying, which is in
- (8) their earliest years, and you would start
- (9) talking about the importance of commitment
- (10) and honoring one's body and hopefully being
- (11) in love and understanding that love meant
- (12) commitment, all of the things which are likely
- (13) to make sex better anyway, but which are very
- (14) difficult for Americans to talk about over any
- (15) sustained basis. We can have a hundred hours
- (16) of television exploiting sex and parents go
- (17) nuts if their kid has the gym teacher tell them
- (18) how it is done.
- (19) So, there is a real disconnect in
- (20) this country about this issue and I just wish
- (21) we would relax. I just wish people would say,
- (22) look, sex has been around a really long time
- (23) and we are here because of it, so it is an
- (24) important part of who we are and how we live

(25) and our kids are naturally curious and we

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- (1) ought to do what we can to try to prepare
- (2) them to be good decision makers so that they
- (3) understand the consequences of sex education
- (4) and sex.
- (5) Now, I think it is really important
- (6) to try to do everything possible to dissuade
- (7) kids from having early sexual activity and I
- (8) think teenagers are too young. My theory is,
- (9) do not do it before you are 21 and then do not
- (10) tell me about it and, you know, I think if
- (11) everybody did it like that, that would
- (12) probably work pretty well.
- (13) But I also recognize that part of
- (14) the problem that we have is that, if you look
- (15) at the consumer messages that we send to
- (16) kids, sex is pervasive. It is such a hypocrisy
- (17) for some people in this town to yell about our
- (18) movies when we use sex to sell everything in
- (19) America. We ought to exercise some restraint
- (20) and discipline and stop ourselves from doing
- (21) that because that has as much of a subliminal
- (22) message about, am I going to be popular, will
- (23) I get to drive the right kind of car? Well, a
- (24) lot of it has to do with how sexually appealing
- (25) I am and whether I have sexual partners and

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- (1) all that stuff.
- (2) So, if adults would just kind of
- (3) cool it, themselves, and not use sex in an
- (4) exploitative way to sell products, whether it
- (5) be movies or automobiles, I think we could
- (6) begin to expect that our children would kind
- (7) of calm down a little bit and then, if you look
- (8) at the children who are most at risk for early
- (9) sexual activity, they are children that by and
- (10) large, now, again, there are exceptions, but
- (11) by and large are behind in school.
- (12) There is a direct correlation
- (13) between girls who become pregnant,
- (14) especially as early teenagers, and girls who
- (15) are at least a grade or two behind in their
- (16) academic work. They are children who do not
- (17) have much of a sense of a future because they
- (18) are not doing well in school. They often come
- (19) from disorganized family backgrounds and
- (20) they cannot figure out how to break through
- (21) and get a life of their own, get out of the
- (22) situation they are in, and they very often
- (23) believe that a relationship has to involve sex
- (24) because, in the environments in which they
- (25) find themselves, it is kind of a quick pro quo

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- (1) for many of those teenagers.
- (2) For young boys, it is a comparable
- (3) situation. Many of them are also behind in
- (4) school, they are frustrated by education, they
- (5) do not see any future for themselves. Having
- (6) babies, fathering babies gives them a certain
- (7) sense of accomplishment. It is back to the
- (8) most primitive kind of definition of manhood,
- (9) you know, at least they can do that and
- (10) nobody can tell them they cannot and nobody
- (11) can interfere with it and it is something they
- (12) have done.
- (13) When a lot of those couples have
- (14) babies, I have noticed a couple of things that
- (15) are interesting. When I talk with young
- (16) women about to have babies or have just had
- (17) babies who are between like 12 and 16, they
- (18) always, almost always say the same thing.
- (19) They expect the boy to marry them, it is
- (20) usually an older boy, they always expect them
- (21) to marry them and it just has not happened
- (22) yet. Why? Well, fill in the blank. Well,
- (23) because he is going to join the Army first and
- (24) then he is going to send for me, because he is

(25) going to get a job first, because he has to end

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- (1) a relationship with another girl, first. There
- (2) is always a reason, but the reason does not
- (3) block the fantasy.
- (4) So, when I say to them, for
- (5) example, well, how do you see yourself in,
- (6) say, two years. I will be married and we will
- (7) be living, you know, so and so. Now, some of
- (8) the slightly older girls, especially the girls on
- (9) a second baby, they are much more cynical
- (10) about it. Their attitude is, I just want this
- (11) baby and I do not know if I will ever get
- (12) married and I am not sure I want to because he
- (13) has not treated me right. So, it takes on a
- (14) different tone.
- (15) But I have also noticed, one thing
- (16) that happens is that these mothers, these
- (17) teenage mothers and, again, in my experience
- (18) with exceptions, are pretty good mothers for
- (19) infants. They can manage tiny, tiny babies.
- (20) They like to dress them up, they like to show
- (21) them off.
- (22) The men in their lives, they are
- (23) like dolls, they do not demand much from the
- (24) men, so they are kind of, you know, it is kind
- (25) of okay. Where the real trouble gets in is as

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- (1) the babies get older, as they become toddlers,
- (2) as they become more demanding, as they
- (3) require discipline.
- (4) I believe that a lot of second
- (5) babies are triggered by the desire to get back
- (6) to that infant and to have that infant who is
- (7) totally dependent, non-demanding. You have
- (8) the crying and all of that, but it is not the
- (9) same thing as having to say no a hundred
- (10) times or running down the stairs or some of
- (11) the other things, and I think a lot of men or
- (12) boys who father these babies seriatim, love to
- (13) make these girls happy. It is, you know, it is
- (14) like one thing they can do.
- (15) So, it is a complicated set of
- (16) issues. So, do I think sex education could
- (17) work? I think that decisions, help with
- (18) decisions around sexuality can work if we
- (19) start it early enough, if it is a natural part of
- (20) the curriculum, if people are taught, if kids
- (21) are taught to respect their lives.
- (22) I think one of the things that used
- (23) to be done with immigrants at the turn of the
- (24) century in New York schools is, they would
- (25) line the kids up and have them wash their face

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- (1) and brush their teeth the first thing they got
- (2) to school. Now, why? Because they knew
- (3) that those kids were living in cold water
- (4) tenements, a lot of them did not have a
- (5) toothbrush because a lot of places that they
- (6) came from did not know enough about hygiene.
- (7) So, was it insulting that they
- (8) lined them up and did that? No, it kind of
- (9) taught a lesson, a kind of habit. At the same
- (10) time you take little kids, you teach them
- (11) certain things about respecting their body,
- (12) out of that naturally grows the idea that you
- (13) respect your entire body and you do not let
- (14) people mistreat you, you do not let people
- (15) abuse you and you kind of build from there to
- (16) what we think of as sex education which, by
- (17) the time it is taught in most schools,
- (18) attitudes are formed and kids are behind in
- (19) school and they are desperate for attention
- (20) and love and it is too late.
- (21) MS. NORDGREN: Sarah
- (22) Nordgren from Associated Press. I wanted to
- (23) ask you about children who by necessity
- (24) become children of the state either because of

(25) abuse or neglect. In Illinois, alone, there are

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- (1) 40,000 kids in foster care and one of the
- (2) things that has been so difficult for Illinois
- (3) and other states, I believe, is figuring out
- (4) where you set off the balance between when
- (5) parental rights and when a child can
- (6) reasonably be put into a situation that could
- (7) be long term and so that they can get on with
- (8) their lives.
- (9) MRS. CLINTON: Well, you
- (10) know, I tried to write about this many years
- (11) ago. I got attacked for it in the 1992
- (12) campaign. I would like to think because
- (13) people misunderstood me because I think that
- (14) it is one of the critical issues about when
- (15) adult and parent's rights end and when
- (16) children's rights begin.
- (17) It is one of the most anguishing
- (18) issues that I know of and I have, as a lawyer,
- (19) represented children in conflicts with the
- (20) state, foster parents and adoptive parents. I
- (21) have represented foster parents and I have
- (22) represented adoptive parents and they are the
- (23) most difficult cases that I have ever
- (24) encountered and terribly emotionally draining.
- (25) It is like your case in Illinois, the Baby

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- (1) Richard case.
- (2) I think that decisions have to be
- (3) made more quickly and sometimes decision
- (4) will be made wrongly. That is true in any kind
- (5) of decision where the state acts in loco
- (6) parentis. It cannot substitute for a family,
- (7) but some families abdicate their rights to
- (8) their children at a fairly early age.
- (9) If you look at the Baby Richard
- (10) case which is such a tragic example, there
- (11) should have been an immediate determination.
- (12) As soon as that father showed back up in the
- (13) picture and said he had basically been duped
- (14) by the mother, of the friend who said that,
- (15) you know, told the mother of the child, as I
- (16) understand the facts, that he had married
- (17) somebody else and so she gave the baby up for
- (18) adoption, there should have been an
- (19) immediate determination, with qualified
- (20) experts assigned, to see whether or not
- (21) returning the child to the biological parents
- (22) was in the best interest of the child.
- (23) I think if that determination had
- (24) been made within three or four months, maybe
- (25) let us even stretch it, within six months, I

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- (1) might even stretch it into a year. I do not like
- (2) going that far, but even then, I think the baby
- (3) would have been returned to the biological
- (4) parents, in the absence of a finding that they
- (5) were unfit, and they do not sound particularly
- (6) balanced to me based on reading the record,
- (7) but I do not think that means they are unfit
- (8) and they are certainly trying hard, the best
- (9) they can.
- (10) It was not the child's fault or the
- (11) adoptive parents' fault, as I understand it,
- (12) that that determination was never made and
- (13) instead this case was dragged out for four
- (14) years. I keep thinking about the Bible and
- (15) King Solomon.
- (16) Now, the biological parents,
- (17) despite their great need to have this flesh of
- (18) their flesh, if they had thought about the baby
- (19) at some point they might have said, we cannot
- (20) do this, we will have a relationship, but we
- (21) will not disrupt this. They put their own
- (22) needs first, they did not do that.
- (23) So, what I have long advocated is
- (24) that you have an absolute time certain to

(25) make these determinations, and what has

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- (1) happened in so many of these cases is that, in
- (2) cases where I have had where, you know,
- (3) babies are found in abandoned cars where they
- (4) are living with the mother and her latest
- (5) boyfriend and the baby is taken away, the
- (6) baby is put into foster care. Then the case
- (7) worker, who is overburdened, starts to try to
- (8) create some kind of contract with the
- (9) biological mother who says she wants her
- (10) child back, even though she is totally ill
- (11) equipped to take care of the child.
- (12) So, they try to get the mother into
- (13) counseling, they try to get the mother a job,
- (14) they do this for the mother and they do that
- (15) for the mother. I think there should be a time
- (16) certain. If the mother does not demonstrate
- (17) the capacity to take care of the baby within a
- (18) relatively short period of time, parental rights
- (19) should be terminated.
- (20) Now, that is a really harsh thing
- (21) to say and many people attacked me because
- (22) they said I was advocating the breakup of the
- (23) family. Nothing could be further from the
- (24) truth. I want every child to have a family and
- (25) I want to do everything you can to support the

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- (1) biological family to take care of that baby,
- (2) which means that you should invest in that
- (3) mother or father, you should try to make them
- (4) successful parents, but there has to be a
- (5) cutoff point when, unfortunate as it is, that
- (6) parent has demonstrated either an
- (7) unwillingness or an incapacity to care for that
- (8) child.
- (9) These are really difficult cases
- (10) and part of the reason they linger on is
- (11) nobody wants to bite the difficult decisions.
- (12) They do not want to say, okay, we are going
- (13) to have to move on and, also, the time that
- (14) you would set would depend, to a great
- (15) extent, on the age of the child.
- (16) Slightly older children have a
- (17) relationship with biological parents. You
- (18) should work harder to get them reunited, but
- (19) even then I think there needs to be some
- (20) cutoff point.
- (21) Abused children, this is one of the
- (22) first things I learned about abused children
- (23) when I worked years ago at the Yale New
- (24) Haven Hospital, when we first set out
- (25) guidelines for dealing with abused children.

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- (1) So many abused children think they are
- (2) responsible for their own abuse. So, when
- (3) you remove them from the home, which is the
- (4) only home they know, they feel that they have
- (5) done something wrong, that you are
- (6) separating them from their family.
- (7) So, even with abused children,
- (8) unless it is just the kind of horrific life
- (9) threatening abuse that no one can tolerate,
- (10) you do owe it to the child to work with the
- (11) parents to see whether the parent can
- (12) overcome the impulses and the problems that
- (13) are leading the parent to be abusive, but at a
- (14) certain point, again, you have to make a
- (15) decision.
- (16) There was an article on the front
- (17) page of The New York Times this morning
- (18) about a young girl who had a terrible time
- (19) with her family and finally a woman lawyer
- (20) took this girl in for five months to sleep on
- (21) her couch and got her through high school.
- (22) Now, that child, if she had not
- (23) been taken in by that lawyer, had nowhere to
- (24) go except into some foster care system where

(25) she would have probably been taken out of the

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- (1) high school she had been going because she
- (2) would not have been in the zone for it. We
- (3) just make it impossible for kids to lead as
- (4) stable a life as we want them to once they get
- (5) into the foster care system.
- (6) So, I would like to work toward
- (7) eliminating foster care as much as it is
- (8) possible to do. I think that, you know, you
- (9) never know that you make the absolutely right
- (10) decision, but you just have to try to do what
- (11) you possibly can to do what is best for the
- (12) child based on what you know now.
- (13) I used to have dreams when I did
- (14) these cases that someday somebody would
- (15) knock on my door and they would say, I am so
- (16) and so, you took me away from my mother and
- (17) put me with my adoptive parents and I have
- (18) never forgiven you.
- (19) These are really gut wrenching
- (20) cases, but you have to act on the basis of
- (21) what you know at the time and do the best you
- (22) can and I think our system is paralyzed
- (23) because nobody wants to make these hard
- (24) decisions.
- (25) MS. MOORE: Dr. Andrew

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- (1) Billingsly at the University of Maryland talks
- (2) about the role of aspiration in keeping kids
- (3) out of trouble. In my city of San Francisco
- (4) the streets are full of adolescents and
- (5) teenagers, no aspirations, no after school
- (6) programs, no jobs. What can be done and who
- (7) should do it to provide some aspiration or
- (8) route for these young people?
- (9) MRS. CLINTON: Well, I think
- (10) that there is a lot we could do for teenagers,
- (11) particularly, that we do not do. I think a lot
- (12) of Americans are afraid of teenagers and a lot
- (13) of parents kind of think that teenagers are
- (14) sort of beyond their control and they do not
- (15) exercise, through oversight, the
- (16) accountability that they should.
- (17) So, I think it starts with the
- (18) family. I think you have got to start there. I
- (19) think a lot of our teenagers are done a grave
- (20) disservice because they do not have enough
- (21) that is productive to do, to fill their hours. I
- (22) believe in involving children in the work of a
- (23) family, I believe in having children in
- (24) extracurricular activities.
- (25) So much of that is so difficult

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- (1) today because families go off to work, lots of
- (2) time kids do not even know what their parents
- (3) do. They go to an office where they shuffle
- (4) paper and they do not know what that is. It is
- (5) not like building a car or creating a piece of
- (6) work that people can point to.
- (7) So, I think we have really created
- (8) some alienation among a lot of our kids
- (9) because they do not have a sense of what it is
- (10) adults do and I think parents can do more to
- (11) help kids understand what the life of an adult
- (12) is, but then I think there has to be
- (13) institutional support for activities for kids.
- (14) I have noticed in the last several
- (15) years there has been a tremendous fall-off in
- (16) available extracurricular activities for kids.
- (17) Some of it is budget driven, you know, people
- (18) say they do not have the money to pay for the
- (19) band anymore or pay for the extra sports team
- (20) or whatever it is.
- (21) Some of it because teachers and
- (22) other people who were formerly associated
- (23) with the school are themselves so stressed
- (24) out that the idea of staying a couple of hours

(25) afterwards when they have got to rush around

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- (1) taking care of their own kid and family today
- (2) is too difficult.
- (3) Some of it is that, I think in the
- (4) face of the natural kind of aggressiveness and
- (5) rebelliousness and identity creation that
- (6) teenagers put up, too many adults today
- (7) surrender, like it is the path of least
- (8) resistance. If they do not want to be in a club
- (9) and they want to hang out in the Mall with
- (10) their friends, fine, just do not bother me
- (11) because I do not know what to do with them,
- (12) anyway.
- (13) I think that it is an understandable
- (14) adolescent reaction and I think the counter-
- (15) reaction should be adults saying, well, that is
- (16) all very well but you are going to do
- (17) something after school besides hang out in the
- (18) Mall and it is that kind of back and forth
- (19) which marks sort of an adult and adolescent
- (20) struggle during those teenage years. It is
- (21) only acted out sporadically, it is not in any
- (22) consistent manner and it is often acted out in
- (23) anger instead of sort of a disciplined
- (24) approach to making sure that your kid has
- (25) something positive to do.

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- (1) I think a lot of adults abdicate
- (2) responsibility for teenagers when they hit
- (3) junior high. They do not check up on them,
- (4) they do not know who their friends are, they
- (5) do not know whose houses they are spending
- (6) time at, again, because parents are so over-
- (7) stressed and I think some parents are just not
- (8) willing to make that emotional investment in
- (9) trying to keep up with their own kids.
- (10) So, we start with the family and
- (11) think about what parents have to do. I had a
- (12) friend who said to me one time that she
- (13) realized that her teenager needed the same
- (14) kind of attention that her preschooler did.
- (15) Not in following him around the way she had
- (16) to follow her preschooler around, but in
- (17) constantly checking up because there was the
- (18) same testing of limits.
- (19) You know, preschoolers, are
- (20) always getting to the top of the stairs and
- (21) leaning over and your heart stops and you
- (22) wonder how any child ever lives to walk, you
- (23) know? Well, teenagers are doing the same
- (24) thing metaphorically, they are always kind of
- (25) getting to the limit.

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- (1) Most of them want to be reeled
- (2) back. If there is no reeling back being done
- (3) by the family or the institutions that interact
- (4) with them, hey, it is Lord of the Flies time. I
- (5) mean, this is human nature, you know, push
- (6) the limits, break through them. If you do not
- (7) have any internal limits and you are not being
- (8) helped to develop them externally, anything
- (9) goes.
- (10) So, schools I think bear a big
- (11) responsibility, but not alone. This is where I
- (12) just get so bewildered at how we fail to
- (13) maximize the use of the resources we have
- (14) already in our communities. If we had better
- (15) organized after school activity where a lot of
- (16) adults participated, not just the teachers, if
- (17) we had the kind of use of our churches
- (18) throughout the week that would give kids safe
- (19) havens and places to go.
- (20) A lot of kids are flooding into our
- (21) libraries because this is the only place they
- (22) can go because the schools lock them out once
- (23) they leave the school. We have just got to
- (24) start thinking about, how do we recreate a

(25) broader community for our kids. It is the rare

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- (1) family, and I guess you lived on a desert
- (2) island or on top of a mountain, who does not
- (3) need support from the larger community to
- (4) help your child navigate to adulthood today.
- (5) I guess if you live on top of the mountain you
- (6) would have to be a doctor, a nurse, a teacher,
- (7) you would have to do everything for your
- (8) child, as well.
- (9) So, let us start acting more like
- (10) we have a community investment in these
- (11) children. I do not think it is that expensive,
- (12) I just do not believe that. All this talk, we
- (13) act like we are the poorest country in the
- (14) world sometimes.
- (15) When I was in South Asia and I
- (16) saw really poor countries, I wish I could have
- (17) had every American with me, particularly
- (18) every American teenager, to go into village
- (19) schools that have no electricity, no
- (20) communication, who keep their children
- (21) occupied. People are there for their kids.
- (22) I just think that there has got to
- (23) be a way that we re-think how we spend our
- (24) times as parents and as family members and
- (25) how our institutions respond to the needs of

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- (1) our children.
- (2) I think nearly every kid on the
- (3) streets of San Francisco, if given a positive
- (4) alternative that was varied enough, because
- (5) some kids may want to spend their time doing
- (6) art projects, some kids would love to do
- (7) sports, some kids are musical, some kids
- (8) would like to earn some money, you would find
- (9) that there are still going to be kids, and there
- (10) always have been, who are just restless and
- (11) not ready to do anything except kind of hang
- (12) out. There are always going to be kids like
- (13) that, but we could sure diminish their numbers
- (14) if we provided some positive alternatives.
- (15) MS. PHILLIPS: Mrs. Clinton,
- (16) will take one more question on welfare
- (17) reform?
- (18) MRS. CLINTON: Sure.
- (19) MS. PHILLIPS: Welfare reform
- (20) was a very powerful issue in your husband's
- (21) election campaign, it is something both of you
- (22) know an enormous amount about, it is top
- (23) priority in the Administration and, yet, since
- (24) the debate has transpired on Capitol Hill, the
- (25) White House has really sort of been hanging in

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- (1) the background.
- (2) Can you give us a sense as to the
- (3) discussions that go on here at the White
- (4) House now that the Senate is about to
- (5) consider the bill, we are almost at conference
- (6) committee, what the White House wants to see
- (7) from this bill perhaps in a more specific way
- (8) than the statements you have made in the past
- (9) about maintaining a safety net for children.
- (10) MRS. CLINTON: Well, I do not
- (11) talk about discussion in the White House. So,
- (12) I can only tell you what you probably already
- (13) know, which is that the White House has,
- (14) along with the relevant agencies, worked very
- (15) closely with a lot of the Senators,
- (16) particularly, and some House members and
- (17) they do expect to be helping to shape the final
- (18) outcome, but sometimes it is important for
- (19) people to see starkly the alternatives.
- (20) One of the problems that I think
- (21) we have had in the last several years is, that
- (22) many of the proposals that the President made
- (23) which were successfully passed through
- (24) Congress, did not raise a lot of controversy

(25) and people did not understand what their

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- (1) importance was and why they were necessary
- (2) or they raised a huge amount of controversy
- (3) which totally overwhelmed any rational
- (4) debate, like health care for example.
- (5) So, with welfare reform, the
- (6) Administration has worked steadily and
- (7) consistently and often behind the scenes in
- (8) helping to lay out alternatives, have worked
- (9) with many outside groups in evaluating what
- (10) those alternatives are and the President has
- (11) said repeatedly what is acceptable and what is
- (12) not acceptable and we are going to wait and
- (13) see what finally emerges.
- (14) You know there has been a lot of
- (15) brouhaha about bills passing one or the other
- (16) houses of Congress, but not very much has
- (17) actually converged and come through
- (18) conference and come to closure, yet.
- (19) So, we will wait and see what does
- (20) and then the President will make it clear
- (21) whether that is something he can live with or
- (22) not.
- (23) MS. PHILLIPS: You will not
- (24) lay out any set of priorities...
- (25) MRS. CLINTON: He has.

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- (1) MS. PHILLIPS: ...before
- (2) conference?
- (3) MRS. CLINTON: Oh, he has.
- (4) He gave a speech, when was that, Lisa, it
- (5) was, I do not know, a week or two ago and we
- (6) will give you a copy of it. Thank you all very
- (7) much.
- (8) (WHEREUPON, the proceedings were
- (9) concluded.)

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- (1) CAPTION
- (2) The Remarks in the matter, on the
- (3) date, and at the time and place set out on the
- (4) title page hereof.
- (5) It was requested that the Remarks be
- (6) taken by the reporter and that same be
- (7) reduced to typewritten form.

