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TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

REMARKS BY

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

TO THE

CASEY JOURNALISM CENTER

FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D. C.

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June 13, 1995

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REMARKS BY
FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
TO THE CASEY JOURNALISM CENTER
FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

June 13, 1995

MRS. CLINTON: I would like this to be a conversation and I really do not have, could I have some tea? Thank you so much, I appreciate that. I do not really have anything prepared or profound, or either, to say about this except to thank all of you for being part of this venture on behalf of children and journalism.

It has long been my concern and the concern, obviously, of many others that for whatever reason a lot of stories about the condition of children either do not get covered or get covered in an episodic way or do not get the kind of sustained attention that many of us believe they deserve.

So, I commend the Casey Foundation for their efforts over the past several years to build a cadre of journalists who care about children's issues and I would hope would become as visible talking about

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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 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
25 consumerism, which is of course a necessary

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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 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 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 HIPPY, 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 a lot 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 HIPPIY 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 a lot 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 HIPPIY 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
16 **MS. WALLACE:** Susan Wallace
17 from Fredericksburg. We have been talking a
18 lot about teenage pregnancy in the last day or
19 so. I am wondering, especially as the mother
20 of an adolescent daughter, what your thoughts
21 are on sex education in our schools, how it is
22 doing, how it could be more effective and
23 what age you think maybe we should start
24 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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CAPTION

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The Remarks in the matter, on the date, and at the time and place set out on the title page hereof.

It was requested that the Remarks be taken by the reporter and that same be reduced to typewritten form.

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CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER

STATE OF VIRGINIA AT LARGE:

I, GREIG D. W. AITKEN, Notary Public for the State of Virginia at Large, do hereby certify that the foregoing was reported by stenographic and mechanical means, which matter was held on the date, and at the time and place set out on the title page hereof and that the foregoing constitutes a true and accurate transcript of same.

I further certify that I am not related to any of the parties, nor am I an employee of or related to any of the attorneys representing the parties, and I have no financial interest in the outcome of this matter.

GIVEN under my hand and Notarial seal this 14th day of JUNE, 1995.

**My Commission Expires: Notary Public
September 30, 1999**

Greig D. W. Aitken

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