



STATEMENT ON WELFARE REFORM

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The YWCA of the U.S.A. supports Welfare Reform with appropriate measures to achieve and strengthen a safety net for children and families and to help them escape poverty. We are mindful of our responsibility to uphold the human rights of all disadvantaged people and have a deep concern about the disproportionate impact of racism and poverty on people of color.

Welfare reform must include provisions that empower women to work and lead them to self-sufficiency by expanding job training programs, increasing access to quality child care, and quality health care for all children and families, and providing incentives toward self-sufficiency. It should also be implemented as a part of a broader anti-poverty strategy including expanded earned income and child care tax credits, an increased minimum wage, support for federal nutrition programs, enhanced food assistance, and child welfare and other social services for children.

The Personal Responsibility Act, which is legislation developed to implement the "Contract with America", contains proposals to block grant basic assistance programs which will be punitive to children and families in need. The YWCA opposes all child exclusion policies based on age and behavior of parents, which reduce or eliminate increases in benefits to families who have additional children, which reduce or deny benefits to children born to unmarried women and which reduce or deny benefits to children whose paternity has not legally been established. The YWCA also opposes the restriction of any benefits that are currently available to legal immigrants and undocumented workers and the withdrawal of federal impediments to state passage of Proposition 187-like laws.

The YWCA supports policies that improve child support enforcement and paternity establishment; that encourage the positive involvement of fathers in their children's lives; that create jobs that pay a living wage and support for families who leave the program after two years with intensive case management, health care and child care; and, that enhances efforts to prevent teen pregnancy and that help teen parents to become self-sufficient.

Adopted by the YWCA of the U.S.A., National Board
February 4, 1995
Phoenix, Arizona

For further information, contact Beverly Stripling, Director, Advocacy and Public Policy, telephone: 202-628-3636

Women's Coops 10.19.95

Leon: Tough line

Have it heard much about P report
Who's chairman comes out of conf.
Important 9 is devastating - not just address

Yvona: perceived racist intent

Sue: It's a gift - then guys are going to fear
maybe all you need - it's hopeless

No mention of P

A paycheck or a husband away from being it will be
Eliminate of gender equity in job training
We need that mention of P to

Brookings, Scott - figures
meet w/ Ross himself

Debra
Child support enforcement

WFL - Women

WPK-
B. J. J. J.

Get the Facts

Welfare Reform Leaves Women Without Job Training or Child Care

Since 1935, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) has been the main welfare program that provides basic assistance to needy families living below the poverty line. Currently, 97% of the 14.1 million people receiving AFDC are women (29%) and children (68%). The House and Senate welfare reform bills eliminate the national safety net for poor families. AFDC must be reformed, but in ways that realistically move women from welfare to work, while protecting children.

- ◆ The House and Senate welfare reform bills are unrealistic because the bills mandate that welfare recipients work, but do not include the education, job training, or child care necessary to permanently leave welfare for work. Moreover, a recent study shows that welfare reform would overload the capacity of the economy to sustain decent jobs. Forcing untrained workers into the job market could drive wages down by 12% for individuals earning less than \$7.19 per hour. This wage cut for 31 million workers emphasizes why it is necessary to include education and job training in welfare reform.
- ◆ The House bill penalizes children because it denies aid to children born to unmarried teenage mothers, children born to women already receiving welfare, and children whose paternity has not been established. If these policies were in place today, it is estimated that 5-6 million children would lose all support.
- ◆ At the same time that aid is being cut, cutbacks in housing, health care, food assistance, and tax credits are being proposed that will affect the working poor and push more people on to welfare. Last year the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) alone helped more than 2 million families stay out of poverty, yet this credit is targeted by both the House and Senate for massive cuts, increasing taxes for as many as 17 million working poor families.

Here's What You Can Do!



Call your Representative and Senators at 202/224-3121 and tell them to oppose welfare reform that goes too far and doesn't give women the skills and child care necessary to leave welfare permanently. Urge President Clinton to veto the bill by calling 202/456-1414.



Copy this alert and post it in public places, such as day care centers and supermarkets.



Share this information with friends and others in your community.

WOMEN'S NETWORK FOR CHANGE • American Association of University Women • Advocates for Youth • American Jewish Congress • American School Health Association • Business and Professional Women/USA • Center for Policy Alternatives • Coalition of Labor Union Women • Federally Employed Women • Feminist Majority • Fifty plus One • Girls Incorporated • Independent Federation of Flight Attendants • International Association for Feminist Economics • MANA, A National Latino Organization • Ms. Foundation for Women • National Abortion Federation • National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League • National Association of Social Workers • National Council of Negro Women • National Organization for Women • National Women and HIV/AIDS Project • National Women's Law Center • National Women's Political Caucus • Planned Parenthood Federation of America • ProChoice Resource Center • Wider Opportunities for Women • Women's Campaign Fund • Women's Legal Defense Fund • Women Work! • YWCA of the USA • Council of Presidents

October 19, 1995



WIC - FOR THE LOVE OF CHILDREN

October 18, 1995

Bruce Reed, Deputy Assistant to
the President for Domestic Policy
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Reed:

We ask you to urge House and Senate Conferees on welfare reform to **oppose** the Houses's proposal to block grant the Child Nutrition Programs including the successful health and nutrition program for Women, Infants and Children, known as WIC.

A Bi-Partisan group of Senators, Barbara Boxer, John Chafee, Tom Daschle, James Jeffords, Pat Leahy, and Arlen Specter, joined in a "Dear Colleague" letter to say:

"If block granted, WIC could lose critical quality assurance safeguards for health and nutrition, the food prescription, eligibility and other Program requirements. We hope that you will continue to ensure the success of this valuable health program for our children and the nation's future."

WIC has ensured the health and nutritional well-being of children for 21 years because:

- *WIC is effective; it lowers infant mortality rates.*
- *Someone can only receive WIC benefits only when certified by a health care professional.*
- *WIC has tight fraud controls. Stores accepting vouchers must be pre-approved. Vouchers can only be used for specific foods.*
- *WIC operates like a private sector business - competitive bidding saves over \$1 billion per year.*
- *WIC offers short-term assistance; the average assistance for a woman is 13 months. Participants are re-screened for eligibility every 6 months.*
- *WIC is Pro-Family - It encourages women to breastfeed and carry their pregnancies to term.*
- *WIC saves money. Every dollar spent on prenatal WIC saves on average \$3.50 in Medicaid.*
- *The bottom line - WIC works!*

We urge you not to block grant WIC. Dismantling 21 years of health and nutrition success is neither good government nor in the best interest of the American people.

NAWD

1627 Connecticut
Avenue, NW

Suite 5

P.O. Box 53405

Washington D.C.

20009-3405

FAX 202 387.5281

202 232.5482

Sincerely,

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, Colorado Chapter
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, Delaware Chapter
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, Florida Chapter
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, Minnesota Chapter
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, South Dakota Chapter
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, Texas Chapter
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, Wisconsin Chapter
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF PEDIATRICS, Wyoming Chapter
AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATORS
AMERICAN COLLEGE OF NURSE-MIDWIVES
AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN SCHOOL FOOD SERVICE ASSOCIATION
ARIZONA SCHOOL FOOD SERVICE ASSOCIATION
ASSOCIATION OF MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH PROGRAMS
ASSOCIATION OF STATE AND TERRITORIAL PUBLIC HEALTH NUTRITION DIRECTORS
BREAD FOR THE WORLD
CENTER FOR BREASTFEEDING MANAGEMENT TRAINING
CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES
FLORIDA PEDIATRIC SOCIETY
FOOD RESEARCH AND ACTION CENTER
INTERNATIONAL LACTATION CONSULTANT ASSOCIATION
LADIES AUXILIARY TO THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS, District Seven, OH
NATIONAL ALLIANCE FOR BREASTFEEDING ADVOCACY
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COUNTY AND CITY HEALTH OFFICIALS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF WIC DIRECTORS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL HEAD START ASSOCIATION
NEW ORLEANS BREAD FOR THE WORLD
RESULTS
SOCIETY FOR NUTRITION EDUCATION
SPANISH SPEAKING-ELDERLY COUNCIL-RAICES
THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS
Mayor Carol Marinovich, Kansas City, KS
Mayor Ingrid B. Sheldon, Ann Arbor, MI

AURATECH, INC., Greensboro, NC
BEECHNUT NUTRITION CORPORATION, MO
CIN-MED ASSOCIATES, INC., Magnolia, NJ
DeCENTECH, INC., South St. Paul, MN
DIACOM, Venice, FL
HEMOCUE, INC., Mission Viejo, CA
RALSTON FOODS, INC., MO
RYAN DIAGNOSTICS, INC., Montgomery, IL

BAYLOR COLLEGE OF MEDICINE, Houston, TX
CARDINAL GLENNON CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL, St. Louis, Missouri
LYNCREST PEDIATRICS, Lincoln, NE
MAINE MEDICAL CENTER, DEPARTMENT OF PEDIATRICS
MARY MAHONEY MEMORIAL HEALTH CENTER, Oklahoma City, OK
MEDICAL COLLEGE OF WISCONSIN
RILEY HOSPITAL FOR CHILDREN, Indianapolis, IN
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO CENTER FOR HUMAN NUTRITION
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA, COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH, MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH
PROGRAM
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO, SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA, DEPARTMENT OF PEDIATRICS
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS MEDICAL BRANCH AT GALVESTON, CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL
WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, ROBERT C. BRYD HEALTH SCIENCES
CENTER
John Kennell, MD, Cleveland, OH
Joshua Lipsman, MD, Director, Alexandria Health Department, VA
Terry Yamauchi, MD, Professor and Vice Chairman, Department of Pediatrics, Arkansas Children's
Hospital

CHURCH/WIC, Washington, DC
FINGER LAKES SOCIAL MINISTRY
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (USA), WASHINGTON OFFICE
SCHENECTADY INNER CITY MINISTRY, NY
THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST SERVICE COMMITTEE
UNITED METHODIST CHURCH
UNITED STATES CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

DAIRY AND NUTRITION COUNCIL, INC., IN
DIETARY CONSULTANT SERVICES, Orem, UT
INDIANA FOOD AND NUTRITION NETWORK
INDIANA NUTRITION COUNCIL
NUTRITION CONSORTIUM OF NEW YORK STATE
NUTRITIONISTS AND DIETITIANS IN COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICES, MI
WISCONSIN NUTRITION PROJECT, INC.

ARKANSAS ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES
ARKANSAS DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
ALASKA ASSOCIATION OF WIC COORDINATORS
ALLIANCE TO END CHILDHOOD LEAD POISONING
ASSOCIATION OF ARIZONA FOOD BANKS
ATHENS/PERRY COUNTY WIC PROGRAM, Athens, OH
ATLANTA COMMUNITY FOOD BANK
BOULDER COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT WIC PROGRAM, Boulder, CO
BREAD FOR THE CITY/ZACCHAEUS FREE CLINIC, Washington, DC
CALIFORNIA FOOD POLICY ADVOCATE
CENTER FOR FOOD ACTION-STATEWIDE EMERGENCY FOOD NETWORK, NJ
CHEROKEE NATION, OK
CHEYENNE RIVER SIOUX TRIBE, SD
CHEYENNE RIVER SIOUX TRIBE WIC PROGRAM, SD

CHICKASAW NATION OF OKLAHOMA
CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENT CLINIC, P.C., Hastings, NE
CHOCTAW NATION OF OKLAHOMA
CITY-COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT OF OKLAHOMA COUNTY, OK
COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM BELKNAP-MERRIMACK COUNTIES, Concord, NH
COMMUNITY ACTION SOUTHWEST, Washington, PA
COMMUNITY ACTION ORGANIZATION OF SCIOTO COUNTY, Portsmouth, OH
COMMUNITY FOOD RESOURCE CENTER, NY
COMMUNITY PROGRESS COUNCIL, York, PA
CONNECTICUT WIC DIRECTORS' ASSOCIATION, INC.
DAVIS COUNTY HEALTH/WIC PROGRAM, Layton, UT
DELAWARE WIC PROGRAM
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA WIC PROGRAM
DISTRICT SEVEN HEALTH DEPARTMENT, Idaho Falls, ID
FAMILY HEALTH COUNCIL OF CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA, Wormleysburg, PA.
FOOD BANK OF DELAWARE
FOOD BANK OF IOWA
FOOD BANK OF CENTRAL NEW YORK
FOOD BANK OF NORTHERN NEVADA
FOOD FOR SURVIVAL, Bronx, New York
HARPER COUNTY COMMUNITY HOSPITAL WIC PROGRAM, Buffalo, OK
HUNGER ACTION COALITION FOR SOUTHEASTERN MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS HUNGER COALITION
INDIANA WIC COORDINATORS' ASSOCIATION
JUST HARVEST, PA
KANSAS WIC ASSOCIATION
LAKE COUNTY HEALTH DISTRICT, Painesville, OH
LOCAL AGENCY NUTRITION DIRECTORS' ASSOCIATION OF ARIZONA
MATERNAL AND FAMILY HEALTH SERVICES, INC., Wilkes Barre, PA
MINNESOTA FOOD SHARE
MISSISSIPPI WIC PROGRAM
MISSOURI WIC PROGRAM
MUSCOGEE (CREEK) NATION WIC PROGRAM, OK
NCPRPDC WIC PROGRAM, Ridgway, PA
NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES ORGANIZATIONS, Oklahoma City, OK
NEVADA WIC PROGRAM
NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL WIC ASSOCIATION
NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMUNITY ACTION DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION
NEW HAMPSHIRE WIC DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION
NEW JERSEY FORUM OF WIC COORDINATORS
NEW YORK CITY COALITION AGAINST HUNGER
NORTH CAROLINA ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL NUTRITION DIRECTORS
NORTH CAROLINA HUNGER NETWORK
OHIO HUNGER TASK FORCE
OREGON FOOD BANK
PANHANDLE HEALTH DISTRICT WIC PROGRAM, Coeur d'Alene, ID
PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CENTER OF SOUTH CENTRAL KANSAS
PENNSYLVANIA ASSOCIATION OF WIC DIRECTORS
PLANNED PARENTHOOD OF EASTERN OKLAHOMA AND WESTERN ARKANSAS
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY WIC PROGRAM, Clinton, MD
PROJECT E.A.T. AN ARIZONA COALITION
PUBLIC HEALTH DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, NM

PUEBLO OF ZUNI WIC PROGRAM, NM
REGIONAL FOOD BANK OF NORTHEASTERN NEW YORK
ROCKINGHAM COMMUNITY ACTION, Portsmouth, NH
ROSEBUD SIOUX WIC PROGRAM, SD
SANDUSKY COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT WIC PROGRAM, Fremont, OH
SANTO DOMINGO WIC PROGRAM, NM
SEATTLE-KING COUNTY DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH, Seattle, WA
SEMINOLE TRIBE OF FLORIDA
SHOSHONE AND ARAPAHOE WIC PROGRAM, WY
SOUTHEAST DISTRICT HEALTH DEPARTMENT, Pocatello, ID
SOUTHERN NEW HAMPSHIRE SERVICES, Manchester, NH
SOUTHWEST DISTRICT HEALTH DEPARTMENT, Panguitch, UT
SOUTHWESTERN COMMUNITY SERVICES, Keene, NH
STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIBE WIC PROGRAM, ND
STRAFFORD COUNTY COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM, Dover, NH
SUMMIT COUNTY WIC PROGRAM, Coalville, UT
TEEN MOTHER AND CHILD PROGRAM, Salt Lake City, UT
THE PARENT CHILD CENTER OF TULSA, OK
THE WIC ASSOCIATION OF MICHIGAN
TRI-COUNTY COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM, Berlin, NH
TULSA CITY-COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT, Tulsa, OK
UTAHNS AGAINST HUNGER
VERMONT CAMPAIGN TO END CHILDHOOD HUNGER
WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION OF LOCAL WIC AGENCIES
WEST CENTRAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, Spokane, WA
WEST VIRGINIA WIC PROGRAM
WIC ASSOCIATION OF MISSOURI-LOCAL AGENCIES

Katherine Benjamin, WIC Director, Alexandria Health Department, VA

BRIEFING FOR: LEON PANETTA
ALEXIS HERMAN
CAROL RASCO
•BRUCE REED•
RAHM EMANUEL

MEETING WITH WOMEN LEADERS ON WELFARE REFORM

DATE: Wednesday, June 19
TIME: 3 to 4 p.m.
LOCATION: Roosevelt Room
FROM: Betsy Myers

I. PURPOSE

To meet with leaders of women's organizations to listen to their concerns about welfare reform's impact on women.

II. BACKGROUND

Last September, women leaders met with Alexis Herman and Leon Panetta to express their concerns about welfare reform and to urge the President to veto the Senate welfare reform bill.

This meeting will serve as a follow-up to last fall's meeting. It will provide the opportunity to take the pulse of women's leadership on welfare reform.

Women leaders are concerned about preserving the safety net for women, particularly battered women, and they are concerned that the correlation between domestic violence and welfare reform is not being addressed. (Sen. Wellstone and Rep. Roybal-Allard are introducing legislation on this topic.)

We hear similar concerns from local women attending "At The Table" discussions.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Alexis Herman
Carol Rasco
Bruce Reed
Betsy Myers
Rahm Emanuel

Ellen Bravo
Executive Director, 9105, the National Association of Working Women

Cindy Brown
Legislative Lobbyist, American Association of University Women

Nancy Duff Campbell
Co-President, National Women's Law Center

Dr. Prema Mathai-Davis
National Executive Director, YWCA

Joan Entmacher
Senior Policy Counsel on Family Economic Security, Women's Legal Defense Fund

Betty Friedan
Author and expert on income inequality

Heidi Hartmann
President and Director, Institute for Women's Policy Research

Audrey Tayse-Haynes
Executive Director, Business & Professional Women/USA

Eleanor Hinton Hoytt
Director of National Programs, National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

Karen Johnson
National Secretary, NOW. Former welfare recipient.

Catherine MacKinnon
Law Professor, University of Michigan

Jill Miller
Co-Executive Director, Women Work!

Diana Pearce
Director, Women in Poverty Project, Wider Opportunities for Women

Pat Reuss
Senior Policy Analyst, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund

Julia Scott
President, National Black Women's Health Project

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The United States Senate

(Press Release can be found through the Jo Biden Home Page- <http://www.senate.gov/~biden/press16.htm>)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
 JUNE 12, 1996

CONTACT: LARRY SPINELLI
 (202) 224-0133

BIDEN & SPECTER INTRODUCE CASTLE/TANNER BIPARTISAN WELFARE REFORM BILL

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- Calling it a "first-rate, bipartisan welfare reform measure," U.S. Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D - DE) announced today that he and Republican Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania will be introducing in the Senate a companion bill to the one authored and introduced in the House by Congressmen Michael N. Castle and John S. Tanner (D - TN).

"It is high time to end the polarizing partisanship and presidential politics that have permeated the issue of welfare reform," Biden said. "The result has been Washington gridlock and paralysis.

"In an attempt to break the gridlock last February, the nation's Governors -- led by Delaware Governor Tom Carper -- proposed a bipartisan welfare reform bill. In April, Mike Castle and John Tanner, and a group of other moderates wrote what I believe is a first-rate bipartisan welfare reform plan," Biden said.

At a Capitol Hill press conference, Biden and Specter said that with welfare reform legislation expected to be considered in the Senate in the coming weeks, "we decided that now is the time -- and the Castle-Tanner proposal is the bill to move this issue forward in Congress and get a bill on the President's desk for him to sign."

"Mike Castle and Arlen Specter deserve great applause for their efforts on this issue. They are reaching across the aisle to do what the American people sent us to Congress to do -- work together to solve the problems facing this country."

The bipartisan welfare reform bill:

- Sets a five-year time limit on receiving welfare benefits. After two years, welfare recipients would be required to work at least 25 hours per week.
- Provides child care assistance to states, so that children are not left home alone while their mothers are working.
- Sets a family cap, but allows states to opt out.
- Requires unwed mothers to establish paternity.
- Gives states flexibility in designing their specific programs.
- Authorizes illegitimacy prevention education.
- Strengthens child support enforcement provisions to make deadbeat dads pay.
- Toughens enforcement of food stamp fraud.

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"What has been lost in the shuffle and shouting of the last ten months is that there is a great deal of common ground on welfare reform," Biden said. "So much so, that if you leave behind the politics and the partisanship, a tough, bipartisan welfare reform bill is easily within reach.

Biden cited a couple examples of bipartisan compromise.

"For Republicans, the bill converts Aid to Families with Dependent Children--AFDC--to a block grant to the states. For Democrats, it more adequately invests in child care. For Republicans, the bill freezes funding for cash welfare payments. For Democrats, it provides additional help to those states faced with economic downturns. For Republicans, the bill imposes a family cap. For Democrats, it gives states flexibility to opt out.

"If we are going to move forward with overhauling the welfare system, we must stop insisting that there be a perfect bill or no bill at all," Biden said. "It is time to say that we do not care who gets credit for reforming welfare. It is time to just do it -- in a bipartisan fashion -- for the sake of the American people and for the sake of the people on welfare."

June 6, 1996

Please Post

Get the Facts

Welfare: A Safety Net For Survivors of Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is the leading cause of injury to women in the U.S., yet the economic consequences of violence against women are often overlooked. Many women stay with their batterers because they do not have resources to support themselves and their children. For women who must leave a violent relationship, welfare may be essential to survival and to avoid homelessness.

Women leaving abusive relationships may need assistance longer because they face hurdles to completing job training programs and paid employment.

- Men who batter women sometimes sabotage efforts at self-improvement by threatening women at schools and training programs, preventing and prohibiting women from working and attending school.
- Half of all abused women lose three days of work a month due to medical problems resulting from abuse. Therefore, battered women may be unable to satisfy work requirements because of physical injury and psychological trauma.

~~Current welfare reform proposals in Congress include strict time limits for receiving benefits without addressing the impact of violence on the transition from welfare to work. These limitations may mean that many women will return to their abusers because they cannot reach economic self-sufficiency.~~

Congress should not further penalize women fleeing domestic violence by denying them assistance. According to a study by the Taylor Institute, at least 60 percent of welfare recipients are, or have been, victims of domestic violence as adults. Therefore, the restrictions proposed by Congress may deny assistance to many of the women and children who need it most.

Here's What You Can Do!



Help spread the word. Work with friends to distribute or post this *Get the Facts* alert in your community.



Call your senators and representative at 202/224-3121 and let them know that survivors of domestic violence need a safety net.

WOMEN'S NETWORK FOR CHANGE • American Association of University Women • Advocates for Youth • American Jewish Congress • American School Health Association • Business and Professional Women/USA • Center for Policy Alternatives • Coalition of Labor Union Women • Federally Employed Women • Feminist Majority - Fifty plus One • Girls Incorporated • Gray Panthers • Independent Federation of Flight Attendants • International Association for Feminist Economics • MANA, A National Latina Organization • Ms. Foundation for Women • Nat'l. National Association of Working Women • National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League • National Abortion Federation • National Association of Social Workers • National Center for the Early Childhood Work Force • National Council of Negro Women • National Organization for Women • National Political Congress of Black Women, Inc. • National Women and HIV/AIDS Project • National Women's Law Center • National Women's Political Caucus • Older Women's League • Planned Parenthood Federation of America • ProChoice Resource Center • Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice • United States Student Association • Wider Opportunities for Women • Women Work! • Women's Campaign Fund • Women's Environment and Development Organization • Women's International League for Peace and Freedom • Women's Legal Defense Fund • YWCA of the U.S.A. • a project of the Council of Presidents

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TALKING POINTS
for Leon Panetta
MEETING ON WELFARE WITH WOMEN LEADERS
June 19, 1996
3 p.m. to 4 p.m.
Roosevelt Room

You are going to meet with some of the most knowledgeable and committed of our nation's women leaders. The purpose of today's meeting is to provide them with an opportunity to voice their concerns on welfare reform to the Administration and to provide us an opportunity to hear their ideas.

These women remain supportive of the President but are deeply concerned about the direction we are taking on welfare reform.

You met with many of these leaders last September, a meeting which was very significant to them.

Their five chief concerns are:
(see background memo for more details)

- Preserving the safety net for women in general.
- Providing adequate, affordable child care.
- Providing adequate training and transportation for women.
- Providing adequate wages and health care.
- Providing exemptions for battered women from time restrictions and welfare-to-work requirements.

In addition, six months ago they asked us to include in the President's message an understanding of the impact that welfare reform will have on women's lives. They still feel the President does not acknowledge the impact on women of welfare reform proposals.

Talking Points

- o Thank you for coming today.
- o I have seen Jody Raphael's study on the correlation between domestic violence and welfare reform.
- o I would like to welcome Bonnie Campbell, of the Justice Department's Violence Against Women Office.
- o I met with many of you six months ago to discuss welfare reform and the impending Senate version -- which the President vetoed.
- o Your concerns matter to us. Today, we are here to listen to you.

Our Response

One response we could offer lies in preserving the safety net for

battered women. In yesterday's executive order requiring women to name the father of their children when applying for welfare, the President cited certain "just cause" exemptions, including violence against women. (FYI: Senator Wellstone and Rep. Roybal-Allard are introducing a resolution calling for Congress to preserve the safety net for battered women.)

The President could also call for a study on the correlation between domestic violence and welfare (i.e., battered women's need for a safety net) for less than \$200,000 in four states. Bonnie Campbell could offer to chair this study.

JUNE 19, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

FROM: BETSY MYERS

RE: BACKGROUND FOR WELFARE MEETING

The following are the key points that women leaders are likely to raise in the welfare meeting today.

WISCONSIN WAIVER

Wisconsin is the State plan of particular concern because it would abolish the guarantee of benefits for eligible families.

Many of the women attending today's meeting feel the Wisconsin plan is a fraud. While those attending today's meeting acknowledge that Wisconsin is expending more resources relative to other states, Wisconsin needs to spend more. Responsible welfare reform costs money. Those attending today want to reform the system but feel that current proposals do not acknowledge the real cost of doing so.

Their substantive concerns about Wisconsin Waiver are that it includes:

- NO GUARANTEED JOBS, CHILDCARE or other services such as transportation
- VIRTUALLY NO EDUCATION OR TRAINING
- ELIMINATION OF MEDICAID

Notwithstanding goodfaith revisions based on Administration objections, those attending today's meeting consider guaranteed childcare to mean quality and safe childcare that is paid for by the state, as well as extension of care for infants.

WELFARE REFORM GENERALLY

Those attending today's meeting are especially troubled that the Wisconsin plan represents a marker and brings the Administration into close proximity to the Republican proposals.

The attendees at today's meeting feel that arbitrary time limits punish those who play by the rules. There are many situations (i.e., the disability of a child or mother or situations of domestic abuse) that makes compliance impossible. Discretionary exemptions have been historically used in an arbitrary and even racially discriminatory manner.

Regarding Education and Job Training, those attending today's meeting consistently point out that discrimination against women with respect to educational opportunities must be addressed. They were thrilled when the President recognized the importance of post-secondary

education and training at Princeton a few weeks ago. The absence of access to education and training opportunities creates a permanent underclass. As you may be aware, this is what is known as the Feminization of Poverty. (Diana Pearce in attendance today has written extensively on this and is credited with coining the phrase.)

POTENTIAL SEPARATION OF WELFARE AND MEDICAID

If welfare passes as a stand alone, Medical coverage for over four million women will be threatened because it will be tied to the provision of aid under new welfare plans and many fewer women will be covered.

WELFARE AND CIVIL RIGHTS

The Wisconsin Plan and pending federal proposal eliminate virtually all rules and due process rights. No one, even if they satisfy all requirements, will be legally entitled to benefits. In short, this plan allow for an arbitrary and discriminatory administration of benefits.

WELFARE AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Violence makes women poor and helps keep women poor, new research is showing. Particularly women on welfare are targeted for increased abuse when they try to increase their independence from abusive men by moving into the work world. Welfare-to-work proposals must take this vulnerability into account in its attempt to end their dependency. Welfare cannot be reformed at the cost of subjecting women to battering and death. Bob Dole got the welfare-violence correlation backwards; this administration must get it straight. All women, regardless of income, are subjected to domestic violence, but poor women need resources to escape it. This gives the government a special responsibility for their safety in crafting proposals, like welfare reform, that affect their financial status. Women's disproportionate subjection to domestic battering must be taken into account in all welfare reforms.



9to5, National Association of Working Women

238 West Wisconsin Avenue, Suite 700, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203-2308

■ (414) 374-0925

Open Letter to President Clinton FROM 9to5's Poverty Network Initiative

Dear President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore:

We urge you NOT to sign the waivers for Wisconsin Works (W-2) unless these points are changed:

- 1. President Clinton said he supports the dignity of a paycheck, not a welfare check. Most of the women in Wisconsin's W-2 plan will work for a grant at sub-minimum wage, with no access to earned income tax credit.**
- 2. President Clinton noted that Wisconsin says it will provide ample child care and health care. The child care allowed for is unregulated and inadequate. Many women will not be able to afford child care or health care because of the required co-payments.**
- 3. President Clinton has always emphasized the importance of education and training. There is no realistic training component in W-2.**
- 4. President Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act. W-2 makes no provision for family leave.**
- 5. W-2 allows for no fair hearing process for women who lose a job because of discriminatory treatment.**
- 6. W-2 allows for no safety net.**

Please, say NO to waivers for Wisconsin's W-2 legislation unless these points are changed.

**9to5's Poverty Network Initiative
223 Maple Avenue, Waukesha, WI 53186 (800) 920-9925 / (414) 574-9925**

- Ali - Frazier

- Hearn - Hagler

- Emanuel - McKinnon

DB

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

07-Jun-1996 02:22pm

TO: Diana M. Fortuna
TO: Cathy R. Mays

FROM: Jill Pizzuto
 Domestic Policy Council

CC: Elizabeth E. Drye

SUBJECT: welfare meeting w/ angry women

Cathy / Diana: the Women's Initiatives office has asked that Carol and Alexis hold a meeting w/ approx. 10 women regarding their welfare reform concerns. Apparently, these women aren't happy at all and it's a chance for their concerns to be heard.

It's scheduled for Wednesday, June 19th from 3-4:00 p.m. TBA room. Carrie Wofford is the contact at the Women's office: 6-7300.

Carol has asked that both Diana and Bruce attend AND prepare briefing notes w/ anticipated sample q's & a's. Carrie is supposed to give us background on the women, etc. however, I'm not sure WHEN we'd get this.

Carol would like to see any briefing material before the scheduled meeting in order to have time to go over any questions she may have regarding the material.

please let me know if you have any questions.

Cathy: can Bruce make it?

**Council of Presidents
National Women's Pledge on Welfare Reform:
Principles for Eliminating Poverty**

We support welfare reform that will do more than maintain families in poverty; it should help them make a permanent escape from poverty. The vast majority of adults who receive assistance from Aid to Families with Dependent Children are women. As leaders of women's groups in the United States, we state unequivocally that women who receive welfare benefits have the same rights as all women and have the same goals for their families. We cannot allow their rights to be curtailed because they are poor nor their values impugned because they need help to support their families.

Welfare has served as an essential safety net for poor women and their children. Many women use welfare at various points throughout their lives, because they have few other resources to tide them over during one-time or recurring events such as illness, unemployment, child birth, domestic violence, or divorce. We cannot allow the guarantee of minimal survival assistance to be removed or reduced by caps on spending, time limits, child exclusion policies, or other means. We cannot allow the federal government to abandon its commitment to a basic safety net for poor mothers and their children.

We oppose punitive measures that assume that the behavior, attitudes, and values of women on welfare are the problem. Welfare mothers have not abandoned their children; they are struggling to hold their families together with extremely limited resources. Many are already working or looking for work in order to raise their families' incomes. We believe the problem lies, rather, in the labor market conditions these women face, including gender- and race-based discrimination that limits their opportunities, unstable jobs that pay low wages and lack health and retirement benefits, inaccessible jobs, and no jobs at all. In addition, lack of educational opportunity, inadequate support services and benefits, lack of child support from fathers, and punitive welfare regulations have made it impossible for poor women to get ahead.

1. The help we provide -- or do not provide -- to mothers determines the well-being of their children. Penalizing certain groups of women and children by withholding welfare benefits is not acceptable. We unequivocally oppose punitive policies that deny or reduce benefits to unmarried teenage mothers and their children, to poor children for whom paternity has not been established, and to additional children born to women on welfare. Further impoverishing mothers does not help their children.

2. Women have a right to decide whether and when to have children. Women's reproductive choices should not be restricted by government sanctions, mandates, or economic coercion. Women on welfare do not need to be discouraged from having children.

since they already have fewer children than women in the general population. Many women now have inadequate access to desired reproductive health services. Access to and funding for contraception, family planning counseling, and abortion services should be improved. Early teen pregnancy and childbirth can be harmful to the health, education, and training of young women. Educational opportunities, family planning, contraceptive access, and hope for the future are the best and most humane deterrents.

3. Poor families need help to meet the costs of child care and health care. In order to work or to participate in job training or educational programs, poor parents need access to good quality child and elder care that they can afford. Otherwise, they will be either unable to work or forced to leave their children or elderly relatives unattended, in substandard care, or with underpaid caregivers. Poor families also must have access to health care in order to stay healthy. They must be able to receive medical treatment as needed, rather than be forced to go without necessary treatment or to choose between health care and other basic necessities.

4. Men must bear their share of responsibility for supporting the children they have fathered. Stronger child support enforcement is essential to effective welfare reform. Families receiving welfare should be allowed to keep a larger portion of the child support payments made by absent fathers. At the same time, we must recognize that child support alone will not lift women and their children out of poverty. Nor should women be forced to reveal the identity of fathers who they believe would harm them or their children.

5. Investment in education and training services for welfare recipients is essential. The majority of welfare recipients want work and often have work experience, but lack the skills, education, or English proficiency to obtain jobs that pay adequate wages to support their families. Women who participate in high quality education and training, including post-secondary education and training for nontraditional occupations, have higher earnings and are less likely to return to welfare.

6. Improving women's wages and benefits will reduce family poverty. Achieving pay equity, increasing the minimum wage, creating incentives for employers to provide fringe benefits in contingent and other low-wage jobs, and encouraging collective bargaining should be integral parts of an effective and comprehensive welfare reform strategy.

7. Until wages are improved for women, the combination of wages and assistance programs should provide a liveable income. For many women, at current wage rates and benefit levels, neither work nor welfare alone can bring their families up to and out of poverty. In most states, when women on welfare work, they lose at least 80 cents in welfare benefits for every dollar they earn. These punitive regulations must be changed. Other forms of income assistance, such as unemployment insurance, paid family leaves, and temporary disability insurance, must be expanded to cover all low income families, including families who receive or have received welfare. In addition, housing and food assistance programs must be adequate to the need.

**Council of Presidents
of
National Women's Organizations**

**National Women's Pledge on Welfare Reform:
Principles for Eliminating Poverty**

Signatories

American Association of University Women (AAUW)
Business and Professional Women/USA
Catholics for a Free Choice
Center for the Advancement of Public Policy
Center for Women Policy Studies
Coalition of Labor Union Women
Economists' Policy Group on Women's Issues
Feminist Majority
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Institute for Women's Policy Research
National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL)
National Association of Commissions on Women
National Black Women's Health Project
National Center for the Early Childhood Work Force
National Council of Jewish Women
National Committee on Pay Equity
National Organization for Women (NOW)
National Women's Conference Committee
National Women's Law Center
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
Older Women's League
Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice
Wider Opportunities for Women
The Woman Activist Fund
Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

The Council of Presidents is a nonpartisan organization comprised of the leaders of over 90 women's organizations. Together, the Council of Presidents organizations represent the concerns of more than 6 million women. Preparing these principles and circulating them for endorsement among the Council of Presidents membership was undertaken by several member groups on behalf of the Council in February 1995. The list of endorsements remains open and activities to circulate and publicize the principles are expected to continue for the next several months.

Council of Presidents Chair: Susan Bianchi-Sand, Executive Director, National Committee on Pay Equity,
1126 Sixteenth Street, NW, Suite 411, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 331-7343, FAX (202) 331-7406

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL

WEDNESDAY, MAY 22, 1996 — FINAL EDITION

Mayor, 9 to 5 urge Clinton to block W-2

They join several groups seeking presidential intervention in plan

Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist and 9 to 5, the National Association of Working Women, on Tuesday joined a growing list of politicians and advocates asking President Clinton to intervene in Wisconsin's welfare reform plans.

In a letter addressed to Clinton and in remarks at a City Hall news conference, Norquist asserted that the sweeping Wisconsin Works (W-2) plan did not go far enough to overhaul the welfare system.

"W-2 does not end welfare," Norquist said. "If you read the law, you will find that it continues to offer cash grants. There is only one way to end welfare, and that is to replace it with work. That means real jobs with real paychecks."

Ellen Bravo, executive director of the Milwaukee-based 9 to 5, said: "President Clinton talked about needing to protect children. But these reforms are going to hurt children."

Bravo was referring to Clinton's national radio address Saturday, in which he conditionally endorsed Wisconsin's welfare reforms.

Bravo and several 9 to 5 members who are former welfare recipients met Monday in Washington with Vice President Al Gore and White House staffers to lobby against federal waivers that would allow W-2 to be implemented. The women were from Wisconsin and several other states.

The state needs waivers from federal rules to implement W-2, prompting several Wisconsin groups to ask the Clinton administration to block or alter Wisconsin's welfare plan significantly. Among those groups are the Wisconsin Conference of Churches, the Interfaith Conference of Greater Milwaukee, the Child Abuse Prevention Net-

work and the Milwaukee Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence.

Under W-2, conditionally guaranteed benefits would be replaced with work requirements, including two categories of jobs in which the state would pay participants flat monthly cash grants. Researchers have estimated that 75% of W-2 participants could wind up with those grants.

Norquist contended that W-2 would fail to make work pay for all of its participants, that it would give recipients with subsidized jobs better health care benefits than those who were privately employed, and that it would "perpetuate the massive bureaucracy of the current welfare system."

"How long should able-bodied people receive cash grants? Bob Dole and (Gov.) Tommy Thompson say five years," Norquist said. "But the answer ought to be zero years. That's how long people should get cash grants."

Bravo said the women from 9 to 5 outlined for Gore their criticisms of the W-2 law. They include:

- Community service jobs would pay less than the minimum wage and would make recipients ineligible for the earned income tax credit.

- Many recipients will not be able to afford co-payments required to receive child care benefits.

- Some child care would be unregulated and inadequate, opening the door to potentially unsafe conditions for children.

- W-2 does not allow education or training unless a recipient working in a private job can pay \$800, to be matched by an employer or the state, to attend vocational training after work hours.

- There is no provision for family leave in a medical emergency.

Mike Nichols, Fran Bauer and Joel Dressang of the Journal Sentinel staff contributed to this report.

Council of Presidents
of National Women's Organizations

Summary of Contacts and Activities on Welfare Reform
by Selected Member Organizations

February 1995

Prepared by the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
and the Institute for Women's Policy Research

American Association of University Women

1111 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036-4873

Contacts: Cindy Brown, (202) 785-7730; Nancy Zirkin, (202) 785-7720; Fax: (202) 872-1425

AAUW is dedicated to true welfare reform that breaks the cycle of poverty and promotes self sufficiency. To achieve this, AAUW is a member of the Coalition on Human Needs and a leader in education and job training issues. Education and training must be seen as part of a continuum of activities that result in work. Hence, welfare reform must include adequate education and job training opportunities complete with support services that prepare women for jobs in the private sector. In addition, AAUW is an active member of the Child Exclusion Task Force because welfare reform should not punish women and children for their poverty and women must retain control over their reproductive lives.

American Nurses Association

600 Maryland Ave., SW, Suite 100 W, Washington, DC 20024-2571

Contact: Rosa Gonzales, (202) 554-4444; Fax: (202) 554-0189

ANA participates in sharing information with groups and advocating for policy regarding poor women and health issues. ANA is working on the Ryan White Care Act reauthorization as well as on other legislation related to women and HIV testing, especially related to poor women. ANA is also working to provide access to early detection and information to poor women regarding breast and cervical cancer.

B'nai B'rith Women

1828 L St., NW, Suite 250, Washington, DC 20036

Contact: Maya Townsend, (202) 857-1300; Fax: (202) 857-1380

BBW currently has resolutions calling for a change in attitude toward the poor which allows poor women to retain their dignity and self respect. BBW believes that it is imperative to ensure adequate income for all people.

Business and Professional Women/USA

2012 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036

Contacts: Audrey Tayse Haynes, Executive Director; Jane Tobler, Public Relations Manager; Christopher Turman, Public Policy, (202) 293-1100; Fax: (202) 861-0298

Business and Professional Women/USA, a national organization representing 80,000 working women, is committed to the principle that economic independence should be the primary goal of welfare reform. The goal of welfare is to bring people out of poverty and into the work force. As the leading advocate for working women, BPW/USA actively supports pay equity legislation and an increase in the minimum wage as a means for women to achieve economic independence and self sufficiency. As a member of the Child Exclusion Task Force, BPW/USA is working to ensure that welfare reform addresses the needs of poor women and children.

Catholics for a Free Choice

1436 U St., NW, Suite 301, Washington, DC 20009

Contact: Greg Label, (202) 986-6093; Fax: (202) 332-7995

Catholics for a Free Choice is currently in the midst of drafting a statement of principles regarding welfare reform. CFC works on guaranteeing reproductive rights and choices for all women, regardless of income.

Center for Women Policy Studies

2000 P St., NW, Suite 508, Washington, DC 20036

Contact: Leslie R. Wolfe, President; Jennifer Tucker, Vice President; Jin Lee, Research Assistant, (202) 872-1770; Fax: (202) 296-8962

The Center for Women Policy Studies is an independent feminist policy research and advocacy institution that was founded in 1972. Throughout its history, the Center has concentrated on complex, cutting edge women's issues, with a special emphasis on the diverse needs of low income women and women of color. The Center has published *More Than Survival: Access to Higher Education for Low Income Women* (1991) and *Women, Welfare, and Higher Education: a Selected and Annotated Bibliography* (1992), both prepared by Erika Kates of Smith College. The Center's Issue Brief, "Getting Smart About Welfare" (1995) summarizes research and data on the experiences of AFDC recipients in post-secondary education. The Center's President testified before the Committee on Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources (February 2, 1995) on "Post-secondary Education: A Real Route Out of Poverty to Self-Sufficiency for Low Income Women."

Church Women United

Washington Office, Box 16

110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002

Contact: Nancy S. Chupp, Director, (202) 544-8747; Fax: (202) 543-1297

Church Women United is a national, ecumenical movement that brings together Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Greek Orthodox women to work for global justice and the empowerment of women. CWU's half a million members represent a broad spectrum of religious tradition, race, age, economic status, and ethnic background. Legislative program priorities through 1996 include advocating for public policies that provide economic alternatives for women and children in poverty and universal health care. Recent work on welfare reform includes testimony before the White House Welfare Task Force, bi-monthly legislative updates on welfare reform proposals, and phone banks to constituents on anti-poverty measures.

Clearinghouse on Women's Issues

P.O. Box 70603, Friendship Heights, MD 20813

Contact: Ruth Nadel, (202) 362-3789; Fax: (202) 638-2356

The Clearinghouse holds public forums and provides information to its members on a variety of issues important to women, including employment, child care, and health care. An upcoming forum focuses on welfare reform.

Coalition of Labor Union Women

1126 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036

Contact: Heather Hauck, (202) 466-4615; Fax: (202) 785-4563

CLUW works to expand the rights and opportunities of working women, and is especially concerned about protecting the rights of low income women and improving their job opportunities. CLUW is a member of the Child Exclusion Task Force and has endorsed its principles. CLUW will be alerting its members of legislative action and calling on them to respond.

Economists' Policy Group on Women's Issues

Contacts: Barbara Bergmann, Co-Chair, Tel./Fax (202) 537-3036; Heidi Hartmann, Co-Chair, (202) 785-5100; Fax: (202) 833-4362

The Economists' Policy Group on Women's Issues was formed in 1992 by economists concerned about the impact of public policy on women's well-being. The group has proposed a new welfare reform program, *Help for Working Parents*, as an alternative to the current AFDC program. The intent of the program is to encourage job-holding and to sustain working parents and their children in decency by guaranteeing health care, providing child care, and providing increased housing assistance to families with children. Under the HWP program, low-income, two-parent families would get the same help as single-parent families, and families would not have to go on welfare to qualify. There would be a fall-back package for parents out of jobs, consisting mostly of vouchers for necessities. A detailed description of the plan and an estimate of costs are available.

Feminist Majority

1600 Wilson Blvd., Suite 801, Arlington, VA 22209

Contacts: Harriet Trudell, Government Relations Specialist; Jennifer Jackman, Director of Policy and Research, (703) 522-2214; Fax: (703) 522-2219

The Feminist Majority has national offices on both coasts that work for the economic, political, and social empowerment of women to achieve equality. The Feminist Majority leads efforts to pass legislation and implement programs to stem antiabortion violence, which threatens the access of poor women to low-cost health care services, to end violence against women, which is often a major reason women must seek welfare assistance, and to improve women's wages through pay equity. Its sister organization, the Feminist Majority Foundation, conducts research and public education campaigns on issues of women's health, economic equity, violence against women, women's voting behavior, affirmative action, and welfare reform.

Institute for Women's Policy Research

1400 20th St., NW, Suite 104, Washington, DC 20036

Contacts: Heidi Hartmann, Director; Roberta Spalter-Roth, Director of Research; Jill Braunstein, Research Program Coordinator; Sara Allore, Assistant to the Director, (202) 785-5100; Fax: (202) 833-4362

IWPR conducts and disseminates research on the real lives and needs of women receiving welfare and other low-income families with children. Using the Census Bureau's Survey of Income and Program Participation and other data sources, IWPR studies the jobs these low-

income adults hold, their other sources of income, and the strategies they use to ensure their families' survival. IWPR also studies the low-wage labor market, micro-enterprise and self employment, contingent work including part-time and temporary jobs, collective bargaining, pay equity and opportunities for advancement, access to health insurance and other benefits such as unemployment insurance and paid and unpaid family leaves, and child care. Numerous IWPR reports and papers address welfare reform and the low-wage labor market. Dr. Spalter-Roth recently testified before the Committee on Ways and Means Subcommittee on Human Resources (February 2, 1995), releasing new research findings from IWPR's forthcoming report, *Welfare that Works: The Working Lives of AFDC Recipients*, which shows that 43 percent of women who receive welfare over a two-year period also work a substantial number of hours (about half-time) and another 30 percent spend substantial amounts of time looking for work.

National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League

1156 15th St., NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005

Contacts: Karen Schneider, Darryl Lynette Figueroa, (202) 973-3032; Fax: (202) 973-3099

The National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League works to protect the right of every woman to make personal decisions regarding the full range of reproductive choices, including preventing unintended pregnancy, bearing healthy children, and choosing legal abortion. NARAL recognizes the compelling need for comprehensive welfare reform that helps women make responsible, deliberate decisions about childbearing, rewards and encourages economic self-sufficiency, and helps reduce teenage pregnancy. NARAL opposes child exclusion laws and other welfare reform measures that would harm families, punish children, and cause some women to have abortions they do not want.

National Black Women's Health Project

1237 Ralph David Abernathy Boulevard, Atlanta, GA 30310

Public Education and Policy Office

1211 Connecticut Avenue, NW Suite 310, Washington, DC 20036

Contacts: Cynthia Newbille, Executive Director, in Atlanta, (404) 758-9590, Fax: (404) 758-9661; Julia Scott, Director, Public Education and Policy, in Washington, (202) 835-0117; Fax (202) 833-8790

The National Black Women's Health Project, is a self-help and health advocacy organization committed to improving the health of Black women. NBWHP represents many women who are disproportionately poor and therefore primarily affected by welfare reform legislation. The Center for Black Women's Wellness, established by NBWHP and based in Atlanta, serves three area housing projects and was designed to address the special concerns of low-income women. Using case studies, surveys and discussion groups of women receiving welfare, NBWHP compiles data and recommendations on the needs of welfare recipients. NBWHP also disseminates research to its members and the general public.

National Committee on Pay Equity

1126 16th St., NW, Suite 411, Washington, DC 20036

Contact: Susan Bianchi-Sand, Executive Director, (202) 331-7343; Fax: (202) 331-7406

The National Committee on Pay Equity is a nonprofit coalition of women's and civil rights organizations, labor unions, and religious, legal, professional and educational associations working exclusively on the problem of wage discrimination based on sex and race. NCPE promotes pay equity policies as a way to increase the earnings of women and people of color, thereby reducing the number of workers earning below poverty-level wages and dependent on public assistance programs. NCPE's Board of Directors represents the concerns of over 20 million workers.

National Council of Jewish Women

53 West 23rd St., 6th Floor, New York, NY 10010

1101 15th St., NW, Suite 1012, Washington, DC 20005

Contacts: Julie B. Nusbaum, Washington Representative, Tel./Fax (202) 331-7792; Deena Margolis, Legislative Assistant, in New York, (212) 645-4048; Fax (212) 645-7466

The National Council of Jewish Women is a volunteer organization, inspired by Jewish values, that works through a program of research, education, advocacy, and community service to improve the quality of life for women, children and families and strives to ensure individual rights and freedoms for all. NCJW is currently involved in several task forces on welfare reform: the Child Exclusion Task Force and the Coalition on Human Needs Legislative Committee on Welfare Reform. In addition, NCJW is working with other groups on the issues of block grants and nutrition programs. NCJW's 1995 Washington Institute, a policy and legislative training conference for its members, is upcoming and will address welfare reform.

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.,

1001 G St., NW, Suite 800, Washington, DC 20001

Contacts: Dorothy Height, President and CEO; Eleanor Hinton Hoytt, Director of National Programs, (202) 628-0015; Fax: (202) 628-0233

The National Council of Negro Women is an organization of organizations with 34 national affiliated organizations and 250 community-based sections. NCNW has as its mission improving the quality of life for African American women, their families, and communities. Operating nationally and in specific communities across the nation, NCNW sponsors educational, economic, social, cultural, and scientific self-help projects. Through its projects, NCNW strives to achieve equality of opportunity and eliminate prejudice and discrimination based on race, creed, color, sex or national origin. The national NCNW office functions as a central source for program planning.

National Women's Conference Center

16100 Golf Club Rd. #201, Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33326

Contacts: Gene Boyer, President, (305) 389-1879; Fax: (305) 389-7656; Anne Turpeau, Chair of Advisory Committee and Washington DC Representative, (202) 667-8166

The NWC Center is a 501(c)(3) organization working to implement the national plan of action for American women through education and information on issues, including welfare and welfare reform.

National Women's Conference Committee

Women's Studies, University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, WI 54701

Contact: Sarah Harder, Co-Chair, (715) 836-5717; Fax: (715) 836-2380

The National Women's Conference Committee has affiliated networks of women's organizations in 34 state capitals, many in states which are laboratories for "welfare reform." Maintaining contacts with various state models, NWCC monitors those imposing punitive or restrictive measures which block the opportunity for women to prepare for economic self-sufficiency. NWCC also connects with various women's anti-poverty initiatives at the state levels.

National Women's Law Center

1616 P St., NW, Suite 100, Washington, DC 20036

Contacts: Nancy Duff Campbell, Co-President; Elisabeth Hirschhorn Donahue, Staff Counsel, (202) 328-5160; Fax: (202) 328-5137

The National Women's Law Center is a non-profit organization that has been working since 1972 to protect and advance women's legal rights. The Center focuses on major policy areas of importance to women and their families -- with special attention given to the concerns of low-income women. The Center has targeted welfare reform, child support, child care, and tax issues as a high priority in its work this year to assure income security and family support for those families most in need. The Center monitors and provides in-depth analyses on the progress and key policy developments in welfare reform, child support, child care, and tax proposals and provides technical assistance to policy makers and advocates working on these issues. The Center is also actively working in coalition with other groups to advance reform proposals in these areas that benefit women and their families, and engaging in public education and outreach efforts to inform the public about the impact of the various proposals on women and their families.

NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund

99 Hudson St., Suite 1201, New York, NY 10013 or

120 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002

Contact: Martha Davis, Senior Staff Attorney; Susan Kraham, Staff Attorney; in New York, (212) 925-6635; Fax: (212) 226-1066; Pat Reuss, Senior Policy Analyst, in Washington, (202) 544-4470; Fax: (202) 546-8605

NOW LDEF is involved in litigation, legislative and administrative advocacy, and public education addressing poor women's legal rights. NOW LDEF is co-counsel to the plaintiffs in *C.K. v. Shalala*, a challenge to New Jersey's "child exclusion" proposal which denies AFDC benefits to children born on welfare. NOW LDEF has opposed child exclusion proposals by

testifying before state legislatures, filing comments in opposition to state waiver applications, and providing technical assistance to other groups working against these measures. NOW LDEF co-chairs the Child Exclusion Task Force, a broad-based coalition opposing child exclusion legislation on the federal level. NOW LDEF has also focused, through litigation and public education, on the ways in which violence exacerbates women's poverty and the effect of welfare reform proposals on battered women.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America

810 7th Ave., New York, NY 10019 or

1120 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 461, Washington, DC 20036

Contact: Laurie Valencia Green, in Washington, (202) 785-3351; Fax: (202) 293-4349

Planned Parenthood Federation, the world's oldest and largest voluntary reproductive health care organization, is dedicated to the principle that every individual has a fundamental right to choose when or whether to have a child. Planned Parenthood's 161 not-for-profit affiliates operate nearly 1,000 clinics in 49 states and the District of Columbia. Planned Parenthood centers provide medical and educational services for four million Americans each year, regardless of race, age, gender, sexual orientation, disability, or economic circumstances. Congressional welfare reform proposals will have a direct impact on the lives of women and their children surviving on welfare, including Planned Parenthood's clients. Nearly two-thirds of Planned Parenthood's contraceptive clients are at or below 150% of the national poverty level. Planned Parenthood believes that welfare reform must be based on fact and not myth or stereotype; that it must recognize structural economic issues; and that it must reflect underlying motives of compassion rather than punishment. Moreover, the financing of welfare reform must not come from programs that serve other vulnerable groups. Most of all, welfare reform, and all social welfare policies, must respect individual dignity, encourage self-empowerment, and ensure the fundamental right to reproductive choice.

Wider Opportunities for Women

815 15th St., NW, Suite 916, Washington, DC 20005

Contact: Cindy Marano, Executive Director; Diana Pearce, Director, Women and Poverty Project, (202) 638-3143; Fax: (202) 638-4885

Wider Opportunities for Women has worked for 30 years both nationally and in its home community to achieve economic independence and equality of opportunity for women and girls through modeling programs emphasizing literacy and nontraditional occupations. WOW's activities include convening, together with the Women and Poverty Project at WOW, the Practitioners' Panel on Welfare Reform which developed an alternative welfare reform proposal, the Act for Family Development and Independence. WOW's network includes over 500 independent women's employment and training programs in every state and the District of Columbia. Ongoing welfare reform activities at WOW include analysis of welfare reform proposals, fact sheets, and summaries of research.

Woman Activist Fund, Inc.

2310 Barbour Rd., Falls Church, VA 22043

Contact: Flora Crater, President and Chief Executive Officer (703) 573-8716;

Fax: (703) 573-8716

The Woman Activist Fund, Inc., is a non-profit, tax exempt corporation organized to research, develop, produce, and publish information for use by activists, especially women and minorities. It produces studies in activism such as the Woman Activist Guides to Lobbying, precinct politics, women candidates, and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. TWAF provides the public with information about the representative political process, especially as it affects women and minorities in the population, including women on welfare. Its sister organization, The Woman Activist, Inc., publishes *The Woman Activist*, an action bulletin for women's rights, which has been reporting on issues such as women and welfare since the early 1970's.

Women Housing Task Force

McAuley Institute, 8300 Colesville Rd., #310, Silver Spring, MD 20910

Contact: Rhoda Stauffer, Housing Development Specialist, (301) 588-8110;

Fax: (301) 588-8154

The Women Housing Task Force is a national nonprofit that works both in the field and in coalition with other housing organizations. It provides feedback and input into legislation from the field." Last year the housing work group sent working papers to the Administration's task force on housing and participated in a public hearing. The group is monitoring current legislative action and will again provide its expertise and input from the field.

Women's Actions for New Directions

691 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174

Contact: Michelle Andrews, (617) 643-4880; Fax: (617) 675-6469

WAND is a bipartisan organization which sends out an action alert to its members each month. The month of March will be focused on the Child Exclusion Task Force's efforts to prevent limiting welfare benefits to certain categories of children and mothers and on the child support enforcement legislation sponsored by Representatives Hyde and Woolsey in the U.S. Congress.

Women's Environment and Development Organization

845 3rd Ave., 15th Floor, New York, NY 10022

Contact: Anne Zill, Washington Representative, (202) 783-3035; Fax: (202) 393-3664;

Susan Davis, Executive Director, in New York, (212) 759-7982; Fax: (212) 759-8647

WEDO has 30,000 members globally and is working with them through all of the UN conferences to show the connections between environment, population, the social summit (work and poverty) and the 4th UN conference on women that argue for the empowerment of women, including the need to fight poverty. WEDO is working to show the connection between the welfare of America's women and women around the world by coordinating a global campaign. "180 days and 180 ways." and preparing a calendar of everything that is being done in the U.S. and around the world to improve the lives of women, between March 8th, International Women's Day, and September 6th, during the UN Conference on Women in Beijing.

Women's Legal Defense Fund

1875 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 710, Washington, DC 20009

Contacts: Joan Entmacher (child support, health care, safety net); Jocelyn Frye (job training and education); Donna Lenhoff (low wage and contingent workforce); (202) 986-2600; Fax: (202) 986-2539

The Women's Legal Defense Fund advocates for policies that will help women achieve economic security for themselves and their families. In support of real welfare reform, WLDF seeks to improve the child support enforcement system; ensure low-income women access to quality job training and education programs; improve the pay and benefits of workers in the low-wage and contingent workforce; expand access to health care for low-income women and their families; and maintain basic safety net protections for impoverished mothers and children. WLDF is an active member of the Child Support Task Force, the Coalition on Women and Job Training, the Child Exclusion Task Force, and the Coalition on Human Needs.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107

Contact: Deborah Zubow, (215) 563-7110; Fax: (215) 563-5527

WILPF works through advocacy and public education to improve the lives of women in many dimensions. Because it is especially concerned that the rights of poor women not be restricted, WILPF has provided information to its branches and Board, including suggestions for organizing against child exclusion legislation.

Women's Research and Education Institute

1700 18th St., NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20009

Contacts: Cynthia Costello and Barbara Krimgold, (202) 328-7070; Fax (202) 328-3514

WREI has several projects underway related to welfare and poor women. The next edition of *The American Woman*, due to be published in 1996, focuses on women's employment issues and includes a chapter on welfare-to-work issues. WREI's forthcoming book on women and mental health (1995) includes a discussion of the correlations between income, employment, teen pregnancy, education, and various mental health conditions. WREI notes that proposals to move welfare programs into block grants and reduce available funding might exacerbate child poverty, which has already increased substantially and is alarmingly high for Black and Hispanic children, 46 and 39 percent of whom, respectively, were poor in 1992.

Young Women's Project

1511 K St., NW, Suite 425, Washington, DC 20009

Contact: Michelle Banks, Project Director for Bodies Project, (202) 393-0461; Fax: (202) 393-0461

The Young Women's Project is holding discussions with high school students regarding welfare and domestic violence issues and is working to develop curricular materials on women, welfare, domestic violence, and reproductive health.

104TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. CON. RES. _____

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. WELLSTONE submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

To express the sense of the Congress that any welfare reform legislation enacted by the Congress should include provisions addressing domestic violence.

Whereas, in enacting the Violence Against Women Act, the Congress recognized the epidemic of violence that affects all aspects of women's lives;

Whereas violence against women is the leading cause of physical injury to women, and the Department of Justice estimates that every year more than 1,000,000 violent crimes against women, including assault, rape, and murder, are committed by intimate partners of the women;

Whereas the American Psychological Association has reported that violence against women is usually witnessed by the children of the direct victims, and that such child witnesses suffer severe psychological, cognitive, and physical

damage, and studies have shown that children residing in battered mothers' homes are 15 times more likely to be physically abused or neglected, and that children growing in such homes are 8 times more likely to be violent with their female partners when they reach adulthood;

Whereas violence against women dramatically affects women's workforce participation, insofar as $\frac{1}{4}$ of battered women surveyed reported that they had lost a job due, at least in part, to the effects of domestic violence, and that over $\frac{1}{2}$ of battered women reported that they had been harassed by their abuser at work;

Whereas violence against women is often exacerbated as women seek to gain economic independence, and often increases when women attend school or training programs, and batterers often prevent women from attending such programs, and often sabotage their efforts at self-improvement;

Whereas numerous studies have shown that at least 60 percent of battered women suffer from some or all of the following symptoms: terrifying flashbacks, sleep disorders, inability to concentrate, and various forms of disassociation, all of which can impair a victim's ability to obtain and retain employment;

Whereas several recent studies indicate that over 50 percent of women in welfare-to-work programs have been or currently are victims of domestic violence, and a study by the State of Washington indicates that over 50 percent of recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in that State have been so victimized;

Whereas the availability of economic support is a critical factor in a woman's ability to leave abusive situations that

threaten themselves and their children, and over 1/2 of battered women surveyed reported that they stayed with their batterers because they lacked resources to support themselves and their children;

Whereas proposals to restructure the AFDC program may impact the availability of the economic support and the safety net necessary to enable poor women to flee abuse without risking homelessness and starvation for their families; and

Whereas proposals to restructure the AFDC program by imposing time limits and increasing emphasis on work and job training should be evaluated in light of data demonstrating the extent to which domestic violence affects women's participation in such programs, and in light of the Congress' commitment to seriously address the issue of violence against women as evidenced by the enactment of the Violence Against Women Act: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives*
2 *concurring), That—*

3 (1) when the Congress considers proposed wel-
4 fare legislation, it should seriously evaluate whether
5 such welfare measure would exacerbate violence
6 against women, make it more difficult for women
7 and children to escape domestic violence, or would
8 unfairly penalize women and children victimized by
9 or at risk of violence;

10 (2) any welfare legislation enacted by the Con-
11 gress should require that any welfare-to-work, edu-

1 cation, or job placement program implemented by
2 the State should take domestic violence into ac-
3 count, by providing, among other things, mecha-
4 nisms for—

5 (A) screening and identifying recipients
6 with a history of domestic violence;

7 ~~+~~ (B) referring such recipients to counseling
8 and supportive services;

9 ~~+~~ (C) tolling time limits for recipients victim-
10 ized by domestic violence; and

11 (D) waiving, pursuant to a determination
12 of good cause, other program requirements such
13 as residency requirements, child support co-
14 operation requirements, and family cap provi-
15 sions, in cases where compliance with such re-
16 quirements would make it more difficult for the
17 recipients to escape domestic violence or un-
18 fairly penalize recipients victimized by or at risk
19 of further violence;

20 (3) any welfare legislation enacted by the Con-
21 gress should include a provision requiring that the
22 Comptroller General should develop and implement a
23 comprehensive study of the incidence and effect of
24 domestic violence on AFDC recipients, including a
25 study of the extent to which domestic violence both

1 precipitates and prolongs women's and children's
2 poverty and the need for AFDC; and

3 (4) any welfare reform legislation adopted by
4 the States that contains a welfare-to-work, edu-
5 cation, or job placement program should take do-
6 mestic violence into account, by providing, among
7 other things, mechanisms for—

8 (A) screening and identifying recipients
9 with a history of domestic violence;

10 (B) referring such recipients to counseling
11 and supportive services;

12 (C) tolling time limits for recipients victim-
13 ized by domestic violence; and

14 (D) waiving other program requirements,
15 pursuant to a determination of good cause,
16 such as residency requirements, child support
17 cooperation requirements, and family cap provi-
18 sions, in cases where compliance with such re-
19 quirements would make it more difficult for the
20 recipients and their children to escape domestic
21 violence or unfairly penalize recipients victim-
22 ized by or at risk of further violence.

SUMMARY OF BATTERED WOMENS EMPLOYMENT PROTECTION ACT
Representative Lucille Roybal-Allard

Findings:

1. Violence against women is the leading cause of injury to women, and the Department of Justice estimates that intimate partners commit more than one million violent crimes against women every year;
2. Violence against women dramatically affects women's workforce participation, insofar as one-quarter of battered women surveyed had lost a job due in part to the effects of domestic violence, and over half of battered women had been harassed by their abusers at work;
3. The availability of economic support is a critical factor in women's ability to leave abusive situations, and over half of battered women surveyed stayed with their batterers because they lacked the resources to support themselves and their children;
4. The Federal Advisory Council on Unemployment Compensation found that in 31 states battered women who leave work or are discharged as a result of domestic violence are ineligible for unemployment benefits;
5. A study by the New York State Dept. of Labor found that domestic violence victims frequently hide their victimization and do not disclose the domestic violence as a reason for their problems with the job or need to separate from employment, when filing for unemployment insurance benefits;
6. The same study found that 75% of employed victims of domestic violence must use company time to communicate with doctors, lawyers, shelters, counselors, family and friends, because they cannot do so at home;
7. Existing federal and state legislation fails to allow battered women to take leave from work to seek legal assistance and redress, counseling, or assistance with safety planning and activities.

Therefore, the purpose of this legislation is to prevent and reduce the incidence of domestic violence by enabling battered women to retain employment and gain the financial independence necessary to leave abusive situations by:

- ★ 1. Requiring that states provide unemployment insurance for battered women who are forced to leave their employment as a result of domestic violence;
- ★ 2. Ensuring that employed victims of domestic violence have access to reasonable leave to seek medical assistance, counseling and/or safety planning, legal assistance and make necessary court appearances without penalty from their employer.

Draft 6/17

The Battered Women's Employment Protection Act

Section I. Findings and Purposes

(a) Findings

Congress finds that--

- (1) Violence against women is the leading cause of physical injury to women, and the Department of Justice estimates that intimate partners commit more than one million violent crimes against women every year;
- (2) The Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts that women will account for two-thirds of all new entrants into the workforce between now and the year 2000;
- (3) Violence against women dramatically affects women's workforce participation, insofar as one-quarter of battered women surveyed had lost a job due at least in part to the effects of domestic violence, and over half of battered women had been harassed by their abuser at work;
- (4) The availability of economic support is a critical factor in women's ability to leave abusive ~~situations that threaten themselves and their children, and over half of battered women surveyed~~ stayed with their batterers because they lacked resources to support themselves and their children;
- (5) A survey of state unemployment insurance agency directors by the Federal Advisory Council on Unemployment Compensation found that in 31 states battered women who leave work as a result of domestic violence do not qualify for unemployment benefits, in 9 states the determination often varies depending on the facts and circumstances, and in only 13 states are they usually considered qualified for unemployment benefits;
- (6) A study by the New York State Department of Labor found that domestic violence victims frequently hide their victimization and do not disclose the domestic violence as a reason for their problems with the job or need to separate from employment, when filing for unemployment insurance benefits;
- (7) The same New York State study found that 75% of employed victims of domestic violence must communicate with doctors, lawyers, shelters, counselors, family and friends from their workplaces because they cannot do so at home;
- (8) Forty-nine percent of senior executives recently surveyed said domestic violence has a harmful effect on their company's productivity; forty-seven percent said domestic violence negatively affects attendance; and forty-four percent said domestic violence increases health care costs; and the Bureau of National Affairs estimates that domestic violence costs employers between three and five million dollars per year; and
- (9) Existing federal and state legislation fails expressly to authorize battered women to take leave

from work to seek legal assistance and redress, counseling, or assistance with safety planning and activities.

(b) Purposes

Pursuant to the affirmative power of Congress to enact this Act under section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, as well as under section 8 of Article I of the Constitution, the purposes of this Act are--

(1) to promote the national interest in reducing domestic violence by enabling victims of domestic violence to maintain the financial independence necessary to leave abusive situations, to achieve safety and minimize the physical and emotional injuries from domestic violence, and to reduce the devastating economic consequences of domestic violence, by:

- (a) providing unemployment insurance for victims of domestic violence who are forced to leave their employment as a result of domestic violence;
- (b) entitling employed victims of domestic violence to take reasonable leave to seek medical help, legal assistance, counseling and/or safety planning and assistance without penalty from their employer.

(2) to promote the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment by protecting the civil and economic rights of victims of domestic violence and by furthering the equal opportunity of women and men to employment and economic self-sufficiency;

(3) to minimize the negative impact on interstate commerce from dislocations of employees and harmful effects on productivity, health care costs, and employer costs from domestic violence; and

(4) to accomplish the purposes described in paragraphs (1), (2) and (3) in a manner that accommodates the legitimate interests of employers.

Section 2. Unemployment Compensation

(1) In General -- The Federal Unemployment Tax Act, 26 U.S.C. Sec. 3304 (19--), is hereby amended by substituting a new paragraph (19), with existing paragraph (19) now re-numbered as paragraph (20), as follows:

- "(19) compensation shall be provided where an individual is separated from employment due to circumstances directly resulting from the individual's experience of domestic violence.
 - (A) For the purpose of determining whether an employee's separation from employment is 'directly resulting' from the individual's experience of domestic

violence, it shall be sufficient if the separation from employment resulted from:

- (i) the employee's reasonable fear of future domestic violence at or en route to or from her place of employment;
- (ii) the employee's wish to relocate to another geographic area in order to avoid future domestic violence against her or her family;
- (iii) the employee's need to recover from traumatic stress resulting from her experience of domestic violence;
- (iv) the employer's denial of the employee's request for temporary leave from employment to deal with domestic violence and its aftermath, as provided in Section 3 below; or
- (v) any other respect in which domestic violence causes the employee to reasonably believe that termination of employment is necessary for the future safety of herself or her family.

(B) Where state law requires the employee to have made reasonable efforts to retain employment as a condition for receiving unemployment compensation, it shall be sufficient that the employee:

- (i) sought protection from or assistance in responding to domestic violence, including but not limited to calling the police, or seeking legal, social work, medical, clergy or other assistance;
- (ii) sought safety, including refuge in a shelter or temporary or permanent relocation, whether or not she actually obtained such refuge or accomplished such relocation; or
- (iii) reasonably believed that options such as a leave, transfer, or alternative work schedule would not be sufficient to guarantee her or her family's safety.

(C) Where state law requires the employee to actively search for employment after separation from employment as a condition for receiving unemployment compensation, such requirement shall be deemed to be met where the employee is temporarily unable to actively search for employment because she is engaged in seeking safety or relief for herself or her family from domestic violence, including:

- (i) going into hiding or relocating or attempting to do so, including activities associated with such relocation or hiding, such as seeking to obtain sufficient shelter, food, schooling for children, or other necessities of life for her or her family;
- (ii) actively pursuing legal protection or remedies, including meeting with the police, going to court to make inquiries or file papers, meeting with attorneys or attending court proceedings; or
- (iii) participating in psychological, social, or religious counseling or support activities to assist herself in ending domestic violence.

(2) In general – The Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. Sec. 503 (a) (1988) is hereby amended to insert a new subparagraph (a)(4), as follows:

"(4) Such methods of administration as will ensure that claims reviewers and hearing personnel are adequately trained in the nature and dynamics of domestic violence and in methods of ascertaining information about possible experiences of domestic violence, so that employment separations stemming from domestic violence are reliably screened, identified and adjudicated."

(3) In general – The Federal Unemployment Tax Act, 26 U.S.C. 3306 is hereby amended to insert two new subsections, (u) and (v), as follows:

"(u) 'Domestic violence' includes 'abuse' committed against an employee or a family member of the employee by --

- (i) a current or former spouse of the employee;
- (ii) a person with whom the employee shares a child in common;
- (iii) a person who is cohabitating with or has cohabitated with the employee as a romantic or intimate partner; or
- (iv) a person from whom the employee would be eligible for protection under the ~~domestic violence, protection order, or family laws of the jurisdiction in which the~~ employee resides or the employer is located.

(v) The term "abuse" includes, but is not limited to--

- (i) physical acts resulting in, or threatening to result in, physical injury;
- (ii) sexual abuse, sexual activity involving a dependent child, or threats of or attempts at sexual abuse;
- (iii) mental abuse, including threats, intimidation, acts designed to induce terror, or restraints on liberty, and
- (iv) deprivation of medical care, housing, food or other necessities of life.

Section 3. Leave from Employment

(1) In General – This Act further requires all employers subject to either the federal Family and Medical Leave Act, 29 U.S.C. Secs. 2601 et seq., any state law addressing family, medical, sick or other kind of leave from employment, or an employment benefits program or policy or collective bargaining agreement addressing family, medical, sick or other kind of leave from employment, to provide leave to employees seeking temporary absences from employment to deal with domestic violence and its aftermath, as follows:

(2) Existing Leave Useable for Domestic Violence

Where family, medical, sick or any other kind of leave from employment is available to employees pursuant to either the federal Family and Medical Leave Act, 29 U.S.C. Secs. 2601 et seq., any state

law, or an existing employment benefits program or plan or collective bargaining agreement, employees shall be entitled to use such leave for the purpose of dealing with domestic violence and its aftermath, as defined in subparagraph 4 below.

(3) Minimum Leave for Domestic Violence

(a) Any employee who is not entitled to leave from employment for the purpose of dealing with domestic violence and its aftermath pursuant to paragraph (2) above, or who has used up his or her available leave pursuant to paragraph (2) above, other than an employee who has taken 12 weeks of leave for the purpose of dealing with domestic violence and its aftermath, shall be entitled to take up to 10 days per year of unpaid leave without penalty, for that purpose.

(b) An employee may elect, or an employer may require the employee to substitute accrued paid leave for any part of the 10 days of unpaid leave provided under paragraph (3)(I) of this Section.

(4) The following activities constitute means of "dealing with domestic violence and its aftermath," which shall render an employee eligible for leave under this Act:

- (a) experiencing domestic violence;
- ~~(b) seeking medical attention for injuries caused by domestic violence, except for "serious health conditions" where covered by the Family and Medical Leave Act, 29 U.S.C. Sec. 2601 et seq.;~~
- (c) seeking legal assistance or remedies, including communicating with the police or an attorney, and/or participating in any legal proceeding related to domestic violence;
- (d) attending support groups for victims of domestic violence;
- (e) obtaining psychological counseling related to experiences of domestic violence;
- (f) participating in safety planning and other actions to increase safety from future domestic violence, including temporary or permanent relocation; and
- (g) any other activity necessitated by domestic violence which must be undertaken during hours of employment to avoid the risk of further domestic violence.

(5) Definitions

For purposes of this Section the term --

(a) "Employer" includes any person subject to either the federal Family and Medical Leave Act, 29 U.S.C. Sec. 2601 et seq., any state law addressing family, medical, sick or any other kind of leave from employment, or any employer granting family, medical, sick or other kind of leave from employment under an employment benefits program or policy or collective bargaining agreement in effect as of the effective date of this Act.

(b) "Employee" refers to any person eligible to receive leave pursuant to the federal Family and Medical Leave Act, 29 U.S.C. Sec. 2601 et seq., any state law addressing medical,

family, sick or other kind of leave from employment or an employment benefits program or policy or collective bargaining agreement in effect as of the effective date of this Act.

(c) Domestic violence has the meaning assigned to such term by Section 2(3) of this Act.

Section 4. Sufficiency of Proof

(1) In General -- In determining whether an employee meets the requirements set forth in Section 2, paragraph (1) and (3) and Section 3 paragraphs (2), (3) and (4), the employer or claim reviewer may require the employee to provide a statement along with either:

(a) documentation such as police or court records, or other documentation from a shelter worker, attorney, clergy, medical or other professional from whom the employee has sought assistance in dealing with domestic violence; or

(b) other corroborating evidence, such as a statement from any other individual with knowledge of the circumstances which provide the basis for the claim, or physical evidence of domestic violence, such as photographs, torn or bloody clothes, etc.

Section 5. Effect on other laws and Employment Benefits

(1) More protective

Nothing in this Act or any amendment to this Act shall be construed to supersede any provision of any Federal, State or local law, collective bargaining agreement or other employment benefit program which provides greater unemployment compensation or leave benefits for employed victims of domestic violence than the rights established under this Act or any amendment to this Act.

(2) Less protective

The rights established for employees under this Act or any amendment made to this Act shall not be diminished by any collective bargaining agreement, any employment benefit program or plan, or any State or local law.

Section 6. Enforcement of Section 3, Leave from Employment

(1) Federal and Private Employers

(a) Public Enforcement

The powers, remedies and procedures set forth in 29 U.S.C. Sec. 2617 (b), (c), (d) and (e) shall be the powers, remedies and procedures provided under this Act for the public enforcement of any alleged violations of Section 3 of this Act against any federal or private employer.

(b) Private Enforcement

The remedies and procedures set forth in 29 U.S.C. Sec. 2617 (a) shall be the remedies and procedures pursuant to which an employee may initiate a legal action against a federal or private employer for alleged violations of Section 3 of this Act.

(2) State Employers

(a) Public Enforcement

The Secretary shall have the powers, remedies and procedures set forth in 29 U.S.C. Sec. 2617 (b), (c), (d) and (e) for the purpose of public enforcement of any alleged violations of Section 3 of this Act against any State employer.

(b) Qui Tam Actions

(i) An employee of a State employer may bring a civil action for a violation of Section 3 of this Act for the employee and for the United States government (a "Qui Tam" action). The action shall be brought in the name of the United States government. The action may be dismissed only if the court and the Secretary give written consent to the dismissal stating their reasons for consenting. The Qui Tam plaintiff may recover damages or injunctive relief to the same extent provided in paragraph (1)(b) above.

(ii) The right provided by paragraph (2)(b)(i) to bring a Qui Tam action shall terminate on the filing of a complaint by the Secretary in an action seeking damages or monetary relief on behalf of the affected employee under Paragraph (2)(a) of this Section, unless that action is dismissed without prejudice on motion of the Secretary.

(3) Employer Liability Under other Laws

Nothing in this Act shall be construed to limit the liability of a private or federal employer to an employee for harm suffered relating to the employee's experience of domestic violence pursuant to any other state or federal law or legal remedy.

Prisoners of Abuse
Domestic Violence and Welfare Receipt

A second report of the Women, Welfare and Abuse Project

Jody Raphael
Director, Taylor Institute

April 1996

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I. INTRODUCTION

At age 20, Louise met a man, and enjoyed a normal romantic relationship with him, but when she got a job as a warehouse supervisor and "made more money than he did, all my problems started. He worked days and I worked nights. He drank any time he was not working." The drinking led to thoughts of jealousy, verbal and mental abuse, and eventually physical abuse. The drinking also led to her partner's losing his job every six months or so.

"It got to the point where he painted our windows black and did not allow us to visit relatives. He constantly yelled that we were not to speak to anyone. I had to wear turtle-necks, because he choked me many times and left bruises. I knew not to speak to anyone about bruises, cuts, wounds, or black eyes. If I did, he would hurt the children." Louise's head was banged against walls, doors, the floor, and the refrigerator. She was smothered with a pillow while sleeping. If Louise spoke with anyone or tried to do something about it, the physical violence became worse, leading her to believe that it was better not to say anything.

After 13 years of employment, Louise's employer asked her to leave because it became more and more obvious that "I wasn't quite altogether." Louise then went on AFDC to support her children. In 1995 Louise became suicidal. She spent a week at a mental institution and now goes to therapy on an outpatient basis. Several months later she enrolled in the JOBS NEW DIRECTION Program at Goodwill Community Services in Colorado Springs and earned her GED on January 24, 1996. With the help of that program she was able to separate safely from her abuser. Currently she is enrolled at Blair Junior College to become a paralegal. "I want to help others like me, before they become obituaries."

But can Louise make it back in the world of work? She takes three psychotropic medications for her condition. The bruising and jarring of her brain along with eye injuries cause frequent and intolerable headaches. Louise needs to develop the organizational skills necessary for successful school completion. Due to her abuse, Louise was never able to plan her life, because "any minute or hour of any given day, I could be dead. I saw no importance to it. My life was fear, insecurity, confusion, uncertainty, worry, pain and many days of wishing I was dead, since death was the final escape. One might say I became the 'walking dead' with no direction. I was never safe."

Therapy was necessary for Louise to properly recover from the traumatic events which were a part of her life for over 20 years. On-going support will also be essential, as Louise continues to face major barriers to independent living.

"I still encounter physical and mental barriers and I always will. In order to remain stable, I think these things to myself: "In a time long ago, in a land far, far away"- and "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow." They help me to remember and to survive.

This is no fairy tale, although I wish it were. At least, then, I could close the book."

Betty, a high school drop-out with two children, met her abuser and the father of her children when she was 14 years of age. Although she intended to depend upon her partner for support, she was forced to apply for AFDC because he was never able to earn enough on a consistent basis. Betty realizes now that she was escaping her own family. Betty's father, a violent abuser, put her 13-year old brother in a bucket, poured gasoline on him, and threw in a lit match. Although her mother was intimidated against testifying in court against her husband, Betty's aunt did. Afterwards he went home, shot Betty's mother seven times, and was shooting at Betty's sister as her mother crawled down to the first floor to alert the neighbors. The twins Betty's mother was carrying did not survive, although Betty's mother did emerge intact after eleven months in the hospital. She returned home, however, only to become a confirmed alcoholic.

Betty's partner, who never could keep a job more than eight months at a stretch, never let Betty complete her education or get a job. Any time she tried, the mental and physical abuse escalated, and she gave in to protect herself and her children from further harm.

When Betty enrolled in a year-long licensed practical nursing course, her partner seemed to go along with her employment goals, lulling Betty into thinking that everything was going to be all right. She now sees that *"he got more intimidated the closer I got to it."* For this reason, he instigated a major argument and inflicted severe physical abuse the night before a key examination in her course. Sleep-deprived and profoundly depressed by the renewed onset of the abuse, Betty failed the test and was not able to continue in the program. Betty gave up her dreams and stayed at home again. *"It paralyzed me. I said to myself, oh my God, he is still going to beat me up no matter what I do. I got put out of the program. I was so paralyzed that I just stuck at home with him. I gave up."*

But after her abuser put a loaded gun to her head and played Russian Roulette about six months later, Betty left him with the assistance of the Chicago Commons Employment Training Center, which helped her plan for escape into a battered women's shelter.

The stalking began after she left her abuser and got a part-time job. Her abuser stalked her, Betty says, *"out of jealousy. He did not want me to succeed. He did not want me to have anything. Everything I had he wanted to take away from me. I was going to the grocery store and I had two bags of groceries. He stalked me and he would knock my groceries out of my hand. He tried to strangle me in front of the office. He wasn't trying to kill me, he wanted my bosses to see it so that I would lose my job."*

He stalked her one morning as she waited to board the bus for work. Betty ran into a Seven-eleven store, where a helpful counter clerk

directed her to the women's room, told her to lock herself in, and called the police. The police arrived in a timely fashion and handcuffed the stalker, who was now in the store creating a scene and pulling groceries from the shelves. Betty was driven to work on time by police escort. Her employer never knew, but the difficulty Betty faced with concentrating that morning is beyond imagining. Although lodging and prosecuting charges against her abuser for stalking put her and her children in increased danger, Betty persevered. " I believed that he was willing to commit suicide and even murder because he was afraid to go on with his life. The fear was very real. But I thought I was going to be dead anyway, so what did it matter? After 13 years, I wanted to be free, and if I couldn't be free, nothing mattered any more."

Betty now works on a full-time basis and is off welfare after eight years of AFDC receipt. The scars, however, remain. At work, Betty finds herself too passive when dealing with her supervisor, and often reacts inappropriately angrily to criticism on the job. Because of this problem she and her supervisor have been forced to attend special counseling sessions. Betty also continues to suffer from depression and difficulty with continuing on in life. "It still doesn't seem real to me. Everyday that I go through my life it seems like one day I'm going to wake up and it is all going to be gone. I need to focus more on the present and future and less on the past, but there doesn't seem to be a separation between past, present and future, they all go together. I still cry at night, I still have nightmares, I still dream that I am with him and my dreams are more real than the life that I am actually living. It is really hard to go on."

Many grass-roots welfare-to-work and job training providers have learned over the past few years that many women on welfare have a formidable obstacle on the road to work. Of the men who move in and out of the lives of women on AFDC, many do not want their partners to become independent. In fact, many women, and the welfare-to-work and job training programs which help them, report that these men sabotage their efforts to move from welfare to work, frequently resorting to violence to prevent women from completing employment training programs or from entering the work force.

Taylor Institute's January 1995 report, *Domestic Violence: Telling the Untold Welfare-to-Work Story*, presented data from twelve-grass roots programs, establishing the connection between current and past domestic violence and long-term welfare receipt. As a result of widespread national dissemination of that report, Taylor Institute has heard from additional social service providers and from women on welfare themselves. All have confirmed the existence of the domestic violence barrier to the transition from welfare to work.

The experiences of both women and social service providers have helped to shape this follow-up report. With the assistance of participants like Louise, Betty, and others who have been graciously willing to share the often painful details of their

lives, we are now able to more fully document and understand the many different ways in which domestic violence prevents women from getting off welfare. From listening to the women we are also able to comprehend that even past violence creates permanent scars and psychological injuries that women must bravely overcome time and time again as they seek to create independent lives for themselves.

In Part I of this follow-up report, we will describe the many ways in which domestic violence prevents successful completion of job training programs and interferes with employment retention. In Part II we will present additional data documenting the extent of the problem in grass-roots programs' caseloads. Lastly, in Part III we will make some preliminary welfare reform policy recommendations which this data mandates.

II. THE STORIES OF MALE SABOTAGE

The stories which Taylor Institute has collected from all around the country include multiple cases of the following:

In-Home Sabotage

- One woman's partner surreptitiously turned off the alarm clock, set by her to make sure she would be on time for a job interview.
- One woman's partner cut off all her hair because he believed, correctly, that she would be too embarrassed to return to work with such short hair. Men will inflict other visible injuries like black eyes, hoping their partners will not return to the program out of embarrassment, and will be expelled from the programs for non-attendance or unexplained absences. *"My father would inflict black eyes, bruises all over my mother's body, and knock her teeth out. My mom couldn't go to work and was ashamed to be around any of her friends because of the way she looked,"* explains one AFDC participant. Abusers rightfully fear the influence of the workplace. Explains another participant: *"My mom was working and made some friends at work. My dad did not like it. So he would constantly harass my mom with threats of beatings. My mom got tired of the abuse and finally decided to leave him with the help of her friends from work. Before that she never had a way to leave, no help, and no money."* Another participant states that she knows she can't hold a job because she is bruised up a lot, but can't leave her abuser because she doesn't have a job and can't support herself and her children on the welfare check alone.
- Women's partners hide or destroy books, or tear up completed homework assignments. Explains one who experienced this kind of sabotage, *"It was really hard, I was really depressed at that time. I felt like a chicken with its head cut off. If he walked into the house and I was doing my homework, he would start ranting and raving, and saying, why isn't the garbage thrown out? Why isn't dinner ready, or something, just to stop me from doing what I had to do. I was going home and trying to do everything so he would shut up, and coming here to the program and trying to do what I had to do here."*
- Men hide or destroy women's clothing, including their winter coats, so that they are unable to leave the house to take the GED test or complete an important job interview.
- Men get into fights and inflict violence the night or morning before key events like the GED test or a second job interview. Writes Karen Brown, formerly with Bronx Community College's City Works Program (Bronx, New York), *"Often students will get into altercations with their partners before such crucial events, causing them either to miss the event altogether or arrive in such an agitated state that their performance is compromised. After this became a pattern I personally began to suspect that it was not a coincidence that these events were occurring right before the*

important job-related event that was important for the student."

- Another participant reports that when she found employment her partner hounded her on the job. When she got her first paycheck he threw her and her two boys out on the street and locked her out of the house. "One hundred and twelve dollars and two boys and where could I find food and lodging?" Another reported that "I was working and really enjoyed my job but it caused too much turmoil in our relationship so he forced me to quit. When my abuser was at work, he had one of his friends watch me."

- Participants living in domestic violence report difficulty in concentration and success at GED and job training programs. This problem is the result of coping with domestic violence, explains Betty. "You live inside your own world and you can't deal with reality, people can't penetrate it, can't get through to it, because you're afraid that if you come to reality, it is going to hurt. It is like a cloud. It protects you from when he is coming at you, calling you names, or getting physically violent with you, it is like you can take yourself out of yourself." This coping mechanism hampers the ability to learn and succeed at new tasks.

Child Care

- Women's partners promise to provide needed child care so that they can attend a special career event such as a job fair or interview, but fail to show up or arrive inebriated when needed.

- Some boyfriends who are the fathers of the children make the students feel guilty about being away from them during part-time or full-time employment schedules, especially if the children are young. "It is critically important that women trying to make the transition from welfare to work have quality child care options (both family child care and center-based care) so they can reject their boyfriends' attempts to make them feel guilty. Instead, women need to feel comfortable and even 'good' about placing their child in a family child care or center-based care arrangement," explains Karen Brown of Bronx Community College's City Works Program.

- A participant in the California GAIN Program (Greater Avenues for Independence) in Riverside County described the harassment perpetrated by her ex-abuser at the babysitters. "I ended up losing my job because he would go to the babysitter and say 'I'm here to pick up my kids.' I'd have to go and get them because he could call a police officer and take them, because they are his children. It was ugly, and I ended up losing my job because of it."

- Boyfriends refuse to provide needed child care even when they are not working or are otherwise available. "I would-tell him, I want to go back to school and the minute I would say that he would say, 'Well find a babysitter.' He was already putting an obstacle- I did not say, 'You're going to watch the kids.' I did not even say that, so that is why I knew I couldn't share too much with him, because it was like he was going to put all the negatives that he

has upon me."

Stalking

• Participants report their abusers coming to the GED or job training program, intimidating staff, and attempting to drag them out of the program. Many programs report concerns about the safety of their employees and have had to take often expensive steps to strengthen security at the program to keep abusers off the premises. One participant reported that her stalker threatened numerous times to kill her case manager at the welfare-to-work program. Others report that their abusers come to the educational program to check out whether there are any men students; when they see for themselves that the participants are all women, they allow their partners to continue. These women understand, however, that the line will be drawn at workplace participation, where men will be present. *"He's desperately afraid that I will find somebody else,"* said one participant who has been on AFDC for 15 years.

• Participants often report seeing their abusers on the sidewalk watching and waiting for them at the end of the day. One participant described how her abuser, from whom she had separated, grabbed her by the hair, threw her into the car, and kidnapped her by force for a 48-hour period. *"I am determined to get my GED. The only way I won't get it is if he kidnaps me and takes me. He's done it before."*

• A former welfare participant reported that she had been unsuccessfully applying for jobs over a two-year period. Eventually she noticed she was being trailed by a particular van. When the license plate was checked she discovered that it was a surveillance company hired by her former boyfriend. She discovered he would then call the potential employer and say whatever it would take to make certain that she would not be hired. Only when she was able to halt this behavior was she able to land a job.

• Another participant reported that her abuser would trump up police charges against her, which required her to go to court repeatedly. She lost two jobs in the last six months as a result. Frequent court appearances for pursuing orders of protection, violations of orders, or for stalking also seriously interfere with the victim's ability to maintain a job.

• One participant's abuser came to the job to harass her so frequently that she had to be transferred to a job in another section.

• Another participant's stalker broke into her house and deliberately stole the gun that she needed for her job as a security guard.

• Welfare workers and grass-roots providers report that the women's partners come to appointments with them, often refusing to leave the women's side and have to be ordered to do so. One provider reports, "We operate a three-week pre-employment module for AFDC women in our state who are mandated to attend. You can imagine our surprise when we saw most of the young women driven to the program in the morning by the guys, and the men, lined up, waiting in their cars, to pick them up at the end of the day."

• The necessity to escape a stalker often makes work impossible. One woman, escaping a batterer whose assault put her in the hospital twice, explained: "I tried to get away, but he just, you know, he found me everywhere I went. It came to the point where I was hiding out."

• Stalking seriously interferes with the participants' ability to perform at job training or on the job. Explained one victim, who had left her abuser and moved in with a supportive uncle, "I was constantly aggravated. I couldn't function. I couldn't sit, I couldn't think, I was always wondering, if I walk out of this building, is he going to be outside? I finally had enough courage to lock him up."

Post-traumatic Stress Disorder

Some women who have left domestic violence behind find that their trauma is not over. One participant was attacked so brutally she ended up in the hospital for weeks. Eventually she left home with \$23 and her children and is now employed. She states that she lies awake in bed, jumping at every creak. At no time does she feel safe; she walks down the streets constantly looking and searching. It is difficult to get rid of the terror. "He told me that he'd find me. I believe him. One day, I will open my door and he will be out there. I don't care where I go... I can't forget. Every time I look in the mirror, I see the scars... Even if he was dead, I still wouldn't feel safe."

Post-traumatic stress disorder, an accepted psychiatric diagnosis only since 1980, describes the effects which are often the results of rape, domestic battering, and incest. As graphically described by Louise and Betty in the Introduction to this report, symptoms include poor concentration, markedly diminished interest in significant activities, and a sense of foreshortened future. Other trauma victims report difficulty in dealing with control and supervision on the job. Recognition of the trauma is central to the recovery process, which often requires specialized treatment.

Death

Two recent murders involving domestic violence illustrate the single unifying thread in these women's stories. In each case, the woman had left the relationship and had also obtained employment or was close to employment. Most significantly, in each case, the abuser had no employment or success on the job.

In September 1995, Betty Clark, her three children, and her ex-husband Mark Clark were blown up and killed as a result of Mark's installing and detonating bombs in his car. Betty had agreed to meet Mark one last time to take the children for school clothes. Betty was at the tail end of a process she intended to make her independent and capable of supporting her family on her own. Mark Clark didn't seem able to keep a job, and had recently quit the job he had at Wal-Mart which Betty had hoped might be a career for him. Eventually Betty Clark left her husband, and earned her GED from a local welfare-to-work program in rural Maryland. Subsequently she moved to the Baltimore area where she was studying to become a medical secretary at the time of her death. One acquaintance told the Baltimore Sun, "If he couldn't have her and watch those kids grow up, no one else could."

On February 12, 1996, Benito Oliver walked into the Koepfel Volkswagen dealership in Woodside, Queens where Galina Komar worked as finance manager and shot her once in the head with a .44-caliber revolver. Mr. Oliver then shot himself in the head. Both died instantly. Almost a year ago, after she came to work with stitches in her head and bruises on her face, Komar quit her job at another auto dealership and moved with her daughter to California. Oliver tracked her down and brought her back. By then, her friends had convinced Galina to overcome her fears and press charges. When she did, he threatened to kill her. Komar had found a new job, but Oliver tracked her down there and was evicted from the premises when he showed up there to harass her. Several weeks later he returned, this time with a loaded gun.

Galina Komar's mother told the New York Daily News, "He said, 'I don't have a job. I have nothing to lose. I'm going to kill myself and everybody.'"

III. BEYOND ANECDOTES: WHAT GRASS-ROOTS PROGRAMS SAY ABOUT THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

To our knowledge there has been only one formal study of the entire AFDC caseload. The Washington State Institute for Public Policy's Family Income Study asked a representative sample of the entire AFDC population in the State of Washington in 1992 if they had been physically or sexually abused as adults. Sixty percent reported some type of abuse. Unfortunately the study did not differentiate between current and past abuse.

Until a comprehensive survey of a state's AFDC caseload is completed, it will be necessary to rely on data from programs working at the grass-roots with welfare participants in literacy, GED, job training, and job placement programs. Taylor Institute has been able to assemble the following new data:

The Chicago Commons West Humboldt Employment Training Center (ETC)

The Chicago Commons West Humboldt Employment Training Center (ETC) has been serving long-term welfare participants on Chicago's westside and tracking the incidence of domestic violence since 1991. ETC provides comprehensive welfare-to-work services, including case management, one-site literacy, GED, and English-As-A-Second Language, family literacy, child care, and health care. ETC's students are a mixture of voluntary and mandatory participants. *It is also important to note that ETC defines domestic violence as both verbal and physical abuse and coercion by men directed at adult women in intimate relationships, a definition intended to take in the full range of physical and non-physical means used by men to coercively control women. Other program data, to be discussed below, breaks abuse into physical and non-physical coercion.*

The following statistics describe the characteristics of the 91 women receiving AFDC who entered ETC between July 1, 1994 and June 30, 1995. (Note: statistics for the group which entered between July 1, 1993 and June 30, 1994 are virtually identical.)

- 56% were current victims of domestic violence when they entered ETC.
- 26% were past domestic violence victims.
- 23% were currently addicted to drugs or abusing alcohol.
- 15% were past or recovering drug or alcohol abusers.
- 12% were past victims of sexual assault or incest survivors.
- 38% of all households had at least one child suffering from a severe learning disability, behavior disorder, or mental illness or depression.

ETC has attempted to establish a correlation between these factors and success or failure in the program. Participants who drop-out prior to meeting their educational or employment goal do experience current domestic violence and current drug and alcohol abuse in far greater percentages than those who succeed. Of 31 participants who dropped out of the program within the year:

- 71% were current domestic violence victims;
- 19% were past domestic violence victims; and
- 50% of all the dropouts were currently addicted to drugs or abusing alcohol.

Of 60 participants who remained in the program:

- 50% were current domestic violence victims;
- 32% were past domestic violence victims; and
- 13% were currently addicted to drugs or abusing alcohol.

From these statistics, ETC reports that it is clear that current domestic violence and drug abuse can be overcome and do not serve as absolute barriers to success, but they often prevent participants from being able to follow-through with their plans. Drug and alcohol addiction appears to be the major cause of program drop-out.

Passaic County Board of Social Services

The Passaic County Board of Social Services provides an eight week Life Skills Program for 30 hours per week, a "job readiness" component of an overall program in which all non-exempt AFDC recipients in the county are required to participate. In 1995, approximately 845 women were enrolled in the program. The goal of the Life Skills module is to equip participants with personal and work skills so as to be able to take advantage of further opportunities for self-sufficiency, including basic education, vocational training, work experience, on-the-job training, and job placement. Because the program had observed domestic violence as a barrier but could only corroborate it anecdotally, it began to administer a uniform questionnaire to participants at the time during Life Skills when security and mutual support had been established and participants had already shared their life experiences with the class. By this method the program will sample 10 to 15% of the total non-exempt AFDC population in Passaic County, New Jersey in 1996.

From an initial sample of 105 participants, gathered in December 1995, the program reports:

- 67% are currently in a relationship with a man;
- 58% have been a victim of physical domestic abuse;
- 21% are currently a victim of physical domestic abuse;
- 66% have been a victim of verbal or emotional abuse;
- 36% are currently a victim of verbal or emotional abuse;
- 49% state that boyfriends do not encourage education or training efforts;
- 16% state that boyfriends prevent them from obtaining education or training;
- 24% state that boyfriends attempt to control their life;
- 25% have been victims of rape;
- 27% have been victims of sexual assault;
- 21% have been victims of childhood molestation;
- 13% have been victims of incest;
- 25% have been victims of sexual abuse;
- 14% have a problem with drugs or alcohol;
- 69% characterized themselves as having been severely depressed at some point;
- 96% of all those ever depressed have been severely depressed within the last 12 months; and
- 36% of all those ever depressed state they are currently severely depressed.

For those programs who wish to begin tracking this barrier, the Passaic County questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2 to this report.

One Southeastern State Welfare-to-Work Program

One welfare-to-work program in a southeastern state has asked to remain anonymous, but has provided data tracking physical abuse, based on a questionnaire administered in its Life Skills program to a sample of 216 mandatory participants in 1995:

- 55.1% have been physically abused by husbands, boyfriends or

family members as adults;

- 9% are currently being physically abused by a man with whom they have a relationship; and
- 25.9% have been involved in a relationship in which they were physically abused within the last three years.

JOBS NEW DIRECTION-Goodwill Industries Community Services of Colorado Springs

Goodwill Industries's New Directions Program provides welfare-to-work services to AFDC participants, including literacy and GED, work experience, and job placement assistance. The program states that approximately 50% of those who come through the program each year are current domestic violence victims.

IV. RELATED RELEVANT DATA

University of Minnesota, Duluth

In a survey administered to a total of 123 women attending support groups for battered women in Minnesota, the Department of Social Work at the University of Minnesota Duluth attempted to measure the effect of battering on the employment status of women.

- 58% of the women were working at the time they were being abused.
- 55% reported that they had been absent from work as a result of being physically abused; 4% reported this occurred frequently.
- 62% reported they had been late to work as a result of being abused 13% reported this had occurred frequently.
- 24% of the women reported that they had lost a job partly because of being abused.
- 56% of the working women reported that they had been harassed by telephone or in person by their abuser at work; 21% of the women stated this had occurred frequently.

Women responding to the first survey were also asked whether their abusive partner attempted to prevent them from working or going to school.

- 33% percent reported that their partners had prohibited them from working.
- 50% believed that their partners had discouraged them from working.

- 50% believed their partners had discouraged them from going to school.
- 25% stated that their partner had prohibited them from going to school; and
- 21% reported that physical abuse had kept them from finding employment.

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Homeless Families Program (HFP)

Data from 1,670 families participating in the Homeless Families Program between April 1991 and April 1994 provides important insight from one of the largest multi-site populations of homeless families ever studied. HFP provides Section 8 certificates, case management, and access to a variety of services at nine sites throughout the country. The Vanderbilt Institute for Public Policy Studies reports:

- 34% of the women with a current partner reported some current violence; 13% reported severe violence, using a modified version of the Conflict Tactics Scale. (CTS.)
- 81% of all women reported some type of abuse by a former partner.
- 65% reported one or more severe acts of violence by a past partner.
- 15% of the sample had been hospitalized at least once for a mental health problem, and 3% in the year preceding the assessment. 28% reported a suicide attempt, with 57% of this group reporting multiple attempts. 43% of the suicide attempts resulted in hospitalization, accounting for the majority of the hospitalizations reported.
- 26% reported having a serious emotional or mental health problem.

City of Chicago Department of Public Health

In 1994 the City of Chicago Department of Public Health, through a survey in nine of its clinics in December of 1994, attempted to gauge the prevalence of domestic violence among women using city clinic services. The vast majority of people attending these clinics are poor, with 87% having incomes below the poverty level and 39% on public aid. Unfortunately the questionnaire did not ask about welfare receipt. However, some useful data emerged from this sample of 1,404 women.

47% of all women were physically, sexually or verbally abused at least once in their lifetimes; 26% within the last year, and 10% within the last month.

21% of the women reported they had suffered some type of abuse while pregnant, with 76% of those reporting verbal, 59% physical, and 3% sexual abuse.

V. IMPLICATIONS FOR WELFARE REFORM: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The domestic violence barrier has important implications for welfare reform policies.

Temporary Exemptions from Time Limits

Time-limited welfare reform efforts may well exacerbate domestic violence where it already exists or cause it to arise. First, many women, for the first time, will be required to work under extremely tight deadlines. Anecdotal evidence from program providers suggests that many men, threatened by their partners' education and job training, will continue to prevent them from working, even at the risk of losing welfare benefits.

In addition, while ultimately time limits may encourage many women to end violent and abusive relationships in an effort to go to work, there is also the possibility that the welfare-to-work transition will result in serious injury, or even death. Unfortunately the process of safe removal often takes time; among other things, there may be no beds available in a battered women's shelter. Time limits restrict women's ability to make and implement safe choices for themselves and their families.

Another reason time limits are inappropriate is that, as we have seen, survivors of domestic violence may still be suffering from the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder and will need more time and specialized services than will be available under time-limited programs. Temporary exemptions from state or federally imposed time limits will thus be necessary for some women living with domestic violence to enable them to realistically and safely cope with their situation and its effects.

As an alternative to exemptions, welfare departments should be encouraged, where possible, to more broadly define "work" to include "work-related activities" for domestic violence victims. This category could include necessary supportive services or therapeutic activities, including participation in domestic violence support groups and drug and alcohol treatment programs.

Assessment

In order for domestic violence victims to have the necessary time and support of AFDC while they obtain help, welfare departments must properly assess the presence of domestic violence or past domestic violence in the lives of AFDC participants. Policies will be needed, however, to protect AFDC participants reporting domestic violence to the welfare department from negative consequences. For example, unless confidentiality is established, the intervention of a state child protection agency and the eventual loss of children

is a real possibility for women who report domestic violence. In addition to confidentiality concerns, advocates and policy makers must work with state child protection agencies to make certain that their policies and procedures are sensitive to domestic violence victims and provide women with the support they need to eliminate the violence from their homes.

Child Support Enforcement

Stepped up paternity determinations and child support enforcement are also problematic for AFDC participants who are violence victims. Abuse is often exacerbated or reactivated when legal action is taken against the male for child support. Many abused women are afraid to seek child support because they fear that receipt will result in visitation rights, which would force disclosure of their new location. Although current federal law does provide "good cause" exemptions in five situations, including domestic violence, this option is used by less than 1% of AFDC applicants nationally. Concerns about confidentiality may limit use of this exemption as well.

Supportive Services

New service delivery strategies will be necessary at the community level to provide the supports needed by AFDC women who are domestic violence victims. Literacy, GED, job training, and job placement program staff will need training in domestic violence and its assessment, and must build the capacity to provide the specialized therapeutic and vocational rehabilitative services which victims need. A number of comprehensive welfare-to-work programs have successfully experimented with domestic violence support groups and Life Skills modules which help the recovery process.

Many past and current domestic violence victims do not make progress in educational programs because of their inability to concentrate and their dissociation from new information-- common strategies developed to cope with violent situations. In order to be effective, it is likely that literacy providers will have to incorporate new and developing techniques which assist trauma survivors "learn to learn."

Lastly, a few welfare-to-work providers that have dealt with this issue head-on believe that it is essential to involve the men in these women's lives. City Works in the Bronx structures an open house for the families of accepted students. According to Karen Brown:

" One of our motives in the open house is to meet and get to know the male partners and find out how we can assist them with their employment or education issues. If we can help a boyfriend or husband get into a good GED, job training or placement program, we have gained ground in encouraging him to support his girlfriend/ wife in our program. Too often, I think, programs which serve predominately women forget about the men in their students' lives

and that they may need targeted assistance as well. Our programs need to become more than job training programs; they need to become family support programs as well."

Appendix I

Additional data from the January 1995 Taylor Institute Report, *Domestic Violence: Telling the Untold Welfare-to-Work Story*:

The Washington State Institute for Public Policy undertook a five-year Family Income Study which interviewed a representative sample of the entire AFDC population in the State of Washington. (1318 respondents.) In the fifth year of the study, administered in 1992, women were asked if they had been physically or sexually abused as adults.

60% reported some type of abuse, with 55% reporting being physically abused by a spouse or boyfriend. The study did not, unfortunately, differentiate between current and past abuse.

In 1993, Mid-Iowa Community Action (MICA), a comprehensive family development and self-sufficiency program in rural Marshalltown, Iowa conducted a survey of 91 heads of household participating in its family development program who had been on welfare for two years or longer.

22% were current domestic violence victims;
51% were past domestic violence victims;
11% were current substance abusers; and
31% were past substance abusers.

In December 1991 Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) published the results of a study of 617 young women (age 16-22) participating in New Chance program sites throughout the country between August 1989 and September 1990. Case management staff were instructed to report various problems only if they interfered with program participation.

16% of enrollees across all sites told program staff that they had been battered by their boyfriends or came to the program with a black eye or other visible signs of abuse; 6% reported being abused by someone other than their partner. In addition, 15% reported discouragement of program participation by their partner and 9% discouragement of program participation by their mother or other close relative. MDRC cautions that these statistics are probably low estimates and represent only the cases known by the staff.

The problem has also surfaced in Jackson County, Missouri (Kansas City) in the FUTURES program, where the caseloads are 35-1. In March 1994 an evaluation of the program by the University of Missouri at Kansas City found that "Futures graduates less frequently report the presence of a significant other in the household than do dropouts and those currently in the program."

Appendix 2

William Curcio of the Passaic County Board of Social Services has developed a questionnaire to track the issue of domestic violence in his welfare-to-work program. To encourage other providers to better assess and track domestic violence, we are, with his permission, reproducing the questionnaire below. For further information, contact William Curcio, Passaic County Board of Social Services, 80 Hamilton Street, Patterson, New Jersey 07505, 201-881-3169; 201-881-3232 (fax).

CONFIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions are being asked for research purposes only. All your answers are COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL and will not be shared with anyone. You DO NOT have to sign your name to this survey.

The research we are conducting is very important and your participation will greatly assist us in identifying problems people may be experiencing.

We hope that the information obtained from this survey will help us design programs which will provide BETTER SERVICES to Welfare recipients.

Thank you for helping us in this project.

1. Are you currently involved in a relationship with a man?
(Boyfriend/husband) Yes _____ No _____
2. Have you every been the victim of physical domestic abuse?
Yes _____ No _____
3. Are you now experiencing a problem with physical domestic abuse? Yes _____ No _____
4. Have you ever been subjected to verbal or emotional abuse?
Yes _____ No _____
5. Are you now experiencing a problem with verbal or emotional abuse? Yes _____ No _____
6. Is your boyfriend/husband supportive of you in trying to better yourself and get off Welfare? Yes _____ No _____
7. Does your boyfriend/husband encourage you in your attempts to get education and training? Yes _____ No _____
8. Does your boyfriend or husband try to prevent you from getting more education and training? Yes _____ No _____

9. Do you feel that your boyfriend/husband tries to control your life? Yes _____ No _____
10. Does your boyfriend/husband "Put You Down" verbally? Yes _____ No _____
11. Does your boyfriend/husband help you financially to get along? Yes _____ No _____
12. If your boyfriend/husband helps you financially, does he use this to influence you or have you agree to his wishes? Yes _____ No _____
13. If you became an independent and self-sufficient person, would this cause a problem in your relationship with your boyfriend/husband? Yes _____ No _____
14. To your knowledge, has anyone in your family every been the victim of domestic abuse of any kind? Yes _____ No _____

The following questions are very personal, but will assist us greatly in helping people who may be suffering with these problems.

REMEMBER, YOU DO NOT HAVE TO SIGN YOUR NAME TO THIS SURVEY.

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN THE VICTIM OF:

15. Rape Yes _____ No _____ # of times _____
16. Sexual Assault Yes _____ No _____ # of times _____
17. Childhood Molestation Yes _____ No _____ # of times _____
18. Incest Yes _____ No _____ # of times _____
19. Sexual abuse of any kind Yes _____ No _____ # of times _____

- 20. For the problems you answered YES to, have you every told anyone about these situations? Yes _____ No _____
- 21. For any of the problems you answered YES to, are you still suffering or in pain from any of these events? Yes _____ No _____
- 22. Have you ever had a problem with drugs or alcohol? Yes _____ No _____
- 23. Do you currently have a problem with drugs or alcohol? Yes _____ No _____
- 24. Have you ever been homeless? Yes _____ No _____
- 25. Are you currently homeless? Yes _____ No _____

Have you experienced any of the following losses?

- 26. Death of a family member? Yes _____ No _____
How many _____
- 27. Death of a close friend? Yes _____ No _____
How many _____
- 28. Incarceration of a family member? Yes _____ No _____
(Jail, prison, juvenile detention, boot camp, etc.)
How many _____
- 29. Incarceration of a close friend? Yes _____ No _____
(Jail, prison, juvenile detention, boot camp, etc.)
How many _____

30. Loss of a relationship with a close friend or family member?

(For example: Person moved away, you and that person had a fight, due to some circumstances you and that person don't see each other anymore, etc.)

Yes _____ No _____

How many _____

31. Break up of a serious relationship with a boyfriend/husband?

Yes _____ No _____

How many _____

32. Have you ever been separated from your children for any reason? Yes _____ No _____

How many times _____

33. Have you ever lost a pet? Yes _____ No _____
(died, ran away, taken by someone, etc.)

How many times _____

34. For the situations you answered YES to in QUESTIONS 15 TO 33, do you feel that the pain from any of these experiences slows you from making progress in your life? Yes _____ No _____

35. Do you feel that you have any serious personal problems to work out before you can get off Welfare and become self-sufficient? Yes _____ No _____

36. Does the current Welfare system help you with any of these personal problems? Yes _____ No _____

37. Have you ever been severely depressed? Yes _____ No _____

38. In the past year, how many times have you been severely depressed? _____

39. Are you severely depressed now? Yes _____ No _____

40. RACE: BLACK: _____ WHITE: _____ HISPANIC _____ OTHER: _____

41. AGE: _____

42. How many children do you have? _____

43. How many years in total have you been on welfare? _____

44. How many years of regular school or college do you have?
Circle the number of years of schooling completed:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 +

45. How many years in total have you worked? _____

Thank you very much for your time and assistance in filling out this questionnaire. The information you have provided will be of great value in our research. Your participation in this survey will help us explore areas of better service provision. Thank you again.

* DEVELOPED BY W. CURCIO, 11/1/95, NEW JERSEY.
USAGE OF THIS INSTRUMENT SHOULD BE REFERENCED TO THE ABOVE.

CHILD EXCLUSION TASK FORCE

November 1995

Dear President Clinton,

As national, state and local organizations with a diversity of views on many issues, we are united in our efforts to **protect the health and welfare of America's children**. We came together in the spring of 1994 in opposition to a welfare reform proposal that would allow states to deny benefits to innocent babies simply because they were born into families receiving AFDC. In spite of our valiant efforts, the House passed a welfare bill that not only included a required "family cap," but added even more punitive and mandatory child exclusion proposals. We believe that these provisions -- even after attempts by the Senate and the conference committee to decrease their cruelty -- endanger the health and welfare of millions of America's children. Enacting into law the following provisions would severely harm the children of already impoverished families:

● **WE OPPOSE "FAMILY CAP" PROVISIONS THAT WOULD DENY BENEFITS TO CHILDREN SIMPLY FOR BEING BORN INTO FAMILIES RECEIVING WELFARE.**

● **WE OPPOSE PROPOSALS THAT WOULD DENY BENEFITS FOR CHILDREN WHOSE PATERNITY HAS NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY ESTABLISHED BY THE STATE.**

● **WE OPPOSE ANY PROVISION THAT WOULD DENY BENEFITS TO THE CHILDREN OF UNMARRIED TEENAGERS.**

Our principal concern with excluding children from subsistence welfare benefits is that, if enacted, each of these provisions will hurt the children of already impoverished families. Years of social science scholarship makes it clear that people make childbearing decisions for complex and varied reasons. The promise of a tiny incremental gain in welfare benefits is not an inducement to have additional children. Family values will not be advanced by making it more difficult for poor mothers to provide for their children and escape from poverty. Any short-term fiscal savings gained by excluding children from receiving subsistence benefits will be outweighed by the long-term social costs of their impoverishment and the further deterioration of families already in distress.

We urge you to oppose these anti-child, anti-family provisions and veto the welfare legislation.

Please contact Martha Davis of NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund at (212) 925-6635, Liz Symonds, ACLU at (202) 675-2337 or Pat Reuss, NOW LDEF/WDC office, (202) 544-4470 if you have any questions or need more information.

(over)

**American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)
NOW Legal Defense & Education Fund**

Advocates for Youth (formerly The Center
for Population Options)
American Association of University Women
Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)
American Friends Service Committee
Association for Children for Enforcement
of Support, Inc.
Association of Arizona Food Banks
Business & Professional Women (BPW USA)
Boston Women's Health Book Collective
Bread for the World
California Homeless and Housing Coalition
California Women's Law Center
Catholics for a Free Choice
Center for Advancement of Public Policy
Center for Community Change
Center for Constitutional Rights
Center for Immigrants Rights, Inc.
Center for Law and Social Policy (CLASP)
Center for Reproductive Law and Policy
Center for Women Policy Studies
Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law
Child Care Law Center
Child Welfare League of America
Children's Defense Fund
Church Women United
Coalition of Labor Union Women
Coalition on Human Needs
Connecticut Alliance for Basic Human Needs
D.C. Rape Crisis Center
Eighth Day Center for Justice, Chicago
Equal Rights Advocates
Feminist Majority
Feminists for Life
Food Research and Action Center
Georgians for Children
Institute of Sisters of Mercy of
the Americas, Leadership Team
Interfaith Impact
Jesuit Social Ministries National Office
Justice, Economic Dignity and Independence
for Women (Utah)
Labor Project for Working Families
Legal Assistance Resource Center of Connecticut
Los Angeles Coalition to End Homelessness
Lutheran Office for Governmental Affairs, ELCA
Maryland Food Committee
Mennonite Central Committee, WDC
Mississippi Human Services Coalition
9 to 5: National Association of Working Women
NARAL (National Abortion and Reproductive
Rights Action League)
NOW (National Organization for Women)
National Abortion Federation
National Association for the Education
of Young Children
National Association of Child Advocates
National Association of Social Workers
National Black Women's Health Project
National Center for the Early
Childhood Work Force
National Coalition for the Homeless
National Consumers League
National Council of Churches
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Senior Citizens
National Council on Family Relations
National Family Planning and Reproductive
Health Association
National Jewish Community Relations
Advisory Council
National Low Income Housing Coalition
National Welfare Rights and Reform Union
National Welfare Rights Union
National Women's Conference Committee
National Women's Health Network
National Women's Law Center
NETWORK: A National Catholic Social
Justice Lobby
Ohio Association of Child Caring Agencies
Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Pratt Institute Center for Community and
Environmental Development (Brooklyn)
Presbyterians Affirming Reproductive Options
Project Get Together (Oklahoma)
Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund
Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice
Seamless Garment Network, Inc.
Service Employees International Union
Sigma Gamma Rho
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian/Universalist Association
Unitarian/Universalist Service Committee
United Auto Workers, The International Union
United Church of Christ
U.S. Steel Workers
Woman Activist Fund
Women Of Reform Judaism,
The Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
Women Lawyers Association of Los Angeles
Women Work! The National Network
for Women's Employment
Women's Economic Agenda Project
Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom
The Women's Law Center, Inc.
Women's Legal Defense Fund
YWCA of the U.S.A.

NATIONAL TASK FORCE ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

NOW Legal Defense & Education Fund 120 Maryland Ave., NE, WDC 20002 (202) 344-4470 / 346-8605 (fax)

August, 1995

Dear President Clinton:

As you participate in the national debate over "welfare reform," we urge you to remember that the vast majority of participants in these various "safety net" income support and welfare programs are women and their dependent children. As you search for solutions that will help women and children escape poverty or avoid it altogether, we ask you to consider the occurrence of **VIOLENCE** that exists in the lives of many economically vulnerable girls and women. Any legislative effort to improve our anti-poverty programs must address the issue of family violence as a significant factor in the impoverishment of women and children. Because ending family violence is a national goal and requires a unified national effort, we urge you to proceed cautiously as you reform our nation's anti-poverty programs. The "safety net" for battered women will be meaningless if the federal entitlement is ended and block grants are used to send reduced funds and little positive direction to the states.

Violence, for a great number of poor women, exacerbates their poverty and hinders their escape from poverty. Unless and until poor women are free from violence in their homes and neighborhoods, restrictive and punitive welfare policies will only force these poor women to choose between living with abuse or escaping abuse and being denied the food and shelter benefits for themselves and their children.

For non-poor women, violence often has an impoverishing effect. In many situations, violence, debasement and abuse have undermined many women's ability to function and work independently. Many women are forced into poverty as they attempt to escape the violence and assault that exists in their family lives, with few resources for survival. Reform efforts must incorporate mechanisms to assure safety and support for families where violence exists, and must include accountability for perpetrators of family violence. It is important to remember that, for some women, welfare programs enable women to leave violent situations. If we shred that safety net, many women and children will be economically forced to remain in a relationship where they will be continually exposed to violence that will only escalate and occur with increasing frequency and intensity.

We urge you to recognize the emerging and compelling evidence of the profound correlation and interrelationship between family violence and poverty and hope that you will work to ensure that welfare reform provisions enable families to move out of poverty. Please reject any legislative or policy efforts that will trap women and their children in abusive situations. Please keep your commitment to end violence against women by promoting the following principles:

* **Battered mothers fleeing abuse should not be compelled to establish paternity if doing so will place them or their children at risk of continued violence.** Battering frequently begins or escalates at pregnancy. The fear of stalking and violent reprisals is very real for impoverished new mothers escaping violence. Exceptions for rape and incest will not solve this dilemma, since most child molestations, cases of incest as well as sexual assaults and rape are not reported and no criminal records or proof is available.

* **Battered immigrant women will face virtually insurmountable odds if they are refused the refuge and income support needed to escape violence.** The inability to acquire even the most basic resources necessary to flee violent homes means that it is not safe for most battered immigrant women to call the police for assistance, to file charges against their abusers or to seek emergency shelter for themselves and their children.

* **Time is the most valuable resource for many women and children who must search for a safe environment before they become economically independent.** Time limits on welfare must address the issues of physical and emotional safety for victims of family violence. Violence must be eliminated and women and children must be safe in their own homes before education, training, childcare and job opportunities are effective.

* **Child care is a critical component in the successful efforts of battered women to escape violence and support themselves and their children.** Battered women often choose to remain in violent homes because they are unable to support themselves and provide care for their children. Eliminating child care provisions from welfare proposals will reinforce the barriers often faced by victims of family violence in their efforts to escape violent relationships.

* **Denying welfare benefits to poor, unmarried teenage mothers ignores the overwhelming evidence that many adolescents who become pregnant were child victims of sexual abuse by a family or household member.** Denial of benefits to young women who have known family violence - incest, assault and rape - is punitive and will not result in a reduced birth rate for already impoverished teens. As is the case in the paternity context, exemptions for rape and incest will not solve this dilemma.

* **Requiring ALL poor teen mothers to live at home exposes many young women to a grave threat of continued family violence.** More than 80% of poor teen mothers already live with their parents or other relatives. Many of the remaining women must leave their parents' homes in order to escape the violence committed by family members or other household members.

The above principles apply to all poor women. The solutions to poverty lie in empowering women with hope and not shame or government-sanctioned stigma. The issue of violence against women and children must be addressed before we can have true welfare reform.

Last year, Congress passed the Violence Against Women Act, targeting \$1.62 billion over the next six years for states' and communities' efforts to end violence against women. The education, training and prevention programs that are a part of this historic initiative are only the first steps in eliminating violence directed against women and children in their homes, workplaces and communities. Until we have eradicated this vicious epidemic, it is imperative that we recognize its pernicious, devastating and impoverishing effect on women and the children that they so desperately attempt to protect and provide for.

Please contact Marla T. ... of NOW LDEF at (212) 925-6635 if you have questions or need more information.

06/05/96 00:49 NO. 629 00

NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund

African-American Women's Clergy, WDC
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)
American Psychological Association
B'nai B'rith Women
Boston Women's Health Book Collective, MA
Business and Professional Women (BPW)
CA Alliance Against Domestic Violence
Center for the Advancement of Public Policy
Center for Immigrants Rights, Inc.
Center for Women Policy Studies
Coalition of Labor Union Women
Family Violence Prevention Fund
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Lutheran Off. for Government Affairs ELCA
Mennonite Central Committee, WDC Office
National Association of Social Workers
National Coalition Against Domestic Violence
National Council of Jewish Women
~~**National Network to End Domestic Violence**~~
~~**National Organization for Women (NOW)**~~
National Women's Law Center
National Women's Health Network
NETWORK: Natl Cath Social Justice Lobby
Northwest Women's Law Center
Ohio Domestic Violence Network
Pennsylvania Coal Against Domestic Violence
Sakhi for South Asian Women
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Universalist Assoc of Congregatns
Women of Reform Judaism, The Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
Women's Legal Defense Fund
WOMEN WORK!