

**ASSEMBLYMAN WAYNE R. BRYANT**

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

My name is Assemblyman Wayne R. Bryant, representative of New Jersey's Fifth Legislative District. Thank you for inviting me to testify at the Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence's public forum.

President Clinton is to be commended for his vision to "end welfare as we know it" and through these forums we trust you will learn many things that will help you address welfare reform at the national level. In addition, as I am sure you are aware, Governor Jim Florio has provided leadership in New Jersey through his efforts to strengthen families and assist them in becoming self-sufficient.

In April, 1991, I introduced legislation entitled the Family Development Act which included six bills focusing on major changes in our welfare system. My vision was to create a program that would empower every adult - every child - every family who found themselves on welfare and wanted to become independent. I declared war on the already "bankrupt" welfare system and set forth a new vision through the Family Development Program (FDP) that would:

\* Strengthen the entire family unit - keeping families together and helping them to become viable members of their community.

\* Make education, training and employment a priority - assuring a basic education (high school diploma) for all family members.

\* Reward hard work and create a social contract between the state FDP and families who want to become self-sufficient.

\* Create a program to assist both men and women who are involved in the welfare system.

FDP attempts to accomplish these goals and Commissioner Waldman of the Department of Human Services and his staff are continuing efforts to improve the program as it enters its second year of implementation.

FDP includes very specific provisions which I would like to highlight for you this afternoon:

\* The family plan and the family resource center: Creates an individual family plan for each family and provides a comprehensive array of services to all families (i.e., health, human services, counselling, support groups, etc.)

\* The disincentive to marriage: Provides two-parent families with equal support as a single head of household.

\* Additional child benefit: Prohibits additional cash benefit to participants at the birth of a child after 10 months on public assistance. Assures that food stamps and medicaid are still available.

\* Step-parent provision: Provides for income for child on public assistance if participant marries someone other than the child's natural parent.

\* Community Restoration Council: Establishes a Community Restoration Council that will recommend specific neighborhood/community development projects and economic development ventures in communities impacted by poverty.

\* Extends Medicaid benefits for 2 years: Provides for Medicaid benefits for 2 years post employment. (This is in addition to the 1 year child care benefit allowable by JOBS.)

\* Creates a General Assistance-FDP: For the first time, creates a General Assistance Program for single men and women, providing them with opportunities to become self-sufficient through education, training and employment. Housing counselling, health services, individual counselling are provided as they are for families who might be on AFDC. These are bold and progressive steps.

During this year's pilot program in Trenton, 300 single men and women were identified for this program. 100 of these men and women are now employed, contributing once again to their community.

Today, Governor Jim Florio discussed some new initiatives for welfare reform that he is prepared to pursue. These strategies serve to strengthen the Family Development Program and move us to a new plane as we continue to fully implement FDP with all counties being included in the program by SFY'95.

His efforts are to:

- \* improve the immunization of poor children
- \* address the issue of truancy
- \* support families through parent education
- \* establish paternity for all children
- \* provide a mechanism for poor families to save funds to become self-sufficient
- \* encourage family guidance and support by providing adolescents with family members assisting them with their grants (as needed)
- \* strengthen child support enforcement through support of the Family Responsibility Act

We will continue to discuss these proposed initiatives during the next few weeks. As always, we appreciate the insights, suggestions and ideas that participants, their families, advocates and others will bring to these discussions.

Once again, thank you for your invitation to testify today. I wish you well in your deliberations during the next few months and look forward to hearing your recommendations.

11/27/07

Please be noncommittal

Bruce - you should know that in Q&A with press, Florio said a 2nd waiver request for today's changes should be granted with "no problem" since "the Pres. publicly told NGA" he would be more liberal. You may be asked about this at the break.   
Melissa





CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION, INC. Local 1000 AFSCME, AFL-CIO

STATEMENT OF  
ROGER L. SHERRIE  
ON BEHALF OF THE  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES  
ON THE  
FEDERALIZATION OF CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT  
SEPTEMBER 9, 1993

GOOD AFTERNOON.

MY NAME IS ROGER SHERRIE, CSEA POLITICAL ACTION COORDINATOR. I AM APPEARING ON BEHALF OF THE CSEA AFSCME LOCAL 1000.

WITH 1.3 MILLION MEMBERS, AFSCME IS THE NATION'S LARGEST PUBLIC EMPLOYEE UNION. WE REPRESENT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THE 35,000 TO 40,000 EMPLOYEES WHO WORK IN ALL OF THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT AT BOTH THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVELS. CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT EMPLOYEES ARE AFSCME MEMBERS IN NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, WASHINGTON, ILLINOIS, IOWA, OHIO AND WISCONSIN AMONG OTHER STATES.

I MYSELF WORKED IN NEW YORK'S CHILD SUPPORT SYSTEM FOR SEVEN YEARS. I JOINED THE NIAGARA COUNTY CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT UNIT IN 1980 AS A SUPPORT INVESTIGATOR. NIAGARA COUNTY IS LOCATED IN WESTERN NEW YORK, NORTH OF BUFFALO, WITH A POPULATION OF APPROXIMATELY 250,000 PEOPLE. IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, I PROGRESSED TO SENIOR INVESTIGATOR, SUPERVISING INVESTIGATOR AND FINALLY, DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR WITH A STAFF OF 30.

DURING THAT TIME, NIAGARA COUNTY WAS ONE OF THE TOP THREE COUNTIES IN NEW YORK STATE IN RELATION TO TOTAL COLLECTIONS, COLLECTIONS TO STAFF AND COLLECTIONS TO COST RATIOS.

IN 1985 I JOINED THE NEW YORK STATE CHILD ENFORCEMENT OFFICE AS A SENIOR CHILD SUPPORT SPECIALIST. THERE, MY RESPONSIBILITIES INCLUDED ON-SIGHT IMPLEMENTATION OF A STATEWIDE COMPUTER SYSTEM DESIGNED TO TRACK AND MONITOR CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT CASES. I LEFT THE CHILD SUPPORT PROGRAM IN 1987.

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE CURRENT CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT SYSTEM NEEDS IMPROVEMENT. BY SOME ESTIMATES, AS MUCH AS \$25-30 BILLION ADDITIONAL DOLLARS STANDS TO BE COLLECTED FROM NONCUSTODIAL PARENTS. ACCORDING TO FIGURES FROM THE HOUSE HUMAN RESOURCES SUBCOMMITTEE, IN 1989, 42 PER CENT OF THE 10 MILLION WOMEN WITH CHILDREN UNDER 21 WERE NEVER AWARDED CHILD SUPPORT. OF THE 5 MILLION WOMEN OWED CHILD SUPPORT PAYMENTS, ONE HALF RECEIVED FULL PAYMENT, ABOUT 24 PER CENT RECEIVED LESS THAN OWED, AND 25 PER CENT RECEIVED NO PAYMENT AT ALL.

THESE FIGURES OFFER COMPELLING EVIDENCE FOR IMPROVING THE SYSTEM. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER IT IS BETTER TO STRENGTHEN THE EXISTING SYSTEM OR TO FEDERALIZE COLLECTIONS AND ENFORCEMENT. AFSCME FAVORS STRENGTHENING THE EXISTING SYSTEM.

CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT IS ONE OF THE MOST COMPLEX AND PERSONAL FUNCTIONS THAT GOVERNMENTS ARE INVOLVED IN. LAST YEAR'S MURDER OF FOUR AFSCME CHILD SUPPORT WORKERS IN NEW YORK BY AN ENRAGED NONCUSTODIAL FATHER DEMONSTRATES THE ALL TOO TRAGIC RESULTS WHEN INTENSELY PASSIONATE FEELINGS, INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT AND FINANCIAL DISTRESS ARE MIXED. OBVIOUSLY , CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT IS MORE THAN JUST THE MECHANICAL COLLECTION AND DISBURSEMENT OF FUNDS.

TWO OF THE QUESTIONS THAT MUST BE ASKED ARE: WHAT'S RIGHT WITH THE SYSTEM AND WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE SYSTEM?

IN MY EXPERIENCE, ONE OF THE THINGS RIGHT ABOUT SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT IS THE PRESENCE OF A LOCAL NETWORK OF OFFICES THAT CAN RESPOND TO THE VERY PERSONAL SITUATIONS THAT ARISE. DOES THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAVE THE WILL AND WHEREWITHAL TO MAINTAIN EXISTING OFFICES THAT ALREADY ARE GROSSLY UNDERSTAPPED AND STAGGER UNDER UNMANAGEABLE CASE LOADS. GIVEN CURRENT BUDGETARY LIMITATIONS FACED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS THAT ADEQUATE FUNDS WOULD BE AVAILABLE AS WITNESSED BY THE 10 PER CENT DECREASE IN FEDERAL REIMBURSEMENTS SINCE THE 1970'S.

IN ADDITION, FEDERALIZATION WILL CAUSE CONSIDERABLE TURMOIL THROUGHOUT THE SYSTEM, DISLOCATE THOUSANDS OF CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT EMPLOYEES. AND ADD MORE GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO A SYSTEM WHICH ALREADY IS FRUSTRATINGLY COMPLEX FOR PARENTS TO DECIPHER.

THE ULTIMATE QUESTION MUST BE: COULD FEDERALIZATION OF CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT BRING TO THE PROGRAM SIGNIFICANT TOOLS THAT ARE NOT CURRENTLY AVAILABLE, OR COULD NOT BE ADDED TO THE EXISTING SYSTEM? AFSCME BELIEVES THE ANSWER IS NO. THE IRS TAX REFUND OFFSET HAS BEEN AVAILABLE SINCE THE EARLY 80'S AS HAS BEEN THE EXECUTION OF JUDGMENTS AND LIENS. UNFORTUNATELY, THE IRS REQUIRES LOCAL AGENCIES TO INVESTIGATE AND IDENTIFY ASSETS BEFORE EXECUTING JUDGMENTS AGAINST NONCUSTODIAL PARENTS.

ONE OF THE MORE COMPELLING REASONS FOR FEDERALIZATION IS THAT IT WOULD FACILITATE INTERSTATE COLLECTIONS, WHICH CONSTITUTE ONE-THIRD OF ALL CASES AND ARE PARTICULARLY TROUBLESOME TO RESOLVE. WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT FEDERALIZATION IS NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS END. MANY IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN URESA LAWS SINCE I FIRST JOINED THE PROGRAM. ADDITIONAL CHANGES ALREADY PROPOSED IN CONGRESS REGARDING ORIGINATION AND MODIFICATION OF COURT ORDERS COULD GO A LONG WAY IN IMPROVING INTERSTATE COLLECTIONS.

WHAT ELSE CAN BE DONE THEN TO IMPROVE THE CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM? HERE ARE FEW SUGGESTIONS:

- REQUIRE STATES TO IMPLEMENT A COMPREHENSIVE COMPUTER SYSTEM TO MONITOR AND TRACK CHILD SUPPORT CASES. COMPUTERS THAT HAVE COMPATIBLE SYSTEMS THAT CAN SHARE INFORMATION QUICKLY AND EASILY. MANY STATES HAVE NO STATEWIDE SYSTEM IN PLACE TODAY.
- PASS LAWS THAT REQUIRE EMPLOYERS TO VERIFY EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES OF NONCUSTODIAL PARENTS.
- ALLOW LOCAL CHILD SUPPORT OFFICES ACCESS TO THE INVESTIGATIVE CAPABILITIES OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE.
- SHARE INFORMATION. MANY STATES HAVE DEVELOPED EXCELLENT PROGRAMS AND EFFECTIVE LAWS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN PROMOTING SIMILAR PROGRAMS AND LAWS IN STATES WHERE THE PROGRAM LAGS.
- AND PROBABLY MOST IMPORTANT, LOOK AT WAYS OF INCREASING BOTH STAFFING AND TRAINING OF CHILD SUPPORT WORKERS. NO SYSTEM, FEDERAL OR OTHERWISE, CAN POSSIBLY OPERATE EFFECTIVELY WITH CASELOADS SOMETIMES EXCEEDING 1,000 PER FRONT LINE WORKER.

CONCLUSION

THE CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM HAS EVOLVED GREATLY OVER THE LAST 18 YEARS. YES, THERE IS ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT AND REFINEMENT. AFSCME LOOKS FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU TO ADDRESS ISSUES AND PROBLEMS WE HAVE CITED. WE SHARE YOUR COMMITMENT TO DO MORE FOR OUR NATION'S CHILDREN.

THANK YOU.

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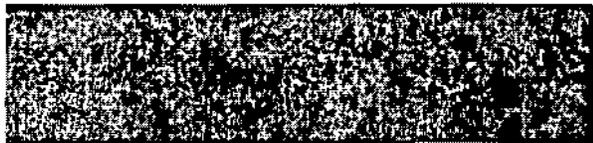
**OPERATION  
FATHERHOOD**

A Program of Union Industrial Home

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**OPERATION  
FATHERHOOD**



Good Morning, my name is Barbara Markey, I am the single parent of 17 year old Christine who is owed over \$10,000 in unpaid child support. I am the Coordinator of Essex County Chapter of ACES, the Association for Children for Enforcement of Support, the largest child support organization in the nation, whose 25,000 members are typical of the 10 million single parent families entitled to child support. In New Jersey there are 677,000 children owed \$1.1 Billion in unpaid child support. Only 21% of the children with cases opened at the County Probation Departments received a payment last year.

It is a most difficult subject that I am speaking to you about. This is a subject that receives very little attention or thought, until one is directly involved in such a situation. I am here today to testify about my plight as well as thousands of others. I am a former battered woman married to a wife abuser who matched a classic text book description of the worst type of abuser. Christine's father and I seperated in 1988. He was ordered to pay \$700 per month in child support but he did not pay. When he left us I had just been released from the hospital because of his physical abuse. Because Christine's father left us with no money, I immediately went back to work, even taking on more hours, all against my own doctor's advice, because we were not receiving child support and had no other source of income. After working 140 hours straight, with little sleep I collapsed from physical exhaustion and was hospitalized once again. After being hospitalized, I was forced to move in with my parents because I was unable to go back to work and could not afford my own apartment.

I qualified for Social Security Disability because I required a great deal of medical attention due to the abusive situation of my marriage and my daughter qualified for welfare. When I went to apply for welfare benefits, I felt very degraded. My mother went with me to the appointment and we both sat and cried while waiting to see the welfare case worker. If my mother had not been with me, I would have left. She kept reminding me that I had to do this for Christine so that she could eat and have medical benefits. We should have never had to resort to welfare because the local child support agency in New Jersey had a correct address for Mr. Markey and his place of employment in Florida. This case qualified for an Interstate Income Withholding Order but the New Jersey child support office said they could not enforce this case because he had moved out of state.

If the New Jersey Probation Department had enforced the child support by doing an interstate income withholding order, my daughter would have never had to rely on welfare. Our children need to be protected from poverty. We must adopt a Child Support Assurance program that will provide a "safety net" for children by guaranting that child support will be a regular, reliable source of income for children growing up with an absent parent. Because child support is so often not a reliable source of family income, despite the best efforts of custodial parents to obtain it on their child's behalf, it fails to provide a building block to family self-sufficiency. Children need regular payments even if the non-custodial parent cannot be found or is unable to pay due to unemployment. This type of system would reduce child poverty by 42%. It should be accessible to all children who have an absent parent,

restrictions such as requiring the family to have a court order will prevent the most vulnerable children, those whose parents have never married and those who have been deserted, from benefiting. We must ensure children against a parent's non support, just as we now ensure many Americans against death or disability.

In order for the children to truly benefit from Child Support Assurance they need an effective child support enforcement system. To accomplish this we need to federalize the system with the responsibility for collecting and distributing child support housed in the Internal Revenue Service. We must send a national message that supporting children is as fundamental a responsibility as paying taxes. This national agency must be given all the tools it needs, including improved information for locating absent parents and improved tools for making prompt and effective collections, to aggressively pursue child support and medical support for children.

There must be national guidelines to guarantee children a fair level of support. Children's support orders should be determined by their needs and their parent's ability to pay, not by where they live and which state guideline applies. Child support guidelines vary from state to state. For example, a parent who earns \$30,000 in Illinois will pay \$284 a month while a parent in New Jersey earning the same will pay \$475 per month. There must be a national process as well for periodically reviewing and updating child support orders to ensure that orders keep pace with children's needs and parents' income.

We must ensure that each state has in place effective laws and practices for establishing paternity and child support orders through expedited administrative processes. The current state court based systems cause many needless delays due to either an overloaded court docket or court continuances which go on and on and on.

Many states currently have state supervised - county run systems which causes even greater fragmentation. We would spend more money trying to get the states to adopt uniform statewide systems rather than adopting a national system. In New Jersey alone, there are 21 different County Probation Departments doing things 21 different ways. The money spent in making a uniform system in New Jersey would be better invested in having 21 states become a part of a national child support system. Thank you.

①

Good Morning.

I would like to open with this statement, "Anyone that can feed a child, balanced & nutritional meals, plus shelter, cloth, provide quality medical & dental care, etc., on \$10.00 per week is a magician & should be recorded in the Annals of History, because it simply can not be done. But the State of Fla. has ordered, as such, for my children's support since 1985. ~~and~~

I am Erin Hunter Piper ~~Erin~~  
~~and~~ I classify myself as the working-poor,  
head of the household.

Five and one-half months after the divorce, my former spouse abandoned his children. The children found out that their father was gone after he failed to show up for visitation. I contacted his employer of 13 years, where he earned \$40,000 a year, to be told that he did not work there any more and that they had no further information about him. I contacted the Probation Department to see if they could help me locate the children's father, they told me to trace his mail. I did this and found out his new address in Daytona Beach, FL. I didn't know in 1985 that the Probation Department should have been the ones looking for him and when he was found they should have done an interstate income withholding to collect the child support. Instead, the Probation Department had me do their work to locate him and then sent a Uniform Reciprocal Enforcement Support Act (URESA) to Florida. Florida held a court hearing and reduced the child support amount from \$120 a week to \$10 per week.

I wrote to the Circuit Court of Volusia County <sup>3/26/85</sup>  
in protest of reducing the support to  
\$10.00 per wk. stating people feed their  
dogs more than \$10.00 worth of food and

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When I contacted Probation to tell them I could not support the children on \$10 a week. I was told by the Probation Department, "what are you crying about, you should be thankful that you are getting anything at all."

Yes, I have received an increase. In the past eight years, we received \$2.50 per week, which brings the support order now to \$12.50/wk/child. After 8 long & draining years a grand total of \$12.50 per week. This is ludicrous! This comes to \$1.78 per day! I wrote to the State Attorney, John Tanner on 10/27/92 stating this fact.

By 1986 he was about a year behind in support payments, when it came time to fill out my IRS tax return, I was told that I could not take the children as deductions because my divorce listed that the children were tax deductions for their father. When I checked with the IRS I was told I had to go back to court to get my order changed. I did this, it cost \$3,500. No one should be allowed under any circumstance to claim children as tax deductions when they do not pay their child support.

I am convinced, unless you know how to approach the System, or beat the system, the system simply does not work, it does not deliver!

(3)

Between 1985 and 1993, I wrote numerous letters to Florida, my local agency, the state agency in New Jersey, the President, Senators, everyone. I wanted the case to be re-heard in Florida, for the order to be increased to the original New Jersey court ordered amount and arrangements to be made for payment of the back child support. I was told the children's father owes the New Jersey court ordered amount by the Union County Family Court, but as long as he stays in Florida he only has to pay the \$10 a week Florida order. This is crazy, under the current system, I could have fifty different orders, one in each state, all for different amounts. Unfortunately, the Probation Department does not agree with Family court and lists the child support arrearage the same as it is in Florida based on the \$10 a week order.

The UKESA filed 10/91 listed the arrearage as \$32,740.58 for 8/85 - 10/91.

The documents filed with the Family Court division on 10/91 never reach the Florida system. I contacted the Courts regarding the status of my case they stated Fla. has not answered yet it can take 6 mos. - 6 mos. passed - 9 mos. passed - I contacted

the Administrator of the Court in New Jersey told me, "your case is really screwed up" Big time.

11 months passed - I contacted Senator Bradley re: this mess. Suanne Brooks Regional Administrator Dept of Health & Human Resources responded to my plea. Florida had no record of the 1991 request to register the NJ Divorce. This should have been done thru Probation in 1985 - now it's 1993 & I am still at step #1 broke & of little hope.

(9)

The 1st time my son asked me if we were poor he was only 9. We were having dinner, our usual family meeting time & he just came out with it & the expression on my daughter's face, he started crying & ran from the table.

I am embarrassed to open the refrigerator door - you can see straight thru the back. There have been days when the milk supply would run out & no money to buy the milk, I water it down.

What do you say to kids when they ask for more, no your allotment for today is used up, there is no more. Never again for me. I have gone without a complete meal because the supply was not enough for all 3 of us. My neighbors have seen the strain too. Some of our neighbors have brought bags of groceries to us. It's embarrassing. This definitely has an effect on my children. Their outlook on life has been distorted. They see drug dealers making more money than me & they have plenty of money & they are

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Breaking the law. Their self-esteem becomes low, being deserted & not supported that's about for 10 + 12 years to handle. They don't want to get involved in activities because we can't afford it or they don't want to go to a birthday party because we don't have enough money for a present. To me this is devastating & I feel as though I have failed them & then the guilt returns.

We are constantly under stress & quiet we all worry & are extremely anxious. They constantly ask are we going to lose the house.

The city takes most of my paycheck I am currently behind 1 month & the current season all utilities & I still owe the oil co \$250 from last season. I've been told I will not receive the season's delivery unless I am paid up.

My son has been playing the saxophone for 3 years & this year I can not afford to rent it out at \$40 for the school term. I don't know how I tell him.

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My budget for the week is \$50.00 for all three of us, this includes grocery (all weeks worth), milk for the in between days, school lunches, I don't qualify for the free lunch program, gas for the car for work & school & whatever comes up between pay check to pay check. I can not meet my bills.

~~The dentist~~ My son's dentist called & stated that the bill was going to collection. I pleaded not to send it, I've been paying sporadically on it & doing the best I could. I pay for med & dental insurance & we can not afford to use it.

Eight years have passed with no solution to collect the over \$38,000 due in back support. This amount represents hundreds of boxes of cereal, hundreds of gallons of milk, years of utility bills and years of saying no to my children. "No you cannot go to the movies, no you cannot have new coat, no you cannot have new shoes, no there is not anymore to eat." Our family does not qualify for welfare, I earn \$400 a year too much to get food stamps or utility, medical or housing assistance. The mortgage takes most of my paycheck, I am behind on the utility bills and winter is almost here again. I see no relief.

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..... AS of today, no action to collect the arrearage or increase the Florida order to the original amount has occurred. The children's father is currently working as an assistant manager of a hotel in Florida. Both the New Jersey Probation Department and the Florida Child Support agency have this information, both have failed to attach his wages to collect the child support even though there is a federal law requiring them to do so.

The current child support system is broken, a non-payer should not be able to hide behind state lines from their own children. There should be a federal child support enforcement system within the IRS so that support owed to kids is as collectable as taxes. Children should not have to go to bed hungry and cold because of bureaucratic delays and inefficiencies. Child Support Assurance should be put in place so all children are protected from poverty. If my children's father would have died rather than just left the state, they would have qualified for Social Security. Child Support Assurance should be the social security for deserted children.

Thank you *today* + *last night* I thanked my kids

September 9, 1993

Stephanie Nadvornik

Good Morning. My name is Stephanie Nadvornik and I am here today on behalf of my 8 year old son, Joshua, who is owed more than \$12,000. in child support.

I was raised in a fairly typical upper middle class family. We worked together, played together and prayed together. I grew up believing in the American dream. I dreamed that one day I would have a family like the one I grew up in. If anyone would have told me that I would be raising my child alone with limited emotional and financial resources, I never, ever would have believed it.

I met my son's father when I was 19 years old and working as a Night Manager in a Fast Food Restaurant. His name is Carlos Mercado. I fell in love and we were together for almost a year when I became pregnant. When I told him I was pregnant, he became very angry and left me. I continued to work until I developed toxemia late in my pregnancy and had to leave my job. Thank God for my parents' love, support and medical insurance.

Six weeks after the birth of my son, I returned to work still believing that I could make it on my own. It soon became obvious, however, that on just under \$ 10,000. a year, I would need financial help just to survive. With the cost of diapers and child care, there was no possible way for me to pay for housing. I was forced to live with my parents in the home I grew up in.

When Joshua was born, I asked his father to meet him and get to know him. I encouraged a relationship. I asked him to help out financially by giving me \$25. per week. He refused. In December of 1985, I filed a paternity petition totally unaware of the humiliation of the process of being questioned in detail with my male caseworker present because my son's father denied paternity. It took over one year to establish paternity and receive a temporary support order of \$20.00 per week. Joshua's father continued to refuse to take responsibility for the support of his son. After numerous stall tactics by him and his attorney, I finally received a permanent support order of \$65. per week. I was also able to obtain a money judgement of \$1500. based on his arrears. Joshua's father still refused to pay child support.

2)

I had been working nights full time since my son was less than 6 weeks old. When I lost my job and my unemployment benefits ran out, I was forced to seek temporary help from Public Assistance. I felt degraded. I had never imagined that I would have to get "welfare". Even though my parents and sisters supported my actions, it embarrassed me and I knew they felt it too. I received \$503. per month for approximately 6 months. Still there was no support from Joshua's father.

In 1988, my son's father made sporadic payments and promised that he would get his act together, claiming he was unemployed. However, doing my own detective work, I discovered that he was working "off the books". I called the support bureau on an almost weekly basis to give them details about where he was working. I was told they didn't have the manpower to send investigators into the field.

I took Joshua's father back to court on a violation petition. The Hearing Examiner recommended that he be placed in the County E.R.A.S.E. (education, rehabilitation and support enforcement) program. He was to attend 8 weekly sessions, participate in the program and make ALL support payments. He did not. The director of the program recommended incarceration. Joshua's father threatened physical violence towards me and his son if I pursued it and damaged my car to prove the point. When I was asked by the Hearing Examiner if I agreed with the incarceration recommendation, out of fear, I said no and they let him go.

In 1990, Joshua's father moved to Florida. He was under court order to give forwarding addresses to the Court and notify them immediately if his employment changed. I gave the information to the support bureau, but they did nothing on my case for 2 years although I was constantly in touch with my caseworker. I was desperate.

When I learned that Joshua's father was collecting unemployment in Florida I contacted ACES the Association for Children for Enforcement of Support, a self help child support group. ACES gave me the tools I needed to deal with my local support bureau. My worker told me I would need to file a URESA package.

3)

Saying that this process took approximately 18 months to complete and that there was nothing she could do, I quoted a page from their own written guidelines and was able to get an Interstate Income Withholding Order sent to Florida. Several weeks later I received 2 checks totalling \$200.

Since then, the Support Bureau has been unable to locate him despite numerous tips and leads provided by me. I learned that Joshua's father has at least one major credit card and is current on his account. My son and I have no credit. I contacted another agency who, with minimal information, was able to locate my son's father within 10 days. I have passed the information on to the Support Bureau.

I am 28 years old now. My beautiful son who is learning disabled and goes to a Special Education program has never known his father. I work hard to be the best mother I know how, following the example of my role model, my mother. I feel that I have been humiliated, intimidated and <sup>verbally raped</sup> degraded by a system that simply is not doing an adequate job for our children. If it were not for the love and support of my parents and family, Joshua and I would be alone and homeless.

If child support collection were federalized, my son's father would not find it so easy to avoid child support payments by crossing state lines. If we were guaranteed minimum child support payments through Child Support Assurance, I could work, provide a home for my son and still have time to fill his emotional needs. Instead he has a mother who is constantly working and almost always tired. I am made to feel like a second class citizen every time I demand action from the Support Bureau. While they constantly complain about being understaffed, my 8 year old doesn't understand why his mother is always working and still can't afford to take him to the movies like his friends. He doesn't understand why when Mommy is sick, she can't afford to go to the doctor. He doesn't understand why his father doesn't pay support or call or visit him. For that matter, neither do I. Do you?

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## NEW JERSEY COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

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Bruce Eden  
Chairman, Board of Directors  
New Jersey Council for  
Children's Rights  
(201)-696-6171



RE: Welfare Reform Working Group  
Hearings of September 9, 1993.  
Union County College  
Cranford, New Jersey

TESTIMONY OF BRUCE EDEN,  
CHAIRMAN--BOARD OF DIRECTORS--  
NEW JERSEY COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

My name is Bruce Eden. I'm 39 years old and I live in Wayne, New Jersey. I'm a divorced non-custodial parent with joint legal custody of twin 11-year old girls. I've also been involved in non-custodial parents, fathers and children's rights organizations for the past 8 and one-half years.

I have gained headline stories in the local and statewide newspapers about my case and about the divorce process in general. This was because of the constant visitation interference that I suffered at the hands of my ex-wife over the years. I have fought long and hard to stay in my children's lives and it has cost me close to \$70,000 to defend against my ex-wife's attempts to destroy my relationship with my daughters. It has also cost me two promotions and one demotion on my job because of the lost productivity to my company. It has also caused me tremendous stress over the years.

I have gotten to the point in my case that I have my daughters with me three weekends out of every month, 1 day every week, alternating holidays, all 3-day weekends, half of all school recesses, half of the summer and telephone contact with my daughters when they aren't with me.

~~Because of all the acrimony since the divorce and the~~

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constant court appearances (I was in court every other month for five years straight), the judge in my case has finally warned my ex-wife that he will transfer custody to me if there is any further visitation problems.

I have always paid support, of \$125.00 per week, on time except for a few instances where I was in desperate need of the money. My ex-wife worked full time and earned \$500.00 per week cash, so there was never any problem of the children not being fed, clothed or sheltered.

Now I am having great difficulty paying support because of an injury I suffered on the job that was so severe I've been out of work over 14 months. Twice in two years I injured my back on the job, with the second injury compounding the previous injury to the point that my back and legs are affected. Numerous doctors have said that I cannot go back to work at what I was doing--a \$45,000/year job. I am currently receiving \$0 from Worker's Compensation and State Disability because I've exhausted all the benefits. I am awaiting a settlement from both Worker's Compensation and Social Security, but in the meantime I've got no money coming in.

My ex-wife has taken me back to court in July of this year because she was receiving no money from me. The judge reduced my payments from \$125.00 per week to \$75.00 per week, not the \$0 per week that I and my pro bono attorney (who also happens to be my friend) asked for. I am still accruing arrearages and was informed by the judge in the case that if I didn't have a settlement by November or a job, he was seeking my incarceration. I told the judge that was punishment for being injured and disabled. He didn't say anything at that point. I have also filed a Federal Removal action, pro se, removing the enforcement action from state court to Federal Court, to prevent the incarceration on the basis of its unconstitutionality and how it applies to my case.

Presently, I am living with my parents because I cannot afford to do it any other way. Also, my father is retiring at the end of the year and this puts a strain on the finances in the household. I was taking medication and therapy for depression and pain until the money ran out. Now I have no ability to purchase this medication and therapy without funds. Also, I have no money to pay for health insurance and my ex-wife continues to send me medical bills for my two daughters, even though she has remarried, owns a new house, just purchased a brand new lease Chevrolet Blazer and she has medical insurance for them.

Currently, I am involved with the NJ Council for Children's Rights--a non-profit, divorce reform organization helping non-custodial fathers and mothers, second wives, grandparents, some custodial parents and children that have

been discriminated against by the New Jersey Family Court system. I have just been elected to Chairman of the Board of Directors after serving six years as an officer in the organization. We have a membership of over 3,000, with 65% being men and 35% being women. We are involved in getting legislation that is balanced to protect children and parents of divorce. We are heavily involved in demonstrating in front of courthouses, politicians' homes and at political rallies. We are also in contact with the media on a daily basis and have courtwatchers in the different county Family Courts. We have become involved in the judicial selection process and feel that judges in New Jersey Family Courts aren't capable or competent of dealing with the public. We have exposed the divorce system for what it is--a scam to steal money and line the pockets of the legal industry while allowing the State to interfere with the privacy of the family and the privacy of individuals.

We have also found that the Family Courts aren't interested in the "best interests of the children". If they were the courts wouldn't give custody in 95% of all cases to the mother when they know that 70 percent of all child abuse in New Jersey is perpetrated by the mother. The courts have shown an inherent gender bias against male litigants, especially with respect to enforcing joint custody and visitation/access rights where the courts do not do any enforcing. Visitation/access is routinely interfered with by the custodial parent in over 50% of the cases in New Jersey which amounts to over 300,000 children being deprived of a relationship with the non-custodial parent.

If the courts enforced joint custody and visitation/access rights, child support payments would dramatically increase. As has been shown by the U.S. Census Bureau, when joint custody is allowed, child support is paid on time and in full 90% of the time. When visitation/access is enforced, child support is paid on time and in full 80% of the time. When there is no visitation rights, only 44% of child support is paid on time and in full and when the government uses punitive enforcement methods like illegal imprisonment for debt, only 10-15% of support owed is collected.

Furthermore, when an individual such as myself needs legal aid to get a child support reduction or abatement or tries to enforce visitation/access rights, I cannot get it because I am a non-custodial parent. Yet, my ex-wife can bring the full panoply of support enforcement by the state against me because she is the custodial parent. I know of custodial fathers who cannot get support payments enforced. This is the inherent gender bias of the State against fathers. No where is the gender bias against fathers more evident than in the discriminatory remarks made by New Jersey Governor Jim Florio during the current battle between the State judiciary and State legislature over the reappointment

of a biased Family court judge.

The Governor has come out and generalized that all fathers are "deadbeat dads". This discriminatory segregation, criminalization and demonization is akin to a Hate Crime that was so prevalent in Nazi Germany in the 1930's. It is happening here in New Jersey and the rest of this country in the 1990's and we won't stand for it. We demand that the Governor publicly apologize to all fathers for his biased characterization of fathers or be investigated and charged with a Hate crime based on gender bias and gender intimidation.

According to a Federal Report from the GAO, "Interstate Child Support Report--Mothers Report Receiving Less Support from Out-Of-State Fathers, Report No. GAO/HRD-92-39 FS at p. 19, mothers who have been interviewed have said they are not receiving child support because the fathers in over 66% of all cases within and without of the state CANNOT pay the support ordered, because they don't have enough money. Is this being a "Deadbeat Dad"? Absolutely not.

All fathers (all parents) have a duty to pay a reasonable amount of child support no matter how badly the system treats them. However, it is NOT possible for fathers to pay enough money to solve the problems of poverty in single parent households. The child support enforcement program has NOT accomplished its objective: to reduce poverty in single parent households. Less than two percent of single mothers receiving welfare are removed from the welfare dole each year because of child support. (Jon Conine, former Director of the Washington State Child Support Enforcement Program). The nonpayment of child support is not the real cause of poverty in single-parent families. The system is the BAD guy--it encourages welfare, which does not work and then blames the father when it doesn't work.

The real problem is that there is not enough money to go around after separation and divorce. You cannot impoverish one party at the expense of the other and expect cooperation. You cannot impoverish both parties to get desired results. In fact, the child support system has only benefitted middle and upper class custodial mothers and has left the lower class, inner city mother stagnating in her environment. Along with this problem, society cannot take away a father's rights to his children and then expect him to cheerfully pay child support. Society cannot expect a father to make enough money to support two separate households. Society cannot afford to support mothers who are receiving welfare and are physically able to work but choose not to work.

Until government recognizes this and creates an environment for mothers to work, fathers should be given custody more and more because they can afford to raise the children in their own homes and, secondly, the government by

throwing away billions of dollars of hard earned taxpayers' money. will drown in its own prejudices and failures as it continues to foment hatred within the family structure by creating more ineffective punitive laws to solve the support problem and failing to create a positive relationship between father, mother and the children who are the future of the society.

UNION INDUSTRIAL HOME FOR CHILDREN

OPERATION FATHERHOOD

Welfare Reform Hearings

Union County Community College

September 9, 1993

Historically, welfare reform and programs addressing the issue of poverty, have focused on women. For the past seven years, the Union Industrial Home for Children has provided a residential program for pregnant and parenting young women and their children. In 1989, we decided address "the other side of the problem" and with a grant of \$456,000.00, from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, we began the **First Steps Program**, designed to work with young men who were fathers and potential fathers. In three years, we provided services to more than 350 young men and, building on that success, we applied and was accepted to become one of the sites for the Parents' Fair Share pilot program.

With the ambitious goal of removing children from the welfare rolls, by providing employment and supportive services to non-custodial fathers, we began work with this population in May, 1992, with the first major influx of clients in July. Since that time, we have enrolled slightly less than 400 clients and have offered employment services to 72. The core components of the program are: employment and training, enhanced child support enforcement, peer support and instruction in parenting skills and mediation. We, also, have two full-time case managers who provide case management services to all program participants.

Since this population of men is wary of bureaucracies, our services are provided in a "safe" environment, with primarily male staff who are role models for them.

We strive to address the "whole" man and case management is essential in making this happen. While the prospective participants come thinking that what they need is a job, the other issues that they bring, preclude their being placed in employment, initially. Peer Support attendance is mandatory and clients must complete this component prior to moving into job club. This is due to the fact that we are trying to change attitudes, not just behaviors. These men are skilled at going "underground" and, if we do not work to change their attitudes, they will become employed and then disappear, again.

In general, program participants have considerably less labor

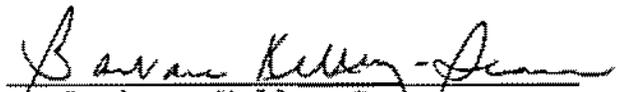
market experience than many of the women who participate in the JOBS program. They also bring an unexpectedly heavy burden of legal problems, including arrest histories related to drug abuse and distribution, robbery, child support delinquency, and, perhaps most surprising, traffic ticket delinquency, which has escalated into the criminal category. For these reasons, unexpectedly, staff have to provide a great deal of advocacy and court accompaniment. Staff have worked to identify which of the issues can be handled appropriately within the program and which require referrals.

The drug and alcohol abuse situation is certainly the most dramatic and difficult to address. The problem is not identified during the intake process, so it is only after eligibility has been established and program services have begun that the problem surfaces.

Critical to the program's success is the inter-agency collaboration which was formed in the early planning stages of the project. This collaboration is comprised of the decision makers in the various bureaucratic agencies which affect the men. This collaboration includes the New Jersey Department of Human Services, the New Jersey Department of Labor, the Administrative Office of the Court, Mercer County Board of Social Services, Mercer Probation, the Office of Child Support and Paternity Programs and Mercer County Court - Family Part. This collaborative effort allows us to address the issues that the young men face and to be able to make decisions and or changes, in a timely manner.

To our knowledge, prior to this pilot, no full-scale study has been done with non-custodial parents to assess the impact of such services. Thus, one of the goals of the Parents' Fair Share Projects is to determine if the provision of services would change the attitudes and behaviors of non-custodial parents participating in the programs.

It is our firm belief, based on our experience with this project, that the issue of child support enforcement is complex and involves addressing the "whole" individual and making some changes in the system. Child support enforcement cannot be singular. The approach must be comprehensive; fragmentation of services or a "tunnel visioned" approach will fail and children will continue to live in poverty.

  
Barbara Kelley-Sease

**TESTIMONY OF NANCY GOLDHILL  
Senior Attorney, Legal Services of New Jersey**

**Working Group for Welfare Reform  
New Jersey, September 9, 1993**

My name is Nancy Goldhill, and I have been a Legal Services lawyer for more than 10 years, 8 of which have been spent coordinating the practice of family law for Legal Services offices across New Jersey. Representing low-income women who need child support has been one of the most difficult and frustrating aspects of our work. Although approximately 82% of New Jersey's child support cases have wage withholding orders, no support whatsoever is being collected in about 45% of these cases. In the other approximately 55% of cases, some support is collected, but often only a portion of what is owed. Often, their inability to collect child support forces women with support orders to go on welfare. Others are unable to pay their rent and faced with the constant threat of eviction.

Although child support is a vital source of income for women and children, custodial parents face many seemingly intractable problems and lengthy delays in collecting it. Delays occur at virtually every point in the child support system. In many counties, women must wait from two to three months to get hearing to set a support amount. Once a woman gets a support order, still more delays occur. The legal time frames for enforcing

orders are overly generous to the state. Yet, in many cases, the state does not comply with them, and many months go by before collection begins. Even where the father's location and his employer are known, women can wait easily six months between filing for support and actually collecting anything.

Speed is the critical ingredient of child support cases. Greater oversight of the state's compliance with the legal time frames is imperative. These time frames already permit lengthy delays. In many counties, a key problem is lack of sufficient staff and resources to move cases on a timely basis. Standards on caseload size from the federal government would be of enormous value here. Moreover, the state simply must address its resource deficiencies.

In addition to lengthy delays throughout the system, there are other systemic problems of enormous magnitude which must be addressed. Chief among these is the state's inability to locate and track absent parents. This is a significant reason for the large number of cases in which no support is collected. The existing state and federal parent locator services appear to have limited utility. In our experience, fathers are almost never located this way. These services do not give the worker searching for a father computer

access to any of the necessary information for location. Instead, the probation worker must make a request of the Department of Human Services, which, in turn, requests information from a variety of different information systems, such as the Department of Motor Vehicles. Even the federal parent locator service has no access to IRS records, which are the most useful source of information. If any information is obtained at all, it generally takes many months, by which time the father may have moved on. In general, these searches are of extremely limited utility when the father moves out of state.

An additional problem in New Jersey is collecting support from the many self-employed non-custodial parents. These can be the most difficult cases of all. While there are other remedies besides wage withholding available, our clients generally have a very difficult time getting probation departments to help them go after other assets. Generally, their only hope is for a tax intercept.

Existing proposals to make child support enforcement the responsibility of the IRS present some compelling solutions to these problems. In many respects, federalization of support enforcement should make location of absent parents and, consequently, collection a far simpler and shorter

process. The proposal circulated by a group of Washington, D.C. advocates recommends the establishment of a central federal registry of support orders, and a requirement that all obligors declare the existence and amount of any support order every time they sign a W-4 form. The IRS would then be able to keep track of non-custodial parents with support obligations as they change jobs by matching information from W-4 forms with obligors in the federal registry. This would be extremely helpful in interstate cases where it is enormously difficult to follow non-custodial parents. It would help in intrastate cases as well, as it now takes the state at least three to four months to find an obligor after he changes jobs. It is critical that a central support enforcement agency have access to W-4 forms, tax returns, and other location records from every state. Unless and until a support enforcement agency can readily access a more extensive data base, an obligor can too easily avoid paying support.

Moving support enforcement into the province of the IRS would also improve the collection of support from self-employed obligors. Through tax returns, the IRS has information about all of an obligor's assets and the authority to levy on them. Obviously, it can also intercept any federal tax returns quite simply. This would be an enormous advantage in New Jersey

where there are many self-employed payors who are not part of the wage withholding system.

While some improvements to the existing state system could be made ultimately by linking state information systems, or using a combination of interfacing state and federal registries, a centralized federal system would be far more efficient. An additional potential gain in federalizing support enforcement lies in freeing up state resources to move the remaining aspects of child support cases more expeditiously. The benefits of this would be enormous. Moreover, our experience leads us to believe that additional tinkering with the existing state system is unlikely to make the kind of dramatic changes that are needed here.

Finally, along with vastly improved child support enforcement and a centralized system, we support the concept of child support assurance. In the end, there will always be families who, for a variety of reasons, cannot collect child support. As part of any new welfare reform effort, we urge the inclusion of a basic and reliable child support allotment for all women who cannot collect what is owed them, or whose support award is below even a

basic support assurance payment. Child support assurance holds out the hope that more women will be able to join the work force and rise above poverty.



September 9, 1993

**TESTIMONY BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S WORKING GROUP ON  
WELFARE REFORM:  
CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT**

The New Jersey Council for Children's Rights (NJCCR) seeks to educate the public concerning the incredible harm we are inflicting on children of divided families -- families divided by divorce, separation, and families in which the parents never married. Many of these divided families live in poverty and require welfare assistance.

There is now extensive evidence that the greatest problems facing America are: increasing poverty, crime, and declining education. The burgeoning of births to unwed mothers and the rising rate of divorce, coupled with the discriminatory practices of "family courts" in awarding custody of these children to "mothers" -- who are often ill-equipped to raise children on their own, and awarding to fathers limited visitation and a child support payment almost no one can afford, has directly contributed to the current crises: persistent and increasing poverty, rising crime, and declining education.

At the "root" all three of these problems is the disintegration of the nuclear family -- in most cases (80 - 95%) this means to the children of these families the "loss" of a father. All too often we attempt to solve problems by "throwing money" at them; NJCCR does not feel that monetary child support is the "solution." To be sure, child support dollars are needed by children, but they need much more if they are to avoid poverty and crime -- they need an education, they need good role models, and they need TWO PARENTS who care. Merely raising and enforcing child support payments will NOT get to the root of the problem.

Governor Florio has announced that a mere 12,000 welfare cases were removed from the rolls because of tougher child support enforcement -- only 3% of New Jersey's welfare cases.

One study in Indiana shows that the "tougher" child support enforcement program, far from increasing support payments, is actually driving fathers out of the state, making it even more expensive to locate them elsewhere, and the majority of these fleeing fathers leave behind children that end up on welfare.

There can no longer be any doubt that the Family Support Acts of 1984 and 1988 have FAILED to reduce poverty by increasing child support collections. Since 1983, according to Census statistics, the percentage of child support collected (of that owed) has NOT INCREASED AT ALL! NJCCR

feels that 10 years is long enough to pursue a "strategy" that is failing to accomplish its objectives.

The child support enforcement bureaucracy costs the American taxpayer nearly as much as the amount of child support it collects.

In order to perpetuate this bureaucracy, the federal government pays the States "bounty" (called incentive payments) to enact more repressive and negative inducements to pay child support that is set at outlandish levels by a "guideline" that has little or no basis in reality. In addition, "family courts" are oblivious to economic realities, and consider lay-offs and disabilities to be "temporary" and may wait years before making adjustments to child support payments -- and, of course, by that time enormous "arrearages" are built up, making the "figures" of unpaid child support appear to be unconscionable.

Most states do not have ANY mechanism for seeing that the child support payment really does get spent on the children.

Census statistics also show that fathers with joint custody or enforceable visitation -- that is, meaningful PHYSICAL custody of their children -- pay 80 to 90% of their child support! What IS needed is programs for family preservation; laws that ensure fathers and mothers of meaningful physical custody of their children, even when the family divides; and, education for parents: the rights and responsibilities of parenting, and for parents that "fail," rehabilitation, so the family can be reconstituted as quickly as possible.

If we cannot meet these needs, poverty and crime will continue to increase, and education will continue to decline; if this trend is continued unchecked, the State will have to bear the cost and burden of raising the children!

Please see the attachments for further elaboration and justification of our views.

Thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak to you today.



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The following comments are drawn from a speech made by Louis Sullivan, former Secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, before The Institute for Human Values, Council on Families in America, January 9, 1992.

### *A PERILOUS RISE IN FATHERLESS FAMILIES*

"I am appearing before the Council today to offer testimony on what I consider to be one of the most pressing issues facing our nation - a perilous rise in fatherless families. Though our society is only beginning to recognize it, the greatest family challenge of our era is fatherlessness - male absence from family life. Some 60 percent of American children will spend at least part of their childhood living in a single-parent home. Sometimes our language obscures what is really happening. We speak glibly of 'new families,' and 'single-parent homes.' However, in the eyes of a child, what is almost always happening is the absence of a father.

"I am here to put the issue of fatherless families front-and-center on our national agenda, and to call for national action on what is the most important family challenge of the Nineties.

"I see a direct link between the senseless violence on our streets and a generation of young males raised without the love, discipline and guidance of a father. Approximately 70 percent of juveniles in long-term correctional facilities did not live with their father while growing up. We are raising a generation of young males who measure their manhood by the caliber of their gun and the number of children they have fathered - a generation for whom the camaraderie of a gang has replaced the love of family.

"Father absence takes its toll on the physical, mental and emotional health of children. A recent study by the National Center for Health Statistics found that children living in single parent or stepparent families suffer more ill-health and emotional distress than children living with their biological mother and father.

"After controlling for age, sex, race, and socio-economic status, children from disrupted families were 20 to 40 percent more likely to suffer health problems than children living with both biological parents. These children were also much more likely to display antisocial behavior, peer conflict and/or dependency.

"Studies show that the support of a husband may play a larger role in infant health than factors such as maternal income and educational attainment. For example, the mortality rate of infants born to college educated but unmarried mothers is higher than for infants born to married high school drop-outs.

"All of this research points to one conclusion: children need the love, support and guidance of both their mother and their father."



The following comments are drawn from a transcription of a lecture made by Margaret Mead at a Seminar entitled "Sex in Childhood" sponsored by the Children's Medical Center in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1970. John Money, Ph.D., of the John's Hopkins University Hospital in Baltimore has sent us a copy of the remarks.

### *THE IMPORTANCE OF FATHERHOOD*

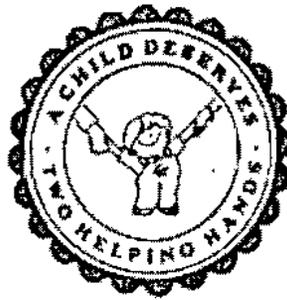
"We've permitted the courts to sever a relationship between a child and his or her biological father. This is something that no court should ever have an opportunity to do. There's no court in the world that can say a brother and sister aren't brother and sister. They can hate each other; they can refuse to see each other; they can call each other names; they can even murder each other, but they are still brother and sister.

"Yet we've permitted the court to utterly deny a father's relationship to the child. We have given the kind of preference to the mother-and-child tie that belonged about 'a half million years ago' when nobody knew what the father's relationship was. This worked all right then. A man came home to his cave for supper and sex and looked after the children incidentally, but that was a long time ago.

"We do know something about biological paternity, that the father is the biological progenitor of the child -- but we act as if we didn't know it at all. As a result, we are eroding paternal responsibility at an appalling rate in this country.

"In Chicago recently, we saw the great demonstration of a national association of divorced men who protested that they had no access to their children. This is another social condition -- denying a real biological tie. I think one of the things we have to move toward is the recognition that having a child with someone is just as biological as being born from the same mother or being born from the same father.

"We're not going to get rid of divorce. People are too badly brought up in too many ways, and they don't know how to live without other people very well. It takes a couple of tries to find out very often. If we could keep the tie between parents (co-parents who can't live together, but otherwise keep that tie), we would protect children far better than we do now."



Following is a summary of the many studies published in The Role of the Father in Child Development by Michael E. Lamb (ed.).

### *THE ROLE OF THE FATHER IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT*

- Many studies show that father absence has the greatest effect on the masculinity of boys separated from their fathers in early childhood (Hetherington, 1974).
- One of the more consistently reported effects of father absence on boys is a deterioration of school performance and intellectual capacity (Sciara, 1975).
- Maternal dominance has been associated with an array of pathological problems, especially among males (Biller, 1974c).
- Females from father absent homes appear more likely to have difficulties interacting with males and in forming positive, long-term heterosexual relationships (Biller, 1974c).
- Father's availability was positively associated with daughter's verbal intelligence (Radin, 1980).
- Fathers begin developing a bond to their newborn within the first three days (Greenburg & Morris, 1974).
- Measures of separation protest and greeting behavior showed no preferences for either parent for infants of 7-13 months (Lamb, 1977c).
- By 30 months both parents devote equal amounts of time to caretaking (Clarke-Stewart, 1978).
- Boys who became father absent before the age of 2 were more handicapped in terms of several dimensions of personality development (Santrock, 1970b).
- Girls who were father absent because of divorce or separation were more precocious in their dating behavior and in their knowledge of sex than father-present girls were (Nelsen & Pope, 1971).
- Father absence for both boys and girls was associated with relatively low ability in perceptual-motion, manipulative-spatial tasks, mathematical functioning, and verbal functioning (Lessing, Zafarin & Nelsen, 1970).
- Evidence indicating that early father absence has a very significant debilitating effect on cognitive functioning and on children who lost father presence before age of 2, significantly lower measures of IQ (Otis quick test) and SAT scores were obtained (Santrock, 1972).
- Increasing evidence concerning advantages for children (and parents) with shared parenting arrangements (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a, b).



Following are excerpts from Iron John by Robert Bly.

**"... LONELY IN HIS WHOLE BODY, WAITING FOR YOU."**

"Some mothers send out messages that civilization and culture and feeling and relationships are things which the mother and the daughter, or the mother and the sensitive son, share in common, whereas the father stands for and embodies what is stiff, maybe brutal, what is unfeeling, obsessed, rationalistic: money-mad, uncompassionate. 'You're father can't help it.' So the son often grows up with a wounded image of his father -- not brought about necessarily by the father's actions, or words, but based on the mother's observation of these words or actions.

"When office work and the 'information revolution' begin to dominate, the father-son bond disintegrates. If the father inhabits the house only for an hour or two in the evenings, then woman's values, marvelous as they are, will be the only values in the house. One could say that the father now loses his son five minutes after birth.

When we walk into a contemporary house, it is often the mother who comes forward confidently. The father is somewhere else in the back, being inarticulate. This is a poem of mine called 'Finding the Father:'

"My friend the body offers to carry us for nothing -- as the ocean carries logs. So on some days the body wails with its great energy; it smashes up the boulders, lifting small crabs, that flow around the sides.

Someone knocks on the door. We do not have time to dress. He wants us to go with him through the blowing and rainy streets, to the dark house.

We will go there, the body says, and there find the father whom we have never met, who wandered out in a snowstorm the night we were born, and who then lost his memory, and has lived since longing for his child, whom he saw only once....

When you light the lamp you will see him. He sits there behind the door ... the eyebrows so heavy, the forehead so light, ... lonely in his whole body, waiting for you."



## SUMMARY OF RESEARCH ON JOINT CUSTODY

What follows are papers published on joint custody, primarily doctoral theses because that's usually the best source. 1980 is taken as a starting date arbitrarily because that limits the list to about 30 titles.

Please note in considering research in this area that comparative studies are more "trustworthy" than descriptive studies. There are a lot of subjective conclusions made in descriptive studies, and comparison studies, i.e., comparing same-age, same-sex children from different environments are less subjective than just looking at children from one environment and trying to come to conclusions from interviews.

NJCCR wishes to thank David Garrod of Purdue University for compiling the following list for us.

The main research papers discussing custody issues:

D.A. Luepnitz, *Maternal, Paternal and Joint Custody: A Study of Families after Divorce*, Doctoral thesis, 1980, State University of New York at Buffalo, UMI No. 80-27618. Luepnitz studied single-parent custody and joint custody. Most single-parent children were dissatisfied with the amount of visitation they had, whereas the children of joint custody arrangements seemed reasonably happy with their exposure to both their parents. The quality of the parent-child relationship was determined to be better for joint custody. (The non-custodial parent-child relationship is described as more like an aunt- or uncle-child relationship.)

S.A. Nunan, *Joint Custody Versus Single Custody Effects on Child Development*, Doctoral thesis, 1980, California School of Professional Psychology, Berkeley, UMI No. 81-10142. Nunan compared 20 joint custody children (ages 7-11) with 20 age-matched children in sole maternal custody. All families were at least two years after separation or divorce. Joint custody children were found to have higher ego strengths, superego strengths and self-esteem than the single custody children. The joint custody children were also found to be less excitable and less impatient than their sole custody counterparts. For children under four at the time of separation the differences were very small.

B. Welsh-Osga, *The Effects of Custody Arrangements on Children of Divorce*, Doctoral thesis, 1981, University of South Dakota, UMI No. 82-6914. Welsh-Osga compared children in intact

families with joint custody and single custody families. Age range 4 1/2 to 10 years old. Children from joint custody were found to be more satisfied with the time spent with both parents. Parents in joint custody were found to be more involved with their children. (Joint custody parents found to be less overburdened by parenting responsibilities than sole custody parents.)

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D.A. Luepnitz, *Child Custody: A Study of Families after Divorce*, Lexington Books, 1982. A summary of the thesis in book form (see above).

J.A. Livingston, *Children after Divorce: A Psychosocial Analysis of the Effects of Custody on Self Esteem*, Doctoral thesis, 1983, State University of New York at Buffalo, UMI No. 83-26981. Children in joint custody situations were found to be better adjusted than children in sole custody situations.

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G.M. Bredefeld, *Joint Custody and Remarriage: its Effects on Marital Adjustment and Children*, Doctoral Thesis, California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno, UMI No. 85-10926. Both sole and joint custody children adjusted well to the remarriage of their parent; no significant difference found between the groups. The parents of joint custody situations, however, expressed more satisfaction with their children and indicated that they appreciated the time alone with their new spouse. Sole custody children also reported seeing their father less often after remarriage of the mother; this did not happen in joint custody situations.

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Address for obtaining theses: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Rd, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. 1 (800) 521-3042.

# NEW JERSEY COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

## POSITION PAPER: CUSTODY, VISITATION, AND THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN

August 11, 1993

### *Introduction*

The current divorce laws of New Jersey do little to assure children of their right to frequent and unimpeded contact with, and the love, care, company, affection and support of the non-custodial parent [1]. The loss of contact or insufficient contact with one parent has been shown to lead to significant problems both for the individual children and for society at large.

According to the recent Census Report [2] approximately 16 million children nationwide are living in single-parent homes. A significant portion of these children suffer financial hardship. Additionally, many of these children display social and psychological problems which include inability to relate to authority figures, poor academic performance, emotional instability, drug and alcohol abuse, promiscuity, inability to maintain close relationships, insecurity, and criminal activity. These problems carry a high cost to the children, their parents, the State and the future of this nation.

### *Financial Needs of Children*

About 69% of the child support owed in 1989 was collected, according to reports of the women owed the support [3]; the true percentage may be considerably higher, as these women will tend to underreport [4]. Nevertheless, a significant amount of child support -- in 1989, possibly as much as \$5.1 billion -- was not paid and was owing. The New Jersey Council for Children's Rights (NJCCR) considers the underpayment of child support to be a serious problem that needs to be addressed by legislation to assure children of adequate means of support. Recent Federal legislation, designed to encourage the states to increase the amount of child support paid, has utterly failed: between 1987 and 1989, the percentage of child support collected (of that owed) has remained constant [3].

The federally-mandated Child Support Enforcement program in this state is costly and inefficient. "Deadbeat Dad" raids average about 10% collected of arrears claimed [5]. Fathers who are jailed cost taxpayers between \$75 and \$150 per day [6]; and for many of these fathers, jailing ignores the underlying economic causes that are the root of the problem. The current enforcement program involves significant State resources: the state Office of Child Support Enforcement, the various county Probation Departments, the state Family Court system, the various county Sheriff's, and, of course, "space" in already overcrowded county jails [7]. In addition, jailing for debt is unconstitutional.

"Statutes or ordinances, designed as debt collecting devices under the guise of penal laws, contravene the constitutional prohibition against imprisonment for debt." [8]

The Census Report [9] also shows that 38% of all fathers not living with their children do NOT have visitation with their children. Incredibly, 45% of these fathers pay their child support. This

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is in contrast with 79% of fathers with visitation who pay their child support; 90% of fathers with joint custody pay their child support. These figures clearly show that fathers that see their children pay child support. In fact, then, there is a direct and significant correlation between a father's involvement with their children and their willingness to pay child support. NJCCR feels that applying positive pressure on fathers -- by giving joint custody, or in the alternative, extensive visitation to fathers -- is going to be significantly more successful than the current negative practice -- putting fathers in jail. Partial payment and nonpayment frequently results from economic matters beyond the control of the nonpaying spouse. In addition, it is questionable whether the "average" citizen can afford to pay the mandated guideline amount [10].

Another factor that must be mentioned is the extremely high percentage of fathers with visitation that experience visitational interference [11]. NJCCR feels that violations of the custody/visitation portion of a court Order are just as serious as violations of the child support portion of a court Order. Even though there are criminal penalties [12] for custody/visitation interference, this law is not "enforced." This failure on the part of law enforcement demoralizes fathers and contributes to failure to pay child support. In addition to that, the failure to address the problems such interference cause children, as well as their non-custodial parents, can only exacerbate an already stressful situation for all.

Many of our federal and state officials claim that child support -- money -- and custody/visitation -- emotional and psychological support -- are completely unrelated. NJCCR cannot agree for the reasons given above. NJCCR feels that every child deserves two involved and contributing parents, and further feels that money is not more important than time, for the reasons given below.

## *The Social and Psychological Welfare of Children*

It is established that children from "broken homes" have more problems and lead less healthy and less productive lives. NJCCR submits that an emerging body of research will reinforce conclusively that many problems are a direct result of single-parent households and father absence.

Many people subscribe to the view that, if only some stability could be interjected into the child's post-divorce life, children, being "so resilient," will soon come around. Many unthinking individuals feel that this stability is best had with Mom -- subscribing to the Tender Years Doctrine, or as it is called today, "the primary psychological parent doctrine." The best research shows that the effects of divorce on children are very much long-term.

"A potent force links the child's self-esteem with continued contact with the father in the post-divorce family. At the 18-month follow-up mark, and again at 4 to 5 years afterward, we found a significant connection between-low self-esteem and depression in the child, and continued disappointment with the father's infrequent or erratic visiting." [13]

The study just mentioned was again done at the 15-year mark, and the continued effects of the divorce were observed [14]. NJCCR feels that the law must take a hand in rectifying the severe damage that has already been perpetrated on countless children.

"If anything, the courts and the embattled partners and their respective attorneys have

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directed their energies toward imposing restrictions and conditions that further encumber a relationship which, under even the best of circumstances, requires care and encouragement." [15]

Most criminal offenders in New Jersey come from single-parent homes. One study shows that 71% of all criminal offenders were not raised in two-parent homes [16]. Representatives from the highly-acclaimed, youth-intervention program, Scared Straight, confirm this conclusion [17]. As it is expected that the current divorce rate will continue unabated, and the number of children living in single-parent homes will continue to increase, society will have to pay the price for increasing crime and the number of people incarcerated [18].

## *Presumptive Joint Custody and Minimum Visitation*

Joint custody must be given presumptive preference over all other forms of custody, and it must be made impossible for a parent to defeat this presumption by merely being uncooperative. NJCCR does not support the commonly-held view that only cooperative parents can "work together" when it comes to the children. NJCCR feels that parents with joint custody, no matter how uncooperative they may be in the midst of divorce litigation, will tend to eventually put their differences behind themselves [19]. In fact, the inequitable situation that exists today, where the mother gets sole custody in 95% of the cases [20] and the father gets to pay child support and see his children infrequently, if at all, can only breed intense resentment, which in many cases will lead to all the more litigation, and, in turn, to less cooperation, and so on, in an endless cycle.

NJCCR also feels that it is necessary to have a minimum visitation standard that guarantees parents the opportunity to remain involved in their children's lives. NJCCR supports this minimum contact standard notwithstanding the legal custody arrangement. One such Minimum Visitation Law has already been passed in Texas [21].

## *Conclusion*

New Jersey lawmakers have already acknowledged that children who have regular access to BOTH parents are much less likely to have enduring social and psychological problems.

"The Legislature finds and declares that it is in the public policy of this State to assure minor children of frequent and continuing contact with both parents after the parents have separated or dissolved their marriage and that it is in the public interest to encourage parents to share the rights and responsibilities of child rearing in order to effect this policy." [22]

Unfortunately, the State Family Court system is doing little or nothing to effect the clearly stated intent of the Legislature. Judicial discretion in family matters allows family courts to ignore this law, and for all practical purposes, this law is ineffective in achieving its highly desirable purpose. Good laws, already on the books, are not properly enforced, and this is not the only example of this phenomenon, as we have seen above.

It is in the interests of the State to encourage fathers to become more involved in their children's

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lives. A Minimum Visitation Law and a Presumptive Joint Custody law will give fathers the opportunity to become more involved in the upbringing of children that do not live with them, will increase child support payment compliance rates, reducing the need for the involvement of costly State agencies, and will greatly increase the likelihood that children living in single-parent homes will be brought up to become functional, capable, responsible, law-abiding citizens.

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## *Appendix 1: The Cost of Child Support Enforcement*

The original purpose behind the Family Support Acts of 1984 and 1988 was to reduce the amount of Aid to Dependent Families (AFDC) paid by the federal government. To that end, it was decided that states should be required to pursue the establishment of paternity for children born out-of-wedlock and to better enforce existing and resulting child support awards; states that did not comply would risk losing federal funding. Any money obtained for the support of AFDC families (already paid to those families by the federal government) would be paid to the federal and state governments as reimbursement, not paid to the AFDC families (though the first \$50 paid each month does go to the family). An additional "incentive" was given to the states: all support payments obtained by the state through measurable (and reportable) means would be "rewarded" by a federal payment to the state equal to some fraction of the reportable support payments obtained. Practically speaking, New Jersey must obtain the support through wage garnishment, payment through the probation department, or lump-sum payment as a condition for release from incarceration, in order for the payment to be measurable and reportable. In this appendix several facets of the cost and efficiency of these methods of child support enforcement are discussed. The figures presented are from the Annual Report of the U.S. Office of Child Support Enforcement (OCSE)[23].

### *Total Collections, Incentive Payments, and Caseload*

The federal government has statistics *vis a vis* the various states concerning total collections (over \$6 billion nationwide in 1990), incentive payments (nearly \$260 million nationwide in 1990), and caseload (nearly 13 million nationwide in 1990). The interrelation of these statistics reveals some interesting further statistics. First we look at New Jersey's child support caseload, broken down into its AFDC and non-AFDC components [24]. We note that the caseload is nearly equally divided between the two subcategories..

**Table 1: New Jersey Child Support Caseload**

Category	Number of Cases
AFDC	204,733
Non-AFDC	221,276
Total	426,009

Table 2 shows total collections divided by caseload for some selected states. This table shows the average amount of child support collected (in dollars) per case [25].

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**Table 2: Total Collections/Caseload**

State	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
California	\$364	\$451	\$475	\$482	\$494
Florida	\$160	\$154	\$208	\$292	\$318
Massachusetts	\$896	\$927	\$698	\$651	\$603
Michigan	\$559	\$640	\$650	\$637	\$634
<b>New Jersey</b>	\$687	\$743	\$767	\$700	\$665
New York	\$522	\$390	\$412	\$405	\$478
Ohio	\$219	\$288	\$474	\$551	\$615
Pennsylvania	\$619	\$641	\$671	\$711	\$736

Some states are strictly increasing (California, Florida, Ohio, and Pennsylvania); some states rose at first and then declined (Massachusetts, Michigan, and New Jersey); some states were erratic (New York). No explanation is given for these trends. It is interesting to compare New Jersey with its two neighboring states: New York and Pennsylvania; it would appear that Pennsylvania succeeds in collecting far and away the most child support per case, and New York lags significantly behind New Jersey. Note also the the average amount of child support collected by the state is a little over \$50 per month.

**Table 3: Total Collections/Incentive Payments**

State	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
California	15.46	15.72	14.17	14.47	14.95
Florida	15.47	16.28	19.97	16.85	22.75
Massachusetts	14.67	17.38	14.30	16.85	15.50
Michigan	18.73	24.39	26.41	25.98	27.42
<b>New Jersey</b>	31.67	32.99	32.51	33.33	34.27
New York	22.56	22.53	21.60	21.89	21.44
Ohio	12.88	15.37	23.06	41.95	47.22
Pennsylvania	41.84	48.03	42.70	42.66	44.10

Table 3 shows total collections divided by the (federal) incentive payments to the states [26]; in 1990 the total incentive payment to New Jersey was \$8,265,849. This table, then, shows the num-

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ber of dollars collected per dollar paid (by the Federal government to the states) in incentive payments. Of the states listed, New Jersey falls behind Pennsylvania and Michigan (in 1990), but is by no means at the bottom of the list.

**Table 4: Incentive Payments/Caseload**

State	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
California	\$23.56	\$28.75	\$33.53	\$33.30	\$33.06
Florida	\$10.33	\$9.46	\$10.42	\$13.59	\$13.97
Massachusetts	\$61.09	\$53.31	\$48.82	\$38.64	\$38.89
Michigan	\$29.83	\$26.24	\$24.61	\$24.51	\$23.12
New Jersey	\$21.73	\$22.53	\$23.58	\$20.99	\$19.40
New York	\$23.12	\$17.33	\$19.09	\$18.50	\$22.30
Ohio	\$17.02	\$18.80	\$20.56	\$13.15	\$13.02
Pennsylvania	\$14.80	\$13.35	\$15.72	\$16.67	\$16.70

Table 4 shows the number of incentive dollars (paid to the states) per case [27]. New Jersey falls in the middle of this list (4 states above, 3 states below), is about half of Massachusetts (the highest), and is about 50% higher than Ohio (the lowest). Note particularly that New Jersey only gets about \$20 a year for each child support case that it handles.

The relationship between total collections and caseload could be construed a measure of the efficiency of the various states collection procedures; of course no account is taken of cost (see below). The relationship between total collections and incentives payments shows how much "bang" the federal government gets for its incentive "buck." The relationship between incentive payments and caseload indicates how well the states are "banging" the federal government for a "buck."

## *Collection of Child Support*

In 1990, New Jersey collected \$283,314,540 [28] child support owed, that figure is broken down by method of collection as follows.

**Table 5: NJ Child Support Collection, FY 1990**

Method	Amount
Federal Tax Refund Offset	\$16,054,133

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Table 5: N.J Child Support Collection, FY 1990

Method	Amount
State Tax Refund Offset	\$3,572,539
Unemployment Intercept	\$3,596,460
Wage Withholding	\$108,953,521
Other	\$151,137,887
Total	\$283,314,540

Of the total amount of support collected, the two most significant methods are wage withholding and "other" [29]. Of course, this latter method could only be payment through the probation department and payment to be released from incarceration. NJCCR does not know (at this time) how much of the "other" is paid through the Probation Department or how much comes through the courts.

It is interesting to see how New Jersey stacks up with other states on collections. Table 6 shows where New Jersey is in terms of percent of current year's (1990) support collected [30].

Table 6: Percent of Current Year's (1990) Support Collected

State	Percent
Maine	99.9%
Connecticut	86.6%
Missouri	80.7%
Louisiana	79.5%
S. Carolina	79.4%
(22 states)	
New Jersey	58.8%
(19 states)	

New Jersey falls very close to the middle of the states in current year (FY 1990) child support collection; the national average is 57.2%. Looking further at performance in collecting current support AND past due support, we turn to Table 7 [31].

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**Table 7: Percent of Current Year's (1990) and Prior Years' Support Collected**

State	Percent
Puerto Rico	79.9%
New Hampshire	67.4%
Pennsylvania	51.2%
Arizona	49.7%
Delaware	48.5%
(39 states)	
<b>New Jersey</b>	<b>12.4%</b>
(2 states)	

Overall, New Jersey's collection of current and prior support ranks almost dead last.

## *Federal Administrative Expenditures for Child Support Enforcement*

Overall the federal government LOST over \$526 million in 1990 [32]. Table 8 shows the administrative expenses FOR NEW JERSEY ALONE, broken down into the federal share and the state's share.

**Table 8: Child Support Enforcement Administrative Expenses: Federal vs. New Jersey**

Expense	Amount
Federal	\$50,267,601 [33]
State (NJ)	\$26,845,316 [34]
Total	\$77,112,917 [35]

These expenditures, borne partly by the state and partly by the Federal government, can also be broken down into AFDC and non-AFDC (note: the discrepancy between the totals in Tables 8 and 9 is the Report's mistake, not NJCCR's) [36].

**Table 9: Child Support Enforcement Administrative Expenses: AFDC vs. Non-AFDC**

Expense	Amount
AFDC	\$55,361,499

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**Table 9: Child Support Enforcement Administrative Expenses: AFDC vs. Non-AFDC**

Expense	Amount
Non-AFDC	\$21,065,141
Total	\$76,426,640

The AFDC support program consumes the most of these expenses, over two-thirds. This total can also be broken down by type of activity, as in Table 10 [37].

**Table 10: Child Support Enforcement Administrative Expenses by Type of Activity**

Type of Activity	Expense
Paternities	\$5,618,920
Locates	\$11,025,315
Orders Established	\$7,850,703
Enforcement	\$27,812,070
Financial Distribution	\$24,119,632
Total	\$76,426,640

We note that approximately one-third is spent on enforcement, and one-third is spent on distribution of payments! The reader is reminded that Tables 8 to 10, above, concern federal and state administrative expenses for New Jersey alone; we turn now to New Jersey's administrative expenses.

## *New Jersey's Administrative Expenses for Child Support Enforcement*

Firstly, New Jersey's staffing is given in Table 11 [38].

**Table 11: New Jersey Child Support Enforcement Staffing (FY 1990)**

Staff	Number
State and Local IV-D Agency	531
Under Cooperative/Purchasing Agreement	1296
Total	1827

The overall figure is growing at about 50 new staffers a year [39]. These staffers are afforded salaries and benefits as shown in Table 12 [40].

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**Table 12: New Jersey Child Support Enforcement Salaries and Benefits(FY 1990)**

Staff	Cost
State and Local IV-D Agency	\$19,393,991
Under Cooperative/Purchasing Agreement	\$41,297,732
Total	\$60,691,723

The average salary for a State or Local IV-D worker is \$36,500, for a Cooperative/Purchase Agreement worker it averages to \$32,000, and overall the average is \$33,200.

### *The Cost of Child Support Enforcement*

The federal cost of child support enforcement is shown in Table 13.

**Table 13: Federal Cost of Child Support Enforcement (FY 1990)**

Income/Expenditures	Amount
Net Federal Share of AFDC collections	+\$534,742,015 [41]
Net Federal Share of Administrative Expenses	-\$1,060,872,473 [42]
Net Loss	-\$526,130,458 [43]

The cost to federal tax payers is, then, over one-half billion dollars. New Jersey's "share" of this is: -\$33,260,224 [42]. Table 14 shows the Federal Government's calculation of the "savings" to New Jersey.

**Table 14: New Jersey Cost of Child Support Enforcement (FY 1990)**

Income/Expenditures	Amount
NJ Share of Distributed AFDC Collections	+\$25,420,967 [44]
Incentive Payments	+\$8,251,463 [45]
NJ Share of Administrative Expenses	-\$26,845,316 [46]
Net Gain	+6,836,114 [47]

A measure of "cost effectiveness" is given by dividing collections by expenditures [48].

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Table 15: New Jersey Cost Effectiveness (FY 1990) according to OCSE

Category	New Jersey	National Average
AFDC/FC \$s Collected per \$s Total Administrative Expenditures	.80	1.09
Non-AFDC \$s Collected per \$s Total Administrative Expenditures	2.86	2.65
Overall	3.66	3.74

Be this as it may, we note that Table 14 shows that were it not for the incentive payments, New Jersey would not have a net gain at all, but a couple of million dollars net loss, instead. It would appear that the federal government is saving New Jersey's tax payers nearly \$7 million a year by enforcing child support payments. Not so; the New Jersey tax payer is also a federal tax payer: as a federal tax payer the cost of enforcing child support payments in New Jersey alone is over \$33 million. Ultimately, the balance sheet shows an OVERALL LOSS of \$26,424,110.

NJCCR is concerned about the huge cost of this endeavor which certainly does not pay for itself. The question has to be, is there anything, that will not cost the tax payer more, that can be done to improve child support compliance? The answer is, yes, give more fathers joint custody, and generous minimum visitation, and enforce it; the collection of child support will automatically improve AT NO FURTHER COST [49].

# NEW JERSEY COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

## SOURCES

- [1] In 95% of the cases, the non-custodial parent is the father. See Shrier, Simring, Greif, Shapiro & Lindenthal, *Child Custody Arrangements: A Study of Two New Jersey Counties*, *Journal of Psychiatry & Law*, Spring, 1989.
- [2] Gordon, Lester, *Child Support and Alimony: 1989*, Current Population Report, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 173, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, page 1.
- [3] *ibid.*, Table F.
- [4] *ibid.*, page 28.
- [5] R. Rainville, Director of the NJ Office of Child Support Enforcement Services.
- [6] E. Rocheford, Morris County Sheriff.
- [7] See Appendix 1 of this paper; see also NJCCR's position paper: *Child Support Guidelines*.
- [8] State v. Madewell, 63 N.J. 506, 512 (1973); see also the New Jersey Constitution, Article I, Paragraph 13: "No person shall be imprisoned for debt in any action ..."; U.S. v. Safeway Stores, 149 F.2d 834, 839 (5th Cir.): "Civil contempts are sometimes civil in name only, entailing what are in reality criminal punishments"; Uphaus v. Wyman, 360 U.S. 72 (1959).
- [9] Census Report, *op. cit.*, pages 6 and 7.
- [10] The following (perhaps overly) simple example illustrates this.
- Gross income: \$40,000 a year  
Taxes: 35% \*  
Housing: 35% \*\*  
Child Support: 15% (one child)  
Leaving for personal support: 15% (same as that given for child support), or \$6000/year. Car insurance of \$1000 leaves \$5000; car payments of \$200/month, or \$2400/year leaves \$2600, or \$50/week for food, clothing, commuting costs, unreimbursed medical, entertainment, and visitation expenses.
- \* using the federal, state, FICA, and HI included in the Child Support Guidelines Tax Table, plus \$2000/year of "hidden" taxes: sales, gasoline, alcohol, tobacco, ....
- \*\* using an annual study on housing costs done by Harvard University (including utilities); probably higher for the NY metropolitan area.
- [11] See McKeon, "Courts Don't Treat Fathers Fairly," *Chicago Sun-Times*, May 15, 1991, page 34; Braver, Wolchik, Sandler, Fogas & Zvetina, *How Much Do Divorced Fathers Visit Their Children? It Depends on Who You Ask*, Arizona State University, 1988: claims that 1/4 to 1/3 of all fathers experience visitational interference; Nichols & Vanini, *Visitational Interference: A National Study*, Father's Advocacy, Information & Referral Corp., 1986: claims that 3/4 of all fathers experience visitational interference. The 3/4 figure jibes with NJCCR's survey of its own members.
- [12] N.J.S.A. 2C:13-4.
- [13] Wallerstein and Kelly, *The Father-Child Relationship after Divorce*, in Cath et al. (eds.), *Father and Child, Developmental and Clinical Perspectives*, Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1982, page 454.
- [14] Mattox, *The Parent Trap*, *Policy Review*, Vol. 55, No. 6, Winter, 1991.
- [15] Wallerstein and Kelly, *op. cit.*, page 456.
- [16] Ph.D. thesis of K. Herud, currently Director of Psychology at East Jersey (formerly Rahway)

# NEW JERSEY COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

State Prison, formerly School/Clinical Psychologist at the Woodbridge Child Diagnostic and Treatment Center: *Locus of Control in Relation to Sex and Race in Adolescent Offender Groups*, Seton Hall University, 1988.

- [17] Lt. Alan August, of Scared Straight Juvenile Awareness Program.
- [18] Cf. Bowen v. Gilliard, 483 U.S. 587 (1986), J. Brennan, dissenting, pages 613-15.
- [19] Williams, *Child Custody and Parental Cooperation*, paper presented to the American Bar Association, Section of Family Law, San Francisco, 1987.
- [20] Shrier *et al.*, *op. cit.*
- [21] Texas Codes Annotated, Title 2, Section 14.033 *et seq.*
- [22] L.1990, c. 26, section 2, effective August 19, 1990; now at N.J.S.A. 9:2-4.
- [23] *Child Support Enforcement, Fifteenth Annual Report to Congress*, For the Period Ending September, 1990, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Office of Child Support Enforcement.
- [24] *ibid.*: Table 45.
- [25] *ibid.*: Table 3 divided by Table 45.
- [26] *ibid.*: Table 3 divided by Table 16.
- [27] *ibid.*: Table 16 divided by Table 45.
- [28] *ibid.*: Table 3.
- [29] *ibid.*: Table 19.
- [30] *ibid.*: Table 114.
- [31] *ibid.*: Table 92.
- [32] *ibid.*: Table 25.
- [33] *ibid.*: Table 28.
- [34] *ibid.*: Table 29.
- [35] *ibid.*: Table 27.
- [36] *ibid.*: Table 31.
- [37] *ibid.*: Table 37.
- [38] *ibid.*: Table 65.
- [39] *ibid.*: Table 66.
- [40] *ibid.*: Table 67.
- [41] *ibid.*: Table 13; Net Federal Share of AFDC Collections is defined as the portion of AFDC collections that is kept by the Federal Government as a reimbursement of its share of past assistance payments under the AFDC program, after deducting the incentive payments made to the states..
- [42] *ibid.*: Table 28; Net Federal Share of Administrative Expenses is defined as the portion of total administrative expenditures claimed during the fiscal year that were paid by the Federal Government at the appropriate Federal financial participation rate, reduced by the amount of fees received from the states for use of the Federal Parent Locator Service.
- [43] *ibid.*: Table 25.
- [44] *ibid.*: Table 13.
- [45] *ibid.*: Table 15.
- [46] *ibid.*: Table 29.
- [47] *ibid.*: Table 26.
- [48] *ibid.*: Tables 69-71.
- [49] See further NJCCR's position paper: *Child Support Guidelines*.

# NEW JERSEY COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

## POSITION PAPER: CHILD SUPPORT GUIDELINES

August 11, 1993

### *Introduction*

Assurance of *adequate* child support in cases of divorce and separation is an important priority for society. Establishment of a fair and uniform system for identifying reasonable levels of child support is necessary to insure the economic needs of children are met. Prior to the establishment of child support guidelines, wildly divergent support orders were entered by judges. The guidelines effectively removed the setting of child support from the hands of the judiciary because the support orders were often capricious, and usually without an understanding of the economics of divorce and the economic needs of children.

The State of New Jersey uses the Child Support Guidelines [1] to determine the amount of child support to be paid by a non-custodial parent. The Guidelines are to be used as a **rebuttable presumption**. They should not be used if they require an inequitable support payment [2]. The question is, of course, do the Guidelines provide equitable results? If not, under what conditions do the Guidelines lead to inequitable results? The New Jersey Council for Children's Rights (NJCCR) supports an equitable child support law, but questions whether the laws in New Jersey are equitable.

### *Whence the Guidelines*

A determination of the Guidelines essential fairness can only be reached after gaining an understanding of how the Guidelines were created. New Jersey's Guidelines were created pursuant to a federal law that required all states to adopt child support guidelines or risk losing federal funding [3]. New Jersey adopted the **income shares model** as set forth by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

"The Income Shares model is based on the concept that the child should receive the same proportion of parental income that he or she would have received if the parents lived together." [4]

In New Jersey, support orders are a function of net income. Each parent's net income is determined by subtracting taxes, prior support orders and mandatory deductions from gross income. The percentage each parent is obligated to pay for the child is then determined as each parent's net income over the sum of their net incomes. Child care expenses and extraordinary medical/dental expenses are added to the figure mandated by the Guidelines to determine the total weekly child support obligation. The percentages are then applied to this total child support figure to determine each parent's weekly child support obligation.

The child support figures used in New Jersey are from a 1981 study [5] that used 1972/73 consumer expenditures [6], adjusted for inflation from 1973 to 1981, as the input data. It is important

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to note that the current (1993) child support Guidelines are derived from the spending patterns of an intact family in 1973. There can be little doubt that even the spending patterns of the 1993 intact family, as well as the spending patterns of a 1993 separated family, differ significantly from the spending patterns of 1973 families. This deficiency in the Guidelines could only be corrected by using a consumer expenditure study from the 1990s and redoing the work of the 1981 study. The 1981 study was selected because it was purported to be based on two very important economic principles: 1) it identified the children's expenses separately from the expenses of the parents, and 2) it recognized the impact of economies of scale and used marginal costs when calculating the expenses associated with the addition or reduction of dependent children. The data and economic theory (see below) used to determine New Jersey's total child support figures are NOT the only data and economic theories available today. Not every state has adopted Guidelines based on the Income Shares model.

## *Economic Data on the Costs of Raising Children*

The 1972-73 data, adjusted each year for inflation, comes from data obtained from intact families. The 1981 study purports to determine the "costs of raising children" in a two-parent, two-children nuclear family. The child support amounts in the Guidelines thus reflect the costs of raising children in an environment in which certain "economies of scale" apply. The Guidelines do NOT reflect the fact that the divorced family must have two residences, two cars, and so on; this means that there is simply less money available to spend on the children in most cases. Thus, the Guidelines are inequitable because they are based on data that do NOT reflect the costs of raising children of divorce. Further, the Guidelines do not take into account the necessity of two dwellings and the like. Guidelines in some other states do [7], and such considerations could easily be incorporated into New Jersey's calculations by allowing as deductions in the computation of net income various fixed expenses: housing, transportation, insurance (health and life), and the like.

## *The Economic Theory Used in Computing the Costs of Raising Children*

The problem here is in how to estimate the portion of a family's total expenditures that belong to the children, i.e., the marginal cost.

"The vast majority of a family's expenditures (90 percent) are made either on shared goods or privately consumed goods, such as food, that are not readily attributed to a given family member. Both of these categories of goods make estimating expenditures on children problematic. What portion of a family's expenses on a shared good such as housing, for example, should be attributed to the family's children? ... Only in cases where goods are consumed exclusively by adults (e.g., adult clothing or alcohol) or consumed exclusively by children (e.g., children's clothing or toys) is there a reasonable prospect of sorting out on whose behalf the expenditure was made." [8]

The consumer surveys used to generate the basic cost data only contain figures for a family's overall expenditures, and in general, do not distinguish shared goods expenditures from private goods expenditures.

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"...[W]e introduce the concept of 'well-being' or what economists refer to as 'utility.' Consider the childless couple with a particular level of income. If a child is added to the household, the family will spend some of its budget on the child. As a result, the adults spend less on themselves and their level of economic well-being decreases because of the presence of the child. The 'cost' of the child to the adults may then be measured as the extra resources needed to bring the parents back to the same level of economic well-being they would have enjoyed had they remained childless." [9]

None of this gets us anywhere unless we CHOOSE some measure of economic well-being (utility). New Jersey's Guidelines are based on the assumption that families that spend the same percentage of their income on food have the same well-being [10]. In this way the "cost" of raising "a child" can be determined by considering the difference of total expenditures between a childless family and a family with one child, if both families spend the same percentage of their total expenditures on food. Apart from the fact that the Guidelines were generated only on the assumption that expenditures on food alone is a valid measure of economic well-being, the operation of the mathematical formulas underlying the guidelines has the practical effect of forcing persons with widely varying individual circumstances into predetermined pigeonholes.

## *Other Deficiencies of the Guidelines*

The economic data generated was an average based on three socioeconomic levels: high, medium, and low family income. Thus, it was computed that all parents within each socioeconomic level spent an average amount of money on their children; thus the Guidelines are based on estimates and of necessity are overly generous to children from families on the low end of each socioeconomic level, and under generous to children from families on the high end. The New Jersey Guidelines attempt to correct for this by providing for a "sliding scale" of percentages, but this in turn leads to several anomalous and irrational results (see below).

- This method of averaging does not take into account the aging of children: older children cost more. The Guidelines fail to guarantee adequate levels of support to both older and younger children, as they only provide for the average child. The judiciary have attempted to correct for this unfairness to some degree by awarding the higher figure from the spread given in the total child support tables when older children are involved.
- The data are based on national figures, and fail to distinguish various demographic factors: it costs more to live in New Jersey, and to raise children in New Jersey, than it does in Indiana [11]. It costs more to live in an urban area than it costs to live in a rural area. It costs more to live in northern New Jersey than it does to live in southern New Jersey. The Guidelines fail to consider any of these demographic factors.
- The Guidelines only cover the first \$52,000 (yearly net) of income, and child support awards for children in the Upper Middle class and above are back in the hands of "judicial discretion."
- No provision is made for expenses incurred by the non-custodial parent when the children

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spend time with him: vacations, gifts, clothing, food, and the like [12].

- Health expenses: both non-reimbursed and insurance costs, are already included in the total child support figures (see below), and should ALWAYS be paid by the obligee, NEVER by the obligor in addition to his child support payment.
- The Guidelines allocates more dollars in the support order for a child's transportation than it does to their recreation, clothing and health care combined (see below, Table 1).
- There is no provision for when older children earn money, some of which should go to their support.
- The Guidelines figure shelter costs at the "current market rate" and do not make provision when the custodial parent and the children are living in the marital home, that was purchased years before with a fixed mortgage, protected from the inflationary spiral in real estate.
- The Guidelines make no provision for tax credits for items such as mortgage interest, real estate taxes, other dependents, and the like.
- The Guidelines make no provision for credit when a second adult wage-earner is living in the same home as the children defraying some of the fixed costs.
- Though the Guidelines do take into account prior support orders, they do not take into account other dependents of the obligor acquired after the support order [13].
- In New Jersey children are only emancipated when they become self-supporting; the Guidelines were based on data for children ONLY up to the age of 18.

## *Rebuttable Presumption of the Guidelines*

The Guidelines are supposed to be a "rebuttable presumption," but there are no standards recognized by the judiciary for rebutting the presumption. The Guidelines explicitly state that they do NOT take into account the economic impact of the following factors.

- Nontraditional custody and visitation arrangements (a traditional arrangement has the children with the custodial spouse 80% and with the non-custodial spouse 20% of the time).
- Spousal support (alimony).
- Equitable distribution of property.
- Tax consequences.
- Fixed direct payments.

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- Unreimbursed extraordinary medical/dental expenses for the obligor parent (not for the children -- those are taken into account, and mishandled -- see above).
- Educational expenses for the children or the parents.
- Single-family units having more than six children.
- In non-welfare cases, stipulated agreements for child support.

We have seen that there are several other factors NOT taken into account by the Guidelines. In order for the "rebuttable presumption" to be rebuttable, ALL of the factors NOT considered by the Guidelines MUST be considered: for instance, if the children spend more than 20% of their time with the obligor parent the amount MUST be less than the Guidelines in order to be equitable.

In rebutting the Guidelines it is also important to inspect how the child support dollar IS SUPPOSED to be spent. As an example, we include here the assignment of the total child support cost to different categories [14]. It must be remembered that the percentages represent the cost of the child, NOT the total costs of the household. The cost (in dollars) for the child can be obtained by multiplying each percent into the total child support amount (NOT just the obligor's share). In addition, these percentages DO NOT represent the "marginal costs" of the child within the total costs of the household.

**Table 1: Allocation of the Child Support Dollar**

Category	Percent
Travel (Transportation)	25%
Food	18%
Household (Furniture, Non-food Groceries)	10%
Recreation	10%
Shelter	9%
Clothing	7%
Health (Insurance and Non-reimbursed)	6%
Utilities	5%
Food Out (Restaurants)	5%
Miscellaneous	5%

After the total child support amount (for both parents) is computed, the amount proposed to be

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spent on the child in each of these categories should be examined for fairness. This process will reveal glaring inequities due to individual circumstances.

## *Fairness of the Guidelines*

The Guidelines should be fair to the parents as well as the children. See Appendix 1 for a more detailed study of the fairness of the Guidelines. It appears that the Guidelines, as fashioned in New Jersey, are designed to keep the non-custodial parent in relative poverty. Consider the following, simplified example. An average middle class income in New Jersey is \$40,000 per year. Allocate 35% of that income to taxes (the federal, state, FICA, and HI taxes are included in the Child Support Guidelines Tax Tables, and come to 30% of gross; to this we add 5% for "hidden" taxes: sales, gasoline, alcohol, tobacco, ...). Allocate 35% of that income to housing, including utilities [15]. The child support (for just one child) comes to 15% of gross. This leaves the non-custodial parent with 15% (the same as for the child!), or about \$6000 per year, for personal support. Deduct from this car insurance of \$1000, leaving \$5000; further deduct from this car payments of \$200 per month, leaving \$2600, or just \$50 per week for food, clothing, commuting costs, unreimbursed medical, entertainment, and visitation expenses. It is amazing that the non-custodial parent in this example can survive at all!

## *The Connection between Child Support Payment Compliance and Visitation*

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services maintains that: because child support payment and visitation are not related, child support payment compliance can be enforced independently from the enforcement of visitation [16]. It is clear that HHS feels that child support payment compliance can be enforced even when the custodial parent is violating the visitation part of a court order. NJCCR supports the view that the support part of an order and the visitation part of an order can be enforced independently of each other. A denial of visitation rights is not grounds for withholding support payments, and failure to pay support is not grounds for denying visitation; this amounts simply to the principle that two wrongs do not make a right. It is well known that non-paying, non-custodial fathers ("deadbeat Dads") are subject to incarceration, but the State does practically nothing to enforce visitation for fathers and children, even if the father is paid up on his support. HHS errs, however, in their assertion that child support payment compliance and visitation are not connected, when the most recent Census shows clearly that the two ARE related (see Appendix 2).

## *Accountability*

Child support orders are supposed to be reviewed every three years, and should be reviewed whenever circumstances change affecting the (fair) cost of raising children. Even if the Guidelines did a much better job of estimating the costs of raising children, AND took into account all of the above factors they do not now take into account, there is still a need for some kind of accountability. Accountability is needed, if for no other reason, to ensure that the proper amount IS being spent on the child, and to gauge the adequacy of the support order. In addition, accountability would allow the State to determine better regional support Guidelines, as it would generate real data on the expenses incurred in raising children.

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## *Anomalies in the Guidelines*

The Guidelines should have certain mathematical properties, if they are to be rational, and should obey certain other constraints, if they are to be just. Some of these constraints are listed below.

1. A parent's child support obligation should increase as that parent's (gross) income increases.
2. A parent's child support obligation should decrease as the other parent's (gross) income increases, holding the first parent's income constant.
3. Each parent has a net income (to spend on themselves) after taxes and child support are deducted. If the (gross) incomes of each parent are reversed, their net incomes should be reversed.

Though the first property holds for the Guidelines, the remaining two do not. The necessity of the second property should be self-evident. If the first parent's income remains constant, that parent's child support obligation should decrease as the second parent's income increases; as the second parent's income increases, that parent should have a greater child support obligation. This requirement is very similar to the philosophy of the income shares model; that model holds that the child should be entitled to the same percentage of income (from each parent) that he would have received had the family remained intact. This requirement goes beyond that model, and requires what the courts are in fact doing today -- even if the income of the parents requires a greater contribution to the child's support than that which the child would have received if the marriage had remained intact, then the parents should share their largess with the children, and their child support obligation should be in the same ratio as their net incomes.

The third property required is a fairness or justice requirement: no parent should be "better off" (i.e., have greater net income than the other) if their (gross) incomes are the same; more generally, if their income situations were reversed, their net incomes should also be reversed.

A detailed proof that the Guidelines violate the second and third requirements can be found in Appendix I.

## *Conclusions*

New Jersey's Child Support Guidelines are woefully inadequate. The data and economic theory on which they are based is questionable. There are serious anomalies in them. Unless child support payments are fairly established, there is no moral authority for enforcement. Child support orders that are objectively unfair or which are arbitrarily imposed so as to create the impression of unfairness will only lead to civil disobedience; for instance, it is unfair to require an obligor to pay so much child support that he cannot live on his own. People trapped by irrational demands cannot vent their frustration at the Court, where it belongs, because they will get punished. This frustration tends, then, to get misdirected to the custodial parent and creates unnecessary tension and anxiety for the children. In order for a child support order to be fair, it must be possible for the

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obligor to pay it AND support himself, as well.

Child support enforcement must be a high State priority, and NJCCR has proposals for ways that the State could encourage child support payment compliance without resorting to incarceration: the current methods of enforcement are costly and inefficient [17]. The individual who literally "wrote the book" on the use of jail for enforcement of child support payment has the following to say about it.

"Stack up all the dubious aspects of jailing for nonsupport: the offense is an intrafamily one with complex emotional roots; jails are debilitating institutions - they exceed rather than fit the crime; jailing in this setting is difficult, nearly impossible, to administer in an evenhanded manner; when widely used, the prospect of jailing may well affect adversely the relationship between children and the parent under an order of support, even when the parent pays with unflagging regularity. On these grounds taken together, I, were I a legislator, would vote to remove the sanction of jailing for contempt from the permissible range of techniques for enforcing support." [18]

NJCCR agrees that "there must be a better way" [19].

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## *APPENDIX 1: Anomalies in the Guidelines Detailed*

Simple calculations were done using the 1992 Guidelines for several different parental incomes, and several results emerged. The first twelve rows of Table 2, below, were computed from the 1992 Guidelines, assuming two children. First the weekly gross income of each parent was computed from their yearly gross (columns 2 and 3). Each parent's taxes were obtained from the tax table in the Guidelines (giving the non-custodial parent 1 tax exemption, giving the custodial parent 3 tax exemptions; columns 5 and 8). Each parent's taxes are then subtracted from their gross, obtaining a net figure for each, which were then added together to get combined net income. Note that no other deductions (but taxes) were made. The total net was then located in the total child support table, and the midpoint of the range of numbers given was chosen (column 10). Each parent's percent of the child support was then determined, and multiplied into the total amount to obtain each parent's child support obligation (columns 4 and 7). Lastly, each parent's net was computed by subtracting their taxes and child support obligations from their respective gross income (columns 6 and 9). The following example illustrates the procedure used, and contains the figures generated in row 9, Table 2.

Non-Custodial Yearly Gross = \$30,000, or \$577 weekly  
Custodial Yearly Gross = \$15,000, or \$288 weekly  
Taxes for the Non-Custodial = \$155, leaving  $\$577 - \$155 = \$422$  weekly  
Taxes for the Custodial = \$ 50, leaving  $\$288 - \$ 50 = \$238$  weekly  
Total Net Income =  $\$422 + \$238 = \$660$  weekly  
Total Child Support (from table) = \$218 weekly  
Non-Custodial percent =  $\$422 / \$660 = 64\%$   
Custodial percent =  $\$238 / \$660 = 36\%$   
Non-Custodial Child Support Obligation =  $.64 \times \$218 = \$140$  weekly  
Custodial Child Support Obligation =  $.36 \times \$218 = \$ 78$  weekly  
Non-Custodial Net =  $\$577 - \$155 - \$140 = \$282$   
Custodial Net =  $\$288 - \$ 50 - \$ 78 = \$160$

We note that in this example (and similarly in rows 3, 6, and 12 of Table 2) the custodial parent has less net income than that allocated to the children for support; under these circumstances it is unlikely that all the money allocated to child support will be spent on the child, and indeed, there is no guarantee at all that in any case all of the money allocated to child support will be spent on the children; in cases where it is not, child support is really a form of alimony.

The last three lines of the table were "over the Guidelines" (the total net income was greater than \$52,000 per year), but were computed by extrapolating the percentages in the Guidelines.

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Table 2: Sample Child Support Guidelines Calculations (in Dollars)

1 Row Number	2 Income Noncust Yearly	3 Income Cust. Yearly	4 Child Support Noncust Weekly	5 Taxes Noncust Weekly	6 Net Noncust Weekly	7 Child Support Cust. Weekly	8 Taxes Cust. Weekly	9 Net Cust. Weekly	10 Total Child Support Weekly
1	20,000	0	107	89	189	0	0	0	107
2	0	30,000	0	0	0	149	133	295	149
3	20,000	10,000	97	89	199	55	27	110	152
4	30,000	0	143	155	279	0	0	0	143
5	20,000	20,000	98	89	198	101	77	207	199
6	30,000	10,000	136	155	286	53	27	112	189
7	40,000	0	179	228	362	0	0	0	179
8	15,000	30,000	75	61	152	145	133	299	220
9	30,000	15,000	140	155	282	78	50	160	218
10	20,000	40,000	90	89	206	176	206	387	266
11	30,000	30,000	131	155	291	137	133	307	268
12	40,000	20,000	174	228	367	98	77	210	272
13	30,000	45,000	129	155	293	194	244	427	323
14	40,000	40,000	168	228	373	174	206	389	342
15	40,000	60,000	157	228	384	226	374	553	383

A comparison of rows 1, 3, 5, and 10 shows the effect of the custodial parent's earning income, holding the non-custodial parent's income constant. Note that as the custodial parent earns more, the amount of total child support goes up, as expected. However, when the custodial income jumps from \$10,000 (row 3) to \$20,000 (row 5) the non-custodial parent's support obligation goes up! The sequence of the non-custodial parent's net is: \$189, \$199, \$198, \$206. The same effect can be observed in rows 4, 6, 9, 11, and 13, where the non-custodial net runs: \$279, \$286, \$282, \$291, \$293; however, this does NOT happen when the non-custodial income starts at \$40,000. For these two examples, the second requirement (see "Anomalies," above) does not hold. A comparison of rows 7, 12, 14, and 15 yields a sequence of non-custodial net that is more rational: \$362, \$367, \$373, \$384.

We note in passing that there is a small advantage to the non-custodial parent when the custodial

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parent earns more. As the income of the custodial parent goes up, and the income of the non-custodial parent remains constant, the non-custodial net goes up only a little, if at all. The custodial parent's net, however, goes up dramatically. Considering rows 1, 3, 5, and 10, again, the non-custodial net runs: \$189, \$199, \$198, \$206; the custodial parent's net runs: \$0, \$110, \$207, \$387. Though there is great advantage to the custodial parent, as the income increases, and though the custodial parent must assume more and more of the child support burden, the advantage to the non-custodial parent, who bears less of the child support burden as the custodial parent's income increases, is of relatively small consequence.

Consider how the total child support varies as parental income increases (last column). In rows 2 to 4 and in rows 5 to 7, but not in rows 8 and 9 or rows 10 to 12, the amount of total child support varies significantly and irrationally. Some of this effect is due to IRS rules on who gets the tax deduction for the children, but that does not explain all of the anomaly here. In the upper bands the effect disappears, even with the tax consequences.

A comparison of the nets for each parent (columns 6 and 9) in rows 10 to 12 reveals a startling inequity. The \$20,000/year, non-custodial parent gets to keep \$206 (row 10), when the custodial parent makes \$40,000/year, but when the circumstances are reversed, the \$20,000/year, custodial parent gets to keep \$210 (row 12), when the non-custodial parent makes \$40,000. Even more glaring is the difference between the non-custodial net (row 12) of \$367, and the custodial net (row 10) of \$387. Much of this effect, but not all, can be attributed to the tax situation. This example shows that the third property (see "Anomalies," above) is not true of the Guidelines.

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## *APPENDIX 2: The Connection Between Support Payment Compliance and Custody/Visitation*

The latest Census Report [20] shows quite clearly that child support payment compliance and custody/visitation are connected, and it is not too hard to see this connection as causal.

Table 3, below, summarizes and extends the data in the Census Report [19, Tables C and D].

Let:

U = the Universal Set (all "absent" fathers);

A = the set of all absent fathers with AFDC children;

C = the set of child support-paying, absent fathers;

J = the set of absent fathers with joint custody;

V = the set of absent fathers with visitation;

N = the set of absent fathers with neither joint custody nor visitation.

Let "P(A)" mean "the probability of A." Let "P(A|B)" mean "the probability of A given B." First of all, we note that the set-theoretic union of A and not-A is U; the set-theoretic union of J, V, and N is also U.

$$A \cup \bar{A} = U$$

$$J \cup V \cup N = U$$

Equation 1 allows us to determine the probability of the set-theoretic intersection of two sets.

$$P(A \cap B) = P(A)P(B|A)$$

Equation 2 states the the probability of the set-theoretic union of two disjoint sets is the sum of their probabilities.

$$IF (A \cap B) = \emptyset, P(A \cup B) = P(A) + P(B)$$

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Equation 3 is Bayes' Theorem, and allows us to compute  $P(A|B)$  given  $P(A)$ ,  $P(B)$ , and  $P(B|A)$ .

$$P(A|B) = \frac{P(A)}{P(B)} P(B|A)$$

Using these equations and the basic data in the Census Report we obtain the following tables.

**Table 3: Overall Probabilities,  $P(C) = 0.669^*$**

1**	2**	3***	4****
$P(J) = 0.073$	$P(C J) = 0.902$	$P(J \text{ and } C) = 0.066$	$P(J C) = 0.099$
$P(V) = 0.549$	$P(C V) = 0.791$	$P(V \text{ and } C) = 0.434$	$P(V C) = 0.649$
$P(N) = 0.379$	$P(C N) = 0.445$	$P(N \text{ and } C) = 0.169$	$P(N C) = 0.253$

\* - From Equation 2, adding the rows in the third column

\*\* - From [19, Table D].

\*\*\* - From Equation 1, operating on columns 1 and 2.

\*\*\*\* - From Equation 3, dividing column 3 by  $P(C)$ .

Thus, from column 1 of Table 3, the probability that an absent father has joint custody is 0.073, that he has visitation is 0.549, and that he has neither is 0.379. Column 2 of Table 3 gives the probability of 0.902 that an absent father pays his child support given that he has joint custody; of 0.791 that an absent father pays his child support given that he has visitation; and, of 0.445 that an absent father pays his child support given that he has neither joint custody nor visitation. NOTE THAT the probability that an absent father pays his child support, given that he has neither joint custody nor visitation is less than 0.5. Column 3 of Table 3 gives the probabilities that an absent father: has joint custody and pays his child support, has visitation and pays his child support, and has neither and pays his child support. NOTE THAT the probability that an absent father has neither joint custody nor visitation AND pays his child support is 0.169; clearly there is a very low probability that an absent father has neither joint custody nor visitation and pays his child support. Column 4 of Table 3 shows probabilities that an absent father has joint custody, visitation, or neither, given that he pays child support. NOTE THAT the probability that an absent father has neither joint custody nor visitation, given that he pays his child support is low (0.253); expressed differently, the probability that an absent father in the class of child support payers has neither joint custody nor visitation is low. Alternatively, 3/4s of all child support paying absent fathers have either joint custody or visitation. The connection between custody/visitation and child support payment compliance could not be clearer.

In addition, it is interesting to compare the overall statistics (Table 3) with the statistics for fathers with AFDC children (Table 4) and for fathers with non-AFDC children (Table 5). The "original" purpose of the federal Family Support Acts was to reduce AFDC disbursements, by getting fathers of AFDC children to pay more child support. The Census Report shows that overall per-

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centage of collection of child support has not improved since 1985; neither have the percentage of collections from fathers with AFDC children and from fathers with non-AFDC children improved since 1985 [19, Table B].

**Table 4: Probabilities for Fathers with AFDC Children, P(C) = 0.592\***

1**	2**	3***	4****
P(J) = 0.058	P(CIJ) = 0.876	P(J and C) = 0.051	P(JIC) = 0.086
P(V) = 0.460	P(CIV) = 0.752	P(V and C) = 0.346	P(VIC) = 0.584
P(N) = 0.482	P(CIN) = 0.405	P(N and C) = 0.195	P(NIC) = 0.329

**Table 5: Probabilities for Fathers with Non-AFDC Children, P(C) = 0.701\***

1**	2**	3***	4****
P(J) = 0.080	P(CIJ) = 0.909	P(J and C) = 0.073	P(JIC) = 0.104
P(V) = 0.590	P(CIV) = 0.802	P(V and C) = 0.473	P(VIC) = 0.675
P(N) = 0.330	P(CIN) = 0.471	P(N and C) = 0.155	P(NIC) = 0.221

Clearly fathers with non-AFDC children have better child support compliance rates in all three categories (J, V, and N - compare column 2 in Tables 4 and 5). Furthermore, column 4 tells us that among fathers with AFDC children that are paying child support, the probability that one has neither joint custody nor visitation is 0.329; alternatively 2/3s of all child support paying absent fathers with AFDC children have either joint custody or visitation. Similarly, among fathers with non-AFDC children that are paying child support, the probability that one has neither joint custody nor visitation is 0.221; alternatively, 4/5s of all child support paying absent fathers with non-AFDC children have either joint custody or visitation.

In order to improve child support payment compliance for all absent fathers, and especially those fathers with AFDC children, the emphasis should be on awarding the fathers more joint custody of and visitation with their children. That child support compliance will "automatically" improve by getting more fathers actively involved in their children's lives is shown in Tables 6 and 7 following.

In Table 6, we determine the overall collection rate for child support, on the hypothesis that all fathers with neither joint custody nor visitation are given visitation; the overall collection rate jumps from 0.669 - P(C) in Table 3 - to 0.799 - P(C) in Table 6.

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**Table 6: The Effect of Giving all Father's at least Visitation, P(C) = 0.799\***

1**	2**	3***	4****
P(J) = 0.073	P(CJ) = 0.902	P(J and C) = 0.066	P(JIC) = 0.083
P(V) = 0.927	P(CIV) = 0.791	P(V and C) = 0.733	P(VIC) = 0.917

Lastly, in Table 7 we determine the overall collection rate for child support, on the hypothesis that all fathers with neither joint custody nor visitation are given visitation, AND all fathers with visitation are given joint custody; the overall collection rate jumps to 0.860, and, of course, approaches the 0.902 collection rate (which would be for all absent fathers having joint custody).

**Table 7: The Effect of Giving all Father's at least Visitation, and Giving more Fathers Joint Custody, P(C) = 0.860\***

1**	2**	3***	4****
P(J) = 0.621	P(CJ) = 0.902	P(J and C) = 0.560	P(JIC) = 0.651
P(V) = 0.379	P(CIV) = 0.791	P(V and C) = 0.300	P(VIC) = 0.349

Thus, it is NJCCR's contention that child support compliance and custody/visitation ARE connected -- demonstrably so. Though HHS chooses to ignore these facts, states could improve the collection of child support by giving more fathers significant visitation rights and/or joint custody. Of course, there are still going to be fathers who will not get either, due to the presence of other factors: such as child abuse and/or substance abuse.

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## APPENDIX 3: Additional Expenses of the Non-custodial Parent

When the Guidelines are used to determine child support, the total child support figure is first arrived at, then each parent's pro rata share is determined. The share that the non-custodial parent is obliged to pay is given to the custodial parent to spend on the child. The Guidelines explicitly state that this procedure is justifiable only if the custody/visitation situation is "traditional." A "traditional" custody/visitation arrangement has the children with the custodial parent about 80% of the time (and this includes the time the children spend in school), and with the non-custodial parent about 20% of the time. In this Appendix we propose to investigate the effect of nontraditional custody/visitation on the cost of raising children and the transfer of income mandated by the Guidelines.

At the outset it should be obvious that the non-custodial parent who has significant visitation is treated unfairly by an unthinking application of the Guidelines; in this example we are going to use 33% -- that is, the children are with the non-custodial parent 1/3 of their time, and with the custodial parent 2/3s of their time. Clearly, both parents have the expenses (associated with their children) that are detailed in Table 1, above. In this example we shall assume that only the custodial parent buys clothes; for all the remaining categories both parents have expenses, and we shall assume that the non-custodial parent's expenses are 1/2 of the custodial parent's expenses (as the children spend 1/3 of their time with the non-custodial parent, the expenses should be 1/3 divided by 2/3s, or 1/2) for the following categories: travel, food, household, health, recreation and restaurants. Dad's expenses for shelter and utilities should be the same as Mom's, as these costs are fixed, whether the children are in the house or not.

Suppose that Dad, the non-custodial parent earns \$30,000/year, Mom, the custodial parent, earns \$15,000/year, and they have 2 children; see Table 2, line 9. The total child support figure comes to \$218/week which Mom spends on the children as follows, applying the percentages in Table 1.

Table 8: Mom's Expenses (Weekly)

Category	\$
Travel	55
Food	39
Household	22
Recreation	20
Shelter	20
Clothes	17
Health	13
Utilities	11
Restaurants	11

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Table 8: Mom's Expenses (Weekly)

Category	\$
Miscellaneous	10
Total	218

Table 9: Dad's Expenses (Weekly)

Category	\$
Travel	27
Food	20
Household	11
Recreation	10
Shelter	20
Clothes	0
Health	13
Utilities	11
Restaurants	6
Miscellaneous	5
Total	123

Table 9 gives Dad's additional expenses. Dad's net after taxes and child support is \$282 per week, but he can be expected to spend an extra \$123 per week on the children; this really leaves him just \$159 per week to spend on himself! Even though Dad's makes twice what Mom makes, she has \$160 per week to spend on herself. Out of Dad's \$159/week (\$684/month), Dad has to pay for HIS travel, rent, utilities, food, clothing, health, household, recreation and restaurants.

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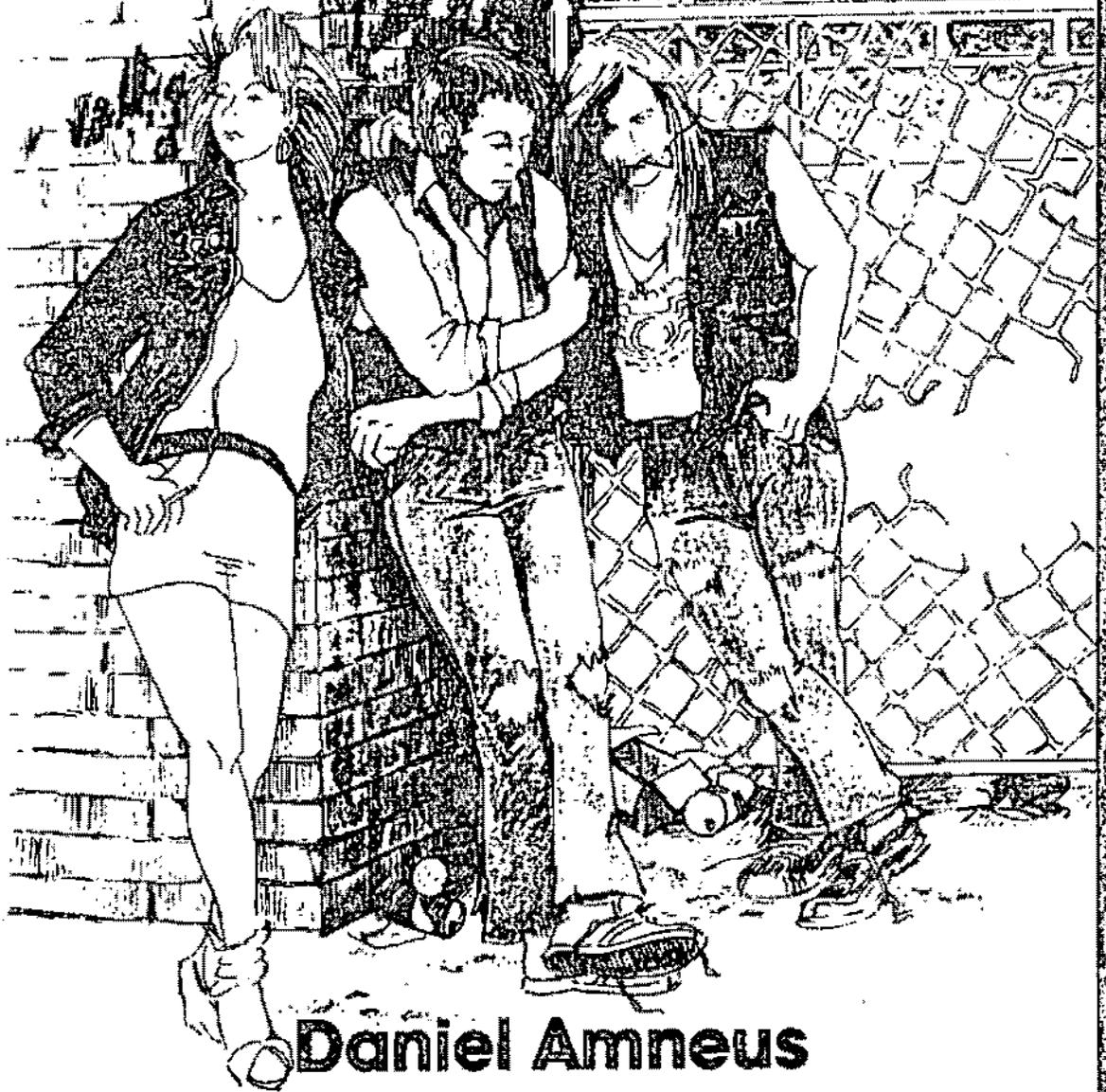
## SOURCES

- [1] *1993 Rules Governing the Courts of the State of New Jersey*, R. 5:6A, mandates the use of the Guidelines; the Child Support Guidelines are in Appendix IX.
- [2] Letter to Robert Braid, from Judge Eugene Serpentelli, J.S.C., dated March 23, 1990, summarizing the results of a meeting of: Robert Braid, Judge Serpentelli, Ray Rainville (Chief, NJ State Child Support Enforcement Services), Alice Stockton (Chief, NJ State Family Services), and Daniel Phillips (research analyst).
- [3] The Family Support Act of 1988, Public Law 100-485.
- [4] Williams, *Development of Guidelines for Child Support Orders: Advisory Panel Recommendations and Final Report*, Office of Child Support Enforcement, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, September, 1987, page II-67.
- [5] Espenshade, *Investing in Children: New Estimates of Parental Expenditures*, Urban Institute Press, Washington, 1984.
- [6] *Consumer Expenditure Survey, 1972-73*, National Institute for Child Health and Human Development.
- [7] Delaware, Hawaii and West Virginia use the Melson Guideline which first deducts from each parent's income an amount needed for basic living expenses.
- [8] Lewin/ICF, *Estimates of Expenditures on Children and Child Support Guidelines*, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, October, 1990, page 2-3 ff.
- [9] *ibid.*, page 2-7 ff.
- [10] This is the so-called Engel approach; there are others, such as the Rothbart approach, which base utility on expenditures on adult goods, and is probably more realistic as far as "assumptions" go. It has been shown that estimates utilizing the Engel approach (as in NJ) are consistently higher than estimates using the Rothbart approach, inviting the conclusion that New Jersey's Guidelines are consistently higher than they need be. See Betson, *Alternative Estimates of the Cost of Children from the 1980-86 Consumer Expenditure Survey*, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, September, 1990. A better estimate of utility might be obtained by considering the sum of food, housing, and adult "toy" expenditures.
- [11] Some recent studies have attempted to consider expenditures on children based on region; see Lino, *Expenditures on a Child by Husband-Wife Families: 1990*, Family Economics Research Group, U.S. Department of Agriculture, January, 1991, which distinguishes the Urban West, the Urban Northeast, the Urban South, the Urban Midwest, and Rural regions.
- [12] Some states attempt to take into account the amount of time the children spend with the non-custodial parent, most notably California. See also Appendix 3 of this paper.
- [13] Some states do take into account "second families." Subsequent spouses or partners, reflecting increased income or reduced expenses of the obligee, are taken into account in Puerto Rico and West Virginia; the needs of a subsequent dependent spouse or partner are taken into account in no states; the needs of subsequent biological or adoptive children are taken into account in Arizona, Colorado, D.C., Delaware, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Oregon, West Virginia, and Wisconsin; the needs of step-children of the obligor are taken into account in Michigan and Oregon. See Takas, *The Treatment of Multiple Family Cases Under State Child Support Guidelines*, Office of Child Support Enforcement, Administration for Children and Families, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, July, 1991.

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- [14] These numbers come from [5] above; for simplicity we have provided only the percentages for the middle-income group, rounded off; the percentages for the lower-income and upper-income groups do not differ significantly.
- [15] According to a Harvard University study.
- [16] Letter from Cleveland Johnson, Jr., Regional Director (Region II) of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, to Richard Martin, received August, 1992.
- [17] See NJCCR's Position Paper on *Custody, Visitation, and the Welfare of Children*, and Appendix 2 of this paper.
- [18] Chambers, *Making Fathers Pay: The Enforcement of Child Support*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1979, page 253.
- [19] Statement of Ed Rocheford, Republican candidate for Morris County Sheriff.
- [20] Gordon H. Lester, *Child Support and Alimony: 1989*, Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 173, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, September, 1991.

# GARAGE GENERATION



Daniel Amneus

By Daniel Amneus

Back to Patriarchy  
The Mystery of *Macbeth*  
The Three *Othellos*  
The Garbage Generation

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## Annex to Chapter 1

### CRIME AND DELINQUENCY:

Ramsey Clark, *Crime in America* (New York: Pocket Books, 1970), p. 39: "In federal youth centers nearly all prisoners were convicted of crimes that occurred after the offender dropped out of high school. Three-fourths came from broken homes."

*Ibid.* p. 123: "Seventy-five per cent of all federal juvenile offenders come from broken homes."

Margaret Wynn, *Fatherless Families: A Study of Families Deprived of a Father by Death, Divorce, Separation or Desertion Before or After Marriage* (New York: London and Maxwell, 1964), p. 147: "The loss of a father increases the risk that a child, and particularly a boy, will become a delinquent by a factor of approximately two."

Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), p. 196: "A famous study in Chicago which had seemed to show more mothers of delinquents were working outside the home, turned out to show only that more delinquents come from broken homes."

*Education Reporter*, December, 1986: "A study by Stanford University's Center for the Study of Youth Development in 1985 indicated that children in single-parent families headed by a mother have higher arrest rates, more disciplinary problems in school, and a greater tendency to smoke and run away from home than do their peers who live with both natural parents—no matter what their income, race, or ethnicity."

Starke Hathaway and Elio Monachesi, *Adolescent Personality and Behavior* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), p. 81: "Broken homes do relate to the frequency of delinquency. Further, if a home is broken, a child living with the mother is more likely to be delinquent than one for whom other arrangements are made. In the case of girls, even living with neither parent is less related to higher delinquency than is living with the mother."

Henry B. Miller, *Father, Child and Sex Role* (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), p. 49: "It is interesting to note that the Gluecks found that both father-absence and mesomorphic physiques were more frequent among delinquents than among nondelinquents [Glueck, S. and Glueck, E., *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency*, New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1950; *Physique and Delinquency*, New York: Harper and Row, 1956].

Dewey G. Cornell, et al., "Characteristics of Adolescents Charged With Homicide: Review of 72 Cases," *Behavioral Sciences and the Law*, 5, No. 1 (1987), 11-23; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, March, 1988: "In a new study of 72 adolescent murderers and 35 adolescent thieves, researchers from Michigan State University demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of teenage criminals live with only one parent. Fully 75 percent of those charged with homicide had parents who were either divorced or had never been married at all; that number rises to 82 percent of those charged with nonviolent larceny offenses."

*Los Angeles Times*, 19 September, 1988: "In a grim portrait of youthful offenders, a federal study released Sunday indicated that nearly 39% of the 18,226 juveniles in long-term youth correctional institutions were jailed for violent crimes, and that nearly three out of five used drugs regularly....[According to Steven R. Schlesinger, director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics] 'Almost 43% of the juveniles had been arrested more than five times.'...Researchers found that many of the young adult offenders had criminal histories that were just as extensive as

those of adults in state prisons. For example, more than half of the young adults surveyed—as well as a comparable sample of state prisoners—were found to be incarcerated for violent offenses....The report also painted a picture of broken homes and poor education: Nearly 72% of the juveniles interviewed said that they had not grown up with both parents, and more than half said that one of their family members had been imprisoned at least once."

Richard M. Smith and James Walters, "Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Males' Perceptions of Their Fathers," *Adolescence*, 13, 1978, 21-28: "The factors which do distinguish between delinquents and non-delinquents indicate that delinquency is associated with: (a) lack of a warm, loving, supportive relationship with the father; (b) minimal paternal involvement with children; (c) high maternal involvement in the lives of youth; and (d) broken homes. The factors which may serve to insulate youth from delinquency are: (a) a stable, unbroken home, characterized by loving, supportive, parent-child relationships; (b) a father who has a high degree of positive involvement with his son; and (c) a father who provides a stable model for emulation by his male offspring. The evidence reported herein supports that of earlier investigations that fathers appear to be significant contributors to the development of offspring who are capable of adapting and adjusting to society, and that fathers who are involved with their offspring in a warm, friendly, cordial relationship are important in the child's life for the prevention of delinquent behavior."

*Los Angeles Times*, 3 November, 1985 [Ronald Ward, 15, murderer of two elderly women and a 12 year old child. According to Joseph B. Brown, Jr., Ward's attorney]: "The hardest thing in this case was that my client's a child and really had no controlling parents. The grandmother who raised him is senile, bless her soul. People oppose abortion and sex education, make no provision to deal with the resulting parentless children, then when these children go ahead and do what can be expected, people want to kill them.'...David Burnett, the circuit judge who presided at the trial, said: 'The tragedy in the Ronald Ward story

is he's a victim of a society that allowed him to live in a situation where he had no guidance or control....

"[The senile grandmother's] unmarried daughter, she said, gave her the baby in late 1969, soon after he was born. The daughter 'used to come around once every two years, but then it got to a place where it was only every four or five years.' She hasn't heard from her now in years."

Marilyn Stern, John E. Northman, and Michael R. Van Slyck, "Father Absence and Adolescent 'Problem Behaviors': Alcohol Consumption, Drug Use and Sexual Activity." *Adolescence*, 19, 1984, 301-312: "The absence of the father from the home affects significantly the behavior of adolescents, and results in greater use of alcohol and marijuana and higher rates of sexual activity. The impact of the father's absence from the home is apparently greater on males than on females. The alcohol and marijuana use and sexual activity rates for father-absent males is greater than for any other group. The data underscore the significance of the father as a key figure in the transmission of values and as a role model in the life of the adolescent. In addition, the father may have a stabilizing influence within the family structure.... This suggests that the father's presence may serve as a deterrent to more liberal indulgence in alcohol and marijuana use and sexual activity.... Father-absent males reported the highest levels of alcohol and marijuana use and sexual activity. This group of adolescents appears to be particularly at-risk for problems associated with the three areas of alcohol, marijuana and sexual activity."

Rachelle J. Canter, "Family Correlates of Male and Female Delinquency," *Criminology*, 20, 1982, 149-167: "Consistent with earlier research, youths from broken homes reported significantly more delinquent behavior than youths from intact homes."

Robert K. Ressler, Ann W. Burgess and John E. Douglas, *Sexual Homicide: Patterns and Motives* (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1988), pp. 20f.: "[I]n seventeen cases [out of 36 sexual murders] the biological father left home

before the boy reached twelve years. The absence was due to a variety of reasons, such as death or incarceration, but most often the reason was separation and divorce... Given the departure of the father from the family, it is not surprising that the dominant parent to the offender during childhood and adolescence was the mother (for twenty-one cases). Some of the offenders were able to speculate on the meaning this had in their lives, as in the following case:

The breakup of the family started progressing into something I just didn't understand. I always thought families should always be together. I think that was part of the downfall.... I said whether I did anything good or bad. They left that totally up to my mom. We'd go out on boats and cycle riding and stuff like that, but when it came down to the serious aspects of parent-child relationship, never anything there from the male side.... My brother was eighteen and moved in with my real dad. I was ten and stayed with my mother.

"Only nine murderers said the father was the dominant parent, and two said both parents had shared the parenting role.... The low level of attachment among family members is indicated by the murderers' evaluations of the emotional quality of their family relationships. Perhaps the most interesting result was that most offenders said that they did not have a satisfactory relationship with the father and that the relationship with the mother was highly ambivalent in emotional quality."

*Ibid.*, p. 92: "In attempting to explain why Warren committed the murders, the psychiatrist pointed to his background, making the following observations:

"1. Warren grew up in a home where women were in control and men were denigrated.

"2. Warren's traumatic victimization at age twelve by two older girls served to confirm his picture of the world.

"3. Warren's marriage to a woman with four children demonstrates his tendency to empathize more with children than adults and his feelings about mother figures.

"4. The timing of the murders indicated a rekindling of Warren's own childhood fears as a result of the events of pregnancy and childbirth; thus, he perceived it necessary to destroy these women in order to prevent his own destruction.

"5. The mutilation of his victims was an attempt to remove gender identification from his victims and render them non-female."

Douglas A. Smith and G. Roger Jarjoura, "Social Structure and Criminal Victimization," *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 25 (Feb., 1988), 27-52; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, June, 1988: "Criminologists have long used race and poverty as key variables for explaining crime rates. However, researchers at the University of Maryland find that when differences in family structure are taken into account, crime rates run much the same in rich and poor neighborhoods and among black, white, and Hispanic populations. In their study of over 11,000 urban residents of Florida, upstate New York, and Missouri, Professors Douglas A. Smith and G. Roger Jarjoura found that 'the percentage of single-parent households with children between the ages of 12 and 20 is significantly associated with rates of violent crime and burglary.' The UM team points out that 'many studies that find a significant association between racial composition and crime rates have failed to control for community family structure and may mistakenly attribute to racial composition an effect that is actually due to the association between race and family structure.' Drs. Smith and Jarjoura likewise criticize theories that attribute crime to poverty since when family structure is taken into account, 'the effect of poverty on burglary rates becomes insignificant and slightly negative.'

"This new study should dispel illusions about curing the social effects of casual divorce and rampant illegitimacy through government programs that merely alleviate poverty or reduce racial prejudice."

Dr. Lee Salk, *What Every Child Would Like His Parents To Know*, cited in Doug Spangler, "The Crucial Years for Father and Child," *American Baby*, June, 1979: "Research conducted on

children whose fathers were away in the military service revealed that...boys whose fathers were absent during the first year of life, seemed to have had more behavior difficulties than would normally have been expected. They seem to have had more trouble establishing and keeping good relationships, not only with adults but with other children. Other studies showed a reasonably close relationship between delinquent behavior in boys and the absence of an adequate father (male) figure during childhood."

Henry Biller, *Father, Child and Sex Role* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1971), p. 1: "Much of the current interest in the father's role seems to have been intensified by the growing awareness of the prevalence of fatherless families and the social, economic and psychological problems that such families often encounter. The fatherless family is a source of increasing concern in many industrialized countries."

*Ibid.*, p. 39: "Bacon, Child, and Barry [Bacon, M. K., Child, L. L., and Barry, H. III, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Correlates of Crime," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1963, 66, 291-300] discovered that societies with relatively low father availability have a higher rate of crime than do societies in which the father is relatively available. Stephens' data [Stephens, W. N., "Judgments by Social Workers on Boys and Mothers in Fatherless Families," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1961, 99, 59-64] suggest that intense, restrictive mother-child relationships are more likely to occur in societies in which there is relatively low father availability in childhood. Close binding mother-child relationships appear to be negatively related to sexual adjustment in adulthood."

*Ibid.*, p. 66: "Juvenile delinquency can have many different etiologies, but paternal deprivation is a frequent contributing factor. Many researchers have noted that father-absence is more common among delinquent boys than among nondelinquent boys. Studying adolescents, Glueck and Glueck [*Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency*, 1950] reported that more than two-fifths of the delinquent boys were father-absent as compared

with less than one-fourth of a matched nondelinquent group. McCord, McCord, and Thurber ("Some Effects of Paternal Absence on Male Children," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1962, 64, 361-369) found that the lower-class father-absent boys in their study committed more felonies than did the father-present group, although the rates of gang delinquency were not different. Gregory I. Gregory, "Anterospective Data Following Child Loss of a Parent: I. Delinquency and High School Dropout," *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 1965, 13, 99-109) referred to a large number of investigations linking father-absence with delinquent behavior and also detected a strong association between these variables in his study of high school students.

"Siegman [A. W., "Father-Absence During Childhood and Antisocial Behavior," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 1966, 25:1, 71-74] analyzed medical students' responses to a questionnaire concerning their childhood experiences. He compared the responses of students who had been without a father for at least one year during their first four years of life, with those of students who had been continuously father-present. The father absent group admitted to a greater degree of antisocial behavior during childhood. Other researchers relying on self-report procedures have also reported that individuals from fatherless families are more likely to engage in delinquent behavior [F. I. Nye, *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior*, New York: Wiley, 1958; W. L. Stocum and C. L. Stone, "Family Culture Patterns and Delinquent Type Behavior," *Marriage and Family Living*, 1963, 25, 202-8]. Anderson [L. M., "Personality Characteristics of Parents of Neurotic, Aggressive, and Normal Preadolescent Boys," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 1969, 33, 575-81] found that a history of paternal absence was much more frequent among boys committed to a training school. He discovered that father-absent nondelinquents had a much higher rate of father-substitution (stepfather, father surrogate, etc.) between the ages of four to seven than did father-absent delinquents.

"Miller [W. B., "Lower-Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1958, 14, 5-19] argued that most lower-class boys suffer from paternal depriva-

tion and that their antisocial behavior is often an attempt to prove that they are masculine. Bacon, Child and Barry [Bacon, M. K., Child, I. L. and Barry, H. III, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Correlates of Crime," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1963, 66, 291-300], in a cross-cultural study, found that father availability was negatively related to the amount of theft and personal crime. Degree of father availability was defined in terms of family structure. Societies with a predominantly monogamous nuclear family structure tended to be rated low in the amount of theft and personal crime, whereas societies with a polygamous mother-child family structure tended to be rated high in both theft and personal crime. Following Miller's hypothesis, Bacon, Child and Barry suggested that such antisocial behavior was a reaction against a female-based household and an attempted assertion of masculinity. A large number of psychiatric referrals with the complaint of aggressive acting-out are made by mothers of preadolescent and adolescent father-absent boys and clinical data suggest that sex-role conflicts are frequent in such boys."

Harvey Kaye, *Male Survival* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1974), p. 155: "Facing economic hardship and a much higher problem of a broken home, brittle family relationships, and an absentee father, the mere struggle for existence becomes a major preoccupation, and the niceties of psychological development may become negligible or coarsened in the process. Growing up deprived also often means growing up with little impulse control. Since the capacity to internalize one's impulses is a prerequisite for progress, handicaps mount. Fragmented families frequently germinate rage-filled children; and rage plus poor impulse control equals confrontation with the law. A sorry case, calling for any bright innovations which a boy's nimble brain can devise."

Patricia Cohen and Judith Brook, "Family Factors Related to the Persistence of Psychopathology in Childhood and Adolescence," *Psychiatry*, Vol. 50, Nov., 1987, p. 344: "One-parent families and families with multiple marital disruptions

are apparently unable to mount effective means of counteracting pathological reactions that have developed in their children."

Barry Siegel, *Los Angeles Times*, 3 Nov., 1985: "Most of the young convicts' stories, full of parents who ran off and unguided lives on the streets, evoke pity. Most of their deeds, full of rapes and beatings and murders, evoke horror."

Ross L. Matsueda and Karen Heimer, "Race, Family Structure, and Delinquency: A Test of Differential Association and Social Control Theories," *American Sociological Review*, 52 (Dec., 1987), 826-40; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, March, 1988: "Teenagers from broken homes are much more likely to become delinquents than are teens from intact families, particularly if they are black.... Given the family roots of black delinquency, the authors of this new study find it 'not surprising that simplistic policies of rehabilitation and deterrence have failed to stem the tide of rising rates of delinquency.'"

Phyllis Chesler, *Mothers on Trial: The Battle for Children and Custody* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1986), p. 291: "Who are the women in prison?... More than half are single mothers living on welfare."

Bill Hazlett and David Shaw, *Los Angeles Times*, 31 December, 1972, citing the views of Dr. Chaytor Mason, clinical psychologist at USC: "But many mothers just can't cope with growing boys alone—especially not with growing boys who are already frustrated by the uncertainty of their own masculinity. The boys misbehave, and the mother tells them how bad they are, and the boys, in effect, tell themselves, 'If I'm going to be bad, at least I'm going to be good at it.'"

Tamara Jones, *Los Angeles Times*, 19 December, 1988: "Favoring shaved heads and crisp, military-style clothing, skin-heads are thought to have doubled their ranks over the last nine months alone to claim an estimated 2,000 to 3,500 hard core

members nationwide. Some even carry business cards with their particular gang's name, post office box number and racist motto....

"What you have here is not the last, dying remnants of an old problem' says Lenny Ziskind of the Center for Democratic Renewal. 'What we have here is just the embryo of a future problem.'"

"[Eric Anderson, a Yakima, Wash., anthropologist] described the skinheads as ranging from 14 to 27, from largely middle-class neighborhoods and broken, unstable families.

"Most are dumber than bricks, but some are real sharp," Anderson said. 'They're openly trying to recruit all the time, and oftentimes it's runaway kids or punks who are looking for some family unit.'"

Gary Bauer, "Report to the President from the White House Working Group on the Family," quoted in *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, February, 1988: "A study by Stanford University's Center of the Study of Youth Development in 1985 indicated that children in single-parent families headed by mothers have higher arrest rates, more disciplinary problems in school, and a greater tendency to smoke and run away from home than do their peers who live with both natural parents—no matter what their income, race, or ethnicity."

Margaret Cambric, Executive Director, Jenesse Center, Los Angeles, quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, 27 February, 1988: "When you're dealing with gang activity, you're dealing with the family structure. People don't tend to see it that way.... All of it is domestic violence.... gang violence stems from the home."

Neal R. Peirce, citing William Haskins, National Urban League Director of Human Services, quoted in *Los Angeles Times*, 30 June, 1982: "There is a strong correlation between the single-parent family and child abuse, truancy, substandard achievement in school and high unemployment and juvenile delinquency. Fatherless boys figure heavily in crimes, according to police officials.... Young girls are almost ostracized if they're

not ready for sex. Young men won't use [contraceptives]. They say, "That's a reflection on my manhood."

Dr. Carlo Abbruzzese, M. D., FASFP Chairman, Human Rights Commission, M.E.N. International, Box 5185 Santa Ana, CA 92706, unpublished memo: "The Hon. S. L. Vavuris, Judge of the San Francisco Superior Court, stated in open Court that '90 percent of all of the children in trouble are from broken homes' (Loebenstein v. Loebenstein #649527, S. F. Superior Court, July 3, 1974. And Judge Arnason of the Contra-Costa Superior Court, speaking more recently to an 'Equal Rights for Fathers' meeting in Berkeley, CA, said '70 percent of male youth offenders committed to correctional institutions are from divorce-torn homes.'"

Anthony L. Pillay, "Psychological Disturbances in Children of Single Parents," *Psychological Reports*, 61, [October, 1987]: 803-6; excerpted in *The Family in America: New Research*, April, 1988. "Children raised in a single-parent household are much more likely to suffer psychological disturbances and break the law than children from intact families....[Of 147 children taken to a psychological clinic] 89 of them—six out of every ten—came from nonintact families....[C]hildren—both male and female—are more likely to turn to drugs when they have only one parent. But problems are most serious among fatherless boys, who 'exhibited less self-control, delay in gratification, and internalized standards of moral judgement than did boys whose families remained intact,' and were 'more antisocial, impulsive and likely to belong to delinquent groups.' Because 'boys reared without their fathers appear to be substantially disadvantaged' by the 'lack [of] a significant model for sex-appropriate behavior, the current trend in awarding custody almost automatically to mothers' should be reexamined."

Henry Biller and Dennis Meredith, *Father Power* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1975), p. 341: "People with emotional disorders manifested in criminal behavior are likely to have been inadequately fathered. A study of murderers by Boston psychiatrist Shervert H. Frazier revealed that father

absence or brutalization was frequent in the killers' backgrounds. Eighteen of the thirty-one murderers he studied had either suffered father absence for significant periods or had been the subject of repeated violence from the father. Many other histories of assassins and mass murderers suggest that they suffer similar backgrounds of father absence or abuse."

Dr. Bernard Laukenmann, Newsletter of Fathers United for Equal Rights of Baltimore, Maryland, February, 1973: "A memorandum of a rehabilitation program from the Florida Ocean Sciences Institute (compiled in 1970) revealed that 75 percent of the law offenders were from broken homes. Florida's Division of Youth Services acknowledges that this situation is state wide: more than two thirds of the criminal minors that the agency has been handling are from broken homes....Recently a public statement showed that 70 percent of all crimes in the city of Baltimore, Maryland, are committed by juveniles, and of that number 60 percent come from broken homes....Of the 70 percent juvenile criminals out of broken homes [most] live with their divorced, separated or abandoned mother or other female relative. News releases have it that Oswald (J. F. Kennedy's assassin) Sirhan (R. F. Kennedy's assassin), and Bremer (attempted assassin of Gov. Wallace) came from broken homes...."

Urie Bronfenbrenner, "The Psychological Costs of Quality and Equality in Education," *Child Development*, 38 [1967], 914f.: "A growing body of research evidence points to the debilitating effect on personality development in Negro children, particularly males, resulting from the high frequency of father absence in Negro families....In seeking an explanation for this relationship, several of the major investigators have concluded that the exaggerated toughness, aggressiveness, and cruelty of delinquent gangs reflect the desperate effort of males in lower-class culture to rebel against their early overprotective, feminizing environment and to find a masculine identity. For example, Miller [W. B., "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1958, 14, (3), 5-19] analyzes the dynamics of the process in the following terms:

The genesis of the intense concern over "toughness" in lower class culture is probably related to the fact that a predominantly female household, and lack a consistently present male figure with whom to identify and from whom to learn essential components of a "male" role. Since women serve as a primary object of identification during preadolescent years, the almost obsessive lower class concern with "masculinity" probably resembles a type of compulsive reaction-formation...A positive overt evaluation of behavior defined as 'effeminate' would be out of the question for a lower class male."

*Ibid.*, p. 914, quoting T. F. Pettigrew, *A Profile of the Negro American*, 1964, p. 18: "[F]ather-deprived boys are marked more immature, submissive, dependent, and effeminate than other boys...As they grow older, this passive behavior may continue, but more typically, it is vigorously overcompensated for by exaggerated masculinity. Juvenile gangs, white and Negro, classically act out this pseudo-masculinity with leather jackets, harsh language, and physical 'toughness.'"

William McCord, Joan McCord with Irving Zola, *Origins of Crime: A New Evaluation of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 169: "The father's personality had an important bearing on criminality. We established that warm fathers and passive fathers produced very few criminals. Paternal absence, cruelty, or neglect, however, tended to produce criminality in a majority of boys."

*Ibid.*, p. 170: "Paternal absence resulted in a relatively high rate of crime, especially in drunkenness."

Robert Zagar, et al., "Developmental and Disruptive Behavior Disorders Among Delinquents," *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 28 [1989]: 437-440, epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, September, 1989: "Psychotic delinquents rarely come from intact families. Officials documented a familiar pattern in a recent survey of almost 2,000 children and adolescents referred by the Circuit

Court of Cook County—Juvenile Division for psychiatric evaluation. This group of troubled children included 84 orphans (4 percent), 1,272 from single-parent homes (65 percent), 269 from stepparent families (14 percent), and just 331 from intact two-parent families (17 percent)."

Francis A. J. Ianni, *The Search for Structure: A Report on American Youth Today* (New York: The Free Press, 1989), pp. 207f: "Yet in our observations of family life and in interviews we found that many of the members of disruptive groups and almost all of the street-gang members came from broken or severely disturbed and deprived homes...Many were from single-parent families where the mother had been unable or unwilling to establish adequate behavioral controls over her male children...They soon came to be considered rebellious, unruly, even dangerous troublemakers in the school as well as in the community. Welcome and 'understood' only among others like them, they sought out the structure and the often severe strictures of organized deviant peer groups, where fidelity is to the group or gang rather than to family or school."

*Ibid.*, p. 76: "In Green Valley and other rural areas there were also frequent cases of missing fathers, not as much so as in the urban inner city, but with sufficient frequency among the 'old families' that 'not having a man around to straighten out the kids' was a frequent reason cited by criminal justice and social service professionals in the county seat whenever we asked about delinquency, teen pregnancy, or running away."

Robert J. Sampson and W. Byron Groves, "Community Structures and Crime: Testing Social-Disorganization Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, January, 1989, 774-802, epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, May, 1989: "The relationship between crime and family life recently came under the scrutiny of criminologists at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and the University of Wisconsin—Green Bay. After examining data from hundreds of communities in Great Britain, the researchers concluded that family disruption—either through divorce or illegitimacy—leads to

mugging, violence against strangers, auto theft, burglary, and other crimes. The new study establishes a direct statistical link between family disruption and every kind of crime examined except vandalism. In large part, this linkage can be traced to the failure of 'informal social controls' in areas with few intact families. 'Two-parent households,' the authors of the new study explain, 'provide increased supervision and guardianship not only for their own children and household property, but also for general activities in the community. From this perspective, the supervision of peer-group and gang activity is not simply dependent on one child's family, but on a network of collective family control.' Particularly in poor communities bound together by few social ties, 'pronounced family disruption' helps to 'foster street-corner teenage groups, which, in turn, leads to increased delinquency and ultimately to a pattern of adult crime.'

Bryce J. Christensen, "From Home Life to Prison Life: The Roots of American Crime," *The Family in America*, Vol. 3, No. 4 [April, 1989], p.3: "...Professor Sampson established not only that single-parent households are likely targets for crime, but that the neighbors of single-parent households are more likely to be hit by crime than the neighbors of two-parent households. He concludes both that 'single-adult households suffer a victimization risk higher than two-adult households' and that 'living in areas characterized by a high proportion of [single-adult] households significantly increases burglary risk' for all types of households."

*Ibid.*, p. 3: "In a 1987 study at the University of Toronto, sociologists noted particularly high rates of delinquency among female teens in two kinds of households: 1) single-parent households; 2) households in which the mother is employed in a career or management position. Maternal employment can affect the criminality of sons, too. 'It's tougher for mothers who are busy earning a living to control their teenage boys,' according to Professor Alfred Blumstein of Carnegie-Mellon University. Criminologist Roger Thompson believes that one of the primary

reasons that young boys join gangs is that 'their parents work, and if they didn't have the gang, they'd just have an empty home.'

"But family disruption overshadows maternal employment as a cause of juvenile delinquency. In their landmark study of the problem the Gluecks found a strong correlation between delinquency and parental divorce and separation."

*Ibid.*, p. 4: "[S]ociologists at the University of Washington and Vanderbilt University underscored the importance of the family in determining juvenile delinquency. 'That the family plays a critical role in juvenile delinquency is one of the strongest and most frequently replicated findings among studies of deviance,' write Professors Walter Gove and Robert Crutchfield. In their own examination of some 600 families in Chicago, Drs. Gove and Crutchfield again confirmed that 'boys in single-parent households are much more likely to be delinquent than boys from intact families.'...

"A young male lawbreaker will probably grow even more reckless if he fathers an illegitimate child... Since the sons of single-parent households are almost twice as likely as the sons of two-parent households to become an unwed father, this crime-producing pattern could spiral wider from generation to generation.

"Seedbed for gang activity, the broken home produces many of the nation's most violent young criminals. In a study of 72 adolescent murderers, researchers at Michigan State University found that 75 percent of them had parents who were either divorced or had never married."

Martin Kasindorf, "Keeping Manson Behind Bars," *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, 14 May, 1989: "Charles Manson, born illegitimate in Cincinnati, was placed by an uncaring mother with a series of foster parents. By 1967, he had spent 19 of his 32 years in penal institutions. On parole, Manson gravitated to San Francisco's pulsating Haight-Ashbury district. Through ready administration of LSD and a messianic message, he attracted a virtual harem of adoring women he called his 'young loves,' using offers of sex with them to draw men handy with guns and dune buggies."

Gary L. Cunningham, review of *Manson in His Own Words* by Nuel Emmons, *Los Angeles Times*, 5 July, 1987: "The man who would come to symbolize the end of the '60s and what went wrong with them was born 'no name Maddox.' Unwanted, he was reared with abuse and neglect. His unwed mother eventually gave him to the courts, not because he was unmanageable, but because he was a hindrance to her life style..."

"It was the spring of 1967. He went to San Francisco.

"There he found a 'convict's dream,' a world of drugs and sex and no rules. In it he sought and found young women who were desperately seeking someone or something to give them acceptance, direction and permission. With the help of drugs, he easily became a kind of fantasy father figure, exchanging unconditional love and binding the women to him. For the first time in his life, Charles Manson had love, acceptance, power and control. And he had a following."

*History Book Club Review*, September, 1989: "Billy the Kid, age 21, has killed four men personally and he shares the blame for the deaths of five others. He will not see his 22d birthday.... Billy the Kid was born Henry McCarty, the son of Catherine McCarty, in New York City in 1859.... The first certain record of Billy appears in Santa Fe, New Mexico where Henry McCarty and his brother Joe stood witness at the marriage of their mother Catherine to William Henry Harrison Antrim on March 1, 1873."

Robert Graysmith, *Zodiac* (New York: Berkeley Books, 1987), p. xiii: "After Jack the Ripper and before Son of Sam there is only one name their equal in terror: the deadly, elusive, and mysterious Zodiac. Since 1968 the hooded mass murderer has terrified the city of San Francisco and the Bay Area with a string of brutal killings. Zodiac, in taunting letters sent to the newspapers, has hidden clues to his identity by using cunning ciphers that have defied the greatest codebreaking minds of the CIA, the FBI, and NSA..."

P. 321:

### "PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILE OF ZODIAC

Paranoid delusions of grandeur.

"Psychotic.

"Sexual sadist: You will find that the Zodiac probably tortured small animals as a child, had a domineering mother, weak or absent father, strong fantasy life, confusion between violence and love, is the type of person who would be a police groupie, carry police equipment in his car, collect weapons and implements of torture."

*Los Angeles Times*, 8 December, 1989 [describing Marc Lepine, Canadian mass murderer who invaded a University of Montreal classroom, killed 14 women and wounded 13 others before committing suicide]: "Police say his father, whom they believe to be Algerian, left his family when son Marc was 7 years old."

Hans Sebald, *Momism: The Silent Disease of America* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1976), pp. 180ff. [concerning the case of Jacques Vasseur, a French collaborator with the Nazis, responsible for the deaths of 230 Frenchmen]: "Jacques's childhood was a classic example of Momistic upbringing: father-absence from the socialization process, an overindulgent mother who catered to every whim of the child, and isolation from other children, neighbors, and potential male models. His mother kept him to herself, gave toys (particularly dolls) for him to play with and provided only one companion for him—herself.... After the war ended and French sovereignty was reestablished, he was a hated and hunted criminal.... It was not until 1962 that he was discovered; his mother had hid him for seventeen years in a garret above her second-story apartment.... Approximately 200 witnesses recited the horrors they had suffered under 'Vasseur the Terror,' recounting how he beat them, tortured them, and condemned their relatives and fiances to death. One witness said he had been bull-whipped for ten hours by Vasseur; a woman testified that he had burned her breasts with a ciga-

rettes; and others told of the mercilessness with which he handed over to the executioners their fathers, brothers, and sisters... The attending psychiatrist... explained to the court that Jacques's subservience to the Gestapo was a transferred attachment from his mother to another powerful agent, that he embraced his grisly duties because he needed the approval of the Mom surrogate, and that his power over other humans gave him the opportunity to express his suppressed virility. The psychiatrist reminded the court that Vasseur still referred to his mother as "my Mummy" and that his greatest suffering during his imprisonment was caused by seeing 'Mummy' only once a week."

A two-hour NBC T.V. program on Jack the Ripper, October 28, 1988, featured two FBI "crime profile" experts, John Douglas and Roy Hazelwood, who profiled Jack the Ripper as a single white male, with difficulty in interacting with people, especially women, of average intelligence, from a broken home, raised by a dominant female figure.

Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, Senior Judge of Brooklyn criminal court, with A. E. Hotchner, "Nine Words that Can Stop Juvenile Delinquency," *Reader's Digest*, March, 1962; condensed from *This Week*, 15 December, 1957: "What Western country has the lowest juvenile delinquency rate? The answer, based on official reports, is Italy, where only two percent of all sex crimes and one half of one percent of all homicides are committed by children 18 and under. (The comparable figures for the United States are 13 and 9 percent.) But *why* is Italy's delinquency rate so low? For weeks I toured Italian cities, trying to get the answers. I was given remarkable cooperation. Police commissioners, school superintendents, mayors of cities told me what I wanted to know, took me where I wanted to go.

"An important police official wanted to know if it was really true that teen-agers assaulted police in America. I had to tell him it was.

"Ah, this is very hard for us to believe," he said. 'No Italian youth would ever lay hands on an officer.'

"A Naples school superintendent asked me if thrill murders are figments of journalists' imaginations. 'No, I informed him, 'they are all too true.'

"We have no such crimes," the superintendent said. 'We have the delinquency of stealing, of misbehaving, but boys in this country commit boy wrongs, within the bounds of the boy's world.'

"But how do you keep the boy there?" I asked. And then I found what I was seeking: a basic, vital element of living that is disappearing in our country and which, to my mind, is the only effective solution to the malady of delinquency. From all parts of Italy, from every official, I received the same answer: *Young people in Italy respect authority.*

"And here is the significant thing: that respect starts in the home—then carries over into the school, the city streets, the courts. I went into Italian homes to see for myself. I found that even in the poorest family the father is respected by the wife and children as its head. He rules with varying degrees of love and tenderness and firmness. His household has rules to live by, and the child who disobeys them is punished. Thus I found the nine-word principle that I think can do more for us than all the committees, ordinances and multimillion-dollar programs combined: *Put Father back at the head of the family.*"

#### ASSASSINS:

James F. Kirkham, Sheldon G. Levy and William J. Crotty, *Assassination and Political Violence: A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970), pp. 65f.: "Although we cannot unravel the significance of the similarities between the assassins, we could make this statement: we could predict after President Kennedy's assassination that the next assassin would probably be short and slight of build, foreign born, and from a broken family—most probably with the father either absent or unresponsive to the child."

Patricia Cayo Sexton, *The Feminized Male* (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 4: "Sirhan and Oswald, both reared under the maternal shadow, grew to be quiet, controlled men and dutiful sons. Estranged from their fellows, fathers, and normal

male associations, they joined a rapidly growing breed—the 'feminized male'—whose normal male impulses are suppressed or misshaped by overexposure to feminine norms. Such assassins often pick as their targets the most virile males, symbols of their own manly deprivation. The assassin risks no contest with this virility. His victim is caught defenseless by the sniper's bullet and is unable to strike any blows in self-defense. A cheap victory—no challenger and no risk of defeat. Their desire to get out is simply the natural male impulse to cut maternal ties and become a man. The black revolt is a quest by the black male—whose social impotence has exceeded even that of the white woman—for power, status, and manhood. He does not want to be a 'boy' any longer: *I am a man* is the slogan of his revolt. These rebellions are alarms, alerting us to the social forces that dangerously diminish manhood and spread alienation and violence."

*Ibid.*, p. 67: "David Rothstein, for example, has analyzed twenty-seven inmates of the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Mo., who had indicated an intention to attack the President. The threatmakers bore similarities to Lee Harvey Oswald. Most came from unhappy homes. They had domineering mothers and weak, ineffectual fathers. Most joined the military service at an early age, yet their experiences proved to be unhappy. Rothstein interprets their actions in threatening the President as the manifestation of a hostility towards their mother redirected against authority symbols—the government and, more specifically, the President."

Dr. Fred B. Chertan, "A Psychiatric History: What Assassins Have in Common," *The Birmingham News*, 7 July, 1968: "The [U.S. presidential] assassins were all men (there has never been a woman political assassin<sup>1</sup>); all loners, and all lacking fathers through death, divorce, work schedule, or at least through a very poor parental relationship. It is also significant that the assassins were either bachelors or did not get along with women."

## RAPISTS AND CHILD MOLESTERS:

Michael Petrovich and Donald I. Tessler, "Heterosexual Molestation of Children Who Later Became Rapists," *Psychological Reports*, 1984, 54, 810: "Forty-nine [of 83] (59%) of the rapists had been heterosexually molested. Of these, 12 had been so molested by two or more females for a total of 73 'cases' of heterosexual molestation. In 56 (77%) of these cases, the molesting person did so on more than one occasion. The ages at the time of molestation ranged from 4 to 16 yr.; the ages of the older persons ranged from 16 to 54 yr....Note that in 15 (21%) of the cases the women who molested had a special mission to nurture, counsel or protect."

*Los Angeles Times*, 16 December, 1986: [According to researchers at North Florida Evaluation and Treatment Center] "The pattern of the child molester is characterized by a singular degree of closeness and attachment to the mother."

Raymond A. Knight and Robert A. Prentky, "The Developmental Antecedents and Adult Adaptations of Rapist Subtypes," *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, Vol. 14 [Dec., 1987], 403-26; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, April, 1988: "As families have broken down, rape has become an increasingly frequent crime. That is no coincidence, according to information in a new study. In a recent survey of 108 violent rapists—all of them repeat offenders—researchers found that a sizable majority of 60 percent came from single-parent homes. The authors state that single-parent households account for 60 percent of those rapists described as 'sadistic' and nearly 70 percent of those described as 'exploitative.' Exploitative rapists display 'the most antisocial behavior in adolescence and adulthood,' while the sadists are marked by 'both more aggressive and more deviant sexual activity.' Among rapists motivated by 'displaced anger,' fully 80 percent come from single-parent homes, and over half were foster children."

1. This was written before Lynette Fromm and Sara Jane Moore had made their attempts.—D.A.

## SUICIDE:

S. C. Bhatia, et al., "High Risk Suicide Factors Across Cultures," *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 33, (1987), 226-236; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, July, 1988: "Weaker family ties are apparently one reason that suicide occurs more frequently in the United States than in India. In a recent analysis, a team of Indian psychiatrists tried to account for the difference between a suicide rate of 12.2 suicides per 100,000 Americans and a rate of only 6.5 suicides per 100,000 per 100,000 Indians. While conceding that the official statistics were unreliable because of underreporting in both countries, the psychiatric team cited 'lack of family and social support' as a primary reason that suicide now ranks eighth among causes of death in America.

"The Indian researchers found it particularly striking that while suicide rates run higher among married Indians than among the unmarried, the American pattern is very different, with suicide rates running twice as high among singles as among the married and four to five times as high among the divorced and widowed as among the married."

Evangelos Papathomopoulos et al., "Suicidal Attempts by Ingestion of Various Substances in 2,050 Children and Adolescents in Greece," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 34, 1989, 205-209; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, November, 1989: "The divorce of parents often pushes teenagers into suicidal despair. In a paper recently presented to the Canadian Psychiatric Association, medical authorities from Greece reported their investigation of suicidal attempts by ingestion of drugs or other chemicals among Greek children and adolescents. In an analysis of 600 such cases, the Greek researchers found that family conflict was the reason for 353 (59 percent) of the attempted suicides."

Professor Victor R. Fuchs, Stanford University, *Los Angeles Times*, 24 October, 1988: "Compared with those of the previous generation, today's children are more than twice as likely to commit suicide, perform worse at school and use much more

alcohol and drugs; they are twice as likely to be obese, and show other signs of increased physical, mental and emotional distress. The poverty rate among children (under age 18) is almost double the rate for adults—a situation without precedent in American history....If Americans do not have enough children (the fertility rate has been below replacement level every year since 1973) and if children do not become healthy, well-educated adults, the country's future is bleak, regardless of progress with other issues."

Carmen Noevi Velez and Patricia Cohen, "Suicidal Behavior and Ideation in a Community Sample of Children: Maternal and Youth Reports," *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 273 [1988]: 349-356; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, Sept., 1988: "The latest evidence is found in a new study by psychiatrists at the New York State Psychiatric Institute. Upon surveying 752 families at random, the researchers divided the children into those who had never attempted suicide and those who had done so at least once. The two groups, they found, differed little in age, family income, race, and religion. But those who attempted suicide were 'more likely to live in nonintact family settings than were the nonattempters. More than half of the attempters lived in households with no more than one biological parent, whereas only about a third of the nonattempters lived in such a setting.'"

John S. Wodarski and Pamela Harris, "Adolescent Suicide: A Review of Influences and the Means for Prevention," *Social Work*, 32, No. 6 [November/December, 1987] 477-84; epitomized in *The Family in America*, May, 1988: "The growing incidence of family dissolutions, and the resulting single-parent households along with the attendant life-style, makes childhood a difficult period.' Increasingly, sociological researchers 'view the phenomenon of adolescent suicide as a reflection of this turmoil in American families....There is a trend toward devaluation of family and children and an atmosphere that lacks intimacy and affection. Experiences in environments that are nonsupportive and overtly hostile contribute to the development of suicidal

personality characteristics." This view is borne out, [Wodarski and Harris] note, by studies comparing youths who attempt suicide with those who do not. Among those who attempted suicide, 'family disruption and disintegration played a significant role' with the suicidal often feeling that their mothers were less interested in them than did the non-suicidal."

Lynda W. Warren and C. Tomlinson-Keasey, "The Context of Suicide," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 57, No. 1 [January, 1987], p. 42; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, May, 1987: "In an in-depth analysis of eight women suicides, Lynda W. Warren and C. Tomlinson-Keasey state that one of their 'most striking findings' is 'the strong influence exerted by mothers, coupled with lack of involvement of fathers in the subjects' lives. Absence of paternal involvement was characteristic of all eight cases....When a parent played a critical role in the subjects' lives, it was the mother who did so.' Drs. Warren and Tomlinson-Keasey stress that 'this finding of a high incidence of early father loss is consistent with previous reports of an association between early father loss and adult depression and suicide.'"

#### SEXUAL CONFUSION:

Sara S. McLanahan, "Family Structure and Dependency: Reality Transitions to Female Household Headship," *Demography* 25, Feb., 1988, 1-16: "Daughters from female-headed households are much more likely than daughters from two-parent families to themselves become single parents and to rely on welfare for support as adults....[L]iving with a single mother at age 16 increases a daughter's risk of becoming a household head by 72 percent for whites and 100 percent for blacks. The contrast becomes even sharper if the comparison is between daughters continuously living in two-parent families with daughters living with an unmarried mother at any time between ages 12 and 16: 'Exposure to single motherhood at some point during adolescence increases the risk [of a daughter's later becoming a household head] by nearly 1-1/2 times for whites and...by about

100 percent for blacks.' The public costs of this differential emerge in figures showing that a daughter living in a single-parent household at any time during adolescence is far more likely (127 percent more likely among whites, 164 percent among blacks) to receive welfare benefits as an adult, compared to daughters from two-parent households."

Brent C. Miller and C. Raymond Bingham, "Family Configuration in Relation to the Sexual Behavior of Female Adolescents," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 51, 1989, 499-506; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, November, 1989: "Among young women reared in single-parent households, sexual intercourse outside marriage occurs much more often than among young women reared in intact families."

William Marsiglio, "Adolescent Fathers in the United States: Their Initial Living Arrangements, Marital Experience and Educational Outcomes," *Family Planning Perspectives*, 19, November/December, 1987, 240-51; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, May, 1988: "Researchers have known for some time that girls raised in a female-headed household are much more likely to become unwed teen mothers than are girls raised in two-parent families. In a major new study, Professor William Marsiglio of Oberlin College has documented a parallel pattern for unmarried teen fathers. In a survey of more than 5,500 young American men, Dr. Marsiglio found that 'males who had not lived with two parents at age 14 were overrepresented in the subsample of teenage fathers. Only 17 percent of all young men surveyed lived in one-parent households at age 14; yet, among boys who had fathered an illegitimate child as a teenager, almost 30 percent came from single-parent households. In other words, teen boys from one-parent households are almost twice as likely to father a child out of wedlock as teen boys from two-parent families.'"

Suzanne Southworth and J. Conrad Schwarz, "Post-Divorce Contact, Relationship with Father, and Heterosexual Trust in Female College Students," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 57, No. 3 [July, 1987], 379-381; epitomized in *The Family in*

*America: New Research*, October, 1987: "In surveying 104 female college students from divorced and intact families, Drs. Suzanne Southworth and J. Conrad Schwarz discover evidence that 'the experience of divorce and its aftermath have long-term effects on young college women's trust in the opposite sex and on their plans for the future.' Particularly, the [University of Connecticut, Storrs] team find that 'daughters from divorced homes are more likely to anticipate cohabitation before marriage' than are daughters of intact marriages. Among daughters of intact homes it was found that 'only daughters who had a poor relationship with the father planned to cohabit,' while among daughters of divorced parents 'plans to cohabit were uniformly high and unrelated to the father's acceptance and consistency of love.'"

Single mother quoted in *SMC* (Single Mothers by Choice newsletter), January, 1987: "Most of us were raised by our mothers alone."

Allan C. Carlson, "School Clinics Don't Prevent Pregnancies," *Human Events*, 31 January, 1987: "Researchers have discovered, for instance, that black girls from father-headed families were twice as likely to be 'non-permissive' compared to those from mother-headed units."

Beverly Beyette, *Los Angeles Times*, 10 April, 1986: [Girl mothers at Los Angeles's El Nido Services, a child and youth counseling agency]: "They are rather casual about pregnancy—no, they would not choose *not* to be pregnant. And, no, they do not expect, nor do they want, to marry their babies' fathers. Camilla, a sophomore, said, 'I tell him it isn't his baby so he won't call!'"

"For most girls, counselor Mathews said, 'There's very little awareness of the responsibility—and the consequences. Their mothers become the mothers. And they keep on doing what they're doing.'"

"Almost 70% of the girls lived with their single mothers while pregnant and, both during pregnancy and after the birth of their babies, their parents, welfare and the baby's father were their primary sources of financial support, with welfare the number one source after birth of the baby...."

"[Stacy] Banks [project director] said the nature of the problem is somewhat different in South Central, where 'family violence is a big issue' and where the maternal grandmother is commonly the head of household, and often a resentful one. It is not unusual, said Banks, to learn that the grandmother had herself been a teen parent, that she had hoped to go back to school but is now expected to take care of a grandchild while the mother goes to school."

"Sometimes, Davis [Fritzie Davis, project director] said, 'The grandmother is 30 years old. She's asking, 'What's in it for me?' They're angry. They still have needs but don't know how to articulate them.'"

"In 1986, social stigma is not the problem. Indeed, Leibowitz [Paul Leibowitz, project director] noted, 'Over 90% have made the decision they're going to keep their babies.'"

Henry B. Biller, *Paternal Deprivation: Family, School, Sexuality, and Society* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1974), p. 114: "Inappropriate and/or inadequate fathering is a major factor in the development of homosexuality in females as well as in males."

Yuko Matsuhashi et al., "Is Repeat Pregnancy in Adolescents a 'Planned Affair?'" *Journal of Adolescent Health Care*, 10 [1989], 409-412; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, December, 1989: "The [University of California at San Diego] researchers discovered that most of the teen mothers in their study had neither a father nor a husband in their lives. Among the girls pregnant for the first time, only 14 percent lived with both parents; among the girls in a repeat pregnancy, only 2 percent lived with both parents."

Henry B. Biller, *Father, Child and Sex Role* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1971), p. 47: "Imitation of masculine models is very important. The development of a masculine sex-role adoption, especially in the preschool years, is related to imitation of the father. A young boy's masculinity is positively related to the degree to which his father is available and behaves in a masculine manner (decision making, competence, etc.) in his interaction with his family."

*Ibid.*, p. 58: "A later study with kindergarten boys indicated that father-absent boys had less masculine sex-role orientations and sex-role preferences than did father-present boys, even though the two groups were matched in terms of IQ [Biller, H. B., "Father-Absence, Maternal Encouragement, and Sex-Role Development in Kindergarten Age Boys," *Child Development*, 1969, 40, 539-46]. Also, matching for IQ in a study with junior high school students, we found that boys who became father-absent before the age of five had less masculine self-concepts than father-present boys [Biller, H. B. and Bahm, R. M., "Father-Absence, Perceived Maternal Behavior, and Masculinity of Self-Concept Among Junior High School Boys," *Developmental Psychology*, 1971, 4, 107].

*Ibid.*, p. 71: "The paternally deprived boy's search for a father-figure can often be involved in the development of homosexual relationships. West [West, D. J., "Parental Relationships in Male Homosexuality," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 1959, 5, 85-97] and O'Connor [O'Connor, P. J., "Aetiological Factors in Homosexuality as Seen in R. A. F. Psychiatric Practice," *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 1964, 110, 381-391] found that homosexual males, more often than neurotic males, had histories of long periods of father-absence during childhood. West [D. J., *Homosexuality*, Chicago: Aldine, 1967] reviewed much evidence which indicates that paternal deprivation is a frequent precursor in the development of homosexuality.... Difficulty in forming lasting heterosexual relationships often appears to be linked to paternal deprivation."

Henry B. Biller and Richard S. Solomon, *Child Maltreatment and Paternal Deprivation: A Manifesto for Research, Prevention and Treatment* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1986), p. 140: "Difficulty in forming lasting heterosexual relationships often appears to be linked to father-absence during childhood. Andrews and Christensen's (1951) data suggested that college students whose parents had been divorced were likely to have frequent but unstable courtship relationships.... Jacobson and Ryder (1969) did an exploratory interview study with young marrieds who suffered the death of

a parent prior to marriage. Death of the husband's father before the son was twelve was associated with a high rate of marital difficulty. Husbands who had been father-absent early in life were described as immature and as lacking interpersonal competence. Participation in 'feminine' domestic endeavors and low sexual activity were commonly reported for this group. In general, their marriages were relatively devoid of closeness and intimacy.... Other researchers have reported evidence that individuals who have experienced father-absence because of a broken home in childhood are more likely to have their own marriages end in divorce or separation.... Research by Pettigrew (1964) with lower-class blacks is consistent with the supposition that father-absent males frequently have difficulty in their heterosexual relationships. Compared to father-present males, father-absent males were 'more likely to be single or divorced—another manifestation of their disturbed sexual identification' (p. 420).... A great deal of the heterosexual difficulty that many paternally deprived, lower-class males experience is associated with their compulsive rejection of anything they perceive as related to femininity. Proving that they are not homosexual and/or effeminate is a major preoccupation of many lower-class males. They frequently engage in a Don Juan pattern of behavior, making one conquest after another, and may not form a stable emotional relationship with a female even during marriage. The fear of again being dominated by a female, as they were in childhood, contributes to their continual need to exhibit their masculinity by new conquests. The perception of child rearing as an exclusively feminine endeavor also interferes with their interaction with their children and helps perpetuate the depressing cycle of paternal deprivation in lower-class families.... [E]arly father-absence particularly seems to interfere with the development of a secure sex-role orientation."

*Ibid.*, p. 147: "There is anthropological evidence suggesting that low father availability in early childhood is associated with later sex-role conflicts for girls as well as for boys.... In Jacobson and Ryder's (1969) interview study, many women who had been father-absent as young children complained of difficulties in achieving satisfactory sexual relationships with their

husbands...Case studies of father-absent girls are often filled with details of problems concerning interactions with males, particularly in sexual relationships...The father-absent girl often has difficulty in dealing with her aggressive impulses...In a clinical study, Heckel (1963) observed frequent school maladjustment, excessive sexual interest, and social acting-out behavior in five fatherless preadolescent girls. Other investigators have also found a high incidence of delinquent behavior among lower-class father-absent girls...Such acting-out behavior may be a manifestation of frustration associated with the girl's unsuccessful attempts to find a meaningful relationship with an adult male. Father-absence generally increases the probability that a girl will experience difficulties in interpersonal adjustment.

"The devaluation of maleness and masculinity so prevalent in paternally deprived, matrifocal families adversely affects many girls as well as boys."

*Ibid.*, p. 150: "Daughters of divorcees were quite low in self-esteem, but daughters of widows did not differ significantly in their self-image from daughters from father-present homes. nevertheless, both groups of father-absent girls had less feeling of control over their lives and more anxiety than did father-present girls...The daughters of divorcees seemed to have especially troubled heterosexual relationships. They were likely to marry at an earlier age than the other groups and also to be pregnant at the time of marriage. After a brief period of time, some of these women were separated or divorced from their husbands."

Diane Trombetta and Betsy Warren Lebbos, "Co-Parenting: The Best Custody Solution," *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, June 22, 1979, p. 20: "Delinquent girls, and those pregnant out of wedlock, are also more likely to come from broken homes, in most cases meaning father-absent homes. Girls from father-absent homes have been found to engage in more and earlier sexual relationships than father-present girls.

"Insecurity in relating to males has been reported among girls who became father-absent before the age of five....

"Among males, father-absence and resulting maternal dominance has been associated with secondary impotence, homosexuality, alcoholism, and drug abuse."

Neil Kalter, "Long-Term Effects of Divorce on Children: A Developmental Vulnerability Model," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 57 (4), October, 1987: "The weight of evidence suggests that boys who do not have an ongoing and close relationship with their fathers are more vulnerable to encountering difficulties related to the development of a stable and valued internal sense of masculinity. Problems bearing this stamp have been associated with boys growing up in post-divorce households. They include inhibition of assertiveness, deficient impulse control, and lowered academic performance. Research and clinical evidence indicate that a boy's identification with father is the primary vehicle for the internalization of an appropriate sense of masculine identity. Further, it has been suggested that the absence of an appropriate male model for such identification leaves a boy open to developing pronounced feminine identifications which, in most instances, must be defended against vigorously in adolescence. In sum, the position of a father in his son's development appears crucial, and disruptions in the father-son relationship have been linked to a multitude of developmental interferences."

*Los Angeles Times*, 17 October, 1986: "Planned Parenthood has identified teens at highest risk for becoming pregnant: those with mothers or sisters who became pregnant while teen-agers, those reared in single-parent homes, those who do not do well in school and seek self-esteem elsewhere."

Eleanor J. Bader, *The Guardian*, 1 April, 1987: "Glamor was a great reason to have a baby. It works at first. People say 'Oh, that's great.' You're famous. Then you're nine months pregnant, waddling around, and after the baby's born they put their eyes down. You're on your own. After the baby's born the only one who sticks around is welfare."

"The woman speaking is 16, Black and angry. She had to drop out of school, she says, to care for her son, and has to subsist

on less than \$400 a month, a sum that is mostly gobbled up by diapers, formula, baby clothes and rent.

"But these dire conditions are not the only reasons for her anger. 'When you're a young mother people look at you like you're bad.'"

*Los Angeles Times*, 10 April, 1986: "Almost 70% of the girls [teen-aged mothers] lived with their single mothers..."

Susan Newcomer and J. Richard Udry, "Parental Marital Status Effects on Adolescent Sexual Behavior," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 49, No. 2 (May, 1987), pp. 235-40; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, August, 1987: "Daughters in one-parent homes are much more likely to engage in premarital sex than are daughters in two-parent homes.... Adolescent girls reared without fathers are much more likely to be sexually active than girls raised by two parents. Girls raised in single-parent homes are also much more likely to be involved in 'other age-graded delinquencies' than are girls in two-parent homes.... The research team also found that the sexual activity of sons increases markedly when a two-parent home breaks up through divorce or separation."

*Los Angeles Times*, 16 May, 1988: "Ed Griffin, planning officer at the [Los Angeles] Housing Authority, said that at the poorest projects, 'a young woman's idea of upward mobility is having a baby and getting her first welfare check from Aid to Families with Dependent Children.' Then she leaves her mom's and gets a place of her own—in the project, of course."

Bettye Avery, *off our backs*, April, 1986: "Girls who refuse to have sex are accused of being virgins or dykes."

Henry Biller, *Father, Child and Sex Role* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), p. 129: "[P]aternally deprived individuals are overrepresented among individuals with psychological problems."

George A. Rekers, "Inadequate Sex Role Differentiation in Childhood: The Family and Gender Identity Disorders," *The Journal of Family and Culture*, 2, No. 3 (Autumn, 1986), 8-31; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, March, 1987: "...George A. Rekers, professor of neuropsychiatry at the University of South Carolina School of Medicine, reports on the findings of the Gender Research Project he has directed for the National Institute of Mental Health. As part of his research, Dr. Rekers and his colleagues performed comprehensive psychological evaluations of 70 boys suffering from 'gender disturbance,' manifest in 'cross dressing [transvestism]' play with cosmetic articles; 'feminine' appearing gestures; avoidance of masculine sex-typed activities; avoidance of male peers; predominant ratio of play with female peers...and taking predominantly female roles in play."

"Upon examination, 'all 70 of the gender-disturbed boys were found to be normal physically...with the single exception of one boy with one undescended testicle.' However, in assessing the family backgrounds of the 70 boys, Dr. Rekers and his colleagues found 'a consistent picture' of father absence or father neglect: 'In the boys who were classified as the most profoundly disturbed, father absence was observed for all cases. In the remaining less disturbed cases father absence was found in 54% of the cases.'"

Helen Colton, *Sex After the Sexual Revolution* (New York: Association Press, 1972), p. 140: "Next to punishment and guilt, a common reason for premarital pregnancy is the need of the male to prove his masculinity. Reuben Pannor, a social worker at Vista Del Mar Child Care Center in West Los Angeles, author of notable studies on the young unwed father, has found that many of them came from homes that were female-dominated due to death or divorce or because the father had abdicated his responsibility, leaving the son with 'weak or distorted masculine identity.' Such boys often become involved in sexual relationships 'to prove their manhood.'"

Monica Sjöo and Barbara Mor, *The Great Cosmic Mother: Rediscovering the Religion of the Earth* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), p. 67: "Indeed, the further back one goes in time the more bisexual, or gynandrous, is the Great Mother. As Charlotte Woolf says in *Love Between Women*, perhaps the present-day Lesbian woman is the closest in character to ancient women—with their fierce insistence on strength, independence, and integrity of consciousness.

"The first love-object for both women and men is the mother; but in patriarchy, the son has to reject the mother to be able to dominate the wife as 'a real man'—and the daughter must betray her for the sake of "submitting to a man." In matriarchal society this double burden of biological and spiritual betrayal does not occur. For both women and men there is a close identification with the collective group of mothers, with Mother Earth, and with the Cosmic Mother. And, as psychoanalysts keep repeating, this identification is conducive to bisexuality in both sexes. But homosexuality in tribal or pagan men was not based on rejection of the Mother, or the female, as is often true in patriarchal culture; rather, it was based on brother-love, brother-affinity, as sons of the mother. And lesbianism among women was not based on a fear and rejection of men, but on the daughter's desire to reestablish union with the Mother, and with her own femaleness."

Itabari Njeri, *Los Angeles Times*, 25 July, 1989: "Perhaps the crucial message in her book [Bebe Moore Campbell's *Sweet Summer*—one still not fully understood by society, Campbell says—is the importance of a father or a father-figure in a young girl's life.

"Studies show that girls without that nurturing from a father or surrogate father are likely to grow up with damaged self-esteem and are more likely to have problems with their own adult relationships with men," Campbell says."

Peter M. Weyrich, *The Human Costs of Divorce: Who Is Paying?* (Washington, D. C.: Free Congress Foundation, 1988), pp. 33f., citing George Rekers, "The Formation of a Homosexual Orientation," presented at the Free Congress Foundation "Hope

and Homosexuality" Conference, 1987: "Research suggests that in order for boys to develop their masculine identity properly, they need a strong male role model, such as a father (biological or substitute) or an older brother. In 1983, Rekers, Mead, Rosen, and Brigham studied a group of gender-disturbed boys, and found a high incidence of absent fathers. The average age of the boys when they were separated from their fathers was approximately 3.5 years old. Eighty percent were 5 years old or younger when the separation took place, and the reason for the fathers' absence was separation or divorce in 82% of the cases. The male gender disturbances varied from moderate to severe in the study, but those who showed deep gender disturbances had neither a biological father nor a father substitute living at home. Of the fathers who did live at home, 60% were described as psychologically remote or apart from the other members of the family."

Kathleen Fury, "The Troubling Truth About Teen-Agers and Sex," *Reader's Digest*, June, 1980 [Condensed from *Ladies' Home Journal*, March, 1980], pp. 153f.: "Demographers at Johns Hopkins University have found that young, white, teen-age girls living in fatherless families were 60 percent more likely to have had intercourse than those living in two-parent homes."

## EDUCATIONAL UNDERACHIEVEMENT

*Newsweek*, 13 May, 1985: "It is easy enough to spot them, the so-called children of divorce. Often, teachers say, the boys become extremely sloppy in their dress and study habits, even for boys—and former class clowns are given to spontaneous crying. Junior-high-school girls, on the other hand, sometimes begin wearing heavy makeup and jewelry, affecting a hard-bitten look, as if to advertise the current lack of parental attention. First graders suddenly forget that they've been toilet trained for years. And on any given day every single one of them, from kindergarten to high school, seems to have left home, wherever home may be at the moment, without lunch money.

"Nor is there anything mysterious about this behavior. As Chuckie Marshall, a fourth grader from Denver, recently told his divorced mother, 'I think about you and Daddy a lot at school'—and such thoughts lead inevitably to insecurity and anger, depression and, perhaps most often, guilt...[T]he Los Angeles County Board of Education now runs seminars to help teachers deal with the problems of children from 'reconstituted homes': their predictable academic declines and sudden behavior swings...[S]ome kids who appear to be coping eventually display 'time-bomb symptoms' such as drug use and precocious sexual activity years after a family has broken up and resettled."

B. Sutton-Smith, B. G. Rosenberg and Frank Landy, "Father-Absence Effects in Families of Different Sibling Compositions," *Child Development*, 39 (1968), p. 1213: "In general, father absence has a depressive effect throughout, with the greatest effects during the early and middle years; boys without brothers are more affected than those with brothers, girls with a younger brother more affected than other girls, and only girls more affected than only boys."

Rex Forehand, et al., "Family Characteristics of Adolescents Who Display Overt and Covert Behavior Problems," *Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry*, 18, [December, 1987]: 325-328; epitomized in *The Family in America*, April, 1988: "The kid who causes the most trouble in school most likely comes from a divorced family. In a new study of 23 white adolescents, their mothers, and their teachers, researchers set out to examine two types of antisocial behavior in children—'overt' (fighting, temper tantrums) and 'covert' (stealing, lying, truancy, falling in with bad companions). Their findings: the worst troublemaker, the child who engaged in both kinds of behavior (both fighting and stealing, for instance) was far more likely to come from a broken home than was the child who engaged in only one type or was well-behaved. Out of seven of the worst troublemakers in this survey, six came from divorced families."

Paul G. Shane, "Changing Patterns Among Homeless and Runaway Youth," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 59,

April, 1989, 208-214: "In general, homeless youth are more likely to come from female-headed, single-parent, or reconstituted families with many children, particularly step-siblings."

R. F. Doyle, *The Rape of the Male* (St. Paul, Minn: Poor Richard's Press, 1976), p. 145, citing Starke Hathaway and Elio Monachesi, *Adolescent Personality and Behavior*, p. 81: "More than one in three children of broken families drop out of school."

Yochanan Peres and Rachel Pasternack, "The Importance of Marriage for Socialization: A Comparison of Achievements and Social Adjustment Between Offspring of One- and Two-Parent Families in Israel," in *Contemporary Marriage: Comparative Perspectives of a Changing Institution*, ed. Kingsley Davis in association with Amyra Grossbard-Schechtman (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1985), pp. 162ff.: "Table 6.2 shows that in all three subject matters [Arithmetic, English, Hebrew] children of matrifocal families have significantly lower scholastic achievement than children raised in two-parent families..."

"To make sure that these differences in achievement are not due to background factors, we applied a multivariate regression analysis to the data. Table 6.3 indicates that when many relevant background factors are controlled, children of intact families performed significantly better in arithmetic than children from matrifocal families... Similar regressions run on English and Hebrew scores also showed a highly significant new effect of parental marital status on achievement. In addition, regressions run on a sample from which children of hostile families and their controls were excluded (thus allowing us to assess the effect of 'pure' matrifocality) demonstrate that matrifocality has highly significant (negative) influence on all three measures of children's scholastic achievements. A similar overall detriment from father absence has been reported by several investigators over the last two decades."

Dale J. Hu et al., "Healthcare Needs for Children of the Recently Homeless," *Journal of Community Health*, 14, 1989, 1-7; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, November, 1989: "Homeless children are usually fatherless children as

well. In a recent survey of thirty parents with children in a homeless shelter in San Diego, researchers talked with only two fathers and with relatively few married mothers. Nine of the homeless parents interviewed had never married, while ten were separated, divorced or widowed, making a total of 63 percent of the homeless parents interviewed who were living without a spouse."

James Coleman, "Educational Achievement: What We Can Learn from the Catholic Schools," Associates Memo, *Manhattan Institute for Policy Research*, No. 15, November 4, 1988: "It is important to remember that schools as we know them have never been very successful with weak families. These days many more families have become weak, either because they are single-parent families or because both parents are working and the family cannot devote sufficient time and attention to children."

Henry B. Biller and Richard S. Solomon, *Child Maltreatment and Paternal Deprivation: A Manifesto for Research, Prevention and Treatment* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1986), p. 136: "[C]omparison of children who have from an early age been consistently deprived of paternal influence with those who have had actively and positively involved fathers clearly reveals that the former are generally less adequate in their functioning and development."

*Ibid.*, p. 151: "The first investigator to present data suggesting an intellectual disadvantage among father-absent children was Sutherland (1930). In an ambitious study involving Scottish children, he discovered that those who were father-absent scored significantly lower than did those who were father-present.... A number of more recent and better controlled studies are also generally consistent with the supposition that father-absent children, at least from lower-class backgrounds, are less likely to function well on intelligence and aptitude tests than are father-present children...."

"Maxwell (1961) reported some evidence indicating that father-absence after the age of five negatively influences children's functioning on certain cognitive tasks. He analyzed the Wechsler

Intelligence Test scores of a large group of eight- to-thirteen-year-old children who had been referred to a British psychiatric clinic. He found that children whose fathers had been absent since the children were five performed below the norms for their age on a number of subtests. Children who had become father-absent after the age of five had lower scores on tasks tapping social knowledge, perception of details, and verbal skills. Father-absence since the age of five was the only family background variable which was consistently related to subtest scores.... Compared to father-present students, those who were father-absent performed at a lower level in terms of verbal, language, and total aptitude test scores.

"In a related investigation, Landy, Rosenberg, and Sutton-Smith (1969) found that father-absence had a particularly disruptive effect on the quantitative aptitudes of college females. Total father-absence before the age of ten was highly associated with a deficit in quantitative aptitude. Their findings also suggested that father-absence during the age period from three to seven may have an especially negative effect on academic aptitude...."

"For both boys and girls, father-absence was associated with relatively low ability in perceptual-motor and manipulative-spatial tasks (block design and object assembly). Father-absent boys also scored lower than did father-present boys on the arithmetic subtest.... In a study with black elementary-school boys, Cortes and Fleming (1968) also reported an association between father-absence and poor mathematical functioning."

*Ibid.*, p. 154: "The high father-present group was very superior to the other three groups. With respect to both grades and achievement test scores, the early father-absent boys were generally underachievers, the late father-absent boys and low father-present boys usually functioned somewhat below grade level, and the high father-present group performed above grade level.

"The early father-absent boys were consistently handicapped in their academic performance. They scored significantly lower on every achievement test index as well as in their grades...."

"Santrock (1972) presented additional evidence indicating that early father-absence can have a significant debilitating effect on cognitive functioning. Among lower-class junior high and high school children, those who became father-absent before the age of five, and particularly before the age of two, generally scored significantly lower on measures of IQ (Otis Quick Test) and achievement (Stanford Achievement Test) that had been administered when they were in the third and sixth grades than did those from intact homes. The most detrimental effects occurred when father-absence was due to divorce, desertion, or separation, rather than to death...."

"Hetherington, Cox and Cox...also reported data indicating that early father-absence can impede cognitive development. They found differences between the cognitive functioning of young boys (five- and six-year-olds) who had been father-absent for two years because of divorce and that of boys from intact families. Boys from intact families scored significantly higher on the block design, mazes, and arithmetic subtests of the WIPSI as well as achieving higher Performance Scale Intelligence scores and marginally higher Full-Scale Intelligence scores. Other data from this study clearly suggest that the decreasing availability of the divorced fathers for their sons during the two years following the divorce was a major factor in these boys' lower level of performance compared with boys from intact families."

*Ibid.*, p. 155: "There is evidence that early paternal deprivation has a cumulative impact as the child grows older. In her excellent review, Radin (1981) noted several studies that indicated few if any cognitive differences associated with father-absence for black children entering first grade, but evidence of clear-cut superiority of father-present children by the later elementary-school years. Differences in academic performance as a function of variations in the quality of early father involvement seem to become more apparent as children grow older...."

Henry B. Biller, *Father, Child and Sex Role* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), p. 57: "Investigators have found that among lower-class black children, those who are

father-absent score lower on intelligence and achievement tests than do those who are father-present."

*Ibid.*, p. 59: "Boys from high father-present families are more likely to actualize their intellectual potential than are boys from families in which the father is absent or relatively unavailable."

*Ibid.*, p. 60: "Barclay and Cusumano's data [Barclay, A. G. and Cusumano, D., "Father-Absence, Cross-Sex Identity, and Field-Dependent Behavior in Male Adolescents." *Child Development*, 1967, 38, 243-50] point to difficulties in analytical functioning being associated with father-absence. Using Witkin's rod and frame procedure, these investigators found that, among adolescent males, those who were father-absent were more field-dependent than those who were father-present. Field dependence relates to an inability to ignore irrelevant environmental cues in the analysis of certain types of problems."

*Ibid.*, p. 63: "For example, among children in the lower class, father-absence usually intensifies lack of exposure to experiences linking intellectual activities with masculine interests. Many boys, in their intense efforts to view themselves as totally masculine, perceive intellectual tasks and school in general as feminine. When the school presents women as authority figures and makes strong demands for obedience and conformity, it is particularly antithetical to such boys' desperate attempts to feel masculine."

John Guidubaldi and Joseph D. Perry, "Divorce, Socioeconomic Status, and Children's Cognitive-Social Competence at School Entry," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 54 (3), July, 1984, 459-68: "The direction of the relationships indicates that children from single-parent homes tended to have significantly lower academic and personal-social competencies than did children from two-parent families....This study provides evidence that children from divorced family homes enter school with significantly less social and academic competence than those from intact families...[S]ingle-parent status resulting

from divorce predicts poor academic and social school entry competence in addition to and independent of SES [socio-economic status]."

Rex Forehand, *et al.*, "Adolescent Functioning as a Consequence of Recent Parental Divorce and the Parent-Adolescent Relationship," *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 8, [1987], 305-15; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, June, 1988: "University of Georgia researchers found that those from broken homes had greater difficulties both with their classes and with their relations with their peers. 'Adolescents from intact homes had higher grades and were perceived as more socially competent by teachers,' the authors report. Their explanation: 'When parents divorce, their use of effective monitoring and disciplinary procedures, as well as their positive relationship with their children, may diminish. As a consequence, the social competence and cognitive performance of the child...may deteriorate.'"

Patricia Moran and Allan Barclay, "Effects of Fathers' Absence on Delinquent Boys: Dependency and Hyper-masculinity," *Psychological Reports* 62 [1988], 115-121; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, June, 1988: "[W]hen the father is absent from the home, young black males experience 'less internalization of society's norms.' Drs. Moran and Barclay suggest that it is precisely this 'lack of internalized norms' which may be responsible for 'behavior of an antisocial and delinquent nature.'

"Intriguingly, the new study found that black delinquents whose fathers were absent were 'more overtly masculine in their expressed interests and behavior' than were black adolescents whose fathers were present.' The authors speculate that 'delinquency represents defensive coping' among black youth who develop attitudes of 'hypermasculinity' to compensate for the absence of their fathers."

David H. Demo and Alan C. Acock, "The Impact of Divorce on Children," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 50 [August, 1988], 619-48; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Re-*

*search*, November, 1988: "Young children, particularly boys, are hard hit by divorce. Children of various ages are disadvantaged in school performance. Children 'in disrupted families experience problems in peer relations, while adolescents in such families tend to be more active in dating and sexual relations.' And 'research on antisocial behavior consistently illustrates that adolescents in mother-only households and in conflict-ridden families are more prone to commit delinquent acts.'"

Gary Bauer, "Report to the President from the White House Working Group on the Family," quoted in *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, February, 1988: "A two-year study funded by Kent State, the William T. Grant Foundation and the National Association of School Psychologists, found that there were substantial differences between children of intact families and those of divorced families. "Children of divorce also are absent from school more frequently and are more likely to repeat a grade, to be placed in remedial reading classes and to be referred to a school psychologist," says the study of 699 randomly chosen first, third and fifth graders in 38 states. In addition, John Guidubaldi, Professor of Early Childhood Education and director of the study, noted 'far more detrimental effects of divorce on boys than on girls. Disruptions in boys' classroom behavior and academic performance increased 'noticeably' throughout elementary school. Boys, he speculated, are much more affected by their parents' divorce because children fare better with single parents of the same sex, and 90 percent of all custody rights go to mothers."

Gilbert C. Hentschke [dean of the school of education, USC] and Lydia Lopez, co-chairpersons of the Education Working Group of the 2000 Partnership, *Los Angeles Times*, 30 August, 1989: "After several years of education reforms, it is more evident than ever that our Los Angeles public schools are failing....About 60% of the district's children come from impoverished families. While some poor children do succeed, poverty is closely correlated with failure, especially for children from single-parent families, according to a recent national study. The study also notes that poor students are three times more likely than others to become dropouts."

"These children who are failing swell the ranks of functionally illiterate adults (now estimated to be 20% of the population in Los Angeles County). They enter the economy at the bottom where they are likely to stay."

Henry Biller and Dennis Meredith, *Father Power* (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books, 1975), p. 236: "The high father-present boys consistently received superior grades and performed above grade level on achievement tests. The late father-absent and low father-present boys scored a little below grade level on achievement tests. The lowest scores were achieved by the early father-absent group."

Maxine Thompson, Karl L. Alexander, and Doris R. Entwisle, "Household Composition, Parental Expectations, and School Achievement," *Social Forces*, 67, Dec., 1988, 424-451; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, April, 1989: "Married black couples expect better school performance from their children than do single black parents--and their children respond accordingly. In a recent study conducted at the Johns Hopkins University and North Carolina State University, researchers found that black first-grade students from married-couple households outperform their peers from single-parent households....The researchers stress that these gaps cannot be explained by economic differences nor by any discernible differences in initial ability levels."

Frank J. Sciara, "Effects of Father Absence on the Educational Achievement of Urban Black Children," *Child Study Journal*, 5, No. 1, 1975, p. 45: "The analysis of variance revealed significant differences favoring the academic achievement of both boys and girls from father present homes in the two test areas. Father absence had a much greater effect on the achievement scores of boys and girls in this study whose IQ was above 100."

*Ibid.*, p. 52: "From the analysis of the results, it would appear that for the 1,073 fourth grade Black children represented in this study, those from father present homes attained a significantly

higher educational achievement level than those children from the same group coming from father absent homes. This finding was consistent in both the reading and the arithmetic tests, affecting both boys and girls. When the group was analyzed by the three levels of IQ, the father absent children achieved lower reading and arithmetic scores than those from father present homes."

Betty Arras, *California Monitor of Education* (now *National Monitor of Education*), February, 1985: "As a kindergarten teacher in the late fifties in a ghetto school in Oakland, California, I can personally testify to the negative impact of the broken home upon school achievement and emotional stability. My observation shared by virtually all my colleagues in that school was that broken homes hurt children in every way--emotionally, academically, and socially. Obviously, there are children from single parent homes who grow up with few emotional scars but generally speaking, the elements for personality disintegration are more common in the broken home. Because of increasing numbers of families in which both parents work spending less time at home, children in both these and single-parent homes tend to experience a lack of nurturing. All children need psychological nourishment whether it be in the form of supporting them in their feelings, soothing their anxieties, helping them with homework, or just sharing conversation. What is frequently missing in the broken home is a lack of parental supervision which can result in feelings of isolation, excessive freedom or responsibility which the child cannot handle, and/or lack of attention and affection. In broken homes of the welfare variety there is the problem of no father figure with whom the sons can identify...."

"On February 5, ABC-TV national news aired the first in a series about violent crime in the cities. A New York City policeman who was interviewed pointed out that nearly all juveniles who commit violent crimes come from broken homes."

## PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Neil Kalter, "Long-term Effects of Divorce on Children: A Developmental Vulnerability Model," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 57 (4), October, 1987: "A large national survey revealed that more than twice as many children of divorce, compared to youngsters from intact families, had seen a mental health professional. In a representative national sample, men and women who were 16 years of age or younger when their parents divorced reported significantly higher divorce rates, more work-related problems, and higher levels of emotional distress than did their counterparts who grew up in intact families. In addition to these rigorous cross-sectional studies, recent findings from two conceptually and methodologically diverse longitudinal research projects also indicate that divorce-related difficulties persist over time for many children.... Clinical and research investigations have indicated that children of divorce constitute a population at risk for developing particular emotional, social, and behavioral problems that either persist or first appear years after the marital rupture. Prominent among these are aggressive and antisocial (externalizing) problems; sadness, depression, and self-esteem (internalizing) problems; and difficulty establishing and maintaining mutually enhancing heterosexual relationships."

Adelaide M. Johnson and S. A. Szurels, "The Genesis of Antisocial Acting Out in Children and Adults," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 1952, 21: 323-343; quoted in Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), p. 297: "Regularly the more important parent—usually the mother, although the father is always in some way involved—has been seen unconsciously to encourage the amoral or antisocial behavior of the child. The neurotic needs of the parent...are vicariously gratified by the behavior of the child. Such neurotic needs of the parent exist either because of some current inability to satisfy them in the world of adults, or because of the stunting experiences in the parent's own childhood—or more commonly, because of a combination of both of these factors."

Carol Z. Garrison, "Epidemiology of Depressive Symptoms in Young Adolescents," *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 28, 1989, 343-351; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, November, 1989: "Teens living in single-parent or step-family households are more likely to suffer from depression than teens living in intact families.... Persistent symptoms of depression showed up significantly less often among young teens living with both natural parents than among peers living with only one parent or with one parent and a stepparent."

John Beer, "Relation of Divorce to Self-Concepts and Grade Point Averages of Fifth Grade School Children," *Psychological Reports*, 65 [1989], 104-106; quoted in *The Family in America: New Research*, December, 1989: "Children from divorced homes score lower on self-concept than do children from nondivorced homes."

Berthold Berg and Lawrence A. Kurdek, "Children's Beliefs About Parental Divorce Scale: Psychometric Characteristics and Concurrent Validity," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 55, [October, 1987], 712-18; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, January, 1988: "In a recent study of 170 children (ranging in age from six to 17) with divorced parents, psychologists at the University of Dayton and Wright State University uncovered a disturbing pattern. The research team found that many of the children surveyed expressed one or more 'problematic beliefs' about their parents' divorce. Over one-fourth of the children blamed themselves for their parents' divorce and suffered 'low self-concepts.' Over one-fourth of children also harbored illusory hopes that 'once my parents realize how much I want them to, they'll live together again.' Approximately one-third express 'fear of abandonment' by their parents, a fear which actually appears higher among children whose divorced mothers have remarried than among children whose divorced mothers have not remarried."

Tony Campolo, "Too Old, Too Soon: The New Junior Higher," *Youthworker*, 4, (Spring, 1987), 20-25; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, August, 1987: "...Dr. Campolo observes that young Americans now 'do things in their early teens that a generation ago were reserved for older high schoolers.' The primary reason for this 'transformation of junior highers,' he believes, is the 'diminishing presence of parents' in the lives of young adolescents. Because many of them live in single-parent homes or in two-income homes where both parents are 'out of their homes much of the time,' young teenagers are 'left with the freedom to do what they want to do.'...Dr. Campolo reports that many young teenagers become 'emotionally disturbed and psychologically disoriented' when given personal autonomy prematurely."

Carolyn Webster-Stratton, "The Relationship of Marital Support, Conflict and Divorce to Parent Perceptions, Behaviors, and Childhood Conduct Problems," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 51 (1989), 417-30, quoted in *The Family in America: New Research*, October, 1989: "Compared with the maritally distressed [households in which couples reported relatively unsatisfactory marriages] and supported [households in which mothers reported satisfactory marriages] mother groups, single mothers reported more parenting stress and perceived their children as having significantly more behavior problems."

Robert Zagar, et. al., "Developmental and Disruptive Behavior Disorders among Delinquents," *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 28 (1989), 437-440; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, September, 1989: "Psychotic delinquents rarely come from intact families. Officials documented a familiar pattern in a recent survey of almost 2,000 children and adolescents referred by the Circuit Court of Cook County—Juvenile Division for psychiatric evaluation. This group of troubled children included 84 orphans (4 percent), 1,272 from single-parent homes (65 percent), 269 from stepparent families (14 percent) and just 331 from two-parent families (17 percent).

"As the court officials noted in reporting their findings, there was nothing new about the linkage between delinquency and broken homes."

Statement of William P. Wilson, M. D., Professor of Psychiatry, Duke University Medical Center, Durham, N. C. to the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, 10 November, 1983; printed in *Paternal Absence and Fathers' Roles*, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1984, pp. 12ff.: "As you know, it is estimated that 40 percent of children born in America today will grow up in a broken home. In 1974 only 14 percent of children could anticipate this fate. At that time 18 million children experienced a disruption of parental relationship. Since 85 percent of the parents remarried, and of these 40 percent divorced a second time, a huge percentage of children could expect to experience the trauma of a broken home more than twice.

"These children are at risk psychiatrically. The risks are as follows: First, the child may become psychiatrically disturbed; second, that they may turn away from marriage as a satisfactory mode of human relationships; and third, the children of divorce can develop psychiatric disorders in later adult life that have as their origin the broken home which is at the least a contributing factor....

"Now, after children of divorce marry many problems arise in role modeling. Young men often have problems because the mother projects a variety of role models. Sometimes she has turned her son into a substitute husband. Other times she takes out all of her hostility and anger on him and attributes to him the same problems that his father had, the same personality patterns. If he tries to live up to her expectations he finds that it is beyond his capacity. Children of divorce also have poor impulse control.

"Many mothers feel incapable of administering firm discipline. If you have a 6 foot 2 son and the mother is 5 foot 4, it is difficult for her to discipline that child and deal with him in a way that is effective.

"Since the behavior of parents before, during, and after divorce most often reflects a disparate value system, the child also grows up with poorly defined values.

"In the past our interest has been in comparing the homelife of normal people with people with mental problems. We came to the conclusion that normal people come from homes where there is a stable, harmonious marriage of the parents, where there is love and order in the home, where there is administration of consistent and just discipline, where roles are well defined, and where the presentation of a traditional value system is presented, and where there is a philosophy to live by, this gives some structure to their thinking and to their lives.

"The studies of people like Grinker, Valliant and ourselves have clearly demonstrated the influence of these particular basic principles of home life.

"In contrast, the observations of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck of people who have been delinquent—have clearly demonstrated that you can grow up in the ghetto, and if you have a well-structured home life, your chances of being a normal person and being out of that ghetto in a few years—is extremely high. Whereas if you grow up in a broken home with an harassed mother where value systems are poorly presented and where discipline is often harsh and unjust and inconsistent, you will grow up to be delinquent. At the end of 20 years' followup, you will still be delinquent and still living in the ghetto.

"The same thing can be said to be true about heroin addicts and alcoholics. In our study of over 450 alcoholics and 80 heroin addicts—we found that the absent father is a very common phenomenon. As a matter of fact, it is the rule rather than the exception....

"We find also that there is enormous distortion in the structure of the homes of manic depressive patients and schizophrenic patients. Their father operates in roles which are grossly distorted. Many times they are emotionally absent.

"In a different version, Frances Welsing had emphasized that the biggest problem facing blacks in America today is the absence of the father from the home and the role reversals found

in the black family. Her observations now are beginning to apply equally to all families, whether they are black or white or other racial origins....

"Finally I would add that we also have looked at the family structure of abused children who have grown up. Most of these children are now what we call borderline personality disorders. They too often have a father who is in and out of the home or is not available on a consistent basis.

"Now, just to summarize what I had to say, and I did not prepare any long statements because I think the data and the literature speaks for itself. The absence of the father from the home has the following effects on a growing child:

"After the second year of life it profoundly distorts the development of normal role assumption. A person really does not come to know who he is within his own sex. Second, it is a primary cause of low self-esteem....[Coopersmith's] work and the work of Rosenberg has shown that the father's presence in the home is an absolute necessity for the development of good self-esteem in males. Our own studies have demonstrated quite clearly that it is also necessary for the mother to be in the home for a female to develop good self-esteem.

"Third, it created a model of separation and/or divorce for the management of marital conflict in their own lives as they become adults.

"Fourth, it also distorts values development so that the child has a tendency to adopt peer values rather than the conventional values of the parent with whom they continue to live. We find this very frequently among heroin addicts and alcoholics."

*Ibid.*, p. 97: "[A]bout half of the kids who come from broken homes end up with a broken home fairly promptly after they contract their first marriage."

*Ibid.*, pp. 79ff.: Statement of Henry B. Biller, Ph.D., Professor of Psychology, University of Rhode Island to House Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, 10 November, 1984: "There is much evidence that paternally deprived children are more at risk for cognitive and behavioral adjustment difficulties

and are more vulnerable to negative developmental influences than are adequately fathered children....

"Father-absent males seem particularly likely to develop insecurity in their self-concept and sexuality. There is some evidence that males are more affected by father absence than are females, but there is a growing body of research which supports the conclusion that by adolescence, females are at least as much influenced in their interpersonal and heterosexual development by father absence as are males.

"Research points to a particularly high frequency of early and continuing father absence among emotionally disturbed children and adults. Of course, in some cases constitutionally atypical children contribute to the development of marital stress, conflict and parental separation.

"Some data indicate that individuals who suffered early father loss because of their father's death are more likely to show symptoms of inhibition, lack of assertiveness, anxiety and depression, but are less likely to have the cognitive, academic and impulse control problems often found in children of divorced parents....

"Much of the interest in paternal deprivation has been an outcome of growing concern with the psychological, social and economic disadvantages often suffered by fatherless children. There is much evidence that paternally-deprived children are more at-risk for cognitive and behavioral adjustment difficulties, and are more vulnerable to negative developmental influences than are adequately fathered children....

"Father absence before the age of four or five appears to have a more disruptive effect on the individual's personality development than does father absence beginning at a later period. For example, children who become father absent before the age of four or five are likely to have more difficulties in their sex role and sexual adjustment than either father-present children or children who become father-absent at a later time. Father-absent males seem particularly likely to develop insecurity in their self-concept and sexuality even though they may strive to be highly masculine in more manifest aspects of their behavior.

"Other data have indicated that early father absence is often associated with difficulties in intellectual and academic

functioning (particularly analytical and quantitative abilities), a low level of independence and assertiveness in peer relations, feelings of inferiority and mistrust of others, antisocial and delinquent behavior, and difficulties in later occupational performance....

"Both boys and girls need to learn how to relate with adult males. Many children who are paternally deprived become enmeshed in a cycle of difficulty in establishing intimate relationships that continues into adulthood and interferes with the development of a stable family life. The experience of divorce is likely to be a family heirloom that extends into the next generation. Growing up with divorced parents does relate to increased risks in development, although certainly some children who have been subjected to divorce, and broken homes, strive and succeed as adults to have very stable, positive marital and family relationships.

"But in a general way there may be a kind of generation-to-generation effect relating to the divorce experience not only in disadvantaged families, but also among the affluent."

*Ibid.*, pp. 86ff., Statement of Michael E. Lamb, Professor, Department of Psychology, Psychiatry and Pediatrics, University of Utah to House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, 10 November, 1984: "As Dr. Biller reported, it appears in general that boys whose fathers are absent, usually due to divorce, tend to manifest problems in the areas of achievement, motivation, school performance, psychological adjustment, and heterosexual relationships. They also tend to manifest less stereotypically masculine sex roles and may have difficulties in the areas of self-control and aggression.

"The effects seem to be most marked when the father's absence begins early, and at least some effects can be ameliorated by having substitute relationships with males such as stepfathers, grandfathers, and so on. At least in the areas of sex role and achievement, the effects of psychological father absence appear qualitatively similar to, although quantitatively less than, the effects of physical father absence.

"The effects of father absence on girls have been less thoroughly studied and appear to be less severe than the effects on

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boys. Problems in heterosexual relationships may emerge in adolescence even though, as in boys, the effects again are more severe when father absence began earlier.

*Ibid.*, p. 111. Statement of David W. Bahlmann, Executive Vice President of Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America, and Chair of the National Collaboration for Youth: "Present research indicates that children from one-parent homes show lower achievement and present more discipline problems than do their peers. It also shows that they tend to be absent from school more often, late to school more often, and may show more health problems than do their peers."

*Ibid.*, p. 128. Statement of Rev. Herman Heade, Jr., National Director of Urban Affairs and Church Relations, Prison Fellowship, Washington, D.C.: "(P)aternally deprived individuals are overrepresented among individuals with psychological problems."

Heather Munroe Blum, et al., "Single Parent Families: Academic and Psychiatric Risk," *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 27 (1988), 214-219; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, July, 1988: "The children of broken homes are frequently emotionally disturbed and academically incompetent. In a new study of nearly 3,000 Canadian children (ages 4-16), researchers found that 'children with psychiatric disorder are 1.7 times more likely to be from a single-parent family than a two-parent family.' One major disturbance—'conduct disorder'—was found to be well over twice as common in children of single parents. The same children who are suffering emotionally are also suffering educationally: 'single-parent children are 1.7 times as likely to demonstrate poor school performance as are two-parent children.'

"Perhaps fearful of antagonizing some feminists, the authors suggest that it is poverty, not divorce and illegitimacy, that is the cause of the children's problems." They state that, when household income is allowed for, single-parent family status 'does not have a significant independent relationship with either child psychiatric disorder or poor school performance, except in

*particular subgroups*' (emphasis added). But the list of 'particular subgroups' who suffer in one-parent homes regardless of income turns out to be surprisingly inclusive: "rural children, girls, and older boys." Since when were *girls* merely a 'particular subgroup' of the young population? Furthermore, the authors concede, 'the younger boys might also develop problems' in later years."

Richard Polanco, *Los Angeles Times*, 7 May, 1989: "As of 1988, more than 35,000 adolescents nationwide were in psychiatric treatment in the private sector. This figure has doubled since 1980, and the numbers are growing.... The absence of involvement of the father in so many post-divorce families, coupled with the overburdened state of many single mothers, seems at least partly responsible for the prevalence of externalizing, aggressive behavior problems among children of divorce."

Elyce Wakerman, *Father Loss: Daughters Discuss the Man that Got Away* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1984), p. 109: "A study of teenage girls by Dr. E. Mavis Hetherington revealed that daughters of divorced parents had lower self-esteem than those of intact or widowed families. By aligning with mother's anger, they may have blunted the reconciliation wish, but it was at the cost of their own self-image. Describing the self-defeating pattern, Deidre Laiken writes, 'Being one with Mother means relinquishing our natural and necessary longings for Father.... [But] low self-esteem is a natural and very evident result of a merger with the...parent who was left....' Identifying with the rejected female, as most daughters of divorce do, has two other, far-reaching influences on the young girl's developing attitudes. First, she may incorporate her mother's bitterness and distrust of men. And she is reluctant to succeed where her mother has failed. Having lost her father, she is acutely dependent on her mother's continued affection, and to surpass her in the romantic arena would be to risk separation from her one remaining parent."

*Ibid.*, p. 169: "It is little wonder that fatherless girls are visibly anxious around men. In fact, both fatherless groups in the Hetherington study scored a higher overall anxiety level on the Manifest Anxiety Scale than did girls with fathers at home. Craving male attention, they are equally resolved to remain invulnerable. They would like to be loved, without the threat posed by loving. That way, the need for approval may be safely gratified and the attachment to father unrelinquished."

Sara McLanahan and Larry Bumpass, "Intergenerational Consequences of Family Disruption," *American Journal of Sociology*, 4 (July, 1988), 130-52; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, October, 1988: "In a new study at the University of Wisconsin, sociologists found that daughters raised in single-parent households do not do well in building successful family life as adults. A particularly striking pattern emerged among white women who had lived in a single-parent family created through divorce or illegitimacy. Compared to white women raised in intact families, these women were 53 percent more likely to have teenage marriages, 111 percent more likely to have teenage births, 164 percent more likely to have premarital births, and 92 percent more likely to experience marital disruptions.' Overall, 'there appears to be some lower family orientation associated with one-parent childhood experience.'...The study concludes that the present upheaval in the American family is liable to have aftershocks which will be felt for generations to come: 'More than half of today's children will have had family experiences that are likely to have negative consequences for their subsequent marital and fertility life courses.'"

Alfred A. Messer, "Boys' Father Hunger: The Missing Father Syndrome," *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality*, 23, January, 1989, 44-47, epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, July, 1989: "Nightmares often trouble the sleep of young boys who have lost their fathers. A psychiatrist at Northside Hospital, in Atlanta, Georgia, Alfred A. Messer describes 'father hunger' as 'the newest syndrome described by child psychiatrists.' Dr. Messer reports that this syndrome, which occurs in boys ages 18

to 36 months, 'consists primarily of sleep disturbances, such as trouble falling asleep, nightmares, and night terrors, and coincides with the recent loss of the father due to divorce or separation....In boys who exhibit the father-hunger syndrome, these sleep disturbances usually begin within one to three months after the father leaves home.'

"Young boys suffer from troubled sleep because of 'the abrupt loss of a father' during a 'critical period of gender development.' Dr. Messer explains that 'children recognize the difference between maleness and femaleness as early as 14 months of age' and that between the ages of 18 to 36 months, a young boy 'learns to establish his physical and gender role identity.' 'If the young boy is deprived of the father's presence, the result can be deeply traumatic,' Messer emphasizes. When the father is absent, the young boy may 'remain in a prolonged state of dependence on the mother, with "sissy" behavior often a concomitant.'"

Henry Biller, *Father, Child and Sex Role* (Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), p. 3: "In a very thorough investigation, Stolz et al. [Stolz, L. M., et al., *Father Relations of War-Born Children*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954] gathered data concerning four- to eight-year-old children who from approximately the first two years of their lives had been separated from their fathers. Interview results revealed that the previously father-separated boys were generally perceived by their fathers as being 'sissies.' Careful observation of these boys supported this view. They were less assertively aggressive and independent in their peer relations than boys who had not been separated from their fathers; they were more often observed to be very submissive or to react with immature hostility."

*Ibid.*, pp. 6f: "A study of lower-class fifth grade boys by Santrock [Santrock, J. W., "Influence of Onset and Type of Paternal Absence on the First Four Eriksonian Developmental Crises," *Developmental Psychology*, 1970, 3, 273-4] revealed that boys who became father-absent before the age of two were more

handicapped in terms of several dimensions of personality development than were boys who became father-absent at a later age. For example, boys who became father-absent before age two were found to be less trusting, less industrious, and to have more feelings of inferiority than boys who became father-absent between the ages of three to five. The impact of early paternal deprivation is also supported by Carlsmith's findings [Carlsmith, L., "Effect of Early Father-Absence on Scholastic Aptitude," *Harvard Educational Review*, 1964, 34, 3-21] concerning cognitive functioning. Additional evidence is consistent with the supposition that early father-absence is associated with a heightened susceptibility to a variety of psychological problems."

*Ibid.*, p. 14: "However, many boys separated from their fathers between the ages of 6 and 12 exhibited a feminine-aggressive pattern of behavior. A feminine-aggressive pattern of behavior can be a consequence of sex-role conflict and insecurity. It is interesting that Tiller [Tiller, P. O., "Father-Absence and Personality Development of Children in Sailor Families," *Nordisk Psychologi's Monograph Series*, 1958, 9, 1-48] described a somewhat similar pattern of behavior for Norwegian father-separated boys."

*Ibid.*, p. 18: "Comparisons of father-absent and father-present boys suggested that availability of the father is an important factor in the masculine development of young boys. There is evidence that the young father-absent boy is more dependent, less aggressive, and less competent in peer relationships than his father-present counterpart. He seems likely to have an unmasculine self-concept."

*Ibid.*, p. 65: "In societies in which fathers have little contact with their young children, there is more of a tendency to blame others and/or supernatural beings for one's illness. Blaming one's self for illness was strongest in nuclear households and least in polygamous mother-child households. Such evidence is also consistent with the view that paternal deprivation can inhibit the development of trust in others."

*Ibid.*, p. 65: "Father-absent boys consistently scored lower than father-present boys on a variety of moral indexes. They scored lower on measures of internal moral judgement, guilt following transgressions, acceptance of blame, moral values, and rule-conformity."

*Ibid.*, p. 65: "A number of clinicians including Aichorn [Aichorn, A., *Wayward Youth*, New York: Viking Press, 1935] and Lederer [Lederer, W. "Dragons, Delinquents, and Destiny," *Psychological Issues*, 1964, 4, (whole No. 3)] have speculated about inadequacies in the conscience development of the father-absent boy. In his experience as a psychotherapist, Meerloo [Meerloo, J. A. M., "The Father Cuts the Cord: The Role of the Father as Initial Transference Figure," *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 1956, 10, 471-80] found that a lack of accurate time perception is also common among father-absent children. Meerloo assumed that the father represents social order and that his adherence to time schedules gives the child an important lesson in social functioning. The paternally deprived boy may find it very difficult to follow the rules of society. Antisocial acts are often impulsive as well as aggressive, and there is evidence that inability to delay gratification is associated with inaccurate time perception, lack of social responsibility, low achievement motivation, and juvenile delinquency....the father-absent boy may lack a model from whom to learn to delay gratification and to control his aggressive and destructive impulses. A boy who has experienced paternal deprivation may have particular difficulty in respecting and communicating with adult males in positions of authority. There is some evidence that perceived similarity to father is related to positive relationships with authority figures....The boy whose father has set limits for him—in a nurturant and realistic manner—is better able to set limits for himself. Investigators have found that boys who receive appropriate and consistent discipline from their fathers are less likely to commit delinquent acts even if they are gang members."

Irma Moilanen and Paula Rantakallio, "The Single Parent Family and the Child's Mental Health," *Social Science and*

*Medicine*, 27 (1988), 181-6; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, October, 1988: "The evidence mounts that children without two parents are much more likely to develop psychiatric problems.... Finnish researchers found that children from single-parent homes were at significantly greater risk from most psychiatric disorders than children from intact homes. Those who had only one parent through the child's life were at greatest risk: boys were three times as likely to be disturbed as their counterparts from intact families, and girls were four times as likely to be disturbed. Nor was the harm strictly mental."

Patricia Cohen and Judith Brook, "Family Factors Related to the Persistence of Psychopathology in Childhood and Adolescence," *Psychiatry* 50 (November, 1987): 332-345; quoted in *The Family in America*, April, 1988: "One-parent families and families with multiple marital disruptions are apparently unable to mount effective means of counteracting pathological reactions that have developed in their children."

R. G. Robertson, et al., "The Female Offender: A Canadian Study," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 32 (December, 1987), 749-755; epitomized in *The Family in America*, April, 1988: "Two-thirds had children, but almost as many had never been married, and less than one in 10 was married at the time of her arrest. The majority...were single or divorced mothers. Most came from broken homes...."

Viktor Gecas, "Born in the USA in the 1980's: Growing Up in Difficult Times," *Journal of Family Issues* 8 (December, 1987), 434-436; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, July, 1988: "What are the consequences of these family trends [rising levels of divorce, illegitimacy and maternal employment] for child rearing? Not good. At the very least, these trends suggest decreasing contact between parents and children, and decreasing parental involvement in child rearing.... Poor cognitive and emotional development, low self-esteem, low self-efficiency, antisocial behavior, and pathologies of various kinds are some of the consequences."

"Professor Gecas blames family breakdown for the disturbing levels of drug use, teen pregnancy, teen suicide, delinquency, and academic failure now found in America. Nothing, he urges, could be more important than to strengthen the family 'if the next generation is to have much of a chance.'"

Richard Dalton, et al., "Psychiatric Hospitalization of Preschool Children: Admission Factors and Discharge Implications," *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 26, No. 3 (May, 1987), 308-12; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, August, 1987: "When preschoolers end up in psychiatric wards, they typically come from homes where there is no father and where the mother is herself mentally disturbed.... In assessing the 'family situation' of all of the preschool children admitted to the psychiatric units of two New Orleans hospitals over a 34-month period, [Dalton's] study found a depressingly uniform pattern. When preschool autistic patients were excluded from the sample, it was found that the fathers were not living in the homes of almost 80 percent of the preschool patients and that the mothers suffered with 'major psychiatric disorders' in over 90 percent of the homes. The authors of the study observe that 'the data reflect the fact that most of the preschoolers were hospitalized because their severe symptoms could be neither contained nor successfully treated within their disturbed and unsupported family settings.'"

Boris M. Segal, "A Borderline Style of Functioning—the Role of Family, Society and Heredity: An Overview," *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, 18 (Summer, 1988), 219-238; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, November, 1988: "According to psychiatrist Boris M. Segal, the 'borderline style of functioning' (a diagnosis used 'to describe conditions which lie between psychosis and neurosis') should be understood as a symptom of a broader social malaise. Dr. Segal concludes that 'borderline organization' is increasing among Americans in part because of the 'decline of paternal authority.' 'The decline of the father-centered family...has left children to develop their own standards of behavior. This new freedom has been conducive...to such modern phenomena as lack of discipline and

lack of a feeling of duty, overindulgence, narcissism, hedonism, sexual permissiveness, intolerance to frustration, [and] sex role confusion....All these behavioral patterns meet certain criteria of borderline organization.' Dr. Segal observes that 'disorganization of the family lead[s] to the loss of its protective functions....Children who have been brought up in "broken homes"...tend to develop a high rate of borderline pathology.' "

Irwin Garfinkel and Sara S. McLanahan, *Single Mothers and Their Children: A New American Dilemma* (Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute Press, 1986), pp. 1f.: "Half of all American children born today will spend part of their childhood in a family headed by a mother who is divorced, unwed, or widowed....About half of them are poor and dependent on welfare. The mothers and children in such families also have poorer than average mental health and use a disproportionate share of community mental health services. Most important, perhaps, compared with children who grow up in two-parent (husband-wife) families, the children from mother-only families are less successful on average when they become adults. They are more likely to drop out of school, to give birth out of wedlock, to divorce or separate, and to become dependent on welfare."

Paul G. Shane, "Changing Patterns Among Homeless and Runaway Youth," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 59, 1989, 208-214; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, July, 1989: "Teenagers who turn to state officials for shelter typically come from broken families. In a recent study of over 500 homeless and runaway youth in New Jersey, Paul Shane of Rutgers University discovered a clear pattern implicating 'family breakdown as a major cause of homelessness among youth.' Professor Shane found that a remarkably low 14 percent of the youth in his study come from 'a family with both biological parents.' "

Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), p. 288: "[I]n recent years the 'symbiosis' concept has crept with increasing frequency into the case histories of disturbed children. More and more of the new child pathologies

seem to stem from that very symbiotic relationship with the mother, which has somehow kept children from becoming separate selves. These disturbed children seem to be 'acting out' the mother's unconscious wishes or conflicts—infantile dreams she had not outgrown or given up, but was still trying to gratify for herself in the person of her child....Thus, it would seem, it is the child who supports life in the mother in that 'symbiotic' relationship, and the child is virtually destroyed in the process."

## HEALTH PROBLEMS

Ronald Angel and Jacqueline Lowe Worebey, "Single Motherhood and Children's Health," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 29 (March, 1988), 38-52; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, July, 1988: "[S]ingle mothers report poorer health in their children than do mothers in intact marriages. The authors cite a number of factors to account for this disparity. Living in poverty, many children of single mothers decline in health because of simple deprivation. Because many were low-birth-weight babies, they suffer from chronic illnesses. And some may be developing psychosomatic illnesses owing to the general misery of their lives."

Nicholas Eberstadt, researcher at Harvard's University's Center for Population Studies and the American Enterprise Institute; *Los Angeles Times*, 3 November, 1989: "An enormous—and growing—number of American children suffer from a serious health threat inflicted on them by their parents. Bluntly put, their health is at risk because they have been born out of wedlock.

"In some circles, it is fashionable to see illegitimacy merely as an 'alternative life style,' as good as any other. From the standpoint of the children in question, this view is tragically wrongheaded. Illegitimacy, and the parental behavior that accompanies it, directly endangers the newborn and may even cost a baby its life....

"Indeed, if it were a medical condition rather than a social disorder, illegitimacy would be seen as one of the leading killers

of children in America today."

Sara A. Mullett, et al., "A Comparison of Birth Outcomes by Payment Source," *Minnesota Medicine*, 72, [June, 1988], 365-69; Wilma Bailey, "Child Morbidity in the Kingston Metropolitan Area, Jamaica 1983," *Social Science and Medicine*, 26 [1988], 1117-1124; both articles epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, October, 1988: "In a new study at the University of Minnesota, researchers found that an infant's birth weight depends heavily on the mother's marital status. 'Single women,' they reported, 'had smaller infants, with a mean birth weight of 3,192 grams as compared with 3,534 grams for infants of married women.' ...

"Mothers in Jamaica confront much harsher economic challenges than those in Minnesota. Yet in a recent study in Kingston, Jamaica, geographer Wilma Bailey at the University of the West Indies found a parallel pattern of impaired health among children in female-headed households compared to children in two-parent households. Dr. Bailey found a statistical correlation between the percentage of female-headed households in any given area and the hospital admissions of children in that same area. Her findings suggest 'that the children of young, unemployed and single women may be particularly vulnerable' to ill health and malnutrition. Dr. Bailey interprets her work in light of American studies which have 'documented the vulnerability of families of female-headed households in the U.S.A.'"

Lorian Baker and Dennis P. Cantwell, "Factors Associated with the Development of Psychiatric Illness in Children with Early Speech/Language Problems," *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders*, 17 [1987], 499-507; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, July, 1988: "Children with speech problems, according to a growing body of evidence, are at risk of developing psychiatric problems. Now a new study suggests that broken homes are causing or aggravating speech-related problems. Researchers from the University of California at Los Angeles studied 600 children who were patients at a Los Angeles speech clinic, finding half of them to be psychiatrically

ill. While the background of the ill children differed little from the mentally healthy in most respects—gender, parental education and occupation, birth order, language background, etc.—one distinction stood out: the 'ill' children were nearly twice as likely to have unmarried parents."

## DRUGS

Judith A. Stein, et al., "An 8-Year Study of Multiple Influences on Drug Use and Drug Use Consequences," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, No. 6 [December, 1987], 1094-1105; epitomized in *The Family in America*, March, 1988: "INewer research...suggests that the family is often the most important factor in whether or not a teenager abuses drugs. In an eight-year study of 654 young people, psychologists at the University of California at Los Angeles found that early parental influence—especially parental drug use—'exerted a potent and pervasive influence on a teenager that apparently continues for many years into adulthood.' The authors also suggest that 'inadequate family structure and a lack of positive familial relationships' often lead to 'substance use...as a coping mechanism to relieve depression and anxiety.' The study stresses that parental divorce can often foster teen rebelliousness, which leads to poor selection of friends and to social perceptions conducive to drug use."

Bryce Christensen, "From Home Life to Prison Life: The Roots of American Crime," *The Family in America*, April, 1989, pp. 5f.: "In two new studies on drug use conducted at the University of California at Los Angeles, researchers have provided new evidence of the importance of the family. In 1987, UCLA psychologists published an eight-year study of 654 young people. Their findings demonstrate that 'inadequate family structure and a lack of positive familial relationships' often caused young people to use drugs as 'a coping mechanism to relieve depression and anxiety.' The authors also stressed that parental divorce can foster teen rebelliousness, leading to poor selection of friends and self-destructive attitudes. In a different

## THE GARBAGE GENERATION

study published just last year, UCLA psychiatrists examined drug use among 443 young people, concluding that paternal authority was decisive. In families with strict fathers, only 18 percent of the youth studied used drugs and alcohol, compared to 27 percent where fathers were less strict and 40 percent in homes with permissive fathers. Frequent drug use occurred in 35 percent of mother-dominant homes. Overall, the UCLA researchers concluded that 'with regard to youthful drug use, fathers' involvement is more important' than mothers'.

Clarence Lusane, staff aide to Rep. Walter Fauntroy, and Dennis Desmond, staff aide to D. C. Councilmember Hilda Mason, *The Guardian*, 25 October, 1989: "Women, particularly women of color, are disproportionately victimized by the drug epidemic. For the first time, health officials see more women drug users than men. In New York, Washington, D.C., Kansas City and Portland, women outnumber men in drug abuse. Girls as young as 12 trade sex for crack as prostitutes in crack houses. This has led directly to the rise in boarder babies—abandoned babies born of drug-addicted parents. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, about 375,000 babies a year are born exposed to drugs. D.C. General, Harlem Hospital and other hospitals nationally have opened prenatal clinics for women addicts. At some Washington, D.C. hospitals, 40% of women having babies are drug addicts. This has resulted in the highest infant mortality rate in the nation at 32 per 1000 live births. In central Harlem, 21% of all pregnant crack users receive no prenatal care. Howard University hospital had no boarder babies until May, 1988; this year it had 21 in one week, five with AIDS.

"These infants' care costs \$100,000 each per year. More than half of these babies develop smaller heads and smaller abdomens. They sometimes suffer strokes in the womb. Boarder babies stay in the hospital an average of 42 days while the normal stay is three days. At the human level, these children will probably grow up without love or closeness."

Carmen N. Velez and Jane A. Ungemack, "Drug Use Among Puerto Rican Youth: An Exploration of Generational Status

Differences," *Social Science and Medicine* 29, 1989, 779-89; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, November, 1989: "Researchers from Columbia University and the University of Puerto Rico recently took a hard look at the drug problem among Puerto Rican youth in Puerto Rico and in New York City. They discovered more drug use among Puerto Rican students living in non-intact households than among students living in intact homes. Among students living in a nonintact household, three quarters live in female-headed households, suggesting to the researchers that greater vulnerability to drug use may be one 'effect of living in a female-headed family.'"

## CHILD ABUSE

*Los Angeles Times*, 16 December, 1986: "Child molesters have a stronger relationship to their mothers during childhood than rapists do, a study of sex offenders suggests.

"Researchers at the North Florida Evaluation and Treatment Center interviewed 64 convicted sex offenders—21 rapists and 43 child molesters, *Psychiatric News* has reported.

"Whereas the general pattern with both groups is characterized by a lack of fathering,' the study said, 'the pattern of the child molester is characterized by a singular degree of closeness and attachment to the mother.

"Almost 83% of this group claimed to have had a close or very close relationship with their mothers.'"

L. Mitchel, "Child Abuse and Neglect Fatalities: A Review of the Problem and Strategies for Reform," Working Paper 838. Monograph of the National Center on Child Abuse Prevention Research, National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse, Chicago, Illinois, 1987, p. 6; quoted in R. L. McNeely and Gloria Robinson-Simpson, "The Truth About Domestic Violence Revisited: A Reply to Saunders," *Social Work*, March/April, 1988, p. 186: "Active victims are typically males, under two years of age, living in low socioeconomic status families with multiple young siblings, and who die at the hands of a single mother."

Terrence Cooley, Inter-Office Communication, County of Milwaukee, "AFDC/Child Abuse Information," [11 September, 1989]; epitomized in *The Family in America: New Research*, December, 1989: "Child abuse typically occurs in impoverished single-parent households. In a recent survey, social-service officials established that of all 1,050 ongoing substantiated child abuse and neglect cases in Milwaukee County in May 1989, 83 percent [involved households receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Since AFDC goes predominantly to single-parent households (generally the households of unmarried mothers), this survey reveals a remarkably high risk of child abuse in such homes. This new survey also clarifies the great difficulty of curtailing child abuse without reducing illegitimacy and divorce."

Richard J. Gelles and Murray Straus, *Intimate Violence: The Causes and Consequences of Abuse in the American Family* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), p. 112: "One skeptical reader of our study, Frederick Green, noted that he was seeing more child abuse now than ten years ago. Since he also reported that he sees a largely minority, single-parent, and poor population, this is not surprising."

Henry B. Biller and Richard S. Solomon, *Child Maltreatment and Paternal Deprivation: A Manifesto for Research, Prevention and Treatment* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1986), pp. 21f.: "Upwards of 25 percent of children in our society do not have a father living at home. Children in such families are overrepresented in terms of reported cases of physical abuse and other forms of child maltreatment."

*Persuasion at Work*, August, 1985: "The constant media focus on abusive parents from intact, suburban families belies the fact that a greatly disproportionate number of the serious physical abuse cases are found in the otherwise celebrated 'female-headed families,' commonly involving the illegitimate father or mother's current boy friend."

*Los Angeles Times*, 16 September, 1985: "Most [victims of child molestation] were from single parent families or were the children of [pedophile] ring members."

Annette Sanchez

Hello, my name is Annette Sanchez and I live in Perth Amboy, NJ. I am 23 years old and I am a single parent of three boys ages three, two and one.

I have been on welfare for three and a half years and its been a struggle to get off. I'm a graduate of both the Perth Amboy High School and Drakes Secretarial College for travel and tourism.

I was a victim of domestic violence and now I am a victim of the Welfare System. The Welfare System has stopped every attempt I have made to succeed in life. For example, I volunteered for the Reach Program and I got no where.

I am a board member of New Jersey Legal Services. I am also an advocate for human rights, poor people and Welfare Reform.

My future goals are to become the best lawyer for women and children in domestic violence situations. I want to motivate women and give them hope. I want to be a role model and show people that you can over come anything your put your mind to.

**TESTIMONY PROVIDED FOR**

**PRESIDENTIAL WORKING GROUP**

**OF**

**WELFARE REFORM**

**Submitted by:**

**Dr. Gloria Bonilla-Santiago**

**for**

**National Association of Social Workers**

**New Jersey Chapter**

My name is Dr. Gloria Bonilla-Santiago and I am testifying today on behalf of the New Jersey Chapter and the National Association of Social Workers (NASW). I am currently a board member of NASW National and a professor of the School of Social Work at Rutgers, The State University. Like many social workers, I have had previous professional experience working with low-income families both inside and outside the welfare system.

NASW's commitment to improving the lives of low-income families reflects the social work profession's traditional role in both providing income support and delivering social services. It also reflects an ethical framework that places a priority on meeting the needs of vulnerable populations and on fostering personal growth.

Today, trained social workers are no longer concentrated in state and county welfare departments. Instead, they practice in a wide range of fields including health and mental health, criminal and juvenile justice, child protection, foster care and adoption, education and job training, substance abuse, and public assistance. The collective experience of the profession, as well as my own observations, is

what informs the recommendations NASW offers today.

I believe that our efforts to improve the welfare system should be guided by two broad objectives: the first is to reduce poverty by increasing earned income. It is critical that we not lose sight of our true goal: to reduce poverty. Reducing poverty is not the same as merely reducing dependence on welfare, nor as reducing welfare costs. Reducing poverty is a much more formidable goal, but one well worth investing in and striving for.

There is some agreement from all sectors--the Clinton administration, Congress, state officials, advocates, workers, and clients--that the preferred route out of poverty is employment. People on welfare represent a diverse group. For some, help in finding a job will be sufficient; others need substantial preparation and support. The one common denominator for families on AFDC is that they have children; what is best for those children should be of paramount concern as we develop ways to move welfare parents into jobs.

Our focus needs to be two-fold: easing the transition from welfare to work, and, as President Clinton has said, making work pay. Our experience with the JOBS program of the Family Support Act has reinforced the importance of ensuring the

availability of accessible, affordable, high-quality child care. What the experience has also shown us is how very far we are from meeting that need. Only about 3% of AFDC recipients and 30% of JOBS participants currently get the child care they need--and as many people here can attest to, there are long waiting lists throughout the country. If we are contemplating a system in which vast additional numbers of AFDC families participate in education and training, and are subsequently moved into the job market, we need to face up to the shortage of age-appropriate, developmentally sound, quality child care. Affordability is one issue; availability is another. I would further recommend that provision be made for elderly family members who are dependent on the welfare client for care. For many adults, child care addresses only a portion of their family caregiving responsibilities; if we are truly committed to facilitating participation in education, training, and work, we must responsibly address the totality of family caregiving needs.

Health care coverage, both during preparation for work and once in the work force, is essential. It should meet the goal of being comprehensive (including substantial prevention and treatment for mental health and substance abuse), affordable, accessible, and universal in coverage. It seems that health care reform and true welfare reform have to be complementary.

Education and training are critical. Experience with the JOBS program has sensitized us to the fact that they can and should take many forms. There are people on welfare who need basic literacy skills--many more than anticipated; there are others who are ready to pursue a high school diploma or GED, and still others for whom vocational education or postsecondary education is the key to a decent and lasting job. Some recipients do not flourish in a traditional educational environment; for them, we need to develop non-traditional alternatives. We also need to build in the flexibility to allow for different paths for different participants. This flexibility extends as well to the length of time that participants prepare for employment; for some, a two-year maximum is adequate; for others, it is not. We are setting ourselves up for failure if we erect an artificial deadline that fails to reflect the actual readiness of individual recipients to enter and stay in jobs. Furthermore, the opportunity for education and training should not end when employment begins. For many recipients, the path to lasting financial self-sufficiency is not a linear one; it may take several jobs and ongoing or intermittent education and training (as well as other supports) to ensure long-term success. The Clinton administration has embraced a principle of life-long learning for other Americans); that principle should apply to our most vulnerable citizens as well.

In many parts of the country, transportation is also an indispensable service. If

welfare recipients are expected to participate in education, training, and work, transportation should be guaranteed-both for them, and for their children to get to and from day care or school.

Finally, effective preparation for employment depends on quality assessment, counseling, and case management services. We are dealing with a group of individuals. Each individual brings to the process a unique blend of strengths, vulnerabilities, and expectations. Each individual is part of a family constellation, an age cohort, and a cultural community that shapes her attitudes, abilities, and needs. If we are expecting to succeed in removing barriers to successful job placement and retention, the entire family or household must be our focus. Accurate assessment and effective case management are indispensable tools in achieving the best possible fit between the client, the service system, and the job market. These processes, that take place between the worker and the recipient, provide the opportunity to maximize efficiency, empower the client, establish realistic expectations, and ensure success. Workers face barriers too, of course, and these must be addressed. An appropriate continue of services must be available in the community, and caseloads must be small enough to afford workers the opportunity to establish trusting relationships with their clients.

In addition to adequately preparing people for work, we must ensure that labor force participation will result in income sufficient to support a family. The United States must make it a priority to implement a comprehensive job creation strategy that focuses on developing jobs that pay a living wage and offer adequate benefits. The preponderance of low-wage, part-time, and contingent jobs in today's labor market leads many families to cycle back and forth between welfare and employment. Moving large numbers of families into low-wage work is not a solution; it will not reduce poverty. We, as a nation, must set our sights higher. At the same time that job creation is underway, there are things that we can and must do to supplement low wages; some of these have been outlined by President Clinton. The recent expansion of the earned income tax credit is critical. The unemployment compensation system must likewise be strengthened to reduce the number of recipients moving back and forth onto AFDC. The minimum wage should be increased and indexed for inflation. "Pay equity" legislation should be enacted to eliminate wage discrepancies based on race and gender. Nontraditional job opportunities must be expanded to move women into better-paying occupations. And finally, we need to adopt more flexible workplace policies including job sharing, flextime, and a reduced work week--to expand opportunities for new entrants into the labor force.

The goal I articulated earlier was to reduce poverty through earned income. Everyone in this country has a right to work, and everyone has a right to work for wages. Community work experience programs in which people on welfare work in exchange for their grants, rather than for wages, are unacceptable. There is no evidence that they successfully move clients toward self-sufficiency. They preclude the accumulation of assets, make no contribution to the economy, and perpetuate a double standard under which people on welfare are treated differently from others who are "playing by the rules".

Much of the debate in recent years has focused on moving people off the welfare rolls and into jobs--and rightly so. NASW is concerned, however, that in our eagerness to promote work, we are neglecting the needs of those families that, for whatever reason, will not succeed in achieving economic self-sufficiency. We cannot eliminate the safety net; in fact, the past decade has left it in desperate need of repair. NASW recommends the following: First, establish a national minimum benefit standard for AFDC. The least we can offer our children regardless of what state they live in--should be an assurance that they will not go to bed hungry or have to skip school because they have no shoes to wear. Second, increase the amount of earnings permitted without a reduction in public assistance benefits. Workers should not have to choose between subsisting in a low-wage job

or receiving welfare; packages should be devised and permitted that ensure financial stability by mixing earned income and public assistance. Third, promote the accumulation of assets, without penalty. Savings are as important to self-sufficiency among low-income families as they are among middle and upper-income Americans.

Although we need to continue to ensure that the AFDC system and other sources of income support effectively meet the needs of low-income families, regardless of their success in the workforce, the best approaches to helping low-income families are those that help families generally. The more we can create supports that respond to people based on what they need, rather than on who they are, the less likely we are to perpetuate negative stereotypes of the welfare system and those it serves. Our solutions should, whenever possible, lie outside the welfare system in the systems and structures that serve the rest of America. For example, we need to strengthen child support enforcement for all children for whom support is owed. We need to be sure that noncustodial parents have the opportunities for education, training, and work that will enable them to contribute to their children's support. And when, despite our best efforts we are unable to collect what is owed, we should as a nation--through a government-paid assured benefit--see to it that children receive their due.

An ample supply of quality, affordable housing is a must for the country at large. Likewise, we should stimulate the availability of interest-free or low-interest loans to encourage the establishment of small businesses. A refundable tax credit for all families with children, along with a strong network of community-based family support centers, would extend essential benefits not only to welfare families but to all families raising children.

NASW recognizes that the task before you is an immense and extremely complex one. We are anxious to work with you in formulating an effective, responsible, and constructive proposal to improve the lives of the increasing number of Americans who are struggling against tremendous odds to make the best life they can for themselves and their children.

In summary, NASW believes that:

- Government has a responsibility to provide leadership in developing humane and effective policies to reduce poverty.
- Policies should not just address those already in poverty, but should be broad enough to prevent poverty by addressing the needs of the working poor and those most at risk of falling into poverty.
- The AFDC system must be adequately funded, offer comprehensive and multifaceted approaches, facilitate sustained employment, and provide educational and employment opportunities based on individual

circumstances. The system must also provide psychological and social support services to ensure successful transition to long-term self-sufficiency.

— Every individual is entitled to an adequate standard of living, regardless of his or her ability to achieve economic self-sufficiency.

**STATEMENT**  
**OF**  
**MELVILLE D. MILLER, JR.**  
**PRESIDENT, LEGAL SERVICES OF NEW JERSEY**  
**TO THE**  
**WORKING GROUP ON**  
**WELFARE REFORM, FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCY**

September 9, 1993  
Union County College,  
Cranford, New Jersey

Good afternoon, and I am pleased to be able to join you today. I appear on behalf of both the statewide Legal Services community, which on behalf of its low-income clients has an intense interest in massive reform of the public assistance system, and the STEPS (Solution to End Poverty Soon) Coalition, which seeks broad reform of government policy toward poverty.

After an eight-month process, the STEPS Coalition has developed a comprehensive proposal for welfare reform in New Jersey. While some portions of this proposal call for specific steps by state government, the proposal has major ramifications for national policy development as well. The current version of this proposal has been appended to the text of these introductory remarks.

Rather than repeating the particulars of the proposal today I refer you to it; it is attached to these introductory remarks. From that proposal let me highlight several guiding beacons that we call on you to keep firmly in mind as you re-fashion and re-formulate the nation's public assistance policy:

- 1) Permit working people to retain their earnings if they make below the state standard of need. To the extent that economic "incentives" may help move people toward economic self-sufficiency, there is no greater incentive than being able to keep what you earn.
- 2) Require that welfare grants in each state be set at or near the level which, for any given individual, will allow that individual to receive the standard of need through any combination of earned income and welfare grants (commonly referred to as the "fill the gap" approach).
- 3) Require annual updating of each state's standard of need.
- 4) Require the state to incorporate in its state plan provision for the necessary case management and supportive services to identify and help those recipients who need assistance in securing employment for a living wage.

- 5) Limit the use of the federal waiver provision, 42 U.S.C. 1315, to those experiments which really hold promise for advancing understanding of the effects of welfare policies, and which do not harm children or families. New Jersey's much-discussed grant cap for children born to families on welfare is one example of such a harmful condition.
- 6) Develop a real national strategy, in the light of the rapidly changing global economy and observed in the nation in available jobs, to expand employment opportunities for low-income people in both the short and long term.
- 7) Affirm that both recipients and government have responsibilities in connection with welfare, define those responsibilities clearly, and then enforce them effectively. The recipients' responsibilities should encompass doing what they reasonably can to secure employment at a living wage. Government responsibility must include doing what is reasonably necessary to assist the recipient's efforts when the recipient cannot do it alone.
- 8) Make other necessary technical changes in federal AFDC law to bring it into line with current realities. For example, the current automobile limit of \$1500 must be significantly increased. We would be pleased to submit a detailed list of such necessary changes.
- 9) Avoid any time limitation on welfare benefits or eligibility unless there is a seamless transition to an employment program or some other assistance to insure that those who have tried and been unable to find work which pays a living are not simply cast into the streets, and receive enough to live an adequate existence.

Finally, and perhaps of overriding importance, take great care in whatever claims are made about proposed national welfare changes, to be certain that the claims go no further than what realistically can be expected to be achieved, lest the anger at welfare and its recipients grow even greater.

**PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL**

**FOR**

**PROGRESSIVE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE REFORM IN NEW JERSEY  
A Proposal from the STEPS (Solutions to End Poverty Soon) Coalition**

September 1993

## Background to the Proposal

The purpose of the STEPS (Solutions to End Poverty Soon) Coalition is to promote analysis and development of government policies that will be effective in reducing poverty.

### Flawed Government Policy

Current government posture concerning poverty has several fundamental problems.

- The focus of current policies and programs is usually not combating poverty, but addressing in isolation one or more "needs" (e.g., housing, child care, nutrition) of all or some people who are in poverty. Not surprisingly, poverty seems to rise and fall with economic trends; with the exception of the introduction of the cost-of-living index for Social Security, no government program of the last twenty-five years has had a demonstrable effect in reducing overall poverty.
- Current policies are badly fragmented. They are implemented by different agencies, at different levels of government. Rarely are programs coordinated, or designed in recognition of the inter-connection among problems. They are often inconsistent, working at cross purposes. They are usually incomplete, and thereby doomed to failure; a policy cannot work when it addresses only one aspect of a problem in isolation from other causes (for example, a training program will not work if there are no jobs).
- One key assumption of many of these policies - that low-income people can find a job and work their way out of poverty - is no longer true. There have been huge job losses in the national economy over the past two decades, and to a significant extent, the jobs are not there.

Far too many of our children and adults are at risk and in need because of poverty. Children and adults afflicted by poverty over a number of years are a lost resource to society. They frequently suffer irreversible nutritional, health, developmental, and other damage. In addition, this human damage also has very significant economic costs,

requiring economic maintenance, services, and in some cases, even more costly forms of social intervention (e.g., institutionalization) later in their lives.

### Problems with Welfare

The public assistance system, which should be a key part of government's attack on poverty, has major problems of its own.

A. Severe crisis in public confidence.

Polls and conventional wisdom hold that a significant portion of the public believe that the welfare system does not work well. Apparently, many also resent the system, believing that it constitutes handouts without corresponding obligations to people who do not work, do not want to work, and take advantage of the "system". This lack of confidence and resentment block the consensus critical to financing necessary reforms and expansion of services. Too frequently politicians and policy pundits have postured, understated or misrepresented the problem, or proposed bogus or incomplete solutions, feeding public resentment further.

B. Isolation of welfare recipients.

As presently constituted, the public assistance system isolates public assistance recipients from many other lower-income people, especially working people, who also live in poverty.

This isolation divides those in poverty, and increases the likelihood of partial strategies rather than real solutions. It also undermines political support for reform in the program, and encourages resentment of public assistance recipients by others in poverty who also need help.

C. Stereotyping and oversimplification.

There is too much stereotyping of people in poverty and on welfare. There is also too much oversimplification concerning the causes and dimensions of poverty. Poverty has a multitude of contributing factors, almost as numerous as the number of people who are affected by it. Some people will be able to work their way out of poverty on their own, some will be able to do so with short-term assistance, and still others, usually because of a disability, will be unable to exist on their own without long-term support. Oversimplifications concerning poverty obscure understanding of its true causes, and hinder attempts to find effective solutions.

D. Inadequate grant levels.

The assistance provided through welfare grants is not nearly enough to live a minimally decent life, creating for many recipients a destructive and almost inescapable cycle of struggling out of and then falling back into poverty. Public assistance grants in New Jersey are far below the minimum amount necessary for a decent life (called the "standard of need"), and have not been increased for five years. Some seek to keep grants below the amount necessary for a minimally adequate existence, a deliberate strategy to discourage people from relying on public assistance. Other decision makers simply may be indifferent to the plight of welfare recipients. In reality, low grants make it much harder to escape poverty, trapping people on welfare and significantly increasing the long-term costs to society. Low grants also force absurd and unhealthy living choices, such as doubling and tripling up in overcrowded apartments of other family members or friends. Low grants also typically foster a state of perpetual transiency for families, with moves every few months occasioned by eviction, rejection by family or friends with whom they have been staying, ejection from time-limited, government-sponsored emergency shelter situations, and the like. This transiency makes it virtually impossible for children to lead even minimally "normal" lives, focus on school, have reasonable family experiences, or enjoy any other attributes of what most would envision as a stable upbringing. In addition, the inadequate grants lead to chronic undernourishment, and a dearth of resources to meet other essential needs.

E. False reform.

Public assistance has been plagued by pseudo-reforms, which have failed to achieve their claimed goals, and therefore actually have served to exacerbate public lack of confidence and resentment.

- Rarely have attempted reforms of the welfare system been comprehensive, and they have usually been oversold in a flourish of big promises and raised expectations. Inevitably, the results, measured in terms of helping people to stabilize their lives economically without needing welfare, have not lived up to the promises. The overall effect has been to increase public anger toward welfare. Frequently, the "reforms" themselves have been mischaracterized. For example, recent rhetoric concerning the "mutual responsibility" of government and the individual receiving assistance has not been carried out in program design. Responsibilities of recipients typically have been enforced with sanctions reducing or terminating their assistance,

while the "mutual responsibility" of government, to provide needed services and assistance in escaping welfare, has neither been met nor enforced.

- Past welfare "reform" in New Jersey, particularly REACH, and to date the current Family Development Program (FDP), has not been funded at levels even remotely sufficient to achieve the stated goals. Furthermore, program strategies for delivering services have been poorly conceived, caseloads have been too high, and case managers underqualified and too poorly trained to execute the requisite responsibilities.

F. Blaming the poor.

In recent years there has been a renewed tendency to blame low-income people for their poverty, and consequently to design a welfare system which is full of punitive provisions. Debates about the causes of poverty tend to be framed between two extremes: those who blame it principally on the individual, rather than the economic system, and those who hold the system at fault, without conceding any individual responsibility. Such extremes block understanding of the complexity and difficulty of poverty, and impede effective solutions. True welfare reform, however, can proceed only from an understanding of the problems in the economic system, as outlined in the next section.

G. Unavailability of work paying a living wage.

In the experience of the members of the STEPS Coalition, most public assistance recipients very much want to work, but cannot find jobs. Part of the problem is that the jobs that most can access are lowest wage jobs, providing incomes at only two-thirds or three-quarters of the standard of need, without medical benefits. Such low wages make it impossible to lead a minimally adequate life. These workers are already in poverty, and are just one minor setback - an illness, an accident, a layoff - from being back on welfare. For most people on welfare in New Jersey, jobs which pay an adequate living wage are simply not available, and this is especially true in the urban areas where most of the people in poverty live. Some on public assistance, particularly those who have been there for two and three generations, or who gave birth to children while in their mid-teens, may be caught in a "culture" of dependence, and give in to low self-esteem and a sense of hopelessness. To break this cycle of futility for them, and to give real opportunity to all of the rest on welfare, there must be jobs which pay a living wage. For many, one or more obstacles, frequently several in combination, stand in the way of securing adequately paying employment. These obstacles include lack of education, lack of training in needed skill areas, lack of job experience, poor job histories, medical or psychological conditions which require treatment and resolution, discrimination on the

ground of race, ethnicity or gender, and more. Rather than oversimplification and perpetuation of myths, an effective anti-poverty policy must help individuals address the various obstacles that keep them poor.

### **Outline of Goals and Key Components of the Proposal**

The STEPS proposal has the following central goals:

A. Meeting basic needs.

The social and economic system should insure that basic needs of all people are met - food, shelter, clothing, medical care, and the other necessities included in the State standard of need - so that no one in society need go without these minimum material requirements for an adequate existence. The public assistance system must insure that these needs are met for the lowest income people.

B. Reforming public assistance in a broader social and economic context.

Public assistance reform must be approached in combination with efforts to achieve broader socioeconomic reform, including especially

- a) Effective efforts to eliminate racism and sexism as barriers to employment and advancement.
- b) Effective strategies to rebuild and make economically viable the urban communities in which most people in poverty live, including giving people who reside in those communities much greater control over the programs and resources intended to assist them.
- c) Effective strategies to create jobs which pay wages adequate for the workers to exist at the standard of need
- d) To the extent that wages are inadequate to meet the standard of need, a "fill the gap" approach must be incorporated in income maintenance programs to make up more of the difference between wages and the standard of need.

- e) An effective system to insure that absent parents contribute a reasonable amount to the support of their children, without forcing those non-custodial parents into, or further into, poverty.

C. Establishing a realistic standard of need.

The State standard of need, which sets the benchmark for the minimum amount necessary for a decent existence, must reflect the accurate and real costs of such an existence, including the medical and child care costs not now included, and should be updated annually.

D. Reforming the public assistance system to make it more humane and enhance self-esteem.

The public assistance system must be redesigned to operate in a more humane way. A reformed system must increase individual self-esteem and focus on the individual circumstances and needs of its clients. The current system discourages access and utilization by clients through a hopelessly entangled maze of oppressive paperwork, cumbersome procedures, an emphasis on detecting fraud rather than meeting needs, overburdened caseworkers and other staff, and a pervasive attitude of antipathy, blame, and shame toward clients. In practical terms, strengthened self-esteem of recipients will make it far more likely that they will be able to escape welfare. A reformed public assistance system must cease attempting to discourage access to its benefits and services through such burdensome procedures and requirements.

E. Twin objectives of public assistance: adequate support and promoting economic self-sufficiency.

The public assistance system must have two principal missions: to provide an effective safety net program, which insures adequate assistance at the standard of need for all those who are unable to work, and to provide the other supports necessary so that all those who are able to work and be economically self-sufficient have the means to do so. Causes of inability to work, either because of some impairment or condition, or because of the absence of work, notwithstanding a diligent search, must be addressed directly and effectively. The safety net must also be seamless, closely coordinating the public assistance, health, nutrition, unemployment insurance, disability, job training, job creation, education, treatment and other programs intended to combat the causes and effects of poverty.

F. Realizing truths, rather than perpetuating myths.

The reform effort must proceed in the context of accurate assessments of current social and economic realities, and not myths. For example, it must be recognized that there are not currently sufficient numbers of jobs which pay a livable wage for all those who need and want them. Many of the jobs which do exist are not in proximity to where the majority of low-income people reside, nor to public transportation. The system cannot be premised on the assumption that low income people are at fault for the circumstances of their poverty, and cannot continue to foster negative public images of public assistance recipients which serve to isolate public assistance recipients from the rest of society.

G. Strengthening family life.

Anti-poverty policy, in general should proceed from the recognition that much poverty stems from or is exacerbated by family problems. Consequently, such policy should consciously seek to strengthen families wherever possible. The public assistance system should incorporate policies which support families, but should not reward one family model over another (i.e., two-parent households over one-parent households). It should also recognize the importance of and support parental care of very young children to the greatest extent possible.

H. Utilizing effective strategies.

Services designed to support an individual's efforts toward economic self-sufficiency must be well-planned and effective, taking account of the most recent evidence concerning approaches which work. Training, for example, should be linked closely to available jobs which pay a living wage. Treatment programs must be adequate in scope and duration. Arbitrary time limits on treatment programs, training, or other supporting services must be avoided.

### Specific Aspects of the Proposal

1. Retention of earned income.

The proposal provides for retention of earned income in order to further efforts towards self-sufficiency, through a "fill the gap" approach which allows a client to retain earned income above the payment standard (grant level), but below the standard of need.

2. Adequate grants.

Adequate grant levels must be achieved, so that those who are unable to work have a combination of grants and other benefits equal to the standard of need. The grant should include some form of a housing component or other strategy such as a housing subsidy program, so that all recipients are insured a decent place to live.

3. Support for work.

The proposal provides for the transition to work, including

- a) Careful assessment of each individual's work readiness and other needs, with ongoing and meaningful case management
- b) Provision of opportunity for necessary education and training to enable a recipient to find and retain work
- c) Provision of assistance in job search efforts
- d) Inclusion of a strategy to secure necessary support services to prepare a person for work and during the period while work is being sought, including particularly child care and transportation
- e) Provision of meaningful work opportunities after an individual is work-ready and has been searching unsuccessfully for work for a period of six months, in which the individual is offered the opportunity to build or preserve existing skills which are of relevance in the job market
- f) Continuation of essential services (e.g., medical and child care, housing assistance) during the critical period after a family leaves welfare, until their wages reach the standard of need, so that no one is forced to choose between a job and quality child care, medical care, or housing.

4. Other policies and programs.

The proposal calls for development of other key programs and policies to help individuals overcome poverty and become self-sufficient.

- a) Strategies to rebuild and make viable the urban communities in which most low-income people live, and to give those people greater control over the programs and resources designed to achieve the rebuilding
- b) Enactment of a comprehensive state Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)
- c) A significant and ongoing jobs-creation strategy focused on those who are entering the job market for the first time, have poor work history, or have worked in an occupation now threatened or extinguished by technology, market conditions, or other factors. Putting such people to work at a liveable wage on public works projects should be a central strategy as long as it is done after other necessary education and training has been completed, and does not interfere with the individual's ability to search effectively for work. Other strategies can include employer tax credits. Jobs supported with public funds should be tailored to meet three criteria: filling gaps that exist in private sector employment, addressing major needs in urban communities, and relevance to possible later private sector employment.
- d) A revamping of state job training programs to make them relevant to lowest income people, especially those mentioned in (c) above.
- e) Redesign of state vocational training efforts to make them relevant to lowest income people.
- f) Far more effective enforcement of laws against discrimination, and strengthening them where necessary, so that these barriers to securing, keeping, and advancing in a job are eliminated.
- g) Reform of the health care system so that all people have access to necessary quality care (this is a precondition to successful transition from public assistance to work).
- h) Creating an adequate quality child care system for those least able to afford such care from private agencies.

- i) Revamping the child support enforcement system, and instituting some form of child support assurance program to supplement family income when child support is not forthcoming.
- j) Revamping the administration of public assistance, to eliminate oppressive aspects and make it humane.

I cannot be at this meeting (September 9th) because I am in the hospital, but I want to let you know I am very much in favor of welfare reform. Here are my suggestions for real welfare reform:

First of all, do away with a lot of the high-salaried welfare directors and their henchmen. Why I call them "henchmen" is that they are always turning very needy people away. How I know this: I am a former welfare recipient and I know what they have done to me down through the years. I know they have quota systems for helping and turning away people because I have heard caseworkers bragging about how many applicants they have turned away.

If the system weren't corrupt, we wouldn't have to re-do it. In my County, which is Monmouth, I know our County Welfare Director makes somewhere between \$83,000 and \$87,000 a year and he cannot possibly understand the problems of being on welfare, which most people hate. The money allocated for helping low-income people is not going to the welfare recipient; the great bulk of it is going to Directors, staff people, building maintenance, and ridiculous paper trails.

Secondly, you can raise the welfare grants. They have not been raised in over 6 years, even though inflation has made prices very, very high. You and some of your key people, all of the Senators and all of the Congressmen can give their salary back for one year. — instead of giving yourselves an annual raise on the backs of the poor, which is deplorable, in my view.

When a woman has to go on welfare, unless she is an exception to the rule, her experience on welfare is degrading, deplorable, dehumanizing to her and her family at a time when she is very vulnerable. Most children don't want anyone to know that their mother gets food stamps or is on welfare, because other mean children will tease them about it.

With the economy in the situation that it is in, how are you going to take people off of welfare and put them on jobs, when there are so many people out of work, and having to go onto welfare, who have never been on it before? You should let a person take a job and collect

welfare also, as secondary income, because most of these households have only one parent, and the family cannot live on welfare alone or wages alone.

As she begins to get on her feet and begins to be stabilized in a job, you could start cutting the welfare payment, but you need to keep the Medicaid and the food stamps, if necessary, because most jobs don't pay enough nor do they have decent medical coverage.

The benefits should be individualized, should be tailored to the needs of the individual family, because people's needs are not the same.

Child support: You should introduce very stringent child support enforcement and laws. I know, because I am trying to get support for my 17-year-old son from his father, who just retired from the United States Navy. I have been working on this for years, and the system is not helping me but fighting me.

I am very much against Wayne Bryant and his so-called welfare reform. This is not real welfare reform. Bryant's law package is based on false stereotypes and not real people. Most women don't have another baby for the sake of \$64 additional income a month and \$65 additional in food stamps. It costs more than that just for Pampers alone, for that baby.

The part of the Bryant law that allows big "disregards" of income only to stepfathers is unfair. The same disregards should be available to both the real father and to the single mother. That would be real reform. The wages for jobs people can get around here are too low to live on, and the rents are out of sight. We need to have Federal Rent Control, and we need to have income disregards for any breadwinner on welfare who is willing to work at one of these low-paid jobs.

Many mothers like to work, but they stay on welfare to get medical care for their children and food stamps and, in some cases, a place to live, because if you are working and become homeless, there is almost no help for you in Monmouth County.

Stop sending the jobs overseas. This way, you will be able to put Americans back to work. Cut the exorbitant salaries of the CEO's, and start paying the people wages and salaries that they can support a family on. Those huge salaries of corporate executives are killing our economy and also our babies.

Taxes are too high on the poor, and not high enough on rich people like yourself.

You should not have inexperienced people trying to make decisions about things they know nothing about. When you're dealing with mothers on welfare, the mothers are the only real experts on what they need -- or people who have been on welfare, survived, and gotten off. You should not have decisions being made by people who have never walked in the shoes of the people they are making decisions for.

You should start attacking, not poor people, but poverty itself. President Lyndon Johnson was able to radically reduce the number of poor people by his "war on poverty" and our economy was better for it. If we could win a real "war on poverty" like Johnson's, then most of the other problems may be solved in turn: like the substance abuse problem, the crime problem, and the problem of feeding and housing and educating our children.

Charletta Reed

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Charletta Reed". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name.

September 8, 1993

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Coalition on Human Needs would like to thank a number of people who provided invaluable comments and suggestions early in the design, implementation, and analysis of this study. An advisory committee for the project provided critical assistance in designing the questionnaire and reviewing the data. We are grateful to advisory committee members Mark Greenberg of the Center for Law and Social Policy, Diana Pearce of the Women and Poverty Project, Kathryn Porter of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, and Carolyn Farrow Garland of the American Friends Service Committee.

We are also indebted to the Coalition's former Executive Director, Susan Rees, and the staff of our state partners, whose hard work made this study possible: Jeanette Mott Oxford of ROWEL, Louise Conklin\* and Charles Rawlings of the New Jersey Council of Churches, Catherine Willis of the Black Issues Convention in New Jersey, John Mullin of the Human Services Coalition of Oregon, Jude Filler of the Texas Alliance for Human Needs, and the other staff and interviewers who participated in the study.

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We particularly wish to thank the Florence and John Schumann Foundation for their generous support of this project.

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*The New Jersey Council of Churches*

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## CONCLUSION

Our study has highlighted the "unheard voices" of individuals participating in the Jobs Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program. During the interviews we conducted, JOBS participants told us about their backgrounds, their goals and their frustrations with the welfare system -- and the economy -- that make it so difficult for them to attain economic self-sufficiency and a better future for their children. Their reflections on their personal experiences with the welfare system, the JOBS program, and the labor market need to be considered in any evaluation of the program and in the ongoing debate on reforming the welfare system.

The major goal of the JOBS program is to prepare AFDC recipients to leave the welfare system for paid employment. We found that the welfare recipients we talked with shared this goal. Finding a job and leaving the welfare system were high priorities for the JOBS participants. Their opinions are almost unanimous on this subject: they want good jobs so that they can raise their families with dignity. In fact, a high proportion of the people we interviewed had extensive prior work experience and had volunteered to participate in the JOBS program in the hope that it would help them find a job.

Many challenges face welfare recipients who are trying to make the transition from welfare to work, only some of which are addressed by the JOBS program. The JOBS program tries to address the low education and skill levels of many participants. The JOBS program does not, and cannot, address the most significant problem facing welfare recipients: the job market itself. People cannot be self-supporting if they cannot find a decent job. The recession of the last several years has resulted in a high unemployment rate and a shortage of jobs. In addition, there have been long-term structural changes in the economy that have led to more low-wage jobs and fewer well-paying jobs for low-skilled workers. This expansion of the low-wage sector of the economy severely limits the ability of welfare recipients to move out of poverty through employment.

The shortage of jobs has been, and will continue to be, a major factor limiting the success of the JOBS program. Job training will not help people become self-sufficient if there are few jobs available at the end of training. "Reforming" the welfare system must consist at least in part of policies that address economic growth, job creation, and wage levels.

In addition to jobs, there are other necessary supports that people -- not just welfare recipients -- need to move in to the workforce. Quality child care and access to health care are critically important, particularly for single parents. The JOBS program provided some support services while individuals were participating in the education and training JOBS activity and for a short transition period, but there are no guarantees that people will have access to these necessary supports once they are in the workforce. Unless child care and health care are available and affordable, the welfare system will often be the only alternative for low-income families. Another "welfare reform" would be to guarantee access to health

care and quality child care for all welfare recipients and working poor families.

While the JOBS program does not address the fundamental problems facing people trying to enter the low wage labor market, it does provide welfare recipients with a good start toward preparing for work. The participants we interviewed believed that the approach of the JOBS program -- providing education and training with support services -- is the right one for addressing some of the obstacles they face. Most JOBS participants felt that the program had been a positive experience for them and their children.

However, our results indicate that there are many areas where the JOBS program could be improved. More attention needs to be paid to the quality of the education and training activities provided to JOBS participants. We discovered that placement in activities was inappropriate in some cases. For some individuals in the JOBS program, a disinterested bureaucracy appeared to have created a new set of barriers for them to overcome.

In addition, one must recognize that the JOBS program has faced a number of handicaps since its implementation in the early 1990's. The JOBS program was implemented during a recession at a time when states were facing major fiscal crises, unemployment was high, and the AFDC caseload increased dramatically. The program has not been adequately funded at the federal or state level. *inexpensively,*

*important* There are no easy solutions to the problems that face poor Americans within and outside the welfare system. Our early experience with the JOBS program underscores the importance of macroeconomic forces outside the scope of a somewhat modest welfare-to-work program. As policymakers discuss new reforms of the welfare system, the opinions of JOBS participants about what they need to succeed and what reforms they believe would be helpful can provide fresh insights. Our interviews with JOBS participants suggest that a much broader range of policies that address the economy, the health care system and other supports for working families, as well as the education and training opportunities made available to welfare recipients through the JOBS program, are necessary for true welfare reform. *operating* *all* *They can gain fresh insights from:*

My name is Stephen Saland. I am Chairman of the New York State Senate Committee on Children and Families, the Senate Committee that has jurisdiction over child support issues including the establishment of paternity and child support enforcement. As Children and Families Committee Chairman, and previously as a committee member and member of the New York State Assembly, I have observed and participated in the evolution of New York's substantive child support laws.

Of primary concern to the National Conference of State Legislatures is federal acknowledgement and reward of innovations by the states. In enacting Chapter 59 of the Laws of 1993, New York's version of the federally mandated triennial review and adjustment process, New York also moved forward on 3 other fronts in the enforcement area. New York has authorized a medical support execution to secure provision of employer provided medical insurance by payroll deduction. This is an essential legal device to help reduce state costs for medical payments to uninsured minors while accessing medical care for New York's children. We have also established procedures for non-judicial acknowledgements of paternity right at the hospital when the child is born. New York also has enacted laws for the aggressive enforcement of defaulted support orders without the necessity of judicial intervention through the use of liens, attachments and restraining notices.

Federal financial incentives should be provided to encourage innovations at the state level. These incentives, coupled with the judicious use of federal waivers for new demonstration programs targeted at support enforcement, will generate greater collections. New approaches to support collections should be

recognized when setting performance standards and when conducting program audits.

Conversely, the rigorous and inflexible applications of federal mandates upon the states may well have the effect of stifling creativity at the state and local level resulting in the misallocation of human and financial resources to the demands of mandate compliance rather than the task at hand - collecting child support.

Simply put, unfunded and underfunded mandates hurt - rather than help - the business of securing support for our children and recovering taxpayer dollars paid out in federal, state and local benefits.

Specifically, the NCSL advocates a 90/10 federal - state match for federally mandated automatic data systems and changes required by federal statute and regulation. For example, in New York the advent of the triennial review and adjustment process alone will mean a review of nearly 1/2 of a million existing support orders for adjustment purposes while requiring as many as 7 adjustments of every new order where adjustment is sought during each child's minority. This massive intake of data, as well as contemplated future system changes must be matched by federal dollars so that custodial parents first entering the child support system are not defeated or delayed by a failure of technology. States must not be made to bear the financial burden of acquiring and implementing this technology alone.

Finally, the NCSL opposes extensive federalization of child support enforcement including the use of the Social Security Administration as a broad based collection agency. Utilization of the Internal Revenue Service as a child support collection agency must be carefully scrutinized, particularly in terms of potential conflict with the agency's current revenue collection and enforcement mission. Cohesive, coordinated interstate cooperation, with centralized state data access represents the best hope for successful child support collection efforts - not the addition of new layers of federal bureaucracy.

Thank you.

Testimony before the Federal Working Group on  
Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence  
Union County Community College - Cranford, N.J.  
September 9, 1993

National Organization for Women (N.J.)  
By: Michelle Joy Munsat,  
Legal Counsel

Good afternoon. My name is Michelle Munsat. I am speaking here today as legal counsel to the New Jersey chapter of the National Organization for Women. NOW-NJ is particularly pleased to have been invited to participate in this nationwide public debate, as we have long been involved with the issue of welfare rights in our state. NOW-NJ is a statewide organization of 12,000 women and men of all racial, ethnic and economic backgrounds who are committed to ensuring that all women of New Jersey are able to obtain and maintain equal rights and opportunities with men in the workplace, political arena, and community and family settings. We are particularly concerned that all women be allowed to live their lives in dignity and as empowered individuals, with, when needed, assistance and support from, but not coercion or control by, government.

We are pleased to have been asked to address the concept of time limited benefits, for we believe this raises many of the same issues which we have been working with for the past almost two years in relation to New Jersey's so-called welfare "reform" program. Let us start this discussion with a very important, fundamental understanding. The concept of welfare reform is nothing new. I have been around for a long time now, and it has certainly not escaped my attention that every few years some government leader comes along and decides that it's time, once again for the first time, to "reform" the welfare system. And each and every time this happens, the finger of blame is pointed at poor women and their children, as if they are responsible for all of the economic and social ills of our society. Once again the same hue and cry has been fanned: if only we could get those women to stop being lazy, stop having kids, get to work, raise their kids right, marry a man (but of

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course not the kids' father), and on and on and on.

There are two basic flaws with all of the welfare reform constructs which are currently being proposed or have already been enacted, whether they speak in terms of time limited benefits, workfare, or denying an additional \$64 per month to meet the needs of a newborn baby. The first flaw is that these social experiments are based on racist and sexist stereotypes and myths. The fact is that most AFDC recipients can be classified as working poor, going in and out of a job market which offers them only low paying, unstable positions. The fact is that the average size of an AFDC household in this state is actually somewhat smaller than a non-AFDC household. The fact is that the average welfare case is open for a relatively short period of time.

The second flaw which, if not acknowledged and dealt with in an honest way will serve to totally destroy anyone's attempt at honest, enlightened changes in the welfare system, is the fact that these plans assume that there are jobs for AFDC recipients to go into once we have started cutting, denying and terminating their benefits. Well, in case anyone hasn't noticed, those jobs simply do not exist. The official unemployment rate in New Jersey is currently 7.1 per cent, and of course that doesn't begin to count those people who are underemployed or just so discouraged they aren't even looking anymore. And in a city such as Newark, where I live and maintain my practice, the official rate is closer to 15%. How can we even consider cutting, denying or terminating benefits when jobs which would enable an AFDC recipient to support her family's food, clothing shelter and medical needs simply do not exist, even if the necessary job training and affordable child care did exist. The State of New Jersey has lost hundreds of thousands of jobs in the last several years, every day you pick up the newspaper and read about more and more companies laying off hundreds and thousands of employees each, and now even the federal government is planning to eliminate a quarter of a million jobs. Where are these denied, cut and terminated

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women and children to go? How are they to survive?

It is part of the social compact of this country that we as a society assist those among us who need assistance. There are already millions of people living in the streets of this country. Are we now going to have them dying in the streets because there won't be jobs or welfare benefits?

NOW-NJ would like to know why the government isn't holding hearings to determine how to seize the assets and future earnings of those who created the savings and loan debacle. Is it because they are rich and white and male? Why aren't we talking about time limited welfare benefits to farmers and the defense industry? Women and children who are forced to live on AFDC in this country are already living below the poverty level which the government itself establishes. In New Jersey, AFDC households receive grants which are less than one-half of what the state itself has determined to be the minimum amount necessary to provide basic food, shelter and clothing needs in this state.

I think we are all in agreement that the current welfare system needs to be changed. It is a system which for decades has forced women and children to live in absolute destitution with little hope of ever being able to move on to a fully self-supporting, dignified and empowered life. NOW-NJ firmly believes, however, that it is totally inappropriate for the government to even begin speaking of denying benefits to newborn infants and terminating benefits after a certain period of time until it has in place a fully funded and operational program of educational programs, job training and child care, and can assure each and every woman who it proposes to deny, cut or terminate that she has a secure, financially adequate job waiting for her. Anything less is a vicious and cruel hoax.

Thank you.

TESTIMONY BEFORE  
WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM

Lawrence S. Lustberg, Esq.  
Director, John J. Gibbons Fellowship  
in Public Interest and Constitutional Law  
Creummy, Del Deo, Dolan, Griffinger & Vecchione, P.C.

Attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union and  
American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey

September 9, 1993

My name is Lawrence S. Lustberg and I am the Director of the John J. Gibbons Fellowship in Public Interest and Constitutional Law at the law firm of Crummy, Del Deo, Dolan, Griffinger & Vecchione in Newark, New Jersey. The Fellowship is a program which provides the opportunity for two attorneys, working under my direction and that of John J. Gibbons, formerly Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, to work on cases of great public importance or legal significance. In that capacity, the Fellowship has, for several years, represented the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey in working with a number of groups, including Legal Services of New Jersey, the NOW Legal Defense Fund and others, in formulating a challenge to the family cap provision of New Jersey's Family Development Program, that is, the provision which eliminates benefits for a child born to a family receiving AFDC.

I speak here today on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union and the ACLU of New Jersey. I am very glad to be addressing this Group because, frankly, up until now, we have been very disappointed with the response we have received from Washington when we have voiced our objections to the family cap provision. Our objections to the waiver sought by the State of New Jersey from the Department of Health and Human Services under the Bush Administration were not only overruled, in the sense that the waiver was granted, but they were not even addressed; the grant of the waiver made no mention of, and

responded not at all to our objections, which we continue to believe were firmly rooted in the law, in social science and in a real-life sense of how this deprivation of benefits will affect people already living on the edge of survival. We hope that this group will really listen and will respond to our concerns.

As I described it, the family cap provision of the New Jersey welfare reform package, known as the Family Development Program, provides that the schedule of benefits paid to a family receiving AFDC was to be revised to "eliminat[e] the increment in benefits under the program for which that family would otherwise be eligible as a result of the birth of a child during the period in which the family is eligible for AFDC benefits..." N.J.S.A. 44:10-3.5. The express purpose of this provision was to discourage women receiving AFDC from having children.

What's wrong with this provision? First and foremost, it is heartless. The family cap provision deprives the neediest people in society of funds that are necessary to satisfy their most basic needs: food, shelter, the ability to survive. As it is, judged against the revised standard of need established by New Jersey in 1992, AFDC benefits provide only about 45% of the amount needed for a family to maintain a safe and decent life. The family cap provision results in a further decrease of this amount: the \$50 to \$102 at stake is a

tremendous amount of money to these families and may well be the difference between being homeless or not, between being hungry or not, between living and dying.

Second, the family cap provision is simply not justified by the facts. In our objection to New Jersey's waiver application, we submitted substantial, unequivocal and unanimous social science research demonstrating that AFDC benefit levels simply do not have a significant effect on recipients' decisions about whether to conceive or birth children. Increasing benefits does not encourage welfare mothers to bring children into a difficult world; and decreasing benefits has been shown not to reduce the number of families who are poor. Nor, as a matter of fact, and notwithstanding stereotypes to the contrary, are welfare families on average larger than other families in the United States, and in New Jersey. Thus, family cap provisions, like New Jersey's, are not only cruel, but they are misguided as well.

They are also unconstitutional. Whether under the federal constitution, or under the New Jersey state constitution, whose protections have been viewed as more expansive by our State Supreme Court, it is improper to interfere with or burden the intimate choice of whether to conceive and deliver a child. The family cap provision does just this, by urging women not to have children because they

are poor, or even by giving them an incentive to abort pregnancies, in the event that they conceive despite reasonable precautions.

Third, the family cap provisions are being implemented in an unlawful manner. Though waived as an experiment under 42 U.S.C. § 1315, the immediate, statewide implementation of the provisions, as well as their legislative history, reveal them to be nothing less than plenary policy change; accordingly, they ought not to have been the subject of a waiver. Moreover, if it is an experiment, the family cap is a strange one indeed: as approved by HHS, there is an experimental treatment group of some 6,000 families, in 10 of New Jersey's 21 counties, subject to the Family Development Program, including the cap. Another 3,000 families are a "control group," not subject to these provisions. The rest of New Jersey, however, is subject to the cap, without being provided the full benefits of the remainder of the FDP, including job training and other services, which are being phased in, in light of inadequate current funding levels.

Thus, some 135,000 families are, in fact, being subject to this "experiment," which is unjustified by a need for research, and may well run afoul of statutory provisions requiring that experiments with human subjects not occur in the absence of a determination that they will not pose a physical, mental or emotional danger to the subjects, see Pub. L. No.

102-394, § 211, 106 Stat. 1792, 1812 (1992), and that research involving pregnant women or human fetuses be designed to meet the health needs of and minimize the risks to the mother or fetus. The family cap is no experiment, and a waiver should not have been granted, but if it is, it increases the physical, mental and emotional danger to its subjects, and jeopardizes rather than enhances the well-being of pregnant women and children in New Jersey.

These are but some of the legal objections that we have interposed to the family cap provision of New Jersey's Family Development Act in objecting to, and then requesting reconsideration of, the waiver granted New Jersey by HHS. Hopefully, these objections will not have to be litigated in a court of law, although the ACLU and the many organizations and individuals with whom we are working are ready, willing and able to go to court if that is necessary. We hope it is not, for even though this type of provision may be politically expedient during times when it is popular to blame the poor for their plight, at root, it is heartless and inhumane.

Welfare reform may be necessary. But it need not be cruel.



# LUTHERAN OFFICE OF GOVERNMENTAL MINISTRY IN NEW JERSEY

Carol Kasabach, Director

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## TESTIMONY BEFORE WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE SEPTEMBER 9, 1993

My name is Carol Kasabach, Director of the Lutheran Office of Governmental Ministry in New Jersey (LOGM/NJ). This office is a partnership of the New Jersey Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) with the New Jersey Council of Churches (NJCC) and Lutheran Social Ministries of New Jersey (LSM/NJ). The purpose of this office is to advocate justice for the poor and the powerless and today specifically I come before you to express the concerns and view of the policy board of this office. Their concerns are based on who we are as responsible Christians in society, the written social statements developed by the ELCA and our predecessor bodies, the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) and the American Lutheran Church (ALC) and actions taken by our synod through synod council action or by resolution when our 200 congregations of approximately 85,000 people come together in assembly.

Excerpts from two of the Lutheran church's social statements best explain where this testimony is coming from:

"Justice requires that the State promote the general welfare, further the well-being of every citizen and secure equal opportunity for full development of all its citizens." The Church and Social Welfare, 4th LCA Convention, Atlanta 1968, p. 1.

"Affirmation of the need for elemental fairness in taxation and it specifies that fair means (1) Taxing people in some relationship to their ability to pay, and (2) Providing assistance when required in some relationship to need." Toward Fairness in Public Taxing and Spending, 11th ALC Convention, 1982, p. 5.

The church has worked alongside people living in poverty as we seek justice together. The people of God in their many forms have been attacking poverty. Some examples:

- In 1987 the Lutheran Churchwide Consultation on Welfare Reform developed "Guiding Principles in Social Welfare Reform";
- Also in 1987, the New Jersey Council of Churches (NJCC) coordinated a diverse working group who critiqued the "REACH" welfare reform proposal and produced a document for study entitled "Escape Route From Poverty or New Peril for the Poor?";
- In 1988, the NJCC wrote The Reshaping of New Jersey: The Growing Separation - A Study of Growing Economic Inequality and Declining Prospects;
- And today, the presentation of Unheard Voices: An Evaluation of the JOBS Program by Participants was executed through a contract with the Coalition on Human Needs and the NJCC.

OUR PARTNERS IN MINISTRY

Yes, we are all God's children -- we all have names -- each of us is valuable -- and, yes, we are responsible for and to each other.

The Church is present, often picking up the pieces. As just one example: The affordability and accessibility of safe decent housing for the very low income has put New Jersey in the forefront of addressing the needs of the homeless. We have interfaith hospitality networks to shelter the homeless in many of our very affluent counties, the McKinney Act provision for allocating surplus lands for the homeless was first implemented in New Jersey at Amandla Crossing through the Middlesex Interfaith Partners. Many churches are forming non-profit housing corporations. And members of our congregations understand the role of advocacy to bring justice to those living in poverty.

**THE ECONOMIC PREMISE:** Everyone who wants to work can find a job; if you have a full-time job, you can support yourself - these assumptions are false.

**Some Facts:**

- In 1991, the NJ Department of Human Services established a standard of need for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and General Assistance (GA) recipients: \$985 per month for a family of three covered by AFDC and \$582 per month for a single person covered by GA. It should be noted that this standard of need does not include health care coverage or child care. And it has not been adjusted on a yearly basis for inflation.
- Since 1988, there has been no increase in AFDC. The actual maximum AFDC grant for a family of three is \$424 plus food stamps = \$701.
- GA benefits have remained fixed for many years at monthly amounts of \$210 ("unemployable") and \$140 ("employable") plus the maximum food stamps allowance of \$111 = \$320 and \$250 respectively.
- Fair market rents in 1991 for a two-bedroom apartment: Bergen-Passaic \$851, Middlesex-Somerset \$782, Newark \$701, Jersey City \$599; and the HUD 1991 fair market rents for New Jersey were efficiency \$450, one bedroom \$550, and two bedroom \$650.
- In New Jersey 17.2% of the families receiving AFDC live in public housing or receive any rent subsidy.

**Selected NJ Fiscal Year '94 budget allocations:**

Emergency Assistance (EA) - \$40,143,668 (increased from \$36,035,302)

Provides public assistance individuals and families with emergency shelter assistance when they are homeless. EA is commonly used to pay for the cost of housing a family in a welfare motel or in a shelter (average \$1,500 per month), to pay back rent, or to provide Temporary Rental Assistance (average \$250/month for 8-9 months, maximum of 12 months) in order to prevent further homelessness. Emergency Assistance funds

are also being used to pay a substantial part of the operating funds for transitional housing programs.

Family Development Program welfare reform training initiatives - \$35,000,000

Provides services for an estimated caseload of 42,000 in fiscal year 1994. It will operate in eight counties for AFDC clients. Funding includes \$4 million for GA client participation in three counties and the city of Trenton.

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly." *Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. "Letter from a Birmingham Jail"*

This statement took on human flesh as those with jobs and homes worked with those without jobs and homes. In the fall and winter of 1992, they came together and advocated for the restoration of General Assistance benefits. The New Jersey legislature heard the cry articulated with thousands of names on petitions, phone calls, letters and media focus. This circumstance focused attention on the multi-faceted needs of this population. In addition to restoring the \$140 a month for GA recipients, the Legislature mandated that the Department of Human Services should revisit the definition of "employable" and that the Departments of Human Services and Labor should develop a plan to address those plans. In April 1993, William Waldman, Commissioner of the Department of Human Services submitted "A Special Report to the Legislature on General Assistance."

The following comments were made by thirty-five persons before Marion Reitz, Director of the Division of Family Development at the Trenton Area Soup Kitchen on March 30 as one of the first steps to assist those in poverty to advocate for themselves and help shape public policy as we all seek solutions to end poverty soon. Many of the comments referred to the Temporary Rental Assistance (TRA) program - some called it TRAP:

"I don't want you to be responsible for me, I want to be responsible for myself - I'm 50 years old and I'm going back to school."

and from a 21 year old: "You go to get a job and fill out an application. They say, 'Where do you live' and you say, 'No where'. That's the end of that job."

"I'm an ex-addict and I'm clean."

"I get \$322 - my rent is \$425."

"Why would you want to send me to the shelter and pay \$775 instead of giving me \$325?"

"I've seen more that 60 apartments but they cost too much."

Referring to TRA cutoff: "I'm studying in school, you start filling your head with dreams and then you're pushed right down to where you started."

"Everytime you try to take one step forward and get knocked two steps down - I don't want a hand out, just a hand up."

"See all the burned out homes. Give us something to work with." - indicating a willingness to make those homes liveable.

"I hate being on city welfare; they treat you like a dog. \$111 in food stamps means \$3.50 a day; \$325 TRAP, then back to \$140."

"Don't have transportation money; can't go out of town to look for work."

"There should be some kind of monitoring system."

"I'm an ex drug user and I'm diabetic."

"I don't want to be on welfare; I'm going for my GED and that takes one year."

"Put a limit on welfare hotels - there are no programs there."

"People are struggling to maintain their pride and their dignity."

A woman formerly employed whose benefits ran out is in the first pilot program.

"Is there any program for those on unemployment?"

A comment from a person whose TRA had run out and is homeless again: "All the things we accumulate are out on the streets again; the garbage men come and pick it up and we're on the streets again."

"You can pay for the people in jail."

"Help us get on our own feet so we don't have to beg."

"I want to make a place for myself. I'm 25 and a recovering addict and I'm in college. My mother was on welfare and I don't want that for myself. When your dreams die, you die."

In those remarks, you heard comments from GA recipients enrolled in the Trenton City pilot program mandated in the Family Development Act. Three hundred are enrolled and forty individuals now have jobs through this program. It is a model that should be emulated around the state, and, yes, around the country.

#### CONCERNS AND QUESTIONS THAT NEED TO BE ADDRESSED AS WE MOVE STEP BY STEP TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO END POVERTY SOON-----

1. What is the legislative intent to raise AFDC and GA benefit levels to the standard of need?

2. There is a dependence on Emergency Assistance because benefit levels are too low.

Temporary Rental Assistance (TRA) needs to be expanded to provide assistance until housing can be secured that can be afforded. The expense of hotels and motels is unacceptable. Should a state rental subsidy program must be established in NJ. Will the federal government address the need for rental subsidies?

3. What happens when TRA is cut before affordable housing is secured?

4. What initiatives have been developed to implement meaningful job training and job placement programs as a result of the Departments of Human Services and Labor study mandated by the Legislature for submission by April 1, 1993?

Specifically, what Department of Labor programs will be targetted to the GA and AFDC populations? What proportion of those programs will be targetted and the dollar amount projected? When will the plan go into effect? Can and will the US Department of Labor learn from the New Jersey experience?

5. In New Jersey, The DHS was to revisit the definition of "employable" with reference to GA recipients. What is the definition of "employable" for AFDC recipients? Are programs in place or planned that will result in full-time work that will make it possible for a person to be self sufficient? ie in-patient substance abuse treatment; mental health services....?

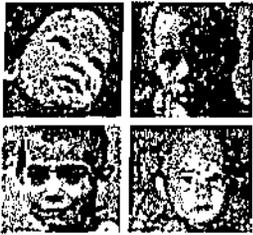
THIS TESTIMONY AND THE TESTIMONY OF OTHERS UNDERSCORE CERTAIN POINTS THAT INCLUDE:

- because of the lack of resources, programs should be voluntary - if the program is good and people are able to achieve self sufficiency, people will flock to the program
- programs need to be designed to fit individual needs
- human dignity, respect for self should be fostered
- any form of sanctioning of the parent, hurts the entire family
- The Church, in advocating justice and fairness for all our brothers and sisters will continue to strive for social responsibility for all of society.

We all have names - Carla, Scott, Tammy, Lamont, Richard, David, Robert, Wanda, Joann, Rosiland, Abdul, Jim and Carol - we're all God's children.

"Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly." - Martin

"When your dreams die, you die." - Scott



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**TO:** Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence

**FROM:** Cecilia Zalkind, Assistant Director  
Association for Children of New Jersey (ACNJ)

**DATE:** September 9, 1993

**RE:** **TESTIMONY FOR THE PUBLIC FORUM ON WELFARE REFORM**

The Association for Children of New Jersey is a statewide, nonprofit child advocacy organization dedicated to the improvement of state policies and programs for children, particularly those who are dependent on the state for their well-being. ACNJ advocates on a wide range of issues, including child welfare, basic needs, health and education. We appreciate the opportunity to share our thoughts on welfare reform with you today.

Of primary importance to any discussion of welfare reform is an understanding of its goal. Is the goal to get people off welfare or to enable individuals to become self-sufficient? Too many of the programs we've seen in New Jersey, including the current Family Development Program, are merely new names for old ideas -- short-term, short-sighted, superficial efforts to get people off welfare, often to minimum wage jobs that do not provide sufficient income or long-term employment, eventually returning the individual to the welfare system.

True welfare reform requires sufficient funding, realistic expectations, a commitment of time and -- most important -- separation from the political process. Welfare reform will not be successful if its intended outcome is superficially positive statistics to use in a political campaign. Nor will it work if the program is constantly changed to credit whatever individual or party is currently in power.

True welfare reform also takes comprehensive services, some of which may not be immediately connected to getting a job. Changing individual behavior is a difficult challenge, especially if remediation is needed. Five program components which ACNJ believes are critical to successful welfare reform include:

1) Comprehensive education services to make up for severe education deficits. It is no coincidence that the majority of the welfare population in our state comes from the school districts which our Supreme Court has found to be those which the state has inadequately funded. Students in these districts complete school without the skills necessary for work; many drop out without completing school. Comprehensive educational services to remediate these educational deficits are necessary before job training can begin. In Essex County, 87% of

participants in the REACH Program, the welfare reform initiative that preceded the Family Development Program, required remedial education. Their average reading level was 4th grade. A short-term job training program will not be sufficient to prepare these individuals for the workforce.

**2) An adequate standard of living is needed while the family is still receiving assistance.**

People can't concentrate on developing work skills when they are hungry, have no place to live and must focus their energy on meeting the daily basic needs of themselves and their children. In New Jersey, the AFDC grant levels, which have not been increased in seven years, are inadequate for the average family to live on. A reevaluation of the standard of need, completed two years ago, found that the AFDC grant levels in New Jersey are less than one-half of what it costs to live in the state. ACNJ's 1985 report, *Not Enough to Live On*, found that many AFDC families must spend the majority of their grant on rent. Successful welfare reform must include an adequate standard of living to enable individuals to fully participate in the program.

**3) Social service and health needs must be addressed.** Some families receiving public assistance have social service or health needs which must be resolved for the parent to participate effectively in job training or job search. Some are teen parents who need special attention not just in developing job skills but in parenting skills as well. Others require significant social services such as counseling, homemaker assistance, and family preservation services. Such needs cannot be separated from preparation for work.

The impact of drugs must also be faced. ACNJ is presently engaged in a project to examine why children enter foster care placement in New Jersey. Our preliminary findings, based on our review of a sample of case records of the state child welfare agency, indicate that many of children entering foster care come from families on AFDC and that parental drug involvement is a major factor in placement. These are the same parents expected to participate in the Family Development Program. Effective drug treatment is necessary for these individuals and must be part of a welfare reform proposal.

**4) Adequate child care must be provided.** The majority of individuals who will be involved in a welfare reform initiative are women with children. Adequate child care must be provided for these children. Paying a relative or neighbor to provide babysitting services is not sufficient. These children need comprehensive early childhood education services like Head Start. In fact, if an early childhood program was provided, welfare reform could be accomplished on two levels. Not only would mothers receive services but children would also be given the comprehensive education, nutrition and health care services necessary for future success in school, thereby preventing them from becoming an eventual welfare statistic.

**5) Adequate, appropriate jobs must be developed for individuals completing job training.** In view of the economy in New Jersey and across the country as well as the changing needs of the workforce, we must question what jobs will be available for participants at the end of training. A minimum wage position at McDonald's is not the answer. In ACNJ's view, successful welfare reform must enable the individual to obtain a stable position that can provide an adequate standard of living, health insurance and sufficient income to pay child care. ACNJ believes that effective welfare reform must include job development. Merely training individuals to compete

for existing jobs is not sufficient; some effort must be made to prioritize training to those areas in which jobs are available and to develop more jobs for individuals once the training is complete.

### **ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES ARE ALSO NEEDED**

In addition to program components, ACNJ also believes that administrative changes are needed in the AFDC Program itself. Welfare reform should not be focused solely on the client but should make the system itself more effective. ACNJ has two specific suggestions for the Task Force to consider.

First, administrative barriers in the program itself must be eliminated. Duplicative paperwork and separate application procedures for the different programs (like AFDC, Food Stamps and Medicaid) must be coordinated and streamlined. Not only would it make the process easier for clients but it would also save considerable administrative costs. Such savings could be re-invested in better case management. It is unrealistic to assume that a public welfare caseworker with a caseload of 300 clients and an emphasis on income maintenance can effectively assist his or her clients access job training and placement. The caseworker must play an important role in supporting and motivating the client as well as ensuring the provision of all the critical services we have outlined above.

Second, the public welfare system must be better coordinated with the differing levels of government as well as other state agencies. The federal, state, county and municipal government all have some responsibility for implementation of the welfare system. This does not work smoothly. Policy and practice are often inconsistent or conflicting. A successful welfare reform effort must assist these levels to better work together.

Similar coordination problems exist among the various state agencies. As we discussed, effective welfare reform requires a variety of services beyond the welfare system itself: education, social services, health care and child care. Such services, however, are provided by different state agencies. It is not the client who should be responsible to individually coordinate these services; the state must make a far greater effort to ensure coordination and cooperation.

### **THE BOTTOM LINE MUST BE THE CHILDREN**

ACNJ is most concerned that any new welfare reform initiative must include a strong focus on children. Most important, welfare reform must not be promoted at the expense of children. One of the key elements of the Family Development Program is the provision which refuses benefits to children born after a family is receiving AFDC. We strongly opposed this provision during its legislative process as too punitive to children. Current discussion on the federal level of a cap on assistance after two years should be carefully examined as to its impact on children.

Secondly, we will still be talking about successful ways to achieve welfare reform in the next century unless we begin to prioritize prevention. Welfare reform must include an investment in children to better meet their basic needs, provide early intervention services and ensure an adequate education so that the children today do not become the welfare statistics of tomorrow.

REMARKS OF THE REV. REGINALD T. JACKSON  
BEFORE WELFARE REFORM TASK FORCE

Allow me to first thank the members of the Task force for the opportunity to speak with you today. My remarks will be brief but I hope helpful as we seek to reform a system in this country that has aided in the development of a cycle of dependency and despair that has handicapped generations of Americans.

Welfare originally was intended to be a bridge to get persons from where they are to where they ought to be. Unfortunately that bridge has become a parking lot and too many people have not moved from the lot or been abandoned on the bridge.

I want to focus my brief remarks today in the area of education and training. We do nothing to help welfare recipients and their families get to where they ought to be or improve their quality of life if we do not provide them with education and training. They need this more than they need money.

It should be a requirement of anyone receiving welfare benefits that they must accept education and training in either some college or vocational setting. This must be mandatory. To provide benefits with no requirement for education is to put them on a one way which leads to a dead end. They will never be able to get off welfare and probably will lead their children to welfare. Many persons on welfare today are those whose parents were or are on welfare.

Education and training is the key to breaking the cycle of dependency and enabling welfare recipients to live meaningful and self-productive lives. An education from college or vocational skills can be accorded them. I would suspect that most of them would obtain a vocational education, where they can use their hands and I think many would be amazed at the skills they have. But it must be a requirement that before anyone receives welfare benefits they must also participate in some kind of education and training program which can lead them off welfare to a productive job where they can support their families.

Additionally the community and its agencies must become the job bank where these jobs can be found. There are literally hundreds of jobs available in the private sector where with training welfare recipients can find employment. Some years ago the Newark-North Jersey Committee of Black Churchmen and the Newark Chamber of Commerce had an employment program where unemployed members of our congregations obtained jobs through firms in the Chamber. The pastors served as the counselors and monitors of our

members to see to it that they got to work, performed well and handled any problems referred by the employer. In four years the program employed over 600 people and had a retention rate of 86%. It received presidential recognition from the Reagan Administration. The local or county welfare department through liaisons and partnerships with chambers, local businesses, school districts and other agencies could maintain job banks from which welfare recipients after education and training could compete for jobs.

Of course this raises the question of who will pay for the education and training. If other counties have the same situation that we have in Essex County, then this problem will be solved. Here in Essex County we have Welfare Hotels which have become gold mines for their owners. For example in East Orange there is The Royal Inn, a former Holiday Inn which the county contracts with to house welfare recipients. The Royal Inn receives \$125.00 per day, per room for welfare recipients. This amounts to \$3,750.00 per month or \$45,000 per year. The daily rate for a room is about \$60.00. All this covers is the room. This is intolerable and ought to be illegal. There should be federal regulation of welfare hotel cost. For \$3,750.00 a month a family could be put up in an apartment for 5 months at \$700.00 a month and given money for food. Why not pay the same rate as hotel guest and use the balance of this money, \$1,950.00 to provide education and training and day care for welfare recipients. The federal government needs to investigate the cost and use of welfare hotel contracts. Welfare is being used to make some folk rich.

There also needs to be a system where-by children of welfare recipients are enrolled in public school. Too many of the children fall through the cracks. When a family is enrolled in the welfare system it needs to make sure the children are enrolled in school and monitor them to be sure of attendance or any other problems.

Day care also needs to be a component of the education and training piece so that parents can go to school or training and not have to worry about who is going to watch the children.

The key to getting people off welfare is not how much money we give them but whether we can help them provide for themselves and their families and give them self esteem and a sense of somebodiness. We must turn the parking lot back into a bridge. We must require welfare recipients to prepare to stand on their own feet, to help themselves and their children and end this dreaded cycle of dependency and bondage.

Dear members of the Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence:

On behalf of the Hispanic Family Center of Southern New Jersey and myself, I will like to thank you for the invitation to share some of our experiences working in partnership with the Family Development Program, a progressive Welfare initiative established in New Jersey by the Florio administration.

Latino Community Organizations have worked for many years with government and other minority groups in advocating for the needs for services that will assist families to empower themselves and be able to become economically self-sufficient. It seems that our voice has been heard, our efforts were not futile and now we are beginning to see the fruit of those seeds that we have plant in the past years.

Like any seed that you plant in order to grow you need to feed it, take care of her and as it grows cut the branches and shape it. This is how we see the FDP program. Although the program is working favorable we still need to shape it and continue caring so it will grow and give us fruits. As we talk about shaping we realize that there are some factors that are key in the improvement of this program.

If we focus on the three primary goals that are set for this endeavor we need to consider the amount of time that we need in order to measure the success of this program. Breaking the cycle of poverty is a difficult task. The educational opportunities develop to accomplish this goal need to take into consideration the needs of the population being served. The community that is being served need to develop trust in a system that has been consistent but not really sensitive to their historic and cultural realities. This trust is not easy to build, the welfare system have oppressed our people and have constantly discriminate against them causing low self-esteem, frustration and distrust. Therefore, new programs must demonstrate the capacity to develop initiatives that reflect the acceptance, respect and knowledge of their educational, cultural, ethnic and language background.

English as a Second Language is one of the educational programs needed to address the Latino population and assist them in moving forward to other training and/or employment. FDP contracts limit vendors in terms of the time in which we can offer the services and most important facilitate the empowerment process. Initially, the expectation was that beginners will learn English in nine months, intermediate will learn it in six and advance will learned in four. These time frames were totally unrealistic and only those who have a solid educational background were successful. Presently the time limit is one year. Teaching ESL is a major component needed for our population, however, the program must offer flexibility to deal with other learning and social issues that may affect their learning.

Most of our participants have been out of the educational system for many years, therefore are not used to a classroom setting and the dynamics involved in the educational process. Others have literacy problems and other problems such as child care arrangements that can have devastating results if there are not address in a sensitive cultural and socio economic manner. In terms of child care its is important to establish a continuity in services that will avoid transitions that will not only affect the child but could discourage the parent from making a change and will pressure them into taking a more passive role.

At this point our agency is implementing a pilot program specifically designed for the needs of our population, the Latino community. English as a Second Language is addressed by current issues, culturally specific readings and daily situations where the participant takes an active role shaping the class and making sure that this will help them learn and/or better the skills necessary to get out of the Welfare system without having to compromise their identity.

Unfortunately, there are time and budget limitations in our contracts. Therefore, it is necessary to implement and/or increase other programs that complement our efforts in order to accelerate the educational process. Providing bilingual/bicultural vocational and GED programs will facilitate that process. In addition, will serve as an incentive for those participants that are ready and willing to move faster. Bilingual programs will deal with issues that will improve self-esteem and serve as a motivation to our community.

Submitted by:

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## STATEMENT ON FEDERAL WELFARE REFORM

SUBMITTED TO THE FEDERAL

WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM, FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE

Public Hearing  
September 9, 1993  
Union County College  
Cranford, New Jersey

On behalf of the New Jersey Catholic Conference, the public policy arm of the State's Catholic Bishops, I am pleased to offer our comments on welfare reform. Welfare reform is an issue of deep and immediate concern to the Church because of its impact upon the dignity of the individual and the strength of the family. Our Catholic Charities agencies and parishes statewide daily serve children and families receiving welfare who are living in desperate poverty. Soup kitchens, food banks, and homeless shelters are strained to the breaking point as increasing numbers of families struggle with the failure of the welfare system.

Welfare and poverty are inextricably related. The most Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) a family of three can receive in New Jersey is \$424 a month. Even with food stamps, a mother and her two children must exist on forty percent below what it costs to live in minimum health and safety. The effects of New Jersey's low welfare grant levels on human lives are staggering. Meager benefits are an inherent part of the problem of hunger and homelessness in the state. Many AFDC households are unable to locate housing they can afford with their grants. Many others spend nearly their entire grant on rent alone. The Bishops believe that expecting families to live in abject poverty while on AFDC is a fundamentally moral issue. It is the Church's belief that each individual possesses an inherent dignity and priceless worth because she or he is created in the image of God. It is the responsibility of society to protect the life and dignity of each of us by providing the conditions where human life and dignity are enhanced. We cannot continue to permit the human dignity of children and families receiving AFDC to be undermined.

*Representing the Archdiocese of Newark, Diocese of Camden, Diocese of Metuchen,  
Diocese of Paterson, Diocese of Trenton and Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Passaic*

Of particular concern is the impact of the welfare system and poverty on children. New Jersey has the second highest per capita income in the nation yet over 750,000 people in the state live in poverty. Almost half of them are children. Their pain and suffering is a daily reminder that the status quo is unacceptable. Their quiet cries call us to action.

A thorough reform of the nation's welfare programs is urgently needed. The welfare system must be designed to help people leave welfare and poverty for a decent job at decent wages. Welfare reform should be integrated into a comprehensive effort that addresses the root causes of poverty and the needs of those people living in poverty. The effort must include developing jobs for people receiving welfare, providing meaningful job training, making child care available so that parents can work and maintain their families, ensuring access to health care and social services and reinvesting in safe, quality affordable housing. The number of people living in poverty among us will increase as long as our efforts in each of these areas are underfunded and uncoordinated.

There has been a great deal of public debate over the last two years on the issue of welfare reform in New Jersey. The core of the six bill package signed in law in 1992 is the Family Development Act (P.L.1992,C.523). The stated objective of the Act is

"to enable recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children to secure permanent full-time jobs, preferably in the private sector with wages and benefits that are adequate to support their families..." (Section 4)

The Catholic Conference applauds this objective. As the U.S. Bishops stated in their pastoral letter on the economy, "increasing active participation in economic life by those who are presently excluded or vulnerable is a high social priority. The human dignity of all is realized when people gain the power to work together to improve their lives, strengthen their families, and contribute to society."

The Family Development Act seeks to address the "needs of the public assistance recipients' family, rather than the recipient alone." (Section 2) The Catholic Conference supports this goal as one which is linked to the well-being of families. The family is the most basic form of human community. As such, the long range future of this nation is intimately connected with the strength and stability of family life. Our social programs should be scrutinized in light of how well they ensure both

individual dignity and family integrity.

The welfare reform law places needed emphasis on education. The types of jobs that are filled by people with low levels of basic reading and math skills are expected to grow very slowly or decline in number. Rather, job growth will occur at a faster pace among jobs demanding higher basic skills levels. Clearly, education and jobs skill training are important components of welfare reform.

Two other bills signed into law provide for increased eligibility for AFDC. The bills are intended to promote two-parent families and family stability among AFDC recipients. The Catholic Conference supports the goals of these bills which can work towards strengthening the family. Stringent rules restricting the eligibility of two-parent families -- even though the family income is well below the state AFDC eligibility limit -- have not made sense in the past. Reducing the stringency of these rules for two-parent families will protect and enhance the family unit.

There has been much attention given to the responsibilities of welfare recipients in debate over reform. The Catholic Church yields to no one in our call for family values, personal responsibility, sexual restraint and basic morality. We teach and promote these values every day. Our focus on values is not restricted to people who are poor. The "rich and famous" are also engaging in counterproductive behavior. We fear that in some places concerns about values and behavior are being used to justify cuts in essential assistance to children who are poor.

The Catholic Conference remains adamantly opposed to P.L. 1992 C.526 which disallows benefits for a child born when his/her mother is receiving welfare. This part of New Jersey's welfare reform package is "intended to discourage AFDC recipients from having additional children during their period of welfare dependence." As Marion Wright Edelman stated in her recent book, Families in Peril, "the most prevalent myth about welfare mothers and sex and babies probably was that the mothers had more babies to get higher welfare grants. Sometimes reality overcomes myths." The average AFDC family size in New Jersey -- 2 children per family -- is essentially the same as the size of the average American family. And, as Edelman correctly points out, if another child is born, almost invariably the additional grant is so small that it cannot support that child, much less improve the mother's standard of living. In New Jersey, a woman receives \$64 per month, or \$2.10 per day, for an additional child.

Taking this additional money away, however meager an amount it is, does mean the difference between being able to take care of a new baby or not. In a "worst case" situation, a mother

could be put in the position of determining whether to abort her baby rather than attempting to spread her already meager resources to support another child. It is difficult to imagine law which coerces a person to make such a cruel choice, one which intrudes upon a woman's liberty. Clearly, this is an unacceptable position in which to place a family.

In discussions about why this law is needed, proponents have stated that a family on welfare has no automatic right to further assistance by the federal government if it chooses to have another child. A middle-class family decides whether or not it can afford another child before having one, the argument goes, and families on welfare must learn to make the same decisions.

On the face of it, this argument may appear quite reasonable to some. However, let us look at the facts. The fact is, our government does provide support to middle-class families -- and wealthy families -- for additional children in the form of income tax exemptions. A family earning up to \$150,000 receives a deduction of \$2,150 for each dependent child. These parents are also eligible for new tax credits from the government to help them pay for child care.

In contrast, a family on welfare in New Jersey receives a maximum of \$808 per year for each additional child, less than half of what a middle-class or wealthy family receives. Proponents of the law argue that families on welfare are not entitled to be treated any differently than middle-class families. By following this argument, it is clear that if a family on welfare is to be treated the same as a middle-class or wealthy family, an increase in child support is warranted rather than an elimination of that support.

This law places the family at risk, is punitive and destructive to women and children. The New Jersey Catholic Conference adamantly opposes the inclusion of such a provision in any federal welfare policy.

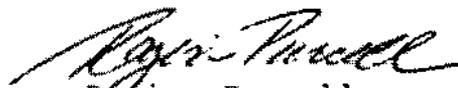
New Jersey's Family Development Program (FDP) which incorporates all the provisions contained in the six-bill package has been in effect for about one year. Due to lack of funding, the program has been implemented slowly. Attention must be paid to adequate funding for welfare reform. Many welfare reform bills, on the federal and state levels, have been signed into law. Yet, consistently, the money needed to implement welfare reform programs does not materialize. The results of these programs, therefore, fall short of their expectations. Unfortunately, it is the families on welfare who are blamed. One consequence of this vicious cycle is the proliferation of anti-welfare legislation including bills placing a limit on how long people can receive welfare.

The Catholic Conference believes strongly that welfare must not be a way of life. But neither should welfare recipients be abandoned and left to their own devices due to categorical time limits. Rather, welfare reform programs must be adequately funded so that recipients can be helped to become self-supporting and not summarily dismissed as unworthy of public concern.

New Jersey faced this very issue during the fiscal year 1993 state budget process when an attempt was made to limit eligibility for a category of general assistance recipients to six months. Ironically the same budget bill eliminated education and job training in the new welfare reform program for general assistance recipients. We commend the Legislature and the Governor for restoring the funding for GA. If cuts had not been restored, once having been thrown out of the general assistance program, recipients would no longer be eligible for medical assistance, emergency assistance or temporary rental assistance. The time limit on general assistance would have increased the risk of homelessness and hunger. The nonprofit social service agencies, shelters for the homeless and soup kitchens would have been faced with a surge in requests for help from former recipients. The same result would be expected in any attempt to time-limit AFDC. Unfortunately, social service programs are stretching at the seams as increasing numbers of people turn to them for emergency assistance. Requests for help currently far outweigh the resources of the nonprofit social service community. In one Catholic Charities agency alone in southern New Jersey, requests for emergency food and housing assistance doubled between 1991 and 1992. Catholic Charities agencies and others will continue to service those in need. But they cannot do so alone. Categorical time limits on welfare will wreak havoc in the provision of needed services to the poor and vulnerable as families no longer eligible for the government's help must turn to the nonprofit community.

Poverty in the state and in the nation must be eliminated. Our economy must produce the jobs and opportunities so that the talents and energy of all people can be used. People who can work ought to work. But lectures about responsibility are not substitutes for jobs that can support a family. America is not in danger because we do too much for the poor. America is in trouble because our economy and our political life are dividing us into the "haves" and the "have nots" with little concern for the common good of our nation or of individuals as members of one human family.

Respectfully submitted,



Regina Purcell  
Associate Director  
for Social Concerns

You may want to say =

President supportive of state demonstration and flexibility. ~~But~~ However we also must assure demonstrations have appropriate evaluation components so we can "measure" success.

Like other waiver requests we will look at N.J.'s request on an individual basis on a timely basis.

We certainly are pleased he is interested in WR and look forward to continuing to work with N.J.

Need  
Bruce