

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

MEMORANDUM

TO: David T. Ellwood
Mary Jo Bane
Bruce Reed

FROM: Jim Hickman

RE: Outreach to Welfare Reform Columnists

DATE: March 21, 1994

Attached is your assigned list of national and regional welfare reform columnists. As part of part of our press outreach efforts, we will be increasing our formal contact with these opinion-leaders in the months ahead. It is our plan to have you call and/or meet with these columnists and familiarize them with the current proposal, informally brief them prior to the release of the actual plan, and follow-up with them when they write about welfare reform.

Please review this short list and the selected recent news columns. I will contact your staff later in the week to schedule your outreach activities. Thank you for taking the time to review and comment on this list. If you or your staff have any questions, I can be reached at 401-6958.

attachments

cc: Melissa Skolfield
Emily Bromberg
Jeremy Ben-Ami

COLUMNIST	CONTACT/PHONE	CO-CHAIR	COMMENTS/ACTIVITY
Gloria Borger US News & World Report	P:202-955-2000	Bruce Reed	
Mona Charen		Bruce Reed	
E. J. Dionne The Washington Post	P:202-334-6000	Bruce Reed	
Richard Dunham Business Week	P:202-383-2100	Bruce Reed	
Morton Kondracke Roll Call	P:202-289-4900 F:202-289-5337	Bruce Reed	
Charles Krauthammer Washington Post Group Writers	P:202-872-8109 F:202-872-8137	Bruce Reed	
Colman McCarthy Washington Post Group Writers	P:202-334-7728	Bruce Reed	
William Rasberry Washington Post	P:202-334-7462	Bruce Reed	
Ben Wattenberg United Features	P:202-862-5908 F:202-862-7177	Bruce Reed	
George Will Washington Post Group Writers	P:202-334-6375	Bruce Reed	

Welfare: What Moynihan wants

At this very moment, someone in the White House is working to make Daniel Patrick Moynihan happy. The young staffers who early on bragged that the Senate Finance Committee chairman could be rolled have long since had their eyes opened. In fact, the State of the Union speech was a virtual Ode to Moynihan—a careful rebuttal to Moynihan's "no health care crisis" assertion and a renewed pleading to pass welfare reform, the senator's public-policy passion. (One White House aide reports that it was Moynihan who supplied the president with the statistical revelation that within a decade more than one-half of all children will be born illegitimate.) Welfare reform is back on track because that is where the senator wants it. Now the White House just has to figure out what the senator wants in it.

The clues are there. Moynihan, who shepherded a singular piece of welfare reform through Congress in 1988, has made no secret of his distaste for Clinton's oversimplified two-years-and-out campaign rhetoric. It's not that Moynihan opposes reorienting welfare to emphasize work; his 1988 Family Support Act tried to do just that. He considers Clinton's sloganeering both intellectually dishonest and deliberately confusing, and with good reason. "Somebody just said it, then there was applause, so they said it again," says Moynihan. "We've got to make it all go away, because the [welfare-dependent] children won't go away."

Clinton knew more than his simple promises implied, but he took the political route—and now Moynihan has to fix it. First, there was Candidate Clinton promising "to end welfare as we know it," when he meant something else—after two years, we'll make sure you get work, even if we have to provide it. Next came President Clinton, whose minions still debate the virtues of a costly public jobs program to employ those formerly on the dole. ("It can't happen," says Moynihan. "We don't have the money.") The latest incarnation (and this may irk Moynihan the most) is the Prime Time Clinton on "Larry King Live" praising the critique of welfare offered by libertarian Charles Murray, a Moynihan nemesis who wants to do away with welfare. Clinton did question Murray's prescription, but no matter. He handed conservatives the ammunition to strike down welfare completely.

Treachorous acts. That is *not* what Moynihan wants. To see why, consider some history: As a presidential assistant, Moynihan helped create the "Family Assistance Plan" for Richard Nixon, which guaranteed a federal ben-

efit for the needy. Yet the plan failed because liberals considered it ungenerous, and conservatives considered it unwise. Had the plan passed, the political left might have saved itself a 20-year losing battle to raise welfare benefits. The liberals, Moynihan argues, "missed a great moment." And he saw their treachery compounded in 1988 when groups like the Children's Defense Fund backed off supporting his welfare-reform plan in the eleventh hour. Once again, the senator saw the liberals as unrealistic, overreaching and ultimately self-defeating.



He thinks liberals are unrealistic, overreaching and self-defeating.

Moynihan sees Clinton as the man in the middle: somewhere between the liberals (both Hillary Rodham Clinton and Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala are former CDF board chairs) and his own good sense on welfare reform (as governor, Clinton was an active booster of Moynihan's plan to provide job training for welfare recipients). What Moynihan may fear most is a nightmarish replay of the Nixon-era debacle—with liberals refusing to support a reform plan that offers "dead-end jobs" and conservatives seeking a no-safety-net approach to ending welfare. The possible results: Either nothing happens, or a sham work requirement passes.

So what does Moynihan want? "Stop the speech; give us a bill." He will get one, say White House aides, maybe by April. Moynihan is deliberately obtuse in explaining his preferences, but he signals something far short of revolution: full funding of the Family Support Act, which would mean another \$3 billion for expanding work opportunities and job training. Time limits on welfare benefits are fine so long as they do not mean "two years and you starve," says Moynihan. "We will not do that." That all sounds great, says one White House aide,

who promises the funding level Moynihan wants—and no huge and costly public employment bill. "We have to do something," says Moynihan. "It may not be much. But if it energizes the states, we will have done something."

So far, there is at least this: Moynihan says it is "to Clinton's credit" that he is talking about the problem of unwed mothers. And both men want to change the culture of welfare—requiring recipients to sign a contract promising, among other things, to get their children immunized and send them to school. They also want welfare offices to become places focused on finding people work, not verifying eligibility. "If you're here," says Moynihan, the welfare office must say "we're here to get you out of here. And it must start right away." As soon as the slogans stop. ■

Does Clinton have the guts for welfare reform?

Whenever President Clinton is feeling particularly cynical, he talks about welfare reform. During the campaign, his call for "an end to welfare as we know it" coupled with a proposal that would limit benefits to "two years and out" was a major feature of the Clinton self-portrait as a "new Democrat."

Having been successfully portrayed as a tax-and-spend Democrat during the recent battle over the budget, Clinton is once again at pains to remake his image. Thus, the past week has witnessed a new crime initiative announced on Aug. 11 and repeated rhetorical bows in the direction of welfare reform.

It will be interesting to see how the welfare reform issue plays out because Clinton clearly hopes to use it to broaden his base. Yet there is no issue that so thoroughly and profoundly divides liberals from conservatives (the Cold War being over) as welfare.

I cannot prove this, but I suspect that when Bill Clinton talks about welfare reform, he thinks he is appealing to people's baser instincts. He, like most liberals, probably believes that moderates and conservatives want to change welfare because they lack compassion for the plight of the poor and aim only to save money.

I think he's dead wrong about that. During the decade of the 1960s, when welfare programs were greatly expanded, there was widespread public support for them. It is difficult to argue that most Americans are unsympathetic to the poor when, according to Heritage Foundation analyst Robert Rector, since the start of the Great Society, we have spent fully \$3.5 trillion fighting poverty.

But 30 years of dismaying evidence about the effects of welfare dependence on the poor have changed the minds of those who look at facts. There has been no victory in the war on poverty. In fact, poverty has become even more entrenched and pathological than it was in the past.

The pro-welfare poverty establishment, on the other hand, is undeterred by more evidence, preferring to attribute higher and higher rates of crime and dependency to factors like the economy and discrimination—notwithstanding the fact that racism has markedly declined and the economy has experienced two of the greatest booms in history during the past 30 years.

Mona Charen

Most fair-minded Americans have come to the conclusion that well-intentioned welfare programs—not racism or lack of economic opportunity—have helped create the underclass. They do not believe that the poor have no other options, rather they think they have been lured into the welfare "trap" by benefit levels that compete with work.

While it is true that roughly half of all new welfare recipients are off the rolls within two years, it is also true, as Douglas Besharov has written in *The Public Interest*, that at any one time, fully 82 percent of those receiving welfare are in the midst of a period of dependency lasting five years or more.

Several states are experimenting with get-tough welfare reform—proving that it is politically possible. Maryland penalizes welfare recipients who cannot show that they have paid their rent, kept their children in school and sought health care for them. California's Gov. Pete Wilson proposed that Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments not be increased with the birth of additional children (a proposal later emasculated by the legislature). But a very similar proposal under a Democratic governor, Jim Florio of New Jersey, became law in 1992.

There is room to maneuver. But will Bill Clinton propose something serious—something that requires the poor to take responsibility for their own behavior?

Doubtful. As Ben Wattenberg points out, the recently enacted budget bill, far from eliminating "welfare as we know it," actually calls for expansion of current programs by two-thirds, or \$232 billion, by 1995.

In this, we see the fingerprints of the Children's Defense Fund and other liberal interest groups so admired by Bill and Hillary Clinton, who continue to define virtue as more and more federal "help" for inner cities. If compassion is equated with largesse, and demanding responsibility is equated with callousness, then the chances for genuine welfare reform under this administration are slim.

E. J. Dionne Jr.

Anatomy of a Feud

The dealings politicians have with their friends are almost always more complicated—and usually more revealing—than those with their enemies. That's what made last weekend's conference of the Democratic Leadership Council, the centrist organization that President Clinton once led, so interesting.

Clinton and the council's president, Al From, tried hard—but not too hard—to paper over tensions between the organization and the White House. The uneasiness reflects a larger struggle over the administration's direction and political strategy. Its focal point is the health care issue.

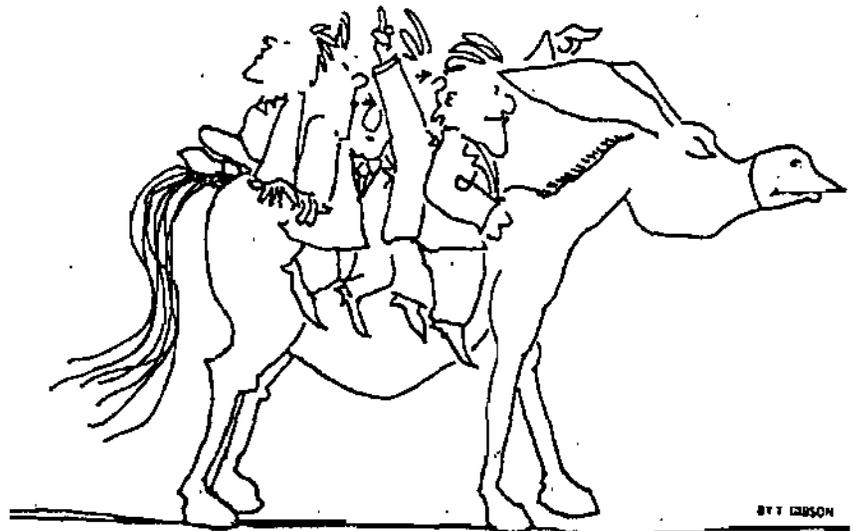
This fight is not, as it is commonly portrayed, a disagreement over whether Clinton should be an "Old" or a "New" Democrat. Rather, it's a disagreement over how any Democrat can build a sustainable majority in the middle class. The roots of the conflict lie in the history of the Democratic Leadership Council itself.

The DLC, as the organization is known, started out as a rallying point for moderate and conservative Democrats who thought their party kept losing simply because it had become "too liberal." In its early days, the group argued that Democrats needed to be more pro-business, more pro-defense, less pro-union, and less pro-government. It spoke with the deep southern drawl of politicians of the Old Confederacy who got on just fine with their Chambers of Commerce and golfing partners. Thus was the DLC mocked as the "Democratic Leisure Class" by Jesse Jackson.

But in the late 1980s, the DLC began developing a broader message. It came in two parts. The first was a simple point about elections: They are won by the party that can carry the middle class. It should be obvious that there aren't enough very poor people to keep the Democrats in power, and there aren't enough very rich people to sustain the Republicans. But this point aroused controversy because many liberals suspected the Leadership Council of wanting Democrats to take their "base," especially among African Americans, for granted.

But the DLC also realized it needed a more compelling philosophy than one that could be summarized as "be more like the Republicans." This is where its emphasis on a trinity of values—"opportunity, responsibility, community"—came in.

This was a brilliant stroke because these words spoke to the problems that a lot of former Democratic voters had with their old party. Majorities really do support programs to lift up the poor and help out those who fall on hard times. But majorities also think government programs should mainly be about encouraging self-sufficiency and creating opportunity. For reasons both fair and unfair, many voters stopped believing



The word "community" was a direct response to Ronald Reagan's success in casting himself as the champion of "family, work and neighborhood." Democrats needed to show they understood that government was no substitute for the communities that people build on their own.

The DLC has largely won both the strategic fight over the importance of the middle class and the substantive fight over what values should be reflected in social programs. This success can be measured by the importance Clinton—and also many liberals—have accorded the issues of welfare reform, crime, national service and the need to "reinvent government" in a less bureaucratic form.

But there are large differences over the next phase of the strategy. The biggest is over how Democrats will win the loyalty of the middle class. One view sees salvation as lying in broad programs that benefit large groups, rather than in narrow programs to help the poor. In this view, Social Security and Medicare are popular because they followed the rule of "universality." The lesson is that the middle class will support government programs if government programs help the middle class.

The universalist school is championed by Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg, who has built on the academic work of sociologists William J. Wilson and Theda Skocpol. Most of Clinton's other outside political consultants take this view, as do many in the White House, including senior aide George Stephanopoulos. The promise of universal coverage in the health plan designed by Hillary Rodham Clinton is consistent with this approach.

But From and Will Marshall, the president of the DLC's think tank, see universal benefits as leading to expensive new "entitlement" programs that undermine the theme of personal responsibility. Such pro-

grams and won't satisfy the middle class because they won't work well. Social Security and Medicare are fine, they say, but are also "old" Democratic programs, hardly models for the future. From's most important White House ally is David Gergen, and he sometimes wins support from Vice President Gore.

In backing the "managed competition" health care plan put forward by Rep. Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.), From argues that Cooper's reliance on market incentives and his resistance to government mandates on employers are consistent with Clinton's promise of less bureaucratic government. The president and the First Lady, however, oppose Cooper's plan because it fails to reach the substantively important (and politically powerful) goal of guaranteeing everyone health coverage. That "everyone" notably includes the middle class.

There is an irony to the current struggle. During the 1992 campaign, From found that his most reliable allies in highlighting such "middle class" issues as crime and welfare were the very political advisers (especially Greenberg, who has polled for the DLC) now fighting with him on budget and health care policy.

The new fight harkens back to the earliest days of the DLC, since it has sharpened the rift between southern conservatives such as Cooper and party liberals who back the Clinton health plan or a government-financed single payer system. The danger for the DLC is that at the very moment it has won the battle for the middle class, it will find that middle class interests can be invoked on behalf of programs that the organization's more conservative members reject. This is why the DLC seems destined to have some differences with its old friend, a president who has his own definition of "New Democrat" and his own take on the

Washington Outlook

EDITED BY STEPHEN H. WOLDORF

HOW CLINTON COULD 'END WELFARE AS WE KNOW IT'

Ever since the 1992 campaign, Bill Clinton has been struggling to convince the nation that he's different from the tax-and-spend Democrats of old. Now, the President is picking a fight that may finally allow him to establish his credentials as a New Democrat.

Clinton is determined to deliver on a campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it" in an effort to break "the permanent culture of dependence." That promise helped him win the votes of many erstwhile Reagan Democrats. But tacking welfare will central the President in a major fight with party liberals, who still tend to dismiss talk of reform as thinly veiled racism. "This is really going to test his mettle," says Representative E. Clay Shaw (R-Fla.), author of a GOP welfare plan.

A task force is due to present reform recommendations to Clinton by Jan. 1, and it looks as if the centerpiece will be a cutoff of benefits after two years unless a recipient is seeking education or training. And the Clintonians appear to be backing away from a huge program of public jobs for former recipients. In part, that's because they lack the money. But the Administration also believes that the solution to the welfare morass may lie with business, not government. "Reform wants to move people from welfare into decent private-sector jobs, and we much stress that," says one official. To achieve that goal, the Administration will attempt to "build bridges" to business, says one Clintonite. These being mules include expanding an existing tax credit to give employers a bigger break for hiring former welfare recipients; providing tax inducements for training at the job site; and creating public-private partnerships to make sure that those leaving welfare are trained for real jobs.

The Clintonites also hope to learn from state and local experiments such as New York City's contract with America

Works, a company that helps welfare recipients find training, transportation, day care, and jobs. And they're watching a new Virginia program that gives employers a bit of the former benefits of welfare recipients they hire.

Business groups are encouraged, but they are waiting to see more details. "There is a desire on the part of the Administration to make welfare reform real, but they've got a shortage of specifics," comments Linn M. Sprague of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Not surprisingly, many liberals are appalled. "There is a fear that this will simply become nothing more than a windfall for business," says Mark Greenberg, attorney for the Center for Law & Social Policy, an advocacy group. On Nov. 24, 89 House Democratic liberals sent Clinton a tough letter warning him not to punish the poor. "The progressives need to step up and set our limits that we will not move beyond," says Representative Lynn Wooley (D-Calif.), the only former welfare mother in Congress.

But the liberals may well be outgunned. In the Senate, the Administration will have a powerful ally in Finance Committee Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), a fervent reform advocate for 25 years. Seventy-seven members of the House Democratic Mainstream Forum have signed a letter urging President Clinton to stick with the two-year limit. And White House thinking is not that far away from a House GOP plan that has attracted 368 co-sponsors.

Liberals aren't admitting defeat. They warn that the fight could cripple Clinton a campaign for health-care reform. But for now, Clinton seems prepared to take on the Democratic left. Given the public disgust with "welfare as we know it," it's a battle the White House is convinced it can't lose.

By Richard S. Dowd, with Mike McNamee



INDIVIDUALS & FAMILIES WHO MAY

CAPITAL WEBSITES

THE WHITE HOUSE

A reshuffling of the White House staff is falling into place as Clinton gears for the political battles of 1994. With the staffing of the Administration nearly complete, Clinton institute Bruce R. Lindsey is giving up his role as personal director to become a counsel without portfolio. One adviser says Lindsey, a former Little Rock attorney, will act as "the President's political eyes and ears." Philip Lader, deputy director for management of the Office of Management & Budget, is taking charge of the personnel office. But two big vacancies still remain open. Aides are still searching for re-

placements for Deputy Chief of Staff Roy M. Neel and chief lobbyist Howard G. Paster. Three veteran Democratic political operatives have emerged as top contenders for Paster's post: Martin D. Franks, now a congressional executive; Democratic lobbyist Michael S. Berman; and Wendy R. Sherman, assistant secretary of state for legislative affairs.

ENVIRONMENT

Revisions of the Environmental Protection Agency's to Cabinet rank was supposed to be a no-brainer for Clinton. After all, legislation giving the EPA new status without changing its powers nearly passed in the final

months of the Bush Administration. But a flurry of amendments to either strengthen or weaken the new department caused the Senate-passed bill to stall in the House. It won't be taken up again until February, and even then, enactment isn't assured.

The greatest threat is an amendment, sponsored by Representative John L. Mica (R-Fla.), requiring the reconstituted EPA to provide a cost-benefit analysis for all regulations. Environmentalists would rather see the EPA remain as it is than see an up-graded department born crippled. So the stalemate may continue. "Time is definitely on our side," comments an aide to Mica.

Let states act first on welfare?

Priority billing for health care and huge disagreements within and between the two political parties undoubtedly will block passage of comprehensive welfare reform this year.

But instead of doing nothing in 1994, Congress ought to free the states to experiment.

Already, interesting trials of different welfare theories are under way in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Iowa, New Jersey, and other states.

No one knows which, if any, will work. Congress ought to find out before it sets up a whole new national system.

But on Capitol Hill, would-be welfare reformers are working on three different models. The Clinton administration and House Republicans have rival proposals to help welfare recipients with child care and training for two years, then require them to work as a condition of further help.

To President Clinton's left, liberal Democrats oppose work requirements and cutoff dates and favor enhanced public spending on job training and job creation. Liberals don't have the power to push an alternative reform package through Congress, but will try to make the Clinton approach more generous.

Meantime, having beaten Mr. Clinton to the punch in introducing a work-requirement bill, House Republicans are thinking about yet another plan — certain to cause the party political trouble — to combat illegitimacy by cutting women off welfare if they have an

out-of-wedlock child.

A powerful group of conservative intellectuals, led by Charles Murray of the American Enterprise Institute, former Education Secretary Bill Bennett, former Dan Quayle aide Bill Kristol, the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector, and University of California at Los Angeles professor James Q. Wilson, is arguing for the idea as the most effective welfare reform.

So influential is this group that the House Republican task force that produced the work-requirement package last year — including GOP Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia and Reps. Tom DeLay of Texas, Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, and Clay Shaw of Florida — now is thinking about a second package to cut back on benefits to mothers of illegitimate children.

The "workfare" package already contains a controversial provision — deemed too punitive by some — to cut off cash benefits under Aid to Families with Dependent Children to minors who have out-of-wedlock children. The theory behind the move is that it would create an incentive for welfare mothers to urge their daughters not to get pregnant.

Mr. Murray and others argue that such a provision does not go far enough and want to set a deadline after which no benefits would be paid to mothers of illegitimate children. The theory is that, facing

such a cutoff, women would avoid getting pregnant.

Mr. Murray is the author of a widely read Wall Street Journal article asserting that illegitimacy already accounts for 66 percent of all black births in America and 20 percent of white births, and will

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat, wants welfare reform to be enacted this year, but is critical of Mr. Clinton's costly plan to give public service jobs to welfare recipients if they can't find private-sector work.

produce a "white underclass" or permanent welfare culture even larger than the black underclass.

Mr. Gingrich and other Republicans are attracted to the Murray argument partly because they respect him and his colleagues, partly because they are afraid Mr. Clinton will get credit if Congress enacts work requirements, and

partly because "workfare" costs money — \$7 billion to \$9 billion in added education, food stamp, training, and job-subsidy costs.

But if the GOP abandons "workfare" and decides to punish illegitimacy, the party is certain to be attacked for being cruel and even racist, harmful though welfare dependency may be to the poor.

Paralleling the intellectual and political quarrel among Republicans, there is disagreement among Democrats as well.

Senate Finance Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat, wants welfare reform to be enacted this year, but is critical of Mr. Clinton's costly plan to give public service jobs to welfare recipients if they can't find private-sector work. Mr. Moynihan, however, has yet to unveil his own plan.

In the House, the Congressional Black Caucus and other liberal groups will try to soften Mr. Clinton's bill on the theory — which also has considerable academic support — that underclass poverty is ultimately caused by the fact that no jobs exist for unskilled workers, male or female.

Since there is so much disagreement on what to do — and no time in which to do it anyway, because health care reform will be this year's big issue — Congress ought to punt the problem down to the state level, financing and encouraging experiments on any theory a governor and legislature

is willing to adopt.

Wisconsin's Republican Gov. Tommy Thompson is famous for instituting a work requirement, but it only applies to about 2,000 recipients in two counties blessed with low unemployment. Massachusetts, under Republican Gov. William Weld, has a more ambitious test under way involving 50,000 recipients, who must take public service jobs after 90 days on welfare.

New Jersey has enacted a cutoff of welfare for any new children a recipient may have out of wedlock, and early results indicate it may have succeeded in reducing illegitimate births.

Another plausible (but controversial) anti-illegitimacy proposal — untried anywhere as yet — would require a Norplant contraceptive implant as a condition of welfare for unmarried women.

Meantime, in Iowa, recipients are required to sign a contract with the state to pursue a course of job training over a set period. Failure to comply leads to reduction or cutoff of benefits.

No state probably can afford a full-blown liberal job-creation experiment, but some partial tests surely could be invented. President Clinton and congressional Republicans both want credit for "doing something" about the welfare mess. Before they get into bruising fights over what to do, they ought to find out what really works.

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call and is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Comment

ON THE NATION

L.A. Times 11-27-93

Pull the Plug on Welfare to Solve Poverty

BY CHARLES KRALTMAN **AB**

Sex Coeds Among Inner-City Youth" is the title of a remarkable paper presented last week by University of Pennsylvania professor Elgin Anderson in a seminar at the American Enterprise Institute. Its 48 pages describe in painstaking detail the sex and abandonment "game" played by boys and girls in inner-city Philadelphia.

Anderson is a scrupulous and sympathetic student of inner-city life. "Erosivane," his book on life in a ghetto, is a classic of urban ethnography. Five years of intensive observation and interviews have gone into the sex-code study. It is the story of family breakdown on an unprecedented scale, of a place where "casual sex with as many women as possible, impregnating one or more and getting them to 'have your baby' brings a boy the ultimate in esteem from his peers and makes him a man." As for the girl, "her dream [of] a family and a home" that is a subculture where for the boy "to own up to a pregnancy is to go against the peer group ethic of his and run... abandonment is the norm."

The results we know. Illegitimacy rates of 70%, 80%. Intergenerational poverty. Social breakdown.

Toward the end of the seminar, I suggested that the only realistic way to attack this cycle of illegitimacy and its associated pathologies is by cutting off the oxygen that sustains the system. Stop the welfare checks. The checks generated by the first illegitimate birth says that government will play the role of father and provider. It sustains a deranged social structure of children having children and raising them alone and abandoned by their men.

It is a mark of how far the debate on welfare policy has come that my proposal drew respectful disagreement from only about half of the panel—including, I should surmise, Anderson himself, who argued that the better answer is giving the young men jobs and hope through training and education for a changing economy.

In fact, the idea I proposed is not original. A decade ago in his book, "Losing Ground," Charles Murray offered the cold-warfare approach as a "thought experiment." Two weeks ago in the Wall Street Journal he proposed it as policy.

Now is this idea coming only from conservatives? Neo-liberal journalist Mickey Kaus proposed a similar idea in his book, "The End of Equality," though in a less draconian version. He would replace welfare with a non-WPA job program.

And last year, candidate and "New Democrat" Bill Clinton gingerly approached the idea with his "two years and out" welfare-reform plan. But "two years and out," however well-intentioned, misses the point. The point is to root out at its origin the most perverse government incentive program of all, the subsidy for illegitimacy.

Why? Because illegitimacy at the royal road to poverty and all its attendant pathologies. The two-parent family is six times more likely to be poor than the one-parent family. In a competitive economy and corrupting culture, it is hard enough to raise a child with two parents. To succeed with only one requires heroism on the part of the young mother. Heroism is not impossible. But no society can expect it as the norm. And any society that does is inviting social catastrophe of the kind now on view in the inner cities of America.

The defenders of welfare will tell you that young women do not have babies just to get the check. Yes, there are other reasons: a desire for someone to love, a wish to declare independence, a way to secure the love of their elusive young men. But whether or not the welfare check is the conscious reason, it is the condition that allows people to act on all the other reasons. Take it away and the society built on babies having babies cannot survive.

Moreover, society will not long sustain such a system. Americans feel a civic obligation to help the unfortunate. There is no great protest when six dollars go for widows and orphans. But by what moral logic should a taxpayer be asked to give a part of his earnings to sustain a child fathered by a young man who disappears, leaving mother and child wards of the state? Subsidizing tragedy is one thing, subsidizing wantonness is quite another.

On Oct. 12 Sen. Danis Patrick Moynihan had a Finance Committee hearing on "sexual behavior and health-care costs." He spoke of the explosion of illegitimacy, now 30% of all births, 5 1/2 times what it was 30 years ago, a tragedy for the people involved, a calamity for society. "What are we going to do?" Moynihan asked.

Try this. Don't reform welfare. Don't reinvent it. When it comes to illegitimacy, abolish it.

Charles Kraltmann writes a syndicated column in Washington.

William Raspberry

'It's the Home That Makes the Difference'

When it comes to addressing social problems, we have a penchant for asking the wrong questions. Right now we're hotly engaged with the problems of criminality—violence, in particular—and arguments over what types of punishment, with what certainty and in what amounts will make us safer.

They are natural questions given our sense that violent crime is running rampant with no relief in sight. But let me propose a different question:

Why is it that some children grow up happy and well-adjusted, while others in ostensibly similar circumstances do not?

It's really the same question—this time posed not from the point of view of what unhappy and maladjusted children do to us but from the viewpoint of what is done to them.

What has me thinking along these lines is a May 1951 article from *Parents' Magazine* sent to me by Susanne Palmer of Charlottesville, Va. (To say she saves things is like saying Shaquille O'Neal plays hoops.)

That 43-year-old article, written by psychologist Robert M. Goldenson, looks at two in-depth studies: one of well-adjusted children and the other of what we used to call juvenile delinquents.

I will pretend to be unsurprised by the fact that the children in the first group (all from greater Milwaukee) were a socioeconomic mishmash: rich, poor and struggling; grade-school dropouts and graduate-degree holders; eldest children, youngest children, middle children, only children; all races, creeds and nationalities.

What did they have in common? Parents who took parenting not as a duty but as their highest pleasure, who were fair and predictable punishers (though the punishments ran the gamut from the physical to the psychological) and who took their children's ideas and interests seriously. These were parents who, no matter their differing abilities to provide for their children, loved them implicitly.

As one parent told an interviewer (all of them from Milwaukee State Teachers College): "Most important of all is loving your children and letting them know it, thinking of them as people and treating them so, appreciating what they do and trusting them and telling them so—and above all, letting them know they are wanted."

Another, commenting on the relative irrelevance of material wealth, gave me a new byword: "It's more how you take it than what it is."

The second study, this one by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck of Harvard Law, looked at youthful offenders and found an interesting set of personality characteristics. Where the "good" kids played well with their peers, the "bad" kids were "extremely assertive and defiant." Where the former were achieving near their capacities at school, the latter were distracted. The happy kids were kind and helpful to teachers and classmates, their counterparts were self-centered.

But not neurotic. The delinquent youngsters didn't "bottle things up or tarry over vain regrets and misgivings." They were of "an impetuous nature, the kind that settle things quickly, through action and not through thought."

Most striking, though (and no doubt contributing to the characteristics just cited) were the differences in the home.

"A boy's chances of becoming delinquent [especially in underprivileged neighborhoods] were calculated to be over 90 percent if his father is lax, overstrict or erratic in discipline, if his mother constantly leaves him to his own devices, if both parents make him feel unwanted and unloved, and if his home is 'unintegrated,' that is, not really a home, just a place to hang his hat."

Good kids or bad, it's the home that makes the difference.

Now listen to the conclusion, remembering that the studies were not about prevention and treatment. Though they were talking 43 years ago, the insights of the Gluecks, especially, sound as fresh as tomorrow:

"We must find new, constructive outlets, beyond the walls of welfare agencies, for the adventurous spirit, the boundless energy and the down-to-earth mentality of our 'bad' boys. The best psychological, medical and social facilities must be made available in our schools. But what we need most of all is a preventive medicine of character and personality, to be applied in the early life of the child."

How? Through the "intensive instruction of each generation of prospective parents in the elements of mental hygiene and the requirements of a happy and healthy family life."

Have you heard a more sensible prescription lately?

William Raspberry Washington Post

'Superfluous Father' Syndrome

Don E. Eberly is sitting at breakfast and explaining his loss of faith in "pro-family policy." He is unshakably pro-family, of course, and he has launched a new organization—the National Fatherhood Initiative—whose presumptuous goal is the restoration of the American family.

His problem, he says, is with the notion that policy has very much to do with it.

"The political left and the political right are basically trying to suggest to the American people that if we only get the right policies under the Capitol dome—that if you get the tax code right, the social policies right, the welfare policy right—then all this renewing power will gush into the streets of America and the family will be restored.

"I'm suggesting that the policy debate is peripheral to the course of American life. American cities, American families. I think the culture is by far the more dominant factor in shaping attitudes and behaviors, and I think policy tools are weak and getting weaker.

"Whatever else the debate is about, it must be primarily and predominantly about shoring up and rebuilding the intact two-parent family. Everything else is secondary."

And the best way to do that, says Eberly, a former White House aide who runs his fledgling organization out of Lancaster, Pa., is to undo the trend that has brought us what his colleague David Blankenhorn describes as the "superfluous father."

"There's a very basic question that people on the left and the right should be asking, and that is how a society as rich as any in history, and which has been more generous with its wealth than perhaps any in history, increasingly leads the world in most categories of social dysfunction. If the answer is more prosperity, explain that riddle to me. If the answer is more government, explain that riddle to me.

"If you look at the correlation between the absence of fathers and every single social problem, it is dramatic, absolutely dramatic. The rise in welfare dependency and the steep increase in

child poverty are explained by the emergence of fatherless households.

"But it is the intangible, immaterial role of the father that interests me as much as just simply going after child support payments or somehow getting fathers to own up to the fact that they share in an economic obligation for the welfare of their children, as important as that is."

And that, of course, is the part that is beyond the reach of policy.

Eberly's mind is capable of seeing both the "tangle of pathologies" and the simple truths about human beings. He understands that both the loss of inner-city jobs and the increased reliance on welfare have undercut the role of fathers in their families. But he understands, too, that the "superfluous father" syndrome is creeping up the socioeconomic scale to embrace people who have never been out of work or on welfare.

What connects the two groups is cultural, the growing notion that fathers aren't all that important in the lives of their children. And they may be connected as well in their wish to reverse that trend. At least Eberly thinks so.

"I think fathers in the '90s are more prepared to play an active, nurturing role in the lives of their kids—and in sharing household responsibilities—than during previous times. They don't want to go back to the old ways, the John Wayne type of remote, inaccessible father, but they don't want to be androgynous male-mothers, either. It's something new that's developing."

And Eberly wants to use his fatherhood initiative to help it develop. What would be the result a decade hence?

"The vast majority of men would realize how important they are in the lives of kids, how vulnerable the kids are, how unique and irreplaceable is their function as parent, that male parenting is vital—particularly with regard to rearing and socializing adolescent boys.

"But the end result would not be measured in terms of how many fathers are suddenly fulfilled and are fathering. I would measure the success of an effort like this by how many kids' lives we made better. That's the thing."

Yes, that's the thing.

William Raspberry Wash. Post 3/3/94

Lifeguards Wanted

I was listening to an Urban Institute discussion on "nurturing young black males," but the image haunting my mind was not of young black males. It was of a one-armed man in a leaking boat in the middle of a lake, with everyone shouting advice:

Paddle for the shore. Fix the hole. Bail, or you'll sink.

The need to do *something* is past arguing. But what?

We have to grab adolescents before they enter the criminal justice system, one participant said. He explained: Studies have shown that the greatest predictor of incarceration for young black men is involvement with the criminal justice system.

Adolescence is much too late, said another. To have any real chance of success, the intervention must take place as early as age 3.

But what of the young men who have gone through the criminal justice system, who've been convicted and served their time? Not only will they return to their communities but they will return as role models, for good or ill. We need to create programs to help reform young men even while they are incarcerated.

Ronald Mincy, who led the Urban Institute forum (and whose book, "Nurturing Young Black Males," provided the basis of it), argued that what is needed are not so much delinquency prevention programs as youth development programs. Help children to develop their potential, he argued, and the crime problem will take care of itself.

He's right. But the others were right too. Prevention and diversion and rehabilitation—paddling toward the shore of solid values, keeping vulnerable boaters out of dangerous water in the first place and making repairs after the fact—all make sense. So (though nobody at the Urban Institute proposed it) does incarceration of dangerous offenders—or bailing.

The problem for the poor one-armed guy in the leaky boat is not that the shouted advice is bad—only that it is inadequate. He cannot hope to reach shore by paddling, because the leak will sink the boat. He can avoid drowning by staying where he is and bailing, but only until he grows too tired to bail. He might even be smart enough to make a temporary patch for the bottom of the boat by taking a piece of material from the side. But if it doesn't work, he's now got the same leak he had before along with a boatful of water.

Private-sector rescuers of our children avoid the predicament by grabbing one aspect of the problem—whether it's the aspect they consider critical or only the aspect they can get funded. Some will do criminal diversion programs (while wishing someone had caught the youngsters before they reached the brink of trouble). Others will do early childhood intervention (while sighing helplessly over the children already lost). Still others will work with former inmates (while cursing the failure of those who should have intervened earlier).

The difficulties facing young black

males, particularly in America's inner cities, are so intense and so multifaceted that it's almost impossible to start at the wrong place.

The where-to-start problem is really a public policy problem: where to put the government's interests and emphasis and resources. The answer is: everywhere at once.

Practitioners—those who rescue troubled children as opposed to those of us who mostly write about them—understand both the appropriateness of starting anywhere and the necessity of doing everything.

Joe Marshall, who heads the successful Omega Boys Club in San Francisco, told the Urban Institute conference that he has chosen to work with troubled adolescents "because the further kids go into the [criminal justice] system, the harder it is to turn them around. You can do more with a 13-year-old than you can with an 18-year-old. But the most effective thing would be if we could intervene *before* they go into the system at all."

One of the forum's more poignant moments came when a therapist asked, almost rhetorically, what could be done for young men whose crying need is for a father.

Said Marshall: "That's a real problem for some kids. All I can say is that those of us who are fathers have to become fathers to the rest, until their fathers come back home."

It was a useful reminder that, at some point, we've got to stub the debate and row out toward that boat.

William Raspberry

Not the Economy, Stupid, But Jobs

Here's another debate that, without any announcement or public capitulation, has been settled. Responsible people ought to work.

You may not even remember when this was a controversial notion. I do. I remember the arguments about whether it was better for poor parents to take jobs outside their homes or to be paid for the "work" of taking care of their children. I remember the proposals, based on the assumption that automation and other advances would lead to a vastly reduced need for work, that most of us should forget work and figure out how to make good use of our leisure.

The arguments, while never officially conceded, have been abandoned. Oh, there may be discussions about "workaholics" who steal precious time from their families, or the advisability of both parents working when there is no economic necessity to do so. But these are private questions. The only public questions involve such matters as subsidies for child care or training for those whose skills are inadequate to the work force.

Indeed, the key element of President Clinton's yet-to-be-devised welfare reform program apparently will be a requirement that erstwhile welfare recipients go to work, with government-paid training for those who need it. The main debate is settled.

What isn't settled is how, in a job-tight economy, to produce enough jobs for the people who need to work. Clearly, the need alone doesn't produce jobs. That's not surprising. Nor is the fact that training, whatever can be said about the desirability of subsidized training, doesn't produce jobs.

This is: For perhaps the first time in our history, not even a recovering economy seems to be producing very many jobs.

The reasons, says a man who's been looking at the subject for some years, have to do with government policy, tax codes and international competition. But the key is our refusal to distinguish between policies that promote business growth and policies that create jobs.

Until recently, we haven't had to. But nowadays the news is full of simultaneous reports of increased productivity (and profits) and leaner, "downsized" companies. In fact, improved productivity is just another way of describing the phenomenon of turning out the same product with fewer workers.

Nor, says Charles A. Cerami, president of the World Trade Institute in Washington, is this just another "spasm" of the unemployment

that traditionally has accompanied recessions. This one is different.

The reason: Productivity, encouraged by such government policies as the investment tax credit, is the wrong goal. We have rewarded employers for installing labor-saving machinery on the grounds—the hope—that the resulting increase in productivity would lead to plant expansion and more hiring.

Cerami, writing in the March issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*, says our mad dash for increased productivity is "like running toward the wrong goal in a football game." The faster we go, the worse our situation.

Cerami has a modest proposal—three of them, in fact—for remedying the situation. The first is to scrap the idea of boosting productivity as the starting point and instead enact a Human Employment Tax Credit—tax credits to employers for hiring people. He stresses that his proposal is not anti-productivity. He'd tell companies: "Buy all the machines you want. But be aware that your corporate tax bill can be scaled down if you are able to take on more permanent employees. The money is yours. You decide."

What would be the result? Who knows? Some employers might opt for efficiency anyway—after the fashion of the self-service gasoline station. Others might put on a few workers and find a gold mine in sales of motor oil, windshield wiper fluid and auto accessories. In terms of the federal budget, Cerami argues, the credit would pay for itself. The new workers—many of whom might have remained jobless—would become consumers and taxpayers.

Cerami would also have the Federal Reserve Board abandon its effort to stimulate economic expansion by lowering interest rates—"pushing on a string," he calls it. During slow times particularly, "the fact that [business executives] can borrow money cheaply at that moment doesn't make them jump to vote for expansion. When they see signs that customers' orders are piling up, they'll find the money to grow on, whatever the rate."

Those two short-term measures would be accompanied by what Cerami believes is the long-term key to American business growth: expansion of international markets to include millions of potential new customers.

And all three measures would have a common goal: not the economy, stupid, but jobs. It's not the same thing.

WASH. Post 2/25/94

William Raspberry

Out of Wedlock, Out of Luck

A recent study compared two groups of Americans: those who finished high school, got married and reached age 20 before having their first child, and those who didn't. Of the children of those in the first group, only 8 percent were living in poverty in 1992. In the second, the poverty rate was 79 percent.

William A. Galston, a domestic policy adviser to President Clinton, calls the numbers, taken from a report from the Annie E. Casey Foundation called "Kids Count," his favorite statistic.

Galston cites it to make this key point: that the headlong disintegration of the American family is so obviously harmful to children that it's time to close the first stage of the debate. In fact, he said in a recent speech, the first phase is over: Not only is there no longer much doubt about the direction and consequences of family breakdown but "we are no longer arguing very much about how we feel about these trends."

On the question of whether families in America are simply 'changing'—as some experts were accustomed to say-

ing until quite recently, when they clammed up altogether—or in fact degenerating, 72 percent of those surveyed said that families in America are indeed changing for the worse" and it's harder to be a child today than a generation ago. "That old debate is over," says Galston. "The new debate is why we are so far from where we want to be, and how we can move closer to it."

Naturally he has some thoughts on these questions as well. As to the "why," he cites misguided government policy (not just welfare but the tax code and even no-fault divorce), the economy (particularly declining wages of those with less than a high school education) and—especially—cultural change.

"Two features of cultural change are the most damaging from the standpoint of families," Galston believes. "The first is the rise of what might be called the entitlement culture . . . of rights without corresponding responsibilities, and the second is the ethos of instant gratification." But there is a third cultural change that not only may outstrip the

first two in impact but also calls into question the notion that the first phase of the debate is in fact settled: the relaxation of social, cultural and moral stigma against out-of-wedlock births.

Says Galston: "This relaxation is one of the most dramatic moral and cultural changes of the past generation, and it is going on today, before our eyes. Here is a remarkable fact from a recent poll. About 56 percent of all Americans believe that people who generate a baby out of wedlock should not be subject to moral reproach of any sort. But it gets more interesting. If we look at the views of different generations on this question, we find something truly remarkable. Among young people age 18 to 34, fully 70 percent say: no reproof, no judgment. Among people age 55 and older, only 29 percent say that."

But old folk die, and it is the younger ones who will take the culture wherever it is to go. Will the advance of the no-stigma idea spell ruin for the society?

I don't know. It might help, though, if

we could make some distinctions. First, the absence of a desire to stigmatize a behavior may not be the same as encouraging the behavior. Maybe it's just a desire not to be judgmental—a trend likely to increase as more and more of us have friends and family members who are unwed parents.

Second, one can accept the importance to children of two-parent households without condemning existing single parents—many of them exemplary—or urging people to stay in awful and destructive marriages. One can support and admire particular single mothers while still resisting the trend toward single motherhood.

Third: It matters how families come to be single-parent families. Widowhood is different from divorce is different from never-married. And "Murphy Brown," well educated and well paid, is different from a 15-year-old high school dropout. That's the point of Galston's favorite statistic: A child born before his parents finish high school, reach age 20 and get married is almost guaranteed a life of poverty.

WASH POST 2/18

William Raspberry

A Crusade for America's Children

They need to know that they're valued and loved and counted on.

If you had asked, say, 35 years ago to list black America's most pressing problems, the response would have centered—accurately and unarguably—on racism. Negroes, as we then called ourselves, were plagued by racism: discrimination, segregation, denial of opportunity based solely on race. There were race-based barriers to union apprenticeships, to fair treatment by the criminal justice system, to housing in "white" neighborhoods and schools, to "white" jobs—even to the voting booth.

Racism was the enemy, and there sprang up a movement to confront it.

This being Black History Month, two reminders are in order. First, the movement succeeded in dismantling American apartheid. Second, it wasn't enough. The fruits of that movement—the opening up of places of public accommodation, the extension of the franchise, the official desegregation of the law—were critical. When the legal barriers were breached, well-prepared blacks came flooding through. They and their progeny still represent America's black (and not only black) leadership. They are military generals and Cabinet officers, mayors and members of Congress, journalists, physicians, judges, corporate executives, educators, diplomats, astronauts—everything.

These successful blacks are far from complacent, as Ellis Cose makes clear in his solidly researched "The Rage of a Privileged Class." But they are successful.

Millions of blacks aren't. And if you asked me today to list the most pressing problems facing black America, racism would be several notches down from the top.

Racism hasn't gone away; maybe it never will. But it seems obvious that racism is a less formidable barrier than it once was. Young people who earnestly desire success and are willing to work for it seldom are denied that success solely on account of race. So why is it that millions of our youngsters are not successful and show no sign of becoming so?

I have argued that there have always been both external and internal barriers to our progress. A generation ago, the decisive barriers were external, and we built a movement to demolish them. Today, the decisive barriers are internal, and we need to build a movement to overcome them as well.



BY JOHN OVERBERRY

What would such a movement entail? There's no end to the possibilities, but for me the top priority would be to rescue our children. An astounding number of children are being lost: to drugs, to hopelessness, to violence, to death. They fail at school, become parents before they are grown-ups and reach adulthood without acquiring the education or skills to earn a decent living. Our young women suffer the debilitating effects of low self-esteem, and our young men, who ought to be the strength of their communities, are more likely to terrorize them.

We need a crusade to save our children—a crusade as powerful and as broad-based as the 1960s crusade for civil rights. We need a new movement.

And, I freely confess, I don't know how to create it. I'm not all that clear on how the earlier crusade became a movement.

In the 1950s and '60s, even before Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat and unwittingly launched the Montgomery bus boycott, there were people across America working at various aspects of civil rights. There were voter registration workers, real estate testers, school desegregators, filers of class-action suits, sit-in-walk-in-march-in demonstrators. Many of the resisters didn't even know about the work of the others.

Then something happened. Somewhere an un-

brella was spread over all these independent projects, and they became "the movement."

It was far more than a matter of nomenclature. The birth of "the movement" changed attitudes. We saw change coming, and we wanted to be part of it. We joined a vast alphabet soup of civil rights groups, joined in picket line boycotts, joined in picket line boycotts. White people joined us from across America. Sharecroppers joined college students, business executives joined politicians and reverend clergy, and America changed.

There are today people performing all the elements of a children's crusade: helping youngsters with their algebra and their self-esteem; keeping them out of jail, talking to them about life; raising money for their education, helping them to see—and attain—their life possibilities.

I wish I understood by what chemistry the individual and local efforts could be transformed into a movement with the power to reach beyond the particulars of time and place, to make our children—and not just black children—either—know that they are valued and loved and counted on.

We'd still have racism, no doubt, but we also have a thing that is in woefully short supply and whose absence, in my view, accounts for most of the problems that afflict our children.

We'd have hope.

Balt. Sun: 11-3-93

Budget Cutting: Round Two

Congress will get a second chance to back away at chronic federal deficits before it adjourns this month, but the fervor it brings to the task may be a lot less than last August's rhetoric suggested. President Clinton's welcome proposals for a complete overhaul of government procurement practices could save significant sums over the next five years, but it could also have the adverse effect of giving Congress a chance to opt out of any serious budget cutting before it goes home for the year.

Thanks to a bipartisan coalition of deficit hawks, however, members of the House (and perhaps the Senate) may be forced to vote on alternative proposals to cut federal spending a whopping \$103 billion over the next half decade. Unlike the administration package, which focuses using some \$5 billion of the savings to fund the pending anti-crime bill, the hawks would earmark every dollar for deficit reduction. They would also increase the Medicare, a proposal sure to raise the hackles of the gray-power lobby.

This second round of budget cutting sets the stage for more serious work in 1994, when Con-

gress will be under election-year pressure to convince impatient voters that it can put the government's house in order. The administration will be intent on showing that Vice President Al Gore's plans for "re-tooling government" can bring on savings and efficiencies in the mammoth federal bureaucracy. But conservative Democrats and Republicans will be insisting on a more direct approach. As Rep. Timothy Wirth, D-Minn., remarked in presenting 80 specific proposals: "The only way to cut the budget is to cut the budget."

That means eliminating obsolete government programs, canceling costly but marginal weapons systems, putting real caps on the runaway growth of popular middle-class entitlements and reducing the size of the federal work force.

With the president already absorbed with health care reform and the North American Free Trade Agreement, Congress may not get into the kind of prolonged debate seen last summer. But anything to keep public attention focused on the need to get deficits under control is a step forward. Round Two in the budget battle should not be in vain.

Chgo. Trib.: 11-1-93

Job loss preceded decline of family in black community

WASHINGTON—Andrew Billingsley's charts are almost startling: In 1920, 80 percent of black American households were husband-wife households. The yearly census figures for the following decades are striking for their uniformity through good times and bad, economic booms and the Great Depression—maybe 75 percent here or 77 percent there, but essentially unchanged.

Until 1970. That year, the percentage of husband-wife households among African-Americans was down to 64 percent and slipping. Today, it's around 59 percent.

Forget the "legacy of slavery" argument; forget

William Raspberry

the entire range of arguments that attribute every black hardship to white America's refusal to abandon its racism. There was not less slavery-spawned disadvantage 100 years ago than there is now. There was no less racism and discrimination 25 years ago than there is now.

Something happened starting around 1970. What was it? And how can we undo its awful effects?

I put the questions to Billingsley, in whose widely praised book, "Climbing Jacob's Ladder," I had seen the charts.

Two things happened, said this University of Maryland sociologist: The loss of jobs and the crumbling of black institutions.

"The biggest thing was the technological change beginning in the 1950s and '60s, then automation and deindustrialization made dramatic change in work force. Good-paying blue-collar jobs began to dry up."

The impact of these changes hit blacks hardest, says Billingsley, because the lost jobs were largely in the central cities where blacks were concentrated.

"The effects became noticeable in about 1960. That was the first time in history that black male unemployment became twice as high as for white men."

And what's the connection between job loss and single-parent households?

Billingsley repeats a theory I first heard from William Julius Wilson of the University of Chicago: Unemployment may not lessen a man's sexual appetite or appeal, but it certainly reduces his availability and desirability as a marriage partner. As Billingsley put it, "Men who aren't working don't like to get married, and women don't like to marry them."

Why, then, was there no dip in two-parent households during the Depression?

"This is a thing that is still not well understood," says Billingsley, "but the loss of jobs has been accompanied by the disintegration of community institutions—churches, commercial enterprises, social and civic affiliations. These institutions helped families pull together to weather hard times. You can't have strong families unless you have strong communities, and you can't have strong communities unless you have strong institutions."

So what happened to the institutions? "Sad to say, many black institutions fell victim to integration and social change and upward mobility and increased opportunity. Even progressive change has their down side, and the down side of the racial progress that started 20 or 40 years ago was the closing of black schools, the scattering of black professionals and the abandonment of black institutions as we integrated white ones."

One almost forgets where the conversation started: with the precipitous drop, starting around 1970, in the ratio of two-parent households in black America. Is the explanation really as complicated as all that?

Billingsley says yes. He insists, too, that this complicated trail is worth following, in order to reverse it. What we are discussing, you see, is not just a new set of lifestyle options, morality and economically neutral. The fatherless families that have come to dominate black America (and which are a fast-growing phenomenon in white America

as well) are our single largest source of poverty. They may also be the leading source of the youthful crime that is killing what is left of our communities. Children—especially boys—who grow up without the guidance of responsible adult males are unusually susceptible to the lure of criminality.

Can anything be done about it? "Because it's a human problem, it can be solved," says Billingsley. What is required, he says, is to restore and strengthen community institutions, create real economic opportunity by creating blue-collar jobs, and transform our schools so that the non-college-bound can get the training they need for decent, well-paid jobs.

"One more thing," he says in an addendum shortly after we've finished our telephone interview. "Those of us who are not to behead need to take more personal responsibility to help young people find their way—athletes, community leaders. The people you have written about and whose efforts I document in my book."

"There are more black people NOT in trouble than are in trouble. Those who aren't in trouble have to reach out to those who are. It's just that simple."

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William Raspberry

... Hollowed Communities

Why, during the 1960s, did everything suddenly start going wrong for inner-city black families?

I raised the question during a recent discussion of the decline of two-parent families. The percentage of black households headed by a husband and a wife remained essentially unchanged—around 80 percent—as every census from 1850 to 1960. For 1970, however, it was down to 64 percent, and now has plummeted to less than 40 percent.

What happened in the 1960s to trigger such disastrous results?

I thought it was the exodus of jobs from the inner cities, a theme propounded by sociologists William Julius Wilson and Andrew Billingsley, among others.

As always happens when the subject is social pathology, a number of readers were quick to say: It's the Great Society—Lyndon Johnson's "war on poverty."

And, as usual, when you ask them what they mean, they talk about welfare—the brainchild not of LBJ but of FDR.

But the downward trend highlighted by the explosion of single-parent households didn't begin in the 1940s. It started 20 years later. After the launching of the Great Society. In other words, in fact, no connection between the two things!

Maybe there is, though not the one usually heard from the blame-it-on-Lyndon crowd: the charge that welfare destroyed the incentive for poor people to work and destroyed their families by making husbands unnecessary.

My recollection is that it was Johnson and Kennedy liberals who spent much of that period fighting against a conservative-sponsored man-in-the-house rule, which denied welfare benefits to households that included an able-bodied (though not necessarily employed) adult male. The liberals' rationale: The man-in-the-house rule broke up families.

But something else happened during those Great Society years. The war-on-poverty money, intended as an anti-welfare measure, took some strange and counter-productive paths between Washington and the targeted poverty areas.

At first, much of the money went down town to the traditional (and traditionally white-run) agencies, which would then parcel it out to the poor—as often on the basis of politics as of need. Changes were made in

and local efforts more directly, but by then another rule had kicked in: the requirement that community-outreach workers had to have college degrees.

That professionalization of the war on poverty had one disastrous consequence: It sidelined the indigenous community leaders who had been losing away for years, unpaid and largely unknown outside their neighborhoods.

Local institutions—including churches and voluntary associations—were displaced by certified experts who had been trained in everything from professional social work to grief counseling. What had been communities became, for antipoverty purposes, collections of problems. Erratic local leaders were cast aside as having nothing to offer.

One example: Marceline Green, a Philadelphia hairdresser, became a local legend through her success with neighborhood girls, who would come to her home up to 50 at a time. She'd talk to them, counsel them, teach them, love them. And in one two-year period, only one of them got pregnant.

When the poverty money came in, the city set up a pregnancy prevention program, run from downtown. And told Green she could work as an unpaid adviser.

Her wonderful relationship with the neighborhood girls was eroded as her importance was undercut, and, according to the recollections of a friend and admirer, Green herself started to feel inadequate.

To compare the relative effectiveness of the local amateur to that of the trained expert is to miss the point. Even in those cases where the professionals were better able to make headway against a particular problem, they were not available on an all-day, every-day basis to deal with neighbors as neighbors, not merely as addressable problems.

Communities may have gained an expert counselor or two, but they lost the influence of the people and institutions who held communities together. In all too many cases, they simply stopped being communities.

Yes, I still believe that much of the pathology of the inner cities stems from the loss of general employment, as businesses either folded or moved to more attractive suburbs. Young men who couldn't find work were unattractive husband material, even for the mothers of their babies. Welfare became the father substitute, with disastrous consequences.

But part of the damage was done by those who only wanted to help.

Column: McCarthy
 Wash. Post; 10-23-93

Social Programs That Work

For thoughtfulness, fairness and an unshakable drive to be a solution-oriented journalist, I admire few reporters more than Jonathan Freedman. If you aren't familiar with his name or work, it may be because Freedman doesn't go on television to bawler, yell or prognosticate about the issues. He is an independent spirit who covers ideas, events or people he cares about, knowing that the power of the press is often found in the choices of what to report or ignore.

I learned of Freedman's idealism while visiting San Diego in 1988. He was an editorial writer for the San Diego Tribune, an afternoon paper that has since gone under. Several friends said that Freedman came from the same journalistic gene pool as Ralph McGill and I. F. Stone, a graceful writer and a restless digger.

In San Diego, Freedman was known for the years he devoted to writing editorials on immigration reform. He regularly left his office to hang around the border area and fences at the Mexico-U.S. border at the Tijuana crossing, an area known as the Canyon of the Dead. His editorials were masterfully mixes of analysis and clear writing based on what he learned from interviews from the field.

In 1987 Freedman won a Pulitzer prize for his editorials on immigration reform.

I offer that as background to Freedman's efforts of the past three years: researching social programs that work. Most investigative reporters share their nostrils to sniff the odors of fraud or failure. Freedman, ever the independent, has gone the other

lated this month. Freedman spent time in prenatal clinics, schools, job training centers, hospices and nursing homes. "I consciously sought out people who had conquered severe problems, and explored programs that helped them. The goal was not to give a falsely rosy picture of life in America but to show that even the worst problems may be dealt with—and that we can learn from our successes."

I ought to confess that I have a bias for journalists and could like this, a joining of biases in fact. Freedman writes: "My bias should be clear from the beginning. I find simple stories more persuasive than brilliant abstract arguments. Lives reflect realities that are far more complex than the narrow issues that so often result in unwieldy and inhumane policies."

Freedman's message, if I read it right, is that change comes from below, not above. Below is where the innovators work for reform, above is where they ideas eventually reach and are nationalized if government officials are conscientious enough to respond.

I wish I could report—but I can't—that Freedman's investigations have won him the wide audience that's deserved. His publisher, Atheneum, believing that Washington might want to learn about what social programs are working around the country, organized a press conference for Freedman and his book at the National Press Club. Two reporters showed.

This was a low moment for the media. One of their most committed members—a risk-taker who ventured out on his own as a freelancer to get stories the country needed to hear about—came to share his findings with colleagues. And was ignored.

The media had other passions to pursue. The day after Freedman spoke to a near-empty room, The Washington Post and the New York Times ran lengthy stories about a fashion show in Milan, while USA Today reported that Tammy Faye Bakker sang "Jesus Loves Me" at her California wedding.

Bill Clinton, after one of his morning runs, should turn into one of the bookstores near the White House and pick up a copy of Freedman's work. In it, the president will find ample information on which to create new policies for social reform. He will learn also of an investigative reporter who has uncovered a major non-scandal: how America, at the local level, is reinventing itself.

*Jonathan
 Freedman's new
 book tells simple
 stories about
 complex lives.*

way—investigating social programs that are genuine and successful, ones that decrease suffering in the lives of poor people or those who would be poor if no one stood with them.

These investigations into what's working can be found in the pages of "From Cradle to Grave: The Human Face of Poverty," pub-

Cutting Illegitimacy Cuts Welfare

By BEN WATTENBERG

Washington. It was once called "bastardy." Then "illegitimacy." Then "out-of-wedlock birth." And now, frequently, wholly sanitized, "non-marital births."

Whatever it's called, it is at the root of our social problems. And, according to a new census study, it is growing ominously.

Meanwhile, President Clinton's task force on welfare reform made its first public appearance. Also, it went beyond mere sanitization, not mentioning the surge of out-of-wedlock births, even as that causes the current explosion of welfare.

Although there is tough-minded thinking now going on about welfare inside the Clinton task force, this public timidity does not augur well. As long as political America remains uncomfortable mentioning illegitimacy, we will continue to condone it. As long as we condone it, we will subsidize it. When we subsidize it, we cause it. By now, it's our fault.

The new census data are shocking, although not unexpected. In one decade, from 1982 to 1992, the rate of illegitimate births soared from 15.8 percent to 24.2 percent, an increase of more than half — the largest increase ever. (And census data, which come from a survey, are lower than birth records.) For comparison, the illegitimacy rate was about 3 percent in 1950 and 4 percent in 1980.

The new levels are highest among African-Americans (rising from 49 percent to 67 percent) and Hispanics (16 percent to 27 percent). But it is a national problem. The illegitimacy rate grew most rapidly among whites (10 percent to 17 percent).

Remarkably, all this happened while fertility fell across the board for all races. This means the increase in illegitimacy comes from voluntary behavior. (If a woman can control the birth of a third child, she can usually control the birth of a first or second child.)

It is the growth in out-of-wedlock birth that is pushing up the welfare numbers. The Congressional Research Service reports that 71 percent of the new cases in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, from 1987 to 1991, were headed by a never-married mother. (In earlier years welfare was generat-

ed by divorce, widowhood or marital separation.)

So why, in its first press conference, would President Clinton's task force choose not to mention any of this in 13 pages of briefing material? Was it just happenstance?

Was it happenstance that the task force hand-outs also did not mention Mr. Clinton's four magic campaign words, "two years and out," although that pledge validated his promise to "end welfare as we know it?" Was it happenstance that the task force did not even use the words "sanction" or "termination," even though these are the terms that point to tough-minded solutions?

(The task force's euphemism of choice: "time-limited transitional support system." Questioned, the briefers endorsed the two-year limit.)

It is not that the task force, or Mr. Clinton, doesn't know what is going on. The president recently met in private with task-force members. His charge was in tune with the theme that elected him. "Get the values

right," he said. "If you get everything else right, and get the values wrong, it won't work."

Indeed, serious discussions are taking place inside the task force about values and behavior issues, of which illegitimacy is paramount. So why the reticence

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in public?

I cannot prove it, but I can divine it. The truth would cause an uproar among liberal Democrats, who would cry: "Blaming the victim!" Can a Democratic president really say that voluntary change in reproductive behavior is the principal agent driving welfare, and most of our other social problems, and that it could be reduced by a threat to end benefits?

Yet that is where the evidence takes us. More voluntary out-of-wedlock birth yields more dependency, more welfare, less parental control, which yields more crime, drugs, unemployment and poor education, which yields more voluntary out-of-wedlock birth, more dependency, and so on, cyclically, without end.

Circles, vicious or otherwise, can only be continued or cut. The way to exit this circle is to send a message that we will stop subsidizing voluntary illegitimacy.

Ben Wattenberg is a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

BEN WATTENBERG

Wash. Times; 8-5-93

Welfare side effects

Consider "Greater Welfare." Consider what's happening in America. Consider the welfare mother who said to a survey researcher: "Public aid made the problems with my older girls worse. If they knew that they wouldn't get no help, they wouldn't be having all these babies." And then consider the Clinton-Democratic budget.

Back in 1965, according to the Congressional Research Service, the federal government spent \$15 billion on the major programs offering "income-tested benefits." These include Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Medicaid, Food Stamps and subsidized housing.

By 1992, these Greater Welfare programs had climbed to \$156 billion per year, a 940 percent increase! (All figures here are in constant 1992 dollars.) During that time frame, the number of people in poverty climbed by less than 10 percent, the rate of people in poverty declined from 17 percent to 14 percent, and total population grew by 33 percent. We are, simply, spending vastly more per poor person.

GW expenditures went up during Democratic and Republican years, during booms and recessions. They went up rapidly in the '70s, up slowly in the early '80s, up rapidly again since the late '80s.

Has GW helped people? "Supplemental Security Income" provides economic dignity for needy elderly persons. Medicaid gives health care to those who can't afford it. When AFDC and food stamps are used to help the long-term disabled, or those temporarily out of work and out of luck, such aid is humanitarian.

But something else travels with our humanitarianism: long-term purposeful dependency. The growth in GW comes from women bearing "nonmarital" children. Out-of-wedlock births climbed from 5 percent of all births in 1960 to 29 percent in 1992. Among blacks the rate is now 67 percent.

This explosion of illegitimacy happened while abortion became legal, while contraception became more available, while publicity campaigns against illegitimacy flourished, and while fertility rates for all races plunged. Purposeful.

And with terrible consequences. Children from out-of-wedlock households are more likely to be violent criminals, die in infancy, drop out of school, be poor, bear out-of-wedlock children, use drugs and

see WATTENBERG, page G4

Ben J. Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

WATTENBERG

From page G1

commit suicide. The creation of families without on-site fathers is our biggest social problem, eroding our inner cities.

Does more welfare actually "buy" more illegitimacy? Are these "causal" as well as "coincidental" indicators? There is a debate about that. But how much does it matter? If it's causal, we should stop it and change it. If it's only partly causal, we should stop it and change it. And if it's coincidental, we still shouldn't pay for it. It's wrong, costly and harmful to the recipients.

I am not alone in such a belief. It was the most important thing Bill Clinton promised last year. He said

he would "end welfare as we know it."

Alas, the Clinton-Democratic budget does not roll back GW. It does not freeze it. It increases it! By 1998, according to the president's April submission, those "income-tested benefits" will rise to \$252 billion, roughly a two-thirds increase from 1992, funding an activity that has some horrible counterproductive aspects.

Under the Clinton plan, GW would rise by 8.3 percent per year from 1992 to 1998, vs. 6.6 percent in the preceding decade. Mr. Clinton's plan increases GW 3 percent per year more than it would rise if no changes were made in current law.

Congress has tinkered with the Clinton welfare formulas, but not changed them significantly. The re-

cent Conference Committee report, like the original Clinton budget, grows welfare as we know it.

There are a few good features in the Clinton plan, particularly the increase in the Earned Income Tax Credit, designed to help poor people who work. But as for a general new direction for welfare, this isn't it, or close to it.

Ironically, Mr. Clinton could get big help in changing Greater Welfare from Republicans, just those folks he excluded from the early budget planning.

As this is written, I do not know the final congressional disposition of the Clinton-Democratic plan.

If it fails, it should be redone, right.

If it passes, Mr. Clinton still owes us an end to welfare as we know it.

George F. Will Underwriting Family Breakdown

Passion is a prerequisite for driving the direction of some subjects past bureaucratic fiat by political procedure. President Clinton's passionate proclivity in a black church in Memphis last Saturday demonstrated that, regarding inner-city violence, the range of the discussable is expanding, but we still are a far cry from civility.

Clinton, a governmental man, instinctively believes that the underclass, which he says might better be called the under class, probably lacks what government can provide—services, work. His instinct is reinforced by reading sociologist William Julius Wilson's studies of how, in Clinton's words, the inner cities have crumbled as work has disappeared.

That "or" is an arid epigrammaticism. To a neighborhood, work, and willing workers, were driven from the inner city by multiplying pathologies not caused by scarcity of work. Half a million of Asian and other immigrants have recently crowded not just beyond neighborhoods but across streams to search of work and bread in its American cities. Clearly there is a poverty of inner resources on the part of many persons whose degrading conditions derive from various kinds of destructive behavior.

Clinton knows this. He told the Memphis congregation that there are changes that government can make: "From the outside in—more police, job training and so on—but there's been changes that we're going to have to make from the inside out, or the

others won't matter." So he asked up to the edge of the issue.

Martin Luther King Jr. he says, did not fight for "the freedom of children to have children and the fathers of the children walk away from them." He recognized

Marriage should be the sole legal institution through which parental rights are exercised.

to "the breakdown of the family." The need for "robust families," the fact that there is chaos "where there are no families."

Yes, but Pat McGovern showed the discussion that allows a large number of young men to grow up in broken families, compounded by women, never accepting any stable relationship to make reality, never accepting any set of rational expectations about the future—that community seeks for and gets chaos.

That community gets what we have got, what

the social scientist Charles Murray calls an inner city culture of "land of the Phix with large, the values of unexcused male adolescents made norms—physical violence, immediate gratification and predatory sex."

Thirteen days before Clinton spoke, Murray spoke via the *Wall Street Journal's* editorial page. His theme is as clear as the press-release is stern. Plugging a child into the world when one is neither emotionally nor financially prepared for parenthood is a grievous wrong. When it occurs, the child deserves society's support. The parent does not.

Throughout history a single woman with a small child has not been a viable economic entity. To prevent this, societies have developed emotional bonds of affinity between embalmers of re-worth and penalties to barren marriage. But in just 30 years the circumstances have crumbled. In 1991 there were 1.2 million illegitimate births, an illegitimate rate of 22 percent for whites, 82 percent for blacks, 30 percent for the nation, more than 80 percent in some inner cities.

Government now subsidizes such behavior. It should, Murray says, end all economic support for single mothers. Marriage should be the sole legal institution through which parental rights and responsibilities are defined and exercised.

This, he thinks, would force young women who

should not be mothers to seek the support of more mature sisters and would help to repressure the defining stigma of illegitimacy. Furthermore, it would lead many young women to place their babies for adoption.

Let all restrictions on interracial adoptions, Murray urges, and restore the traditional legal practice that placing a child for adoption means irrevocably relinquishing all legal rights to the child. For children not adopted, the government should spend lavishly on orphanages. "I am not," Murray says, "recommending Dickensian barracks. In 1983 we know a lot about how to provide a warm, nurturing environment for children and getting rid of the welfare system threw up lots of money to do it."

Democracy, he says, depends on virtues that depend on socialization of children in the matrix of care and nurturance bestowed by marriage. This is no larger a "black issue." The title of Murray's *Journal* essay was "The Coming Whore Epiphytasis." The clerk is telling. The rising illegitimacy rate—the white rate is now just four points behind what the black rate was in 1966, when Mordecai Stanton the abolitionist wrote, "The white race is now just four years behind what the black race is in America"—may make America unrecognizable before political institutions recognize the necessity of measures as bold—as badly trademarked—as Murray recommends.

George F. Will
 Wash. Post; 10-31-93

The Tragedy of Illegitimacy

The senator glanced at the numbers and saw in his mind's eye something frightening: a straight line, ascending. Pat Moynihan had in hand the 1991 vital statistics which, together with those from 1970-1990, produce a graph line pointing straight to calamity.

Fifty years ago, 5 percent of American births were to unmarried women. That began to change in the 1960s. By 1976 it was 19 percent. Since then the increasing rate has produced no almost straight line—almost one percent a year for 21 years.

We lazily the word "crisis" so casually it is drained of power. However, America's real crisis can be presented numerically in the percentages of births to unmarried women:

	All Races	Whites	Blacks
1970	10.7	5.6	37.5
1975	14.3	7.3	48.8
1980	17.8	11.2	55.5
1985	22.4	14.5	60.1
1990	28.0	20.1	63.2
1991	29.5	21.8	67.8

What makes the vital statistics alarming is the ascending straight line for the whole society. What makes the statistics terrifying is that the graph line of births to unmarried black women remains straight. That is, the rate of increase is not slowing even at extraordinarily high levels.

Minority births are primarily responsible for the fact that the percentage of births to unmarried women is more than 70 percent in Detroit, more than 80 percent in Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Newark, St. Louis and Washington, more than 50 percent in Chicago, Miami, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. But Moynihan warns that San Francisco's lower percentage—31.5—is the result of a anomaly: Asian Americans.

Lee Robinson, a Harvard sociologist emeritus, testifying to the Finance Committee that Moynihan chairs, foresees 40 percent of all American births, and 80 percent of minority births, out of wedlock by the turn of the century. In 1976 there was an ominous portent during the Bicentennial: the percentage of black births to unmarried women passed

"People tend to parent as they were parented."

50 percent. Forty years after that, in 2016 if the ascending line on the graph stays straight, 50 percent of births to all races will be out of wedlock.

Now, trends are not inevitabilities. However, rising illegitimacy is a self-reinforcing trend because of the many mechanisms of the inter-generational transmission of poverty. The principal one is: People tend to parent as they were parented.

What has all this to do with the subject of the hearings—"Social Behavior and Health Care Costs"—at which Moynihan examined the vital statistical data.

America is undergoing a demographic transformation the cost of which will be crushing. Why? Because poverty is, strictly speaking, sickening. The children of unmarried women are particularly apt to be poor. And poverty, with its attendant evils—ignorance, dropping out of school, domestic and other violence, drug abuse, joblessness—is unhealthy.

In the inaugural issue of "MediaCritic," a new quarterly devoted to analysis of contemporary journalism, Fred Barnes, a senior editor of the New Republic, examines some myths purveyed by some

journalists concerning the "health care crisis" including the myth that there is such a crisis. Two supposed signs of the "crisis" are America's high rate of infant mortality and low rate of immunization of preschool children.

Barnes notes that America's high rate of teenage pregnancy means a large number of low-birth-weight babies and a high mortality rate. "Doctors," says Barnes, "make heroic efforts to save these babies, many of whom would be declared 'born dead' in other countries and thus not counted toward the infant mortality rate."

Regarding immunization rates, Barnes reports that about 86 percent of children are fully vaccinated by the time they are of school age because vaccination is required for admission to school. Says Barnes, "Faced with a mandate, parents comply." Negligent or otherwise incompetent parents behave responsibly only when required. Such parents are particularly apt to be young and unmarried.

High infant mortality rates and low immunization rates are less health care problems—less problems of the distribution of medicine—than problems of social behavior, although the political class, other than Moynihan, is reluctant to say so. Moynihan quotes Dr. Reynolds Farley of the University of Michigan: "Shifts in attitudes imply that our norms may no longer assure childbearing by unmarried women." What can be done?

One clue may be in William Buckley's words that Moynihan cites: "The most readily identifiable tragedy of modern life is the illegitimate child."

To many people today there is something anachronistic about the word "illegitimate." They find it jarring because it is "judgmental" but reversing the value judgments behind that locution may be the only way to bend down the line on Moynihan's graph.

N.Y. Times; 11-1-93

Entitled to the Embryo?

By Susan Jacoby

I once interviewed a woman who was enraged because her health insurance company, after paying for two unsuccessful attempts at in vitro fertilization, had refused to reimburse her for further infertility treatments. "They're depriving me of my right to become a mother," she said. "And I'm going to sue them."

But where is it written that our society owes everyone the "right" to become a parent, regardless of the financial or ethical cost? The woman's comment offers yet another example of the pervasive, bloated sense of entitlement that forms a crucial, largely unexamined backdrop to the debate over the ethics of cloning human embryos.

The ethical controversy erupted last week after scientists at George Washington University Medical Center announced that they had developed a cloning procedure that would help infertile couples conceive artificially by providing them with identical extra embryos. But this "breakthrough" also created a real possibility

Susan Jacoby writes on medical ethics and reproductive issues.

ly that unused embryos could be and in other couples.

The debate pits the so-called right of people to control their own embryos — and to have children in any way they desire — against society's need to protect itself from those who would cheerfully clone and sell endless multiples of human beings as long as

Nobody is owed the right to have a child.

there was a profit to be made.

Almost no one has questioned the notion of parenthood as a right and infertility as a violation of that right — and a disaster that must be fought with all the high-tech tools of modern medicine. To say that infertility is not a tragedy but a disappointment, albeit a grievous one, is to commit heresy.

If infertility is indeed a tragedy, it would be childish to prohibit cloning. But when infertility is viewed simply as one misfortune on a scale of worries — less horrible, say, than med-

destroying diseases or mass starvation — the ethical balance looks quite different.

Because I consider infertility a sorrow rather than a tragedy, I cannot conceive of any ethical justification for cloning humans. I am far more concerned about the potential social consequences of merchants' peddling "desirable" embryos (and doubt white and proved Harvard material) than about the personal disappointment experienced by couples who cannot easily produce children.

To take this position is to risk accusations of being a Luddite. Any scientific advance can, of course, be abused, but the real question is whether the possible benefit outweighs the possible risk. Gene therapy also raises grave ethical questions, but the risks are worth taking because such experiments hold out the possibility of correcting lethal genetic defects. Embryocloning, by contrast, will surely be used not only to remedy infertility but to enable affluent Americans to get what they want when they want it.

I am 46 and deeply regret having no children. Yet I am perfectly aware that the career-oriented decisions made in my 20's and early 30's are largely responsible for my children's fate. Cloning would certainly get

someone like me off the hook. If such a procedure had been available back in the 70's, my then-husband and I could have altered away a number of identical faulty babies. (Cloning would be much more efficient than storing non-identical embryos, because conception would have to be accomplished only once.)

Now that I'm older and ready to be a parent, I could take my bundle of joy off the freezer shelf. Because I no longer have a uterus, I'd have to rent another woman for the pregnancy. And the baby wouldn't have a father, because my ex-husband died some years after our divorce. But why worry? I'd have exactly what I want exactly when it suited me.

An untidy scenario? In an era of rights run wild, anything is not only possible but likely. Twenty years ago, who would have believed that we would witness court battles between surrogate mothers and well-off couples determined to do anything to reproduce at least one partner's precious genes?

It is past time for our society to call a halt to the "me first" admission of rights. No one has the right to perpetrate the precious uniqueness of all members of the human race in order to assuage individual heartbreak and gruffly individual desires. □

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OUTREACH MEETING REPORT
WELFARE REFORM WORKING GROUP

ORGANIZATION (S) (Name of representative and title):

Carol Hamilton, Coalition on Human Needs
Roberta Spalter-Roth, Institute for Women's Policy Research
Patrick Conover, United Church of Christ
Nanine Meiklejohn, AFSCME
Rubie Coles, Coalition on Women and Job Training &
National Displaced Homemaker Network
Sunny Harris Rome, National Association for Social Workers
Mark Greenberg, Center for Law and Social Policy
Diana Pearce, Women and Poverty Project, Wider Opportunities
for Women
Kathy Thornton, NETWORK, a national Catholic Social Justice
Lobby
Nan Rome, National Alliance to End Homelessness
Ron Field, Family Services America, Inc.

Representatives from WRWG:

Canta Pian, ASPE/DHHS (Post-Transitional Issue Group)
David Lah, Department of Labor, ETA (Post-Transitional Issue
Group)
Dolores Battle, Department of Labor, ETA (Post Transitional
Issue Group)
Jeremy Ben-Ami, WRWG
Patricia Sosa, WRWG

Date and location:

August 13, 1993 -- Aerospace Center

Meeting requested by:

Welfare Reform Working Group and Coalition on Human Needs

1. Give a brief description of the organizations (advocacy/national membership/foundation/think tank), whether they are meeting as part of a coalition and, if possible, their previous involvement with welfare issues.

The Coalition on Human Needs is comprised of progressive organizations who come together to lobby on issues related to women in poverty, welfare and the working poor.

2. What were the participants' reactions to the Working Group's presentation? What was the overall tone of the meeting?

Canta Pian provided a broad overview of issues that the Post transitional employment group is working on and then opened the meeting for discussion. The participants tended to focus on broader issues concerning low-wage employment, structural

problems in the economy. Participants spent less time making specific recommendations about the details of a public post-transitional employment program.

The discussion was very cordial, informative and stimulating.

3. What were the participants' primary issues of concern related to welfare reform? Describe issues as specifically as possible.

Major points made by the various participants were as follows:

- o They do not recommend that we pursue a Community Work Experience Program strategy. CWEP would create a second class workforce equal in size to AFSCME's current membership of 1.3 million members. The current minimum wage is only half the rate of pay of most unskilled occupations.
- o In today's economy, entry-level, low-wage jobs will not be long-term jobs. Currently, jobs in this sector only average 6-months long. Increasingly, employers are restructuring and making these temporary jobs. There will be no upward mobility. It would be a lifetime temporary employment program. We don't need a whole class of low-skilled workers like this.
- o The women need training to get higher paying jobs. It can't be short-term. Short-term training for dislocated workers hasn't helped those workers. We've got an uphill battle against employment restructuring. Things were not this bad 10 years ago.
- o One participant recommended that if we are phasing the program in, we pick people who already have had job training and are higher skilled, e.g. precision production or skilled operatives. They have the best chance of making it.
- o Another participant advised us to be flexible. On Indian reservations, unemployment rates are 85-90%. There are no new jobs there. A "one size fits all" doesn't work. We should use a disaggregated approach.
- o We should have different models for different amounts of money. Otherwise, we could be committed to a single higher-cost approach only to have it cut back in the appropriations process, with most of the money that's left going for administration.
- o We shouldn't limit ourselves to one single work activity for everybody. One participant recommends a JOBS--like program supplemented with grant diversion, alternative work experience, PSE, and supported work activities.

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- o We should develop strategies that offer ladders of increasing success, thus helping the women to move upward. Case workers won't be enough if we just put people in dead-end jobs. They need apprenticeship opportunities and other strategies so the women can move up to better paying jobs, jobs paying \$8 to 10 an hour. There's a big difference between getting \$5 and \$10 an hour. They have found that at \$10 an hour, more women can solve their problems without going back on welfare.
 - o It's been argued that the EITC is a better strategy than increasing the minimum wage. One participant thinks that's a short-term, narrowly considered policy. Wage levels should be higher. EITC changes might not affect current trends of low wage levels and short job retention.
 - o Under the displaced homemaker program funded with Carl Perkins Voc Ed. money, some 300,000 women were trained for employment at \$6 an hour. After a year or so many of the women came back on welfare because they needed more money. They were unsuccessful in getting employers to recognize that they need to pay more for their services. No one wanted to pay for on-going job counseling and career counseling to help the women go on.
 - o Our strategy should focus more on non-traditional jobs and on jobs where entry-level work can also lead to opportunities to enroll in community college programs and vocational tech programs. Asked if we should consider credits to allow working women to go back to school, one participant said yes, but the women won't be working that long before they'll lose their jobs so they should start getting credits for just a few months of work.
 - o The jobs would pay more if they were unionized. The wage rates in certain low-skilled jobs vary enormously from place to place with unionization being a key variable. We should raise our sights and make sure that women are fairly compensated for their jobs.
 - o We need to ask ourselves is the individual going to benefit? Will their lives be better? We don't want demoralizing jobs.
 - o Many of these women already have work experience. They will benefit most not from more work experience, but access to educational opportunities.
 - o We should look to the National Service proposal for a model. Its values should be adopted. There's a big difference between workfare and the National service. The latter is designed to ensure that participants learn teamwork, civic responsibility, and connection with their community. It is designed to give people the opportunity to gain control over
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their lives. The National Service proposal has excellent anti-displacement strategies. Participants can't do anything that looks like regular public jobs. Control is in local and State governments. Unions have more control than they did in CETA. Participants are involved. There's collaboration with communities, the program addresses unmet needs, the work is hands-on, not administrative jobs. [The issue group plans to review this proposal.]

- o We should be training people to go into a higher skilled work force. The secondary labor market work track is not a way to live a life. These women need to be part of a lifelong program of learning. We don't need a separate underclass.
- o They'd like the system of support to be more like UI than welfare. There'd be less problem with differential treatment.
- o The MDRC evaluations of CWEP programs were asking the wrong question. It should be what does the do for the person. It won't be clear to future employers that CWEP clients did anything worthwhile.
- o Instead of worrying about equity, we should be jumping welfare clients to the head of the queue as far as access to jobs and social services are concerned.
- o We need to recognize that some parents have more responsibilities in the family than others. In addition to children, some are taking care of aged parents. They should be getting credit for work already being done so we don't have to put them to work outside the home and spend much more on aged parents sent to nursing homes.
- o There should be seamless child care from transitional assistance to post-transitional. Right now payment systems change in disruptive ways. When there's even a short semester break, families lose access to child care. In the system we design, if an individual loses her job, she should continue to qualify for child care.
- o We need to recognize the limited capacity of the current system. After 12 years of budget cuts, we've shifted away from social workers to policing people. Welfare staff have no background for helping clients find jobs. The system is really ground down and has a lot of capacity problems.
- o They recommend that there be separate funding streams for E & T and for work. Otherwise States will run cheap front-end programs to ensure that there's as much money as possible for the work program at the end. We need to be realistic about how many slots can be created. There should be no illusion that we can create enough slots for the entire caseload.

- o There's an advantage of an entity other than welfare agencies administering the work component. Otherwise its the same old welfare system. Even during the transition assistance period, there should be more ties to Labor which will ensure more connection to the labor market.
- o Of the 27 States with Displaced Homemaker programs, some are run by Education, some by Labor and some by Human Services. The Labor ones are stronger and more work oriented.
- o Minimum wage public service jobs are still unacceptable AFSCME believes. A labor and management relationship needs to be established that sets the wages. Public employment on the scale contemplated is destabilizing. Those who go into public sector jobs should qualify for those jobs under regular civil service rules. They should be integrated into the existing system with equal pay. Under CETA, having a separate system played havoc. The participants displaced other workers who were former welfare recipients themselves.
- o We should use the 2 year transitional period constructively with stronger ties to education and Pell grant program.
- o If we have to go the public jobs route, CLASP prefers PSE over CWEP although they really prefer neither. They'd like to see an overall expansion of jobs in the public sector.

4. Follow-up: Did the participants indicate an interest in continuing to provide information or any other kind of support to the Working Group? Did they request any information? Were they interested in setting a follow-up meeting? Any other comments?

A number of the participants will be testifying at the D.C. Public Hearings August 19-20. Some participants will be sending us materials they write up. We agreed to stay in touch.

Completed by: Cantia Pian

Date: August 17, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: David T. Ellwood
Mary Jo Bane
Bruce Reed

FROM: Jim Hickman *JH*

RE: Regional Welfare Reform Surrogates

DATE: February 7, 1994

In response to the growing interest in welfare reform, we are seeking to expand our Speaker's Bureau and related surrogate activities. We are in need of regional contacts that can act as surrogates on our behalf in one of several different ways:

- * write opinion pieces;
- * act as sources for reporters looking for local reaction;
- * make presentations on behalf of the Working Group.

We are looking for academics, service providers, and reform advocates from around the country that would be good candidates for our surrogate efforts. They should understand our vision and principles, be fairly fluent in the issues, and willing to speak on behalf of the Administration.

We are especially interested in representatives in these key states: California, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas, and Washington state.

Please take a few moments to list 5 people you believe would support the efforts of the Working Group and would be available to represent the Working Group in some capacity. Please include as much information as you can about the person and their background. I will contact your staff later in the week to get your list of recommendations for this effort.

If you or your staff have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me at 401-6958.

CM → New York - Peter Cove, America Works
Michael Darling, NY State welfare director

New Jersey - Assemblyman Wayne Bryant, leading NJ welfare reform

Oklahoma - Rep. Dale McCurdy has many good contacts there & is holding WR workshops

Oregon - Kevin Conannon, Oregon welfare director

Texas - Darryll Grubbs, Austin, private child support enforcement advocate

MEMORANDUM

TO: David T. Ellwood
Mary Jo Bane
Bruce Reed

FROM: Jim Hickman

RE: Outreach to Welfare Reform Columnists

DATE: February 7, 1994

Attached is a list of national and regional columnists that have written about welfare reform. As part of part of our press outreach efforts, we will be coordinating our contact with these opinion-leaders in the months ahead. It is our plan to have you call these columnists and familiarize them with the current proposal, informally brief them prior to the release of the actual plan, and follow-up with them when they write about welfare reform.

Please review this short list and note which columnists you are familiar with and those that you are interested in cultivating a relationship with for our effort. I will contact your staff later this week and note your responses. All columnists remaining unclaimed will be divided and assigned to you accordingly. A final roster of columnists will be sent to you once this review is completed.

Thank you for taking the time to review and comment on this list. If you or your staff have any questions, I can be reached at 401-6958.

I'll take the conservatives.

attachment

cc: Melissa Skoffield
Ann Rosewater
Jeremy Ben-Ami

**WELFARE REFORM
LIST OF COLUMNISTS AND EDITORIAL WRITERS**

Ken Adelman

Syndicated Columnist

- *Poor Data Yields Misleading Report on the Poor*, Washington Times, 10/8/93

(BR)

Gloria Berger

U.S. News and World Report

(BR)

Mona Charen

Syndicated Columnist

- *Perils of Welfare Reform Politics*, Washington Times, 8/16/93
- *Does Clinton Have the Guts for Welfare Reform*, Chicago Tribune, 8/18/93

(BR)

Richard Cohen

Syndicated Columnist

- *Dealing with Illegitimacy*, Washington Post, 11/23/93

(BR)

E.J. Dionne Jr.

- *Anatomy of a Feud*, Washington Post, 12/7/93

Richard Dunham

- *How Clinton Could 'End Welfare as We Know It'*, Business Week, 12/13/93

Susan Engram

- Editorial Page Director of The Evening Sun

- *What Do We Ask of Welfare?* Balt. Sun, 10/24/93

Jack Germond

Syndicated Columnist

Ellen Goodman

Syndicated Columnist

- *Who Has the Rights to Black Children?*, Balt. Sun., 12/7/93

(BR)

Charles Krauthammer

Syndicated Columnist

- *Pull the Plug on Welfare to Solve Poverty*, Washington Post, 11/22/93
- *Subsidized Illegitimacy*, Washington Post, 11/19/93

Susan Leviton

- *Why Welfare Reform Won't Work - Again*, Balt. Sun, 10/24/93

**WELFARE REFORM
LIST OF COLUMNISTS AND EDITORIAL WRITERS (Page Two)**

Judy Mann

Colman McCarthy

- *Social Programs That Work*, Washington Post, 10/23/93

Walter Mears

Vice President and Columnist for the Associated Press

Peter Milius

Editorial Writer, Washington Post

Clarence Page

Syndicated Columnist

- *New White Underclass Now in the Making?*, Washington Times, 11/3/93
- *Indifference Brings Risks*, Washington Times, 12/4/93

William Raspberry

Syndicated Columnist

- *Job Loss Preceded Decline of Family in Black Community*, Chicago Tribune, 11/1/93
- *Hollowed Communities...*, Washington Post, 11/19/93

Carl Rowan

Syndicated Columnist

Robert J. Samuelson

Syndicated Columnist

- *The Swedish Disease, Decline of a Modern Welfare State*, Washington Post, 12/8/93

Ben Wattenberg

Syndicated Columnist, Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute

- *Welfare Side Effects*, Washington Times, 8/5/93
- *Cutting Illegitimacy Cuts Welfare*, Balt. Sun; Washington Times, 7/15/93
- *Welfare Reform Disaster Spouter*, Washington Times, 8/18/93

Mike Weinstein

Editorial Writer, New York Times

George Will

Syndicated Columnist

- *The Tragedy of Illegitimacy*, Washington Post, 10/31/93
- *Underwriting Family Breakdown*, Washington Post, 11/18/93

WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM, FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE

MEMORANDUM

**To: Mary Jo Bane, Assistant Secretary for Children and Families
David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Planning and
Evaluation
Bruce Reed, Special Assistant to the President, Domestic
Policy Council**

**From: Patricia Sosa, Director, Public Outreach, Welfare Reform
Working Group**

RE: Conferences

Date: February 1, 1994

Your participation in conferences and annual meetings are an important aspect of the Working Group outreach efforts. Toby Graff has put together a list of conferences for this year. Some organizations have already requested your participation. For those who have not, we are approaching them to determine their interest. If your office is aware of meetings not included in this list, please notify Toby at 401-9258. We encourage you to find time in your busy schedules to talk to these groups.

To maximize the opportunities these conferences present, we are also suggesting that you participate in other regional or local events when in meetings outside the Washington area. For example, the United Way will be holding its National meeting in Dallas, Texas on March 19th. For this visit we could arrange meetings with editorial boards, visits to welfare offices with media appeal and any other event with local elected officials and groups that are supportive of our efforts. We would be arranging these events with Melissa Skolfield's office.

If you have any comments on conferences or special events, let me know.

cc:

**Wendell Primus
Jeremy Ben-Ami
Ann Rosewater
Toby Graff**

No ACTION NECESSARY

Organization List for Conference Information

ABA/Commission on Homelessness and Poverty
 ACES - N
 AFL-CIO
 AFSCME
 Alan Guttmacher Institute - TBD
 American Academy of Pediatrics
 American Bar Association
 American Bar Association - Center for Children and
 the Law
 American Bar Association Section of Family Law
 American Enterprise Institute - N
 American Jewish Congress
 ASPIRA - N
 Association of Maternal and Child Health Programs
 Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America
 Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America
 Black Administrators in Child Welfare
 Bread for the World - TBD
 California Department of Education
 Center for Budget and Policy Priorities - N
 Center for Women's Policy Studies - N
 Child Welfare League of America
 Children Action Network - TBD
 Children's Defense Fund - TBD
 Church Women United/Interfaith Impact
 CLASP - N
 Coalition on Human Needs - N
 COSSMHO
 Empowerment Network
 Food Research and Action Center
 Institute for Women's Policy Research
 Joint Center for Economic and Political Studies
 League of Women Voters
 Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund - UD
 NAACP
 National Alliance of Business
 National Association of Black Social Workers
 National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies
 National Association of Social Work
 National Black Child Development Institute
 National Child Support Enforcement Association
 National Coalition for the Homeless
 National Congress of American Indians
 National Council for Children's Rights
 National Council of Churches
 National Council of La Raza

KEY

N - Organization has no conference scheduled at
 this time

TBD - To Be Determined

UD - Unspecified date for conference

Note: All other organizations have scheduled
 conferences in 1994. See attached for
 chronological order.

National Council of Negro Women
National Displaced Homemakers Network - N
National Head Start Association
National Organization for Women (NOW)
National Puerto Rican Coalition - UD
National Rainbow Coalition
National Urban Coalition
National Urban League
National Women's Law Center - N
Nine to Five
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund - UD
NOW Legal Defense Fund - N
Partnership for Training and Employment Careers
SEIU
Southern Christian Leadership Council
The Urban Institute
U.S. Catholic Conference/Catholic Charities USA
U.S. Conference of Mayors
United Way of America
Wider Opportunities for Women - N
Women and Poverty Project - N
Women's Legal Defense Fund - N

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE as of 1/13/94**JANUARY**

**Empowerment Network
Welfare Reform Task Force Meeting
January 14
Washington, D.C.**

**American Bar Association Section of Family Law
Section Leaders Meeting
January 24
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Paul Legler**

**U.S. Conference of Mayors
Winter Meeting
January 26-28
Washington, D.C.**

**Black Administrators in Child Welfare
Annual Conference
January 28
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Patricia Sosa**

FEBRUARY

When?
**Empowerment Network
Annual Legislative Meeting
Washington, D.C.
Invited: Bruce Reed**

**American Bar Association
Making Voices Heard
February 2-9
Washington, D.C.**

**COSSMHO
Annual Meeting
February 2-6
Washington, D.C.
Attending: David Ellwood**

ABA/Commission on Homelessness and Poverty
Mid-Year Meeting
February 5, 1994
Kansas City, MO

National Congress of American Indians
Executive Council
February 15-17
Virginia

AFL-CIO
Executive Meeting
February 21-24
Florida

National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies
6th Annual Policy Symposium
February 24-26
Washington, D.C.
Attending: Mary Jo Banc

U.S. Catholic Conference/Catholic Charities USA
Annual Meeting
February 27-March 2
Washington, D.C.

MARCH

California Department of Education
12th Annual Equity Institute
March 4
San Diego, CA

National Association of Social Work
Council on Social Work Educator's Annual Programmatic Meeting,
with a special focus on welfare.
March 5-8
Atlanta, GA

American Academy of Pediatrics
Legislative Conference
March 6-8
Washington, D.C.

Association of Maternal and Child Health Programs
Annual Conference
March 6-9
Washington, D.C.

Church Women United/Interfaith Impact
Interfaith Impact Briefing (dealing specifically on welfare reform)
March 13-16
Washington, D.C.
Invited: Mary Jo Bane

United Way of America
National Conference
March 19
Dallas, TX

Joint Center for Economic and Political Studies
Annual Dinner
March 24
Washington, D.C.

APRIL

Food Research and Action Center
Policy Meeting (200 people)
April 6-8
Washington, D.C.

National Association of Social Work
Annual Leadership Conference
April 6-8
Washington, D.C.

National Association of Black Social Workers
Annual Conference
April 6-10
Philadelphia, PA

American Jewish Congress
April 8-11
Washington, D.C.

Partnership for Training and Employment Careers
Annual Conference
April 11-12
San Francisco, CA

Child Welfare League of America
National Conference
April 12-14
Washington, D.C.

The Urban Institute
Conference on Welfare Reform
April 12-14
Crystal City, VA
Attending: Mary Jo Banc, David Ellwood, Bruce Reed

National Head Start Association
Annual Conference
April 13-17
Louisville, KY

National Council for Children's Rights
April 13-17
Bethesda, MD

American Bar Association - Center for Children and the Law
National Conference
April 21-23

National Coalition for the Homeless
National Conference, Follow-up Workshop on Welfare Reform
April 21-22, April 23
Minneapolis, MN

National Alliance of Business
Annual Business Education Forum
April 27-29
Washington, D.C.

MAY

SEIU
Legislative Board Meeting
Spring, 1994
Washington, D.C.

National Urban Coalition
Annual Convocation
May 4-7
Los Angeles, CA

National Rainbow Coalition
Annual Conference
May 12-15
Washington, D.C.

JUNE

Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America
Annual Conference
June
Philadelphia, PA

Institute for Women's Policy Research
Innovations in State and Local Government: New Directions for Women
June 3-4
Washington, D.C. (American University)

Food Research and Action Center
Annual Dinner
June 7
Washington, D.C.

League of Women Voters
Convention
June 10-15
Washington, D.C.

National Congress of American Indians
Annual Conference
June 14-16
Buffalo, NY

Nine to Five
"Summer School for Working Women" Conference
June 17-20
Washington, D.C.

Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America
Annual Conference
June 19-23
New Orleans, LA

AFSCME
Annual Conference
June 27-July 1
San Diego, CA

JULY**National Organization for Women (NOW)****Annual Conference****July 1-3****San Antonio, TX****NAACP****Annual Conference****July 9-14****Chicago, IL****National Council of La Raza****Annual Conference****July 17****Miami Beach, FL****National Urban League****Annual Conference****July 24****Indianapolis, IN****AUGUST****National Congress of American Indians****Annual Conference****August 4-11****New Orleans, LA****Southern Christian Leadership Council****Annual Conference****Second Week in August****Dallas, TX****National Child Support Enforcement Association****National Conference****August 21-25****Boston, MA****SEPTEMBER****National Alliance of Business****Annual Conference****September 25-28****Dallas, TX**

OCTOBER

**National Black Child Development Institute
Annual Conference
October 6-8
Seattle, WA**

**Food Research and Action Center
Hunger Meeting
Fall, 1994 (no set date yet)
Washington, D.C.**

**National Association of Social Workers
Annual Conference
October 19-22
Nashville, TN**

**National Council of Churches
General Board Meeting
November 9-12
New Orleans, LA**

Handwritten notes:
[scribble]
[scribble]
TENTATIVE
YES

UNSPECIFIED DATE

**NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
Board Meeting**

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund

National Puerto Rican Coalition

1995

**National Council of Negro Women
Biennial Conference
October or November 1995**

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mary Jo Bane, Assistant Secretary for Families and Children
David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Planning and
Evaluation (ASPE)
Bruce Reed, Deputy Assistant to the President, Domestic
Policy

FROM: Patricia Sosa, Director, Public Outreach, Welfare Reform
Working Group

RE: Meeting with AFL-CIO

Date: December 17, 1993

1. Time and Location:

The meeting with representatives of the Public Employment Division (PED) of the AFL-CIO has been scheduled for Tuesday, December 21, 1993 at 10:30 a.m. in room 415F at the Humphrey Building. See attached the list of participants.

2. History of involvement with the Working Group:

The AFL-CIO submitted written testimony for the record at the Washington forum in August. They did not testify publicly and, although invited, were not part of the agenda. The AFL-CIO coordinated the meeting with PED membership unions and Carol Rasco on October 15th. According to Joe Velazquez, White House Political Liaison and the person who called the meeting, Carol Rasco made a commitment that the President's welfare initiative will not leave people with nothing after two years and was not going to cause displacement of present jobs.

3. Background:

The AFL-CIO Public Employment Division is the umbrella organization representing public employee unions. The two leading affiliates are American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and Service Employee International Union (SEIU) with a combined membership of over two million employees. The Communication's Workers of America (CWA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) are also members.

Because of AFSCME's size and political influence, it has historically served the leading role in the development of policy for the PED, particularly in displacement issues.

Page 2

4. Goals:

The goal of this meeting is to start a consultation process with the PED. From my conversations with Mary Logan, PED Director, it is not clear how they perceive the role of the PED group versus the Working Group relationship with AFSCME. Patricia Murdoch and I put a request to Assistant Secretary Jerry Klepner to advise us on this matter.

On substantive issues, the AFL-CIO has expressed similar concerns as AFSCME and SEIU. Displacement is obviously their main concern. They are very supportive of child support enforcement and expanding the education and training program. See attached copy of the testimony. I have provided them with a copy of our working document. Mary Logan has already expressed concern with the jobs component of the initiative.

5. Meeting:

I am aware that they held a pre-meeting to outline their agenda for tomorrow's meeting. After introducing everybody, the AFL-CIO representatives will outline the issues for discussion.

cc:

Wendell Primus
Jeremy Ben-Ami

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations



815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 637-6000

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DATE: December 15, 1993
TO: Pat Sosa
Welfare Working Group
FROM: Byron Charlton
Mary Logan

Please include the following people in the discussion on Welfare Reform:

	<u>Phone #:</u>	<u>FAX #:</u>
<u>AFL-CIO:</u>		
Byron Charlton	(202) 637-5091	(202) 637-5058
Mary Logan	(202) 637-5208	(202) 637-5058
Markley Roberts	(202) 637-5171	(202) 508-6967
<u>SEIU:</u>		
Ned McCullough	(202) 898-3366	(202) 898-3304
Peggy Kelly	(202) 898-3418	(202) 898-3304
<u>AFSCME:</u>		
Chuck Lovelace	(202) 429-1194	(202) 429-1102
<u>CWA:</u>		
Hall Sisson	(202) 434-1315	(202) 434-1318
<u>AET:</u>		
Greg Humphrey	(202) 879-4450	(202) 393-7479
Rachelle Horowitz	(202) 879-4436	(202) 393-6375
<u>9 to 5 National Association of Working Women:</u>		
Ellen Bravo	(414) 272-7795	(414) 272-2870

ML/bph
open #2, afl-cio

**STATEMENT BY THE AFL-CIO FOR THE WORKING GROUP ON
WELFARE, FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE**

Throughout its history, the AFL-CIO has advocated passage of legislation designed to protect the poor and assist them in becoming self-sufficient. We recognize that the well being of our members, and workers in general depends on a society where all Americans share in the dream of being able to find work and to care for their families. We therefore applaud President Clinton's commitment to assist families in becoming self-sufficient and free of welfare.

At the same time, we believe that the Administration's welfare reform initiative must be undertaken in conjunction with aggressive job development and worker training programs to avoid large scale placement in dead-end work assignments which will continue to leave families dependent on public programs.

The laudable goal of redirecting the welfare system so that it assists people in becoming self-sufficient will be a difficult task following a decade when the majority of Americans have been faced with smaller pay checks, reduced educational opportunities for their children, poorer health care, less adequate housing and fewer opportunities for career advancement. Many workers have been forced from good paying jobs to minimum wage employment with no benefits. Too many others have ended up in unemployment lines.

The effect of this downgrading of both the supply and quality of jobs has halted the traditional progression of a portion of welfare recipients into entry level jobs, as many of those jobs are now held by victims of the nation's eroding industrial base. This will make the goal of expanding the job market sufficiently to accommodate all welfare recipients within a two year period, a worthy but difficult challenge.

As your efforts to create programs which will move people off public assistance and into jobs moves forward, many American workers are becoming increasingly fearful that they will lose their jobs to those moving from welfare to work. We urge you to dispel these fears (and potential opposition to your efforts) by stating your assurance that the jobs of current workers will not be jeopardized as we work together to bring new and displaced workers into the workforce.

In regard to the four core principles guiding the Working Group development of Welfare Reform, we have the following comments:

1. We applaud your leadership and recent success in expanding the earned income tax credit to ensure that no full-time worker be forced to live in poverty. Enactment of the expanded credit must now be accompanied by expansive efforts to ensure that it is received by those who are eligible.
2. We strongly support your efforts to improve Child Support Enforcement. We favor initiatives which enlist law enforcement agencies and the Internal Revenue Service in the collection of child support payments and take appropriate steps against those parents who refuse to pay. For those parents who are not paying child support because they are unemployed, every effort should be made to give them access to employment and training programs and to suspend any sanctions that otherwise would be imposed on them.
3. Education Training and Service Programs to help people get off and stay off welfare should have the necessary personnel to provide or locate child care services, legal services, job training and education. They should place people in jobs that provide health care, whenever possible, and be available to provide on-going support after a person is placed to ensure job retention. All training programs should employ job developers to work with the local business and labor communities to identify employment opportunities for participants.

We recommend revising current policies which require people who are out of work and unable to feed their families to remain that way for years before they fit the narrow definition of being "truly needy" and only then qualify for help from JTPA or the JOBS program. Common sense tells us the longer people suffer the more difficult their problems become and more complicated and expensive they are to solve.

We caution against setting up job and service programs based on the arbitrary categorization of people and recognize that in this economy the newly unemployed, the long term unemployed and the never employed all need help to become self sufficient. We should identify successful programs such as 'Cleveland Works' in Cleveland, Ohio which serves welfare mothers, unemployed men and high school dropouts and has an 85% to 90% job retention rate. Successful programs like this should be given political support, media attention, uncomplicated access to federal and state funding and be duplicated around this country.

4. The fourth principle of "Creating a Time Limited Transitional Support System followed by work" says that "those who cannot find jobs should be provided with work and expected to support their families." Work that pays enough so someone can support their families is by most definitions a "job," so we question what activity is intended here.

And although we applaud the goal of enabling welfare recipients to become self sufficient within a two-year period, we question the ability to both develop enough new jobs and train workers sufficiently in this time span to warrant the imposition of such an arbitrary schedule and urge therefore that more flexibility be applied with respect to this objective.

**Adopted by the AFL-CIO
Twentieth Constitutional Convention
October 1993, San Francisco, CA**

Welfare Reform

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO applauds the Clinton administration's desire to reform the welfare system. The AFL-CIO shares the goal to assist families in getting off welfare and becoming self-sufficient; and

WHEREAS, A full-employment economy with opportunity and good paying jobs for all men and women is one of the major goals of the labor movement. Work is important not only because it provides the means to earn a living, but also because it confers dignity on the individual human being; and

WHEREAS, The last recession has had a particularly devastating effect on our economy, throwing millions of workers out of their jobs. Based on current economic forecasts, job growth will be extremely slow over the next years and will not be strong enough to create jobs with livable wages for everyone who needs one; and

WHEREAS, The goal of redirecting the welfare system so that it assists people in becoming self-sufficient will be a difficult task given the current economy which is characterized predominantly by jobs with low wages and no benefits, less adequate housing, and few opportunities for career advancement; and

WHEREAS, This effect of downgrading the supply and quality of jobs has halted the traditional progression of a portion of welfare recipients into entry level jobs, as many of those jobs are now held by victims of the nation's eroding industrial base. This will make the goal of expanding the job market sufficiently to accommodate all welfare recipients within a two-year period, particularly difficult; and

WHEREAS, The federal welfare policy during most of the 1980s turned welfare office employees into police officers searching for cheaters, while funding cutbacks and recession-induced caseload growth created impossible workloads for personnel. It has become a system which treats neither employees nor recipients with respect; and

WHEREAS, The negative politics of welfare and a lack of resources will lead to a rigid two-year time limit on collection of benefits and welfare formulation which, will not help the poor, and will have an adverse impact on them and workers; and

WHEREAS, Requiring AFDC recipients to work at low pay is a dangerous economic experiment. More than one million AFDC recipients working at undercutting wage rates are

likely to be dumped into the job market if a two-year restriction on eligibility is enacted. This disappearance of the wage floor will convert lower skilled public and private sector jobs to lower-paid work, undermine collective bargaining and exert a downward pull on the entire low-wage market. This is the opposite direction of the high-wage, high-skills workforce that the Clinton administration advocates; and

WHEREAS, Public sector jobs most likely to be converted into unpaid workfare positions are day care aides, school crossing guards, cafeteria workers, hospital orderlies, bus drivers, clerks and janitors. These jobs are currently held by low-wage workers with high concentrations of minorities and women; and

WHEREAS, Welfare casework should be performed by public employees. Contracting out casework to private companies is a delegation of sensitive functions that endangers the individual rights of AFDC recipients. The sensitive duties conducted by case workers include determination of eligibility, assessment of clients, referral to various human service programs and coordination of the client's participation in the program. We have great concern if the public interest were administered by a private company with a profit motive; and

WHEREAS, the politics and policies of national administrations during the 1980s dealt with welfare as a political football and a vehicle for partisan gain rather than as a serious structural issue with social and personal dimensions; and

WHEREAS, the American people in 1992 elected an administration committed to rewarding work and individual effort while undertaking to transform the structural causes of dependency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly urges the administration to focus as a top priority on job creation and expanding the economy as part of any reform effort; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will work with the Clinton administration to assure that any proposed workfare options be carefully designed through consultation with public sector unions to prevent displacement of current workers; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO supports the Clinton administration's initiatives for universal health care, an increased minimum wage, adequate child care provisions, and a strengthened unemployment system (instead of welfare) for unemployed, low-wage workers as part of any proposal to make changes to the current system; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly supports the administration's efforts to improve Child Support Enforcement; and, be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges the administration to use the National and Community Service Trust Act as a model for structuring community service work in a way that can empower participants and create useful community service without displacing paid work or duplicating regular public service; and, be it further

MEMORANDUM

TO: David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, DHHS
Bruce Reed, Special Assistant to the President, Domestic Policy Council

FROM: Patricia Sosa, Public Outreach, Welfare Reform Working Group

Date: December 8, 1993

1. Additional background materials

See attached additional background information on H.R. 11 and displacement language in current law.

2. Agenda:

I am recommending the following agenda for tomorrow's meeting. I had a general discussion about this agenda with Nanine Micklejohn. However, I do not think we should put the agenda in writing.

I. Introduction:**II. AFSCME presentation on the political and historical context of the issues**

- a. Historical experience of locals and councils
- b. Outline of the concerns AFSCME has with various approaches
- c. Information about AFSCME conversation with frontline workers

III. Policy Discussion -

- a. AFSCME will raise questions on issues that would frame their position on public jobs and displacement.

IV. Process for next steps

ANTI-DISPLACEMENT LANGUAGE IN CURRENT LAW AND H.R.11

Under section 484(c) of the Social Security Act, no Work Supplementation or CWEP participants can be assigned to already established, unfilled jobs.

Section 1353 of H.R. 11 would have narrowed the application of this to only CWEP participants. Work Supp. Participants would have been assignable to established, unfilled jobs.

There are other current law anti-displacement provisions not addressed by H.R. 11. These are:

AFDC work programs are prohibited from:

- o Displacing any currently employed worker or position
- o Filling positions made vacant by laying off or firing other individuals
- o Infringing on promotions for current employees

Funds cannot be used to assist, promote or deter union organizing.

WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM, FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE

MEMORANDUM

TO: David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation
Bruce Reed, Special Assistant to the President, Domestic Policy
Council
Wendell Primus, Deputy Assistant Secretary, ASPE

FROM: Patricia Sosa, Director, Public Outreach, Welfare Reform Working
Group
Helene Grady, Public Outreach, Welfare Reform Working Group

RE: Meeting with AFSCME

DATE: December 5, 1993

1. Time and Location:

The meeting with representatives from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is scheduled for Thursday, December 9 from 11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. at David Ellwood's conference room, 415F at the Humphrey Building. See attached list of participants.

2. History of involvement with the Working Group:

The Working Group has had on going contacts with AFSCME officials. Bruce Reed met with Gerald McEntee, President, before the Working Group was established. Lee Saunders, Assistant to the President, testified on behalf of AFSCME at the Washington hearing on August 19 (a summary of Mr. Saunder's testimony will be in the attachment). David Ellwood met with Mr. McEntee on October 4th. Present at the meeting were most of the people who will be participating in Thursday's meeting including Chuck Loveless, Director of Policy and Legislation, Robert McGrawth, Marie Monrad and Nanine Micklejohn. At this meeting, Mr. McEntee expressed a strong commitment to engage with us in a consultation process laying the ground for the December meeting. Mr. McEntee and his staff also talked in general about the issues that concern them the most including: the magnitude of the jobs program, the displacement of government employees, the capacity to find resources to provide adequate services and jobs after the time limit and the overall tone of the debate. On October 15, Chuck Loveless and Nanine Micklejohn met, as part of a group of union representatives, with Carol Rasco where they had a general discussion on welfare reform. According to Joe Velazquez, White House Political Liaison and the person who called the meeting, Carol Rasco made a commitment that the President's welfare initiative will not leave people with nothing

after two years and was not going to cause displacement of present jobs.

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3. Goals:

The goals of Thursday's meeting are mainly two. The first is a political goal. You need to reinforce the Working Group commitment to working with AFSCME. Although this has been the goal of all our previous meetings, the media leaks in the past week have created a perception that we have moved farther along in the process, without consulting them. According to Nanine Micklejohn at this point we are not following the National Service model, an effort they felt very comfortable with throughout the entire process. She is also concerned that the leaks came from individuals in the White House who may want to move this process along in a direction that may not be sympathetic to AFSCME's interest. I did assure her that we are serious about working with them, that many decisions have not been made particularly on the issues that matter the most to them including public employment and displacement and that the Working Group is very much in control of the process. Although these are mostly perceptions you both need to restate the Working Group commitment to seriously working with AFSCME and make sure that at the end of the meeting we have agreed to a specific consultation process (1).

Second is a policy goal, which is to begin an indepth discussion with the policy staff at AFSCME about the public jobs component of the welfare reform initiative. I do not envision that any players at this meeting will be ready to negotiate on any issues. I am aware that AFSCME staff will not feel ready to negotiate until they see a more detail proposal in writing. AFSCME has requested written documents before the meeting. I shared with both of you this request but have not heard any reply. AFSCME staff should come prepared to share with us some specific thoughts on policy. As you know, representatives from AFSCME Legislative and Public Policy Department with the top national leadership of AFSCME in early fall to start outlining their position on the public jobs initiative and displacement issues. According to Nanine, they are expecting that you will provide a more indepth presentation on where the entire welfare initiative is, not only the public jobs component. In addition, AFSCME officials have talked to members who are frontline providers, including a meeting with welfare workers in New York City last Monday. They will also share these findings with us. I told her that we have also conducted focus meetings with recipients and frontline providers, so we may want to share some of our preliminary observations also. You need to make sure that at the end of the discussions you get their suggestions on the magnitude of the jobs program as well as suggestions on displacement language.

(1) I had a chance to talk to Mike Lux, White House Public Liaison, who got a call from the AFSCME and SEIU representatives after the media leaks complaining about the process for welfare reform. He suggested that we keep in mind the big picture and the fact that unions are still very sensitive about NAFTA. He thinks we should not worry about the perception that our process is not perceived as engaging as National Service or health care. For example, reinventing government met with groups when they were further along. The key is that when we meet with the unions we are serious about

addressing some of their concerns and eventually document what sections of the initiatives came about as a result of our dialogue with them.

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To make sure you fulfill these two goals I will be preparing an agenda that you see attached.

4. Background information on AFSCME's position on welfare reform and displacement issues:

Since 1986, AFSCME has repeatedly expressed certain concerns with welfare reform and has offered specific recommendations that they support. These include:

Concerns:

- a workfare program: would lead to the possible displacement of public sector employees and to the erosion of local collective bargaining agreements and wage and benefit standards;
- a rigid two-year time limit;

Recommendations:

- increased supports for low-wage workers: an increased minimum wage, health care, and a strengthened unemployment insurance system;
- a stronger child support enforcement system;
- increased JOBS activities for high-risk participants; and
- a work proposal modeled after the National and Community Service Trust Act.

AFSCME's specific recommendations with regard to the National and Community Service Trust Act included:

- and -- Provisions to ensure full labor union participation from the start in the design and implementation of the program;
- An administrative structure which would balance a strong federal role in administration, enforcement and program evaluation with local flexibility to develop and implement programs;
- and -- Federally established criteria for program activities and placements which would ensure that the program truly addressed unmet needs as determined locally and verified at the federal level;
- Strong nondisplacement provisions; and
- Expeditious and objective grievance procedures to resolve disputes.

The specific documents included in the attachment to this memo are:

- A summary of the testimony by Lee Saunders before the WRWG in DC in August 1993;

- The National and Community Service Trust Act:
 - Summary outline
 - Copy of the legislation;

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- A summary of testimony by McEntee from March, 1987; and
- A summary of AFSCME's October 1986 report on Work and Training Opportunities for Welfare Recipients.

cc:

Mary Jo Bane, Assistant Secretary, Administration for Children and Families
Jeremy Ben-Ami, Welfare Reform Working Group
Canta Pian, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation

List of Participants
Meeting
Working Group on Welfare Reform and AFSCME
December 9th, 1993

Working Group representatives

David Ellwood, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, DHHS
Bruce Reed, Special Assistant to the President, Domestic Policy Council
Wendell Primus, Deputy Assistant Secretary, ASPE, DHHS
Canta Pian, ASPE
Jeremy Ben-Ami, Welfare Reform Working Group
Patricia Sosa, Welfare Reform Working Group

AFSCME

Chuck Loveless, Director, Legislation and Public Policy Department
Robert McGrawth, Director, Public Policy
Marie Monrad, Assistant Director, Public Policy
Bill Welch, Advisor to Legislative Division, AFSCME, (Former Assistant Secretary for
Governmental Affairs under the Carter Administration)
Nanine Micklejohn, Legislation and Public Policy Department

WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM, FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE

November 17, 1993

Memorandum for Distribution

From: Toby Graff, Office of Public Outreach, Working Group on Welfare Reform Family Support and Independence

Subject: Surrogate Speakers

The Office of Public Outreach is seeking to expand our Speaker's Bureau in order to increase our proactive effort to educate the public about the welfare reform initiative, as well as to respond to several speaker requests and invitations. It is especially important that we have surrogate speakers regionally based so we can easily reach out to organizations "outside of the Beltway". We are looking for academics, service providers, advocates of reform, etc., around the country who would be good candidates to make presentations, attend conferences. They should understand our vision and principles, be fairly fluent in the issues, and willing to speak on behalf of the Administration. This will be particularly important when we come forward with a plan. We are modelling this on the regional surrogate Speaker's Bureau that was used so effectively by the Health Care Task Force during the development and introduction of the health reform plan.

There have already had several occasions when a regional Speaker's Bureau would have been a very valuable resource. For example, the North Carolina Human Service Association had a small meeting of 100 service providers in a rural North Carolina. The National Association of Social Workers requested a Working Group representative to serve on a panel as part of a fifty person workshop in Orlando, Florida. Working Group staff did attend both of these events, but they are good examples of smaller conferences that a regional representative could have attended and saved the time and cost of travel to and from Washington, D.C. This would also allow us to accept invitations from organizations that presently we are forced to decline.

You all have diverse backgrounds, varied areas of expertise, hail from many different areas of the country, and have worked with the professional communities that we are trying to reach out to. Therefore you are our most important resource in developing a list of surrogates. I would greatly appreciate it if you would compile a list of people who you believe would support the efforts of the Working Group and who would be available to represent the Working Group in some capacity. Please include the person's name, address and telephone number, a brief description of their background or organization with which they are affiliated, and any additional comments you may have.

I would appreciate it if you would fax this information to me by Monday, November 29. My fax number is 205-9688. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to call me at 401-9258. Thank you very much for your assistance.

DISTRIBUTION:

Working Group members

Working Group member staff contacts

Jeremy Ben-Ami

Emily Bromberg

Tom Corbett

Diann Dawson

Olivia Golden

Naomi Goldstein

Paul Legler

Joan Lombardi

Ann McCormick

Ron Mincy

John Monahan

Margaret Pugh

Isaac Shapiro

Melissa Skolfield

Patricia Sosa

**WELFARE REFORM WORKING GROUP
OUTREACH EFFORTS (10/15/93)**

Target List

Category	Number
African Americans	28
Asian/Pacific Islanders	7
Business (Associations)	8
Think Tanks	20
Children Advocacy Organizations	25
Disability	5
Education	15
Adolescents	5
Family	4
Hispanics/Latinos	23
Housing	25
Hunger	10
Legal	12
Native Americans	6
Religious	40
Rural	5
Service Providers	10
Unions	7
Welfare Advocates	27
Women's Organizations	21
Total Number of Targeted Organizations	283

Meetings

Meetings/ conferences	91
Meetings/conferences with Working Group Members	38
Meetings/conferences with Issue Groups and Working Group staff	53
Total Number of organizations outreached	200

October 1993

Welfare Reform Schedule

SUNDAY MONDAY TUESDAY WEDNESDAY THURSDAY FRIDAY SATURDAY

					1 Hispanic Organizations-D. Ellwood	2
3	4 Progressive Policy Inst., Dem. Lead. Council Meeting - B. Reed Nat'l Welfare Rights Union Mtg.-M.J.Bane, D.Ellwood	5 Amer.Assoc. of Public Welfare Attorneys-T. Corbett	6 Native American mtg.-A.Burek, M. Higgins, C.Pian	7 Site Visits-GAIN programs	8 Public Forum-Sacramento, CA Native Americans Conference-P. Sosa United Methodist Church Conf.-C. Pian	9
Working Group in California						
10 National Social Work Manag. Inst.-P. Sosa	11	12	13 National Alliance to End Homelessness-T. Corbett	14 Hunger Groups-E. Haas, USDA, D. Ellwood Mtg. with African American orgs.	15 Legal Aspects of Child Support-P. Legler	16
17	18	19 United Way meeting - J. Ben-Ami, P. Sosa	20 Non-Custodial Parents mtg.-R. Mincy West. Reg. Child Support Enforcement Conf.-P. Legler Rural Meeting-B. Reed	21 Nat'l Black Children Devel. Institute-D. Dawson	22 North Carolina Social Services Assoc.-M.A. Higgins	23 Congress. Women's Caucus Conf. on Welfare Reform -- M.J. Bane, D. Ellwood Episcopal Migration Ministry-J. Ben-Ami
24	25 National Alliance of Business-W. Primus, K. Way	26 National Council of Negro Women-TBD Corp. for Enterprise Devel.-Reed, Pian, Deane	27 Mtg. with Suzanne Strickland - B. Deane Nat'l Private Industry Council-Reed, Deane, Pian	28	29 Progressive Policy Institute Meeting -- Bane, Ellwood, Primus, Bourdette, Murdock	30 Family Service America Conf.
31	** October 1993 20 Hispanic Org. mtg.-issue groups 27 Nat'l Assoc. of Manufacturers-Reed, Deane, Pian					

October 1993

Welfare Reform Schedule

October 10 National Social Work Manag. Inst.-P. Soza	SUNDAY	October 17
October 11	MONDAY	October 18
October 12	TUESDAY	October 19
United Way meeting - J. Ben-Ami, P. Soza		
October 13 National Alliance to End Homelessness-T. Corbett	WEDNESDAY	October 20
Non-Custodial Parents mtg.-R. Mincy West. Reg. Child Support Enforcement Conf.-P. Legler Rural Meeting-B. Reed Hispanic Org. mtg.-issue groups		
October 14 Hunger Groups-E. Haas, USDA, D. Ellwood Mtg. with African American orgs.	THURSDAY	October 21
Nat'l Black Children Devel. Institute-D. Dawson		
October 15 Legal Aspects of Child Support-P. Legler	FRIDAY	October 22
North Carolina Social Services Assoc.-M.A. Higgins		
October 16	SATURDAY	October 23
Congress. Women's Caucus Conf. on Welfare Reform -- M.J. Banc, D. Ellwood Episcopal Migration Ministry-J. Ben-Ami		

October						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

November						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

Welfare Reform Schedule

July 1993

19 Nat'l Assoc. for State Comm. Serv.
Prog.-MJ Bane

August 1993

18 Nat'l Eligibility Worker's Confer-
ence-MJ Bane

October 1993

8 United Methodist Church Conf.-C.
Plan

September, 1993

Welfare Reform Schedule

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1	2	3	4
5	6 LABOR DAY!	7	8 Mtg. with Religious Community- MJB, DE, BR	9 New Jersey Public Forum Nat'l Planning & Reproductive Health Assoc. Conf.	10 Site Visits - New Jersey PHADA-P. Sosa	11
				Working Group in New Jersey		
12	13	14	15	16 CBC Legislative Conf. - W. Broadnax Nat'l Alliance of Business - P. Dimond Cent. for Soc. Welfare Pol. & Law - D. Dawson AFSME (Chuck Loveless) - D. Ellwood	17 Nat'l Assoc. of Training & Employ. (NACCO affil) -- A. Burek, M.A. Higgins	18
19	20	21	22 N.C. State JOBS Coord. Conf. - T. Corbett Refugee State Coordinators - P. Sosa	23 Father's Rights Groups - P. Lester, R. Mincy Southport Instit. on Policy Analysis - Burek, Higgins	24 Women's Advocacy Groups - M.J. Bane Coalition on Human Needs - T. Corbett APWA - C. Piana/Post Transitional Work Head Start Collaborators - P. Sosa	25
26	27 Empowerment Net. and Corp. for Enterprise Devel. -- T. Corbett, G. Ashcraft, C. Piana United Council of Welfare Fraud - M. Storr	28	29 CDF/CPO and Planned Parenthood - R. Bavert/ Prevention Council to End Homelessness - B. Reed	30 NASW Reception for Social Worker Secretaries - FTG NASW meeting - D. Ellwood		

August 1993

Welfare Reform Schedule

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1	<p>2</p> <p>Briefing for D-Senate Press Secretaries - W. Primus, M. Skofield CLASP - A. Burek, M. Higgins & Transitional Support First in a series of Welfare Issue Forums</p>	<p>3</p> <p>Ways and Means, Human Resources Subcomm. Breakfast</p>	4	<p>5</p> <p>National Business Alliance - D. Ellwood</p>	<p>6</p> <p>Sen. Bob Kerrey-D. Ellwood (tent.)</p>	7
8	<p>9</p> <p>Head Start Nat'l Parent Involvement Speech - Sec. Shalala American Bar Association Annual Meeting - J. Elders Teen Parent Demo Report Results - Sec. Shalala</p>	<p>10</p> <p>"Project Match" Review, Chicago-D. Ellwood, B. Reed</p>	<p>11</p> <p>Welfare Reform Public Forum - Working Grp., Chicago</p>	<p>12</p> <p>CLASP-P. Legler, R. Mincy, W. Primus</p>	<p>13</p> <p>Coalition on Human Needs - Post-Transition Support</p>	14
15	<p>16</p> <p>Nat'l Governor's Association - D. Ellwood - Monthly Meeting</p>	17	<p>18</p> <p>Disabled Amer. Veterans Nat'l Conf. - F. Torres-Gil Focus Grp. w/Chptr. reps. of NEW-Simplification WG Larry King Radio Show - Bruce Reed</p>	<p>19</p> <p>Nat'l Eligibility Workers Conf. - D. Dawson, M. Higgins</p>	<p>20</p> <p>Annual MD Assoc. of Counties Mtg. - F. Torres-Gil Nat'l Eligibility Workers Conference Welfare Reform Issue Forum-WA FIP Demo. Project</p>	21
22	<p>23</p> <p>Nat'l Child Support Enforcement Assoc. - P. Legler SEIU Mtg. - T. Corbett, Make Work Pay</p>	24	<p>25</p> <p>Guest of Sen. Wellstone-visit Latino Youth Program -- F. Torres-Gil Meeting at Rosemont Center-Day Care Support Group Mtg. w/APWA Rep. - A. Burek, M.A. Higgins</p>	<p>26</p> <p>Mtg. with African-American Orgs. - DEMJIB, WF</p>	27	28
29	<p>30</p> <p>Welfare Reform Issue Forum-Teen Parent Demo. Mtg. with Hispanic Community-D. Ellwood, M.J. Bane</p>	31	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;"> Welfare Reform Public Forum - Wash.ington, D.C. </div>			

Have A Wonderful Day!

10/7/1993

July 1993

Welfare Reform Schedule

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15 Children's Defense Fund Day Care Mtg. Empowerment Network Foundation-B. Reed, P. Diamond	16	17
18	19 Nat'l Council of LaRaza-D. Ellwood, F. Torres-Gil State JOBS Coordinators Mtg.-Sec. Shalala, D.Ellwood	20 Nat'l Assembly, Task Force on Human Needs- W.Primus AFL-CIO Nat'l Conf. on Comm. Serv.-Sec. Shalala APWA IV-D Dir.- P.Legier APWA Econ. Sec. Cmte.-DE, MS	21	22 Urban Institute - D. Ellwood	23 Comm. Service Soc. & State Comm. Aid Assoc.-M.J. Banc	24
State JOBS Coordinators Meeting						
25	26 Nat'l Conf. of State Legislatures, speech -Sec. Shalala, Fernando Torres- Gil	27	28	29 Coalition on Human Needs A. Burek, M. Higgins, Transitional Support Child Care Action Campaign - M.J. Banc	30 Sen. John Kerry Meeting - M.J. Banc	31
Nat'l Conf. of State Legislators-Paul Legier						

June 1993

Welfare Reform Schedule

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
		1	2 Coalition on Human Needs (on waivers) - MJB, DE	3	4	5
6	7	8 Human Services Forum meeting - Ann McCormick	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16 Meeting with CDF, NASW, Nat'l Council of Churches LaRaza, Urban League, Coalition on Human Needs US Catholic Conf., CLASP, CBPP-MJB, DE, BR	17 USDA Hunger Forum-David Ellwood	18	19
20	21	22 Coalition on Human Needs-75 group presentation	23 Jewish Poverty Conference	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

Have A Wonderful Day!

10/7/1993

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

NR-OUTREACH

Memorandum to Steering Committee of the Working Group on Welfare Reform:

FROM: Patricia Sosa
Toby Graff
Abby Gottesman
Helene Grady

RE: Update on outreach efforts

Date: October 21, 1993

See attached a chart with the information on the groups we have been meeting for the past five months. We are still inputting data so the list does not have every single group we have met with. Some groups have participated in large meetings, so we do not really know where they stand as organizations. Others have been very specific about their positions. For most of the comments, we have tried to include their objections as well as the issues they feel comfortable with.

Themes:

Some themes have emerged very strongly throughout the meetings.

- * Groups are very concerned about time limits. Some groups do not fully understand what we are trying to do. Other groups understand, but seriously question the capacity of the private sector and the federal government to provide jobs to million of welfare recipients.
- * There is a strong consensus around the need to strengthen education and training programs. A welfare proposal with strong provisions on this area can bring a lot of groups to the table.
- * Of all the principles, strengthening child support enforcement has the most credibility and the most support. Even groups that support federalization, recognize that is not a politically feasible alternative.

Next Steps:

We need to know if we are missing any obvious groups or communities. We have assessed that, after meeting with disability groups and organizations serving Asian/Pacific Islanders, we have closed the loop in the first phase of general education outreach to the advocacy community.

page 2 - Outreach

Our next step would be to meet with the groups to discuss specific proposals. I envision the issue papers as important tools for these discussions. The second phase needs to be coordinated more closely with the legislative team. It is certain that our comments to some of these groups will get back to Congress. In addition, we want to be more selective with whom we meet with since we will be gearing towards garnishing support and building a strong coalition behind the President's initiative.

AFRICAN AMERICAN

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Association of Black Psychologist	Dr. Anna Jackson 821 Kennedy St, NW Washington, D.C. 20011 202-722-0808	Sent WG info 8/9	
Black Women's Agenda	Ruth Sykes (202) 837-4166	Recommended by WHPL	
Black Women's Health Project	Julia Scott 1615 M Street, NW Suite 230 Washington, DC 20036 (202) 835-0117	Meeting: DE/MJB/IS/WP and Women's advocacy groups 9/24 Issue Group Meeting: MWP/TS/WS and African Organizations 10/4	Concern: Time limits Supports: Increasing minimum wage as part of making work pay.
Coalition of 100 Women	Jewell Jackson McCabe (212) 397-8890	Recommended by WHPL Invited to meeting in 8/93-declined	
Congress of National Black Churches	Michael Lemons 202-371-1091	Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26 Meeing: DE/MJB and religious communities 9/8 Referred names for the New Jersey hearing.	Concern: Time limits Supports: Overall efforts. Wants to continue working closely with us.

<p>Delta Sigma Theta</p>	<p>Rosilyn McKinney, Exec Director 1707 New Hampshire Av NW Washington, DC 20009 (202) 986-2400</p>		
<p>Joint Center for Economic and Political Studies</p>	<p>Katherine McFate 1090 Vermont Ave NW Suite 1100 4805 Mt. Hope Dr (202) 789-3500</p>	<p>Testified: Washington Forum 8/19 Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26 Issue Group Meeting: MWP/PTS/WS 10/4</p>	<p>Concerns: Racial subtext of our reform efforts. Time limits/ The turbulence of the low wage labor market and the poor coverage of unemployment insurance for service workers. Supports: Public sector jobs for longer term welfare users that cannot be placed in the private sector. Condition for support: Job most support larger social need; child care/elder care; participants most have a choice; community most help identify the needs.</p>

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	Dr. Benjamin Chavis, Jr., Exec Dir Edward H. Hailes Jr. 4805 Mt Hope Dr Baltimore, MD 21215 (410) 358-8900	Meeting: DE/MJB/WB/WP/AL 8/26 Contacted for New Jersey hearing	
National Association of Black Social Workers	Gerald Smith, Exec Dir 8436 West McNichols Detroit, MI 48221 (313) 862-6700	Contacted in 8/93	
National Association of Black Women Attorneys	Mabel D. Haden, President 3711 Macomb St NW Washington, DC 20016 (202) 966-9693	Contacted and sent info 8/9/93 Conference Feb 24-26 1994	She has some strong opinions on welfare reform and will write and explain in greater detail. Agrees with general direction of reform.
National Black Caucus of State Legislators	Chuck Bremer (202) 624-5457	Meeting: DE/MJB/WB/WP/AL 8/26	Concerns: Involvement of black elected officials.
National Black Child Development Institute	Erica E. Tollett 1023 15th Street, NW Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005 (202) 387-1281	Meeting: DE/MJB/WB/WP/AL 8/26 Conference 11/93 Diane Dawson, speaker	Concerns: Time limits. Supports: Expansion of quality child care.
National Caucus and Center on Black Aged	Clarence Murray 1424 K St NW Washington, DC 20005 (202) 637-8400	Contacted 8/93	

<p>National Council of Negro Women</p>	<p>Kayla Jackson, Program Assoc. for Women's Health Eleanor Hinton Hoitt, President 1667 K St NW Suite 700 Washington, DC 20006 (202) 656-0006</p>	<p>SENT WG INFO 8/9 Invited to Wash. Forum/ 8/26 meeting and/ 10/4 Issue group meeting/ not available for any of the events</p>	
<p>National Organization of Black County Officials</p>	<p>Crandall O. Jones 440 First Street, NW Suite 500 Washington, DC 20001 (202) 347-6953</p>	<p>Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26 Invited Issue Group Meeting 10/4 but did not show up</p>	<p>Wants to make sure that we involve black local elected officials.</p>
<p>National Pan- Hellenic Council</p>	<p>William Jefferson Daisy Wood Lexington, Ky (502) 452-7532</p>	<p>Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26 Conference: Kentucky 10/14/93</p>	
<p>National Political Congress of Black Women</p>	<p>C. Delores Tucker 1825 K St NW Suite 722 Washington, DC 20006 (202) 625-3900</p>	<p>Contacted 8/93</p>	

<p>National Urban League, Inc.</p>	<p>Suzanne Bergeron Robert McAlpine, Director 500 East 62nd St New York, NY 10021 (212) 310-9000 1111 14th Street, NW 6th Floor Washington, DC 20005-5603 202-898-1604</p>	<p>Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26 Issue Group Meeting: MWP/PTS/WS 10/4</p>	<p>Concern: Strongly objects to time limits/objects to the Administration's displaced workers legislation exclusion of the never employed and under-employed from the One-Stop Career Center. Supports: Development of a national comprehensive workforce development strategy that includes all individuals.</p>
<p>Washington Urban League</p>	<p>Maudine Cooper Dianne Duffy (202) 265-8200</p>	<p>Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26</p>	
<p>National Urban Coalition</p>	<p>Louise Lindblom 1875 Connecticut Av NW, Suite 400 Washington, DC 20009 (202) 986-1460</p>	<p>Invited to Wash. Forum on 8/19 but did not show up.</p>	
<p>Operation PUSH</p>	<p>Janette Wilson, Exec Dir 930 East 50th St Chicago, IL 60615 (312) 373-3366</p>	<p>Contacted 8/93 Will contact about topical conferences or mtgs.</p>	

<p>National Rainbow Coalition</p>	<p>Mark Banta May J. Louie Executive Director 1700 K St NW Suite 800 Washington, DC 20006 (202) 728-1180</p>	<p>Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26</p>	<p>Frank Watkins, Gov't Relations -Developed an alternative to welfare in conjunction with Operation PUSH in 1971. -Supportive of substantive part of reform but have objections to racial laced language used to appease whites -SENT WG INFO 8/9</p>
<p>Southern Christian Leadership Conference</p>	<p>Dr. Joseph Lowery, President 334 Alburn Ave NE Atlanta, GA 30303 (404) 522-1420</p>	<p>Contacted 8/93 SENT WG INFO 8/11</p>	<p>-Org doesn't work directly with the issue but they support the idea of reform and welfare rights. -Would like to help when possible.</p>

← *

BUSINESS

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Direct Selling Association	Neil Offen 1776 K Street, NW Suite 600 Washington, DC 20006 202-293-5760	Referred by WHOPL Contacted 8/11/93	Mr. Offen is a strong supporter of the President and has served as a liaison with the private sector on other issues.

<p>National Alliance of Business</p>	<p>William Kolberg, President Steven Golightly, Vice President 1201 New York Ave NW Suite 700 Washington, DC 20005 (202) 289-2888</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19/93 Meetings: DE 8/5/93 Issue Group Meeting: PSJD 9/16 Conference Washington Hilton 10/25 WP</p>	<p>Supports: They support a workforce development approach to welfare reform/ guaranteeing work to those unable to find private jobs/ NALB considers a stronger involvement of the private sector as the alternative to avoiding another CETA disaster. Recommends the creation of business-led Workforce Investment Councils. The Councils would be the centerpiece of an integrated workforce investment system where the private sector employers would play the leading role in overseeing development of new jobs.</p>
<p>National Association of Manufacturers</p>	<p>Waiting for information</p>	<p>Recommended by White House Office of Public Liaison as one of the business associations to work with.</p>	

<p>National Private Industry Council</p>	<p>Waiting for information</p>	<p>Meeting: Set up by White House Public Liaison for 10/27 with BR.</p>	
<p>National Restaurant Association</p>	<p>Stephen Elmont President 1200 17th Street, NW Washington, DC 20036 202-351-5900</p>	<p>Sent letter to David Ellwood 9/93 expressing interest in working with us</p> <p>White House Office of Public Liaison hesitant to work with them because their lack of support for the health reform proposal.</p>	
<p>Corporation for Enterprise Development</p>	<p>Joyce A. Klein 777 North Capitol Street, NE Washington, DC 20002 202-408-9875 Robert Friedman, Chair 353 Folsom Street San Francisco, CA 94105 415-495-2333</p>	<p>Testified: Sacramento hearing 10/8/93 Meeting: Scheduled for 10/26 with BR Issue Group Meeting: MWP/WS/PW 9/27/93</p>	<p>Support: Investment in low-income entrepreneurship particularly microenterprises. Joyce Klein was very supportive of the four principles of the Working G.group. (I have not read the California testimony)</p>

<p>Committee for Economic Development</p>	<p>Van Doorn Coms Bill Beeman, VP Dir for Economic Studies 2000 L St NW Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036 (202) 296-5860</p>	<p>Sent WG infor 8/9 Invited/ Wash. Forum/ declined</p>	<p>-Haven't officially addressed welfare but do many related issues (eg disadvantaged children in preschool and education of low income people) -Have 2 projects going now 1. Urban problems 2. trade in wages, specifically distribution of wages (low skilled workers) -Very interested in reform.</p>
<p>U.S. Chamber of Commerce</p>	<p>Lisa Sprague, Domestic Policy 1615 H St NW Washington, DC 20062 (202) 659-6000</p>	<p>Contacted 8/11/93 Recommended by White House Public Liaison for business contacts.</p>	<p>-Haven't been involved with welfare issues up till now but are reevaluating because have connective issues (eg worker training and retraining). Attempting to get up to speed on welfare issue. -Will be attending hearing on Aug. 19th in DC.</p>

THINK TANKS/RESEARCH INST.

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
American Enterprise Institute	Chris Demuth, Pres Douglas Besharov, Dir of Social and Individual Responsibility Issues 1150 17th St NW Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20036 (202) 862-5800	Testified: Wash. forum 8/20 Publication: <u>The end of welfare as we know it?</u> . The Public Interest, Number 111, Spring 1993.	Support: In his article he was extremely supportive of the Working Group principles/ During testimony he emphasized prevention as the only hope of tackling the problem. " To make work pay, we have to adopt a preventive approach that keeps young people in school-and discourages child birth"
Campaign for New Priorities	Robert Borosage, Exec Dir Colleen O'Connor, Media Dir 424 C St NE Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-8222	SENT WG INFO 8/10	
Cato Institute	Gregory Taylor, Dir of Information Services 1000 Massachusetts Av NW Washington, DC 20001 (202) 842-0200	Invited to testify Wash forum/declined	Support: Dismantling the welfare system/ providing school voucher for poor families/ and legalizing drugs

<p>Center for Budget and Policy Priorities</p>	<p>Robert Greenstein Susan Steinmetz 777 North Capitol Street, NE Suite 705 Washington, DC 20002 202-408-1080</p>	<p>Testified: Wash Forum 8/19 Meetings: MJB 7/12 Issue Group Meetings TS 7/29 MWP 9/24 Publication: <u>Making Work Pay: The Unfinished Agenda,</u> Washington DC</p>	<p>Concern: By eliminating basic safety net things can get worse. Supports: Relying on EITC and the minimum wage to "make work pay" as ways to shares the burden between the public and private sectors/ Reform AFDC benefit structures and exempt EITC payments from counting against food stamps and AFDC/ Expand JOBS programs by reducing state matching requirements/ Overhaul the child support system.</p>
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<p>Center for Law and Social Policy</p>	<p>Mark Greenberg Senior Staff Attorney 1616 P Street NW Washington DC 20036 202-328-5140</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting: MJB/WP 7/12 Issue Group Meetings TS/7/29 PTW 8/13 MWP 9/24 Mark has had intensive contacts with the working Group Publication <u>The Devil is in the Details: Key Questions in the Effort to "End Welfare as We Know It</u>, Center for Law and Social Policy, Washington, DC, July 1993</p>	<p>Concern: - A system that treats all families the same and that by mandating work, runs the risk of creating hardships for families and squandering scarce public resources/ Loosing a basic safety net for families and children/ Supports: Expanding JOBS programs by allowing them to develop a public sector employment component with jobs that pay wages at least at the minimum wage level.</p>
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<p>Center for Law and Social Policy</p>	<p>Paula Roberts 1616 P Street NW Washington DC 20036 202-328-5140</p>	<p>Issue Group Meeting; CS 8/23 Publication: <u>A Vision of Child Support Reform.</u> Child Support Task Force, Washington, DC, June 1993.</p>	<p>Support: A complete federalization of the child support system. In the interim they support: -Central federal registry of all child support orders/ Child support assurance/ Assure minimum benefits for children and for families with more than one child</p>
<p>Center for Women Policy Studies</p>	<p>Jennifer Tucker Deputy Director 2000 P Street, NW Suite 508 202-872-1770</p>	<p>Testified: 8/19</p>	<p>Concerns: Time limits. Particularly concern on how this would impact on ability to obtain college degree. Supports: Education and training.</p>
<p>Democratic Leadership Council</p>	<p>Al From, President 316 Pennsylvania Av SE, Suite 500 Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-0007</p>	<p>Meeting: BR 10/4</p>	<p>Support: Strong supporter of the Working Group principles. Believe we need to be firmed on the two years time limit.</p>
<p>Economic Policy Institute</p>	<p>Jared Bernstein (need to update information)</p>	<p>Issue Group Meeting; MWP 9/24</p>	<p>Oppose time limits</p>

<p>Employment Policies Institute</p>	<p>Richard Berman Executive Director 202-347-5250</p>	<p>Testified: Wash Forum 8/20</p>	<p>Supports: Strong supporter of the Working Group principles. Believe we need policies to protect entry level jobs by opposing minimum wage; health care mandates or any tax increases.</p>
<p>Empowerment Network</p>	<p>David Caprara, President Chris Jacobs 1606 King Street Alexandria, VA 22314 703-548-6619</p>	<p>Testified: Wash forum 8/19 Issue Group Meeting: MWP/WS/PTW 9/27</p>	<p>Concern: In forums throughout the country some of the members have expressed concern with time limits. Support: Overall they are very supportive of the WG principles. They believe in the "replacement of welfare "maintenance" strategies with a ladder of opportunity that facilitates ownership of assets and economic independence." (mission statement)</p>

<p>Heritage Foundation</p>	<p>Robert Rector, Senior Policy Analyst 214 Massachusetts Ave NE Washington, DC 20002 (202) 546-4400</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/20</p>	<p>Supports: Requiring all welfare recipients to work/ workfare programs Opposes: two years exemption from work and considers government training programs as totally ineffective.</p>
<p>Joint Center for Economic and Political Studies</p>	<p>1090 Vermont Av NW Suite 1100 Washington, DC 20005 (202) 789-3500</p>	<p>Testified: Washington Forum 8/19 Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26 Issue Group Meeting: MWP/PTS/WS 10/4</p>	<p>Concerns: Racial subtext of our reform efforts. Time limits/ The turbulence of the low wage labor market and the poor coverage of unemployment insurance for service workers. Supports: Public sector jobs for longer term welfare users that cannot be placed in the private sector. Condition for support: Job most support larger social need; child care/elder care; participants most have a choice; community most help identify the needs.</p>

<p>Institute for Women Policy Research</p>	<p>Roberta Spalter-Roth Deputy Director for Research 1400 20th Street, NW Suite 104 Washington DC 20036 202-785-5100</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meetings with Issue Groups: TS/7/29 PTW 8/13 MWP 9/24 Member: Coalition on Human Needs</p>	<p>Concerns: Time limits Supports: In order to make work pay in the absence of AFDC benefits they recommend; -EITC credits to be increased -Unemployment Insurance to be expanded to be sensitive to part time workers -create a program to provide income during periods of illness and family crisis -program of education and training with credits based on short periods of employment.</p>
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<p>Progressive Policy Institute</p>	<p>Will Marchall President Lyn Hogan 316 Penn Ave, S.E. Suite 555 Washington, DC 2003 202-547-0001</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting: BR 10/4 Scheduled with DE/MJB 10/27</p>	<p>Supports: Extremely supportive of the Working Group principles. Very important to be firmed on time limits. Supports child support assurance but recognize it may not be politically feasable.</p>
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CHILDREN/ADOLESCENT ADVOCATES

ORGANISATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
<p>Alan Guttmacher Inst.</p>	<p>Lisa Kaeser 2010 Mass Ave. NW Washington DC 20036 202-296-4012</p>	<p>Invited to meeting with Prevention Issue Group 9/29/ declined. Members, Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Network</p>	<p>Very interested in working with Working Group in the areas of teenage pregnancy prevention.</p>
<p>American Academy of Pediatrics</p>	<p>Damian Thurmond Janice Guerney GOV'T RELATIONS 601 13th St NW Suite 400N Washington, DC 20005 (202) 347-8600</p>	<p>Meeting: MJB 9/93 Conference: 10/16 Washington DC - M. Ragan</p>	<p>Support; They have expressed great interest on day care and prevention issues. They have not taken any position on welfare and still struggling with the idea of whether they should get involve.</p>
<p>American Association of Children's Resident Center</p>	<p>Claudia Waller, Exec Dir. 440 First St NW Suite 310 Washington, DC 20001 (202) 638-1604</p>	<p>Contacted 8/10/93</p>	<p>Very enthusiastic because many of the children they see are covered under Medicaid. Would like a written request for information. SENT WG INFO 8/10.</p>

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
<p>American Bar Association - Center for Children and the Law</p>	<p>Margaret Heinz 1800 M Street NW Suite 2005 Washington, DC 20036-5886</p>	<p>Testified: Wash Forum 8/19 Issue Group Meeting: CS 10/15</p>	<p>ABA Resolutions: Oppose Federalization of child support establishment and enforcement (2/93). -Increase availability of child care resources for all families (8/83) Welfare programs be funded at a level required to meet the need for the basic essentials of life. (8/92)</p>
<p>Association for Children for Enforcement of Support (ACES)</p>	<p>Geraldine Jensen 723 Phillips Ave. Suite J Toledo, OH 43612 800-537-7072 419-476-2511</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Conference Utah 8/22 - P. Legler They suggested names for the panels on Child Support in New Jersey</p>	<p>Support: Strong supporter of federalization of child support system.</p>
<p>Benton Foundation</p>	<p>Larry Kickman, Exec Dir 1634 I St NW 12th Floor Washington, DC 20006 (202) 638-5700</p>	<p>Contacted: 8/93</p>	

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America	Dagmar McGill Eileen Lloyd, Dir of Administrative Services 230 N. 13th St Philadelphia, PA 19107 (215) 567-7000	Contacted; 8/93 Members, Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Network	Annual conference in June every year. Do have some upcoming regional conferences will get back to us on their topics.
Boys and Girls Clubs of America	Jim Caulfield, Asst to the Pres, 771 1st Ave New York, NY 10017 (212) 351-5900	Contacted; 8/93	
Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development	Jane Quinn 202-429-7979 Need to contact for more information	Members; Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Network.	
Center for Population Options	Margaret Pruitt Clark 1025 Vermont Ave. NW Suite 210 Washington, DC 20005 202-347-2263	Issue Group Meeting: PFS 9/29	Support: School-based or school-linked health center as the most promising multi modal teen pregnancy prevention model.
Child Welfare League of America	440 First St NW Suite 310 Washington, DC 20001 (202) 638-2952	Invited to testify in Wash. Forum/declined. Priority for a follow up with new director of policy.	

ORGANISATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Children Action Network	Jennifer Perry, Exec Dir 130 North Bristol Los Angeles, CA 90049 (310) 470-9599 -Suggested we call two founding members Stacy Winkler (Lee asst) (213) 654-3773 and Nancy Daly (310) 476-3259	Contacted; 8/93	As Welfare Reform "heats up" they would like some input in addressing it with the entertainment industry.
Children Now	Amy Abraham, Senior Associate for Policy and Community Affairs 1212 Broadway St Suite 530 Oakland, CA (510) 763-2444	Contacted 8/93	-Hold topical meetings and are willing to distribute information when appropriate.

ORGANISATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Children's Defense Fund	Cliff Johnson, Director, Family Support Division; Nancy Ebb (child support); David Kass (overall contact) 25 E St NW Washington, DC 20001 (202) 628-8787	Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting: MJB 7/12 DE/EH 10/14 Issue Group Meetings CC 7/13 CS 8/23 MWP 9/24 PFS 9/29 David Kass has been in closed contact with the Working Group. Conference: Feb 1994 Cincinnati Members, Coalition on Human Needs Members, Child Support Task Force	Concerns: They have not taken a position on the overall effort. Very concern with eliminating basic safety net. Strongly oppose to time limits as suggested under Wisconsin waiver. Support: Federalization of child support system.
Coalition for America's Children	Susan Bails, Exec Dir 1634 I St, NW 12th Floor Washington, DC 20006 (202) 638-5770	Contacted 8/93	
Foundation for Child Development	Barbara Blum 345 East 46th St Room 700 New York, NY 10017 (212) 697-3150	Accepted invitation for a meeting with DE last August. The meeting was postponed until further notice.	

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Girls, Inc.	Ellen Wahl Acting Director of Programs Services 30 East 33rd Street New York, New York 10016 212-689-3700	Member, Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Network	
March of Dimes	Vivan Gabor, Senior Associate Federal Affairs 1901 L St NW Suite 260 Washington, DC 20036 (202) 659-1800	Contacted 8/93	-Don't believe they will be a major player in welfare reform. -Main focus in on national health care and Medicaid.
National Association of State Brds of Education	Janice Earle 703-684-4000	Member, Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention Network	
National Head Start Association	Linda Likins, Dir of Gov't Affairs 201 N Union St Suite 320 Alexandria, VA 22314 (703) 739-0675	Testified: Wash. Forum 8/20 Conference Oct 2-5th, DC	-Very interested in helping the working group.

ORGANISATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
National Council for Children's Rights	David Levy, Pres 220 I St NE Suite 230 Washington, DC 20002 (202) 547-6227	Testified; Wash Forum 8/19 Issue Group Meeting; CS NCP 9/23	Supports: Strong supporter of connecting child support payments with visitation issues. The main focus of child support policies should be to encourage both parents to have access and care for the child.
National Network of Runaway and Youth Services	Nexus Nickels, Dir of Public Policy 1319 F St NW Suite 401 Washington, DC 20004 (202) 783-7949	Contacted 8/93	Interested in working with us. -Over 900 Community Based Agencies. -Many of the agencies work with pregnant teens (often homeless and/or receiving no prenatal care) who need to hook into good services that will provide training and child care.

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
National Association of Child Care Relief Agency	Yasmina S. Vinci, Pres Patti Segal, Public Policy P O Box 40246 Washington, DC 20016-0246 (202) 393-5501	Contacted 8/93	
National Black Child Development Institute	Erica Tollett, Dir of Public Policy 1023 15th St NW Suite 600 Washington, DC 20005 (202) 387-1281	Meeting: DE/WB/MJB/WP/AL 8/26 Invited to Issue Group Meeting 10/14 but did not show up Conference: Oct 20-22 NYC D. Dawson	
National Association of Child Advocates	Eve Brooks, Pres 1625 K St NW Suite 510 Washington, DC 20006 (202) 828-6350	Conference: Nov 12th New Brunswick, NJ - MJB	-Interested in access to benefits and simplification of process. -Wants to be kept informed of hearings etc. -Will be come more involved as process moves along. SENT WG INFO 8/9

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
National Child Support Advocacy Coalition	Ruth E (Betty) Murphy Director of Government Affairs P.O.Box 4629 Alexandria, VA 22303 703-799-5659	Scheduling meeting with P. Legler for 11/4	Opposition: Strong opponents of federalizing child support enforcement and providing child support assurance.
National Child Support Enforcement Association	444 North Capitol St., NW Room 613 Washington, DC 20001 202/624-5400	Conference; Salt Lake City, Utah 8/23 P. Legler	

DISABILITY GROUPS

ORGANIZATION	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
National Organization on Disability	910 16th St NW Suite 600 Washington, DC 20006 (202) 293-5960		
World Institute on Disabilities	Ms. Llara Thomas 700 Constitution Ave NE Capitol Hill Hospital Room 3-214 Washington, DC 20002 (202) 889-2884	Sent WG info 8/9	

HUNGER GROUPS

ORGANIZATION	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
<p>Food Research and Action Center (FRAC)</p>	<p>Robert Fersh Ellen Vollinger Ann Kettlaws 1875 Connecticut Av NW, Suite 540 Washington, DC 20009 (202) 986-2200 fax: 202/986-2525</p>	<p>Invited to testify 8/19/ declined Meeting: DE/EH 10/14</p>	<p>Concerns: Two years time limit particularly if its not follow by work. Food banks are already seeing demand increasing- Will they be able to handle the demand after time limits? Wisconsin proposal and its effect on national reform/ treatment of immigrants with regards to the Republican plan/They doubt that a plan they would support would not make it through Congress Support: Will like to continue working with us throughout the process.</p>

Bread for the World	Lawrence Moore Barbara Howell Ann Kettlaws 1100 Wayne Ave Suite 1000 Silver Spring, MD 20910 301/608-2400 fax:301/608-2401	Testified: Wash. Forum 8/20 Meeting: DE/MJB 10/4 DE/EH 10/14	The met with DE and HA as part of the hunger coalition. There concerns are very similar to the concerns expressed by FRAC.
RESULTS	Sam Harris	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member Hunger Coalition Time limits.
Second Harvest	Christine Vladimiroff 116 S. Michigan Chicago, IL 60603 312/263-2303 fax: 312/263-5626	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member hunger coalition. Time limits
World Hunger Year	Bill Ayres 508 8th Ave. New York, NY 10018 212/629-8850 fax:212/465-9274	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member hunger coalition. Time limits. Offers assistance in communicating our message through fact sheets, etc.
RESULTS	Sam Harris 236 Massachusetts Ave, NE Suite 300 Washington, DC 20002 202/543-9340	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member hunger coalition.

Maine Coalition for Food Security	Bill Whitaker PO Box 493 Orono, ME 04473 207/581-2384 fax:207/581-2396	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member hunger coalition.
Food Chain	Christine Martin 970 Jefferson NW Atlanta, GA 30318 404/875-4322 fax: 404/875-4323	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member hunger coalition
US Conference of Mayors	Laura Waxman/Mayor Bruce Todd (Austin) 1620 I St, NW Washington DC 20006 293-7330 fax: 293-2352	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member hunger coalition
Catholic Charities USA	Lisa Carr --see also under religious groups 703/549-1390 fax:703/549-1656	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member hunger coalition
Children's Defense Fund	Darold Johnson 628-8787 see also children advocacy groups	Meeting: DE/EH 10/14	Concerns: Member hunger coalition
Public Voice for Food Policy and Health	1001 Connecticut Av NW, Suite 523 Washington, DC 20036 (202) 659-5930		Have never done anything with welfare and did not express an interest in becoming involved in the reform.

HISPANIC/LATINO GROUPS

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WORKING GROUP	COMMENTS
ASPIRA	The Aspira Association, Inc. 1112 16th Street, NW Suite 340 Washington, DC 20036 202-835-3600 205 Lexington Ave 12th Floor New York, NY 10016 (212) 564-6880	Meeting: DE 10/1	They work very closely with at risk youth and would be supportive of an initiative that addresses the concerns of this community.
AYUDA	Catherine Crystal 1738 Columbia Rd Washington, DC 20009 202-387-0434	Testified: Wash. Forum 9/19	Concern: Child support system does not adequately serve immigrant community/ Highlighted language and cultural barriers faced by many of immigrant women in the DC area.
Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund	Mario Moreno 182 2nd St 2nd Floor San Francisco, CA 94105 (415) 543-5599	Invited to testify at the Sacramento forum 10/8/ declined	They work mostly on immigration and education issues/ welfare reform not a priority.

<p>National Coalition of Hispanic Health and Human Services Organizations (COSSMHO)</p>	<p>Adolph Falcon Policy and Research 1501 16th St NW Washington, DC 20026 (202) 387-5000</p>	<p>Testified: Wash Forum 8/19 Meeting: DE 10/1</p>	<p>Supports: A proposal that would allow community based organizations to play an important role in providing services to the poor. In Hispanic communities, CBO are the only culturally sensitive organizations available. Although they have focused on health and jobs in past but will be working on welfare issue.</p>
<p>National Council of La Raza (NCLR)</p>	<p>Raul Yzaguirre, President Sonia Perez, Director, Poverty Project 810 1st St NE Suite 200 Washington, DC 20005-4205 (202) 289-1380</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting: DE/MJB/BR 6/16 DE 10/1 Issue Group Meeting: TS 10/20</p>	<p>Concern: Education and training programs have a history of not serving the Hispanic population. Support: Making Work pay initiatives that address the concern of poor working Hispanics. Working with 160 community based organizations.</p>

<p>National Hispanic Bar Association</p>	<p>NATIONAL Carlos Ortiz, Pres (201) 348-4900 x226 33 Walt Whitman Rd Suite 310 Melville, NY 11747 (516) 424-8142</p> <p>John Tresvina, President DC CHAPTER PO Box 1011 Washington, DC 20013-1011 (202) 224-5573 or 0868</p>	<p>Contacted 8/93</p>	<p>John Trasvina, Pres Offered to help in any way possible. Over 200 DC members that are very involved politically</p>
<p>National Puerto Rican Coalition</p>	<p>Ruth Pagani, Public Policy Coordinator 1700 K St NW Suite 500 Washington, DC 20006</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/20 Meeting: DE 10/1 Issue Group Meetings: TS 10/20</p>	<p>Concern: The lack of policy coordination among the many programs serving poor communities/ Feel strongly that education and training programs as well as job programs have not served the Hispanic population. / What will happen to the children if mothers have to work and cannot supervise them.</p>

Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund.	Juan Figueroa President and General Counsel 95 Madison Av Suite 1304 New York, NY 10016 (212) 219-3369	Meeting: DE 10/1	Supports: A proposal that recognizes economic development as a major component of alleviating poverty.
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LEGAL GROUPS

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
American Bar Assoc.	Meg Haynes 1800 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036 202/331-2200	Meg Haynes testified at DC public forum; Attended legal meeting about child support on 10/15/93	Meg put together the list of people to invite to a legal meeting about child support and has been very helpful. She also attended the meeting
Center for Law and Social Policy	Jodie Levin-Epstein 1616 P. St. NW, Suite 150 Washington, DC 20036 202\328-5140 202\328-4195 -f	None on legal issues, See CLASP in the Think Tank chart	
Center for Social Welfare Policy and Law			
Legal Aid Society	(202) 628-1161		
Legal Assistance Foundation			
National Bar Association			Paulette Brown-women's issues

<p>National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges</p>	<p>Robert Praksti 702\784-6012</p>	<p>Judge Dean Lewis, from Delaware, represented the Council at child support meeting on 10/15/93. She was recommended by Robert Praksti.</p>	
<p>National Legal Aid and Defenders Assoc.</p>	<p>1625 K St., NW, 8th Floor Washington, DC 20006 202/452-0620</p>		
<p>NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund</p>	<p>99 Hudson St 12th floor New York, NY 10013 (212) 925-6635 (212) 226-1066</p>		

HOUSING GROUPS

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Women and Poverty Project	Diana Pearce--see also womens groups 638-3143	Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21 see also women's groups	<p>Heads with Cushing Dolbears, a coalition for housing and welfare reform.</p> <p>Concerns: 1) secured housing; 2) coordination between HUD and HHS in the administration of current programs designed to help meet housing needs; 3) the gap between standard of need and benefit level -- esp since standard of need does not encompass housing costs.</p> <p>Recommend: WG take opportunity in its proposal to discuss housing as essential to the success of any welfare program; HHS and HUD accept a formal policy of homelessness prevention; HHS relax restrictions on EA and special needs funding so states can use it for prevention as well as emergency shelter.</p>

National Low Income Housing Coalition	Cushing Dolbeare 1012 14th St, NW #1200 Washington DC 20005 662-1530 fax: 393-1973	Testified, DC 8/20; Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21	Also leader, with Diana Pearce, in housing coalition; concern: see above; emphasizes need to close housing affordability gap
NETWORK	Richelle Friedman see also religious groups 806 Rhode Island Ave, NE Washington DC 20018 526-4070 fax: 832-4635	Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21	Member, housing coalition
Housing Assistance Council	Sue Phillips 1025 Vermont Ave, NW Suite 606 Washington DC 20005 842-8600 fax: 347-3441	Invited Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21, declined	Member, housing coalition
National Housing Law Project	David Bryson 122 C St., NW #680 Washington DC 20001-2109 783-5140 fax: 347-8785	Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21	Member, housing coalition

<p>Legal Services Homelessness Task Force</p>	<p>Mary Ellen Hombs NHLP 122 C St, NW #680 Washington DC 20001 783-5140 fax: 347-8785</p> <p>Barbara Saró, Greater Boston Legal Services, also HTF</p>	<p>Both women came to Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21 Publication: <u>Preventing and Ending Homelessness: Proposals for Changes to HUD Homeless and Housing Programs</u></p>	<p>Member, housing coalition; Barbara has done much research into costs of providing on-site services and prevention as opposed to emergency shelter.</p>
<p>National Alliance to End Homelessness</p>	<p>Nan Roman Jill Rathbun 1518 K St. NW #206 Washington DC 20005 638-1528 fax: 638-1664</p>	<p>Anthony Harrington testified in DC; Nan Roman at Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>concerns: testimony focused on: AFDC benefits not sufficient to keep a family in a home; WR must realize instability of recipients' ability to work, go to school everyday etc; WR needs to look at single people too. Member, housing coalition.</p>
<p>Columban Fathers Justice & Peace Office</p>	<p>Susan Thompson PO Box 29151 Washington DC 20017 529-5115</p>	<p>Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>Regional Housing Legal Services</p>	<p>Dina Schlossberg 2 South Easton Rd Glenside, PA 19038 215/572-7300 fax: 215/572-0262</p>	<p>Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>

<p>National Neighborhood Coalition</p>	<p>Bud Kanitz 810 First St., NE Suite 300 Washington, DC 20002 289-1551 fax: 289-8173</p>	<p>Invited Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21, didn't show up</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>The Enterprise Foundation</p>	<p>Lydia Morris 418 C St., NE Washington DC 20002 543-4599 fax: 543-8130</p>	<p>Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition; however, not as concerned as some other groups about welfare reform, but offers to give WG tour of the community redevelopment project they are working on in Baltimore -- Bruce Reed and some others have seen it.</p>
<p>Center for Law and Social Policy</p>	<p>Jodie Levin-Epstein see also think tanks</p>	<p>see also think tanks; Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>Council of Large Public Housing Authorities</p>	<p>MaryAnn Russ 601 Penn. Ave, NW Suite 825 Washington DC 20004 638-1300</p>	<p>Invited, meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21, declined but wants to be involved in future</p>	
<p>American Bar Association</p>	<p>Pat Hanrahan see also legal groups</p>	<p>see also legal groups; Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition.</p>

<p>Child Welfare League of America</p>	<p>Bob McKay 440 First St. NW Suite 310 Washington DC 20001 638-2952 fax: 638-4004</p>	<p>see also children advocacy; Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>National Urban League</p>	<p>Robin Doroshow 1111 14th St, NW 6th Floor Washington DC 20005 898-1604</p>	<p>see also African American Groups; Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>Children's Defense Fund</p>	<p>Robin Scott 25 E St., NW Washington DC 20001 628-8787 fax: 662-3510</p>	<p>see also Children's Advocacy groups and Hunger groups; Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>Catholic Charities, USA</p>	<p>Lisa Carr see also hunger and religious</p>	<p>see also hunger and religious Invited to 10/21 mtg, declined</p>	<p>member, housing coalition</p>
<p>Public Housing Authorities Directors Association</p>	<p>Tim Kaiser, Jim Brigl 511 Capitol Court, NE Washington DC 20002 546-5445 fax: 546-2280</p>	<p>John Hiscox testified in DC; Patricia Sosa spoke at their legislative conference in Sept.; Jim Brigl at meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21</p>	<p>concerns: rent reform; rent policy in federally subsidized housing interacts with federal welfare policy to create disincentives to work</p>

<p>National Coalition for the Homeless</p>	<p>Fred Karnas Joan Alker 1612 K St., NW #1004 Washington DC 20006 775-1322 fax: 775-1316</p>	<p>Fred Karnas testified in DC; Joan Alker attended meeting: DE/WP/MS 10/21</p>	<p>concerns: 1) need for WR to address needs, including housing, of absent fathers if going to count on CS enforcement; 2) need increased benefit levels; 3) need to link income supports and access to affordable housing. Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>National Displaced Homemakers Network</p>	<p>Jean Cilik see also women's groups</p>	<p>see also women's groups; Jean Cilik invited to mtg on 10/21, declined</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>McCauley Institute</p>	<p>Rhoda Stauffer JoAnn Kane 8300 Colesville Rd Suite 310 Silver Spring, MD 20910 301/588-8110 fax:301/588-8154</p>	<p>Invited mtg. on 10/21, did not show up</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>United Cerebral Palsy Association</p>	<p>Jennifer Simpson 1522 K St., NW Suite 1112 Wash DC 20005-1202 842-1266 fax: 842-3519</p>	<p>Invited mtg. 10/21, didn't show up</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>
<p>Center on Budget and Policy Priorities</p>	<p>Susan Steirmetz see think tanks</p>	<p>Invited mtg. on 10/21, declined</p>	<p>Member, housing coalition</p>

Urban Institute	Mary Nenzo see think tanks	Meeting: DE/MS/WP 10/21	more an expert than an advocate
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NATIVE AMERICANS

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
American Indian Law Center			
American Indian Policy Center	Alan Parker 202\676-4401		
American Indian Resource Center	Dick Trudell 319 MacArthur Blvd. Oakland, CA 94610 510\834-9333 510-834-3836 -f	Phone conversation on general issues, late Oct.	As w/o other Indian organizations, they did not seem to have a specific welfare reform agenda. He can explain support programs of BIA.
Indian and Native American Employment and Training Coalition	Center for Community Change 1000 WI Ave, NW Washington, DC 20007 Norm DeWeaver 202\342-0594	Norm arranged and attended the Oct. 6 meeting.	He works w/Indian communities but not necessarily in the area of welfare reform. Can give us an overview of Indian concerns and help us work w/Indian constituency

<p>National American Indian Housing Council</p>	<p>900 Second St., NE #220 Washington, DC 20002 202/789-1754</p>	<p>JoAnn Chase attended small meeting on general issues on 10/6/93</p> <p>Annual Conference Nov. 28 - Dec. 3 1993, Reno</p>	<p>CONFERENCE Jerry Chingwa</p> <p>April, 1994 - Reno Annual Conference Also have training programs with Indian Housing Managers across country. (These are done in coordination with Indian Housing Authority.) SENT WG INFO 8/24</p>
<p>National Congress of American Indians</p>	<p>JoAnn Chase 900 Pennsylvania Ave., SE Washington, DC 20003 202/546-9404</p>	<p>JoAnn Chase attended small meeting on general issues on 10/6/93</p>	<p>They are glad to be working with us. Have not yet expressed major areas of concern other than job creation. We are working w/JoAnn to get a WRWG member fit into the agenda of their conference so that we can get a better sense of Indian concerns.</p>

<p>Northwest Indian Child Welfare Association</p>	<p>c/o Regional Research Institute, P.O. Box 751 Portland, OR 97207</p>	<p>Could not attend 10/6 mtg. but wrote a letter about welfare issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• lack of available jobs• tribes are not eligible for all programs unless they conform w/state mandates. Tribes would like direct relation w/fed. gov't on welfare programs• they want flexibility in their programs• don't have staff for programs requiring heavy administration• 1988 EARN program to promote self sufficiency of tribes
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RELIGIOUS

ORGANIZATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
<p>African Methodist Episcopal Zion (A.M.E. Zion Church)</p>	<p>James Milton Director of Social Concerns 910 Church Street Tuskegee, AL 36083 205-727-4601 205-727-3550</p>	<p>Meeting: MJB/DE 9/8</p>	<p>Concerns: Expressed particular concern with the problems of substance abuse in the African American community and how that impact the lack of hopes and expectations of among the youth.</p>
<p>American Friend Service Committee</p>	<p>James Matlack Ann B. Turpeau 1822 R. Street, NW Washington, DC 2009 202-483-3341</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8</p>	<p>Concern: Two year time limit as to short for obtaining education and training for high tech jobs. Supports: Involving welfare recipients in the process/ making work pay initiatives which include increasing minimum wage and unemployment compensation/ readiness plan design by social worker and recipient. worker</p>

<p>American Baptist Churches</p>	<p>Bob Tiller Carol Sutton 110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002 202/544-3400</p>	<p>Contacted 8/93</p>	<p>CONFERENCE April 1994 - DC Social Action Conference</p>
<p>American Jewish Congress</p>	<p>Roger Kosson</p>	<p>Recommended by WHPL Meeting: MJB/DE 9/8</p>	
<p>American Muslim Council</p>	<p>Ayesha Chorbaji 1212 New York Ave., NW Washington, DC 2005 202-789-2262</p>		
<p>Catholic Charities</p>	<p>Fred Kammer, SJ President Lisa Carr 11731 King Street #200 Alexandria, VA 22314 703-549-1390</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meetings: MJB/DE/BR 6/16 DE/MJB 9/8 DE/EH 10/14 Issue Group Meetings MWP 9/14 Member, Hunger Coalition.</p>	<p>Concerns: Time limits and loosing basic safety net. Supports: Strenthening child support enforcement/minimum national benefits/flexibility on time limit period between welfare and work.</p>
<p>Church of the Brethren</p>	<p>Benjamin Clark Walters 110 Maryland Ave., NE #201 Washington, DC 20002 202-546-3202</p>	<p>Meeting: MJB/DE 9/8</p>	

Church Women United	Mattie Paterson 110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002 202-544-8747	Testified: Wash. Forum 8/20 Meeting: MJB/DE 9/8	Nov 4-7, 1993 - Minneapolis "Reimaging - An Ecumenical Decade" Women theologians coming together to discuss issues. Nov 7-9, 1993 - DC Exec Council
Christian Methodist Episcopal	Reverend Raymond Williams 7621 Holly Hill Road Charlotts, SC 28227 704-531-0844	Invited to 9/8 meeting/declined	
Episcopal Church	Dr. Betty Coats 110 Maryland Ave., NE Suite 309 Washington, DC 20009 202/547-7300	Meeting: MJB/DE 9/8 Conference: Oct - DC Belview Hotel "Refugee and Immigration Network"	
Evangelical Lutheran Church in America	Kay A. Bengston, Asst. Dir of Advocacy 122 C St., NW Suite 300 Washington, DC 20001 202/783-7501	Testified: New Jersey hearing 9/9 Meeting: MJB/DE 9/8	Concerns: Time limits Support: Flexibility in the time limits and strengthening support services.
Friends Committee on National Legislation	Ruth Flower 245 2nd St., NE Washington, DC 20002 202/547-6000	Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8	Supports: Guarantee income.

Jesuit Social Ministries	Margaret Conroy 1424 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20036 202/462-7008	Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8	
Mennonite Central Committee	Karl Shelley 110 Maryland Ave., NE #502 Washington, DC 20002 202/544-6564	Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8	Possibility of a topical conference on welfare. Recently finished one on Health Care
National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.	Dr. Henry T. Rhim 485 West First Street Jacksonville, FL 32202 904-354-7348 Dr. Lincoln James, Sr. 109 East 53rd St. Chicago, ILL. 60615 312-373-3188	Referred by WHOPL Invited to 9/8 meeting/ declined	
National Council of Churches	Mary Anderson Cooper Carl Jetson Casebolt 110 Maryland Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002 202/544-2350	Sent written comments for Wash. Forum 8.19 Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8	Concerns: Arbitrary time limits/ Welfare debate only mentioning families and not single individuals out of work. Supports: Guarantee income/EITC/Emphasis on education, training and job creation.

National Council of Jewish Women	Julie Nessbaum 1101 15th St., NW, Suite 1012 Washington, DC 20005 202/296-2588	Meeting; DE/MJB 9/8	
NETWORK-a National Catholic Social Justice Lobby	Cathering Pinkerton 806 Rhode Island Ave., NE Washington, DC 20002 202-526-4070	Meeting; DE/MJB 9/8 Issue Group Meetings PTW 8/18 MWP 9/24 Member, Coalition on Human Needs	
Presbyterian Church	Sherih Knight 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Suite 104 Washington, DC 20002 202/543-1126		
Progressive National Convention, Inc.	Revrd. Archie Lamone 601 50th St. NE Washington, DC 20019 202-396-0558	Referred by WHOPL Invited to 9/8 meeting/ declined	
Religious Society of Friends	Alexander Gero 143 Kendal at Longwood Kennet Square, PA 19348 215-388-1450	Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8	
Union of American Hebrew Congregations	Rabbi Lynne Landsberg Religious Action Center 2027 Mass Ave., NW Washington, DC 20036 202-387-2800	Invited to 9/8 meeting/ declined	

United Church of Christ	Loretta Richardson James McDaniel, Board of Homeland Ministries Patrick Conover 110 Maryland Ave., NE #207 Washington, DC 20002 202/543-1517	Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8	
United Methodist Church	Patricia Jean Brown, National Division, GBGM Jane Hull Harvey Board of Church and Society 100 Maryland Ave., NW Washington, DC 20002 202-488-5654	Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8	
Unitarian Universalist Association	Oriole Saah 100 Maryland Ave., NE Washington DC 20002 202-547-0254	Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8	

<p>U.S. Catholic Conference</p>	<p>Revrd. John Ricard, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore Ronald Jackson, Policy Advisor John Carr, Dir of Dept of Social Development and World Peace. 3211 4th St., NE Washington, DC 20017 202/541-3181</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting: DE/MJB 9/8 Issue Group Meeting: CS 8/23 Conference: Are planning to extend Mary Jo Bane invitation for February conference. Member, Child Support Task Force</p>	<p>Concern: Central problem is poverty and not welfare. Support: A program of time limited assistance followed by work directly linked to national, state and private sector employment policies structure in a manner that would strengthening individuals and families. Support: Federalization of the child support system.</p>
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RURAL GROUPS

ORGANISATION	NAME AND ADDRESS	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
<p>American Agriculture Movement</p>	<p>Chuck Perry 100 Maryland Ave NE Suite 500, Bcx 629 Washington DC 202\544-5750 202\547-9155 -f</p>	<p>could not attend mtg. 10/20</p>	
<p>Aspen Institute, Rural Economic Policy Program</p>	<p>Julie Marx 1333 NH Ave. NW, Suite 1070 Washington DC 20036 202\736-5817 202\467-0790 -f</p>	<p>attended mtg. 10/20/93</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focus on asset development and job creation • will put together list of groups and coalitions that do asset and micro-enterprise development in rural areas • allow for flexibility and creativity in complying with federal mandates. It may take way more than 2 yrs. (when a time limit might end) for someone to start a small business and become self sufficient • do not just exempt and ignore rural areas

<p>Center for Budget and Policy Priorities</p>	<p>Kathy Porter 777 North Capitol Street, NE Suite 705 Washington, DC 20002 202-408-1080</p>	<p>attended mtg. 10/20/93</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • invest in job development • allow for flexibility in rural areas • don't assume that low education is cause for welfare dependency in rural areas. People may not get more education because there are no jobs
<p>Center for Law and Social Policy</p>	<p>Jodie Levin-Epstein 1616 P Street NW Washington DC 20036 202-328-5140</p>	<p>attended mtg. 10/20/93</p>	<p>same as CLASP and ASPEN inst.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • find good existing programs, if they are out there, and look at them
<p>National Family Farm Coalition</p>	<p>Kathy Ozer Executive Director 110 Maryland Ave. NE Suite 307 Washington, D.C. 20002 202\543-5675 202\543-0978 -f</p>		<p>very busy on NAFTA, no time to focus yet on welfare</p>
<p>National Farmer's Union</p>	<p>Barbara Webb Nancy Danielson 202\554-1600 202\554-1654 -f</p>		

The Rural Coalition	Lorette Hanson Executive Director P.O. Box 53202 Washington, D.C. 20009 202/483-1500	want to work w/us	they focus on community development, cooperatives, credit unions, etc.
David Senter	David Senter Associates 1901 L St. N.W. Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036 202\452-9422 202\547-9155	attended mtg. 10/20/93	Used to be w/Am. Ag. Movement. Must create jobs. Job retraining won't help w/o jobs. Don't force people to do JOBS programs in cities. That will hurt rural areas and the country.
U.S. Catholic Conference	Ronald Jackson, Policy Advisor John Carr, Dir of Dept of Social Development and World Peace. 3211 4th St., NE Washington, DC 20017 202/541-3181	attended mtg. 10/20/93	people need more than the support services provided by the Churches. Basic necessities such as jobs are missing from rural areas

UNIONS

ORGANISATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
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The Rural Coalition	Lorette Hanson Executive Director P.O. Box 53202 Washington, D.C. 20009 202/483-1500	want to work w/us	they focus on community development, cooperatives, credit unions, etc.
David Senter	David Senter Associates 1901 L St. N.W. Suite 300 Washington, DC 20036 202\452-9422 202\547-9155	attended mtg. 10/20/93	Used to be w/Am. Ag. Movement. Must create jobs. Job retraining won't help w/o jobs. Don't force people to do JOBS programs in cities. That will hurt rural areas and the country.
U.S. Catholic Conference	Ronald Jackson, Policy Advisor John Carr, Dir of Dept of Social Development and World Peace. 3211 4th St., NE Washington, DC 20017 202/541-3181	attended mtg. 10/20/93	people need more than the support services provided by the Churches. Basic necessities such as jobs are missing from rural areas

UNIONS

ORGANISATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
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<p>AFL-CIO</p>	<p>Bib McGlotten, Legislation 815 16th St., NW Dept. of Legislation Washington, DC 20006 202/637-5090</p>	<p>Submitted written testimony 8/19 Meeting: Domestic Policy Council 10/15 Conference Oct 4-7, 1993 - San Francisco - Pres. Clinton</p>	<p>Concerns: Setting up job and service programs based on the arbitrary categorization of people. All unemployed workers need help/ Question the ability of the system to absorb and create new jobs if the two years time limits are established uniformally. Support: EITC/Improvi ng child support enforcement/Revising JTPA/JOBS definition of "truly needy" for purposes of qualifying for job training programs. Favorite model program; Cleveland Works.</p>
<p>American Federation of Teachers (AFT)</p>	<p>Sally Muravchik, Dir 555 New Jersey Ave., NW Washington, DC 20001 (202) 879-4400</p>	<p>Meeting: BR 8/93</p>	<p>Interested in working with us.</p>

<p>AFSCME</p>	<p>Gerald, "Gery" McEntee, President Chuck Loveless, Director of Legislation Nanine Micklejohn Lee Sanders (testified) 1625 L St., NW Federal Liaison Washington, DC 20036 (202) 452-4800</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting: BR 6/93 DE 9/16 Domestic Policy Council: 10/15 Issue Group Meetings: TS 7/29 PTW 8/13 MWP 9/24</p>	<p>Concerns Displacement of public sector employment and employees/ Strongly oppose to workfare/Very concern with the tone of the debate (loaded with racism and clasism). Also objects to minimum wage public sector jobs program Supports: strengthening child support collections/targetin g limited resources through the JOBS programs to recipients at risk of long term unemployment. Advised WG to look at National Service Jobs as a model for process in designing community service work without displacing workers.</p>
<p>Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Worker</p>	<p>AFL-CIO 815 16th St., NW Washington, DC 20006 202/637-5319</p>	<p>No contact</p>	



<p>Amalgamated Transit Union</p>	<p>Maria Ferguson 5025 Wisconsin Ave., NW Washington, DC 20016 (202) 537-1645</p>	<p>Contacted 8/93</p>	
<p>Communications Workers of America</p>	<p>501 3rd St., NW Washington, DC 20001 202/434-1147</p>	<p>Meeting: BR (?) Domestic Policy Council 10/15 No contact with Outreach office</p>	
<p>Service Employees International Union</p>	<p>Peggy Kelly Peggy Conerton 1313 L Street, NW Washington, DC 20006 202-898-3200</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Domestic Policy Council: 10/15 Issue Group Meeting: MWP 8/23</p>	<p>Concerns: Work requirements\Scale of the proposal and its impact in public sector jobs/privatization of the welfare system. Support: Guarantees for working wages/improving education and training programs.</p>

WELFARE ADVOCATES

ORGANISATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Center for Community Change	Pat Millard 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW Washington, DC 20007 (202) 342-0519	Contacted: 8/93	
Center for Social Welfare Policy and Law	Adelle Blong Barbara Layser Henry Friedman 275 Seventh Ave., 6th Floor New York, New York 10001 212-633-6967	Issue Group Meetings: WS 9/16 MWP 9/24 Member, Coalition on Human Needs	Concerns: Time limits/ current level of benefits as insufficient.
Coalition on Human Needs	Jennifer Vasiloff Executive Director 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW Washington, DC 20007 (202) 342-0726	Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting; MJB/DE/BR 6/2 Issue Group Meetings TS 7/29 PTW 8/23 MWP 9/24	Concerns: Strongly object to time limits if there is no assurance of an adequate safety net. Supports: Strengthening education and training programs for welfare recipients.
Coalition for Low Income Community Development	Sue Aceti 513 North Chapel Gate Lane Baltimore, MD 21229 410/945-2835	Contacted 8/93	

<p>Kensington Welfare Rights</p>	<p>Cheri Honkala 2838 No. Front Street Philadelphia, PA 19133 215-634-5690</p>	<p>Meeting: Welfare Rights Union MJB/DE 10/4</p>	<p>Opposes: Time limits/ welfare fraud prosecution</p>
<p>National Association of Social Workers</p>	<p>Sunny Harris Rome Rita Vandivort 750 First St., NE Suite 700 Washington, DC 20002 202/408-8600</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19/ New Jersey Hearing 9/9 Meetings: DE/MJB/BR 6/16 DE/FTG 9/30 Conference Nov 3-6 Orlando, FL</p>	<p>Concerns: Arbitrary time limits Support: Making work pay initiatives</p>
<p>National Coalition for the Homeless</p>	<p>Fred Karnas, Jr. Executive Director 1612 K St., NW Suite 1004 Washington, DC 20006 202/775-1322</p>	<p>Testified: Wash Forum 8/20</p>	<p>-Important to recognize the link between income support and housing/ Do not forget about single individuals.</p>
<p>National Community Action Foundation</p>	<p>David Bradley Executive Director 2100 M St., NW Washington, DC 20037 202/775-0223</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 9/19</p>	<p>Support: Expanded role for community based organizations/ Strengthening education and training programs.</p>
<p>National Low Income Housing Coalition</p>	<p>Cushing Dolbeare Frances Williams 1012 14th St., NW Suite 1006 Washington, DC 20005 202/662-1530</p>	<p>Meeting: A meeting is being planned with BR.</p>	

<p>National Welfare Rights Union</p>	<p>Marian Kramex 13220 Woodward Ave. Highland Park, MI 48203 313-868-3660</p>	<p>Meeting: MJB/DE 10/4</p>	<p>Concern: Object to the fact that there is no welfare recipients in the Working Group/ Time limits/ and any job requirements. Support: Guarantee minimum income</p>
<p>Mississippi Conference on Social Welfare</p>			
<p>Oakland County Welfare Rights Organization</p>	<p>Marguerite Kovaleski 132 Franklin Blvd Pontiac, Michigan 483341</p>	<p>Sent corresp 8/10/93</p>	<p>Would like to work with us.</p>
<p>Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization</p>	<p>Louise Brookins 1231 No. Franklin Street Philadelphia, PA 19122 215-684-3600</p>	<p>Member, NOW LDF Coalition</p>	
<p>Together Against Poverty</p>	<p>Charlotte Reed 1517 Monroe Ave. Neptune, NJ 07753</p>	<p>Member, NOW LDF Coalition</p>	
<p>Welfare Rights Coalition of Greater Cincinnati</p>	<p>Katy Heins 1641 Vine St. Cincinnati, OH 45210 513-381-4242</p>	<p>Sent Comments 8/28</p>	<p>Supports: Supports on the job training with support services/Assistance should be available until families can truly support themselves.</p>

Welfare Rights Organization	Viola Francis 1210 Governor Nichols New Orleans, LA 70116 504-529-1113	NOW LDF Coalition	
United Way of America	Doris D'May 701 North Fairfax St. Alexandria, VA 22314 703/836-7112	Meeting: A meeting has been scheduled for 10/19 to talk about coordinating outreach efforts.	

WOMEN'S GROUPS

ORGANISATION NAME	ADDRESS AND PHONE	CONTACT WITH WRWG	COMMENTS
Center for Women's Policy Studies	Jennifer Tucker Deputy Director 2000 P Street, NW Suite 508 202-872-1770	Testified: 8/19	Concerns: Time limits. Particularly concern on how this would impact on ability to obtain college degrees. Supports: Education and training.
Church Women United	Robina Shaw Legislative Research Assistant 110 Maryland Ave, NE Washington, DC 202-544-8747	Testified: Wash. Forum Meeting: DE/ MJB 9/8	Concerns: The impact of time limits in safety net.
Girl Scouts, USA	Carman Votaw (DC OFFICE 659-3780) 420 5th Av New York, NY (212) 852-8000	Contacted 8/93 Attended Wash Forum 8/19	
Institute for Women's Policy Research	Robert M. Spalter-Roth, Ph.D. 1400 20th St., NW, Suite 104 Washington, DC 20036 202/785-5100	Testified: Wash Forum 8/19 Issue Group Meetings TS 7/29 PSW 8/13 MWP 9/24	See explanation under Think Tank/ Research Inst.
League of Women Voters	1730 M St., NW Washington, DC 20036 (202) 429-1965		

National Center for Women and Family Law	799 Broadway, Apt. 402 New York, N.Y. 10003 (212) 674-8200		
National Council of Jewish Women	Julie Nessbaum 1101 15th St., NW Washington, DC 20005 202/296-2588	Contacted 8/93	
National Displaced Homemakers Network	Jill Miller 1625 K St., NW, Suite 300 Washington, DC 20006 202/467-6346	Testified; Wash Forum 9/20 Meeting: DE/MJB/WP/IS 9/24 Issue Group Meetings TS 7/29 PSW 8/13 MWP 9/24 Coordinators, Coalition on Women and Job Training Member, Coalition on Human Needs	Opposition: Arbitrary time limits. Supports: Expanding the education and training components of the Family Support Act (JOBS).

<p>National Organization for Women</p>	<p>Patricia Ireland 1000 16th St., NW Suite 700 Washington, DC 20036-5705 (202) 331-0066</p>	<p>Testified: Wash forum 8/19 Meeting; Women's Group MJB/DE/WP/IS 9/24 Welfare Rights Union MJB/DE 10/4 Demonstrated against the Working Group in Chicago 8/11</p>	<p>Opposition: NOW opposes forced work and time limits Supports: The need for welfare reform. Now would reform the system by establishing minimum guarantee income/establishing a negative income tax credit/ granting family allowance</p>
<p>National Women's Health Network</p>	<p>1325 G St., NW, Lower Level Washington, DC 20005 202/347-1140</p>		
<p>National Women's Law Center</p>	<p>Sarah Craven Duffy Campbell 1616 "P" St., NW, Suite 508 Washington, DC 20036 202/328-5160</p>	<p>Testified: Wash Forum 8/19 Meeting: Women's Groups MJB/DE/WP/IS 9/24 Issue Group meetings; CS 8/23 MWP 9/24</p>	<p>Federalization of the Child Support system.</p>

<p>Nine to Five</p>	<p>Ellen Bravo 238 West Wisconsin #700 Milwaukee, WI 53203 414/274-0928</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19</p>	<p>Concern: Will not support strategy that would be placing women in low paying jobs. Supports: Improving work condition for women with wage subsidies and guarantee benefits (day care/health care)</p>
<p>NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund</p>	<p>Patricia Reuss, Senior Policy Analyst Martha Davis, Senior Staff Attorneu 99 Hudson Street New York, New York 10013 212-925-6635</p>	<p>Testified: Wash. Forum 8/19 Meeting: Women's Groups MJB/DE/WP/IS 9/24</p>	<p>Concerns: Arbitrary time limits/ government sponsored workfare programs. Supports: Building upon thhe education and job training components of the JOBS programs. Cites successfull example of community based programs that are providing basic skills education, including English as a Second Language, whitout the time constraints of government sponsors programs.</p>

<p>Wider Opportunities for Women</p>	<p>Cindy Marano 1325 "G" St., NW, Lower Level Washington, DC 20005 202/638-3143</p>	<p>Testified: Wash Forum 8/19 Meeting: Women's Groups MJB/DE/WP/IS 9/24</p>	<p>Concerns: Time limits Supports: WOW also runs an education and training program for women. Strong advocates for better education and training programs.</p>
<p>Women and Poverty Project</p>	<p>Diane Pierce, Director c/o WOW 1325 G St. NW Washington, DC 20005 202/638-3143</p>	<p>Testified: Wash Forum 8/19 Meeting: Women's Groups MJB/DE/WP/IS 9/24 Issue Group Meetings: Issue Group Meetings TS 7/29 PSW 8/13 MWP 9/24 Member, Coalition on Human Needs</p>	<p>Concern: Time limits/ creation of a two tier job training program. Supports: Women having access to the kinds of training and education programs being made available to displaced workers.</p>
<p>Women's Legal Defense Fund</p>	<p>Diane Dodson Dona Lenhoff 1875 Conn. Ave. NW Washington, DC 20009(202) 986-2600</p>	<p>Meeting: Women's Groups MJB/DE/WP/IS 9/24 Issue Group Meetings: CS 8/23 Members, Child Support Task Force</p>	<p>Support: Federalization of Child Support Enforcement.</p>
<p>Women's Economic Justice Center (Center for Policy Alternatives)</p>	<p>2000 Florida Ave., NW Washington, DC 20009 202/387-6030</p>		

WELFARE -
OUTREACH

TO: BRUCE REED

F: 456-7738

FROM: JEREMY BEN-AMI

In Advance of your meeting with Office of Public Liaison, I faxed them the attached to update them on our initial outreach efforts. Of note:

- ① We have interviewed and will soon hire a Public Liaison just for this effort.
- ② We have started informal meetings with some key groups and need to schedule the rest.
- ③ We will be scheduling time for you, Marg Jo, and David to meet with a group of key organizations in the first week in June.
- ④ We have started weekly meetings (FRIDAY 9:30) to coordinate all outreach, communications efforts.
Call if you have questions

OUTREACH STRATEGY

Below is a brief outline of the outreach efforts planned for the Welfare Reform Working Group to individuals and organizations with a particular interest in welfare reform. These steps are separate and apart from the plans for outreach to Congress and work with the press.

Two principles underly this effort: (1) Providing early and meaningful opportunities for input into the process for a wide range of organizations, and (2) Ensuring a regular flow of information to a broad mailing list of groups and individuals. To accomplish these objectives, we are doing the following:

1. Hiring a Public Liaison whose job will be to organize outreach efforts and to be the primary point of contact for outside organizations.

2. Developing a wide ranging mailing list of groups and individuals with an interest in Welfare reform. This list will include, among others, research and advocacy organizations, foundations, academics, experts and members of the press.

3. Preparing a public information package for distribution to the mailing list and on the Hill with information about the Working Group, the President's charge, and the way that groups and individuals can have input into the policy development process.

4. Scheduling meetings with key organizations throughout the process to brief them on the Working Group and to discuss issues of concern to them.

5. Coordinating a series of public events over the summer designed to inform Working Group members about the issues and to provide an opportunity for public input into the process.

6. Establishing a system through which ideas and proposals submitted by individuals and organizations are routed to the appropriate issue group for consideration.

7. Publishing a series of working papers that will be distributed to the entire mailing list over the course of the summer on different aspects of the welfare reform effort.

Outline of Outreach Meetings

During late May and early June, representatives of the Working Group have met or will meet with the following organizations:

ADVOCACY	Children's Defense Fund Center on Law and Social Policy Center on Budget and Policy Priorities Coalition on Human Needs
INTERGOVERNMENTAL	National Governors Association National Council of State Legislators American Public Welfare Association National Association of Counties National League of Cities U.S. Conference of Mayors
OTHER	AFSCME SEIU

Based on these initial meetings, a three tiered strategy is emerging:

1. Mary Jo Bane, David Ellwood and Bruce Reed will meet informally on an intermittent basis with the groups listed above to keep these key groups up to date and actively involved in the process.
2. A coalition of advocacy groups will be set up to provide a more formal focus for discussion of proposals and policy as it emerges over the summer. This coalition will meet with the Working Group chairs initially in June.
3. The public liaison (when hired) and other staff will meet with a wider array of organizations starting in June and will begin to set up consultations between issue group staff and organizations with particular areas of interest such as child support, absent fathers, or child care programs.