

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Re: Larry Katz (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)
002. list	Distribution List (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Domestic Policy Council
 Carol Rasco (Meetings, Trips, Events)
 OA/Box Number: 4592

FOLDER TITLE:

Welfare Reform Meeting 6/18/93 3:30 p.m. - Cabinet Room

rw143

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

			fax #'s
✓	Vice President	yes	1606
	Judith Gueron	yes	212-684-0832
✓	Mary Jo Bane	yes	401-4678
	D.O.B.	P6/b(6)	
✓	David Ellwood	yes	690-7383
	D.O.B.	P6/b(6)	
✓	Elaine Kamarch	yes	x6212
✓	Belle Sawhill	yes	x5730
✓	Alexis Herman	3 ^{with call} back yes	x6218
✓	Douglas Ross	yes	219-6827
	D.O.B.	P6/b(6)	
✓	Alicia Rivlin	yes	x1005
✓	Secretary Reich	yes	219-7659

Secretary Shalala NO-

She will be
in N.Y. Friday

/ Bruce Reed

/ Kathi Gray

TO: Roy Neel
FROM: Carol H. Rasco
SUBJ: Meeting on Welfare Reform
DATE: June 9, 1993

Please see the attached materials. Outside the individuals within the White House listed on the Distribution List, I am unsure whom else I should invite from other departments within the White House. Could you please advise me if anyone else should be invited from the White House?

*Fax to Alice Rivlin
Talk w/ Val
Re: Options for
next wk (1 hr.
mtg.)
'95 Budget
Process*

1005

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Distribution List (attached)
FROM: Carol H. Rasco *CHR*
SUBJ: Welfare Reform meeting
DATE: June 9, 1993

On Friday, June 18 from 3:30 p.m. to 5 p.m. President Clinton will hold a meeting in the Roosevelt Room of the West Wing to discuss welfare reform policy. You are invited to attend the meeting.

I have asked Bruce Reed and Kathi Way of the Domestic Policy Council staff to prepare in coordination with HHS a briefing paper on the policy issues to be discussed with the President. We will distribute the paper to all participants no later than the close of business Wednesday, June 16.

The purpose of this meeting is to have a preliminary discussion with the President on POLICY, not strategy per se although certainly I realize one cannot completely separate the two. I should also add that I do not necessarily see us trying to reach firm conclusions or consensus. Perhaps this meeting with the President is best characterized as a "brainstorming" session which is to be based on the preliminary work of the working group. Because it is to be informal and not a decision making meeting, I have been asked by the President to keep the group small and therefore, ask that you not request additional names be added to the guest list.

If you have questions about the meeting, please do not hesitate to call me. I would also ask that you confirm your attendance to Rosalyn Kelly at 456-2216.

Thank you.

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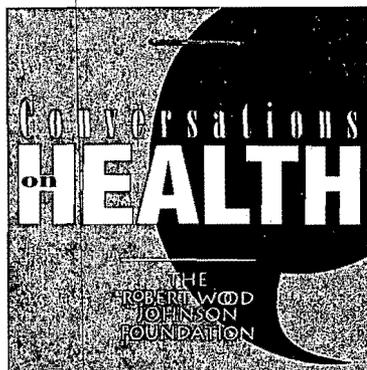
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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

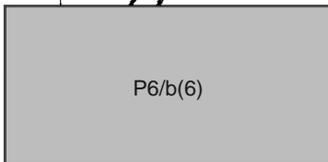
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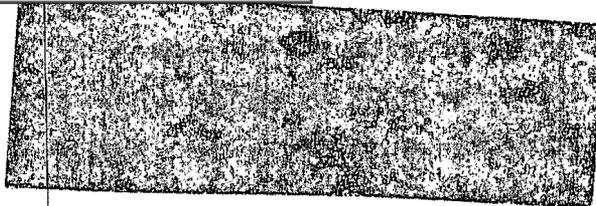


Larry Katz

DOB



SSN



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

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DISTRIBUTION LIST

- ✓ Vice President - (Lee) 7874 (7935) ✓ ^{fax 1606} Fin Dwayne
- Secretary - Shakala - (Virginia) 690-6610 NO ^{fax out of town - 124}
- Judith Gueron, MDRC 212 Fax 684-0832 ✓
- Bruce Reed, DPC, White House -
- Kathi Way, DPC, White House -
- ✓ Mary Jo Bane, HHS - ~~690~~ - 401-2337 - fax -> 401-4678 (allene) ✓
- ✓ David Ellwood, HHS - (Jerry) 690-6443 690-7858 ✓ fax 690-7383 ✓
- ✓ Elaine Kamarck, Office of the Vice President - 2816 (6212) ✓
- ✓ Belle Sawhill, OMB - 4844 ✓ fax 5730
- ✓ Alexis Herman, Public Liaison, White House - 2930 (Ruby)
- ✓ Doug Ross, Labor - 219-~~8274~~ 6050 yes ✓ (219-6827) Jennie
- ✓ Alice Rivlin - (Sandy) 4742 (fax: 1005)
- ✓ Secty. Reich - 219-8274 (fax: 219-7659)

→ David Ellwood [redacted] P6/b(6) D.O.B.

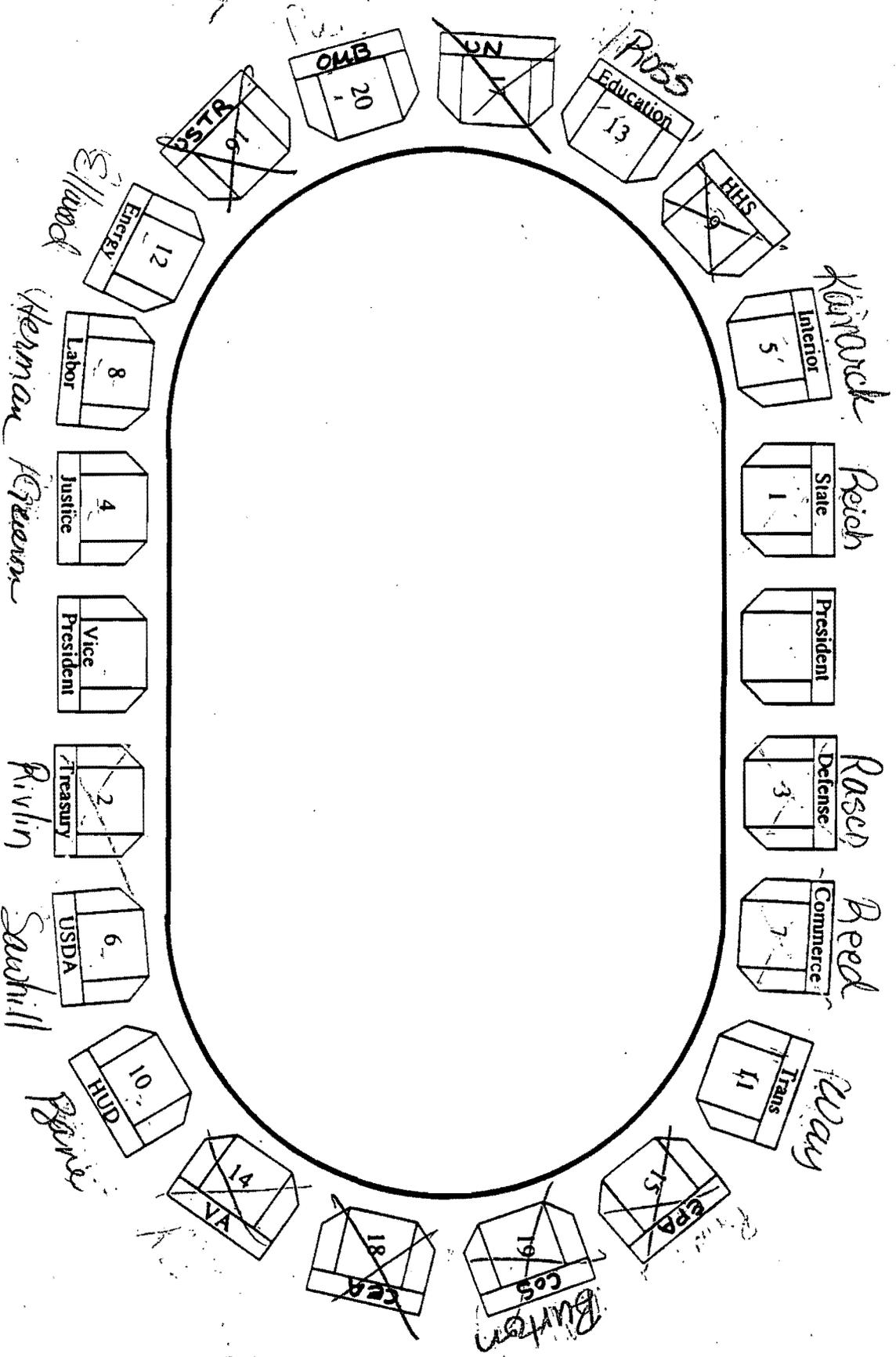
Douglas Ross
 DOB [redacted] P6/b(6)
 SS# [redacted]

Mary Jo Bane
 DOB [redacted] P6/b(6)

Cabinet Room
 Agenda are being faxed

Cabinet Room

22 Chair Arrangement



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1993

Meeting on Welfare Reform Policy

DATE: June 18, 1993
LOCATION: Cabinet Room
TIME: 3:30 p.m. to 4:45 p.m.
FROM: Carol H. Rasco

I. PURPOSE

You will be meeting with key individuals involved with the welfare reform effort within the White House and major agencies: HHS, OMB, Labor. Judith Gueron of Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) has also been invited to participate because of her research and work with the states over the years. The purpose of the meeting is for you to have an informal "brainstorming" session with key persons leading the policy development in these early days of the project.

II. BACKGROUND

You have previously stated that welfare reform is one of your five major goals for the first years of your administration. For a major initiative like this, I believe it is important for you to invest time early in the policy formation period to share your ideas and learn directly about the process and initial policy direction from the leadership of the project.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Vice President
Secretary Reich
Judith Gueron, MDRC
Bruce Reed, DPC White House
Kathi Way, DPC, White House
Mary Jo Bane, HHS
David Ellwood, HHS
Elaine Kamarck, Office of the Vice President
Alice Rivling, OMB
Belle Sawhill, OMB
Alexis Herman, Public Liaison, White House
Doug Ross, Labor

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Agenda attached along with a memo for you which has been distributed to all meeting participants.

You are free to take the role of presiding or as a participant with me more or less presiding.

VI. REMARKS

No prepared remarks.

Attachments: Agenda
Memorandum on Preliminary Issues for Welfare Reform

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: *CHR* Carol H. Rasco, Assistant to the President for
Domestic Policy

SUBJECT: Friday, June 18

Accompanying this memo are materials for your review prior to our informal meeting with President Clinton on Friday, June 18 at 3:30 p.m. Please note that the meeting will now be held in the Cabinet Room. I look forward to seeing each of you on Friday.

Thank you.

DISTRIBUTION LIST

Vice President
Secretary Shalala
Secretary Reich
Judith Gueron, MDRC
Bruce Reed, DPC, White House
Kathi Way, DPC, White House
Mary Jo Bane, HHS
David Ellwood, HHS
Elaine Kamarck, Office of the Vice President
Alice Rivlin, OMB
Belle Sawhill, OMB
Alexis Herman, Public Liaison, White House
Doug Ross, Labor

**AGENDA FOR WELFARE REFORM
MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT
FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1993**

- * OPENING REMARKS/STATUS REPORT CAROL RASCO
- * TIMING AND INTERFACE WITH THE HILL,
STATES, AND ADVOCATES BRUCE REED
- * RESULTS OF DEMONSTRATIONS UNDERWAY JUDY GUERON
- * ENDING WELFARE AS WE KNOW IT VS.
REFORMING THE CURRENT SYSTEM DAVE ELLWOOD
- * TIME LIMITED WELFARE MARY JO BANE
- * CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT,
ASSURANCE AND/OR REFUNDABLE
CHILDREN'S TAX CREDIT DAVE ELLWOOD/
BRUCE REED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 16, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
Kathi Way
Mary Jo Bane
David Ellwood

THROUGH: Carol Rasco

SUBJECT: Preliminary Issues for Welfare Reform

Last week, we officially announced a welfare reform working group made up of officials from the White House and the agencies. We have met with key members of Congress in both parties, and are working with an advisory group of governors and other state officials on recommendations that they will present to you at the NGA meeting in mid-August. In the meantime, we will begin a series of public hearings and site visits to promising welfare reform programs around the country.

Our goal is to have a welfare reform plan ready by the fall, for introduction late this year or next January, as the centerpiece of your 1994 State of the Union address. If you would like to move more quickly, please let us know.

We intend to build the welfare reform plan around the themes you set forth in the campaign:

- * Making Work Pay, through an expanded EITC and health reform.
- * Dramatically Improving Child Support Enforcement, by increasing paternity establishment at birth, improving the collection system, requiring absent parents to take responsibility for their children, and perhaps testing some form of child support insurance.
- * Better Education, Training, and Support, by building on the JOBS program to ensure that people have access to the tools they need to escape welfare, and begin to integrate welfare mothers into the larger system of education and training.

* Transitional Time-Limited Welfare and Work, by replacing the current system with one that enables and requires people who can work to go to work.

We have set up 10 working groups to address the major components of a welfare reform plan: 1) Making Work Pay; 2) Child Care; 3) Child Support; 4) Absent Parents; 5) Post-Transitional Work; 6) Transitional Support; 7) Private Sector Job Development; 8) Program Simplification; 9) Prevention/Family Formation; and 10) Modeling.

As we proceed with this project, we would like your general thoughts on how to go about ending welfare as we know it. To begin with, we would like to take up a few pivotal issues:

- * How bold? Should we reform welfare or replace it?
- * What should time-limited welfare look like? Who should be required to work, what should be done to sanction those who refuse to work, and how quickly should we phase in these reforms?
- * What else can we do to promote work, family, and personal responsibility? How far can we go in toughening child support enforcement? Should we consider other measures to help families with children, such as child support insurance and/or a children's tax credit?

ISSUE #1: REFORMING WELFARE VERSUS REPLACING WELFARE

In the campaign, you called for an "end to welfare as we know it," and most of our work so far assumes that our goal is to find a genuine alternative to welfare. We are looking for ways to enable people to support themselves outside the AFDC system, through work instead of welfare, and we are more interested in moving people off welfare as quickly as possible than in simply encouraging them to work for their welfare. Both of these goals require much more than tinkering with the current system -- and consequently go much further than most state welfare reform efforts, either in implementation of the JOBS program or in waiver requests for state demonstrations.

State self-sufficiency-oriented welfare reforms tend to focus on improving the JOBS program and providing work incentives within the welfare system, in the form of higher earnings disregards and lower benefit reduction rates. Even the most dramatic state demonstration proposals are not oriented to getting people off welfare quickly and helping them make it outside the welfare system when they work. The Bush Administration followed a policy of welfare reform through state waivers, which many state officials would like to see as the centerpiece of this Administration's approach to welfare reform. We believe that state flexibility and experimentation are critical, but we do not believe that leaving reform entirely

to the states will end welfare as we know it. The states are in no position, legally or financially, to envision genuine alternatives to the current system.

We are operating on the assumption that our goal is to genuinely transform the welfare system while preserving a high level of state flexibility. More modest reforms are possible -- expanding and enriching the JOBS program, or relying on state-generated reform approaches -- and would do a good deal to improve the current system. But we believe we have an obligation and an opportunity to be much bolder, to fashion an approach that moves people quickly off welfare and helps them stay off -- or better yet, helps keep them from going on welfare in the first place. The best kind of time-limited welfare is a system where no one stays on the rolls long enough to hit the limit.

ISSUE #2: STRUCTURING TIME-LIMITED WELFARE AND WORK

The principle of time-limited welfare, of ensuring that welfare does not last forever, resonates positively not only with voters but with welfare clients. If supports for work are in place, if we have dramatically improved child support, if we have improved education and training and job placement, then it seems unassailably reasonable to insist that after a time certain, traditional welfare must end and some sort of work must begin. There is real dignity in work, and much real work to be done: public libraries are closing because communities cannot afford staffs, there is an enormous shortage of child care workers, and the non-profit sector is booming, just to name a few.

But significant questions arise: How many people can reasonably be expected to work? Who should pay them, and what should they do? And how can we mount such a massive job effort without creating a make-work nightmare like CETA?

The size of the welfare population alone suggests that a time limit should only be applied to a portion of the caseload, at least at first. Up to 3 million recipients have been on welfare for 2 years or longer. Requiring even half of them to work could require the creation of 1.5 million jobs -- and if those were community service jobs, the program would be several times the projected size of national service.

Cost and capacity are critical issues. For example, we would like to see a system of 100 percent participation in work, education or training. The JOBS program currently spends about \$800 million nationwide, and enrolls about 7 percent of recipients -- and even the best states only serve about 15 percent. No state now requires work of more than a small proportion of clients. Requiring people to work or even simply participate will increase costs not only for the programs themselves, but also for day care, transportation, etc.

A new system could be phased in, either by state or by cohort of welfare recipients. That would lower the initial cost and enable us to see what works. The challenge will be

how to control costs while at the same time being bold enough to meet our commitment to real change.

A second important issue in designing time limits is the consequences of non-compliance. A system of required participation and work will only be seen as a genuine end to welfare as we know it if it has serious penalties for non-participation. But current practice allows strong due process concerns, penalties affecting adults only, and extremely low sanction rates of any sort.

The best way around this dilemma is to design a system that involves serious and unavoidable consequences for non-participation, but at the same time provides people enough opportunity that life is possible and desirable off welfare. The easier it is for people to support themselves through work instead of welfare, the fewer people will reach any time limit, the fewer public jobs will be created, and the less important sanctions will be. In the end, finding the right balance between opportunity and responsibility will determine whether or not a welfare reform plan can obtain the political support and the moral legitimacy to survive.

ISSUE #3: CHILD SUPPORT

If we are going to ask more of welfare mothers, we must ask more of absent fathers as well. The current child support enforcement system is so porous that less than a third of absent fathers' potential obligation is actually collected. A dramatically improved system would bring essential support to many single parents, and send a clear message that those who bring children into the world have a responsibility to raise them.

We are looking at every possible means to toughen child support enforcement and demand personal responsibility. These measures might include: universal paternity establishment in hospitals; mandatory wage withholding administered by the states; denying deadbeat parents access to universal health care; making it harder for deadbeats to obtain credit cards, driver's licenses, or professional licenses; requiring custodial parents to establish paternity or lose the right to take a personal tax exemption for their children; and various other efforts to demand responsibility and increase collection.

We will also examine other, more sweeping means of making it easier for parents to raise children. One controversial option, known as child support assurance or insurance, would seek to improve child support enforcement and provide some protection to single parents by providing a government-guaranteed minimum child support payment (say \$2,000 or \$3,000), even when collections from the absent father fall below the minimum. Minimum child support payments would only be provided to custodial parents with an award in place. Any insured child support benefits would be counted as income for welfare purposes, and welfare benefits would be reduced dollar for dollar. A woman on welfare would be no better off, but if she went to work, she could keep her guaranteed child support.

Proponents of this idea argue that it will make it much easier to leave welfare for work, increase incentives for mothers to get awards in place, and legitimize a genuinely time-limited welfare system. Critics fear that it will let absent fathers off the hook, encourage the formation of single-parent families, and simply provide welfare by another name, without increasing child support collection.

Another option to ease the financial burden of raising children would be to provide some kind of children's allowance or children's tax credit. To hold down costs, such a credit might be limited to young children in working families with incomes under \$40,000. The tax credit could be further limited to families where paternity has been established, and capped at a maximum of two children under 6 at any time.

The advantage of a children's allowance is that it recognizes that raising children is a burden for all working families, with two parents or one. Like the EITC, it would provide an additional incentive to work, and it would also give working and middle-class families some much needed tax relief. The disadvantage is that like any tax cut, it will cost money. Joe Lieberman has proposed a credit of \$1,000 per young child that would cost \$9 billion a year; the more carefully targeted version described above would cost significantly less.

In any case, a major part of our effort will be to look at ways to reduce the formation of single-parent families. Over the last decade, the number of children born to unmarried mothers has grown dramatically, even though the divorce rate has leveled off. Paternity establishment is improving, but unwed births are increasing twice as fast. Keeping people off welfare in the first place is the best system of all.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FAX COVER SHEET

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR DOMESTIC POLICY
SECOND FLOOR, WEST WING
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20500
(202)456-2216 PHONE
(202)456-2878 FAX

TO: Vice President / Attn: Lee Satterfield
FAX #: 1606
FROM: CAROL H. BASCO
DATE: 6/17/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
COMMENTS: _____

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1	2024561606	6-17-93 11:22	5'03"	7	

TOTAL 0:05'03" 7

XEROX TELECOPIER 7020

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FAX COVER SHEET

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SECOND FLOOR, WEST WING
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20500
(202)456-2216 PHONE
(202)456-2878 FAX

TO: Judith Gueron
FAX #: (212) 684-0832
FROM: CAROL M. BASCO
DATE: 6/17/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
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TOTAL 0:04'03" 7

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SECOND FLOOR, WEST WING
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20500
(202)456-2216 PHONE
(202)456-2878 FAX

TO: Mary Jo Bane
FAX #: 401-4678
FROM: CAROL H. BASCO
DATE: 6/17/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
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SECOND FLOOR, WEST WING
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20500
(202)456-2216 PHONE
(202)456-2878 FAX

TO: David Ellwood
FAX #: 690-7383
FROM: CAROL H. BASCO
DATE: 6/13/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
COMMENTS: _____

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NO	REMOTE STATION I. D.	START TIME	DURATION	#PAGES	COMMENT
1	96907383	6-17-93 12:14	5'26"	7	

TOTAL 0:05'26" 7

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WASHINGTON

FAX COVER SHEET

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR DOMESTIC POLICY
SECOND FLOOR, WEST WING
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20500
(202)456-2216 PHONE
(202)456-2878 FAX

TO: Elaine Kamack
FAX #: 6212
FROM: CAROL H. RABCO
DATE: 6/17/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
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NO	REMOTE STATION I. D.	START TIME	DURATION	#PAGES	COMMENT
1	6212	6-17-93 11:54	4'09"	7	

TOTAL 0:04'09" 7

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TO: Belle Sawhill
FAX #: 5750
FROM: CAROL K. BASCO
DATE: _____
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NO	REMOTE STATION I. D.	START TIME	DURATION	#PAGES	COMMENT
1	2027752710	6-17-93 11:36	4'25"	7	

TOTAL 0:04'25" 7

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TO: Doug Ross
FAX #: 219-6827
FROM: CAROL H. BARCO
DATE: 6/17/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
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NO	REMOTE STATION I. D.	START TIME	DURATION	#PAGES	COMMENT
1		6-17-93 11:31	4'05"	7	

TOTAL 0:04'05" 7

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TO: Secretary Shalala
FAX #: 690-7595
FROM: CAROL H. BARCO
DATE: 6/17/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
COMMENTS: _____

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NO	REMOTE STATION I. D.	START TIME	DURATION	#PAGES	COMMENT
1	202 690 7595	6-17-93 11:17	4'08"	7	

TOTAL 0:04'08" 7

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TO: SECRETARY Robert Reich
FAX #: 219-7659
FROM: CAROL RASCO
DATE: 6/17/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
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NO	REMOTE STATION I. D.	START TIME	DURATION	#PAGES	COMMENT
1	DOL	6-17-93 13:37	3'57"	7	

TOTAL 0:03'57" 7

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WASHINGTON, DC 20500
(202)456-2218 PHONE
(202)456-2878 FAX

TO: Alice Rivlin
FAX #: 1005
FROM: CAROL BARCO
DATE: 6/17/93
NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 7
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NO	REMOTE STATION I. D.	START TIME	DURATION	#PAGES	COMMENT
1	1551	6-17-93 13:45	4'44"	7	

TOTAL 0:04'44" 7

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