

DOMESTIC POLICY GROUP

Kathryn Way -- Room 218

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cc: Reed }
cc: Way } fyi

March 21, 1994

DEAR LORD
BE GOOD TO ME
THE SEAS ARE SO
WIDE AND SO
MY BOAT IS
SO SMALL

Children's Defense Fund

MEMORANDUM

To: Secretary Ronald Brown
Secretary Henry Cisneros
Secretary Mike Espy
Secretary Federico Pena
Secretary Robert Reich
Secretary Richard Riley
Secretary Janet Reno
Secretary Donna Shalala

From: Marian Wright Edelman

Subject: Key Concerns On Welfare Reform

CDF is encouraged by a number of key elements in the Administration's emerging welfare reform plans, including new child care investments for both AFDC recipients and the working poor, stronger child support enforcement coupled with child support assurance demonstrations, and increased JOBS funding. These elements must be retained in the final plan. At the same time, I want to be sure that you are aware of several key aspects of the draft plan that we fear actually may increase child poverty and impede the efforts of poor parents to provide for their children.

We are strongly opposed to recommendations to finance welfare reform through offsetting cuts in other low-income entitlements. This approach is simply unacceptable and will hurt both poor families and the Administration. The threat of even modest cuts in low-income entitlements will generate widespread opposition from traditional Administration allies, causing much of the advocacy community to divert precious resources from supporting the campaign for health reform to opposing cuts in low-income programs. This is an outcome the Administration cannot possibly seek. We urge you to insist on a more equitable set of financing mechanisms that does not rely on reductions in already inadequate income supports for poor children.

In addition, we remain concerned about the proposed treatment in a variety of circumstances of parents who "play by the rules" but cannot find full-time jobs in the private sector. The draft plan presumably will include no significant financial incentives or rewards for parents who accept public sector jobs, will force parents who are working part time (even 20 or more hours per week) off of AFDC, and may give large numbers of parents no alternative but to place their children in child care arrangements of very poor or uncertain quality. Perhaps most disturbingly, proposals considered by the Working Group would create the possibility that at least some poor children and families will receive reduced AFDC benefits (or lose AFDC eligibility completely) after working two years in a public sector job despite having complied with all requirements under the new WORK program. **The basic safety net for poor children and families simply must be preserved under the Administration's welfare reform plan.**

The Administration is approaching a key juncture in the welfare reform debate. Despite the efforts of the Working Group to reconcile costs with current budget constraints, there remains an enormous gap between the expansive rhetoric of the two-year time limit and the very modest resources that the Administration is prepared to devote to this effort. **It still is possible for the Administration to embrace and build support within the Congress for a more incremental approach to welfare reform that is consistent with its budget constraints and priorities, focusing limited funds in key areas such as targeted job creation, child care, JOBS, improved work incentives, child support, and teen pregnancy prevention.** I believe that such an approach would be perceived as more credible by House and Senate leaders and would generate strong support within the advocacy community.

I hope that you will work within the Administration to ensure that children and parents are treated fairly in welfare reform and that new initiatives in this area yield lasting reductions in child poverty. CDF remains eager to assist you in whatever way we can to develop a welfare reform plan of which we all can be proud.

cc: Mary Jo Bane
David Ellwood
Carol Rasco
Bruce Reed
Melanne Verveer

THE DEVIL IS IN THE DETAILS

Key Questions in the Effort to
"End Welfare as We Know It"

Mark Greenberg

Center for Law and Social Policy
Washington, DC

July 1993

CLASP

Preface

This is a slightly modified version of a discussion paper written for the January 1993 Conference on "Welfare Reform in the Clinton Era" co-sponsored by CLASP and the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. The document was written to suggest that while there may be much support for the principle that families on welfare should have access to two years of education and training and then be expected to work, it will be extremely difficult — and perhaps impossible — to design a coherent and constructive program within the probable budget constraints.

Six months later, the Administration has initiated a process for developing its welfare reform proposals, but there continue to be major uncertainties about the likely directions for the effort. The announcement of the creation of an interagency "Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence" was accompanied by a statement that the group would be guided by four principles underlying the President's vision: Make Work Pay; Dramatically Improve Child Support Enforcement; Provide Education, Training, and Other Services to Help People Get Off and Stay Off Welfare; and Create a Time-Limited Transitional Support System Followed by Work. There are important unresolved policy issues concerning each of the four principles.

This document focuses on the third and fourth principles — education and training, and time-limited assistance followed by work. At this point, it is still uncertain whether the Administration's vision of work will involve creation of public service jobs that pay wages, or will simply involve some form of mandate to work for welfare. However, the apparent lack of any substantial fiscal resources for the welfare reform effort may effectively preclude the consideration of jobs that pay wages and force Administration planners to propose a work-for-welfare approach.

At the same time that the Administration's planning process is proceeding, a number of state policy makers have picked up the idea of a two year limit, or a two year limit followed by work. Some of these state proposals lack the elements of the Clinton vision intended to reduce the need for welfare, i.e., make work pay policies, child support, education and training efforts. Indeed, some of the state proposals are put forward as cost-cutting efforts, without apparent recognition that a broad-based work mandate for AFDC families would cost far more than the current system.

This document addresses why a two year limit, followed by work-for-welfare, is a bad idea. As such, it does not seek to address a number of other issues that will or should be central to the welfare reform debate — what policies need to be put in place to truly "make work pay"; the importance of child support assurance; the need for unemployment insurance reforms; what other changes in the AFDC system need to be a part of a serious welfare reform effort. In months to come, CLASP will be addressing a broad range of issues that will arise in the welfare reform debates. The purpose of this document, however, is to urge those who propose some version of a two year limit followed by work to explore the details, weigh the fiscal and social costs, and consider whether the result would be the best use of the limited resources available to address the circumstances and needs of the families that depend on the welfare system.

The Devil is in the Details:

Key Questions in the Effort to End Welfare as We Know It

Introduction

Since his election, there have been a number of attempts to fill out the outline for welfare reform offered by President Clinton during his presidential campaign. The President's campaign text, *Putting People First*, contained a number of proposals in its vision of welfare reform, including expansion of the earned income credit, an increased minimum wage, and stronger child support enforcement. Most of the public attention, however, revolved around the following two points:

- "Empower people with the education, training, and child care they need for up to two years, so they can break the cycle of dependency; expand programs to help people learn to read, get their high school diplomas or equivalency degrees, and acquire specific job skills; and ensure that their children are cared for while they learn.
- After two years, require those who can work to go to work, either in the private sector or in community service; provide placement assistance to help everyone find a job, and give the people who can't find one a dignified and meaningful community service job."¹

More recently, an interagency Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence was established. The announcement of the group indicates that it is guided by four principles underlying the President's vision for reform:

"Make Work Pay — People who work should not be poor. They should get the support they need to ensure that they can work and adequately support their families. The economic support system must provide incentives that encourage families to work and not stay on welfare.

Dramatically Improve Child Support Enforcement — Both parents have a responsibility to support their children. One parent should not have to do the work of two. Only one-third of single parents currently receive any court-ordered child support. The system for identifying fathers and ensuring that their children receive the support they deserve must be strengthened.

Provide Education, Training and Other Services to Help People Get Off and Stay Off Welfare — People should have access to the basic education and training they need to get and hold onto a job. Existing programs encouraged by the Family Support Act of 1988 need to be expanded, improved and better coordinated.

¹ Clinton and Gore, *Putting People First* (Times Books, 1992) at 165.

Create a Time-Limited Transitional Support System Followed By Work — With the first three steps in place, assistance can be made truly transitional. Those who are healthy and able to work will be expected to move off welfare quickly, and those who cannot find jobs should be provided with work and expected to support their families."

In both the campaign and more recent formulation, there is not sufficient detail to know precisely what the President ultimately envisions for a system with initial access to education and training, followed by work at the two year point. Several different program designs could be envisioned within this framework. One version often discussed would provide that individuals get access to education and training in their first two years of AFDC; then, any subsequent cash assistance would only be provided in return for work, probably in the form of community work experience, i.e., working off the AFDC grant.

In general terms, the idea of two years of education and training followed by a work mandate may seem attractive. To date, however, there has been relatively little attempt to draw out how such a design might actually work. This document seeks to do so. It considers operational questions that would necessarily arise, and concludes that the concept is based on flawed premises, would be complex and costly, and risks unraveling the progress that has been made since states began to implement the Family Support Act. This is because:

- The concept disregards basic facts about length of stay on AFDC. Most AFDC spells last a year or less, though many families have more than one spell. Since most spells don't last two years, most families will never have access to a two year education and training program unless they increase the length of their AFDC spells.
- Imposing a two year "clock" from the moment AFDC receipt begins would force recipients to make irrational and inefficient decisions about whether and when to initiate education and training activities.
- A two year clock would shift JOBS program attention away from individualized assessments and employability planning to a preoccupation with the length of past or current education and training participation.
- The concept appears to preclude access to what is likely to be the most promising route out of poverty for a single parent: postsecondary education.
- Large sums of money, and extensive system resources would be devoted to a "work off the AFDC grant" program. Nothing in existing research suggests that such a program would increase the employability of participating families.
- In program design, a "work off the grant" requirement needs to be either better or worse than private sector minimum wage employment. Both alternatives pose problems. There is no justification for taking a punitive approach to families whose only deficiency is an inability to find employment; yet any structure

preferable to available minimum wage jobs would defeat its purposes and pose severe equity problems.

- At a time when child care is unavailable for many working poor families, there is no justification for committing the next half million or more child care slots to a work-off-the-grant program.
- Despite its cost, a broad-based work mandate for all or most families who have received AFDC for at least two years would ultimately result in a narrower safety net for families with children.

In short, the Two Years/Work Model would be expensive, yet would not accomplish its basic goals.

An alternative framework could implement the Clinton vision while building on the strengths of the JOBS Program and retaining the essential safety net features of the AFDC Program. Key features of an alternative framework could be:

- Targeting JOBS services and mandates to teen parents and families that have been on AFDC for a period of time, e.g., a year.
- Requiring that a family completing the education/training portion of JOBS must enter into a work-related component, such as job search, on-the-job training, work experience, or other work-related activities.
- Providing that once a family enters the JOBS program, an obligation to continue a JOBS activity continues for the duration of AFDC receipt.

This approach would meet the Clinton goals of ensuring that families able to work are expected to do so, but would eliminate the arbitrary "two year" line, better reflect the fact that most use of AFDC is short-term, and provide greater flexibility to states to structure a program that responds to the needs and circumstances of participants. And it would reduce the risk of an already shredded safety net unraveling even further. While any serious approach to reducing the need for welfare assistance will cost money, this formulation is more likely to assure that the money goes to improving the human capital, employability, and well-being of poor families.

I. Why Two Years and Then Work Won't Work

The Two Years/Work Model is often described as having two phases. In Phase I, a family entering AFDC will be offered access (or perhaps required to participate in) two years of education and training. Then, at the two year point, Phase II begins, access to education and training ends, and the family must work in return for assistance for as long as the family receives AFDC.

The Phase I/Phase II approach seems to operationalize two principles that many people would agree on:

- Many parents entering AFDC lack the education and training needed to get a job in which they can support their family; accordingly, there is a need for an investment in expanded education and training efforts.
- An individual who has completed needed education and training ought to be expected to work if she can do so.

The problem is not with these underlying principles; the problem is that both Phase I and Phase II present design and conceptual issues that will prevent them from accomplishing the goals set out for them.

A. The Two Year Plan Disregards What is Known About How Most Families Use the AFDC Program Over Time.

For many people, the notion that families should have two years of access to education and training and then be required to work, seems to reflect a fair balance between the principles that government should provide the services families need, and that families should not be allowed to receive assistance indefinitely without working. The attraction of a two year limit is that two years seems like a reasonable and substantial period to allow for education and training before a work mandate begins. In practice, however, most families will never receive access to anything approaching two years of education and training unless they greatly extend their usage of AFDC.

It is helpful to begin by appreciating how far we currently are from a system where all AFDC families have access to education and training, let alone access to a two year program. All states are currently required to operate a Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS) for AFDC families. However, in the last reported data, state JOBS Programs only involved about 10% to 15% of AFDC families.² This is not a reflection of state inability to impose requirements — it appears that a state actively exercising available federal options could mandate participation for close to 80% of AFDC families. Rather, due to limited program resources, the actual number of participating families is only a limited fraction of all AFDC families. Thus, to extend an offer of education and training to all families entering the system would involve a substantial program expansion. But would it make sense?

A Two Year/Work Plan might seem more appropriate if AFDC receipt comported with popular stereotypes, i.e., if most families who began receiving assistance fell into "dependency," and continued to receive assistance indefinitely as a "way of life." In fact, the pattern for most families applying for assistance is precisely the opposite. The majority of AFDC spells appear to be about or less than one year in length.

There has been a great deal of confusion about this point in recent years. One reason is the different picture offered when one looks at point-in-time data for current recipients, as opposed to an examination of all users over time. This is because families with short spells enter and leave more rapidly, while those with longer spells will (by definition) be

² See Greenberg, *Welfare Reform on a Budget* (CLASP, 1992).

more likely to be on AFDC at any point in time. Thus, for example, if one looks at current cases, one finds that 52.6% have been receiving AFDC for less than two years.³ From this data, one might conclude that about half of AFDC families receive assistance for more than two years, and about half receive for less.

However, if one takes all the families who enter the AFDC Program at a point in time, and looks at their usage over the next number of years, one gets a very different picture. For example:

- In a study drawn from the *Survey of Income and Program Participation* (SIPP), 53.5% of AFDC entrants had exited within 12 months, and 71.5% within 24 months.⁴
- In a recent study, Washington State followed the cohort of families who entered the AFDC Program in FY 86 over the next five years. Of the single parent cases who entered in FY 86, 52% exited within the first year, and another 21% exited in 12-24 months.⁵ In other words, almost three-fourths of new entrants exited AFDC within the first two years. For two-parent cases, 70% exited in the first year, and 86% within two years.
- A California cohort study has similar findings. For AFDC-Basic (single parent) families, 60% exited within the first year, and 76% exited within two years.⁶ For AFDC-UP families, 70.5% exited within a year, and 84% within two years.

In understanding the dynamics of AFDC use, different methodologies present different information. It is true that many families currently receiving AFDC are in the midst of a spell that will exceed two years in length, but it also appears true that almost three-fourths of families beginning a spell of AFDC receipt can be expected to exit before reaching the two year point. While both points are accurate, the second is critical to thinking about a time-limited benefits design, because the rules will not just affect people on AFDC today — they will affect everyone who seeks assistance into the future. And if one half to three-fourths of spells do not last two years, then one-half to three-fourths of

³ 1992 *Green Book, Background Material and Data on Programs Within the Jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means*, WMCP 102-44, at 671.

⁴ Ruggles, *Welfare Dependency and Its Cause: Determinations of the Duration of Welfare Spells*, SIPP Working Paper 8908 (1989).

⁵ D'Allesandro and Mounts, *The AFDC Programs: Parents in Transition* (Washington State Division of Income Assistance, January 1993). Washington defined an "exit" as ceasing to receive AFDC for at least three months.

⁶ Maxwell-Jolly and Warren, *California's Welfare Dynamic* (Senate Committee on Appropriations, Joint Oversight Committee on GAIN Implementation, 1989). California defined an "exit" as ceasing to receive AFDC for at least a month.

those entering the system will not be able to complete a two year education and training plan.⁷

It is true that many who end an AFDC spell return to AFDC at a subsequent point. In tracking families over a six year period, Minnesota found that single parent families averaged 1.25 spells of eligibility, and AFDC-UP families averaged 1.4 separate spells.⁸ Washington State found that almost half (48%) of families that exited assistance in FY 86 returned to AFDC over the next five years. California found 50% to return within three years. Thus, families will accumulate longer total time than reflected in individual spells. However, for purposes of thinking about Phase I (or any time-limited AFDC model), the critical point to keep in mind is that most spells are less than two years, but that many families will need to return to AFDC more than once. A system whose services and expectations are designed as if most families receive AFDC continuously is based on erroneous premises.

Suppose a new rule is announced that a family will receive access to education and training only during its first two years of AFDC receipt. What will happen to families entering the AFDC system? There are two major possibilities:

- Families might dramatically extend their lengths of stay on AFDC, in order to get access to the two years of education/training, on the premise that this is a one-time-only chance; or
- Families might continue to exit AFDC just as they currently do, i.e., half within the first year. They will either never begin their two-year education and training programs or they will begin and have them interrupted. In either case, they won't get the two years of education and training envisioned by the plan. If they

⁷ Another source of confusion on the length of AFDC spells is the frequent misinterpretation of the findings in David Ellwood's *Targeting Long-Term "Would-Be" Recipients of AFDC* (Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. 1986). *Targeting* is often cited for the proposition that half of AFDC spells are two years in length, and that one quarter of new recipients will receive AFDC for ten or more years. However, *Targeting* did not measure actual length of AFDC receipt. Rather, *Targeting's* primary focus was to identify the characteristics of individuals most likely to receive AFDC over long periods of time. Toward doing so, it used data available through a longitudinal database, the Panel Study on Income Dynamics (PSID). The PSID contained annual data on family circumstances rather than monthly AFDC case record data. Accordingly, for purposes of identifying longer-term recipients, *Targeting* looked at the amount of AFDC benefits received in a year, and treated each year in which a family received at least one month of AFDC benefits as a year in which AFDC was received. Then, it generated totals for years in which AFDC was received, and used these totals to identify characteristics of long-term recipients.

The often-misunderstood point, however, is that *Targeting* did not seek to, and did not measure total time on AFDC; it only sought to measure years in which AFDC was received. Thus, for example, *Targeting* did not find that 50% of spells lasted for two years; it reported that 50% of spells occurred over two years. A twelve month spell (or an even shorter spell) could easily occur over two years. Similarly, *Targeting* did not conclude that the median duration of AFDC receipt was four years; instead, it found that the median number of calendar years in which AFDC was received was four. To receive AFDC in four calendar years, the family might have received assistance for 48 months, or 4 months, or (more typically) something in between.

⁸ Farseth and Kvamme, *Longitudinal Studies of Minnesota AFDC Case Duration* (Minnesota Department of Human Services, 1989).

subsequently return, the system will be forced to either start a two year clock over again, with the same problems, or to say, for instance, that there are now 11 months left in the family's available two years. Neither seems an attractive alternative.

In short, unless families dramatically lengthen their receipt of AFDC, a promise of two years of education and training in the first two years of AFDC receipt will not result in much assistance to most families entering the AFDC system.

It is true, of course, that the expiration of the two years would not preclude a parent from accessing other education and training opportunities, e.g., JTPA or community-based programs available at little or no cost. However, the critical feature of AFDC is that it provides a source of income support for a single parent to make it possible to participate in an education program and still provide for her family's basic needs. Without some source of income, a single parent's ability to participate in an education or training program is likely to be limited at best.

B. Imposing a two year "clock" from the moment AFDC receipt begins would force recipients to make irrational and inefficient decisions about whether and when to initiate education and training activities.

Leaving aside length-of-stay issues, suppose AFDC rules were written to say that a family can only have access to education and training in its first two years of assistance, and must then work off its grant in any future receipt of aid. How would that affect recipient behavior?

Presumably, some group of recipients don't want education and training, at least at the point they begin receiving AFDC. Members of this group would not change their behavior in response to the rules, though they might have serious regrets in later years. Indeed, given that many initial applicants are quite young, an obvious policy question becomes whether it is wise to force parents to make a life-long decision about access to education and training at the point of initial AFDC application. In an administration committed to the principle of life-long learning, this would seem an inconsistent position.

One could, of course, mandate that all new applicants (with appropriate exemptions) begin to participate in an education and training activity immediately after system entry. The problem would still be that the lifetime education and training allotment would be exhausted in the first two years of AFDC, even though more or different training would make sense at a later point.

Just as one group may not want education and training, another group likely does. Here, the question becomes "what message does the system provide?" Is an offer of two years of education and training to be available to anyone whose application for AFDC is approved? If so, isn't there a danger that AFDC application becomes the route for access to education and training support? On the other hand, if there is some preliminary screen, e.g., a job-readiness screen, then isn't the initial promise of access to education and training undercut?

Possibly the biggest group of new applicants are people who may not be sure whether they do or do not want to participate in education and training. This might include, for instance, parents who have just begun a marital separation or divorce, or parents who have recently been employed and just lost their jobs. They may be in temporary crisis, and need some support during the crisis; they may also be confident that, given time, they will be able to reestablish themselves in the labor market. Their problem, however, is that while a stabilization period or their own job search may seem to make sense, the two year clock will be ticking throughout this time. Accordingly, they may well conclude that they should initiate education/training participation, not because it makes the most sense right now, but because this is the only time that they can both receive cash assistance and participate in education and training. This seems a questionable incentive to put into the system.

In short, imposing a two year clock would force families to make major decisions about education and training for one of the worst possible reasons: that due to a federally imposed bureaucratic rule, there is one and only one chance for access to income support in order to further one's education.

C. A two year clock would shift JOBS program attention away from individualized assessments and employability planning to a preoccupation with the length of past or current education and training participation.

Just as a two year clock would often force recipients to make bad decisions, it would have the same effect on program administrators. Many administrators believe a key virtue of the present JOBS Program is that it has departed from a rigid "one size fits all" approach to program services. Instead, case managers and program participants reach agreement on individual employability plans, based on individual circumstances and needs. Neither administrators nor recipients generally have an interest in making a plan take longer than it needs, but the length of activities is not subject to some arbitrary time frame.

In a world of two-year clocks, the focus would often shift from the appropriateness of the activity to the length of the activity.⁹ However appropriate, activities that took too long would be precluded. And, time would always be of the essence. Delays in scheduling would mean that valuable education time would be lost. Programs that were readily available would be given preference over arguably more appropriate programs that might not begin for several months.

Moreover, program resources would be constantly diverted to disputes over how to calculate the two year clock. For example, what about delays relating to agency processing time for orientation, assessment, employability planning? Will that time be charged against the individual? What about setbacks relating to illness, child care breakdowns, personal crises? Will there be good-cause extensions? What about instances where, for instance, a high school drop-out is making steady progress over time? Is there a public policy rationale for declaring "Time's Up!" after two years?

⁹ The following discussion will seem disturbingly familiar to anyone who has witnessed the JOBS Program's "20 Hour Rule" in action.

The issue of how to treat "returnees" would be a major one. If close to half of exiters come back, a large number of systems decisions would concern individuals who have had some, but not all of their two years in a previous spell. Does the two year clock begin again? In whole or in part? How long ago must a spell have occurred to not affect present access to education and training?

Conceivably, the system could develop an ornate set of counting, tolling, and good cause rules for calculating when two years begins, is suspended, and ends. But toward what end? There have been no claims that "perpetual students" are a significant problem in the JOBS Program. What is gained by a structure that shifts its attention from outcomes to process, and makes a two year clock a central preoccupation of administrators?

D. The structure appears to preclude access to what is likely to be the most promising route out of poverty for a single parent: postsecondary education.

The two year limit appears to limit or effectively prohibit use of the JOBS Program for the completion of post-secondary education. Indeed, *Putting People First* only makes specific reference to programs to help people learn to read, get high school diplomas or equivalency degrees, and acquire specific job skills. And, the language of the principles guiding the Interagency task force refers to providing people with "the basic education and training they need to get and hold onto a job." (emphasis added). The implication would seem to be that the goal is simply basic education for entry-level employment, even though post-high school education may be essential to a single parent trying to earn sufficient income to meet the needs of a family.

Curtailing access to postsecondary education has two serious deficiencies. First, it denies states an option they have had and have exercised under current law: to decide in each state what role should be played in the JOBS Program by postsecondary education. It is not clear why the federal government would want to deny states their current flexibility.

More importantly, the policy would deprive recipients from access to what is likely to be the most promising route out of poverty. Numerous data sources suggest that the best chance for a woman to have above-poverty earnings is to attain a post-secondary education. For example, in 1988, the median annual income of a full time female worker age 25 and over with one to three years of high school was \$13,104 with four years of high school, earnings rose to \$16,810; with four years of college, earnings rose to \$25,187. At each comparable educational level, men's earnings were higher; a woman needed a college education to approach the earnings of a man with four years of high school.¹⁰

The returns for postsecondary education appear to have increased sharply in recent years. Research by Rebecca Blank indicated that in 1989, average weekly earnings for non-elderly women with less than 12 years of education were \$200; earnings for women with 12 years of education were \$276; and earnings for women with more than 12 years

¹⁰ USDE, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1990, Table 344*, at 363. In the same year, median annual income of a full time male worker age 25 and over with one to three years of high school was \$20,777; with four years of high school, earnings rose to \$26,045; and with four years of college, earnings rose to \$36,434.

of education were \$406. Over the decade from 1979 to 1989, earnings for women with less than 12 years of education were flat, earnings for women with 12 years increased 10%, and earnings for women with more than 12 years of education increased 25%. Yet, even women with more than 12 years of education earned substantially less than men with 12 years of education.¹¹

It has become virtually standard wisdom for policy analysts to assert that the returns from education and training programs for welfare recipients are likely to be "modest." To a great extent, this may be because the programs themselves have been modest. There is now convincing evidence that job search programs increase the likelihood that participants will enter employment, but do not generally lead to higher earnings. However, while there have been numerous studies of relatively low cost services, no work-welfare random assignment evaluation has ever sought to measure the impact of allowing AFDC parents to attend community college or complete postsecondary education.

An administration committed to a high-skill, high-wage economy should not wish to preclude single parents from access to the education needed to enter that economy.

E. Large sums of money and extensive system resources would be devoted to a "work off the AFDC grant" program. Nothing in existing research suggests that such a program would increase the employability of participating families.

It is envisioned that after a family reaches the two year point, the family will enter into Phase II, in which the parent or caretaker must work in a community service job as a condition of AFDC receipt. While several work models might be considered, the one frequently talked about is "workfare," i.e., a requirement that the individual work off the family's grant under a formula based on the grant divided by the minimum wage.

There are three key problems with a broad-based workfare program for recipients at the two year point: it will be costly, possibly administratively unmanageable, and there is no evidence that it will contribute to the employability of its participants.

How many people would be affected? At any given point in time, close to half of current recipients have been on AFDC for at least two consecutive years. If prior periods of AFDC receipt are included, then perhaps 60% or more of current recipients have reached the two year point.¹² Based on the current AFDC caseload, this involves something between 2.4 and 3 million families. Assuming very generous exemptions, there would still be somewhere between 1.2 million and 1.5 million families in need of

¹¹ Blank, *The Employment Strategy: Public Policies to Increase Work and Earnings* (1992), Table 2. Earnings for men with 12 years of education were \$471 a week.

¹² This figure may be conservative. Michigan measured total months of AFDC receipt between January 1, 1978 and December 31, 1987 for all individuals (including children) receiving AFDC in 1986. The state found that 78% of those on AFDC in 1986 had at least 24 months of assistance over that ten year period. Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation, Evaluation Section, Michigan Department of Social Services, *Length of Time on Assistance* (October 1991).

workfare placements. Under a less generous exemption structure, 2 million or more families could be involved.

Could workfare placements be generated for this number of participants? There is no parallel in current experience. In September 1991, the entire JOBS Program only involved about 500,000 families, of which probably less than 30,000 were in a workfare activity. Historically, however, a common theme from states has concerned their difficulty in generating large numbers of workfare placements that are not make-work and do not result in displacement of other employees or positions. Generating a million legitimate new positions without displacement seems difficult to imagine.

What would it cost? It is impossible to be sure, but a very conservative estimate is an annual cost of \$3000 per workfare participant, assuming that most participants did not receive child care assistance, and the child care assistance per participant was quite inexpensive.¹³ If child care costs are higher — and there is much reason to believe they would be — the average cost would be far in excess of \$3000 per participant. However, even at that conservative estimate, the annual cost of the workfare component would be something between \$3 and \$5 billion.

What would this \$3 to \$5 billion accomplish? In terms of increasing employability, quite possibly there would be no effects. The existing random assignment literature on community work experience programs offers no reason to believe that a workfare program has any positive impact on the employment rates or earnings of participating families.¹⁴ In those instances where the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation has sought to measure the impact or added impact of CWEP activities in work programs, the findings have been:

- No impact on employment or earnings for AFDC recipients in West Virginia.
- No impact on employment or earnings for AFDC-UP recipients in West Virginia.
- No impact on employment or earnings for AFDC recipients in Cook County.

¹³ These assumptions are based on available but inadequate data. In the last six months of FY 91, according to CLASP calculations from state reports to the federal government, the average monthly cost of a CWEP slot appeared to be \$181.20, excluding child care. See Greenberg, *Welfare Reform on a Budget* (CLASP, 1992). This would translate to \$2174 annually. CLASP also calculated average state spending for families receiving paid child care assistance in September 1991 as about \$237 per family per month. Assuming a 30% child care utilization rate, the additional child care cost per participant would be \$853 annually, for a total of \$3027.

Actual current costs (and for that matter, costs in September 1991) may be different, because the federal government has not released more recent information on the numbers of JOBS participants, CWEP participants, or JOBS child care utilization, and because there continue to be concerns about the reliability of the published data.

¹⁴ The following discussion of CWEP impacts in MDRC studies is drawn from Greenberg, *Community Work Experience: Research Suggests Little or No Effect on Employment and Earnings for AFDC Families*, Testimony Submitted to the Health and Welfare Committee, Vermont House of Representatives (1992). Interested persons wanting the complete discussion should contact CLASP for a copy of the testimony.

- No impact on employment or earnings for AFDC-UP applicants in San Diego.
- No impact on employment or earnings for AFDC applicants in a weak economy in San Diego.
- A statistically significant impact for AFDC applicants in a strong economy in San Diego.

Taken together, these results suggest, at minimum, that a broad-based work program for all persons who have received AFDC at least 24 months is not likely to have much if any impact on employment or earnings for those families. Certainly, there are unresolved questions in the CWEP research, and a continuing workfare obligation of the magnitude and duration being discussed has not been attempted. Nevertheless, from the available research, there is no reason to assume it will improve the employment prospects of participants.

One should be particularly concerned because the program will be so poorly targeted. In theory, states currently target their workfare programs to families who might benefit from an unpaid work experience, e.g., families with little or no work experience. Here, however, states would be doing no such targeting. Instead, the rules would apply to everyone (unless exempt) who reached the two year point. The rules would apply, for example, to someone who has just completed two years of education and training, but has not been able to find a job.

The rules would also apply to an individual who is newly applying for assistance, but has received AFDC for two years in the past. Consider, for instance, Ms. Smith, who received AFDC in 1993 and 1994, was employed throughout 1995, and has just been laid off. When she returns to AFDC in 1996, she will immediately be placed in workfare, because her two year clock expired, even though there is no reason to believe she needs or would benefit from an unpaid work experience at that time. Or, consider Ms. Jones, who received AFDC in 1993 and 1994, married and left assistance in 1995, and returns in 1997 after her marriage break-up. She may need a particular education or training program to better succeed in the workforce, but she will be placed in workfare. As these examples suggest, there will be numerous variations in which an employment/training counselor would likely prescribe some other activity, but the system mandate will be workfare.

Often, a key reason for a work experience program is to expose persons with little or no work history to the world of work. But available data from several states suggests that most AFDC applicants have been employed in the past year, as have 35-40% of recipients. For families with recent work experience, there is even less reason to believe that a workfare program will contribute to future employability.

In short, under Phase II, the federal government would be committing \$3 to \$5 billion a year to a program which, based on evidence to date, shows no evidence of impacts on improving employability and which in many cases seems obviously inappropriate. It does not seem like a good use of money.

F. In program design, a "work off the grant" requirement needs to be either better or worse than private sector minimum wage employment. Both alternatives pose problems. There is no justification for taking a punitive approach to families whose only deficiency is an inability to find employment; yet any structure preferable to available minimum wage jobs would defeat its purposes and pose severe equity problems.

A "work off the grant" program necessarily must be worse than, the same as, or better than available minimum wage jobs. Problems will arise in any case.

A "pure" workfare placement has a structure worse than the worst minimum wage job. This is because the family is, in effect, working for minimum wage, but not getting credit counting toward social security, unemployment insurance, or the earned income tax credit. And, depending on program details, there may be no sick pay, vacation pay, employee health coverage, or other aspects of employee status.

The obvious question is why should government policy be designed to treat single parents who are willing to work worse than they would be treated in the worst minimum wage job? Recall that workfare participants are not people who have failed to "play by the rules"; by definition, they will generally be people who have complied with JOBS mandates, but who have reached the point of having accumulated more than two years of AFDC. If they are willing to work — as demonstrated by their willingness to participate — why should they remain poor simply because neither they nor the government can find a job for them in the private sector economy?

This argument might lead one to make improvements in the workfare package, i.e., to have these earnings count toward the earned income credit, etc. But if the conditions of work are improved, the opposite problem arises: at some point, the work conditions become the same or better than that available in minimum wage employment. Then a serious equity problem arises: how can a system be justified in which many people are unemployed, or lack child care and health care in employment, while employment is guaranteed only for families who have received AFDC for at least two years? And, for families whose private sector prospects are often likely to be minimum wage or near-minimum wage employment, how much of a deterrent will result from the specter of a public sector work obligation that may be better than available private sector jobs?

It is hard to see an escape from this paradox. One possible escape would occur if health care, child care, and guaranteed public jobs were made universally available. Short of that resolution, any time-limited benefits system followed by a broad-based work program limited to those at the expiration of the time limit seems destined to either be pointlessly punitive or disturbingly inequitable.¹⁵

¹⁵ If in fact, there is an irrevocable commitment to the principle of a work obligation at the two-year point, there are many respects in which the creation of public employment slots paying wages for work would be substantially preferable to CWEP. The focus of this text, however, is on whether the basic concept of a universal, broad-based work requirement at the two-year point would be good policy.

G. At a time when child care is unavailable for many working poor families, there is no justification for committing the next half million or more child care slots to a "work-off-the-grant" program.

To date, there seems to have been limited consideration of the child care implications of the Two Year/Work program. The basic implication is that perhaps the next .5 million to 1 million child care slots supported by the federal government will go to the Phase I and Phase II efforts.

The math is straightforward. Initially, there would need to be substantial expansion of child care for the Phase I education and training effort — recall that at present, the JOBS Program probably only involves 10% to 15% of AFDC families. Then, if there will be 1.5 million workfare slots, a conservative estimate would be 450,000 new families needing paid child care assistance. This estimate is based on the limited available JOBS child care utilization data, from which it appears that about 30% of JOBS participants receive AFDC-assisted child care. The estimate is conservative because 60% of AFDC families have a child under 6, and 83% have a child under 12. If a mandate involves a substantial number of participation hours and extends to parents of young children, it seems quite reasonable to expect higher utilization levels.

One way to appreciate the magnitude of the resultant increase is to note that in the last month where data was available, AFDC-assisted child care was probably only being provided to less than 150,000 families, about 3% of the AFDC population. Thus, it seems that the level of provision of child care to AFDC families would, by the most conservative estimate, need to be quadrupled in order to administer the work-for-welfare program.

At the same time that child care was being expanded to run the work-for-welfare program, many states would continue to have substantial waiting lists for other low income families needing child care in order to work. The troubling result would be that families struggling in low wage jobs outside the welfare system would often be denied child care while governmental child care resources were directed to administering the work-for-welfare program. This raises the question of whether, in an environment of limited resources, does it make sense to devote such massive child care resources to a work-off-the-grant effort when provision of child care to working poor families might make it unnecessary for the families to ever enter the welfare system in the first place?

H. A broad-based work mandate for all or most families who have received AFDC would result in a reduced safety net for families with children.

In the workfare system, some number of parents will fail to comply with program requirements. What will happen to them and their children?

One possibility would be complete loss of assistance; another would be some level of fiscal sanction. The consequences for families will depend on the magnitude of the punishment.

In some respects, the same issue is faced in current law, where families face a fiscal sanction for a parent's noncompliance. However, there will be an important difference in a work component. Program administrators will have to decide whether work slots should have the same work expectations as the private sector, or reduced expectations. If expectations are reduced, one of the key purposes of the slot — to simulate private employment — is undercut. If, on the other hand, employers impose the same expectations as are imposed on other employees, then it follows that some number of AFDC participants will either be fired, or "not retained."¹⁶ What will happen then?

Here, a serious tension will arise between competing goals. On the one hand, program operators might want very strong sanctions to send a signal about the importance of appropriate job performance, and to assure that there is sufficient difference between the "working" benefit level and "not working" benefit level. But, the greater the difference in benefit levels, the lesser will be the safety net for children in families whose parents cannot or do not maintain their workfare positions. Policy discussions often proceed on the fiction that sanctions are directed only against the offending caretaker. The reality is that there will be less money for food, rent, and utilities, and the burden will fall equally on the children. And such results will necessarily occur more often in a program enforcing an ongoing work mandate.

II. The Problem in Summary

The preceding discussion suggests that in developing any version of the Clinton vision premised on a rigid work-off-the-grant requirement at the two-year point, the devil will indeed be in the details. Moreover, there are no modest modifications that can excise the devil. This is because:

- Phase I will fail for some people because they don't receive AFDC for two consecutive years and thus will never receive substantial education and training opportunities intended before the work component begins. It will fail for others because it will force them or the program to make irrational or arbitrary decisions about the desirability and length of education, as the two year limit dominates and distorts all decisions.
- Phase II will be extremely expensive, and will commit billions of dollars that could be invested in education, training, and support of the working poor to a program that demonstrates no evidence of any impact on employability. It will either punish people for the sole offense of receiving AFDC for two years, or result in serious dislocations of the private labor market. And, it will lead to increased sanctions, with concomitant suffering for children.

This discussion suggests that "two years, then work" turns out to be an idea that may sound attractive, but cannot be implemented without having major unintended and undesired consequences, which are likely to wholly undercut the original vision.

¹⁶ To be clear, I am not suggesting that AFDC recipients, as a group, will be less competent employees than anyone else. I am suggesting, though, that when a private worker is discharged, she still has a safety net through the Unemployment Insurance system or AFDC. When an AFDC worker is discharged, where's the safety net?

III. An Approach that Could Work: "End Welfare as We Know It" through a JOBS Program That Invests in People and Supports Work

The probable reason why the Clinton approach has been so popular is that many of the underlying themes are surely right:

- It is undesirable to have a welfare system in which a parent who is able to work can, in theory, receive assistance indefinitely without ever working.
- Many families receiving AFDC need further education and training to succeed in the workforce.
- After a parent has received the education and training she needs, she ought to work if she is able to do so.

The problem is not in the principles, but in attempting to design a system satisfying them.

There are surely alternative approaches that could satisfy the principles without leading to the problems described above. One possible approach would be to reconceptualize JOBS and the JOBS obligation.

Many states have made tremendous progress since they began JOBS implementation in expanding access to education, training, work-related services, and child care for AFDC families. However, there have been four key problems in JOBS implementation:

- **Insufficient Resources to Involve Most AFDC Families:** In FY 91, only about 10-15% of AFDC families were participating in JOBS each month. This was not because of inability to impose mandates or lack of interested families; it was because states lacked the resources to expand JOBS to more people. The lack of resources had two consequences: families wanting services could not receive them; and states were unable to implement a structure in which JOBS participation was a general expectation of AFDC receipt.
- **A Focus on Participation Rather than Outcomes:** At the federal level, there has been a strong emphasis on the requirement that states meet JOBS participation rates, but virtually no attention to state success in helping families enter employment. A state must provide extensive reporting on participation, and risks loss of federal funds for failure to meet participation rates. In contrast, there has not even been basic reporting of program outcomes, and a state which has significant numbers of participants enter employment may have a harder time meeting participation rates than a state that has longer, more ongoing JOBS participation.
- **Conflicting Statutory and Regulatory Mandates:** Congress and the Department of Health and Human Services have sent states a set of signals about program design, and the signals are often internally contradictory. On the one hand, states are directed to commit the majority of JOBS resources to "target" groups

of those hardest to serve. On the other hand, the easiest way to meet a participation rate is through working with those easiest to serve. And imminent new requirements will set a new contradictory direction by imposing very high participation rates for AFDC-UP families, even though they are most likely to leave AFDC on their own within a year.

- **Lack of Attention to What Happens to Families After Education is Completed:** States have generally made a dramatic shift to human capital development in their JOBS Programs. However, it is often unclear what happens after a family has gone as far as it will go in the education component of the state program. And, there has been relatively little expansion of on-the-job training, work supplementation, job placement and job development components of state programs.

A restructured JOBS Program could address these problems and further the Clinton themes, but in a way that is sensitive to the real dynamics of AFDC receipt. With additional JOBS funding, AFDC could have the following elements:

1. Teen Parents would be subject to participation requirements from the point they enter the AFDC system, on the premise that young, never-married parents with limited education appear the most likely to use AFDC for long periods of time, and they would likely benefit from school completion.
2. For all other recipients, a participation mandate (with appropriate exemptions) would begin after they have been receiving AFDC for some period of time, e.g., one year. (States would continue to have the authority to impose requirements earlier, but the state's participation rate would be based on those who have reached this point).
3. For the group that has reached the designated point, the participation rate would be higher than current law. Instead of the current-law 20 hour rule, a more reasonable definition of "participation" would be developed. Since the program focus would be on those who have been on AFDC for some period of time, the separate JOBS targeting requirements could be eliminated, as could the separate participation rate for AFDC-UP families.
4. For the group that has reached the designated point, the JOBS obligation would continue throughout AFDC receipt. Initially, the participant would have access to education and training. After completion of education and training, the participant would be required to move into a work component. That component could be any of several: OJT, work supplementation, work experience, employment, job search, other work activities approved by the Secretary. At state option, at periodic reassessments, the obligation could involve a return to education or a combination of work and education/training.
5. Exempt persons could continue to volunteer for JOBS services, and states would be obligated to make services available to them.

There are a number of desirable features of this approach:

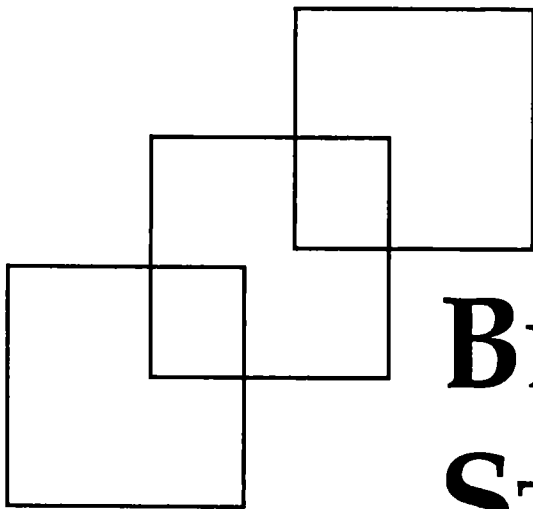
- It "ends welfare as we know it," because after a clearly designated point, there would be a very high expectation of participation in JOBS or involvement in work. The expectation would be a continuing condition of AFDC receipt.
- It ensures that after education is completed, a work activity follows. However, it does not impose the straight-jacket of a two-year framework, and does not require all states to follow one work design for all people.
- It fosters flexibility and state discretion in program design, and allows states to focus on the goal of helping families enter employment rather than be overwhelmed with the tasks of administering the Two Years/Work system. Since there would be more flexibility on which activity an individual is engaged in at the designated point, there would be less need to devote substantial systems resources to resolving whether the individual had reached the designated point.
- The model builds on existing state JOBS programs, does not require states to reverse directions in mid-stream, but addresses key problems in JOBS — the relative lack of attention to employment placement for persons completing education and training activities and the inconsistent federal directions to states.

A design like this would only make sense in the context of significantly expanded resources for the JOBS Program. It may be politically easy for legislators to advocate expanded mandates, but it seems clear that the primary barrier to expanded participation under current law is the lack of resources. In fact, for a number of states, the major problem in program implementation has not been the inability to generate sufficient participants; it has been the inability to meet the need for child care assistance by AFDC families who want to participate in education and training programs. While the political issue may be one of wanting to "get tough about mandates," the reality is that in many sites, the willingness of individuals to participate exceeds the resources that have been committed to the program.

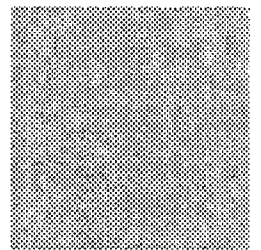
Necessarily, this approach would cost more than current law, but any attempt to expand JOBS or education, training, and work services will cost more than current law. The issue is whether this is a better use of resources; there is much reason to believe it would be.

The design described above is, of course, not the only possible alternative design. The key point, however, is that as the welfare reform debate moves forward, there is a need to determine which program design can best further the broad underlying principles. That can probably only be determined by filling out the details, and tallying the devils.

A number of people provided helpful comments on the first draft of this paper; some of them do not agree with some of the points in the paper. In any case, I greatly appreciate the comments of Deborah Harris, Cliff Johnson, Jodie Levin-Epstein, Steve Savner, Carolyn Shapiro and Susan Steinmetz.



BEYOND STEREOTYPES



What State AFDC Studies on Length of Stay Tell Us About Welfare as a “Way of Life”

Executive Summary

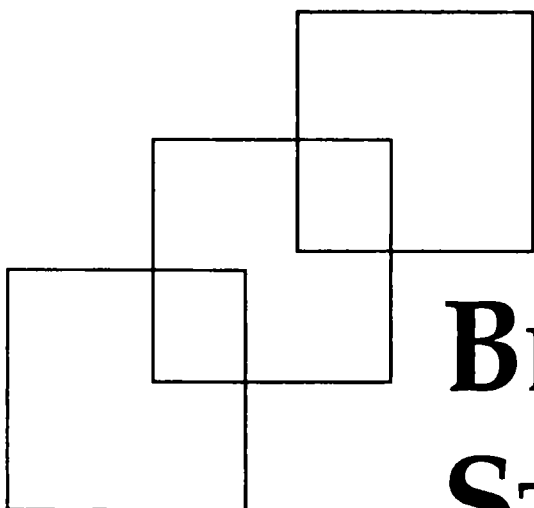
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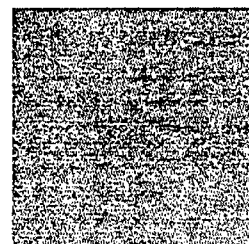
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Beyond Stereotypes

What State AFDC Studies on Length of Stay Tell Us About Welfare as a "Way of Life"

Executive Summary

Many of the most dramatic policy alternatives under consideration for changing the welfare system may be based on misunderstandings about the extent and nature of long-term AFDC receipt.

In recent months, there has been increasing discussion at the state and federal level of imposing time limits on AFDC receipt. To a great extent, the idea seems based on the premise that AFDC functions as a "way of life" for large numbers of people who receive AFDC year after year without ever entering into employment outside the home. Some members of the public appear to believe that virtually all AFDC recipients are long-term recipients. Others view AFDC as essentially comprised of two groups: short-termers, who use the system for less than two years; and another group, who do not escape the system in their first two years and are therefore likely to become long-term recipients.

In fact, the number of families receiving AFDC continuously for long periods of time is less than is often suggested. Data from a set of states looking at monthly AFDC receipt suggests that 50% of single parent entrants exit AFDC within a year and 70% exit within two years of beginning to receive assistance. Less than 15% receive continuously for five or more years. While many families who leave AFDC for a period of time return and seek assistance again, the pattern for the vast majority of families using AFDC looks more like a "safety net" than a "way of life."

The welfare reform debate has been dominated by prejudice and stereotype because there is surprisingly little information on questions about how long families use AFDC, how often they enter employment, and what happens when they enter employment. The major national studies of AFDC utilization have been based on annual data, i.e., did Ms. Smith receive AFDC at some point in the year? They have not been based on monthly data, e.g., how much of the year did Ms. Smith receive AFDC? If she had a break in aid, why did it happen, how long did it last, and what led her to return to AFDC? Did she get a job at some point in the year? How long did the job last? Why did it end?

These latter questions have enormous importance for discussion of welfare reform, because they would help policy-makers evaluate how much of the welfare problem is "dependency" and how much of the problem can be explained by the nature of the labor market facing the single mothers who seek AFDC assistance.

Last year, CLASP wrote to all state welfare departments, asking whether they had engaged in any studies of length-of-stay on AFDC or characteristics of long-term recipients. Most state agencies had not. A limited number of states had initiated "cohort studies," i.e., studies that examine AFDC use over a period of time for a group of families entering the system at the same time.

Cohort Studies Provide Essential Information

Most state welfare departments cannot answer the question "how long do families that enter the AFDC system use AFDC?" To do so, one needs to track AFDC use over a period of years and look at utilization for a sample of all families who use AFDC, not just those receiving AFDC today (or any particular point in time). This is because shorter-term users are less likely to be included if one just measures spell length or AFDC receipt for the families receiving AFDC at any given point.

The fact that usage will be longer for current recipients than for all recipients does not describe some special feature of AFDC; it is true for any process or program in which people have differing participation lengths. A way to help understand this point is the hospital analogy offered by Bane and Ellwood, *The Dynamics of Dependence* (1983). Consider a hospital with two beds. Over a week, a different person occupies Bed A each day, i.e., seven people over the week. One person occupies Bed B over the entire week. Thus, 87.5% (seven out of eight) of patients used the hospital for a day, and 12.5% (one out of eight) used it for a week. But on any given day, 50% of the hospital's users were in the midst of a week-long stay. Longer-term users are always disproportionately represented in a snapshot of the people using the system at a given point in time.

Note that neither approach (looking at all users or just current users) gives the "right" or "wrong" answer; they answer different questions. However, when looking at anyone's data, it is important to understand what data is being presented and which question is being answered. And, when looking at any assertion about "AFDC recipients" or any proposal that will affect everyone who uses AFDC, it is essential to consider not just the families using AFDC today, but also the much larger group of families who use AFDC over time.

The value of studies which examine a cohort of program entrants is that they let one answer the question "of all families entering the AFDC system, how long do they stay?"

Monthly Dynamics of AFDC Use

In recent years, three states (Washington, California, and Minnesota) have initiated cohort studies of program entrants, and a fourth (Vermont) included data on a cohort of entrants as part of another study. Each of these studies differed from the others in various ways.¹ Nevertheless, the picture they present is strikingly consistent. The studies that look at spell length suggest that:

- About half of all single parents beginning an AFDC spell exit within one year, and almost three-fourths exit within two years.

¹ For example, Washington, California, and Vermont present spell length data for their cohort of entrants. Minnesota looks at total months of AFDC receipt over a period of time. Washington and Vermont defined "exit" as having left AFDC for at least three consecutive months; California counted a one month break in aid as an exit. California has three years of data, while each of the other states have at least five years.

- Less than 15% of program entrants receive AFDC continuously for five years without a break in aid.

AFDC Exit Rates for Single Parent Families			
Time Period	Washington	California	Vermont
12 Months ²	52%	60%	53%
24 Months	71%	76%	70%
36 Months	80%	83%	80%
60 Months	90%	NA	88%

For AFDC-UP families, 70% exit in the first year, and less than 5% appear to receive AFDC for five years continuously without a break in aid:

AFDC Exit Rates for AFDC-UP Families			
Time Period	Washington	California	Vermont
12 Months ²	70%	70.5%	83%
24 Months	86%	84%	93%
36 Months	92%	88%	96%
60 Months	96%	NA	97%

For many families, spell length understates total AFDC receipt, because the family receives AFDC more than once. Indeed, Washington finds that almost fifty percent of exiters return at least once in five years; California finds that almost fifty percent return at least once in three years. The one state cohort study that examines total AFDC receipt over a period of years is Minnesota. In two separate studies (for a 1977 group and a 1982 group) Minnesota data indicates that over a six to seven year period:

- most single parent entrants used AFDC for less than 24 months; and
- the group of essentially continuous users appears to be in the 7% to 12% range.

² 13 Months for Vermont.

Minnesota: Total Months of AFDC Receipt For Single Parents Over a Period of Time

Months of AFDC Receipt	Over 86 Months (1977 Cohort)	Over 72 to 76 Months (1982 Cohort)
Less than 12	40%	35%
Less than 24	56%	54%
Less than 36	65%	65%
Less than 48	74%	72%
Less than 60	82%	79%
Less than 72	87%	88%
Less than 84	93%	NA

For AFDC-UP families, almost two-thirds (64%) used AFDC for less than 24 months in a seven year period.

Minnesota: Total AFDC Receipt Over a 72 to 76 Month Period for AFDC-UP Parents (1982 Cohort)

Months of AFDC Receipt	Percentage of Entrants	Cumulative Percentage
Less than 12	39%	39%
12-23 Months	25%	64%
24-35 Months	13%	77%
36-47 Months	6%	83%
48-59 Months	6%	89%
60-71 Months	5.5%	95.5%
72 or More Months	4.5%	100%

Looking at these studies suggests:

- most AFDC usage is short-term;
- the group of essentially continuous users, at least over a five to seven year period, is a distinct but small minority of total AFDC users;

- the system is not simply composed of short-term and long-term users. There is also a middle group of people who reach the two-year point but do not become continuous users. Most families that reach the two year point do not receive AFDC for five years without exiting. Indeed, this "middle group" is larger than the group of continuous long-term users, and over time, could be the bulk of those affected by proposals to end assistance after two years.

AFDC Recipients and Employment

Where do AFDC recipients go when they exit? Why do so many return? Unfortunately, none of the state cohort studies address this point, and there is a major gap in our understanding of why people exit and why many return. One possible explanation is that there is far more moving back and forth between AFDC and employment than is typically portrayed in discussions of the AFDC population.

How often do AFDC recipients enter employment? Many people assume "rarely," because in any given month, only a small percentage of AFDC recipients are reported to be employed. In an average month in 1990, federal data indicates that only 6.7% of AFDC mothers were working full or part time. This low percentage, to a great extent, reflects budgeting rules that tend to make a family ineligible for assistance after it enters employment. Thus, the number of currently employed AFDC recipients always appears small, because a family that enters employment is likely to immediately or rapidly cease receiving AFDC. However, when states survey current AFDC recipients about whether they have worked in the past year, the responses generally indicate that 35% to 40% of respondents say they have done so. However, jobs are often short-term — a Florida study found that 72% of a group of recipients worked over a five-year period, with those who worked averaging 4.4 jobs during that time.

The picture of employment entries and employment loss is also suggested when one looks at "control group" members in work-welfare evaluations. In these evaluations, researchers track employment over time for members of a "control group" who receive few or no program services and are under no program requirement to enter employment. For example, in the recent evaluation of California's GAIN Program, 51% of those who were subject to GAIN requirements entered employment over a two year period; so did 45% of the control group. However, by the last quarter of the two year period, only half of the control group members who entered employment were still employed. Similarly, in most of the work-welfare experiments of the 1980's, one sees data suggesting that substantial numbers of control group members entered employment over the measured time, but that in many instances, the jobs did not last.

Employment Entries for Control Group Members in Work-Welfare Demonstrations			
Site	Number of Quarters	% Ever Entering Employment	% Employed in Last Quarter
Arkansas	11	36.2%	18.3%
Baltimore	11	65.5%	40.3%
Virginia	9	58.9%	34.1%
San Diego SWIM	8	50.7%	29.3%
Cook County	5	35.8%	23.4%
San Diego I	5	55.4%	38.1%
West Virginia	5	22.7%	13.8%

Note that these employment rates occur without providing program services; the consistent finding from evaluation of work-welfare programs is that such programs can raise entered-employment rates. The data suggests that, for large numbers of recipients, the problem is not failure to enter employment — it is that the jobs often do not last, and may not result in a permanent change in circumstances.

Policy Implications for the Time-Limited Welfare Debate

A number of assumptions governing the welfare reform debate may be wrong. In recent years, state and federal policy-makers have increasingly conceptualized AFDC as a dangerous trap — a common perspective is that those who do not "escape" from AFDC in two years are likely to become "dependent." Thus, we see the momentum for two-year time limits to prevent AFDC from becoming a "way of life."

The data here is only suggestive, because it is for a limited group of states, a limited period of time, and there is no ready way to combine the state data on caseload dynamics with the state data on employment entries. However, when one pulls together this data, the tentative picture that emerges is:

- Short spells of AFDC are more frequent than typically believed. The median spell length for a new entrant seems to be one year or less. Over two-thirds of new entrants exit within two years.
- Long-term continuous usage is less frequent than typically believed. Of a group of new entrants, the number who will receive AFDC continuously for five years without exiting appears less than 15%.
- At least over a five to seven year period, AFDC is not simply composed of short-termers and long-termers. Most families that receive AFDC for at least two years

do not become continuous users. The group of "middle-term" users is larger than the group of essentially continuous users.

- The idea that employment entries by AFDC recipients are infrequent seems wrong. Most available data suggests that between one third and one half of AFDC recipients will enter employment in the next two years — and a larger number if employment-related services are provided. However, the jobs are often ones that do not last for substantial periods of time.
- The idea that the primary challenge in welfare reform is simply to move AFDC recipients "from welfare to work" is not a good description of a large part of the AFDC population. Substantial numbers of those who use AFDC have recent work histories, and substantial numbers will enter employment on their own. The issue for many of these families is not how to get them to work but what happens after they go to work, i.e., will the job last, will it be sufficient to support a family, what combination of services and income support might improve job retention and reduce family poverty for those entering employment. This data does not indicate to what extent job loss reflects characteristics of individuals or characteristics of the jobs available in the low-wage labor market, but it does suggest that the challenge is more than and different from simply "getting people to work."

At one level, the clearest conclusion is that the federal and state research agenda needs to be significantly expanded on fundamental questions about how families use AFDC and about the relation between welfare and work. The state cohort studies may or may not be representative of the nation as a whole. The picture they paint may or may not be different if they were carried out for longer periods of time. Their findings on shorter spell lengths and fewer continuous AFDC recipients may or may not reflect more work-related exits than are generally acknowledged. But the picture they present is sufficiently different from that governing the current debate that it should be essential to initiate cohort studies in other states, with attention to spell lengths, total time on AFDC, reasons for exits, reasons for reentries, and employment while on AFDC.

Meanwhile, there are some immediately relevant implications for AFDC policy and the "time-limited AFDC" debate:

- The idea that government needs to do something drastic to families who have received AFDC for two years in order to prevent long-term "dependency" is wrong, for at least most of those who reach the two year point. Having received AFDC for two years may well make sense for targeting purposes, since exit rates after two years are lower than exit rates before two years. But there is a big difference between targeting for services and terminating assistance. It would clearly be helpful to have a better understanding of the characteristics of those who reach the two year point, but this data suggests that for most of those who reach the two year point, the problem isn't "dependence" on AFDC. Instead, there may be specific barriers to employment, and some may be unable to enter employment on either a temporary or ongoing basis. But nothing here suggests that the experience of AFDC leads most people who reach the two year point into a "dependence" that will continue until they are forced out of the system.

- Any proposal to have a major change at the two-year point needs to be considered in light of the fact that most people who enter the system don't use AFDC for two continuous years in a row, though they often receive more than 24 months over a longer period of time.
- The idea that the best way to reduce welfare use is to make welfare worse is not supported by the evidence on employment entries. Given the employment entry rates and employment loss rates, a more promising approach may be policies directed at helping those who enter employment to keep their jobs and to advance in the labor force.
- The idea that welfare use will be substantially reduced if we "make work pay" may or may not be right. On the one hand, it seems plausible that if there is a greater return to work, more people will enter employment and job retention rates may improve. On the other hand, the existing data provides very little information about why so many employment entries last for such a short period of time. It may be that the jobs pay little, or lack health care, or that child care problems arise; it may also be that the kinds of jobs available for persons with limited education or training are, by their nature, jobs that do not last long. While "make work pay" policies will unquestionably reduce family poverty, there is no basis for assuming they will obviate the need for AFDC between spells of low-wage work.
- There is clearly a group that — at least in the first five-six years after entering AFDC — appears to use AFDC on a continuous basis. While they represent a larger share of the AFDC caseload at any point in time, they are a significant minority of the families who rely on the AFDC system. There is a clear need to develop a better understanding of their circumstances and needs. While it is possible that some members of the group would benefit from a structured work mandate, there is no reason to assume that their primary barrier is motivational without some further examination of their circumstances.

If it is true that there are a fairly small number of continuous users, but a much larger number of families that rely on AFDC periodically, then the role of AFDC for the vast majority of users looks more like a safety net than a "way of life." Rather, for many of the families, the "way of life" may involve periodically entering low-wage employment, and needing AFDC as an income supplement or a source of support between episodes of low-wage employment. Accordingly, the key policy issue for most recipients is not how to get them to stop using AFDC; it is how to raise their earnings or income when they enter employment and how to help them increase the likelihood of success when they enter employment. The notion that they would be better off in a world without income support seems clearly wrong.



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LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD, JR.
PRESIDENT

August 18, 1993

*welfare-
advocates*

Mrs. Kathryn Way
Special Assistant to the President
Domestic Policy Council
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Way:

First, I wish to express my deep appreciation to you for taking time out of your demanding schedule to talk with me during my recent trip to Washington.

Second, I have been in contact with the department and agency heads to which you referred me. The department and agency heads have been most helpful.

Third, I am following up with various agencies and departments, and I will keep you informed regarding the progress I am making.

Fourth, you are greatly assisting President Bill Clinton in the implementation of his domestic agenda for America. For this commitment, I am deeply grateful.

Truly Yours,

Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr.
Founder

LFHsr:cwa

To:

ms. Kathi Way

From: Mebane Taylor
22 Taylor Drive
Bradford, PA 16701
814-362-2183

Sept. 4, 1993

advocate
file

no
response
needed

I enclose:

1. "On Human Rights: A Rational Approach to Alleviating Poverty, Crime, and Overpopulation"
2. Statistics and Information Concerning Bradford Family Planning, Inc.

The former is the result of the latter, and my 17 years in family planning counseling as documented in the latter qualifies me as an expert entitled to speak out on this subject.

Both lead me to the conclusion that our giant welfare system must be examined and altered to try to cure poverty rather than simply subsidizing it. Whatever is subsidized grows, "i.e." the number of poor people, and whatever is taxed is diminished, "i.e." the middle class. It is the duty of society to help the poor, but they in turn should not inflict upon society children that neither they nor society, at this point, can afford to raise properly.

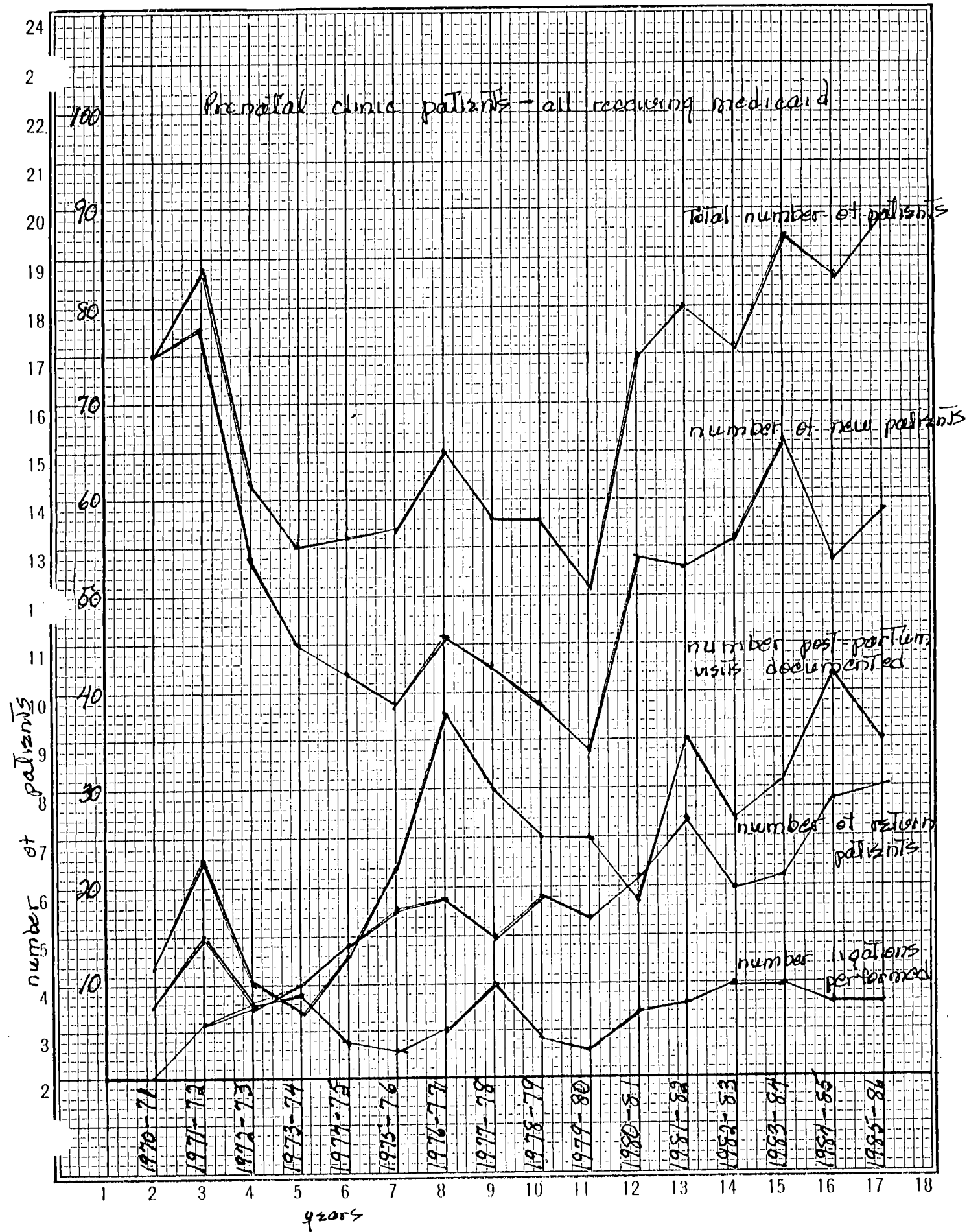
For those who are interested in the welfare of children, the poor, animals, government, environment, the population explosion, abortion rights, the past, and scientific truth should recognize that their causes would be advanced by adopting the ideas expressed in the enclosures and join hands in opening a debate on the purpose and administration of our welfare system. And there can be no debate without the interest of those who report the news.

Please communicate about my thoughts among yourselves and to others so the debate may begin before it is too late. I would also appreciate your response to these ideas, even though some may be negative.

Children denied their human rights through our well-meaning but ill-advised welfare system seldom flourish. They are a problem to themselves, to their parents, to society and form a pool from which criminals usually arise. How much better for all concerned if their parents had chosen not to bear them. How much better for society if those who commit heinous crimes are swiftly eliminated from our midst. Our overpopulated world does not need their presence.

Let me conclude by stating that my views are not racist as blacks do not have a corner on poverty. With the exception of a handful, all the patients of Bradford Family Planning, Inc. were caucasian. I am, however, prejudiced against what poverty does to people of all colors and would like to see it cured rather than subsidized.

copies To all members
of the
working group on welfare Reform



On Human Rights
A Rational Approach to Alleviating Poverty, Crime, and Overpopulation
by Mebane Taylor

Before discussing the rights of humans, it is necessary to examine how our species is currently viewed by Science. God's Animal Kingdom as classified by Linnaeus (1707-78), contains presently 24 phyla or divisions. Ours constitutes one, and all other animals fall into the other 23. Our classification, according to this system is as follows:

Phylum Chordata, all animals with backbones, the vertebrates

Class Mammalia, those bearing live young

Order Primate, apes, monkeys, lemurs, tarsiers, marmosets, man and his ancestral species

Family Hominidae, the Great Apes, man and the extinct hominids

Genus, the extinct Homo Erectus, the extinct Homo Habilis, and man

Species, the extinct Homo Sapiens Neanderthalensis and Homo Sapiens Sapiens (translation wise wise man)

Charles Darwin (1809-82) and Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913) both developed the theory of evolution but did so independently, recognizing natural selection as the mechanism driving it. Both men were influenced by two geologists, James Hutton (1726-97) and Charles Lyell (1797-1875) and one English economist/clergyman, Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834). Malthus felt that food supply increases more slowly than population. Thus people will always be struggling for this limited resource, making poverty and distress unavoidable even though factors such as war and disease do limit population growth somewhat. The theory of evolution takes this thought and applies it to the entire animal kingdom producing the idea that only the fittest survive in the struggle for resources and the production of descendants, a by-product of success in the resource struggle. Hutton and Lyell's observations were in disagreement with Archbishop Usher's calculations stipulating that creation occurred on Oct. 26, 4004 B.C. at 9 a.m. They postulated that the earth was instead millions of years old thus allowing the eons necessary for natural selection to eventually produce new species. Genetics now demonstrates how the random action of x-rays and other agents on genes cause changes in the chromosomes which in turn produce diversity in the offsprings on which the environment acts.

The fact that evolution did occur is seldom questioned, but scientists have been fine tuning this theory ever since its discovery. It is now thought that space or the Territorial Imperative may play a part in who breeds successfully and who does not.

In 1903, C.B. Moffatt, an Irish ornithologist was the first to define this biological principle. It states that there is a portion of this earth's surface that belongs to a proprietor of any territorial species. This gives an animal better defense against intruders. His territory and its hiding places are more familiar to him than to a stranger of the same species. Possession in some way also enhances the owner's energy enabling him to defend his territory against an intruder even stronger than he. Territory may also guarantee a food supply for him. If the property is shared with a mate, then it insures that they remain together during the crucial time when the young are being reared. Perhaps

you noticed that all the pronouns were male. This is simply a fact in the animal world. Males defend territory. Females may help but rarely, if ever, hold territory alone. And females do not mate with non-territorial males.

These are powerful benefits for the proprietor and his lady or ladies (if the social contract of his species dictates multiple mates), but further, there are benefits for the population as a whole. The distribution of available space among breeding couples or groups means that the number of young will be kept well below the carrying capacity of the environment and the young will be parented by the most able of their species, those that are able to win and defend territory.

Norway rats are mammals and belong to the same class as *Homo Sapiens Sapiens*. John C. Calhoun, a psychologist and director of the National Institute of Mental Health, has studied their behavior exhaustively, both under natural conditions and when overpopulation is forced upon them.

In Towson, Md. he established a large, outdoor, quarter-acre pen. In this pen were placed five uncaged pregnant females. Two years later, there were 200 rats in this enclosure, and not 50,000 which these five could have theoretically produced. There was every indication that this would remain the ideal number for that amount of space, no matter how long the experiment continued.

Norway rats produce stable societies when no more than a dozen adults form a hierarchy led by an alpha male. Harmony in the group is produced by the amity-enmity complex. Group accord must be maintained so that the common enemy, other rat groups, in contention with them for their territory, may be repelled. In this way, the space available is divided into homesteads for groups of limited numbers and population control is achieved.

Calhoun then turned his attention to what happens when overcrowding is forced upon Norway rats. This experiment was conducted indoors under controlled conditions in four interconnecting pens. Each pen was large enough to accommodate a group of 12 adult rats, the space and numbers having been determined by his previous experiment. The two end pens had only one entrance which could be defended by a large alpha male, but the two middle pens had two entrances, making these two territories impossible to be defended. Each pen had plenty of food, water, and nesting materials, along with artificial burrows for nesting mothers, a real rat paradise in the beginning.

Immediately a natural status struggle took place among the males, and the two most powerful alphas took possession of the end pens, constantly guarding the one entrance so that order was kept within the two end pens, their territories, and their harem females could make their nests undisturbed and raise their young. They even slept by the entrances, keeping out all other males except those who would accept their dominance. These subordinate males never interfered with the females or attempted copulation. Generally the end pen harem females made good mothers, raising about half their babies to weaning.

In the middle pens, as population increased, chaos was evident and eventually a totally unexpected class arose, called by Calhoun "the probers". They consisted of subordinate males, but they were also the most active males and comprised essentially a criminal class. They formed gangs and, while not taking part in the struggles for rank by contending with dominant males, they were

never discouraged, but were hypersexual, homosexual, and frequently cannibalistic. Most astonishingly, they dispensed with the normal courtship ritual of pursuing a female to her burrow and waiting for her to emerge and accept him. These probers committed the equivalent of rat rape by pursuing her into her burrow, trampling and killing the young with abandon and, following sexual activity, eating any dead babies lying about.

Female society in the middle pens suffered more than the males. Nest building declined to the point that no nests at all were built during the second half of the experiment. Only 4% of the young survived, and half of the females died of pregnancy disturbances and sexual assault.

Mankind, as the Norway rat, is territorial and is surely in the midst of a population explosion producing more "probers", more improperly attended babies, and more violence committed upon women with each passing year. The space or territory necessary to support a group of humans has changed over the years. In simpler times, several families either defended a hunting territory with a leader in charge or protected the farm or farming village. As civilization grew, all were not required for food production, and other skills developed which were traded in exchange for food. Towns and cities became the residences for the artisans, politicians, and businessmen of civilization. Generally speaking, human territory can be defined as how a living is earned. Western Civilization with its Industrial and Scientific Revolutions, in essence increased the food supply and the number of jobs or territories available to mankind, thus absorbing and supporting population growth without destabilizing the natural order of society.

In addition to stabilizing population, the territorial imperative is thought to answer a deep psychological need. Robert Ardrey adds the need for identity to the twin needs of security and stimulation recognized by Fraser Darling. They may be clarified by considering that anonymity is the opposite of identity; boredom, of stimulation; and anxiety, of security. Thus, those without territory, or jobless citizens, even though fed and sheltered, suffer with boredom, anxiety, and anonymity.

These emotional problems cannot be corrected until a person becomes territorial or finds a job. Social workers even with counseling cannot correct, only ease this situation. Liberal government programs are unable to manufacture enough jobs in the private sector to accommodate all. There is a limit to the number of government created jobs that the private sector, the holders of territory, can afford. The growth of territories in the private sector cannot continue indefinitely as it is evident that our planet is a finite one. Basically our society is now producing more job applicants than jobs.

Paradoxically, however, those lacking jobs have created positions for social workers who care for our non-territorial citizens. Biologically speaking, these two groups are in symbiosis, both preying upon the private sector. It should be noted that a successful parasite is one which does not kill its host, because, if this occurs, both parasite and host perish. The question then becomes one of just how to proceed so that job applicants no longer exceed the number of jobs available in the private sector. In this way equilibrium may once again be established with our environment.

Our species has seemingly risen above the nature that nurtures it. We are plundering the world's resources at the expense of all other living creatures to fuel our biological success, the present

population explosion. This must stop. We must begin to heed the territorial law of nature which is in reality a law of God discovered by our scientists.

Our present welfare system runs counter to nature and actually deprives poor children of their basic human right--namely to be born into a family consisting of a mother and a father who together are able to support that child both financially and emotionally so that child may develop his full potential. In nature, when raising the young is comparatively easy for a particular species, a single parent may suffice, but when it is difficult, animals mate for life or at least remain together until the young can be on their own.

Today, in our society, as in the overpopulated Norway rat society, there is more domestic violence, battered children, rape, and murder than ever before. Our political emphasis must be changed from passively subsidizing poverty to one of prevention by aggressively promoting family planning in such a way that it will be advantageous for the poor not to produce children. In addition, it is important to support the swift administration of capital punishment for those criminals who rape, murder, engage in large scale drug pushing, and commit other heinous crimes against society. These are the probers bred in the middle pens of poverty.

By insuring the natural human right of all children to be born to Territorial parents, we may begin to avert the catastrophe in store for our species. We consider ourselves God's crowning achievement, and this may be so. However, there have been other successful creatures, now extinct that existed on this planet far longer than our 35,000 years. The causes of these extinctions are presently unknown, but definitely did not involve the actions of these animals. We are the primates that speak, belong to the animal kingdom, have the power to blow up our planet, are presently fouling our environment, and should not be exempted from God's Law of the Territorial Imperative. We should look to the future, using the knowledge gained from science to correct the population problem before we, too join those species no longer inhabiting our planet or, at best, once again enter another dark age in human history.

Resume of Bradford Family Planning, Inc.
January 1993

Bradford Family Planning, Inc. was chartered as a private non-profit corporation by the State of Pennsylvania in 1969.

Since then, counseling in the modern methods of birth control was offered at nine locations (for varying amounts of time) in McKean Co., ending in April 1987 when the physicians decided to cease operating the Prenatal Clinic, our best site for reaching indigent pregnant women.

A total of 2279 patients were counseled.

In addition the following Family Planning Services were documented:

- 321 post-partum visits to the Prenatal Clinic
- 115 tubal ligations performed
- 130 Family Planning Clinic patients
- 62 rechecks at the Family Planning Clinic
- 21 IUD's inserted
- 237 months of pills supplied to 47 women
- 4 Pap Tests
- 1 vasectomy

Total cost of the endeavors was \$14,748.11.

Our funds came from the following sources:

- Pennsylvania State Department of Health
- First Presbyterian Church
- Blaisdell Foundation
- Private donations

A great number of the 2279 patients were counseled by me personally. I feel this qualifies me as an expert on pregnancies of the poor.

It should be noted that:

1. Very few of our counseled belonged to a minority group, a function of McKean County's population. Poverty is not racist.
2. Although some may have received their post-partum checks at the physicians' office, only 28% of prenatal patients returned six weeks following delivery for rechecks at which time all birth control methods would have been available to them.
3. 35% of the pregnancies at the Prenatal Clinic were return pregnancies and most of these were unplanned.

On the back of the introductory letter is a graph of the census at the Prenatal Clinic for the 17 years of our existence. It was encouraging to see the census decline beginning in 1972-73, but discouraging as it began to rise in 1980-81, reaching a new high in 1985-86.

Following are a list of recommendations that experience tells me should be considered for implementation by Health and Human Services:

1. No increase in welfare benefits for AFDC mothers after they enter the welfare system.
(What working class family automatically receives a raise when a new baby comes into the family?)

2. Some cash benefit or economic scheme offered to welfare recipients, both men and women, who voluntarily decide to be sterilized. (The permanency of the procedure must be carefully made clear to them.)
3. No medicaid funding for tubal ligation reversal.
4. Lowering of the age at which tubal ligation is funded by the government. (I personally know of quite a few young girls under 21 who wanted this operation. One, in particular, comes to mind. She managed to present society with five illegitimate children before she reached 21 and obtained the surgery she had wanted earlier.)
5. Government funding (on a single service basis) should be available for sterilizations for the working poor (those without insurance coverage or medicaid).
6. Deletion in the consent form for tubal ligations of the patient's mental competency clause because:
 - a. Who other than a psychiatrist can make this judgement (and even they are fallible)?
 - b. Can mentally incompetent women provide a "normal environment" for children if indeed, their children are born normal and have not inherited their mother's problem? A multi-disciplinary team of professionals and the next of kin should be able to give the necessary informed consent.
7. Medicaid funding of abortions for those who choose not to bring another child into this overpopulated world.
8. Government funding of Norplant insertions for medicaid and working poor patients.
9. Development of educational programs to convince the poor and the young that:
 - a. Their happiness and fulfillment can be frustrated by unplanned motherhood or fatherhood.
 - b. Promiscuous and premature sexual activity can be dangerous (V.D., AIDS, etc.) and should not be the focus of their lives.
10. A change in the welfare system making it more profitable to work than remain on the public dole.

It should be obvious that all the government attempts to cure poverty have failed. We must begin to think of the future, realizing that few born on the welfare roles will escape poverty and begin to encourage, not force the poor in positive ways to have fewer children.

All the well-intentioned Head Start and catch up programs cannot function as adequate substitutes for a stable childhood environment consisting of a mother and father who themselves can support their children both financially and psychologically. Many children are deprived of this because of widespread promiscuous and irresponsible sexual activity.

Mebane Taylor

Mebane Taylor, President
Bradford Family Planning, Inc.
22 Taylor Drive
Bradford, PA 16701
(814) 362-2183

"We have met the enemy and they are us." Pogo

"There is no such thing as a free lunch." Milton Friedman

"An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Ben Franklin

WORKING GROUP ON WELFARE REFORM, FAMILY SUPPORT AND INDEPENDENCE

September 13, 1993

Mebane Taylor
President
Bradford Family Planning, Inc.
22 Taylor Dr.
Bradford, PA 16701

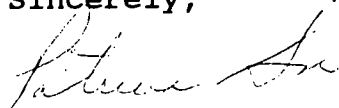
Dear Ms. Taylor:

Thank you for taking the time to write to the Working Group on Welfare Reform, Family Support and Independence. Your input is greatly appreciated. The material you sent in favor of stronger family planning as an element of welfare reform will be shared with the appropriate Working Group staff.

Your active participation is vital to the efforts of the Working Group. We have your name on our mailing list and will keep you informed of the progress of the Working Group.

Again, thank you for your input, time and support.

Sincerely,

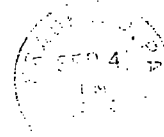


Patricia Sosa

Director of Public Outreach for the
Working Group on Welfare Reform,
Family Support and Independence

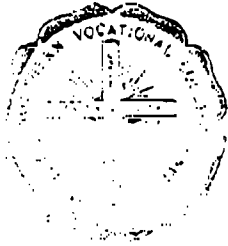


Mrs. Mebane R. Taylor
22 Taylor Dr
Bradford, PA 16701-2865



Ms. Katti Way
working group on welfare Reform
370 L'Enfant Promenade SW, 7th floor
Washington, DC 20047

Personal

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*wellfare
reform
advocate*



LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD, JR.
PRESIDENT

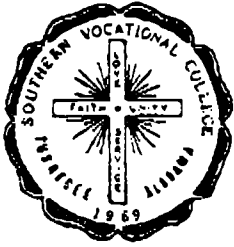
TELECOPIER COVER PAGE

TO: Ms. Kathi Way
COMPANY: Domestic Policy Council
TELEFAX NUMBER: (202) 456-7028
SENDER: Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr.
DEPARTMENT: Southern Vocational College
DATE: 9/2/93 TIME: ☐ A. M. ☐ P. M.
NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE): 4

OUR TELEFAX NUMBER: (205) 727-1511

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LAWRENCE F. HAYGOOD, JR.
PRESIDENT

September 2, 1993

Mr. Bruce Reed
Assistant to the President
Domestic Policy Council
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bruce:

First, I am sincerely grateful for the time you and Kathi Way spent with me during my recent visit to Washington. Also, I wish to express my deep appreciation to Ms. Cookie Walden for handling the details of my visit. Our intellectual engagement was fruitful and productive. Your involvement with the Working Group on Welfare Reform continues to gain national attention, and you are to be highly commended for the uniquely perceptive leadership you are carrying out on behalf of President Bill Clinton's goal of changing the welfare system as we know it. President Clinton has articulated four underlying principles for changing and providing an alternative to our current welfare system: Work, Family, Opportunity and Responsibility. These principles are both tenacious and germane.

Moreover, it was my pleasure to have watched by way of C-SPAN your recent conference on welfare reform which was held in Washington, D.C. The panels were informative and diverse. You served as coordinator of the Working Group. Mary Jo Bane and David Ellwood also played leading roles. Other representatives from the Administration for Children and Families were also present. I was encouraged by the contagious sensitivity manifested by the Clinton Administration relative to welfare reform. David Ellwood pointed out that the mission of welfare reform is a journey which must begin now. Mary Jo Bane provided hope that is essential to carrying out the mission. You reminded the nation that the current welfare system does not work and must be changed with a viable alternative.

Further, the welfare conference was well-organized. Panelists included groups from the nonprofit, private for profit, County, City, and State agencies, educational and religious segments of society and the welfare community. The most impressive contributions were made by those who are currently on welfare and those who have escaped welfare as a way of life. The overriding theme of this group was that they don't like being on welfare and would like to be given the opportunity of lifting themselves from the bondage of welfare dependency so that they might become self-sufficient and enjoy a new ray of dignity and responsible citizenship. They want education, training, child care, health care, child support enforcement and work.

Mr. Bruce Reed
Page 2
September 2, 1993

Again, significant contributions were made by each panelist. It was clear that what emerged from the panelists was a combination of things which included the following: work, education and training, child support, child care, transportation, health care and support services such as job development, job placement, retention, personal counseling, assessment, outreach, testing, G.E.D. preparation, job search and survival skills.

Likewise, it was interesting to note the variety of organizations that are currently involved in the welfare reform mission. One thing is clear and that is that the federal government and the States cannot carry out the welfare reform mission alone. Increased involvement in this mission must be made by non-profit groups, private for profit groups, postsecondary institutions, secondary institutions, churches, charitable and fraternal organizations and foundations. Service providers should be allowed to provide the matching share currently required of States so that they may contract with the federal government to provide services. Many States return money to the federal government because they cannot provide the matching share.

Furthermore, I wish to recommend that any welfare recipient or unemployed person who is in default on a student educational loan be given the opportunity to delay his/her payment of this loan * which will result in their no longer being in default, should they choose education and training at the postsecondary level as an option. This would allow said student population to qualify for educational grants at postsecondary institutions -- not loans -- and would save the federal government millions of dollars in the long run. Some of these same students could qualify for National Service. After the students finish their program of study and get a job, they could begin paying their debt on the defaulted student loan. My further input is that welfare reform should always be treated as an anti-poverty mission, those on public assistance must be required to work or obtain education and training even though they may have small children, a time limit of 30 months should be imposed for the welfare community to get a job or obtain training and education and the maximum timeframe for education and training should be capped at 24 months with six months left for transitional and other services.

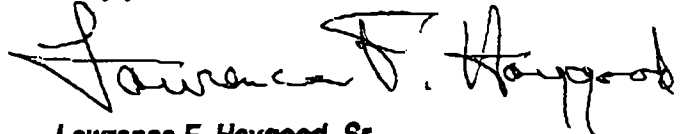
Finally, President Clinton and his Administration should continue to keep welfare reform explicitly and constantly before the public. Everything that can be legally done under the Family Support Act of 1988 should be done immediately at the administrative level to change the welfare system as it currently exists and to lay a firm foundation for an authentic alternative that includes work, family, opportunity and responsibility. You have nobly taken the initial bold and relevant steps to accomplish this mission.

Mr. Bruce Reed
Page 3
September 2, 1993

Accordingly, it is my high honor to join hands with you, President Clinton and his Administration in the mission of bringing an end to the ferocious night of welfare dependency and ushering in the shining reality of self-sufficiency that will engulf America and empower her people to truly enjoy the American Dream by earning their living by the sweat of their brow with dignity and excellence of performance, thereby abating the incidence of poverty in the land of plenty.

It is my prayer that the God of grace and glory will continue to hold you in the palm of His hand.

Truly yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr." The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Lawrence" being the most prominent part.

Lawrence F. Haygood, Sr.
Founder

LFHsr:cwa

cc: David Gergen
Dee Dee Myers
Alexis Herman
Carol Rasco
Kathi Way
Donna E. Shalala
David Ellwood
Joseph Reid
Patricia Sosa

*Catholic Charities USA is a national network of agencies,
institutions, and individuals who aim to reduce poverty,
support families, and empower communities.*



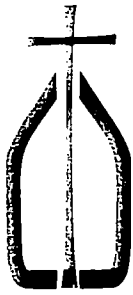
**Catholic
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USA**

Jose Heiney-Gonzalez, ACSW

Deputy to the President
Phone: (703) 549-1390 Ext. 31
Fax: (703) 549-1656

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Catholic
Charities
USA

Rev. Fred Kammer, SJ July 26, 1993
President

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Re: Budget reconciliation

Dear Bill:

It was wonderful to see you Saturday at the Rose Garden reunion of the 1963 Boys Nation class. Even more wonderful was the dinner with you and Hillary that evening. During that dinner, I mentioned the importance of including the Children's Initiative in the budget reconciliation package. I am writing to underscore my comments.

Catholic Charities USA strongly urges you to maintain solid support for those parts of your economic plan that directly help low- and moderate-income families and individuals in this country so that they do not disproportionately bear the brunt of deficit reduction. As you know, the 1400 agencies and 265,000 staff and volunteers in the Catholic Charities USA network provide services to millions of low-income families and individuals across the country.

Specifically, we believe the final budget reconciliation package should include the following provisions: expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit, including the provision for childless workers; full funding for the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act; funding for the Family Preservation and Support Act; and funding for childhood immunizations.

We are deeply concerned that, without these provisions, the final bill will not embody your principle that the burden of deficit reduction be shared by all Americans, especially those most able to pay.

In 1991, the Catholic Charities USA network served over twelve million persons, many of whom were working but still poor. Nine million of these received emergency services. Most people sought help for very basic needs--such as shelter and food. Attached is a story about one such family from Colorado. Unfortunately, Catholic Charities agencies are seeing increasing number of families in the situation mentioned in the letter, not less.

President Clinton letter
Page Two

Bill, the provisions mentioned above are very important and needed investments in the millions of families and children who were left behind by the last two Administrations and who are served by the Catholic Charities USA network every day. Your continued strong leadership is needed so that these investments are part of the final deficit reduction bill.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Fred Kammer', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Fred Kammer, SJ
President

Encl: (1)

CORPUS CHRISTI CHURCH

2318 NORTH CASCADE AVENUE
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO 80907

TELEPHONE 719 633-1457

May 27, 1993

Lisa M. Carr, Legislative Liaison
Catholic Charities USA
1731 King Street, Suite 200
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

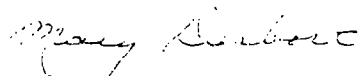
Dear Lisa:

In my role as Director of Social Ministry here at Corpus Christi, I come in contact with people whose situations cause me great concern. I'd like to tell you about one family in particular. I'm afraid they are typical of all too many families in our country today. I'll call them Joe and Mary. Joe works full time for a manufacturing firm in Colorado Springs. He makes \$5.10 an hour (and that includes a 10 cent night shift differential). He doesn't get to take home his full salary because in addition to the normal deductions, he's charged for the safety equipment he needs to do his job. Joe and Mary have 3 children, ages 4, 3 and 14 months. They were living at the Red Cross Shelter for awhile but didn't like the environment their children were being exposed to. They moved into a privately owned apartment which they claim was infested with roaches. Now they're living in one motel room with a microwave and a small refrigerator. Rent there is \$130 a week. There's a three year waiting list for low income housing. Unless something changes, and I can't imagine what, they will soon be homeless again. They won't even have a car to live in. Their only vehicle is the motorcycle Joe uses to get to and from work.

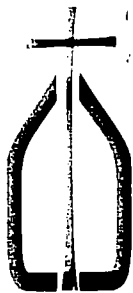
I'd like to see some legislation aimed at helping people like Joe and Mary. My ideas are listed on the following page. Perhaps you are aware of legislators who would be willing to sponsor legislation of this sort. I haven't put the ideas into "bill" format. I understand there is expertise willing to do that at the Capitol.

Your help in this matter is much appreciated.

Sincerely,



Mary Derbort, Director of Social Ministry



Catholic
Charities
USA

Rev. Fred Kammer, SJ
President

July 26, 1993

Leon Panetta
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Old Executive Office Bldg.
17th and Pennsylvania, NW
Washington, DC 20503

Re: Budget reconciliation

Dear Mr. Panetta:

I am writing to you in your capacity as one of the Clinton Administration's key negotiators in the budget reconciliation conference to inform you of Catholic Charities USA's support for inclusion of the Children's Initiative in the final budget reconciliation package. *The Children's Initiative includes: full funding for the Mickey Leland Childhood Hunger Relief Act; expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit, including the provision for childless workers; funding for the Family Preservation and Support Act; and funding for childhood immunizations.* Our letter to President Clinton on this very important matter is enclosed.

As the nation's largest voluntary provider network of human services, Catholic Charities USA believes that inclusion of these provisions in the final package is necessary to ensure that low- and moderate-income families and individuals do not disproportionately bear the brunt of deficit reduction. Passage of these programs also takes a necessary step toward reinvesting in the millions of families and individuals who were left behind by the previous two Administrations.

In 1991, the Catholic Charities USA network of 1,400 agencies provided services to over 12 million people, most of whom were poor or working but still poor. Over 8 million needed emergency services such as food and shelter. These numbers reflect a fourfold increase since 1981! We in the voluntary sector alone can not continue to feed and assist the growing numbers of poor children and families in this country.

Catholic Charities USA appreciates your leadership on behalf of the Mickey Leland bill and the Family Preservation Act in last year's budget reconciliation process. Unfortunately, the needs have not abated and the

Leon Panetta letter
Page Two

provisions contained in this year's Children's Initiative are more urgent than ever.

As the budget reconciliation negotiations become final, we urge that the Clinton Administration remain strong in its support for the Children's Initiative to help the millions of families and individuals these provisions will benefit.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Fred Kammer". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "F" and a stylized "K".

Fred Kammer, SJ
President

Encl: (1)

May 28, 1993

To: Kathi Way
John Monahan
Ann McCormick
Debbie Fine
Chris Lin

From: Jeremy Ben-Ami

Subject: Interest Group Mailing List

Attached please find a first crack at a mailing list/data base of groups and individuals interested in welfare reform. The list includes the suggestions received so far from a variety of participants in the Working Group. It has five categories:

- o National Advocacy organizations (Code 800)
- o National Research orgs/Foundation (Code 801)
- o State and Local organizations (Code 802)
- o Individual researchers/writers/academics (Code 803)
- o Members of the Press (Code 600)

Please note that the press list has yet to be developed. We have over 300 members of the press on a separate data base which we will narrow down and merge into this list.

Please review the attached list and look for groups that have been forgotten. Please get me a list of any additional groups for the initial announcement mailing by June 4th.

As for the future, we will be hopefully be moving this list to a more flexible PC-based program which will allow mail/merge capacity and, ideally, will allow us to track contacts, meetings, responses, and ultimately the group's position on our proposal.

cc: Mary Jo Bane
David Ellwood
Naomi Goldstein
Paul Legler

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DC	BDPMIDMECR	800	
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MA	ADEGKZOTJK	803	
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OR	FOCFLZOECR	802	
DC	BDPLLOIECR	800	
NV	FBVHLZZNIS	800	
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MA	ADDCHLZECR	802	
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ALEXANDRIA	VA	BHAGNLHECR	800
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WASHINGTON	DC	BDPHNIZECR	800
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