August 8

TO: David Ellwood
Mary Jo Bane
Bruce Reed
Kathi Way
Emily Bromberg

FROM: Melissa Skolfield ms

Here are the final copies of the latest set of welfare reform talking points. I believe we've incorporated everyone's comments, so please call me today if you spot any problems. Emily -- could you send these out to everyone who has the briefing books tomorrow? Thanks.

enclosures: what if someone refuses to work?
where are the jobs? (revised)
financing
SSI/deeming
women
children
fathers
sanctions
inner cities (revised)

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **What If Someone Refuses to Work?**
August 3, 1994

"If you really want to know what's wrong with the welfare system, talk to the people who are stuck in it or who have been on it. They want to change it more than most people you know, and if you give them half a chance, they will."

"We still can't change the welfare system unless it is rooted in getting people back to work.... So I say to you, we propose to offer people on welfare a simple contract. We will help you get the skills you need, but after two years, anyone who can go to work, must go to work -- in the private sector if possible, in a subsidized job if necessary. But work is preferable to welfare. And it must be enforced."
President Clinton, Kansas City 6/14/94

Only rarely will welfare recipients refuse to work. Most women on welfare want to become employed and support their families independently. About 70 percent of recipients leave welfare within two years already -- most of them for work. We believe that non-compliance will be extremely rare.

Recipients who refuse to take work assignments (or who quit or get fired) will initially face a series of sanctions, not a complete cutoff of aid. After a first refusal to work, families would lose half their cash grants for one month or until compliance, whichever is sooner. After a second violation, families lose half their cash grants for three months or until compliance, whichever is longer. A third sanction ends the family cash grant for three months or until compliance, whichever is longer. Fourth and subsequent sanctions eliminate the family's grant for six months or until compliance, whichever is longer. Food Stamps and housing assistance will not rise to offset the loss, and individuals will be ineligible for WORK assignments during the penalty period. People who take WORK assignments but miss a day of work will not be paid for that day.

Sanctions alone will convince most people to comply. One program in Illinois and New Jersey found that teenage mothers who received conditional benefits, along with case management and support services, achieved significantly higher rates of school attendance and employment. The 3,000 participants who faced a $160 reduction in their monthly AFDC grants had success rates nearly 20 percent higher than young mothers who did not face sanctions. In addition, the vast majority of women receiving conditional benefits had extremely positive feelings about the program.

If women are unable to work for good reasons, such as disability, a sick child, or lack of child care, we will help them find solutions. Our plan provides support services to help women enter and remain in the workplace. Women will receive training, guidance, and transitional child care, as well as health insurance.

Our approach is fair but not punitive. Even women who absolutely refuse to work will be eligible for the WORK program again in six months. We believe that people deserve a second chance, and want to encourage people to play by the rules.

In order to protect children, some benefits will continue during sanctions. During WORK sanctions, families will keep Food Stamps, housing assistance, and medical insurance. In cases where children are at risk, social workers will take appropriate action as quickly as possible.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **WHERE ARE THE JOBS**
August 3, 1994

"But to all those who depend on welfare, we should offer ultimately a simple compact. We will provide the support, the job training, the child care you need for up to two years, but after that anyone who can work, must, in the private sector wherever possible, in community service if necessary. That's the only way we'll ever make welfare what it ought to be: a second chance, not a way of life."
President Clinton, State of the Union address 1/25/94

Many AFDC recipients already leave welfare for unsubsidized employment. Currently, 70 percent of recipients leave welfare within two years and 90 percent leave within five years. Women leave to enter work in fully half of these cases. But child care dilemmas, health crises, and low wages now cause most women who leave welfare to eventually return.

The child care and child support improvements in our plan, along with the Earned Income Tax Credit and health care, will eliminate the major obstacles to employment. Our plan provides a year of transitional child care for women moving from welfare to work, in addition to increasing child care for the working poor to bolster families just above the poverty line. The expanded EITC will lift millions of workers out of poverty by effectively making a job paying $4.25 per hour pay $6.00 an hour for a one-earner family with two children. A full-time working mother with two children will have an after-tax income of almost $14,000 even if she works at a minimum wage job. And universal health care will allow people to leave welfare without worrying about coverage for their families.

Positions will be available for women moving off welfare. The Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts faster job growth over the next 20 years, with employment increasing by more than 25 million jobs by the year 2005.[1] At least 10 of the 15 occupations expected to grow most quickly do not require advanced education.[2] In addition, because of normal turnover, there are at least 30 million job openings a year, a very large proportion of them in entry-level jobs. Welfare recipients will represent less than 5 percent of the women who find new entry-level jobs every year.

In addition, by the year 2000, we will be creating 400,000 subsidized jobs. These positions will be available for those who hit the time limit without finding unsubsidized employment.

Transitional education and training programs will prepare recipients for the workplace and increase long-term earnings potential. President Clinton's plan requires all teen parents to finish high school and all recipients to participate in training and work preparation through the JOBS program. This approach builds on successful state and local models. In California, for example, JOBS participants' earnings increased an average of 24 percent over the control group average after the second year--55 percent at one site.[3]

Even a minimum-wage job is an important step toward self-sufficiency. As women gain job skills, work experience--and faith in themselves--they will progress to better-paying jobs and real financial stability.

1. The service-producing sector will grow most, with an estimated 25 million additional jobs. The need for home health aides will increase by 138 percent; for personal and home care aides, by 130 percent; for child care workers, by 55 percent; and for food preparation workers, by 43 percent. Moderate alternative projection, cited in George Silvestri, "The American Work Force, 1992-2005; Occupational Employment: Wide Variations in Growth," Monthly Labor Review, November 1993. Occupational Outlook Quarterly also supplies a list of growing job areas (fall 1991, p. 30).

2. Isabel Sawhill, Office of Management and Budget, quoted in Employment and Training Reporter, April 20, 1994, p. 605.

3. Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation studies of GAIN/Riverside, quoted in Bane/Ellwood testimony.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **FINANCING**
August 6, 1994

"We've been very disciplined in working within the budget but I think we're going to make a dramatic difference.... The budget rules are very rigorous.... We did try to raise some money by controlling the growth of benefits to immigrants, and I think that's entirely appropriate. But some folks think we can pay for this much and more, simply by cutting off all benefits to [legal] non-citizens. After a careful study, we decided that we couldn't do that."
President Clinton, interview with U.S. News and World Report 6/20/94

Financing for our plan is balanced and fair. We propose funding welfare reform through appropriate cuts in existing programs, without raising taxes or increasing the deficit. Our financing provisions tighten eligibility rules for the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, largely by expecting sponsors of immigrants to do their fair share. We also cap the skyrocketing Emergency Assistance entitlement program. Additional funds come from ending subsidies to farmers with very high non-farm income and extending some expiring provisions in current law.

Our proposal tightens sponsorship and eligibility requirements for non-citizens. Current law provides for a period of sponsor responsibility, during which the sponsor's income is considered in determining an immigrant's eligibility for benefits. In 1993, Congress temporarily extended the SSI sponsor responsibility period from three to five years. Our proposal makes this five-year period permanent law for SSI, AFDC, and Food Stamps. Immigrants whose sponsors are equally poor will be eligible for benefits, but immigrants whose sponsors earn above the U.S. median family income ($39,500) will not be eligible until they become citizens themselves. Provisions relating to immigrants will create $3.8 billion in overall savings over a five-year period.

Requiring sponsor responsibility does not deny assistance to legal immigrants whose sponsors are poor. Our proposal ensures that truly needy immigrants will not be denied benefits if they become blind or disabled, or if their sponsors suffer financial reverses or die. Refugees and asylees will also continue to be eligible for benefits. But we believe that benefits must be targeted to those who need them most. SSI was designed to help society's most destitute, not to free sponsors from their commitment to support immigrant family members.

Our proposal to cap entitlement funding for the AFDC Emergency Assistance Program is designed to return the program to its original mission. Initially created to help states respond to the acute needs of disadvantaged populations, the Emergency Assistance program is increasingly used by states to fund existing services that were previously paid for with state funds. As a result, program costs have skyrocketed in recent years, but few new services have been provided to the poor. Our cap on expenditures will balance the needs of states now relying heavily on EA funds and the potential claims of states which might apply for EA in the future. This provision raises $1.6 billion over five years.

Stronger sanctions and new time limits will ensure that SSI benefits given to drug addicts and alcoholics are used properly. We will enforce existing requirements that addicts seek treatment and that they identify appropriate individuals or organizations to receive and manage their funds. In addition, cash benefits will end after three years of treatment. This provision will yield savings of approximately $800 million over five years.

Our plan targets meal subsidies to family day care homes to ensure that money reaches low-income children. Currently, the Child Care Food Program provides food subsidies to child care centers and family day care homes. Our proposal maintains existing child care center subsidies, which are means-tested and appropriately reach low-income children. However, we will improve targeting to family day care homes, since an estimated 71 percent of federal food program dollars to family day care homes support meals for children above 185 percent of the poverty line.[1] This provision yields savings of $500 million over five years.

We will target farm subsidies to smaller, family farms instead of large farms and wealthy producers. Producers with significant non-farm income will no longer receive crop subsidies. This provision will save $500 million over five years.

Our plan will extend a series of expiring provisions to collect additional revenue. These include the 1990 Farm Bill's state Food Stamp recovery provision, fees for railroad use and custom services, and Superfund financing legislation. These extensions will raise $1.9 billion over five years.

We will tighten Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) targeting and compliance measures. Our plan will end the EITC for non-resident aliens, affecting approximately 50,000 taxpayers -- mainly visiting foreign students and professors. But we will extend the EITC to active military families living overseas. To finance this expansion and raise net revenues, military personnel will be required to report nontaxable earned income, increasing compliance with current EITC rules. These provisions will raise $300 million over five years.

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[1]USDA-commissioned study, cited in "Work and Responsibility Act of 1994, Financing," p.3.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **SSI DEEMING/IMMIGRATION**
August 3, 1994

"There are all kinds of proposals out there. I know that the Republican welfare reform proposal has a lot of things in it that I like. But I think it's way too hard on financing things through savings from immigrants. I think it goes too far there."
President Clinton, press conference 3/24/94

President Clinton's welfare reform plan addresses immigration issues through the values of family and responsibility central to the rest of his approach. The plan requires those who legally sponsor an immigrant -- usually family members -- to make good on the commitment they made to that immigrant's financial well-being, and to help keep the immigrant from becoming a public charge.

Under the President's proposal, immigrant eligibility for public assistance programs will still be based on current sponsor responsibility rules. During the sponsor responsibility period, the sponsor's assets are considered in determining the immigrant's eligibility for means-tested programs. If the sponsor can support the immigrant, the immigrant will not receive benefits. But our plan continues assistance for legal immigrants if both they and their sponsors are poor.

This approach builds on what Congress has already done. In the fall of 1993, Congress extended the period of sponsor responsibility under SSI from three to five years, but this provision expires in 1996. Our proposal makes that extension permanent law beyond 1996, and similarly extends the sponsor responsibility period for AFDC and Food Stamps. In addition, sponsors who earn more than the U.S. median family income ($39,500) will continue to be responsible after the five-year period until the immigrant becomes a citizen. Immigrant families currently receiving benefits from these programs will continue to do so until redetermination.

Tightening sponsorship requirements targets those who are not needy. In the past, many elderly immigrants who were not in true need nonetheless received SSI benefits. About one-third of the elderly immigrants currently on SSI and subject to the sponsor responsibility rules applied for benefits in their fourth year of residency -- as soon as the responsibility period ended -- even though their sponsors were often financially able to support them.[1] SSI was designed to help society's most destitute, not to free sponsors from their commitment to support immigrant family members.

Our plan will help immigrants who truly need aid, and allow states to administer assistance programs more effectively. By simplifying eligibility criteria for AFDC, Medicaid, and SSI, we will reduce administrative burdens and program inconsistencies. Conforming eligibility criteria will also help ensure that permanent legal residents in need receive equal protection under the law.

Illegal immigrants will continue to be ineligible for SSI. Immigration status is already verified for welfare applicants, often through the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) Systematic Alien Verification for Entitlements (SAVE) process. States can link electronically to the database. If SAVE cannot verify an immigrant's status,

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[1] "Work and Responsibility Act of 1994: Financing," p. 2

INS does so by other means.

Our plan, unlike the Republican bills, does not take away benefits retroactively or indiscriminately deny benefits to legal immigrants simply because they are not citizens. Our plan saves money by cutting benefits to immigrants who have other means of support, but it does not abandon truly needy immigrants who reside here legally, pay taxes, and fall on bad times. In contrast, the Republican plan denies benefits based on non-citizen status alone, without any differential based on need or sponsor's income.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **WOMEN AND WELFARE REFORM**
August 3, 1994

"Why do people stay on welfare? Is it because the checks are generous? No. Because overwhelmingly, people on welfare are younger women with little children and little education and little employability, and if they take a job, it's a low-wage job, they lose Medicaid for their kids, they have to figure out how to pay for the child care, so it becomes an economic loser. What we have to do is end welfare as we know it, to make it a second chance, not a way of life."
President Bill Clinton, Remarks at Wilbur Wright Junior College, Chicago 2/28/94

"The people who most want to change welfare are the very people on it. They want to get off welfare, and get back to work, and support their children..."
President Bill Clinton, State of the Union Address 1/25/94

President Clinton's welfare reform plan will give women the opportunities and services they need to be able to support their families without public assistance. Our approach builds on the successful philosophy of the Family Support Act and reinforces the core American values of work and responsibility. To help families become independent, we will expand child care, increase training and education, and improve child support enforcement. Along with universal health care coverage and the Earned Income Tax Credit, welfare reform will help women find employment and achieve financial security.

President Clinton's proposal will expand and improve the child care system. We will make work a viable option for single mothers by providing affordable, accessible child care for both families transitioning off welfare and low-income working families. In contrast, neither the Senate nor the House Republican welfare reform bills include any new provisions for child care. Our plan increases availability through additional funding for existing programs, coordinates rules across all child care programs, and encourages the development of safe and nurturing care environments.

To help women become job-ready, our plan expands and improves the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) training program. Created by the Family Support Act of 1988, the JOBS program offers education, training, and job placement services. We will provide additional funding and link JOBS to job training programs offered under the Job Training Partnership Act, the new School-to-Work initiative, Pell Grants, and other mainstream programs. Our plan also encourages self-employment through micro-loan funds; fosters non-traditional training programs to help women prepare for higher-paying jobs; and allows states to grant limited extensions of time to young mothers completing education programs.

The Administration recognizes that both parents must support their children, and has proposed the toughest child support enforcement program ever established. In 1990, non-custodial parents paid only $14 billion in child support. But if child support orders reflecting current ability to pay were established and enforced, single parents and their children would have received $48 billion: money for school, clothing, food, utilities, and child care. To reduce *and* prevent welfare dependency, our plan provides for:

- Universal paternity establishment through hospital-based programs;
- Regular awards updating as fathers' incomes change;
- New penalties for those who refuse to pay, such as wage-withholding and license suspension;
- Centralized state registries to track support payments automatically;
- A national child support clearinghouse to catch parents who try to evade their responsibilities by fleeing across state lines.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **CHILDREN**
August 6, 1994

"We cannot permit millions and millions and millions of American children to be trapped in a cycle of dependency with people who are not responsible for bringing them into the world, with parents who are trapped in a system that doesn't develop their human capacity to live up to the fullest of their God-given abilities and to succeed as both workers and parents. We must break this cycle."
President Clinton, Kansas City 6/14/94

President Clinton's welfare reform plan will strengthen families by emphasizing responsible parenting. The President's plan promotes the central American values of work, family, and responsibility. It tells adolescents that they should delay pregnancy until they are able to support their children. It tells parents that they must work to provide for their families. And it helps parents meet their responsibilities--with parenting classes, peer counseling, and demonstrations that involve non-custodial parents in programs such as Head Start, Healthy Start, and family preservation.

Parents entering the workplace will become better role models for their children. Repeatedly, recipients have testified at hearings about how proud their children were when they got jobs. Children accustomed to seeing their parents go to work can learn by example and should make an easier transition into the workforce themselves.

The Administration believes that both parents must support their children, and has proposed the toughest child support enforcement program ever established. In 1990, non-custodial parents paid only $14 billion in child support. But if child support orders reflecting current ability to pay were established and enforced, single parents and their children would have received $48 billion: money for school, clothing, food, utilities, and child care. To reduce *and* prevent welfare dependency, our plan provides for:

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- Centralized state registries to track support payments automatically;
- A national child support clearinghouse to catch parents who try to evade their responsibilities by fleeing across state lines.

State initiatives and demonstration programs will provide additional ways for non-custodial parents to meet their obligations. States will be able to make parents work off the child support they owe. Demonstration grants for parenting and access programs will foster non-custodial parents' ongoing emotional involvement in their children's lives. And other demonstrations will further reinforce parenting skills by incorporating non-custodial parents into existing programs for high-risk families.

At the same time, we remove the perverse incentives of the current welfare system in order to help families stay together. Families that reunite will no longer have to pay child support arrearages, and AFDC-UP will become a permanent program--instead of expiring in 1998--so that families can receive benefits without breaking apart. States will also have the option to eliminate the special eligibility requirements for two-parent families.

Our proposal will substantially expand the child care system for both welfare recipients and the working poor. The President's plan promises accessible, affordable, quality child care. We guarantee child care during education, training, and work programs, and for one year after participants leave welfare for private sector employment. Increased funding for other federal child care programs will bolster more working families just above the poverty line and help them stay off welfare in the first place. And the EITC expansion will give low-income families money which can be used for child care as well as other needs.

Special efforts will address the quality of child care. Quality improvement funds will support resource and referral programs, licensing and monitoring, training, and other provider supports. Children in group care receiving assistance will be immunized, and consistent health and safety standards will apply across child care programs. We increase the supply of infant and toddler care. We also standardize different child care programs' requirements for provider standards, parental access, consumer education, and parental choice.

Helping children is the core of our welfare reform proposal. Our plan gives parents the supports they need to nurture and care for their children. It moves families toward independence. And it helps ensure that children will grow up confident of their abilities to lead satisfying, productive lives.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **THE IMPORTANCE OF FATHERS**
August 3, 1994

"No nation has ever found a substitute for the family. And over the course of human history, several have tried. No country has ever devised any sort of program that would substitute for the consistent, loving devotion and dedication and role-modeling of caring parents."
President Clinton, Kansas City 6/14/94

President Clinton's welfare reform plan recognizes that fathers are critical to their children's emotional and financial well-being. Our proposal helps both parents meet their responsibilities and become fully involved in their children's lives.

Under our plan, universal paternity establishment will provide a lasting connection between father and child. A paternity establishment outreach campaign, based in pre-natal clinics and WIC centers, will educate parents prior to birth about the joys and responsibilities of parenthood. Expanded hospital-based programs will facilitate voluntary paternity acknowledgement, and states will receive incentive payments based on the efficacy of these efforts.

New programs and expanded initiatives will keep non-custodial parents involved in their children's lives. Demonstration grants to states will support parenting and access programs that provide mediation, counseling, education, and visitation enforcement. States will be able to develop JOBS and/or work programs for the non-custodial parents of children receiving AFDC, and can include parenting classes and peer counseling to help fathers meet their children's emotional needs. Demonstrations will further reinforce parenting skills by incorporating non-custodial parents into existing programs for high-risk families, such as Head Start, Healthy Start, family preservation, and teen pregnancy prevention.

To help families stay together, we remove the perverse incentives of the current welfare system. Families that reunite will no longer have to pay child support arrearages, and the AFDC-Unemployed Parent (UP) program will become permanent--instead of expiring in 1998--so that families can receive benefits without breaking apart. States will also have the option to eliminate the special eligibility requirements for two-parent families that make it difficult to qualify for benefits.

Our proposal gives fathers new supports and opportunities. But at the same time, it demands that they meet their obligations. In 1990, non-custodial parents paid only $14 billion in child support. If child support orders reflecting current ability to pay were established and enforced, single parents and their children would have received $48 billion: money for school, clothing, food, utilities, and child care. To ensure that both parents support their children, our plan provides for universal paternity establishment; regular awards updating as parents' incomes change; and new penalties for those who refuse to pay, such as expanded wage withholding and license suspension. Centralized registries will track support payments automatically, and catch parents who flee across state lines to avoid paying support.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **SANCTIONS**
July 29, 1994

"We should encourage teen parents to live at home, stay in school, take responsibility for their own futures and their children's futures. And the financial incentives of the welfare system ought to do that instead of just the reverse. We have to change the signals we are sending here."
President Clinton, Kansas City 6/14/94

President Clinton's welfare reform plan provides opportunity and supportive services, but it also demands responsibility. People who refuse to participate in the JOBS program or fulfill their WORK obligations will be sanctioned. Expectations -- and consequences -- will be clear.

Conditional AFDC benefits work. A rigorous evaluation of one such program in Illinois and New Jersey found that teenage mothers who received conditional benefits, along with case management and support services, achieved significantly higher rates of school attendance and employment. The 3,000 participants who faced a reduction in their monthly AFDC grants had success rates nearly 20 percent higher than young mothers who did not face sanctions or receive services.[1]

Under our proposal, individuals who fail to participate in education, training, or employment as required during the first two years will lose cash benefits, and Food Stamps and housing assistance will not increase to offset that loss. The amount lost will correspond to the adult's share of the AFDC grant.

Successive violations will result in longer benefit suspensions. As in the 1988 Family Support Act, after the first violation adults will lose benefits until they begin to comply. A second violation results in sanctions for three months or until compliance, whichever is longer. Third and subsequent failures result in sanctions for six months or until compliance, whichever is longer.

Broader sanctions are imposed on WORK participants who fail to comply with the program's requirements without good cause. Participants who don't work will not be paid. Individuals will also be sanctioned for quitting jobs without good cause; losing jobs for misconduct; or failing to engage in required job searches. After a first violation, families lose half their cash grants -- about $200 -- for one month or until compliance, whichever is sooner. After a second violation, families lose half their cash grants for three months or until compliance, whichever is longer. A third sanction ends the family cash grant for three months or until compliance, whichever is longer. Fourth and subsequent occurrences eliminate the family's

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[1]Study conducted by Mathematica Policy Research, 1987-1991.

grant for six months or until compliance, whichever is longer. Food Stamps and housing assistance will not rise to offset the loss, and individuals will be ineligible for WORK assignments during the penalty period.

Both before and after the two-year time limit, recipients refusing to accept private sector jobs without good cause will lose family cash benefits for six months or until they accept private sector jobs. After reaching the two-year time limit, WORK participants will experience the same sanction faced by ordinary workers: lost wages for hours not worked. Former recipients who have reached the time limit and who quit unsubsidized jobs without good cause will be ineligible for the WORK program for three months.

Safeguards will ensure fairness. If states fail to provide services specified in the employability plan, they must grant extensions past the two-year limit to JOBS participants. States will continue existing notice and hearings protection, and recipients will receive benefits during the hearing/appeals process. After the second WORK sanction, states will evaluate the family's need for other services. And job search assistance will continue during WORK sanctioning.

Some benefits will continue -- even during sanctions -- in order to protect children. During JOBS sanctions, children will still receive benefits and families will keep Food Stamps, housing assistance, and medical insurance. During WORK sanctions, families will keep Food Stamps, housing assistance, and medical insurance.

Welfare Reform Working Group
Talking Points: **INNER CITIES**
August 6, 1994

"Many of our initiatives, from job training to welfare reform to health care to national service will help to rebuild distressed communities, to strengthen families, to provide work."
President Clinton, State of the Union address 1/25/94

In recent decades, America's cities have fought poverty, job loss, and neighborhood erosion. President Clinton recognizes the desperate problems in so many inner cities and the efforts of elected officials and citizens to combat them.

The President's welfare reform plan responds to the need for economic and social opportunity for all city residents. It creates new jobs that empower individuals and revitalize communities. The expanded JOBS program will provide more welfare recipients with education, training, job search, and child care services. And more positions will be created as recipients move into the WORK program.

With other Clinton Administration initiatives, our proposal expands services for the working poor--child care, health care, the EITC--so that every job will be a good job and hard-working families can succeed. We want to make welfare a transitional benefit, allowing people to improve their skills, reenter the economic mainstream, and contribute to the community again. Universal health care will allow people to leave welfare without worrying about coverage for their families, while the expanded Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) will lift millions of workers out of poverty by effectively making any minimum wage job pay $6.00 an hour for families with two children.

Welfare reform is an integral part of the Clinton Administration's commitment to empower and revitalize distressed urban areas. President Clinton's crime bill aids youth in disadvantaged neighborhoods. His **School-to-Work initiative** facilitates teenagers' transition into the work force. His **Head Start expansion** and **immunization program** will help children while creating additional jobs. The Commerce Department's **"Competitive Communities" initiative** will support local efforts to build, foster, and attract competitive businesses. And **empowerment zones and enterprise communities** will aid regions by combining tax incentives with relevant social services and economic development programs.

Recognizing local expertise, we build on local initiatives and foster their continued success. Our proposal:

- gives states and counties funds to provide non-displacing jobs;
- facilitates partnerships among labor, business, community groups, and government;
- encourages communities to use diverse strategies appropriate to local labor markets--temporarily placing WORK recipients in private sector jobs, in

public sector positions, or with community organizations.

New programs will not place additional financial burdens on local governments. The federal government will provide greater assistance to cities for their welfare programs and lower the state match rate to make money more available. Enhanced match rates will also be implemented for program administration, giving states and localities the tools to truly change the culture of the welfare office. In addition, simplified administrative requirements and program rules will minimize paperwork and eliminate bureaucratic headaches for local agencies.

June 30

TO: David Ellwood
Mary Jo Bane
~~Bruce Reed~~
Kathi Way Rm 216
Emily Bromberg

FROM: Melissa Skolfield MS

I thought you might be interested in the attached summary of the early press coverage of welfare reform. Please let me know if you have any questions or need more information.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Office of the Secretary

Washington, D.C. 20201

June 30, 1994

NOTE TO THE SECRETARY

Attached are newspaper articles reflecting recent coverage of the Work and Responsibility Act of 1994, as well as a three-page summary of the most important local stories.

These articles generally summarize the main points of the plan, focusing on the themes of teenage pregnancy prevention, the two-year time limit, and the family cap. The proposal is described as a centrist compromise, and most articles comment on the inevitable criticism it will draw from both liberals and conservatives. As expected, most reporters tried to localize the stories with state statistics and reaction. And many local officials sought to associate themselves with the President's plan, claiming that their own local reforms "led the way" for the national effort.

Major points from the articles:

-- Welfare reform will have to wait until next year, while Congress and the President focus on health care. Several articles state that universal health care coverage will be essential in successfully reforming welfare.

--True reform relies on the creation of jobs. Will there be enough private sector employment for low-skilled women?

--Financing the plan by restricting benefits to immigrants may reflect growing anti-immigrant sentiment throughout the nation.

--Child welfare advocates fear that the two-year limit will indirectly harm children. In some states, officials predict increases in foster care cases.

--State flexibility is praised. Several articles draw parallels between current state programs and the Administration's proposed reforms.

We have also attached some quotations from recent national and regional editorials.

Melissa

Melissa Skolfield
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL -- The size and cost of New Mexico's back-to-work program could double under the Clinton plan. Most of increases would come from providing child care to mothers returning to school or training for jobs. State officials are also concerned about forcing teen parents to live at home in order to receive benefits and a lack of private-sector jobs.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION -- As many as one-in-five Georgia welfare recipients would be required to work under the Clinton plan. (25,000 adults fall within the plan's target population.) Georgia's job-training program, PEACH, currently has a waiting list of 40,000 people -- state lawmakers have not allocated enough matching money to acquire the total federal funding available for the project.

BOSTON GLOBE -- The Clinton plan is described as "limited" in terms of child care funding and the number of recipients leaving welfare by the year 2000. Clinton is described as reaching out to both liberals and conservatives. But Governor Weld criticizes the bill as weak, and claims that it may hamper the state's ability to impose a proposed 60-day limit on AFDC.

A GLOBE poll shows that Massachusetts residents support welfare reform but worry that children may be penalized. Ninety-one percent support work requirements, and 70 percent want a two-year limit on benefits for welfare recipients.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE -- Clinton's "middle-of-the road reform" will not "end welfare as we know it," due to its limited funds. Governor Jim Edgar supports the Clinton plan, but believes that the state must be allowed to retain freedom and flexibility. The Chicago-based Public Welfare Coalition fears that there will be a lack of public service jobs for women leaving welfare after two years.

The Illinois Department of Children and Family Services predicts that the Administration's plan could backfire, pushing as many as 200,000 children into the state's child-welfare system. A lack of jobs and slow reforms would move children from poor homes into foster care.

HARTFORD COURANT -- The Clinton plan is an important step in opening the welfare debate. Senator Dodd describes the plan as "the best welfare reform proposal I've seen in my 20 years in Congress." Other state officials point out that Connecticut has already initiated several of Clinton's reforms, including a system enabling working recipients to retain more of their earnings, a pilot project eliminating benefits after two years, and stronger child-support collection measures.

HONOLULU ADVERTISER -- Provides a general overview of the plan. "Liberals tend to oppose the proposed time limit as too severe, while conservatives argue that the Clinton plan does not do enough to discourage illegitimacy."

KANSAS CITY STAR -- Women are concerned about losing health care coverage, child care, and cash benefits when they leave welfare for low-paying jobs.

LANSING STATE JOURNAL -- Michigan officials believe that the Clinton plan will have little effect on the state's current government assistance programs, which already include many of the reforms.

LOS ANGELES TIMES -- Jobs are scarce for "workfare" recipients in Los Angeles County. The program has its highest unemployment rate ever -- nearly 60 percent -- and is struggling to find public service jobs for thousands of people. Unlike the Clinton plan, the county's workfare requirement involves the mostly male population on General Relief and does not include funds for education and training.

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL -- Milwaukee mayor John Norquist praises the Clinton plan, but states that the two-year limit is too long -- "changes should be applied immediately." Norquist also believes that universal health care coverage is essential to welfare reform.

OMAHA WORLD-HERALD -- Governor Nelson believes that Clinton's proposal will make it easier for Nebraska to gain federal approval for similar reforms proposed on the state level. Nebraska will apply for a federal waiver this fall to place a two-year limit on cash benefits. The state's work program will focus more on private sector employment rather than on public sector "make-work" jobs.

OREGONIAN -- Participants in the U.S. Conference of Mayors generally support the Clinton plan, but worry about cost-shifts to cities in financing the proposal. The mayors also express concern over the extension of the "deeming" period for immigrants from three to five years, forcing young mothers to live at home, and the lifetime two-year limit on benefits.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER -- The President's plan is a modest start to a huge task. Citing the Manpower study, an article describes small wage increases but limited movement out of welfare for recipients in job training programs. "Those who participate in the job training programs rarely will be paid enough to escape poverty."

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER -- The Clinton plan is described as "culture reform." A recent article praises the proposal's focus on work and responsibility, citing the new work requirements and stricter child support enforcement rules.

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER -- Seattle immigrant and refugee advocates fear that the Clinton plan represents growing anti-immigrant sentiment in the nation. They claim that the proposal will make it harder for legal immigrants to receive benefits, and they call on the administration to help immigrants become citizens by providing language lessons and assistance in navigating the citizenship process.

STATE JOURNAL REGISTER (IL) -- Illinois politicians and social service advocates praise the plan's job training provisions but fear that the two-year time limit may hurt children.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH -- Missouri officials praise the Clinton plan for its focus on job training programs. But welfare recipients point out a dearth of jobs with decent pay and benefits. Missouri's welfare program already places a two-year limit on benefits and concentrates on job-training and child care.

TALLAHASSEE DEMOCRAT -- President Clinton's plan is centrist, but it still may not gain a majority vote in Congress. Clinton faces a major challenge in building a consensus in Washington, despite the fact that his plan embodies reforms that the American people support.

EDITORIAL RESPONSE TO CLINTON WELFARE PLAN

ARIZONA REPUBLIC: "That the program is roundly criticized by both liberals and conservatives in Congress is an indication that it's not all bad." (6/17)

AUSTIN AMERICAN-STATESMAN: "Clinton's $9.3 billion plan, an attempt to find a middle-ground among the various proposals, in many instances may be sacrificing reality for political expediency." (6/15)

BALTIMORE SUN: "The [administration] deserves credit for trying." (6/16)

BUFFALO NEWS: "As a framework for changing the way both recipients and taxpayers view welfare, Clinton's plan is solid." (6/16)

CHICAGO TRIBUNE: "As desirable as speed is in such matters, direction is even more important, and the president seems to have adopted the right heading." (6/16)

CLEVELAND PLAIN-DEALER: "Clinton's plan should provide a basis for discussion, rather than an end-point." (6/19)

DENVER POST: "Clinton's welfare reform proposal comes closer to 'relabeling welfare as we know it' than his campaign pledge to 'end welfare as we know it'" (6/19)

DETROIT FREE PRESS: "The limited nature of the president's proposal suggests that comprehensive, hands-on welfare reform may have to come from the states." (6/16)

FT. LAUDERDALE SUN-SENTINEL: "Clinton took just a small step toward welfare reform, but in a bold and promising new direction." (6/16)

FT. WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM: "As with health care reform, the president's real contribution on welfare reform is to move the issue from an academic discussion to the reality of political and legislative debate and compromise." (6/15)

HARTFORD COURANT: "Even if his plan is not as sweeping as he once promised, Mr. Clinton deserves credit for trying to change a welfare system that rewards people for not working and is an incentive for them to have children out of wedlock." (6/16)

HOUSTON CHRONICLE: "There is less than meets the eye in President Clinton's much self-touted and now revealed plan." (6/16)

INDIANAPOLIS NEWS: "Clinton appears to recognize that no reform of the welfare system will work absent a reform of individual values. He also understands that government alone cannot solve the underlying problems that are making welfare so intractable in this country. That awareness may be more important than any single provision of the package." (6/20)

KANSAS CITY STAR: "Welfare reform is easier said than done. Ask a long line of national reformers who tried, including Ronald Reagan. If their plans had worked, President Clinton wouldn't have gotten so much mileage from his campaign pledge to 'end welfare as we know it.'" (6/14)

L.A. DAILY NEWS: "Even if Clinton's plan were a lot more ambitious in its requirements and incentives, it would not amount to much in practice if government cannot overcome the pressure to treat welfare as an entitlement." (6/16)

LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL: "Welfare reform is now solidly on the public agenda." (6/19)

MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL: "Welfare reform should be fully explored in the states ... Clinton's promise isn't worth the replacement of one huge problem with another that has its own array of frustrations, excessive costs and unintended consequences." (6/19)

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL: "What President Clinton is delivering is an important first step towards a drastically new, work-oriented system for aiding the needy." (6/19)

NEWSDAY: "Give [him] credit for leading the charge." (6/16)

NORFOLK VIRGINIAN-PILOT: "The president had an opportunity to boldly challenge the conventional wisdom in Washington and really be the 'new Democrat' he claimed he was in the campaign. Unfortunately, he threw it away." (6/17)

N.Y. DAILY NEWS: "There are real questions about whether Clinton's heart is in his plan." (6/17)

DAILY OKLAHOMAN: "Not only does it not end this costly social program, it enlarges it." (6/22)

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER: "Candidate Clinton voiced a grand, progressive goal of bolstering work and family for the nation's poor. President Clinton's action is, sadly, far more limited." (6/16)

PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE: "The president has put forth a generally reasonable alternative to the current system ... But his heart and his energies will remain focused in the near term on health care. That is probably the key to welfare reform anyway." (6/17)

SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE: "For all the buildup, President Clinton's long-awaited welfare reform plan is less than expected." (6/17)

S.F. CHRONICLE: "The president's first task in reforming welfare will be to explain to the public why it must cost an additional $9.3 billion to 'end welfare as we know it.'" (6/16)

SALT LAKE TRIBUNE: "The Clinton plan is based on a fundamentally laudable principle: to reduce the absurd disincentives that currently exist in the welfare system." (6/17)

SIOUX FALLS ARGUS LEADER: "Say what you will about the merit of President Clinton's proposals, he's not a caretaker. Overall, that's a plus." (6/16)

TULSA WORLD: "Clinton's welfare reform plan has some popular proposals, but it bogs down on the age-old question of 'who pays?'" (6/15)

U.S. NEWS: "Clinton's welfare plan speaks to the idea of individual responsibility, though not as forcefully as it should." (6/27)

WASHINGTON POST: "A solid start on welfare reform." (6/16)

WISCONSIN STATE JOURNAL: "The plan's shortcomings say more about how complex the American welfare problem is than about how wrongheaded the president is." (6/21)

ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL (NM) 6-18-94

Welfare Reform Could Cost N.M.

By Jackie Jadrnak

JOURNAL CAPITOL BUREAU

SANTA FE — The size and cost of New Mexico's $7.1 million back-to-work program could double if President Clinton's welfare reform plan becomes law, according to a state official.

Bill Dunbar, director of the state's Income Support Division, said a lot of the cost would come in providing child care to mothers who are going back to school or getting job training.

Overall, though, New Mexico already is doing a lot of the things Clinton proposed this week, but Dunbar said he wasn't sure what it would cost to do all of them.

A legislative subcommittee and a study group open to the public will study welfare reform over the summer and recommend what other changes the state might want to make, he said. That group probably will look at a state option to eliminate benefit increases for women who have babies while receiving welfare benefits, he added.

A major focus of Clinton's plan is to get welfare recipients back into the job market.

Right now, about 11,000 of the state's 32,000 households receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children are enrolled in Project Forward, Dunbar said. That program puts people in education programs, subsidized public or private employment, or job search programs, he said.

New Mexico doesn't require participation from mothers who have children younger than 3 years old, though, and it appears Clinton's plan would require women to take part regardless of the age of their children, he said. That change could double the size of the program, he said.

Another proposed change could cut off benefits to about 200 New Mexico teens with children who live on their own, Dunbar said. Clinton's plan says minors with babies could not receive welfare unless they are living with their parents or in some sort of residential shelter.

Dunbar said he doesn't know how many New Mexicans would be affected by a proposal to cut off benefits after two years for women born after 1971. If those women get good training and child care, though, the state should be successful in getting them back in the job market, he said.

The problem with this type of welfare reform is to find meaningful work for people in the private sector, said Myra Segal, who moved to Albuquerque this year after heading a Minnesota welfare reform project.

"You're going to need money and real creative and skilled managers and administrators," she said. "It's going to be real expensive."

If people don't get into a good job after the two-year limit, they'll simply show up elsewhere in the social service system, such as homeless shelters or food lines, she said.

Minnesota's program, which just got rolling in April, tries to make work more financially rewarding than welfare by continuing grants, medical care and child care for people who make up to 150 percent of the federal poverty level, according to Segal.

A subcommittee of the Legislature's Health and Human Services Committee will study welfare reform this summer, getting advice from a study group including members of the public, said Sen. Elizabeth Stefanics, D-Madrid, chairwoman of the committee. Stefanics invited people to contact her if they want to get involved with the study group.

"There's still a lot of freedom to do things in the states," she said.

Stefanics expressed some concerns about Clinton's plan. It could be tough to recruit enough private employers to find positions for welfare recipients, she said. Also, she said she isn't sure it makes sense to force teen parents to live with their own parents in order to get benefits.

WELFARE IN GEORGIA

Plan would require 25,000 to work

Atlanta Constitution

y Frances Schwartzkopff
AFF WRITER

As many as one in five Geor-
a adults on welfare for two
ears would be required to work
nder long-awaited welfare re-
rm proposals announced Tues-
ay by President Clinton.

About 25,000 of the 115,539
eorgia adults on welfare are
rt of Clinton's target popula-
on of young parents, according
the Georgia Department of
uman Resources, which ad-
inisters the welfare program,
ld to Families with Dependent
hildren.

Unless those recipients quali-
for a shrinking number of ex-
nptions, they'll be the first
oup affected by the corner-
one of Clinton's welfare reform
ckage: a time limit on cash as-
sistance and a mandatory work
quirement.

"Today we have to restore
ith in the beginning in certain
sic principles that our forebears
ok for granted: the bond of fam-
, the virtue of community, the
gnity of work," Clinton said at a
nk in Kansas City, Mo., where
e late President Harry Truman
ce worked as a clerk.

The five-year, $9.3 billion pro-
sal seeks to transform the wel-
re system from one that mostly
ites checks into a program that
sters independence by putting
others to work, requiring fa-
ers to support their children fi-
ncially and discouraging teen-
ers from having babies.

The program would be
ased in, beginning with young
ults. About $1.2 billion would
ance the mandatory work pro-
am, and $4.2 billion would pay
child care for the working
or and for welfare recipients
the mandatory education and
ining program and in the jobs
ts.

Another $2.8 billion would go towards expanding states' programs to educate, train and place welfare recipients in jobs.

More than 15,000 people were enrolled in April in Georgia's program, called PEACH, which has a waiting list of more than 40,000 people.

But the state hasn't been able to use all the federal funding available for PEACH, because lawmakers have not allocated enough matching money. There is a $5.6 million shortfall in state funding for the 1994 fiscal year, which ends June 30, and a $2 million shortfall for 1995, according to state officials.

It isn't known how much money Georgia would see from the Clinton package to reform welfare.

The Associated Press contributed to this article.

Associated P

President Clinton outlines his plans to reform the welfa
system as he speaks Tuesday at the Commerce Bank in K
sas City, Mo., beneath a photograph of a former welfare
cipient who was helped by a Missouri training program.

BOSTON GLOBE 6/15/94

Clinton unveils welfare reform proposal

Clinton offers limited plan on welfare reform

By Michael Kranish
GLOBE STAFF

KANSAS CITY, Mo. – President Clinton unveiled his welfare reform plan here yesterday, a limited proposal that would leave at least 80 percent of recipients on public assistance in the year 2000 and that contains only half as much money for child care as originally suggested, presidential aides said.

With most details previously made public, Clinton outlined the program without providing new specifics. Instead, in a campaign-like speech, he repeated his favorite positions about welfare and renewed his call for a reduction in the number of births by unwed mothers.

In a bow to conservatives, Clinton proposed a "paternity establishment program" that would try to determine the father of a child born to unwed mothers on welfare and to track down "deadbeat dads." The program seeks to double current child support collections from $9 billion to $20 billion in six years.

"We have a big welfare problem because the rate of children born out of wedlock ... is going up dramatically," Clinton said. "At the rate we're going, unless we reverse it, within 10 years more than half of our children will be born in homes where there has never been a marriage."

The key element of Clinton's plan is to force people off welfare and into a job after two years. However, a shortage of funds forced him to modify that requirement, allowing welfare recipients to remain on the dole indefinitely if no private or public job is available.

The president, indicating his eagerness to avoid a fight over the issue, reached out to the GOP yesterday, saying, "This ought to be a bipartisan issue ... I don't care who gets the credit for this if we can rebuild American families."

But in Washington, some Republicans reacted harshly, calling the plan half-hearted, while some Democrats and a large coalition of advocacy groups decried it for punishing the poor and their children. Political analysts say the plan has little chance of passage this year.

"It's like diagnosing a patient with a terminal disease and prescribing ... aspirin," said Rep. James Talent, a Missouri Republican who co-sponsored an alternative reform plan that creates stricter work requirements, ends benefits to unwed mothers under 21 and establishes an employment voucher system.

In Massachusetts, Gov. Weldhas sought a federal waiver to impose a 60-day limit on Aid to Families with Dependent Children. "Not only does President Clinton's plan apparently not end welfare as we know it but it appears that he's going to make it impossible for states to end welfare as we know it," said Weld. "Now, my concern is that may displace the ability of states to try the 60-day approach." Meanwhile, Sens. Kit Bond, a Missouri Republican, and Tom Harkin, an Iowa Democrat, released a bipartisan alternative plan that omits the prospect of government jobs. Harkin said he was "sorely disappointed" by Clinton's plan, which he described as an anachronistic, "New Deal" approach.

The program has much less money for child care than originally envisioned. Clinton's aides once proposed spending $3.5 billion for child care support for people who leave welfare and get a job. The plan outlined yesterday proposes spending $1.5 billion.

The child care cutback became necessary when Clinton decided against using new taxes to pay for the welfare proposal and to finance it largely by trimming other programs.

Under the plan, welfare recipients born before 1971 – about one-third of the current caseload – are exempt from the requirements to get off public assistance after two years. But because of various exemptions, half of welfare recipients in the year 2000 will not be affected.

Contributing reporter Heather Bruce assisted from Washington in this report. Doris Sue Wong of the Globe staff contributed from Boston.

Boston Sunday Globe
6/19/94

THE PEOPLE'S

The typical welfare family in Massachusetts consists of an unmarried woman with two children. There are currently 109,000 Massachusetts families on welfare, at a cost to state taxpayers of $725 million per year for cash grants, Medicaid coverage and job training programs. Welfare families in public or subsidized housing receive a grant of $539 per month, while those in private housing get $579 a month. Each family also receives $220 a month in food stamps – paid by the federal government – and $5,000 per year in medical services covered by the federal-state Medicaid program.

WELFARE

"In the long term you should change the idea that the government is there to hand money over to people in the form of food stamps or whatever the case may be. I think that each individual in the country should provide for themselves and, if they can't, hopefully they have a family or they can use private support structures."

CHARLES MURLEY, 26, SAUGUS

* * *

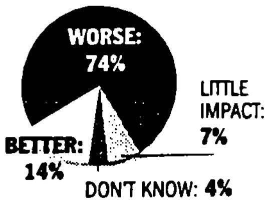
"Your version is that the welfare system is giving me something. I don't feel that they are giving me something. They are degrading me. I am degraded by the social workers who I have to go through to fill those papers out. When my food stamps don't come, they say, 'So what. What do you want from me?'"

KIM BELDO, 31, LYNN

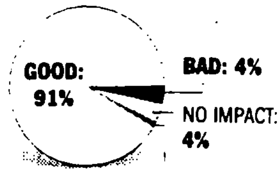
* * *

THE VOTERS ON WELFARE

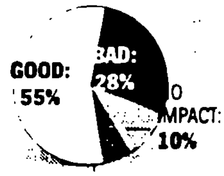
Does welfare make things better by helping people unable to support themselves or worse by making able-bodied people too dependent on government aid?



Is it a good idea or bad idea to require all people on welfare to do some kind of work?



Is it a good idea or bad idea to impose penalties on women who bear children while receiving welfare?



NOTE: Poll of 400 Massachusetts residents conducted by KRC Associates of Newton from May 20-23 for the Boston Globe, WBUR-FM and WBZ-TV. The poll has a margin of error of ±5 percentage points.

THE CANDIDATES ON WELFARE

★ US SENATOR

US Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat

■ Supports principles of Clinton welfare reform proposal, including requiring mothers 25 years old or younger to work in public service jobs if they do not find work after two years. Supports refusing to provide benefits to minors living away from their parents or a responsible adult, and denying benefits to those who refuse to stay in school or a job-training program, look for work or accept a job offer. Also would guarantee child care for one year to those who leave welfare and find a job. Backs child care for recipients in training programs. Opposes reducing benefits for recipients who have additional children on welfare.

John Lakian, Republican

■ Supports requiring recipients without dependents under the age of 18 to work or be enrolled in training programs. Would reduce benefits of recipients whose children did not attend school. Favors denying additional benefits to recipients who have additional children. Supports random drug testing of welfare recipients. Favors allowing welfare recipients to earn some income and continue to be eligible for their benefits. Backs incentives for teen-age welfare recipients to stay in school. Favors eliminating housing allowance for minors with children to encourage them to live with their parents. Favors eliminating benefits after two years.

Mitt Romney, Republican

■ Favors requiring able-bodied adults without preschool dependents to find part-time employment, job training, charity work, or a public-sector position. Would cut cash benefits by 10 percent after two years. Favors providing tax credits to businesses that hire and train recipients. Would cut benefits of recipients whose children have repeated incidents of truancy. Backs mandatory drug testing for recipients and mandatory drug treatment for those who test positive. Would deny benefits to illegal aliens. Opposes providing additional cash benefits if recipients have additional children.

★ GOVERNOR

Gov. William F. Weld, Republican

■ Wants Aid to Families with Dependent Children replaced with "Employment Support Program," which would take the welfare checks going to half the state's AFDC families and use the money for day care, health care and job training to allow recipients to work. Administration says shift will create 10,000 new jobs in day care and information about another 14,000 would be available at welfare and unemployment offices. Other recipients able to work, about 20,000, would have to take community service jobs. The disabled, those caring for a disabled relative, teen-age mothers attending high school full time, pregnant women in their third trimester and mothers with children under the age of 4 months would continue to receive their welfare checks. Also favors denying additional benefits to recipients who have additional children.

Sen. Michael Barrett, Democrat

■ Favors allowing welfare grant to be used as a wage subsidy to encourage employers to hire welfare recipients. Would promote programs to encourage teen-agers to avoid sexual activity. Favors requiring teen-age welfare mothers to obtain a high school diploma. Would require mothers to identify fathers as condition for receiving welfare. Would restructure welfare offices to emphasize job placement. Opposes reducing benefits for recipients who have additional children. Would limit benefits to two years.

George Bachrach, Democrat

■ Favors providing subsidies to businesses to encourage them to hire welfare recipients. Would provide transportation allowances to enable AFDC parents to get to work. Opposes cutting off benefits to recipients after a certain time period, saying a cut-off would punish children. Favors providing child care for AFDC recipients participating in employment training programs and for all low-income working families based on ability to pay. Opposes reducing benefits for recipients who have additional children.

Rep. Mark Roosevelt, Democrat

■ Proposes "New Social Compact" between state and welfare recipients, laying out obligations and responsibilities which may include looking for a job or community service. Would offer education and training programs and incentives to work. Would deny an increase in benefits if recipient has more children, but would allow child to have Medicaid and food stamp coverage. Would continue to provide benefits such as Medicaid and child care when recipient gets a job. Would require recipients to find a job in one year. Would require all recipients of child-bearing age to participate in family-planning classes and teen-age parents would be required to attend parenting classes.

BOSTON SUNDAY GLOBE 6/19/94

The People's Voice

What you think matters. Today, the Globe, in cooperation with WBZ-TV and WBUR-FM, continues a series of reports on issues that Massachusetts voters want candidates to address in this year's elections.

Voters demand welfare reform

By Don Aucoin
GLOBE STAFF

Do something.

That is the public's curt, no-nonsense message on welfare to elected officials on Beacon Hill and Capitol Hill.

"Politicians, please. Reform the welfare system. Quit kicking the issue around," urged Clifford Davis Jr. of Dorchester. "It's not that difficult. They put a man on the moon. I don't think solving welfare is more difficult than that."

Davis' exasperation with the welfare status quo and his insistence on immediate change were echoed by others last week in a focus group and by many respondents to a poll by the Globe, WBZ-TV and WBUR-FM.

Along with that impatience, though, is deep concern that children on welfare not be penalized for their parents' bad luck or bad choices.

But, in general, Massachusetts residents seem to view welfare as a cauldron of unintended consequences, a runaway vehicle that has veered far from its original goal of aiding families in crisis.

Today, according to 74 percent of poll respondents, welfare has degenerated into a system that encourages many recipients to become dependent on government aid. Consequently, 91 percent want all welfare recipients forced to do some kind of work, and 70 percent want a two-year limit on welfare benefits.

Perhaps no issue raises the temperature in a room more quickly than welfare. That was evident when a welfare mother and a taxpayer went eyeball-to-eyeball in the focus group.

Charles Murley of Saugus, who works in retail sales, confronted Kim Beldo of Lynn, a mother of five who is trying to find work as a medical secretary after spending a total of five years on welfare, including the past two years.

"In the long term, it's not the government's place to provide you with a handout to feed yourself," Murley told Beldo.

Beldo shot back: "You are one of those people in that little ivory tower ... You don't see the whole picture. Your version is that the welfare system is giving me something. I don't feel that they are giving me something; they are degrading me."

"I am degraded by the social workers who I have to go through to fill those papers out," Beldo added. "When my food stamps don't come, they say: 'So what? What do you want from me?' When I say I need day care, they say, 'Well, this is what we are going to give you. If that isn't enough, well that is too bad.' "

Murley stood his ground. "I don't think the government should be handing you cash. There are private organizations ... You could go there and you won't go a whole day without food."

Murley and Beldo also sparred over the issue of having children while on welfare.

Murley, who favors ending welfare after a set period of time, said: "If you set down a date that says you won't have financial support from the government, maybe some people will make a decision not to have those children."

But Beldo, who had her five children with four different men, countered: "I believe that man doesn't give life. I don't give life. God gives life, and therefore that child was planned. The Bible tells me that I shouldn't kill that child."

Murley: "You're right, you shouldn't, but if you get down to it, if you don't have sex, you can't get pregnant."

Beldo said that was not a realistic argument, saying: "If you don't have sex then you won't get AIDS, and look how many people are dropping left and right from AIDS."

Beldo insisted that Murley and the others could not comprehend her struggle to find a job that will support her family and provide health coverage, or the challenge of navigating the welfare bureaucracy.

But she agreed with them that the current welfare system encourages unwed motherhood and long-term dependency.

Welfare "does break down the family unit a lot of times," Beldo said. "A lot of our problem children are coming from single-family homes, with mothers who are on welfare."

"There's a lot of babies having babies," she added. "And once you're on welfare, it's really easy to get caught up."

Last week, the political establishment from Washington to Boston got caught up in the welfare reform debate.

President Clinton unveiled a plan that would force recipients off welfare after two years, but only if a job is available – which could leave 80 percent of recipients on the rolls in the year 2000. Meanwhile, the Massachusetts Senate and House are at odds over measures to cut benefits and bar benefit increases for women who have more children while on welfare.

Watching closely from the sidelines is Gov. Weld, whose bill to replace cash benefits to welfare recipients with child care and health insurance has gone nowhere on Beacon Hill. That proposal was viewed favorably by 86 percent of poll respondents.

• • •

A growing frustration, a lingering concern

During a wide-ranging discussion by the focus group at WBZ last week, a variety of ideas bubbled up: low-cost education for adults so they won't find themselves unequipped for the working world; ending immigrants' eligibility for welfare benefits; immediately kicking off the rolls any welfare cheats; and long-term day care for welfare recipients who want to work.

Davis said welfare rules should be rewritten to greatly restrict who is eligible for welfare and to spell out actions recipients must take to get off.

"This would alleviate ... the frustration that I have in paying all of this money for welfare, and for these people that I don't think need and deserve it," he said.

But beneath public wrath about adults on welfare and a desire to "crack down" on them are strong fears about the well-being of children if such crackdowns take place.

For example, asked what she would like to see changed about the welfare system, Christine Crompton, a student and waitress in Rutland, at first said she would "like to get rid of it."

"The welfare system was implemented to provide services for people who need it," she said. "But today, the system is being abused."

But in the next breath Crompton said she is worried about harm to children if welfare families were forced off public assistance after two years, whether the parent has found a job or not.

"If that child is not going to be able to be fed, that's crazy," she said.

• • •

Fears that a 'poison' debilitates recipients

That ambivalence about welfare reform once children are factored into the equation also showed up in a different issue in the poll.

Asked whether they supported denying extra benefits for children born on welfare, a majority said yes, but by a far smaller margin than every other question.

Of those who responded, 55 percent said they believed it was a good idea, 28 percent said they thought it was a bad idea, and 10 percent said they believed it would have no impact on the system.

In further evidence that public sympathy for the poor has not been entirely drained, 90 percent of respondents said they favor implementing new programs to provide job training for welfare recipients.

Richard Yacubian, an accountant who lives in Belmont, said he would support a tax increase to fund improvements in the welfare system. "You only get what you pay for," said Yacubian, adding: "I don't want any politician teling me that we don't need taxes. I want to hear the truth."

But, overall, it is clear that the current welfare system has lost public confidence and support.

"It's a poison," Davis said flatly. "It destroys one's pride, it removes your ambition, it gets into your blood and into your mind, and you pass it on to your children."

To a focus group that listened intently and with varying degrees of sympathy, Beldo offered a narrative of her travels within the welfare system.

She recounted how her mother was on welfare for 18 years before attending college at age 40 and becoming a teacher. She alluded to a youthful battle with drugs, and told how she became pregnant after graduating from Boston Latin Academy.

"I had no self-love or esteem, and I thought this baby was going to love me," said Beldo. "If someone had stepped in and intervened at that point and said, 'Well, here we are offering this counseling, here is somebody you can talk to,' you could have got somebody who could help me believe in myself."

"I had to go through a whole line of tragedy to get to the point where I was able to help myself," she added. "It took me six years and four more children."

But the jobs didn't last. First, the company she worked for relocated to New Hampshire. Then, she said, a Wendy's restaurant where she landed a job did not provide health insurance for her or her children and could not guarantee her enough hours each week to make ends meet. Back onto welfare she went.

"I'm not saying that welfare is all that much better, but at least I know exactly what's coming in and I know what I have to work with in order to feed my children," said Beldo.

...

Worries over passing the welfare life along

Beldo said she would "without a doubt" take a job that guaranteed her 40 hours a week, but answered no when asked if she would take a job that paid $5 an hour. "$5 an hour would not support myself and my family," she said.

According to Beldo, the path back to the workplace has been rocky. When she completed a job-training program recently, Beldo said, her state-subsidized day care for her children was cut from 40 hours to 20 hours, making it harder for her to apply for full-time jobs.

But Davis was not persuaded that the obstacles facing Beldo were insurmountable. To her complaints about an unhelpful bureaucracy, he responded by touting the virtues of self-sufficiency and personal responsibility.

Davis said that when he came to Massachusetts from Alabama years ago, "terrified" about finding a job, people told him: "Oh, you don't have to worry, if you're in Massachusetts you can go on welfare."

He found the idea repugnant. He still still does.

"If my son or daughter was healthy and everything and said they were going to go on welfare, I would absolutely go berserk," said Davis.

Ironically, Beldo seems to feel the same way. She said she is determined to find a job, in large part because she does not want her children to fall into the same traps that snared her.

"My biggest determination is because I have a little girl, who I don't want to think that a woman's place is to lay home and have babies and do nothing," she said. " I want her to know that she has more opportunities, and the best way . . . is to show her."

BOSTON GLOBE 6/14/94

Clinton welfare plan assailed by left, right

By Michael Kranish
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON – More than two years after pledging in his campaign to "end welfare as we know it," President Clinton plans to introduce a welfare reform proposal today that already has come under attack from liberals and conservatives alike.

The plan, which is given little chance of passage this year, requires that welfare recipients be removed from the rolls after two years – but only if a job is available. If a private-sector job cannot be found, the government could provide work or allow recipients to stay on the dole. The plan also calls for stricter enforcement of child-support payments and discourages women on welfare from having more children.

The proposal, which had been scheduled to cost $15 billion, financed in part by tax increases, has been reduced to $9.3 billion, with the money coming mostly from cuts in other programs. The original concept of providing 1.3 million public-sector jobs has been reduced to 400,000 jobs over a six-year period.

As a result, Clinton's proposal remains a major costly program, but one not likely to yield the kind of sweeping results he once envisioned.

"It would be better if we could do more, but this will still help," the president said last week. Asked in an interview with US News & World Report about Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's criticism that an earlier version of the proposal was "boob bait for Bubbas," Clinton responded: "This is something the Bubbas of America and the liberals can get together on."

Yesterday, in a satellite hookup to the US Conference of Mayors in Portland, Ore., Clinton answered urban critics who said that cities under his plan might have to take care of those dropped eventually from welfare rolls. Clinton said: "If you can find something better, I'll be glad to talk to you about it. Have at it, and see what you can come up with."

The program was outlined by various officials yesterday, with the details to be released today. But gauging by the preliminary reaction, Clinton has not satisfied either conservatives, who want to be tougher on recipients, or liberals, who said the plan would victimize the children of mothers forced to leave home and take low-paying jobs.

Congressional analysts said the program has little chance of passage this year, considering the current emphasis on health care, and it is unlikely to be approved at all unless significantly rewritten.

Formal introduction

As a result, when the president formally unveils his plan today in Kansas City, it is expected to be a scaled-down program that, in the worst-case scenario described by Republicans, still could leave 92 percent of welfare families on the dole in the year 2000.

"What Clinton discovered in this debate is it costs so much more money to give indigent people help in the form of a paycheck than it does with a welfare check," said Gary Burtless, an economist who worked on welfare reform during the Carter administration.

Burtless stressed that he nonetheless supports the more expensive option of providing a paycheck because it comes packaged with work and responsibility. But he said that even if Clinton's proposal is approved, it would be years before the public saw an appreciable change in the welfare system.

Still, Clinton's aides and allies hope that the plan's unveiling will give him a boost with the moderate "New Democratic" constituency that helped elect him. The discussion over specifics notwithstanding, White House officials say Clinton will have moved the overall debate about welfare from writing checks to placing people in jobs.

"Welfare reform gets him back on the 'New Democratic' track that will help him," said Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, a bastion of New Democrat ideology.

But Marshall was pessimistic about the chances for quick action on welfare reform. "Health care is the boulder in the road," he said. "If you can't move it, you can't do welfare."

The crux of Clinton's welfare proposal during the campaign was that people would be forced off the rolls in two years if they did not get a job. Under the new approach, a person would lose welfare benefits only if he or she refused to accept an available job.

During the campaign, this was not a major issue because Clinton said he would provide public jobs if private ones were unavailable. But given the cost, Clinton has backed off that idea. The president now says he has enough money to provide public jobs for 400,000 people by the year 2000, or 8 percent of the 5 million people currently on welfare.

About a third – those born before 1971 – would be exempted from the program, meaning that some older recipients could remain on the dole for years.

That is still too tough a provision for some liberals, who fear it will still result in poor mothers being forced into low-paying jobs that do not earn them enough money to care for their children.

"If the federal government has $9 billion to spend on welfare reform, this is not the best way to spend those limited resources," said Mark Greenberg, an attorney with the Center for Law and Social Policy, an advocacy group for welfare recipients.

Some Republicans, meanwhile, are trying to outdo Clinton's plan by putting forward a proposal that is tougher on those who remain on welfare but more generous to those who get off it. In a twist, a bill cosponsored by 165 Republicans proposes spending enough money for at least 750,000 jobs, compared to the 400,000 Clinton proposed.

Rep. Richard Santorum of Pennsylvania, the author of the GOP proposal, said in a telephone interview that the president's program does not go nearly far enough. Santorum said his program would cost $12 billion and save an additional $21 billion, compared to Clinton's $9.3 billion effort.

GOP effort

The Republican bill goes much farther than the White House measure, for example, by implementing a host of tough sanctions against welfare recipients who have babies out of wedlock. Santorum does not exempt those born before 1971. The White House dismissed some of the ideas now contained in the Republican plan as Draconian but has indicated a willingness to negotiate.

"Clinton is writing off a whole generation of welfare recipients who could benefit from work," Santorum said. "And we propose that once you are on welfare, you don't get any additional money if you have another baby. No money for having kids. Clinton just kind of dances around that issue."

Welfare reform highlights

Following are the outlines of the reorganization that Clinton is expected to propose today:

- ☞ Two-year limit on welfare benefits, but numerous exceptions allowed.
- ☞ Public-sector jobs provided to 400,000 welfare recipients by the year 2000 (out of 5 million current recipients).
- ☞ Some recipients taken off welfare roles if they refuse an available job.
- ☞ Education, retraining funds available.
- ☞ New efforts to reduce out-of-wedlock births.
- ☞ Program instituted to collect support payments from "deadbeat dads."
- ☞ Some rules affect only those born after 1971, on a phased-in basis.

GLOBE STAFF CHART

2 in House press Mass. welfare waiver

WASHINGTON – The two Massachusetts Republicans in Congress yesterday asked the Clinton administration to quickly approve a waiver to permit Gov. Weld to enact welfare reforms, including a 60-day limit on AFDC benefits.

The request, by Rep. Peter I. Blute and Rep. Peter G. Torkildsen, countered opposition to Weld's plan from six Massachusetts Democrats, including both senators – Edward M. Kennedy and John F. Kerry – and four members of the House: Barney Frank, Gerry E. Studds, Richard E. Neal and John W. Olver.

Blute and Torkildsen asked Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala to recall Clinton's pledge to give states "more elbow room to experiment" in ending "welfare as we know it."

– BOB HOHLER

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES (IL); 6-13-94

Mayors Detail Concerns On Welfare Reform Plan

By Sonya Ross
Associated Press

PORTLAND, Ore.—The Clinton administration sought Sunday to soothe concerns about its welfare reform package raised by big-city mayors who say it would shift the total burden of caring for the poor to them.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors outlined "areas of concern" in Clinton's $9.3 billion plan in a resolution to be voted on during its annual meeting in Portland.

The mayors objected to cuts in entitlement programs and the treatment of community service jobs that could put welfare recipients to work. But they said they support Clinton's overall plan because it is "generally consistent" with their own previous proposals.

In an opening address Sunday, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala told about 200 mayors that she anticipates great input from local officials as the plan moves through Congress. The administration plans to unveil the details Tuesday.

"We want mayors to play a major role," Shalala said. "We are particularly mindful of the perspective you offer as representatives of many of this nation's low-income people."

Housing Secretary Henry Cisneros also attended and announced a new program, Safe Neighborhood Action Plan, that would attack violent crime in federally assisted housing complexes much like another program, Operation Safe Home, does in public housing.

"Many times, the crime conditions in this form of assisted housing are worse than they are in public housing," Cisneros said. "We're putting this together because the cities asked for it."

The program will operate in 12 cities: Atlanta; Baltimore; Boston; Columbus, Ohio; Denver; Detroit; Houston; Los Angeles; Newark, N.J.; New Orleans; Philadelphia and Washington. Cisneros did not provide specifics on the plan.

On welfare, the mayors oppose two key aspects of Clinton's plan: a cap on family size and a two-year lifetime limit on Aid to Families With Dependent Children.

"There are some people who will never, never be in a position where they can work. They need help, no question about it," said San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan. "We have to come up with a better solution there for the long term."

San Francisco spends about $50 million each year on general assistance for about 15,000 people, Jordan said. If welfare recipients are cut off after two years, "then the local entities are going to wind up inheriting the problem," he said.

"I want to see the federal government look at what kind of work programs they are going to provide," Jordan said.

Shalala said the administration is willing to work with mayors on job programs, but is firm on the family caps and benefit cutoffs.

The mayors said they want Clinton to move welfare recipients into community service jobs through the current framework of training programs and education and support services.

"Community service jobs should be seen as important jobs, not jobs of last resort," the resolution said.

MIDDLE-OF-ROAD REFORM

Chgo. Trib., 6-15-94 p. 1

Clinton unveils plan to shrink welfare

By Carol Jouzaitis
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Some Republicans have proposed shrinking or abolishing welfare. Some Democrats think the government should do more to help recipients.

President Clinton offered a middle-ground approach Tuesday, unveiling a long-awaited, $9.3 billion welfare package that would put a two-year time limit on cash welfare benefits, something he proposed to do in his campaign.

Clinton's "new Democrat" solution insists that able-bodied aid recipients move off welfare rolls and into the work force. But it also tries to ease the transition through increased spending on training, child care and job-placement programs.

For cost reasons, the plan for revamping the $23 billion welfare system is much more limited in scale than the White House envisioned. The plan won't "end welfare as we know it," as Clinton once pledged to do, but initially will affect only a portion of the 5 million households on Aid to Families with Dependent Children: those recipients born after 1971.

The plan would be paid for though cuts in other social programs. The biggest savings, $3.7 billion over five years, would come from tightening aid rules for immigrants, especially those whose U.S. sponsors can support them.

The White House proposed a cap on state spending in the AFDC emergency assistance program, saving $1.6 billion. And the corporate Superfund tax would be extended, providing another $1.6 billion.

While other efforts to revamp the welfare system have failed, Clinton said he believed his would succeed because it requires more responsibility from aid recipients in exchange for more support services. He said that universal health care was a cornerstone of the plan to make work more attractive than welfare.

"I really believe we have a chance, finally, to replace dependence with independence," Clinton said.

Announcing the plan in Kansas City, Mo., Clinton predicted that 1 million welfare recipients will have moved into the labor force by the year 2000.

The plan is expected to be sent later this month to Capitol Hill, where other welfare reform bills, including several that are similar to the White House plan, are pending. But with health care dominating the agenda, Congress is unlikely to act on welfare before next year.

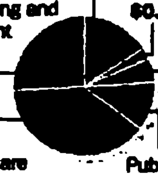
The changes proposed in the 60-year-old Aid to Families with Dependent Children program reflects

A paycheck, not a welfare check

Plans for reforming the nation's welfare system would encourag participants to get training and education to be able to enter the work force. The plan would affect many families who recei Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments, although other welfare program would have eligibility requirements tightened.

Cost for the plan

Projected 5-year expenditures, in billions of dollars, before any savings from fraud- and caseload-reductions.



Education/job training
Programs would help welfare recipients become "job-ready."

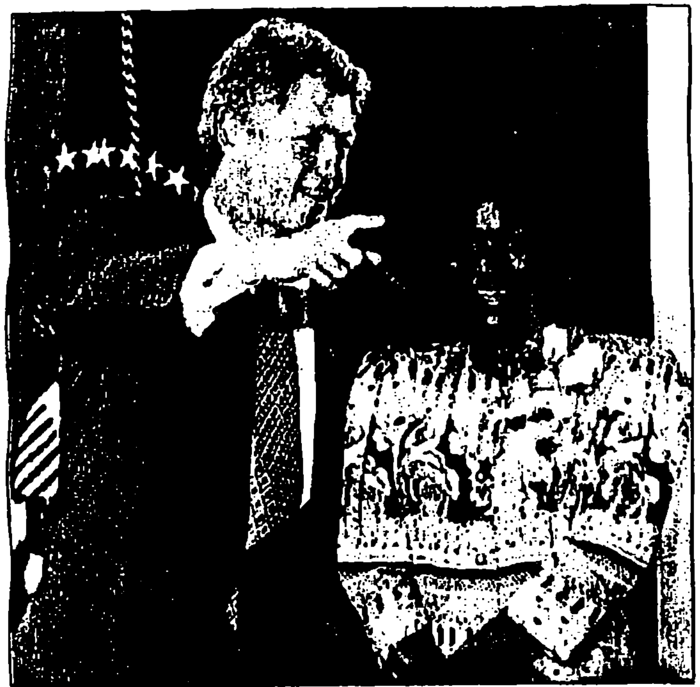
2-year limit on benefits, then
After two years, recipients must take public works jobs.

Making fathers pay
Fathers would be made to pay support for their children.

Work incentives
Tax incentives to help low-income workers.

Sources: News reports, Office of Management and Budget

Chicago Tribune/Ken Marshall



AP photo

President Clinton, accompanied by Yolonda McGee, details his welfare reform plan during a news conference Tuesday in Kansas City, Mo. McGee, formerly on welfare, now works for a Kansas City bank.

growing public frustration over the dramatic increase in out-of-wedlock births. They also mirror society's changing attitudes on the role of women, who head the vast majority of welfare households and now are expected to balance work and family duties.

If after two years, a private-sector job isn't available, a minimum-wage, community service job would be provided. But holders of those public jobs would be required to return to the private labor market to look for work after 12 months.

Those who refused to participate in education programs or refused to work would lose their welfare checks. Exceptions to the work requirement would be made for mothers with disabilities, infants under 1 year or disabled children. But even some of those exemptions would be limited.

The proposal also attempts to emphasize personal responsibility by toughening provisions for collecting child support.

Hospitals would be required to establish paternity at birth. A mother who refuses to identify or find her child's father would risk losing her aid check.

Deadbeat dads would face the loss of their drivers' or occupational licenses. A national clearinghouse would be established to catch parents who flee across state lines to avoid support payments.

A national campaign against teen pregnancy would encourage young people to delay childbearing until they reach a more responsible age.

States, some of which have been aggressive in trying various reform experiments, would be given flexibility to adopt other carrot-and-stick measures to encourage work and discourage out-of-wedlock births.

States would be allowed to limit benefits for additional children born after the family goes on welfare. Some states already have obtained federal permission to use such "family caps."

And states would be permitted to change program rules so recipients could accumulate more savings and accept child support without facing the penalty of reduced aid checks. That could help recipients become independent more quickly.

Criticisms of the plan underscore the difficulties Clinton faces in trying to offer a middle-of-the-road solution on the polarizing issue of welfare. The White House plan was attacked by liberals as too punitive and by conservatives as not sweeping enough.

Welfare rights groups warned that the plan could thrust more children into poverty if their parents' aid checks are cut. Children account for two-thirds of welfare dependents.

"Time-limiting benefits will create more problems than it will solve," said Sunny Harris Rose, president of the National Association of Social Workers.

Rep. Bobby Rush (D-Ill.) criticized the plan for not creating enough jobs to employ all AFDC recipients.

"Jobs that pay liveable wages, the kind that can support families, are fundamental to welfare reform," Rush said.

Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said that Clinton "promised us a Ferrari and gave us a Yugo" on welfare reform. Gingrich said he agreed with the plan's work requirements but he believed that Clinton should have adopted some of the "more decisive" experiments being tried in various states.

In Illinois, Gov. Jim Edgar said he welcomed Clinton's initiative but said the federal government should do more to allow the states the freedom to pursue their own welfare-to-work proposals.

Edgar said proposals incorporated in Illinois' welfare system have "taken waivers from outdated and rigid federal welfare rules to accomplish," and added that "it is more important than ever that those waivers keep coming."

Welfare-to-work programs already in place in Illinois provide incentives to keep public aid recipients in school and allows more of them to retain more outside income while receiving public assistance.

But the Chicago-based Public Welfare Coalition called Clinton's plan "a new wave of federalism" in joining with 85 civil rights and religious groups across the country in challenging the president's initiative.

"We are staunchly opposed to giving states free reign to limit the rights of welfare mothers and punish children. And these methods will do nothing to discourage teen pregnancies," said Sharron Matthews, the coalition's executive director.

"While we support the president's focus on making the transition from welfare to work, what assurances are we getting that there will be enough public service jobs available for those who can't find employment after two years?"

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MIDDLE-OF-ROAD REFORM

Clinton unveils plan to shrink welfare

By Carol Jouzaitis
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SEE WELFARE, PAGE 26

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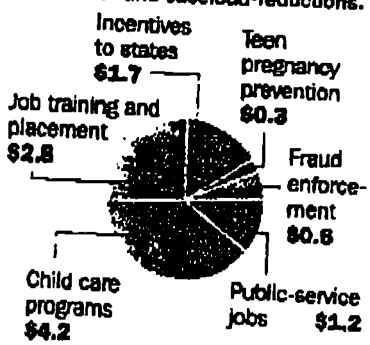

Sources: News reports, Office of Management and Budget

CHICAGO TRIBUNE (IL); 6-15-94

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The changes proposed in the 60-year-old Aid to Families with Dependent Children program reflects growing public frustration over the dramatic increase in out-of-wedlock births. They also mirror society's changing attitudes on the role of women, who head the vast majority of welfare households and now are expected to balance work and family duties.

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CHICAGO TRIBUNE (IL); June 17, 1994

DCFS chief says Clinton plan flawed

By Susan Kuczka
Tribune Staff Writer

The head of the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services predicted Thursday that President Clinton's proposed welfare reform plan could backfire by infusing as many as 200,000 more children into the state's child-welfare system.

"I would expect you're going to see more kids in foster care, and not just a few more," DCFS Director Jess McDonald said during an interview on WBBM-AM Radio's "At Issue" program, which airs at 8:30 a.m. Sunday.

"My guess is if that proposal were to go through the way it is you could probably expect over 100,000 to 200,000 kids in the child-welfare system because you will not change [welfare conditions] in two years," said McDonald, whose department currently cares for approximately 40,000 children.

"I cannot think of any other outcome except for burgeoning [caseloads], more than anything we would ever dream of," McDonald said.

Clinton's welfare plan would put a two-year limit on cash welfare benefits while moving as many as 1 million recipients into the work force nationwide by the year 2000.

McDonald questioned where those jobs would be found because many welfare recipients lack the education and job skills to join the work force, especially recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

On another subject, McDonald said the department's ever-increasing caseload is forcing officials to rethink the guidelines it uses to license foster parents.

The department is conducting an aggressive recruitment effort to bring more foster parents into the system, but some prospective foster parents are being summarily eliminated from consideration because of relatively minor problems uncovered during routine criminal background checks.

"They might have had a brush with the law; it might have been a minor offense," McDonald said. "But that in and of itself should not disqualify an individual who for the past 20, 25 years has been a good worker and developed a good reputation in the community.

"Sometimes we're sitting around with rules that don't make a lot of sense, and what [the DCFS] will do is take a look at that," he said.

The Hartford Courant Wed. [illegible]

State has head start in reforming welfare

By ELLEN NAKASHIMA
Courant Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The welfare reform plan President Clinton announced Tuesday had a familiar ring to it for Connecticut officials. They have already enacted, or plan to soon, several of its key elements.

"We're well along the road," said state Social Services Commissioner Audrey Rowe. "People in Connecticut will see welfare reform this year. Hopefully, Congress will catch up with us next year."

Welfare reform is not expected to be acted on by Congress this year unless the effort to pass health care reform bogs down, said Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, D-Conn., a longtime advocate of welfare reform and child support. Still, it is important, said Dodd and other Connecticut legislators, to begin the debate — if only to get a running start on next year's agenda.

"This is the beginning of a major effort to do something about it," said Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn. "I think it's urgent to start the process."

Meanwhile, Rep. Gary A. Franks, R-5th District, blasted the president's plan as "a $9 billion jobs program" that will benefit only a small percentage of people.

He referred to Clinton's proposal to create 400,000 jobs for welfare recipients by 2004 — to cover only about 7 percent of recipients.

Franks' colleague, Christopher Shays, R-4th District, was more conciliatory toward Clinton. "There's enough in his proposal that Democrats and Republicans can come up with a better proposal and move forward," Shays said.

Dodd commended what he saw as the package's key elements — rewarding work and parental responsibility and increasing job training and child care. He called it "about the best welfare reform package that I've seen in my 20 years in Congress."

But Rowe and others pointed out that Connecticut is already doing some of what Clinton wants.

For instance:

- In January, the state began a system that allows working welfare recipients to keep more of their earnings.
- In September, the state plans to begin a pilot project in New Haven and Manchester that cuts benefits after two years if recipients do not get a paying job, although volunteer work would count.
- In September, the state will get more aggressive about collecting court-ordered child support and passing more of it along to welfare recipients.

But while Clinton's plan targets younger parents — those born after 1971 — Connecticut's plan is aimed at the entire range of welfare recipients.

In fact, if Clinton's plan were adopted, it would affect only 10,000, or about 17 percent, of the state's welfare households, Rowe said.

But Dodd said that, given the need to set priorities, focusing on the younger generation is wise.

"If you have children as teenagers, the likelihood that you will stay trapped in a welfare environment is very, very high," he said.

What the state is not doing, Rowe said, is penalizing women on welfare who give birth to additional children — as several proposals in Congress would do.

Cutting cash benefits does not induce welfare parents to have fewer children, Rowe said. "There is no real correlation," she said.

Like Clinton, members of the Connecticut delegation have authored their own legislative initiatives on welfare reform. A sampling of their ideas indicates how many issues Congress will ultimately need to resolve. Among them are:

- Guaranteeing minimum level of child support payments — Dodd.
- Increasing the collection of child suppport payments across state lines using the IRS — Dodd.
- Allowing states to experiment, for instance, by reducing cash benefits and creating "residential schools" — or orphanages — where parents could voluntarily enroll their children — Lieberman.
- Allowing recipients to save up to $10,000 to invest in their own small businesses — Shays — or for business investment, job training and education — Lieberman and Dodd.
- Allowing recipients to remain eligible for Medicaid for up to 3[illegible] months after they have moved off welfare into the work force — Shays.
- Giving employers a tax credit of up to $4,500 a year for each new employee hired off the welfare rolls — Rep. Sam Gejdenson, D-2nd District.
- Creating a child support registry to crack down on deadbeat parents who try to flee to another state — Rep. Barbara B. Kennelly, D-1st District.
- Requiring mothers who are minors to live with their parents — Rep. Nancy Johnson, R-6th District, as member of the Republican Task Force on Welfare Reform).
- Ending welfare for noncitizens and allowing refugees to receive welfare for a fixed number of years unless they become citizens — Johnson, supported by Franks.

tary li planes on alert at bases in he prepared for an unofficial South Korea — where the mediating trip to Pyongyang.

The Honolulu Advertiser 6/15/94

Clinton's welfare plan pushes work

Proposal puts 2-year limit on cash benefits

Los Angeles Times

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — Decrying the "cycle of dependency" that keeps millions of Americans on welfare rolls for years, President Clinton yesterday unveiled a $9.3 billion reform initiative that would impose a two-year limit on cash benefits and require younger recipients to find work themselves or take a government job.

If his package is enacted, the president said, 1 million people who would otherwise be unemployed and receiving welfare benefits will be holding jobs by the year 2000. That would represent roughly one in five all adults who now receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Clinton's plan applies only to AFDC, and not to Food Stamps or other such programs.

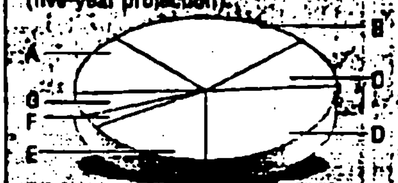
Clinton said his plan holds both parents responsible for the welfare of their children. It would emphasize establishment of paternity, and crack down on fathers or mothers who fail to provide mandated child support. It includes measures to discourage teen pregnancy and illegitimacy, which Clinton says have contributed to welfare dependency.

Most of the plan's provisions would apply only to adult recipients born after 1971, who represent the youngest one-third of the total adult AFDC population of 5 million. The age threshold is intended to reduce the total cost and lighten the administrative burden imposed on states, which would be required to create hundreds of thousands of education, training and subsidized-work slots.

The president said he will introduce his legislation in the next few days. It already faces competition from several congressional proposals that represent different visions of welfare reform. Liberals tend to oppose the proposed time limit as too severe, while conservatives argue that the Clinton plan does not do enough to discourage illegitimacy.

Clinton's welfare reform program

Cost of the plan (five-year projection)



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Total cost of program: $10.8 billion
Savings through reduction of cases and fraud: $1.5 billion

Net cost: $9.3 billion

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F $1.6 billion
G Fees for collection services:
H $200 million
I No increase in food stamp overpayment recovery: $100 million
Retargeted subsidies to family day care homes: $500 million
Elimination of subsidies for wealthy farmers: $500 million
Limited eligibility for substance abusers: $600 million
Spending cap on Aid to Families with Dependent Children Emergency Assistance Program: $1.6 billion

The Kansas City Star Tuesday, June 14, 1994 ★

What's wrong with welfare?

Women find that having a job just doesn't pay

By DONALD BRADLEY
Staff Writer

President Clinton, meet Karla.

She's not an economist or a social scientist, but maybe her story can help you talk about the need to reform America's welfare system.

Karla is 31, a Midtown single mother of four. To protect her identity, her last name is not being printed. She was receiving $342 a month in welfare — most of which went toward rent — and $430 a month in food stamps.

Then she got a job as a waitress earning $463 a month. Because of the job, she eventually lost all of her welfare and $300 of the food stamps. She also lost Medicaid for two of her children.

By going to work, her income dropped to $593

See **WOMEN, A-8,** Col. 5

Clinton's day in Kansas City

■ **Noon:** The president arrives at the TWA Overhaul Base at KCI. He is to be accompanied by Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala.

■ **12:45 p.m.:** The president announces his welfare proposal at Commerce Bank, 922 Walnut St. The speech is closed to the public.

■ **3:15 p.m.:** Clinton departs Kansas City from KCI.

All three TV networks and KCUR-FM, 89.3, will broadcast the president's speech live.

INSIDE: The Clintons are questioned under oath by the Whitewater special counsel. **A-3**

Missouri programs help trim the rolls

By MATT CAMPBELL, BILL NORTON and MARY SANCHEZ
Staff Writers

Three Missouri programs aimed at turning welfare dependents into workers will get presidential scrutiny today when Bill Clinton comes to Kansas City to plug his own welfare-reform plan.

Two of the programs, the state-run Futures and the nonprofit Women's Employment Network, have a track record of removing people from the welfare rolls. Another state program, 21st Century Communities, will start in July and build on the Futures effort.

Vicki Phelps, a 34-year-old mother of three, credits the employment network with ending a five-year reliance on welfare checks.

For 19 months she has been a computer operator for Continuum Vantage, a local company that provides services for insurance companies. She also attends Penn Valley Community College at night.

Phelps said the network topples barriers.

"The reason most women can't go back to work is they can't afford child care or transportation," she said. "They don't have skills to write resumes. Sometimes they don't have the self-esteem, don't have clothing."

The employment network helps

See **MISSOURI, A-9,** Col. 1

Women suffered the system's flaws

Continued from A-1

from $772.

"Plus I had to buy uniforms and pay for bus fare," Karla said Monday. "I really wanted to work, because I was tired of sitting around and I wanted things for my kids, but I couldn't afford it after a while."

Bingo, said Sister Berta Sailer, director of St. Vincent's Family Service day-care center at 31st Street and Troost Avenue.

"Karla should have been rewarded for getting out and getting a job," she said. "But instead, it was like the system wanted to put her back in her place. She made a sound economic decision by quitting her job."

Sailer co-founded St. Vincent's 25 years ago to serve poor families. More than half of the parents of the center's 240 children receive welfare benefits.

"Getting off welfare and going to work must be an improvement in their lives," she said. "If not, what's the motivation? These moms have kids to care for.

"Suburban America might say these mothers are lazy for not working. No, these mothers are smart."

Here's what Sailer would like to see included in the president's plan:

■ Parents must not lose health coverage by taking a job.

■ Child-care benefits must be expanded, because parents can't pay for child care with a minimum-wage job.

■ Benefits must keep coming for a year or so after the recipient lands a job and then decrease gradually.

■ Finally, there must be jobs — in the neighborhoods where parents live, because many don't have transportation.

"You can have the best vocational training in the world, but it doesn't do a bit of good if there are no jobs," Sailer said.

"Our moms get offered jobs as dishwashers out in Johnson County. They can't take jobs out there. The bus lines quit running by the time they get off work."

The biggest and most baffling problem to her is child care.

As long as a welfare recipient is in school or vocational training, she can receive free child care through state subsidies. But that aid ends when she gets a job.

"There's at least a year's waiting list to get child-care money when you go to work," Sailer said. "The system would rather seek out the one woman who doesn't want a job and they say, 'We're going to make you work!' "

Another problem is the rule that prohibits a man from living in a single mother's home if she is receiving welfare.

"We all know how important having two parents around is for children, but as soon as a man moves in, the woman loses her benefits," Sailer said.

Mae Richardson has been there. She used to be a welfare mother before she managed to get off.

"They would come in and search your house for a man's shoes," she said. "And they would ask when was the last time you slept with him. That was degrading."

Richardson said the monthly checks are so small that the recipient can't do much other than sit at home. And families suffer because their clothes, toys and food aren't as nice as other families'.

"I don't know if I could get off today," she added. "It's a lot easier to get on than it is to get off. It's almost like they want to keep you there."

When Richardson was on welfare, her monthly payments were augmented by a rent subsidy.

Today there is a great shortage of rent aid, said David English, a program developer at St. Vincent's.

"Single mothers on welfare cannot afford rent," English said. "We've got all these nomadic families moving every two or three months, because that's how long it takes to throw them out of an apartment."

Sailer thinks the system is so flawed that reform might be impossible.

"We might have to start from scratch," Sailer said. "I just know that we need a government that spends less on armies, oil companies and tobacco growers and more to help poor working mothers."

Missouri programs trim the rolls

Continued from A-1

with all that, and on a personal level.

"You're not a number," Phelps said. "The counselors give a great deal of attention to each person."

Most of the women come into the network dejected, literally looking downward. When they graduate they have "a very real turnaround," said director Leigh Kline.

It requires a commitment of   weeks of all-day classes. Teachers are on-site to help some women pass high school equivalency tests. After training, the network helps the women find jobs keeps track of them.

An average of 30 women graduate each month — about 1,700 since 1986. The job-placement rate is 75 percent to 80 percent. Some even go on to an entrepreneurial program to start their own businesses.

"We help them train for a ca not the first fast-food job," Beth K. Smith, network chairwoman. "We don't want to create the working poor."

Phelps is glad to see the Women's Employment Network approach being viewed as a model for welfare reform.

"It should be given a chance to work on a bigger scale," she said. "Now they are only equipped to take 30 to 35 women every month. I know that there are hundreds that need to be doing it."

A future with Futures

Alfreda Gipson was working t time, usually as a waitress. And she was taking computer c s at a business college that cl unexpectedly.

She had an infant son and a daughter. What she didn't have a partner to help pay the way.

"When the baby got sick, that was it," Gipson said. "It was either get the baby's medicine or buy the bus pass (to school). I got the baby's medicine."

Vicki Phelps
... spent five years on welfare

Alfreda Gipson
... freedom came with job

President Clinton
★TOUCH 1066
To hear excerpts from President Clinton's speech today in Kansas City, or to leave comments about it, call (816) 889-7827 and enter 1066 after 3 p.m.

The dilemma drove her to apply for Aid to Families with Dependent Children eight years ago when she was 20.

Sometimes she found work and dropped off the rolls. "I was always doing something. It's not like they all make it seem, that you're just sitting around the house, drawing checks," Gipson said. "But you can't make too much money. They put you off" the rolls.

In 1992 she discovered Futures, a local variation on a federal job-training program coordinated by the Missouri Division of Family Services.

The program provided her computer training, child-care expenses and bus fare and allowed her to keep receiving benefits from the state, especially Medicaid.

She took classes in survival skills, such as managing her money and child rearing.

Most important, she said, she was assigned an advocate, someone she could talk to one-on-one.

"Mine became my best friend," she said.

She stayed 18 months; the tenure depends on the individual's needs. She shopped for jobs. Not everyone was impressed. "A lot of people don't want to give you a chance."

Then the Futures program had a clerk-typist opening. Now she handles the Futures waiting list, which has more than 6,000 names.

With the job comes health insurance and freedom.

"I don't get anything from the state now," she said.

"They consider me a success story, but I don't think I'm through with it yet."

She intends to return to college and to send her two children as well.

A new twist

The 21st Century Communities program will require participants to work for their welfare benefits, which will be supplemented by local employers.

The state will give employers the dollar equivalent of Aid to Families with Dependent Children and food stamp benefits to help subsidize the cost of hiring welfare recipients.

For example, if the cash value of Aid to Families with Dependent Children and food stamps is $3.08 an hour, the employer would supplement that by $3.50 so that the actual wage would be $6.58 an hour, said Bert Berkley, chairman of the board for Tension Envelope Corp. and a strong supporter of the program.

By allowing only companies that create new jobs to participate, the program ensures that no one is laid off or displaced by the program. Organizers hope the job opportunities will allow people to eventually leave the welfare system.

"It is essential that these are new jobs," Berkley said. "We're trying to make this an opportunity for people to raise themselves up by their bootstraps."

The program also allows people to retain medical and day-care benefits, said Paula Cardello, deputy coordinator of the Local Investment Commission.

The commission is a community-based group that is helping the Missouri Department of Social Services oversee the 21st Century Communities program and other welfare reform efforts. Berkley is a founder of the commission.

Kansas City is the only city in the nation piloting the 21st Century program.

Georgeanna Designs, a Kansas City greeting card assembly company, is the first company to join the program, but other businesses have expressed interest, Cardello said.

"We're looking at it as an opportunity for people who haven't had job opportunities before," Cardello said.

Women off welfare to talk with Clinton

By MATT CAMPBELL and BILL NORTON
Staff Writers

President Clinton will meet today with at least four area women who made the transition from welfare to work force.

The women, whose names were forwarded to the White House by the local Women's Employment Network and Missouri's Futures program, were expected to add a positive spin to the administration's national welfare-reform plan.

The women are to receive a 1½-hour briefing with White House officials before their meeting with Clinton, said Arlenda Moffitt, a 26-year-old Kansas City mother who has been on and off welfare since 1986.

She recently began earning $7 an hour working in customer service for Pitney Bowes Management Services and is supporting her two children.

Moffitt, who went through the network training program and now is enrolled in Futures, said she was eager to tell Clinton about her success.

Other women set to meet with Clinton include Pamela Ruhnke of Independence and Vicki Phelps and Birdella Smith of Kansas City.

In 1989 Ruhnke was working three jobs but was still unable to support her three children. She made too much money to qualify for welfare, so she quit two of her jobs and reapplied.

Through Futures, she received educational and job-training help and now earns $7.35 an hour as an apprentice with Cates Sheet Metal Industries. She could work her way up to earning more than $20 an hour.

Phelps, 34, is another graduate of the Women's Employment Network. Medical problems forced her to leave her insurance company job in 1987, and she received welfare checks for five years.

Phelps, a single mother of three, now earns $15,000 annually at Continuum Vantage, supervises three persons and handles billings for 700 clients.

Smith, also 34 and the mother of three, had been on and off welfare for years before Futures and the Women's Employment Network helped her get a secretarial job at Hellmuth Obata & Kassabaum Architects. She earns $6.75 an hour with full benefits.

LANSING STATE JOURNAL (MI); 6/15/94 1 of 2

Clinton plan draws praise, criticism

State's program already ahead in some respects

By A.J. BANKS
and GISGIE GENDREAU
Lansing State Journal

President Clinton's $9.3 billion welfare reform plan unveiled Tuesday likely will have little effect on Michigan's current government assistance programs, officials said.

"There are a lot of things in there that are similar to what we're doing in Michigan already," said Chuck Peller, spokesman for Michigan's Department of Social Services.

Yet that didn't stop opponents from calling it weak and expensive, nor from garnering cautious support from others.

"President Clinton's welfare reform plan announced today recognizes that our welfare system is broken and we need to fix it," said U.S. Sen. Carl Levin, D-Southfield.

"I am in favor of putting some realistic limits on welfare and I think the president's framework is a good starting point."

The program isn't without opponents.

Rep. David Camp, R-Midland, called the work requirement ineffective and said the plan as a whole is too costly.

"It would continue welfare as we know it," Camp said. "It throws money at the problem." Instead, he touted a Republican plan he said would reduce the deficit by $20 billion over five years.

As proposed now, only two facets of the president's plan differ drastically from the state's current system:

- A two-year time limit on cash benefits.
- Caps on additional money given to mothers on welfare who give birth to more children.

"The family caps we don't think are necessary," Peller said, adding that statistics show mothers on welfare have fewer children than those who don't receive assistance.

Still, it could be years before Michigan sees even the first change. The proposed plan exempts states that have demonstration projects under way.

Michigan began such a project in 1992, to be completed in September 1997.

As of March, just over 1 million people statewide received aid through five government programs, said Ellen Kays, an analyst with the Michigan Department of Social Services.

Those who receive money through the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program make up the largest number of the state's welfare recipients at 219,387 people, Kays said.

Of that number, 50,966, or nearly a quarter, already work, most in part-time jobs, she said.

Eaton Rapids' Marcia Anderson isn't so sure she approves of the plan.

Anderson is a mother of five who doesn't receive child support because her husband is in prison.

Her dilemma: Even if she had a minimum wage job, she couldn't afford to support her family. Instead, Anderson enrolled in college.

She is two years through her degree — a degree that she hopes will one day allow her to support herself and her children.

Clinton's proposed two-year limit is unrealistic, Anderson said.

"Everything takes a little time," she said. "I guess Mr. Clinton is under the assumption that you walk into welfare and you find a job."

Kevin Bowling will keep his eye on how the plan develops. He helped start the Loaves and Fishes Overnight Shelter on Sycamore Street that helps between 300 500 people each year.

The president's plan includes a cap on state spending on emergency homelessness programs to save $1.6 billion. That's money that states have tended to use for non-emergency programs.

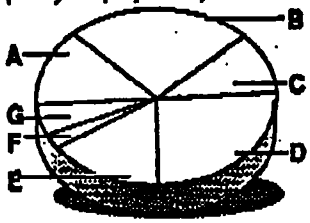
Bowling's shelter relies on government aid for about a quarter of its $120,000 yearly budget.

LANSING STATE JOURNAL (MI); 6/15/94 2 of 2

Clinton's welfare-reform program

President Clinton's $9.3 billion welfare-reform package would impose a two-year limit on cash benefits and would guide recipients into the work force. A look at program costs and at savings anticipated through changes to the existing system:

Cost of the plan
(five-year projection):

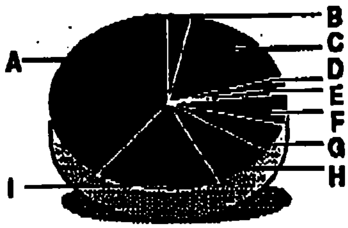


- **A** More child care for the working poor: $1.5 billion
- **B** More child-care spending for people in the program: $2.7 billion
- **C** Jobs for participants who reach the two-year time limit: $1.2 billion
- **D** More money for education, training and job placement: $2.8 billion
- **E** Miscellaneous
- **F** Teen-age pregnancy prevention: $300 million.
- **G** Collection of child-support payments: $600 million.

Total cost of program: $10.8 billion
Savings through reduction of cases and fraud: $1.5 billion

Net cost: $9.3 billion

Cuts to the current plan:



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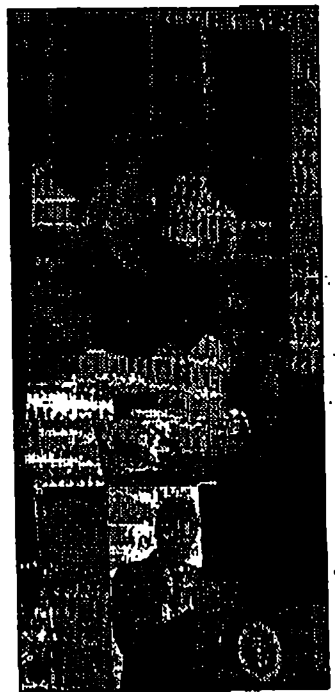
- **E** No increase in food stamp overpayment recovery: $100 million
- **F** Retargeted subsidies to family day-care homes: $500 million
- **G** Elimination of subsidies for wealthy farmers: $500 million
- **H** Limited eligibility for substance abusers: $800 million
- **I** Spending cap on Aid to Families with Dependent Children Emergency Assistance Program: $1.6 billion



AP/Greg Gibson

President Clinton announces his welfare-reform proposal on Tuesday. Above Clinton is a photo of a former welfare recipient who was helped by a Missouri training program and is no longer on assistance.

AP/Wm. J. Castello

LANSING STATE JOURNAL (MI); 6/15/94

Polls aside, plan's passage in Congress won't be easy

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — The welfare-reform plan that President Clinton released Tuesday sits squarely in the center of public opinion on this historically divisive issue, according to several recent polls. But that may not be enough to guarantee the proposal a majority in Congress.

The coming debate over welfare reform — which will remain muted until Congress finishes action on health care — is likely to illuminate the difficulties of translating a consensus outside the capital into a consensus among the interest groups, elected officials and political strategists who shape the legislative process inside the Washington Beltway.

Within hours of its release, Clinton's plan was under intense assault from liberals as too harsh and from conservatives as too soft.

"This is a pretty conservative plan," said Roberta Ikemi, a staff attorney at the California Women's Law Center in Los Angeles. "I have some grave worries about whether this is a disguised way of punishing women."

Meanwhile, William Bennett, education secretary under Ronald Reagan and an unimpeachable conservative, dismissed the plan as "a joke, a half fraud ... marginal tinkering."

Only the rare voice in the middle praised the program: Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, a centrist think tank, hailed it as "radical, yet constructive change."

Overcoming these impulses toward polarization will make welfare reform the sternest test of Clinton's capacity — and willingness — to forge a new centrist coalition for change that transcends what he has called "the brain-dead politics in both parties."

"The problem is you now go into a congressional process that is driven by political factions ... that are not connected to what is happening in the country," said Stanley Greenberg, Clinton's pollster.

> **"I have some grave worries about whether this is a disguised way of punishing women."**
>
> **– Roberta Ikemi, California Women's Law Center**

Over the last 30 years, few issues in American politics have been more divisive than welfare.

Clinton's proposed two-year time limit on benefits — coupled with a promise of public service employment if private jobs cannot be found — won support from an overwhelming 90 percent of those polled in an April Los Angeles Times survey. Opinion varied hardly at all by race or party affiliation.

Other core ideas in Clinton's plan also draw substantial majorities. Two-thirds of those surveyed in The Times Poll supported his proposal to require teenagers receiving welfare to live with their parents or another responsible adult.

Another recent poll found more than 90 percent of Americans back Clinton's call for cracking down on absent parents who owe child support.

By contrast, in The Times Poll just one in four of those surveyed supported the idea that has rallied conservatives: cutting off all welfare benefits for women who bear children out of wedlock.

But it remains uncertain that the political system can deliver change that reflects the broad consensus in public opinion. If there is any lesson in Clinton's first 17 months in office, it is that Washington actively resists consensus.

Jobs Scarce for 'Workfare' Recipients

■ **Employment:** County requires able-bodied welfare recipients to work for their monthly checks. But the program is struggling with a joblessness rate of nearly 60%.

L.A. TIMES

By TRACEY KAPLAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

6-24-94

One recent morning before dawn, a long line of bleary-eyed men waited outside a welfare office on Skid Row, primed with coffee and cigarettes to pay their debt to society.

For some, the prospect of cleaning county beaches in exchange for $212 in monthly welfare benefits seemed fair. Others familiar with the system hung back at the end of the line, hoping that there would not be enough room in the county vans to take them to the beach.

For 46 years, Los Angeles County has required single, able-bodied welfare recipients to earn monthly checks by cleaning restrooms, raking flower beds and performing other tasks for government agencies and nonprofit organizations.

But in a scene repeated throughout the county every weekday because of a shortage of community service jobs, 21 of the 60 men waiting to help clean beaches on this morning were sent home by the time the sun had crept up over the horizon.

Far from being a success, the county's general relief "workfare" program is posting its highest unemployment rate ever—nearly 60%—as it struggles to find public service jobs for thousands of people.

As the county's experience demonstrates, workfare is not the panacea its most ardent advocates hope it will be. Here and elsewhere, it has failed to significantly reduce welfare costs or to raise people out of poverty, experts say.

The problem is not the people—most of whom bust stereotypes of recipients as ne'er-do-wells by showing up to work. Instead, the county program is bedeviled by employers' reluctance to use welfare recipients, union opposition, a shortage of supervisors for the new workers and competition from other sources of free labor—including the 74,000 people sentenced annually by the courts to community service in Los Angeles County.

"It's not an easy sell," said James Adler, chairman of the county's welfare commission. "As I look around the county, I think there are hundreds of jobs they could do, but the problem is getting government agencies to sign on."

Because of the lack of slots, 16,000—or about 40%—of the 41,500 recipients eligible to work end up doing so, down from 70% four years ago. About 25,500 of those who could work get checks without having to pick up a shred of litter.

Experts disagree about what the impact of the public service jobs shortage would be on President Clinton's welfare reform proposal, which seeks to impose a two-year limit on cash benefits and requires younger recipients to find work themselves or take a government job.

Direct parallels are difficult to draw because the President's program would apply primarily to welfare mothers, while the county's workfare requirement involves the mostly male population on General Relief. Another significant difference is that Clinton's plan includes funds for education and training; the county program does not.

But White House policy aide Bruce Reed, co-chairman of the Administration's welfare reform group, has said that the difficulty of creating jobs, even in the public sector, is one reason the Administration plans to initially impose the two-year limit on young recipients only.

To market the workfare program, the county produced a slick 13-minute video and mailed it to dozens of government agencies and private nonprofit groups last fall. The video, with its catchy synthesizer music and upbeat message, has helped drum up jobs for 500 more recipients in the past six months. But during the same period, the county lost more jobs than it gained and employs 267 fewer recipients than in September, said Nancy Diaz, the county's workfare director.

"People think it's real easy to find jobs, but we just can't keep up," Diaz said.

In the past four years, the county has nearly doubled the number of work slots, creating work for 16,000 recipients, as agencies that were unable to hire new workers because of budget cuts drew increasingly on the pool of cheap labor.

But the recession has proved to be a double-edged sword.

At the same time that the number of work slots increased, the pool of eligible workfare participants tripled as more people went on welfare. Thus, the percentage of those who pick up a shovel or rake dropped from nearly three-quarters to two-fifths of those eligible.

The county is the biggest employer of welfare recipients, using more than 10,000 a month to clean beaches and parks, answer telephones and guard parking lots. Most recipients receive a monthly grant of $212 and in exchange are supposed to work about six days a month at the minimum wage rate of $4.25 an hour.

Eighteen other cities, school districts and state agencies employ almost 6,000 recipients a month to help repair roads, stock shelves and sweep floors. But only seven private, nonprofit organizations countywide employ them.

"The reason we don't use them is there's too much paperwork involved," said Mary Ann Osness, volunteer coordinator for Pacific Hospital of Long Beach, which recently rejected county overtures to join the program.

Some agencies worry about their ability to screen out workers with problems.

Until a year ago, the Los Angeles Unified School District employed about 4,000 recipients a month, largely as janitors and groundskeepers. The responsibility for screening the workers fell to the school district because the county, which spends about $270,000 annually to administer the workfare program, lacks the money to fingerprint and check each recipient's record.

But the district only ran background checks when the behavior of welfare recipients raised suspicion, because the inquiries cost $64.50 apiece, officials said. Last spring, several checks revealed convictions for assault and sexual molestation, they said. Acting on legal advice, the district decided to stop using welfare recipients once those remaining on the job go off the rolls.

Then the worst happened. Earlier this year, a recipient who worked as a janitor at a South Gate elementary school was arrested and charged with murdering an 82-year-old woman who was a longtime volunteer there. Although the man had no criminal record, the incident hardened the district's resolve not to use welfare recipients despite the need for unskilled labor to keep campuses clean.

"The effect of losing them will be dramatic," said Walt Greene, LAUSD's director of employee relations. "It has already limited our ability to keep our campuses and classrooms clean. But we can't afford to risk it."

Competition from other sources of cheap labor is another obstacle facing the workfare program. Countywide, welfare recipients compete with the more than 6,100 criminals sentenced to community service each month.

The California Department of Transportation relies on people sentenced to community service or in early release programs about eight times as often as welfare recipients.

"Some of them [welfare recipients] are real good workers, but their incentives to work aren't quite as high as someone who could go to jail," said Larry Ornay, a Caltrans regional manager.

Welfare recipients who fail to complete their work assignments for the first time and cannot show good cause lose their benefits, but are allowed to reapply the following month. Second-time offenders have to wait 30 days before reapplying and third-time offenders must wait 60 days.

Another reason for the shortage of public service jobs is that agencies lack the personnel to supervise welfare recipients.

"They're not really free workers," said Eddy Tanaka, director of the county's welfare department. "Even with simple things like graffiti removal, you have to have enough equipment and supplies, and people to supervise them."

Among general relief recipients left out of the workfare program there is both relief and mild regret.

"Who wants to work for peanuts? I want a real job," said Indris Ahmad, 44. But the county does not have the money to make a systematic effort to match recipients' skills with their work assignments, officials said.

"They give you garbage jobs," said Robert Perna, 47, a former welfare recipient and workfare participant whose typing skills led to a job at Glendale Adventist Hospital. "It only led to a job for me because I begged them over and over again to place me at a work site where I could use my intelligence."

Union opposition may also hinder the creation of public service jobs for welfare recipients. In some cases, unions have added to the cost of using welfare recipients by getting pay raises for government employees who are assigned to supervise them.

"We're basically against it," said Marcel Bell, a business representative with the Service Employees International Union, which represents thousands of Los Angeles county and city workers.

The union's biggest fear is that its members will be displaced by the cheap labor pool.

"What workfare does is remove the incentive to hire new workers," Bell said. "It's very subtle because there are no layoffs, but it's there."

In fact, the city of Pico Rivera has saved at least $789,000 by using welfare recipients to help fill the gap left by about 35 municipal workers who have retired or quit in the past 30 months, city officials said. The recipients perform a variety of duties from opening envelopes to cleaning storm drains.

MILWAUKEE SENTINEL (WI) ; 6/15/94

Mayor lauds welfare reform, but hits limit

By GRETCHEN SCHULDT
Sentinel staff writer

Mayor John O. Norquist praised President Clinton Tuesday for putting welfare reform at the top of his domestic policy agenda, but said the maximum two years on welfare for which recipients would qualify is too long.

"People don't react well to 'in two years you should modify your behavior,'" Norquist said in a telephone interview from the annual U.S. Conference of Mayors being held in Portland, Ore.

Norquist has long advocated dismantling the current welfare system and replacing it with a work-based assistance program.

"I've always been opposed to time limits," he said. "I think they (changes) should be applied immediately."

Welfare reform previously "has been on the back burner, and I think that's a mistake," Norquist said. "President Clinton has been putting health care reform ahead of welfare reform. I believe they fit together."

"The president seems to be perceiving it," Norquist said. "They go together hand in hand."

Universal health care coverage is essential to welfare reform, he said. Recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children already receive health coverage, while many employed people do not, he said.

"Instead of awarding health care for not working, we should change the incentive by having health care follow people into the labor market," he said.

The Republican response to the president's plan is "shrill and overly pessimistic," he said. "I think the Republicans are sucking on too many lemons."

U.S. Welfare Plans Reflect Nebraska's

BY PAUL HAMMEL
WORLD-HERALD BUREAU

Lincoln — President Clinton's proposals for reforms in the national welfare system will make it easier for Nebraska to gain federal approval for similar changes proposed on the state level, Gov. Nelson and other Nebraska officials said Wednesday.

The governor said Clinton's reform plan is consistent with a Nelson-backed proposal approved by the Nebraska Legislature this spring.

"It indicates the federal government is supportive of the efforts we've undertaken here," he said during a conference call with reporters.

Gerry Oligmueller, deputy director of the Nebraska Department of Social Services, said the many similarities in the Clinton and Nebraska plans send a real strong, positive signal that the federal government will approve the state welfare reform plan.

A key element of both plans is a two-year limit on cash assistance.

State Sen. Ernie Chambers of Omaha, a critic of Nebraska's welfare reform plan, said the president's plan — like Nebraska's — pushes single mothers into minimum-wage jobs that will drive them deeper into poverty and provide them incentives to commit crimes to make ends meet.

"It's hypocritical, cynical and immoral," Chambers said.

Clinton, during a stop in Kansas City, Mo., Tuesday, unveiled a scaled-down, $9.3 billion welfare-reform plan. Its hallmark is the two-year limit on cash benefits. It also aims to steer welfare recipients into the work force.

The two-year limit was also the centerpiece of Legislative Bill 1224, passed by lawmakers this spring. Much of the bill must be re-approved next year to take effect.

Because Nebraska's welfare program is federally subsidized, any reforms must be approved by the Federal Health and Human Services Administration.

Oligmueller said Nebraska will apply for that federal waiver this fall. The state's reform plan is scheduled to take effect in Douglas and Sarpy Counties in July 1995 and in the rest of the state a year later.

Nelson said the Clinton plan parallels Nebraska's goals to move people off welfare by making them self-supportive.

But he said Nebraska's work program will focus more on private sector employment than on public sector jobs.

Nelson said that public sector jobs too often become make-work type jobs.

The public-job component of the Clinton plan drew praise from Sen. Don Wesely of Lincoln, chairman of the Legislature's Health and Human Services Committee and a backer of Nebraska's welfare-reform proposals.

Clinton's Welfare Plan

- **Tighten Social Security, Aid to Dependent Children and food stamp sponsorship and eligibility rules for noncitizens.**
  Savings: $3.7 billion over five years.
- **Cap each state's spending in the ADC Emergency Assistance Program, a program that helps the homeless.**
  Savings: $1.6 billion.
- **Limit Social Security eligibility for drug- and alcohol-addicted recipients.**
  Savings: $800 million.
- **End subsidies for farmers with more than $100,000 in nonfarm income.**
  Savings: $500 million.
- **Income-test meal reimbursements to family day-care homes to improve targeting of subsidies.**
  Savings: $500 million.
- **Make no increase in the amount of food stamp overpayment recoveries that states retain.**
  Savings: $100 million.
- **Extend fees for passenger processing and other customs services as well as for railroad safety inspections.**
  Savings: $200 million.
- **Use excess savings from extension of the corporate Superfund tax, with no impact on the Superfund program.**
  Savings: $1.6 billion.

For the Record

IMAX Tickets: Tickets to films at the Lied IMAX Theater at the Hastings Museum cost $5 for senior citizens. The price was incorrect in a story in Tuesday's World-Herald.

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THE OREGONIAN, Monday, June 13, 1994

Mayors behind welfare reform

Big-city leaders meeting in Portland support the president's idea to change the program, but they worry about details

By JAMES MAYER
of The Oregonian staff

Big city mayors generally support President Clinton's soon-to-be-announced plan to "end welfare as we know it."

But they have plenty of worries about the plan as they know it.

"We are beginning to put together a framework of some guiding principles," said Seattle Mayor Norm Rice during a discussion of the welfare reform package Saturday at the U.S. Conference of Mayors meeting in Portland.

"I think it's too early to get into specifics," Rice said.

It's never too early for the mayors to talk about money, however.

The resolution adopted by the conference's jobs, education and family committee offered conditional support for the president's plan, but it strongly opposed many of the administration's schemes for paying the $9.3 billion price tag.

Specifically, the mayors object to spending cuts, such as a proposal to deny benefits to noncitizens who have been in the country for less than five years, instead of the current three years.

So, if the mayors don't want to cut entitlements, what do they want to do? asked Mayor Patrick Henry Hays of North Little Rock, Ark.

An uncomfortable silence spread around the table.

Finally, Mayor Bruce Todd of Austin, Texas, the committee chairman, broke the mood with a joke.

"We'd like the money to come from any source that doesn't affect cities," Todd said. "I think we have a standing resolution on that."

Clinton is expected to announce his plan next week. The centerpiece of the the package is a lifetime 24-month limit for welfare recipients.

The mayors object to the lifetime part of the proposal, arguing that circumstances can change.

And some mayors aren't too sure about the whole idea.

"I have mixed emotions about having

Please turn to
MAYORS, Page B4

Mayors: Hate crimes area of worry

■Continued from Page B1

mothers devoted to work as opposed to taking care of a child," said San Antonio Mayor Nelson W. Wolff.

Wolff said he was concerned with the fate of children born to teen-age dropouts.

"If welfare reform doesn't deal with that, then we have done nothing here," he said.

CLEAVER

The mayors also are concerned about a proposal requiring teen-age parents to live with their parents.

"In some cases that may be the worse thing to happen," said San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan.

Meanwhile, mayors attending the criminal and social justice committee meeting hammered out the language for a 19-point resolution dealing with hate crimes and more cooperation between U.S. police agencies.

Chairman Emmanuel Cleaver II, the black elected mayor of Kansas City, Mo., said funding for promoting cultural diversity should come from private-public partnerships.

"Where your money is, your heart is also," Cleaver said. But other mayors balked at seeking federal funds or grants to help people respect diversity.

Portland Mayor Vera Katz said programs to instill tolerance should begin in public schools at an early age.

"Our schools should celebrate diversity," Katz said. "It should be built into the core curriculum. That doesn't cost anything."

Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala was to speak to the conference on the president's plan Sunday, and the full conference will take up the resolution of support on the welfare plan Monday.

Stuart Tomlinson of The Oregonian staff contributed to this story.

The Philadelphia Inquirer 6.15.94

President's welfare plan is modest start to a huge task

One problem with welfare reform is finding the money. A bigger problem is how to change attitudes.

By Gregory Spears
INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — Welfare reform is not for the impatient. Despite President Clinton's pledge to "end welfare as we know it," modest improvements may be as much as anyone reasonably can expect from his proposal.

Clinton estimates that 14 percent of adult welfare recipients under age 29 will have left the rolls by the year 2000 because of the reforms he proposed yesterday in Kansas City, Mo.

Gains would be modest because the states and federal government would have little additional money to spend on job training and education, according to welfare experts. The President proposes spending $2.8 billion more over five years on education, job training and placement, far less than some of his advisers advocated earlier.

"Expecting large impacts without putting money into it is not realistic," said Sharon Long, senior research associate at the Urban Institute, a Washington think tank. "Education and training will not be cheap."

But even more difficult will be the task of changing attitudes. Successful efforts to reduce welfare dependence demand nothing less than convincing the discouraged and impoverished that they have a future worth striving for.

The surest path to welfare is to quit high school and have a baby outside of marriage. Nearly three in four unwed teenage mothers will end up on welfare within five years. Never-married women are the group likely to be on welfare the longest.

"The fundamental and most effective way to prevent early childbirth is to help [young women] get to a place where they have some aspirations about themselves, their jobs and their careers," said Sid Johnson, executive director of the American Public Welfare League, an association that represents welfare workers across the nation. "That sounds simple. That's a big challenge."

When he recently toured a neighborhood where welfare dependence was widespread, Johnson said, he found that the fear of violence and crime eroded people's faith in the future.

"The expectation that they'd die by 20 or 25 was remarkably broad-based," he said.

Despite such attitudes, recent studies from California suggest that programs such as the President's, which emphasize practical job training and education to move welfare recipients into the workforce, do succeed — although slowly.

A study, being released today, of 24,750 participants in a California welfare-to-work program shows that their earned income was raised by an average of 22 percent over three years compared with those who were not enrolled in job training.

However, few worked their way off welfare. After three years, welfare payments to the group were reduced about 6 percent, compared with a control group of people not enrolled in the program.

"This is no a panacea. Lots [of participants] remain on welfare," said Judith Greissman of the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., a New York nonprofit firm that conducted the study. "But real accomplishments can be made."

In announcing his plan, Clinton acknowledged the difficulty of moving people off welfare.

"We know what the problems are. And we know they did not develop overnight. But we have to make a beginning. We owe it to the next generation," he said.

Clinton proposes to require young welfare mothers, born in 1972 or after, to participate in education and job-training programs similar to California's. If they failed to find a private-sector job after two years' training, they would have to take a community-service job paying minimum wage.

But many adults on welfare will find ways around these requirements, according to Chip Mellor, president and general counsel of the Institute for Justice, a conservative public-interest law firm critical of Clinton's plan.

"Every decision denying or delaying welfare benefits is subject to a formal appeal. That will be a litigation bonanza for the Legal Services Corp.," said Mellor, referring to the government-financed agency that provides legal services to the poor.

Those who participate in the job-training programs rarely will be paid enough to escape poverty, according to the Urban Institute's Long. Studies going back 15 to 20 years suggest that graduates of most training programs still get low-skill, low-paying jobs.

"At best, we should expect to see a small increase in earnings by welfare recipients," Long said. "People aren't going to work themselves off welfare."

Associated Press / GREG[redacted]N

The Cost of Welfare Reform

Here is how much President Clinton's welfare-reform plan will cost over five years, and how he proposes to pay for it.

Reform costs

- $2.8 billion for education, training and job placement.
- $1.2 billion for jobs for participants who reach the two-year time limit.
- $2.7 billion for child-care spending for people in the mandatory education and training program and in the jobs slots.
- $1.5 billion for child care for the working poor.
- $600 million for initial investments to improve collection of child-support payments.
- $300 million for teenage pregnancy prevention.
- $1.7 billion in miscellaneous expenses, including an option for states to eliminate discrimination against two-parent families, for investments in automation, and for incentives to work and save.
- Total cost: $10.8 billion, which is reduced $1.5 billion — to a total of $9.3 billion — by reductions in the number of welfare cases and by decreases in welfare fraud.

Paying for the reforms

- $3.7 billion from tightening Social Security, Aid to Families With Dependent Children, and food-stamp sponsorship and eligibility rules for noncitizens.
- $1.6 billion from a cap on each state's spending in the AFDC Emergency Assistance Program, a program that helps the homeless.
- $800 million from limiting Social Security eligibility for drug- and alcohol-addicted recipients.
- $500 million from ending subsidies for farmers with more than $100,000 in nonfarm income.
- $500 million from using an income test as a basis for meal reimbursements to family day-care homes.
- $100 million from stopping increases in the amount of food-stamp overpayment recoveries that states retain.

$200 million by inc ig fees for p ger processing and other customs services, as well as for

President [illegible] **n announces** his plan to overhaul the nation's welfare system. Above him on the stage at a Ka[illegible] City, Mo., bank is a photograph of a former welfare recipient who was helped by a training program and who no longer is on assistance.

railroa[illegible] ty inspections.

■ $1.6 billion transferred from the corporate Superfund tax for hazardous-waste cleanup.

■ $300 million from denying the earned-income tax credit to nonresident immigrants, plus other changes to the tax credit.

Associated Press

e Philadelphia Inquirer 6·14·94

Highlights of the Clinton Welfare Plan

■ Spend $9.3 billion over five years on job training, child care, teen pregnancy prevention and public service jobs for welfare recipients.

■ Leave the current welfare system largely intact for welfare mothers born before 1972.

■ Target education, training on welfare mothers born in 1972 or later.

■ Require those mothers to work in taxpayer-financed public service jobs if they don't get jobs on their own after two years on welfare.

■ Allow recipients to remain in public service jobs if they can't find private employment.

■ End welfare benefits for recipients who refuse to stay in school, look for work, go to job training or accept job offer.

■ Guarantee child care to welfare recipients during education, training programs and for one year after they leave welfare for the workforce.

■ Allow states to limit additional benefits for children conceived by women on welfare.

■ Initiate a national campaign against teen pregnancy, provide grants to about 1,000 middle and high schools for teen pregnancy programs.

■ Discourage unwed motherhood among teens by refusing to issue

Tallahassee Democrat

Wednesday, June 15, 1994

Weforming welfare won't be easy

President Clinton's centrist plan may not elicit enough support to make it through Congress.

By Ronald Brownstein
LOS ANGELES TIMES
WASHINGTON

The welfare-reform plan that President Clinton released Tuesday sits squarely in the center of public opinion on this historically divisive issue, according to several recent polls. But that may not be enough to guarantee the proposal a majority in Congress.

The coming debate over welfare reform — which will remain muted until Congress finishes action on health care — is likely to illuminate the difficulties of translating a consensus outside the nation's capital into a consensus among the interest groups, elected officials and political strategists who shape the legislative process inside the Washington Beltway.

Within hours of its release, Clinton's plan was under intense assault from liberals as too harsh and from conservatives as too soft. "This is a pretty conservative plan," said Roberta Ikemi, a staff attorney at the California Women's Law Center in Los Angeles. "I have some grave worries about whether this is a disguised way of punishing women."

Meanwhile, William Bennett, education secretary under Ronald Reagan and an unimpeachable conservative, dismissed the plan as "a joke, a half fraud ... marginal tinkering."

Only the rare voice in the middle praised the program: Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, a centrist think tank, hailed it as "radical, yet constructive change."

W re reform may be Clinton's hardest test

Overcoming these impulses toward polarization will make welfare reform the sternest test of Clinton's capacity — and willingness — to forge a new centrist coalition for change that transcends what he has called "the brain-dead politics in both parties."

"The problem is you now go into a congressional process that is driven by political factions ... that are not connected to what is happening in the country," said Stanley Greenberg, Clinton's pollster.

Over the last 30 years, few issues in American politics have been more divisive than welfare. Conservatives, like Reagan, have routinely disparaged recipients as greedy, indolent "welfare queens," while many liberals have reflexively labeled all critics of the system as uncaring and racist.

The premise of Clinton's presidential campaign — influenced heavily by ideas in journalist E.J. Dionne's book, "Why Americans Hate Politics" — was that the "false choices" in that ritualistic debate alienated most Americans.

The promise of Clinton's approach to welfare was that by fusing traditionally liberal ideas of increasing spending on education and training with the conservative demand for work (embodied in his call for a two-year time limit on benefits) he would build a new consensus for reform.

Polarization appears to drive the political system

But it remains uncertain that the political system can deliver change that reflects the broad consensus in public opinion. If there is any lesson in Clinton's first 17 months in office, it is that Washington actively resists consensus. On issues from health care to deficit reduction to crime, polarization has appeared to be the oxygen of the political system — equally indispensable as an organizing tool for liberals and conservatives alike.

To many observers, Clinton has exacerbated this problem by vacillating in his legislative and political strategy.

"There is a conceptual Rubicon that this administration hasn't yet crossed toward a strategy that builds coalitions across the center of the spectrum rather than from the left in," said Marshall.

That hesitancy is reflected in some compromises in the welfare plan, critics said.

Republicans, for instance, complained that Clinton has undermined his two-years-and-out pledge by allowing welfare recipients to remain on public employment indefinitely if they cannot find private sector work. "I think people want some real time limits here," said Rep. Rick Santorum, R-Pa., who led a task force that produced the principal GOP welfare proposal.

WELFARE HIGHLIGHTS

Here are highlights of the welfare-reform plan:

- Spend an additional $9.3 billion over five years on job training, child care, teen-pregnancy prevention, public-service jobs and other programs for welfare recipients.
- Target education and training for welfare mothers born in 1972 or later. Leave current welfare system largely intact for welfare mothers born before 1972.
- Require mothers born in 1972 or later to work in taxpayer-financed public-service jobs paying the minimum wage if they fail to find jobs on their own after two years on welfare. Allow them to remain in public-service jobs if they can't find private employment.
- Initiate a national campaign against teen pregnancy, working with middle and high schools. Refuse to issue separate welfare checks to minors living apart from their parents or a responsible adult. Allow states to limit additional benefits for children conceived by women on welfare.
- Require hospitals to establish paternity at birth as a way to improve child-support collections. Establish national registries of parents who owe child support. Withhold wages and suspend professional and occupational licenses and drivers' licenses from parents who fail to pay child support.

Clinton predicts that by 2000, if his plan is approved:

- Fourteen percent of under age 29 who have been on welfare without reform will have left the rolls.
- Nine percent of welfare mothers under age [redacted] will be working part time in private-sector jobs, compared to 5 percent today. An estimated 17 percent of welfare mothers under 29 will be working in public-service jobs.

Clinton's welfare proposals amoun to a 'culture reform'

Targets cycle of teen moms, 'deadbeat dads,' long-term dependence on aid

By James W. Brosnan
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON — The welfare reform proposal that President Clinton plans to offer this week might better be called "culture reform."

It is not just designed to fix a program. It is intended to break a cycle of teenage welfare mothers raising children in homes where a father is seldom seen and a grown-up rarely goes to work.

Clinton is proposing to meet his pledge to "end welfare as we know it" with only a modest investment in new dollars: less than $10 billion over five years.

But the meat of the plan is in the rules of behavior.

Welfare mothers under age 25 are the chief target of new work requirements. Absent dads, both rich and poor, would be affected under new child support laws. And new immigrants would be cut off from some government aid programs entirely and the money used instead to pay for training and day care services for young welfare mothers.

Under the plan:

▶ Fathers who lag on child support payments will be placed on a national register of "deadbeat dads" so states can garnish their wages no matter how far from home they roam.

▶ Before unwed mothers leave the hospital they will be asked to name the father of their child, or risk not getting any benefits. If they're under 18 and unwed they won't get a welfare check unless they live at home or with a responsible adult. Even the grandparents could be tapped for child support.

▶ Any American born after 1971 will be promised no more than two years of direct cash assistance, education and training. They will have to sign a "responsibility" contract, pledging to take a job if offered. If they can't find a job after two years, the states would find one for them, either public service or a subsidized job with a private employer.

"In some sense we're completely transforming our whole way of thinking about supporting families. We're trying by reinforcing work and responsibility and really focusing on young people," said David Ellwood, an assistant secretary of Health and Human Services and one of the plan's principal authors.

Welfare "may not be a huge drain on the federal budget, but it is certainly one that everyone agrees is broken," he said.

13.6 million recipients

This welfare program — known formally as Aid to Families with Dependent Children — costs the federal government about $12 billion a year. That is $2 billion less than the space program and about the same amount that Medicare increases each year.

State governments chip in with another $10 billion, about 2 percent of their total budgets.

The money goes to 4.4 million adults and 9.2 million children — more than ever before. But the size of the average welfare family dropped.

In 1969, the typical welfare family was a single mother and three children. Now it's a single mother and two children. Only 10 pe t of welfare families have four or more children.

Maximum benefits for the typical three-person welfare family range from $120 a month in Mississippi to $923 a month in Alaska. Adjusted for inflation, the average benefit for a three-person family has dropped from $644 in 1970 to $388 in 1992.

More than half of all welfare mothers began receiving welfare teenagers and that's where Clinton hopes to nip dependency. About 70 percent of recipients leave welfare within two years now, but half of them are back on welfare within a year.

About 39 percent of welfare families are headed by an African American, 38 percent are white, 17 percent are Latino and the rest are Asian, native American or anot ethnic background.

The reason politicians badly want to fix a problem of such modest budget proportions is that welfare symbolizes a deeper cultural problem, said Harvard University sociologist Nathan Glazer.

"Welfare has come to stand for the rise of a permanent depen t population that is cut off from the mainstream of American life and expectations, for the decay of the inner cities, for the problem of homelessness, for the increase in crime and disorder, for the problems of the inner-city black poor," Glazer said at a recent welfare reform conference.

In the 1970s, welfare reformers exempted mothers with children under age 6 from workfare requirements. In the 1980s the age was changed to 3.

Subsidized jobs

In the Clinton plan, a mother goes to work when the child is a year and a day old. If the child is born after a mother starts receiving benefits, she goes to work when the child is 12 weeks old.

Clinton also would let states decide how fast to implement the work requirement, based on their ability to provide day care and training for recipients. They could decide whether to create public service jobs or offer wage subsidies to private employers.

States differ in the strength of their economies and mix of welfare population, Elwood noted in arguing for flexibility.

One final decision remaining for President Clinton is how long to let someone remain in a subsidized job. It's already been decided that the recipient would not qualify for the Earned Income Tax Credit like other low-wage earners and also that she could not stay in the same subsidized job for longer than one year.

Immigrants fear a welfare backlash

By Evelyn Iritani
PI Pacific Rim Reporter

When Van Chu went back to Washington, D.C. for the inauguration of President Clinton, he believed he was celebrating the election of a man who was sensitive to the problems of the poor and powerless.

But after yesterday's announcement on the president's welfare reform proposal — which would make it tougher for legal immigrants to get government benefits — Chu is not so sure.

"Some people feel he didn't keep his promises," said the 57-year-old Chu, who fled Vietnam in 1978.

Immigrant and refugee groups in Seattle said yesterday that the Clinton welfare plan is just the latest example of a growing anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States. They vowed to work against efforts in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere to reduce government benefits for immigrants.

"Today, as we head for the 21st century, immigrants are once again being made the scapegoats for the nation's economic policies," said State Rep. Velma Veloria, D-Seattle.

Veloria said immigrants pay far more in taxes than they use in government services, according to a study by the Urban Institute, a Washington, D.C., think tank. That same report shows that the nonrefugee immigrants' rate of welfare dependency is 27 percent lower than the native-born population.

Advocates said political refugees, who use the welfare system at a higher rate than the native-born, arrive in the United States under traumatic conditions with no resources or means of support.

> "Immigrants are once again being made the scapegoats for the nation's economic policies.
> — Rep. Velma Veloria, D-Seattle

Juan Jose Gutierrez, director of the One Stop Immigration and Educational Center in Los Angeles, said the anti-immigrant campaigns reflect racist attitudes aimed at closing the borders to Haitians, Hispanics, Asians and other minorities.

"That's the reality we are dealing with today," he said. "America, a country founded by immigrants, has suddenly discovered an immigration problem."

Gutierrez and others called on the administration to devote more resources to helping newcomers become citizens by providing language lessons and assistance in navigating the citizenship process.

"I see us going to Somalia and other places around the world to promote democracy," he said. "What are we doing about it here in America?"

But a White House spokesman said yesterday that the welfare reform proposal was carefully crafted to avoid hurting immigrants who were in the country legally and intent on becoming productive citizens. For example, he said, a proposed two-year limit on welfare benefits has an exemption for those who have difficulty finding jobs because of language barriers.

He said the president's plan restricts health and welfare benefits, such as food stamps, Medicaid and Social Security, only for legal immigrants with relatives who could support them. The plan extends from three to five years the length of time a financial sponsor must support an immigrant, unless the sponsor is poor.

"To us it's unconscionable to deny equal protection under the law to permanent legal immigrants who are playing by the rules," he said.

Thuy Vu, director of the state's Division of Refugee Affairs, said Clinton's welfare proposal would hurt one of the most vulnerable groups of immigrants, the elderly.

Most elderly immigrants come to the United States through the family reunification program and are sponsored by their children. Vu said many of these sponsors cannot afford to pay for health care coverage for their elderly parents.

After their sponsorship ends, many of these immigrants sign up for supplemental security income, a welfare program for the elderly. Vu said many of these people apply for the program because of the medical coverage and not the monthly stipend.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Wednesday, June 15, 1994

STATE JOURNAL REGISTER (IL); 6/16/94

Clinton's plans to reform welfare draw mixed reactions

Critics say children will be punished by two-year limit

By KEVIN McDERMOTT
STAFF WRITER

Politicians and social service advocates throughout Illinois Wednesday began sizing up President Clinton's welfare reform plan, with accolades for its job-training provisions but concern that the proposed "two-years-and-you're-out" clause will punish children.

Clinton on Tuesday unveiled the five-year, $9.3 billion welfare reform package centering on a two-year limit on certain cash benefits. The plan, which Clinton has vowed will "end welfare as we know it," still must be approved by Congress.

In Illinois, the reforms could potentially affect more than 700,000 welfare recipients, including almost a half-million children.

Under the plan, women born after 1971 would receive education, training and job-placement services. Those who failed to find work after two years would be required to accept subsidized jobs paying minimum wage, or lose all benefits.

Social organizations for the poor generally oppose the plan, largely because of the two-year limit on cash benefits.

One of those groups, Women for Economic Security, conducted a Statehouse press conference Wednesday to slam the proposal, handing out paper tags in the shape of stop signs reading: "No Time Limits." The group has launched a statewide campaign calling for the defeat of the proposal.

"We want welfare reform," said Mary Hartsfield, co-chair of the Chicago-based group. But she added: "(Recipients) should be led off (welfare), not kicked off."

"This is not an answer — this is *definitely* not an answer," said Ethel Butchek, executive director of Contact Ministries in Springfield, which aids welfare recipients. Like other critics, she zeroed in on the two-year limit.

"We believe everybody that can work should work, but we're also realistic. When this money is taken away, the whole family is punished. What happens to the children? Where are these jobs going to come from?"

Clinton's plan centers on women and children, particularly the 14.3 million who receive monthly checks from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the main federal welfare program.

In Illinois, there were 730,190 people on AFDC as of April, including 498,853 children.

Here as elsewhere around the country, some of the usual partisan lines were hard to find after announcement of Clinton's plan.

Gov. Jim Edgar, a Republican, backed the plan and commended the Democratic president "for tackling this important issue."

U.S. Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun and U.S. Rep. Richard Durbin, both Illinois Democrats and Clinton allies, were more tepid.

"There are many features of the President's plan that I support," Moseley-Braun said. "(But) I am less convinced that mechanisms such as strict time limits" will work. Durbin last week expressed similar reservations.strict time limits" will work. Durbin last week expressed similar reserva-tions.

However, state legislators say public demand for welfare reform has become overwhelming.

"People are all saying the same thing: Welfare has to turn around," said state Rep. Michael Curran, D-Springfield. "Too many people are taking advantage of this, and it has become a habit.

"I think two years is probably the way government has to compromise," he said. "It may be the only way government can find some middle ground."

"It certainly makes a lot of sense," state Sen. Karen Hasara, R-Springfield, said of the two-year provision.

In addition to the two-year limit on cash assistance, Clinton's $9.3 billion plan would require teenage mothers to live at home and stay in school, look for work or attend job-training programs; launch a $400 million campaign against teen pregnancy; require hospitals to establish the identity of babies' fathers at birth; and institute aggressive new tactics to go after parents who are delinquent on child-support payments.

Some social service professionals say requiring young mothers to stay home is naive when conditions in the home are often part of the problem.

"We need a face-to-face, case-by-case judgment" of how to best handle those situations, Butchek said.

Less controversial is the Clinton plan's call for tougher penalties on parents who skip out on child-support payments.

"Of all the reforms, that's the one where we can probably recapture the most money," said Hasara.

C 'nton's Plan Has Several Pitfalls, Welfare Recipients Say

'y Roger Signor and Cynthia Todd
'f the Post-Dispatch Staff

President Bill Clinton's plan to reform wel-ire drew high marks from Missouri officials nd experts for its emphasis on job-training rograms.

But recipients of welfare here say that linton and the experts failed to recognize ıe dearth of jobs with decent pay and enefits.

Gary Stangler, head of Missouri's Depart-ient of Social Services, says Clinton's pro-osal reinforces the state's own plan to get eople off welfare and into jobs.

Like Clinton's plan, the state's program uts a two-year limit on welfare payments. The state plan, passed by the Legislature earlier this year, will spend $16 million in state and federal money. Nearly half of that is earmarked for job-training and day care, state officials say.

"We agree with President Clinton in making teen-aged mothers the top priority in welfare reform," Stangler said in a telephone interview. "If we're going to break the cycle of dependency on welfare, that's where we're going to break it."

But young women who've been on welfare doubt the reform packages hold enough to break the cycle.

"The plan's not comprehensive enough — people need more than a job," says Robin Acree, a single parent who lives in Mexico, Mo. In two weeks, Acree, 33, will end eight years on the welfare rolls.

She said she's already done everything that Clinton is now asking. First, she got a loan to earn a bachelor's degree in communications from the University of Missouri at Columbia. Then, she got two part-time jobs that pay her about $1,400 a month.

That gets her off welfare. But it isn't enough to support herself and her three children, ages 16, 14 and 11. She spends $1,050 a month for rent, utilities, food and her loan payments. On July 1, her income also makes her ineligible for Medicaid, the state-federal program that pays medical bills for the poor.

But she can't afford the $370 monthly premiums that private health insurance will cost her. Acree's premiums are high because she has a chronic health problem.

Two women from Pine Lawn say Clinton's approach won't work because jobs are too scarce and the ones that are available pay too little. Neither woman gets child support from the father of her child.

Carmen Bailey, 27, says she was trained by Grace Hill Neighborhood Center for a job with the center. But her $900-a-month income isn't enough to support her and her son, James, 8. "If I could get food stamps, we would make it — but my income makes me ineligible for the stamps," Bailey said.

Connie Jackson, 36, also took a loan to get training as a nurse's aide. She left the welfare rolls in the late 1980s after she got a job in a nursing home to support herself and her son, Charles, now 14.

Her $1,000-a-month income was just enough to pay her rent, utilities and food bills, she said. But after she injured her back on the job, her employer replaced her. Now, she's back on welfare. She gets Medicaid and food stamps.

"Some people think living on welfare is easy — but it's hard," said Jackson, who gets $234 a month — enough only for rent and utilities. "I can't buy new shoes or clothes for my son."