

IPS Roundtable

12 May 2010

US Family Support Programmes: Current Status and Future Directions



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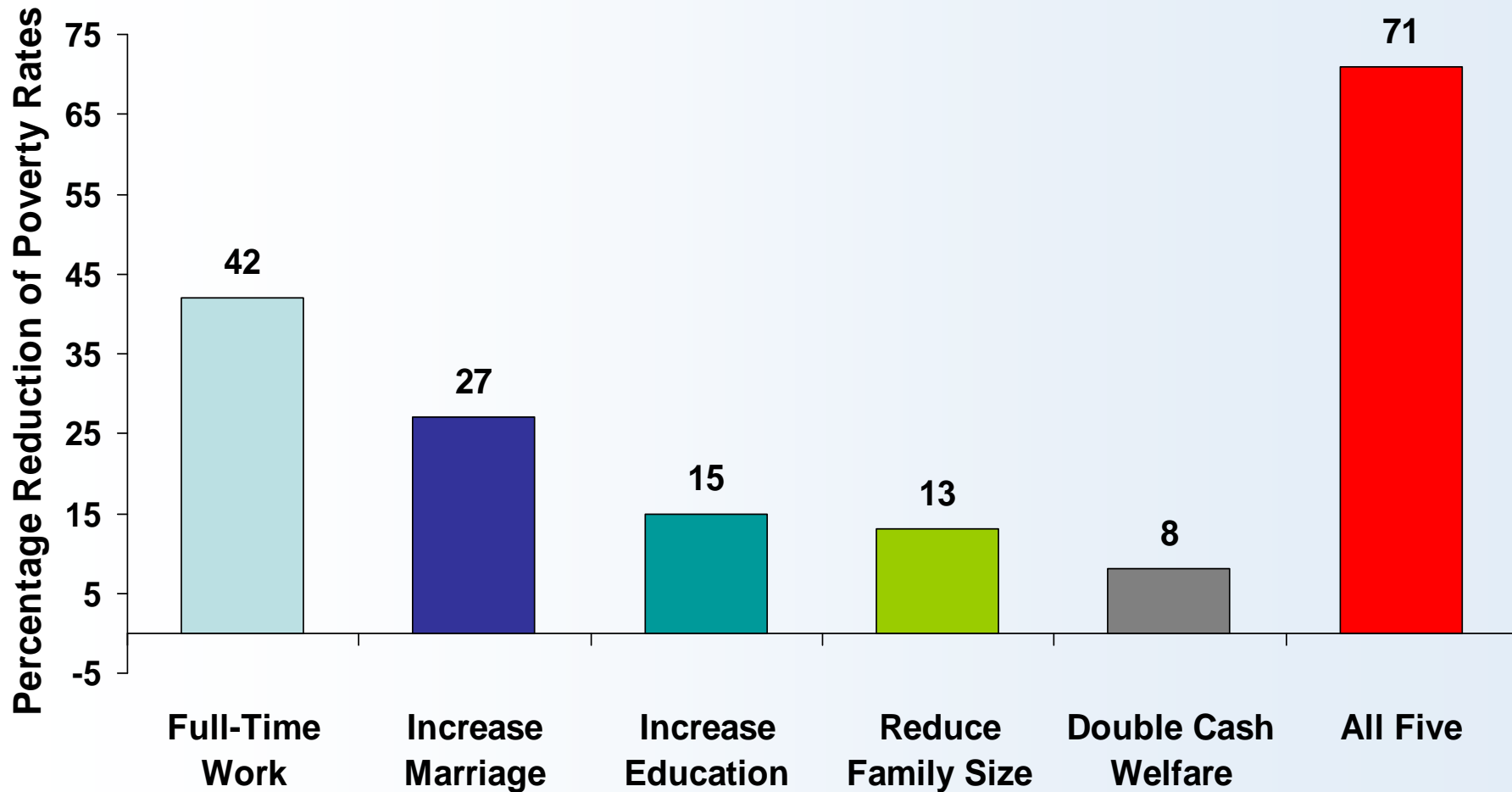
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Policy Studies

The American Welfare Reform Law of 1996: Impacts and Issues

Ron Haskins
The Brookings Institution

May 12, 2010

Effectiveness of Five Factors in Reducing Poverty Rates



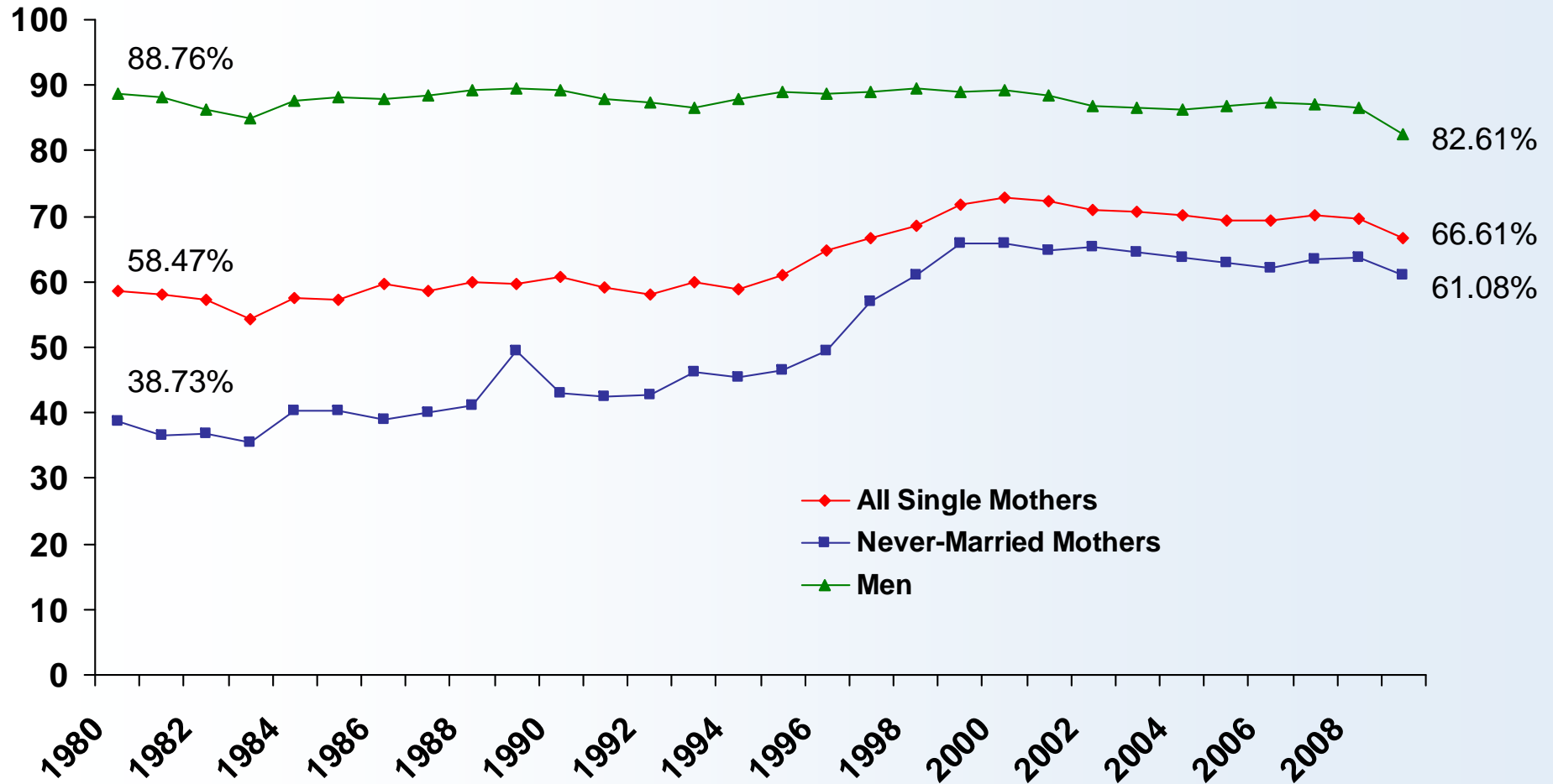
Based on Adam Thomas and Isabel V. Sawhill, "For Richer or for Poorer: Marriage as an Antipoverty Strategy," *Journal of Policy Analysis Management* 21, no. 4 (October 2002): 587-599; Ron Haskins and Isabel V. Sawhill, "Work and Marriage: The Way to End Poverty and Welfare," Welfare Reform and Beyond Policy Brief, The Brookings Institution (September 2003).

Policies to Fight Poverty

- More Work and More Work Support
- Stronger Families
- More and Better Education

More Work

Employment-to-Population Ratios for All Single Mothers, Never-Married Mothers, and Men, 1980 - 2009



Source: Brookings tabulations of data from the Annual Social and Economic Supplement to the Current Population Survey, 1980-2009.

WORK *over* WELFARE

The Inside Story of the 1996 Welfare Reform Law



RON HASKINS

Overview of 1996 Welfare Reform Law

- Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
- Non-marital Births
- Supplemental Security Income for Children
- SSI for Drug Addicts and Alcoholics
- Child Support Enforcement
- Welfare for Non-citizens
- Child Care
- Abstinence Education
- Charitable Choice
- Savings

Five Components of TANF

1. End Cash Entitlement
2. Block Grant Funding
3. Work Requirements
4. Sanctions
5. 5–Year Time Limit

If Attila the Hun were alive today and elected to Congress, he would be delighted with this bill that is before us today and proud to cast his vote for it. H.R.4, the Personal Responsibility Act, is the most callous, coldhearted and mean-spirited attack on this country's children that I have ever seen in my life.

•**Former Rep. Cardiss Collins, floor debate, March 21, 1995**

I am concerned, frightened, that this bill will leave children hungry and homeless. I am afraid the streets of our Nation's cities might someday look like the streets of the cities of Brazil. Walk around there and you see children begging for money, begging for food, and even at 8 or 9 years old engaging in prostitution.

•**Senator Frank Lautenberg, conference report, August 1, 1996**

There is an even higher precedent that we who profess to follow in our Judeo-Christian nation. The Old Testament prophets and the New Testament Messiah made plain God's mandate to protect the poor and the weak and the young. The Senate and the House welfare bills do not meet this test.

•**Marian Wright Edelman, *Washington Post*, November 3, 1995**

This legislation would have an untold human cost to our nation. By dismantling the social safety net to our children, the elderly, and the poor, it would be a moral catastrophe. In this political year, the Republican-dominated Congress is rushing blindly to pass this cruel monstrosity. I commend the religious community for its great concern over this issue and its efforts to oppose it up to now.

- **Rep. Charles Rangel, press release, July 31, 1996**

A Republican welfare bill... will throw millions of children out on the street without doing anything to move people from welfare to work.

- **Rep. Richard Gephardt, floor debate, March 21, 1995**

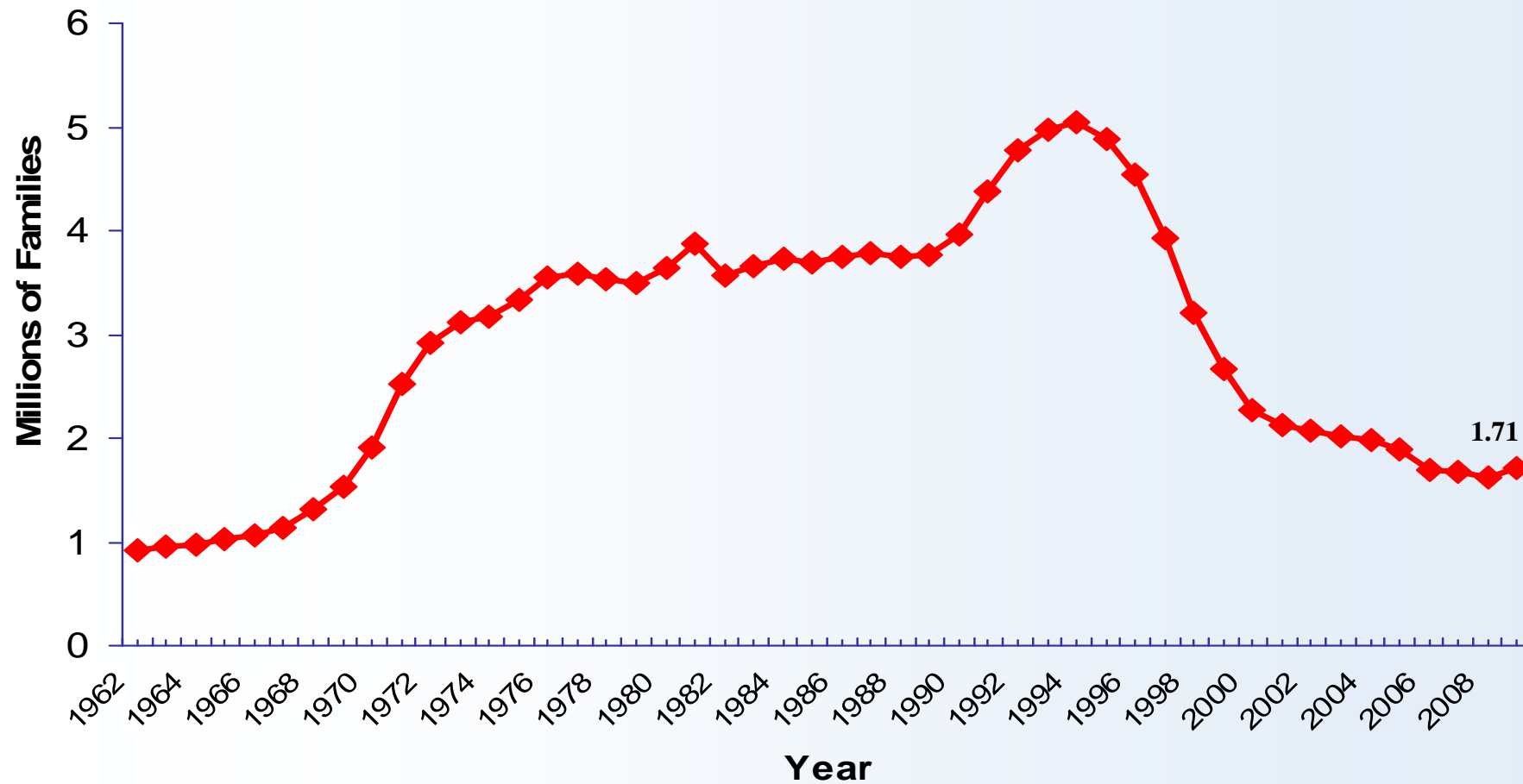
The welfare bill will destroy (America's) state of grace. In its place will come massive and deadly poverty, sickness, and all manner of violence. People will die, businesses will close, infant mortality will soar, everyone who can will move. Working- and middle-class communities all over America will become scary, violent wastelands created by a government that decided it has no obligations to its neediest citizens. In such a landscape, each of us becomes either predator or prey.

- **Jill Nelson, *Nation* magazine, August 26, 1996**

“I am reminded of a quote by the great theologian, Martin Niemoller, during World War II: In Germany, they came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time no one was left to speak up...I urge my colleagues, open your eyes. Read the proposal. Read the small print. Read the Republican contract. They are coming for the children. They are coming for the poor. They are coming for the sick, the elderly, and the disabled....I say to my colleagues--you have the ability, the capacity, the power--to stop this onslaught.”

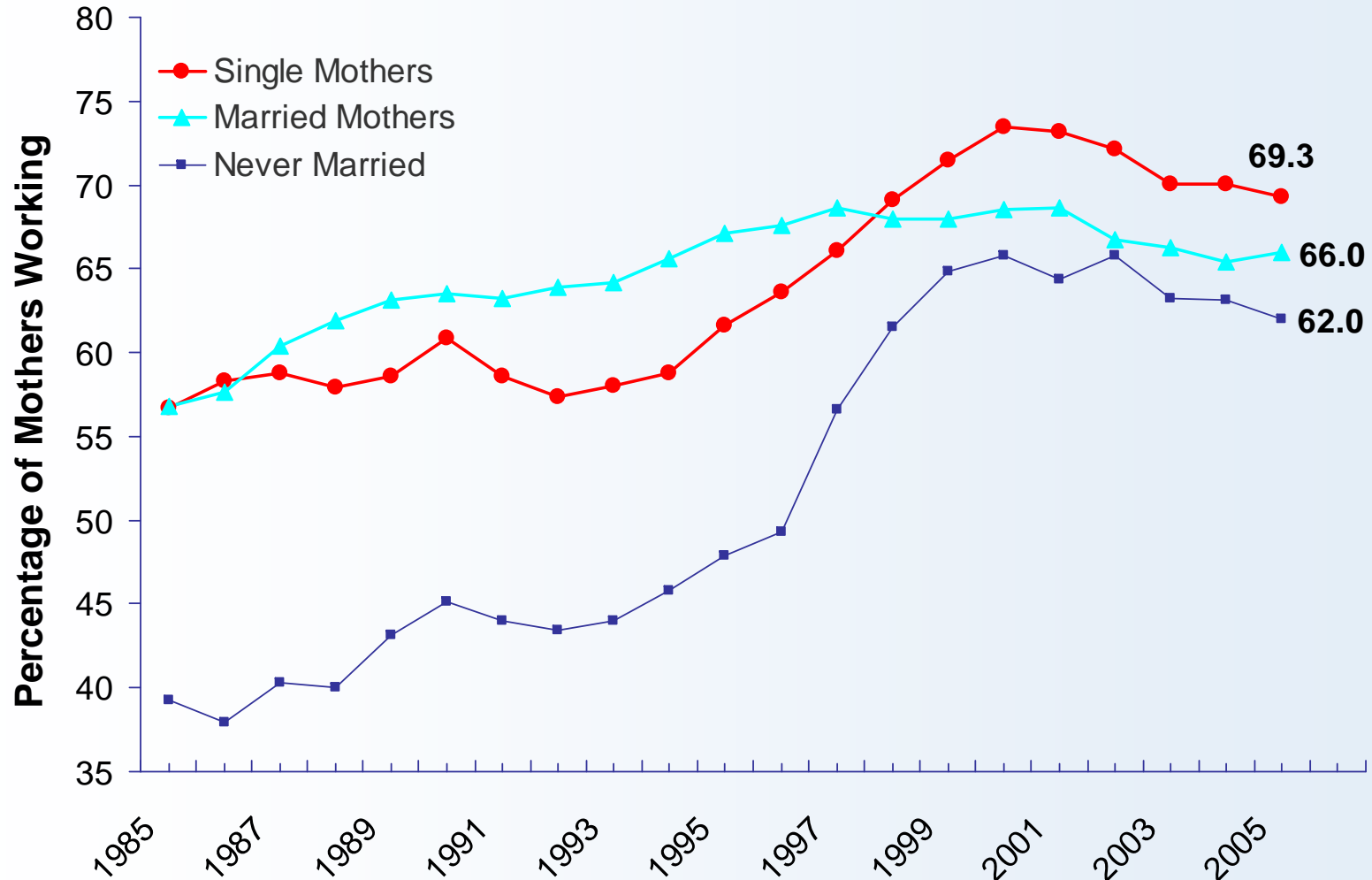
•Rep. John Lewis, floor debate, March 21, 1995

AFDC/TANF Caseload, 1962–2009



Sources: Congressional Research Service, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/ofa/data-reports/caseload/caseload_current.htm#2009 (2002-2008), <http://aspe.hhs.gov/HSP/indicators03/apa.htm#titanf1> (1962-2001)

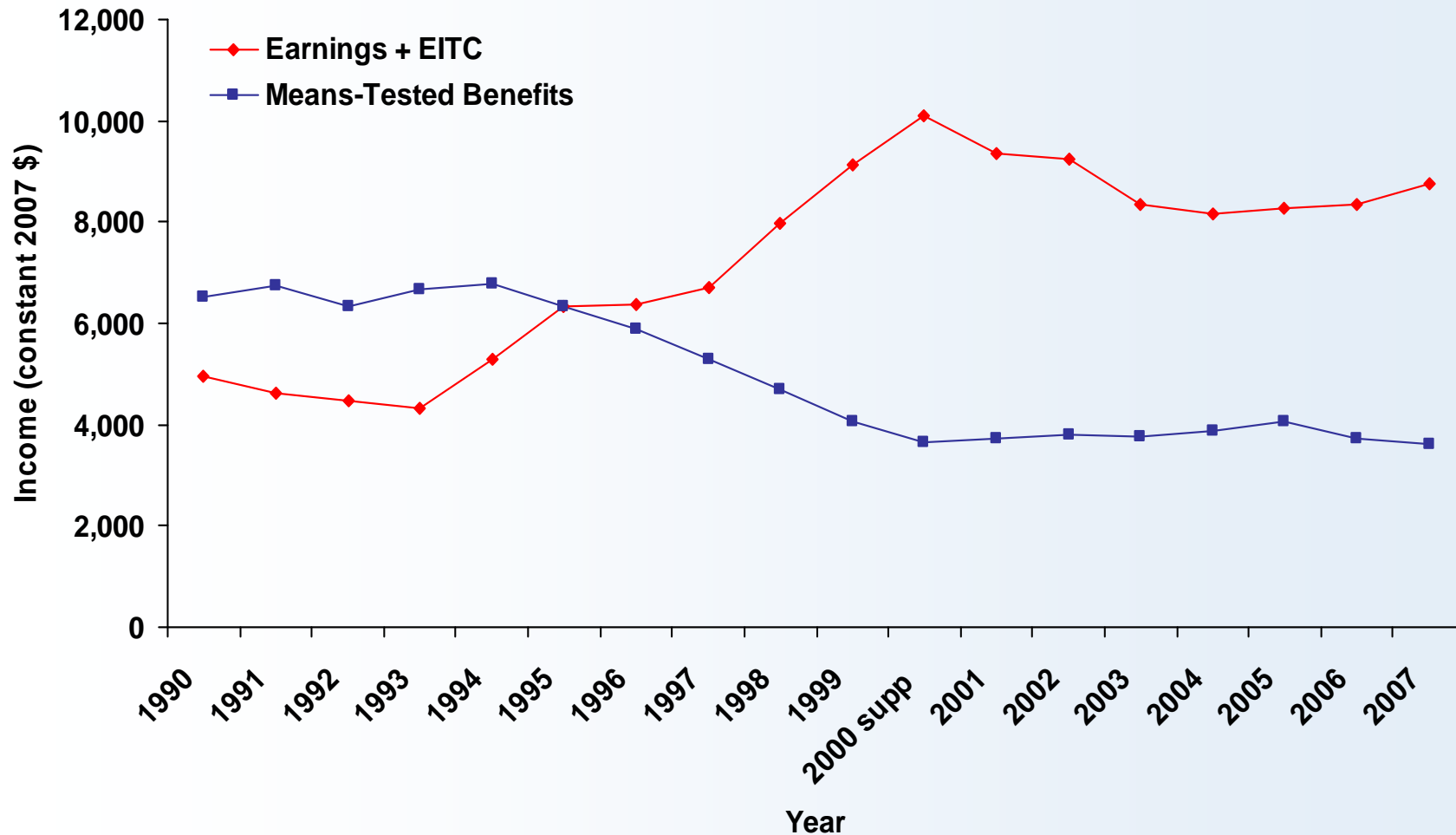
Percentage of Married, Single, and Never-Married Mothers Working, 1985-2005



Note: Mothers included in tabulations are at least 16 years old and live with their own children under age 18. “unmarried” mothers re divorced, separated, and never married; widows are excluded from the tabulations.

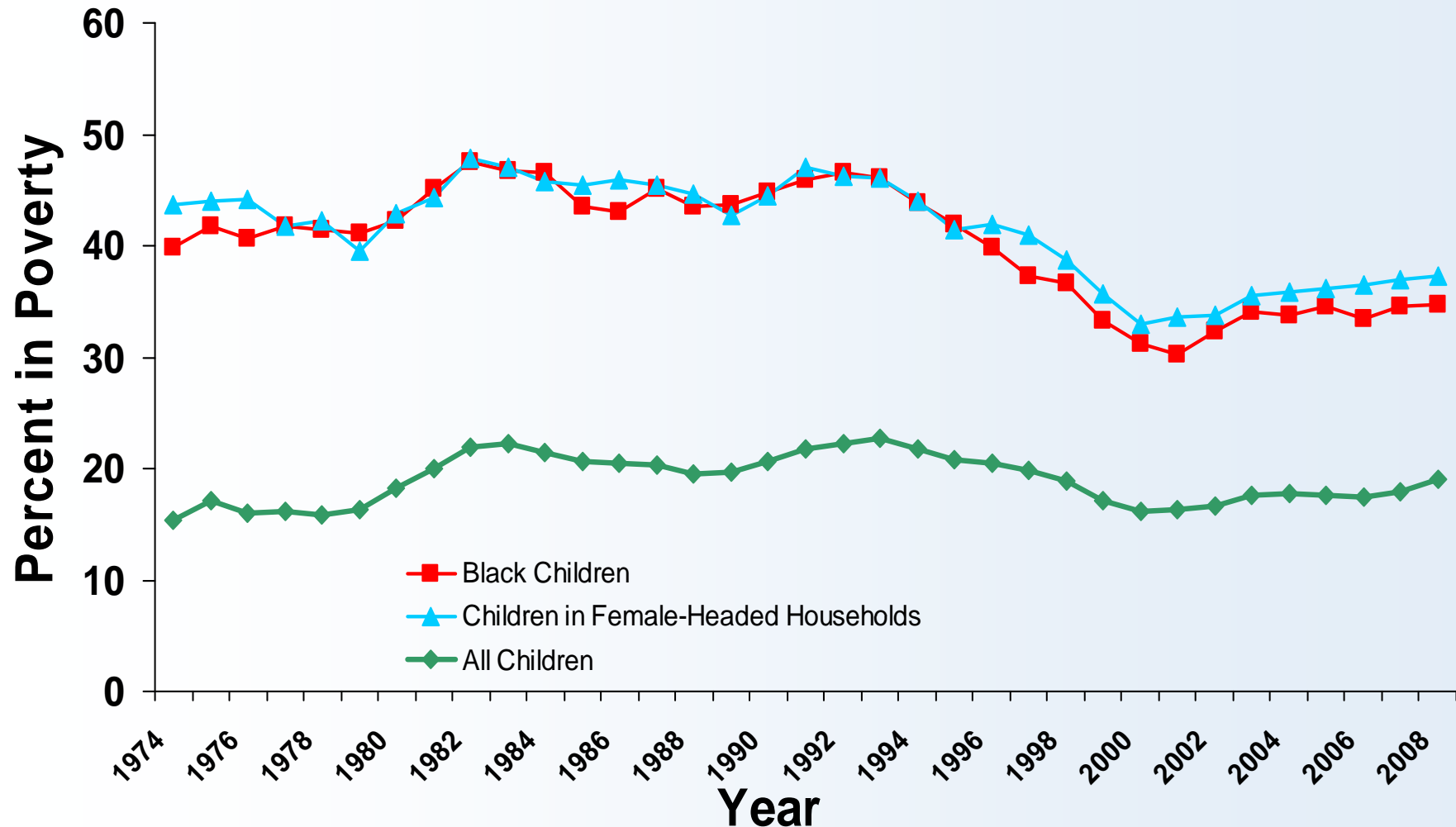
Source: Gary Burtless, The Brookings Institution, unpublished calculations using U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data.

Earnings & Means-Tested Benefits for Bottom Two Quintiles of Female Family Heads with Children, 1990-2007



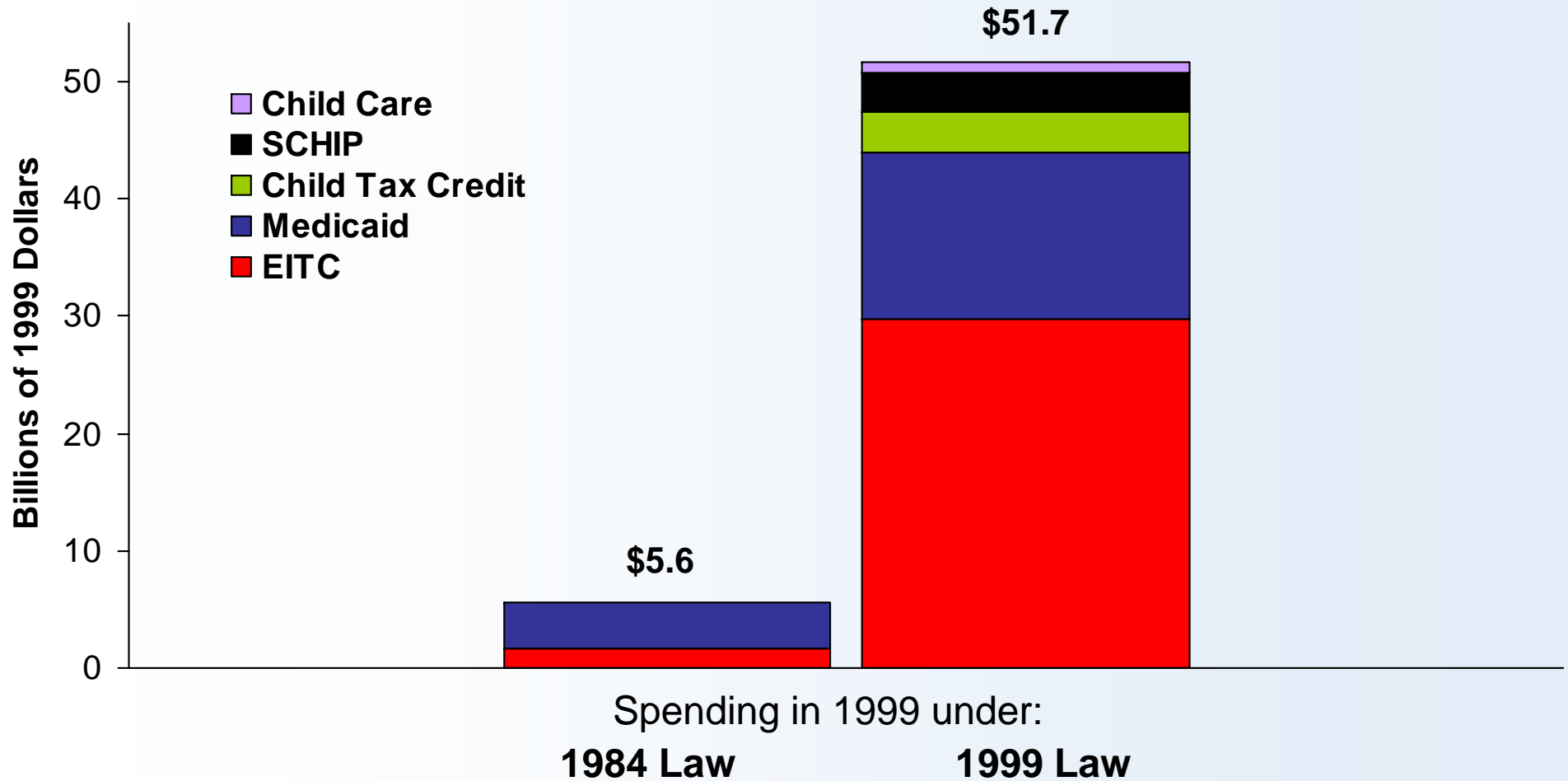
Source: Richard Bavier with U.S. Census Bureau Data

Poverty Rates for Black Children, Children in Female-Headed Households, and All Children 1974-2008



Source: For data on Black Children and all Children, see U.S. Census Bureau, *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2008*, Table B-2; for data on Children in Female-Headed Households see, *Poverty Status, by Type of Family, Presence of Related Children, Race and Hispanic Origin 1959 to 2008*, Table 4 <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/histpov/famindex.html>

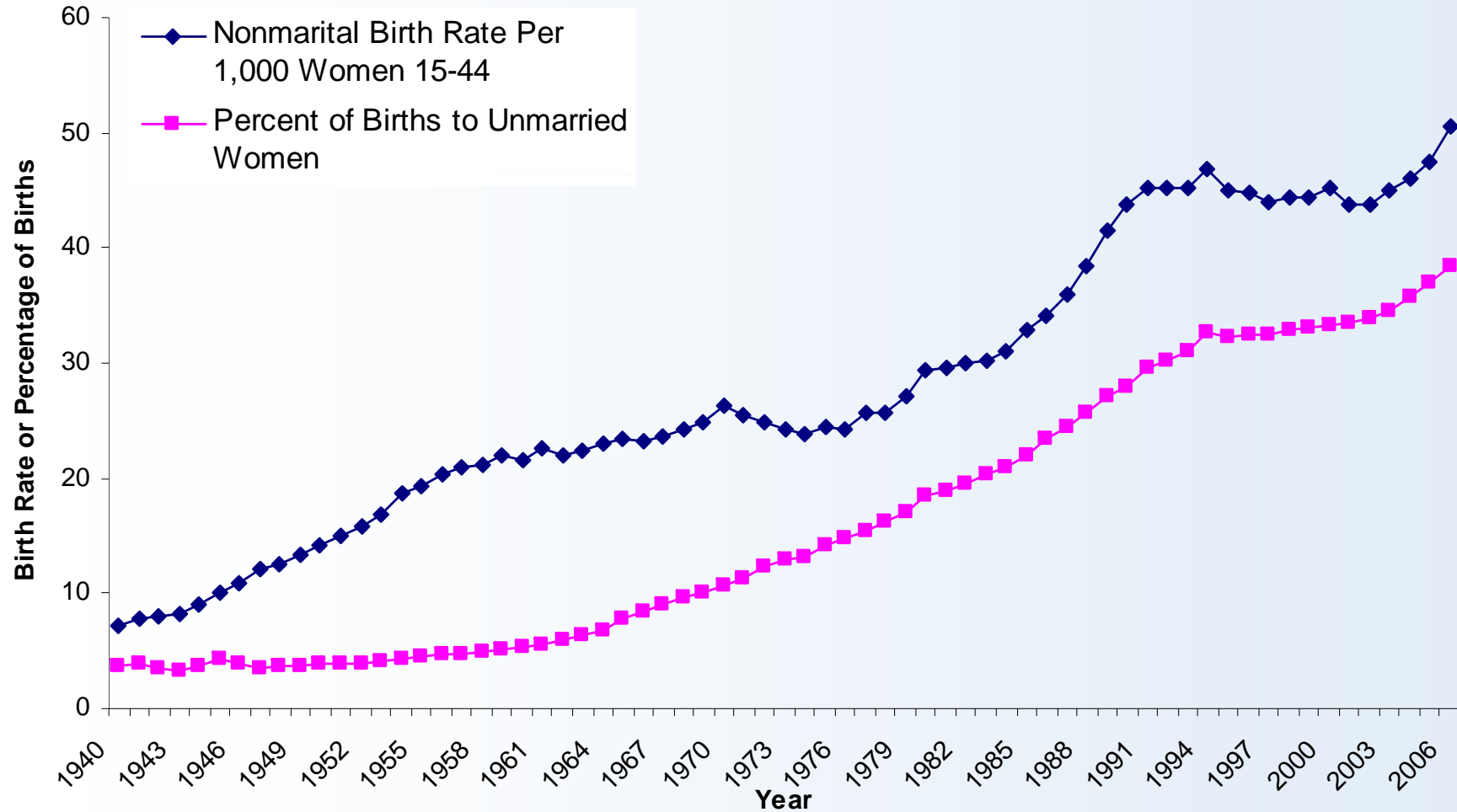
Support for Working Families Increases Dramatically, 1984-1999



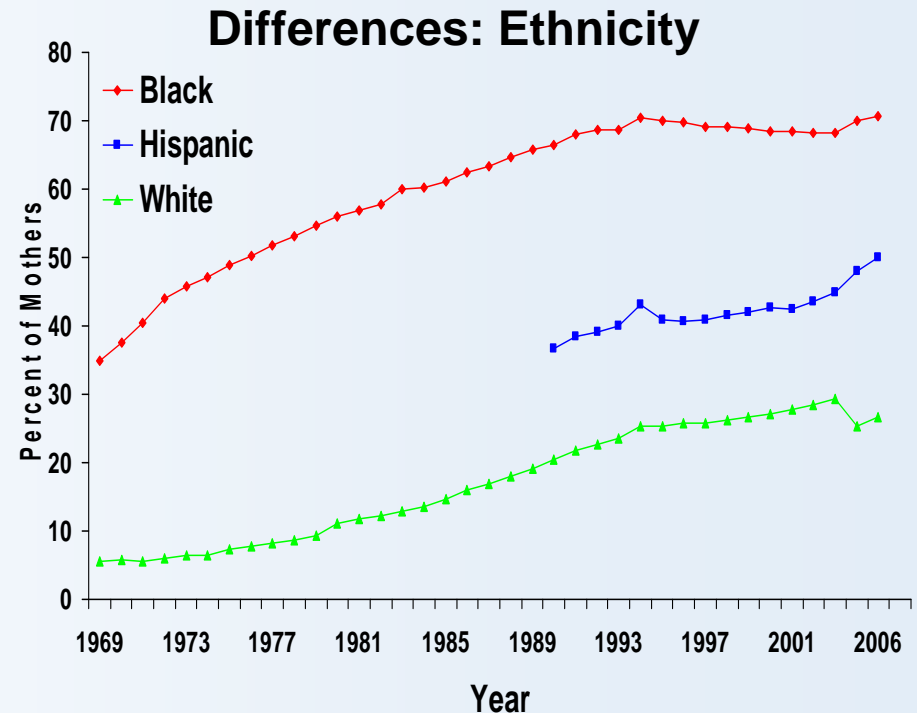
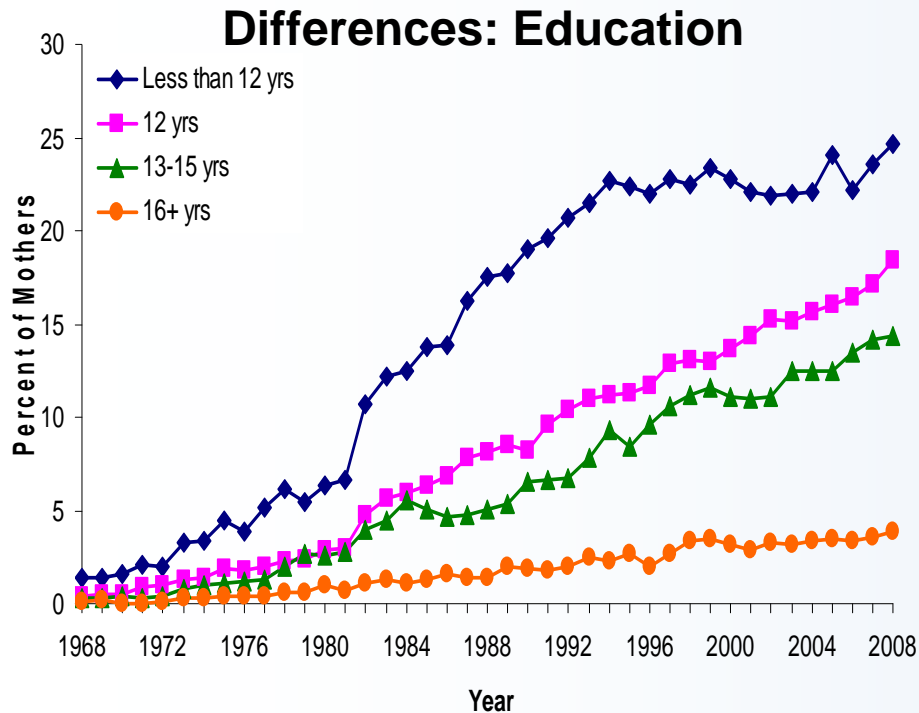
Source: Congressional Budget Office, *Policy Changes Affecting Mandatory Spending for Low-Income Families Not Receiving Welfare*, 1998.

Stronger Families

Birth Rate and Percent of Births to Unmarried Women, 1940-2007

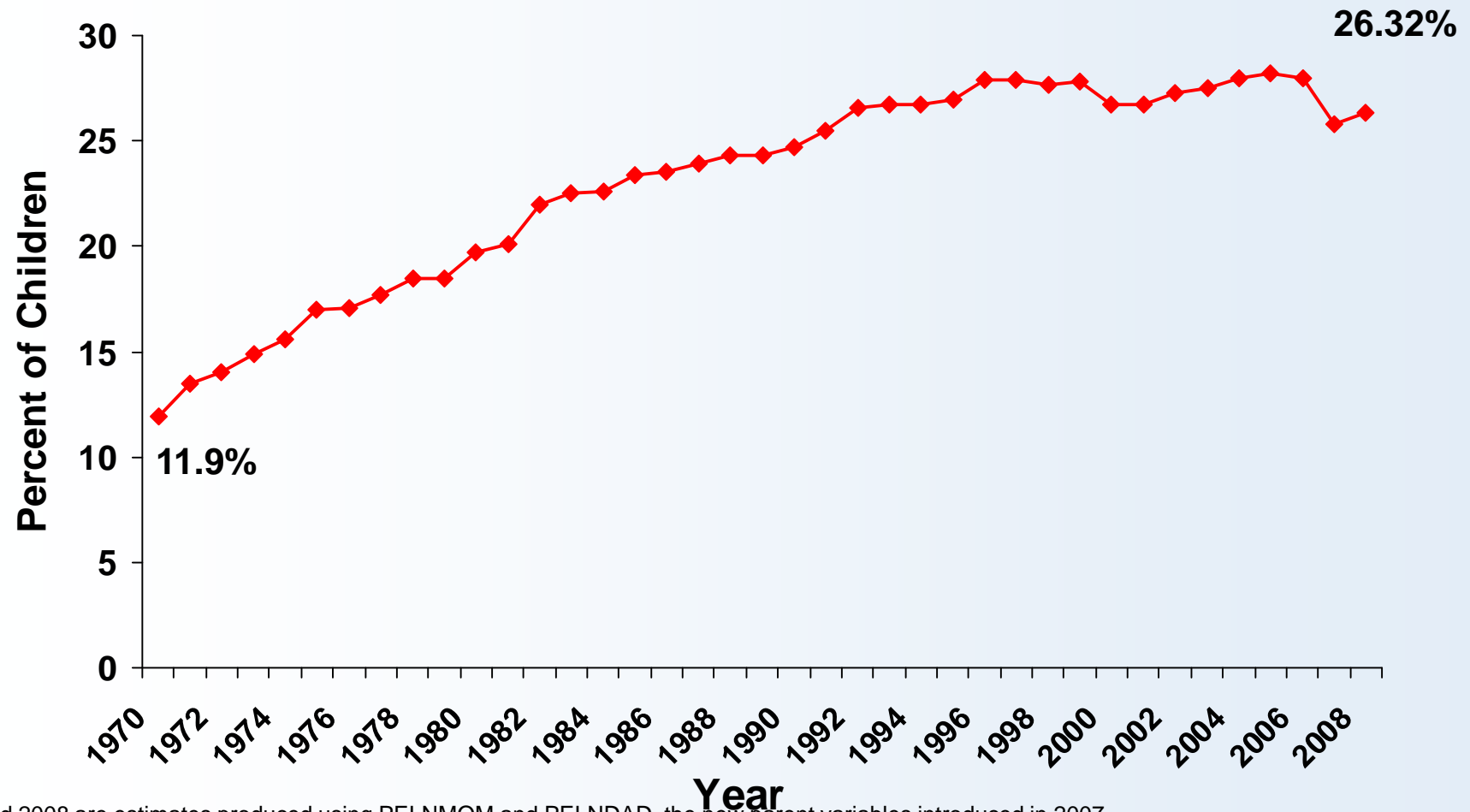


Differences in Non-marital Births by Mother's Education and Ethnicity, 1968-2006 or 2008



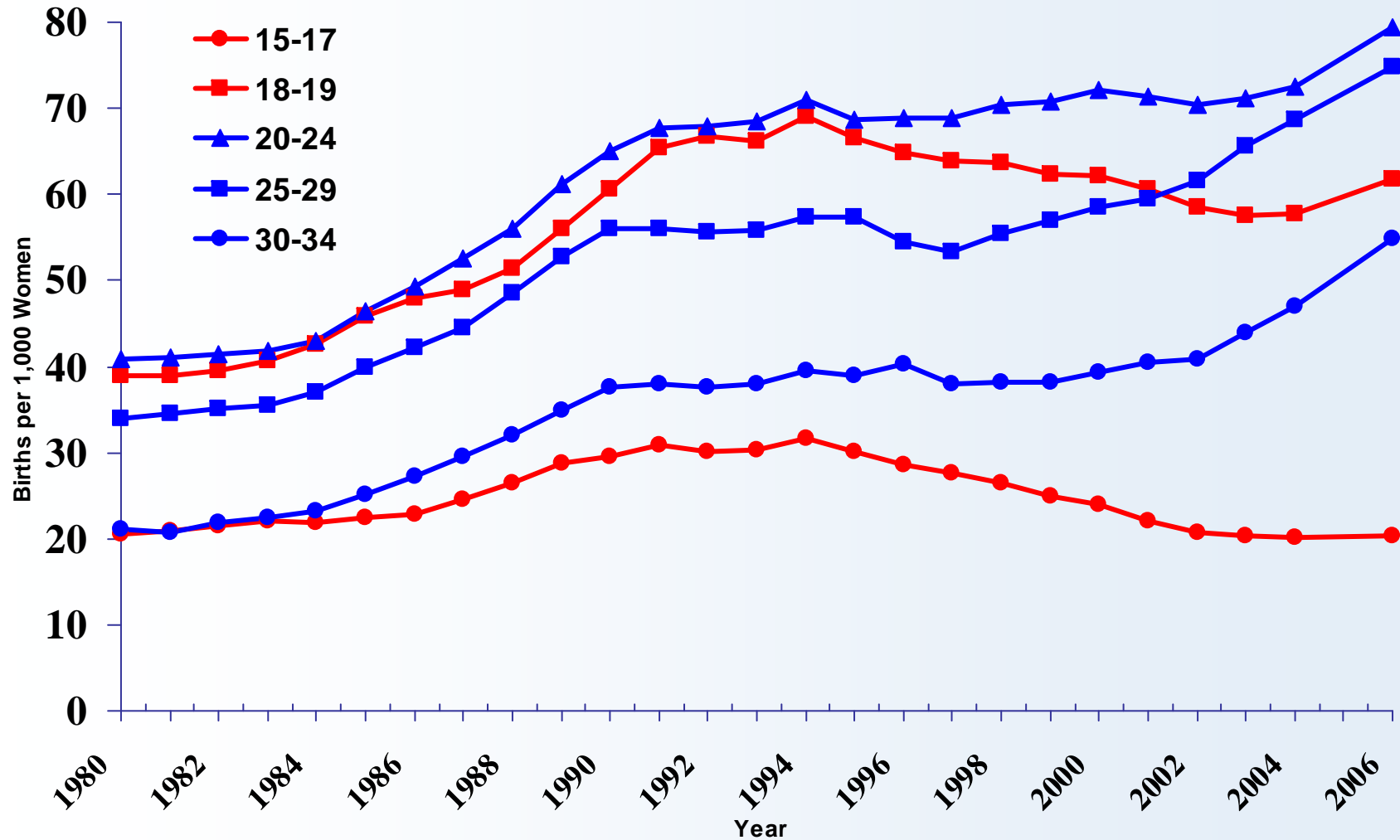
Source: (Education) Authors' tabulations from the March Current Population Survey; (Ethnicity) National Center for Health Statistics, Table 1-17 Number and Percent of Births to Unmarried Women, by Race and Hispanic Origin: United States, 1940-2000; National Vital Statistics Reports, Vol. 56, No. 7, December 5, 2005 accessed at http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr56/nvsr56_07.pdf
 Note: 2004 Unavailable

Percent of Children Living in Single-Parent Families, 1970-2008



*2007 and 2008 are estimates produced using PELNMOM and PELNDAD, the new parent variables introduced in 2007.
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, March and Annual Social and Economic Supplements, 2007 and earlier data available at <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/ch1.xls>.

Birth Rates for Unmarried Women by Age of Mother, 1980-2006



Source: Forum on Child and Family Statistics, "America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, 2007," [HTTP://WWW.CHILDSTATS.GOV/AMERICASCHILDREN/TABLES.ASP#F29](http://www.childstats.gov/americaschildren/tables.asp#F29). Note: 2005 data not included.

Strengthen Families

- Reduce Teen Pregnancy
 - Community based programs
 - Emphasize abstinence and birth control
 - Constructive activities
- Increase Marriage Rates
 - Community-wide initiatives
 - Marriage education (including unwed parents)
 - Federal and state tax and benefit policies (marriage penalties and incentives)
 - Social Marketing Campaigns
 - Federal Grant Program for Communities to Conduct Pro-Marriage Programs

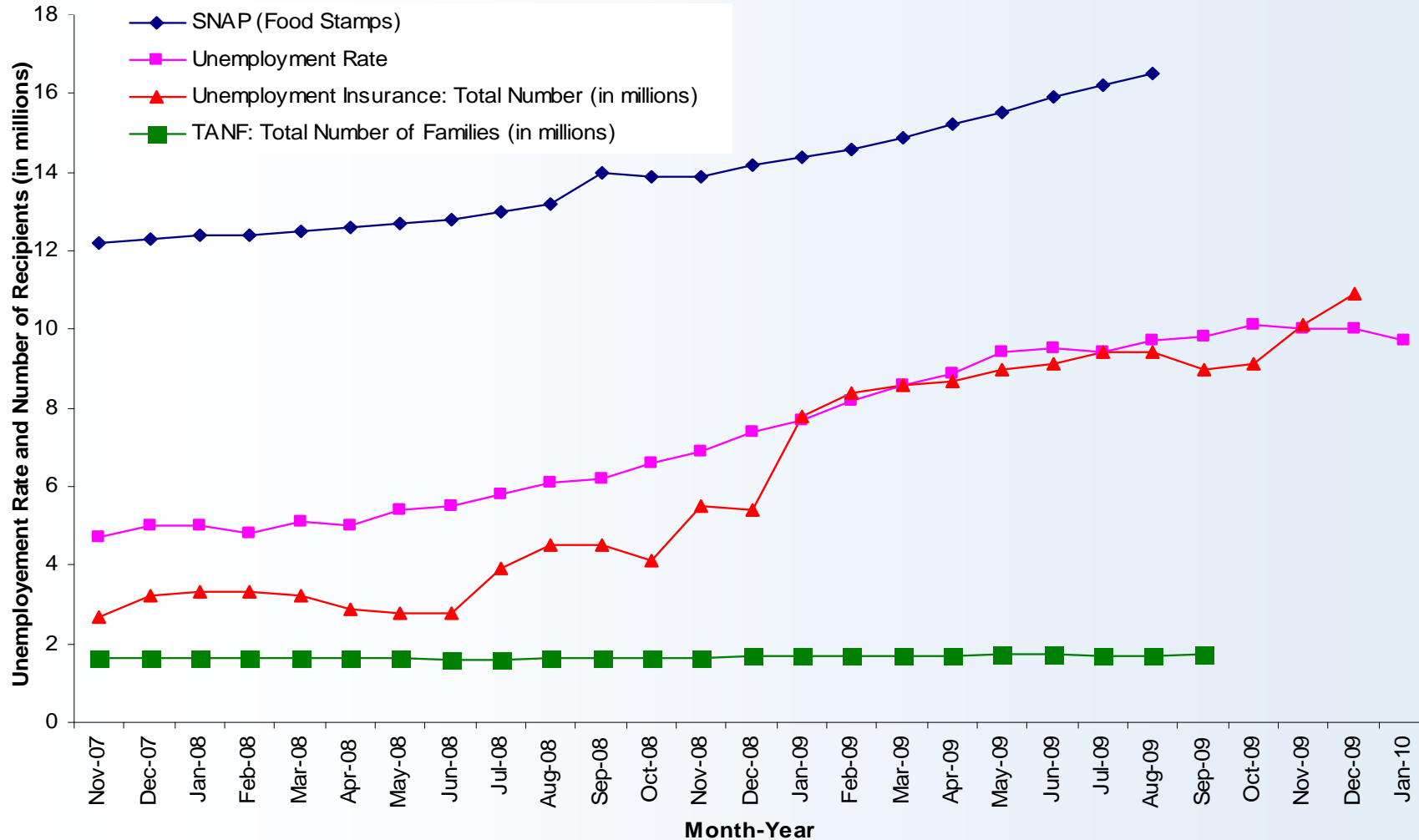
Problems Raised by Welfare Reform

- Floundering Mothers
- Low and Stagnant Earnings
- Recessions
- Job Growth
- Family Dissolution Continues

Welfare Reform Legislation After 1996

- 2005 Reauthorization:
 - Work Standards
 - Marriage Grants
 - Fatherhood Grants
- 2009 ARRA
 - Child Care
 - Contingency Fund

Unemployment Rate and Number of SNAP, Unemployment Insurance, and TANF Recipients



Note: Unemployment rate is percentage of labor force and expressed in units (not millions); SNAP = Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program; TANF = Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

What is Likely to Happen in TANF Reauthorization?

Safe:

- SSI for Addicts
- SSI for Children
- End of Cash Entitlements
- Sanctions
- Time Limits

Structure Safe but Amendments Likely:

- Day Care
- Child Support Enforcement
- Fatherhood Programs

Major Issues:

- Welfare for Noncitizens
- Marriage Education
- Contingency Fund
- Work Requirements
- Education (as work)

New:

- EITC for Childless Workers
- Inflation Adjustment
- Floundering Mothers