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# Charitable Choice in Florida: The Politics, Ethics and Implications of Social Policy

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**CHARITABLE CHOICE IN FLORIDA: THE POLITICS, ETHICS AND  
IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL POLICY**

by

ANGELA GOMEZ

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
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College of Arts and Sciences  
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***A mis ángeles***

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# **CHARITABLE CHOICE IN FLORIDA: THE POLITICS, ETHICS AND IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL POLICY**

Angela Gómez

## **Abstract**

This dissertation research is a study of the anthropology of policy with welfare reform in general and charitable choice in particular as its focus. The study begins with the notion that policies work as instruments of governance and consequently have social and political implications. These policies are examined by exploring the manner in which Catholic Charities and policy makers in Florida are responding to the charitable choice mandate and how their views are shaping local policies.

The study is framed within anthropological principles pertaining to economic, humanistic and philosophical tenets. The study provides a historical background of poverty, the development of the welfare state in the United States as well as some of the social, economic, and political factors that shape social policies.

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with representatives from Catholic Charities, government agencies, legislative committees, and faith-based organizations, and through document reviews. Data were analyzed qualitatively and were managed using the software Atlas.ti. Analysis of the data show that while there is increased convergence between the

state and faith-based organizations (FBOs), there is some hesitancy on the part of religious organizations to assume full responsibility for the poor, particularly without having any funding guarantees. The data also suggests that through the implementation of charitable choice religious organizations face the risk of becoming highly dependent on the state and therefore lose their voice and the possibility of lobbying for the poor. Furthermore, the data suggests that there are some aspects of the implementation of charitable choice that have not received congressional approval and may eventually jeopardize the entire faith-based initiative.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), was passed in 1996. It contained Section 104, called charitable choice, which allows Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) the use of contracts, vouchers, and other funding to arrange for the provision of social services under the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), stating a new course in the state-church relationship. This legislation represents the solidification of a process of privatization and devolution of the responsibility for the provision of social services from the state to the private sector, including nonprofit organizations and FBOs, which had started in the 1970s.

This dissertation research represents a study of the anthropology of policy with welfare reform in general, and charitable choice legislation in particular as its focus. The study begins with the notion that policies work as instruments of governance and are shaped by those in power to maintain control over the public sphere and to shape the kind of identities policies are intended to create (Shore and Wright 1997:3). Therefore, an anthropological study of policy is useful for understanding systems of governance and how these systems reconfigure the relationship between individuals and society (Shore and Wright 1997:4).

These policies are examined by exploring the manner in which Catholic Charities and policy makers in Florida are responding to the mandate of Section 104 and how their views are shaping local policies. In addition, this study aims at understanding the social and political contexts within which policies are developed and implemented by describing the extent to which the current political climate is facilitating or impeding the access of FBOs to state funding for the provision of social services. Finally, the study also explores the extent to which the traditional views of the poor held by Catholic Charities and the state are converging as their interaction in the delivery of human services increases.

Although there are many FBOs operating in Florida, this study uses the experience of Catholic Charities as an illustrative case study. Catholic Charities has had a long history of political advocacy on behalf of the poor and of receiving state funding for the operation of many of their social programs. This study is framed within anthropological principles relevant to the exploration of social policies and their implementation. It also uses a historical approach in order to provide the social and political contexts in which these policies have emerged.

The study's research question was:

How are Catholic Charities and policy makers in Florida responding to the charitable choice mandate, included in the 1996 welfare reform, and how are their views impeding or facilitating its implementation?

In order to answer this question, the research was guided by the following three sub-questions:

1. What has been the overall impact of welfare reform in Florida's social, economic and political contexts, including the impact it has had on Catholic Charities?
2. What are the images of the poor held by representatives from Catholic Charities and how are these views different from the views held by government?
3. In what ways has the passing of charitable choice impact the church-state relationship and the FBOs' ability to contract with government?

Chapter 2 describes the case study methodology used in this research. As previously stated this research uses Catholic Charities as a case study to explore the impact of charitable choice on FBOs. As such, the design consisted of a single case study with three embedded units/actors defined as FBOs, Intersection and Secular. These actors were defined considering their roles and their function in the implementation of charitable choice.

Data sources utilized in the study were: (1) literature review, (2) survey, (3) interviews, and (4) document reviews. Data collection efforts aimed at gathering information about Catholic Charities and their role in the social service arena, social policies, efforts being made by state agencies for the implementation of charitable choice, the challenges this legislation poses for both the state and Catholic Charities, and ways in which they are trying to find common ground and the resources necessary to develop and sustain a partnership.

The identification and selection of three units/social actors as informants allowed the comparison of their views and perspectives in the analysis. Data were analyzed qualitatively and were managed using the software Atlas.ti (Muher 1997). This was a sequential process that included the establishment of coding categories, data coding, review of coded data, data classification by pre-established respondent categories, and data interpretation.

Chapter 3 compiles the literature reviewed for this study, which is divided into two sections. The first section provides a discussion of anthropological principles that examine the relationship between economic policies and morality and the role of individuals in helping shape policies that reflect their wishes and desires. In this sense, participation in the policy development process is considered an anthropological activity through which individuals shape their futures and promote cultural transformation. Also included in this section is a discussion about the depolitization process that has been taken place in the United States for several decades. This is a complex process that has multiple manifestations and serious consequences such as the erosion of basic human rights and the increased removal of the decision making power from the public domain. Consequently, policy-making has become the domain of those in power for the purpose of regulating and controlling society.

The second section is a summary of the historical background of poverty in the United States and the social policies intended to address the needs of the poor. Furthermore, understanding the impact of welfare reform and of the roles that FBOs are expected to play in its implementation requires having an overview

of the roles they have historically played and the place they have occupied in the political landscape. Considering the vast amount of information about poverty and the development of the welfare state in the United States, only those factors considered essential to provide the background for this research are considered.

They are:

- An historical view of social policies regarding poverty: including an understanding of the roles of government and nonprofit organizations in the delivery of relief, the creation of the welfare state, and some of the changes that have impacted them throughout history.
- An historical view of the role of the U.S. Catholic Church and in particular of Catholic Charities in shaping social policies.
- An understanding of the 1996 welfare reform, its implementation and impact.
- An understanding of the historical interrelation of the secular and the sacred views in shaping the social and political contexts in the United States

Both sections of the literature review are central to understanding current social policies and to the interpretation of the study findings. Considering the overarching impact that the 1996 welfare reform has had in the lives of millions of Americans and the fact that the elimination of programs that served as a safety net for all Americans could impact many millions more in times of economic crisis, it is important to understand the origin of current social policies. It is also important to examine these policies against established philosophical and

anthropological values and principles geared at protecting individuals' humanness and basic human rights.

Chapters 4 and 5 contain the findings from the interviews and document reviews. Chapter 4 summarizes the findings from the interviews conducted. This section is further divided into three categories that represent the three units/actors selected for this study that were previously described. Each category is organized by the three sub-questions that guided the research study.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings from the document reviews. This section follows the same format used in the Interviews chapter in that is divided into the same three categories. FBO and secular documents aimed at informing their own constituencies and the public in general about welfare reform and charitable choice are respectively classified as FBO or Secular. Documents published for the purpose of creating partnerships between religious and secular agencies/organizations are classified as Intersection.

In Chapter 6 findings are integrated and discussed using the anthropological principles discussed in the literature review as well as the historical background of current social policies as the conceptual framework. The discussion is also organized by the guiding research questions. Throughout the discussion the study's assumptions are addressed.

This chapter also provides a set of suggestions aimed at policy makers, FBOs, and those responsible for the implementation of this initiative as considerations they should keep in mind as they continue to push this effort forward. Finally, there is a brief discussion about the relevance of applied

anthropology to policy studies, followed by the identification of areas in which future research on charitable choice could be focused.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **METHODOLOGY**

This study followed a case study design, which according to Yin (1994:8-13) is a comprehensive research strategy that “comprises an all encompassing method-with the logic of design incorporating specific approaches to data collection and data analysis.” This approach represents an empirical investigation of a contemporary phenomenon, within its real life context, where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident.

#### **Research Design**

The components of the case study design used in this research are:

- Case study questions;
- Propositions/assumptions;
- Definition of terms;
- Unit of analysis;
- Data sources, and
- The criteria for analyzing and interpreting the findings (Yin 1994:20).

### ***Case Study Questions***

This case study followed a macro-structural approach in which the main focus was on Catholic Charities; on Florida's State government; and on the roles these institutions play in defining policies that impact the poor. As such, this project's main research question was:

How are Catholic Charities and policy makers in Florida responding to the charitable choice mandate, included in the 1996 welfare reform, and how are their views impeding or facilitating its implementation.

The research was divided into three guiding sub-questions:

1. What has been the overall impact of welfare reform in Florida's social, economic and political contexts, including the impact it has had on Catholic Charities?
2. What are the images of the poor held by representatives of Catholic Charities and how are these views different from the views held by government?
3. In what ways has the passing of charitable choice impact the church-state relationship and the FBOs' ability to contract with government?

Thus, this study looked at whether the views these institutions hold regarding the poor are changing as a result of these mandates, and at the efforts of Catholic Charities in attempting to influence welfare reform policies in Florida. The study also explored, to a lesser degree, the perceptions of Catholic Charities' representatives regarding the marriage promotion mandate, also included in the 1996 reform, which was highlighted as part of the discussions regarding the reauthorization of the TANF legislation. This issue emerged during

the data collection period and was included because the implementation and funding for this effort are linked to the charitable choice legislation.

### ***Assumptions***

Four assumptions also guided this research:

1. The first assumption was that Catholic Charities has the human and economic resources as well as the knowledge necessary to carry out their attempts to impact social policy.
2. The second assumption was that the inclusion of FBOs in service provision as part of welfare reform is in the government's interest because in this manner their responsibility for the poor is shared with the private sector.
3. The third assumption was that the charitable choice provision included in PRWORA represents an attempt on the government's part to solidify the transference of their responsibility towards the poor to the private sector.
4. The fourth assumption was that supporters of charitable choice might view FBOs as being in a better position to attempt to control and shape the behavior of the poor.

### ***Definitions of Terms***

Terms are divided into ideas and philosophies and programs and initiatives.

## *Ideas and Philosophies*

- **Catholic Social Teachings:** The Catholic Social Teachings represent a set of policies that define the actions of the Catholic Church to ensure a just society for all. This is a sacred concept based on a religious understanding of the dignity of each human person. The key aspects of the Catholic Social Teachings considered in this research are: (1) providing people with meaningful work opportunities and just compensation confirms the sacred worth and dignity of all people, (2) communal and family life ensure the fullest development of human potentiality considering their mutual interdependence, and (3) public policies must aim at the elimination of poverty (Anderson 2000:18).
- **Charitable Choice:** This is a secular concept that refers to a provision of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 that stimulates collaborations between government and FBOs. The guidelines of this provision are: (1) faith-based organizations that provide social services may not be excluded from state contracts because of their religious character, (2) the religious identity of FBOs selected to provide government-financed service may not be censored due to their participation in welfare reform, and (3) FBOs may not discriminate based on religious belief or require service users to participate in religious practices (Anderson 2000:7).

- **Devolution:** Devolution refers to the process of returning responsibility for the provision of a safety net for people in need from the federal to the state level.
- **Faith-Based Initiative:** Refers to the creation of partnerships between community-based (secular) and faith-based (sacred) organizations for the delivery of social services to the poor.
- **Images of the poor:** Refer to the varying perceptions that the Church (sacred) and the state (secular) hold regarding the poor. These images are part of a continuum between two poles: the deserving and undeserving poor. The secular view tends to define the deserving poor as persons who are temporarily afflicted by poverty amidst a history of hard work and personal effort. The undeserving poor represent those persons that are viewed as having adopted economic dependence as a way of life. The sacred image of the poor stems from the religious understanding of the dignity of each person and the divine imperative to help those in need regardless of their personal characteristics or what they may represent.
- **Marriage promotion:** Refers to a mandate included in the 1996 welfare reform intended to promote two parent families.
- **Privatization:** Privatization refers to transferring the provision of social services from the public to the private sector. It is a formal agreement between the government and organizations that provide human services.

- **Self-sufficiency:** Self-sufficiency is a secular concept that refers to the individuals' ability to meet their basic needs without any external assistance.

### *Programs and Initiatives*

- **Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs):** Faith-based organizations are non-profit religious organizations, such as Catholic Charities, that provide social services to the poor.
- **Safety-net:** The safety-net represent government subsidized social services such as housing, food, healthcare, transportation, and childcare intended to help the poor. These services are part of the transitional services offered to the recipients of public assistance as they seek financial independence from the government.
- **Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF):** TANF refers to benefits available to the poor, formerly known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).
- **Welfare:** Welfare is a term commonly used to refer to the AFDC program, currently known as TANF, which contains public assistance programs available to the poor.
- **Welfare reform:** Welfare reform refers to the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 that set in motion social reforms in the welfare system.

- **Welfare Transition Program (WTP):** This is the new name of the welfare program in Florida that went into effect in the year 2000 with the creation of Workforce Florida, Inc.
- **Work and Gain Economic Self Sufficiency (WAGES):** WAGES was the name given to the welfare reform program implemented in Florida from 1996 to 2000.
- **Workforce Florida, Inc.:** Workforce Florida, Inc. is the name of the agency/organization overseeing the implementation of the welfare reform in Florida beginning in the year 2000.

### ***Unit of Analysis***

The unit of analysis was the interface between state and church policies as part of the implementation of the charitable choice legislation in Florida. Considering that charitable choice legislation covers all religious organizations, Catholic Charities was selected as a representative case for this study.

The selection of Catholic Charities for this study responded to several considerations: (1) Catholic Charities has a long-history of service provision and advocacy for the poor, (2) this is a well-established organization that has been contracting with federal and state governments for many years, (3) this organization has the infrastructure necessary to apply for government funding and for meeting contract requirements, and (4) this organization has been able to reach enough of a balance between their dependence on government funding and other non-governmental sources in such a way not to compromise their

religious ideology. For these reasons, the researcher felt this organization would be in a position to take advantage of funding opportunities emerging from the implementation of charitable choice when compared to FBOs which less experience and resources.

Thus, the design consisted of a single case study with three embedded units defined as FBO, Intersection and Secular. These units represent the three sets of actors informing the study. These units emerged during data collection as the researcher realized that although interviewees were either associated with a FBO or a State agency, their roles in the charitable choice planning and implementation continuum placed them in one of these three categories. Thus, those individuals whose roles had no direct impact on charitable choice, as was the case with Catholic Charities and most of the state representatives, were respectively classified as FBO and Secular. Those individuals whose roles included bridging the accessibility gap for FBOs and planning the implementation of charitable choice were classified as Intersection. Having embedded units enhanced the analysis opportunities including comparative analyses.

This design allowed comparisons among the three actors previously described. While the initial intend of this study was to compare the implementation of charitable choice in two State regions, unfortunately this was not possible because due to the events of September 11, 2001 this initiative was set aside for most of 2002. Emphasis on this initiative re-emerged in September 2002 when the state of Florida received funding to launch the Florida's Faith-Based Initiative, at which time planning efforts began.

## **Data Sources**

A unique strength of the case study is the possibility of integrating a variety of data sources that corroborate and augment the data collected from each source (Yin 1994: 8). Data sources in this case study included:

**Literature Review:** Data from an extensive body of literature that provided the conceptual framework for the analysis of the findings (Yin 1994:31). As such, the review follows an anthropological approach that includes anthropological orientations to the object of study as well as the historical background of related factors such as poverty, Catholic Social Teachings, the welfare system, the roles of charity and non-profit organizations, and the impact of welfare reform.

**Interviews:** Data from interviews conducted with selected individuals representing the Catholic Church, state agencies, and other organizations involved and/or impacted by welfare reform.

**Survey:** Data from a statewide survey conducted with the 24 Regional Workforce Boards.

**Document Review:** Data collected from documents, texts, and publications addressing State and Church policies regarding welfare reform and charitable choice issues.

## *Interviews*

Twenty two interviews were conducted with key informants who work as administrators and staff in Catholic Charities, the Florida Catholic Conference, the Allegany Foundation, State agencies, staff members from Florida's Senate

and House committees responsible for welfare and work development issues, the Florida Faith-Based Association, Florida Workforce Regions, and Regional Faith-Based networks.

There are seven Catholic dioceses in Florida: Archdiocese of Miami, Diocese of St. Petersburg, Diocese of Orlando, Diocese of St. Augustine, Diocese of Pensacola/Tallahassee, Diocese of Palm Beach, and Diocese of Venice. Catholic Charities Agencies are present in all the dioceses. Prior to data collection the researcher met with representatives from the Florida Catholic Conference to talk about the proposed study and to solicit their collaboration. The Florida Catholic Conference was receptive to the study and willing to participate. They proceeded by contacting all Catholic Charities' directors to inform them about the study and to advise them that the researcher would be contacting them. The researcher contacted each agency and set up interviews with the designated individuals. Interviews were also conducted with representatives from the Florida Catholic Conference.

The selection of interviewees from State agencies, legislative committees, representatives from the faith-community, and representatives from Florida's Workforce Regions followed a combination of a purposeful selection with a snowball approach (Bernard 1994). This responded to the fact that there are a limited number of individuals who have in-depth knowledge about charitable choice and the development of the faith-based initiative in Florida. This caused the original sampling design, which intended to be more systematic and to sample a larger number of individuals representing multiple sectors, to be altered

to accommodate to the circumstances surrounding the phenomenon being studied.

Interviews with representatives from Workforce Florida, Inc. and from legislative committees were part of the original purposeful sampling approach. Based on a revision of the description of the existing legislative committees two committees were selected: (1) The Senate Committee on Children and Families and (2) The House Committee on Workforce and Technical Skills. Upon contacting the Senate Committee on Children and Families the researcher was directed to the Senate Commerce Committee. Interviews with staff members from these committees directed the researcher to key individuals from Florida Workforce, Inc. and Florida Workforce Development Association who could provide additional information. The identification of these committees also served to identify State Senators and Legislators that by virtue of being part of those committees would be more knowledgeable about charitable choice. An interview with a representative from Workforce Florida, Inc. directed the researcher to the Florida Faith-Based Association and back to the Florida Catholic Conference. Contacts made to Florida Senators and Legislators led the researcher to the House Committee on Child and Family Security. Finally, a presentation in the Colloquium organized by the Department of Anthropology in 2002 led the researcher to the Allegany Foundation.

The snowball approach eventually came to an end as the names of the same individuals continued to emerge in the interviews. This served the researcher to conclude that a point of saturation (Crestwell 1998:56) had been

reached. As a final intend to ensure that all key individuals involved in the planning of the implementation of charitable choice and the Faith-Based Initiative had been contacted the researcher contacted the Governor's office requesting information about this effort but no response was received.

Individuals who participated in face-to-face interviews signed informed consents that outlined the purpose of this research study and ensured them confidentiality. The interviews lasted between 1 and 1 1/2 hours. These interviews were tape recorded for accuracy and once they were transcribed the tapes were erased. The transcriptions were assigned an identification number to prevent identification of the interviewees. Individuals who participated in telephone interviews and/or e-mail interviews received a copy of the informed consent signed by the researcher. Telephone interviews lasted between 30-45 minutes. Appendix A contains a sample of the informed consents provided to participants. A special exemption was obtained from the Independent Review Board (IRB) at the University of South Florida to accommodate to the constraints of telephone interviews and at the same time ensure the confidentiality of the informants.

The interviews were unstructured and varied in length depending on individual knowledge and involvement with the implementation of charitable choice. The interviews with Catholic Charities representatives and the Allegany Foundation followed a similar questioning route which focused on the following topics: interviewees understanding of welfare reform and charitable choice and their implementation, their views on the privatization of social services, how State policies and Catholic policies are merged into service delivery practices, the

salient characteristics of the population they serve, their images of the poor, their views about aspects of the reform they considered most difficult to implement, their efforts in helping shape policy at the local and State levels, and ways accountability issues are addressed. In addition, they were asked about the type of services they provide to support the entry of TANF recipients into the labor force, the provision of financial and food supplements to this population, and their views about the promotion of healthy marriages. The interviews with all other participants were mostly focused on the implementation of charitable choice and the Florida's faith-based initiative. Appendix B contains the questioning guides developed to assist the researcher in data collection.

### *Survey*

One of the contacts with the Florida Workforce Development Association resulted in the implementation of an informal e-mail poll that was sent to the 24 Workforce Regions to inquire about their inclusion of FBOs as service providers in their regions. The results of the survey are integrated in the interviews section.

### *Document Reviews*

Fifty-one documents published by state and federal agencies regarding charitable choice and the Faith-Based Initiative, including studies conducted by research agencies under federal contract were reviewed. Data were collected following the three established units/actors, which meant that the focus was on news releases from Catholic Charities, the Florida Catholic Conference, the

Florida Workforce Board, and the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives covering a three year period (1999-2002). Data were also obtained from federal agencies, other faith-based organizations, and research and advocacy oriented organizations. These documents are different from the literature included in the literature review chapter.

### ***Data Analysis***

The data collected were analyzed qualitatively, in keeping with the nature of this study which aims at responding “how” and “why” questions. The analysis consisted of a process of data description, analysis, and interpretation (Wolcott 1994:8). Data from primary sources were managed using the software Atlas.ti (Muhre 1997) and from secondary sources were organized using Word. All data were coded following the approach described by Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 28-30) of establishing categories and related codes. Establishing categories is a way of indexing the data while codes are heuristic devices that open the door to diverse analytical possibilities. The categories were developed using the study research questions as a guide. The initial codes addressed the multiple aspects contained within each category and the revised codes the aspects that were clearly defined following the results of the initial coding of the data.

Five coding categories were created: (1) Views of the poor: this category included any descriptive information about the poor and the difference between the manner in which the interviewees and documents referred to this population; (2) Impact of welfare reform: this category included information about the social,

economic, and political impact of this reform at the individual (TANF recipient) and at the private not for profit organization levels; (3) TANF reauthorization: this category included information about aspects of the safety-net considered by interviewees and documents as important to consider in the reauthorization process; (4) Charitable Choice: this category included any information about this legislation, its implementation, and views and opinions about it; and (5) Services provided by FBOs: this category included any information related to services being provided by FBOs under government contracts with particular emphasis on TANF related services, the regulations and accountability associated to those contracts, and future expectations about their sustainability.

Following the established categories and codes, the data were organized by code and reviewed to determine the accuracy of the coding process, identify coding duplication, establish similarities among codes, develop additional codes, and link similar ones. As a result some changes were made to the initial codes by merging some of them and eliminating those that did not provide any additional information and/or insight. This process lead to the emergence of data patterns that were contrasted with the study guiding questions and assumptions as a way to question the data and reach the level of interpretation desired to answer them. Table 1 displays a list of the coding categories and their respective codes prior and after revision.

Following the coding process data were classified into the three embedded units: FBO, Secular and Intersection. Data collected from each unit were analyzed separately in order to reach a level of generality of the findings as

established by Coffey and Atkinson (1996:116-117). In keeping with Yin's (1994:32) recommendation to have key informants review the findings to ensure their validity, the researcher distributed copies of their interview analysis to the Catholic Charities representatives who participated in this study as well as the representative from the Florida Faith-Based Association and asked them to contact her if they felt any of the information contained was inaccurate. No one responded.

**Table 1. Coding Categories**

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Initial Codes</b>	<b>Revised Codes</b>
Views of the poor	Description Differences Views	Description Differences
Impact of welfare reform	Social Economic Political Personal Non-profit Private	Social Economic Political Personal Non-profit
TANF reauthorization	Training Education Transportation Social services Health services	Transitional Other
Charitable choice	Impact Church vs. State Benefits Disadvantages Challenges Church and charitable choice State and charitable choice Advocacy	Impact Church vs. State Benefits Challenges Church and charitable choice State and charitable choice Behavior Accountability
Services provided by FBOs	Government contracts Services Compensation Accountability Behavior shaping Eligibility TANF related services Proselytism through services Future of safety net	Government contracts Advocacy Behavior shaping Eligibility TANF related services Proselytism through services Future of safety net

Building on the work of Spradley (1970:210-211) Coffey and Atkinson (1996:116-117) established six levels of reporting that are possible using this analytical approach and that might be identified in the findings. They are as follows:

- Universal statements: describe social actors, their behavior, culture, and their environment;
- Cross-cultural statements: statements about two or more societies including assertions that are true for some but not necessary for all;
- General statements about a group: combine generality with specificity to describe general points about a group;
- General statements about a specific cultural scene: statements that capture some of the themes of a particular social scene;
- Specific statements about a cultural domain: statements about how social actors use particular linguistic expressions to describe events, objects, and activities; and
- Specific incident statements: information that immediately takes the reader to a particular event or behavior that demonstrates cultural knowledge in action.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This literature review is intended to provide the anthropological framework and the historical contexts necessary for understanding the social and cultural processes that shape human experience and to determine the extent to which there is congruency between current social policies and the principles that are supposed to guide them. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section focuses on anthropological approaches to the study of poverty and the philosophical and political implications of economic policies toward the poor. This is particularly important considering that the current neo-liberal model in addition to making the poor responsible for their economic condition also represents an affront to basic human rights. Consequently, this section also includes a discussion on depolitization, since through its multiple manifestations it has been counterproductive to the continuous protection and enhancement of basic human rights and to people's participation in the political process.

The second section focuses on the historical background of poverty and of the social policies geared at reducing poverty in the United States, the roles that charitable and non-profit organizations have played in terms of shaping and implementing social policies, the 1996 welfare reform and its implementation in

Florida, the inclusion of charitable choice as part of this reform, and on the intersection between church and state. Understanding these contexts is central to the exploration of the policies that are the focus of this research study as well as the interpretation of the findings.

### **Anthropological Framework**

According to Levy “the test of the value of the anthropological perspective is its ability or inability to throw light on specifically historical phenomena” (1987:139). In keeping with this statement, this study uses an anthropological approach that draws on economic, humanistic and philosophical principles as the backdrop against which current policies surrounding welfare reform and in particular the charitable choice act contained within this reform are analyzed. This seems appropriate considering that the nature of this study is to examine a specific social policy that is having a significant impact on the current social welfare of a large sector of society: the poor. Although some ethnic minorities may be over represented among the poor, this study is not focused on any specific subgroup for two reasons: (1) considering that charitable choice is in its early stages of implementation, its impact on any populations could not be ascertained at the time of this research study and (2) because the purpose of the study was to look at a poverty related policy that cut across ethnicity, gender, age, and the social and cultural aspects associated with diverse populations. Thus, my intention in using this approach is not to explore the impact that current

welfare policies may have on diverse groups, but rather to explore how these policies impact their common humanity.

Current anthropological studies view poverty within the political, economic and ideological contexts shaping capitalistic processes and state activity (Goode and Maskovsky 2001; Newman 1998). This approach departs from previous studies (Leacock 1971; Valentine 1968; Katz 1989; Stack 1974; Eames and Goode 1973; Liebow 1967; Marks 1991) that intended to disprove the then dominant assumptions about the poor in terms of their behaviors, their social organization, their family composition, their values, and their survival strategies. While these studies represent important anthropological contributions, little emphasis was placed on the political context within which poverty was embedded. As a result authors of anthropological studies failed to impact dominant social policies that continued to focus on people's behavior and culture when addressing poverty. This led Goode and Maskovsky (2001:4-8) to suggest that approaches aimed at explaining poverty should include three interconnected processes: (1) *Economic polarization* which refers to the increased gap between the rich and the poor. This increased gap is closely related to the reorientation of government policies to service big capital at the expense of the labor force and to privatization efforts being made in the name of "cost effectiveness"; (2) *Political demobilization* which refers to the lack of political voice of the poor as a result of dismantling labor unions and vilification of the poor by describing them as a threat to the middle class; and (3) *Market triumphalism* which refers to the neo-liberal model that postulates the economic, social and moral value of "unhindered

competition and unregulated markets” and the role of the state in promoting free market. Central to the neo-liberal model are privatization efforts that eliminate the relationship between the poor and the state and that hinder the collective agency of the poor (Hyatt 2001:204). Furthermore, privatization results in inequity among the poor regardless of the many efforts made by this population to overcome and change their economic condition (Stack 2001, Hyatt 2001, Goode 2001, Ruben 2001, and Maskovsky 2001).

It is also important to consider other characteristics of capitalist systems such as: (1) the alienation of people from their subsistence, which turns them into a labor force dependent on wages. This dependency leaves people unable to participate in the labor force with no possibility to meet their basic needs; and (2) the intervention of governments in the institutionalization of economic policies that protect the economic interests of the ruling elites (Ward-Gailey 1991), thereby continuing to perpetuate the impoverishment of a larger sector of society. Consequently, economic policies that supposedly are intended to improve the conditions of the poor tend to have the opposite effect. The 1996 welfare reform represents a current example of such policies. Focusing on charitable choice, and applying the approach used by Finan, Fox and Langworthy (1991), it is possible to establish two ways in which government intervention has taken place to not only respond to private economic interests but also to implement other social objectives. These are: (1) through policy-making: this refers to the process of designing policies that appear to be neutral but that in reality are targeted to specific groups in the political economy of the country and that have an impact

on income distribution patterns, and (2) by creating the conditions to successfully implement charitable choice, which include enhancing the opportunities for FBOs to participate in federal funding, providing new interpretations of the separation of church and state, and manipulating existing funding streams to facilitate policy-implementation.

Littefield (1991:220-229) contends that historically, periods of policy reform have coincided with periods of major restructuring of the national and international economies and consequently with the deployment of labor, that serve the interests of specific groups. This can be observed through the changing economic policies toward the poor. Prior to the Depression, responsibility for the poor laid on the hands of charity, following Smith's (1982) economic theory, which made no provision for the unemployed, as he felt that the market would eventually accommodate them and therefore stipulated that the capital of the country was not to be utilized to subsidize the unemployed. With the Depression, the country's economic policies adopted a more Keynesian approach in that it recognized that one of the faults of the economic system was its failure to provide full employment and that in order to achieve this the traditional functions of government would have to be extended (1982:517). However, for Keynes the extension of the role of government did not preclude the enhancement of the private sector, which he espoused based on what he considered to be significant advantages of this model, which included: decentralization, efficiency, individual responsibility and self-interest (1982:518). This aspect of Keynes work is driving the privatization efforts of the neo-liberal

system that began the dismantling of the welfare state in the 1970s and that eventually resulted in the passing of the 1996 welfare reform.

The ineffectiveness of economic systems in providing for the basic needs of a sector of the population has constantly been a concern for social and economic scientists. George (1982) recognized the presence of economic distress among sectors of society in all types of communities back in the late 1800s when he stated that this distress could not be accounted for by local causes but by a common cause. He pointed to the fact that the presence of greater material abundance in a society also meant greater poverty and idleness. In other words, for him poverty was engendered by progress itself (1982:193-195). As part of his analysis, George concluded that poverty was caused by the unequal distribution of wealth, which was closely linked to the unequal distribution of land, and thus he suggested making land common property as one way to remedy poverty (1982:212). More importantly, George addressed ethical concerns about poverty by stating that “poverty in the midst of abundance springs from a denial of justice” because by allowing the monopolization of opportunities which nature freely offers to all, society has ignored the fundamental law of justice. Another relevant aspect of his argument pointed to the fact that granting equal political rights to all people would not “compensate for the denial of the equal right to the bounty of nature”, because political liberty without equal access to resources would become “the liberty to compete for employment at starvation wages” (1982:215). His arguments resonate with the current concerns of social scientists in regards to the neo-liberal model and the

reform of the welfare system, as well as with the humanistic and philosophical principles of anthropology. Both are important considerations, since as stated by Newfang (1936:ii) “economics and morals cannot be separated, if the purpose is to deal with the real world, and not with academic hypothesis in a vacuum”.

This is precisely the reason for using humanistic anthropology as the point of departure in this study’s inquiry and analysis. As stated by Grindal “...the proper study of humanistic anthropology must take as its premise our basic humanity, and secondarily, our condition as cultural creatures”. This is an effort that requires “asking profound moral questions about our place in the general human condition” (1993:46). This seems particularly appropriate considering that current welfare policies are stripping people of their right to have their basic needs met in an environment in which economic survival is highly dependent on a fluctuating market economy that requires people to be multi-skilled, highly competitive, flexible, and on top of it all to assume the responsibility for social and economic policies which they had no part in creating in the first place (Kushner 1988), a process described by Chomsky as an “attack against democracy, human rights, and even markets...” (1996:72). As part of this process of stripping people of these rights, the 1996 welfare reform opened the door for the government to transfer the responsibility of caring for the poor back to charitable and non-profit organizations that operate based on non-guaranteed government and private donations that may be discontinued as state and federal budgets shrink. Thus, in addition to people losing their entitlement to minimal economic security, accessing relief services may necessarily link them with

religious organizations and expose them to some form of religious indoctrination, which is also a violation of their Constitutional rights.

Addressing concerns about the erosion of human rights requires going back to the philosophical and humanistic principles that provided the basis for the development of political systems, particularly since our political system seems to have lost sight of them. A review of these principles would show that they should continue to serve as the golden rule against which we should contrast social policies. Recalling some of these principles as part of this dissertation research is quite appropriate considering that “an explicit philosophical anthropology is a necessary prologue to political, theoretical inquiry” (Levy 1987:31).

According to Skafté (1979) Kant’s contribution to anthropology dates back to 1841 when E.F. Edwards was the president of the Ethnological Association in Paris. The themes of Kant’s work that are vital to humanistic anthropology are: (1) the freedom of human will, (2) moral conduct and human rights, and (3) the self. Through his work, Kant elaborated the considerations that would promote human rights around the world; an effort that he viewed as a cross-cultural endeavor because it transcended the particular notions of right and wrong (1979:19). From Kant’s perspective, ethical principles are constructed according to rational procedures, rather than from naturalistic or religious processes. As such, moral principles were universal in the sense that in order for a statement to represent a moral principle it had to be applicable to everyone. Kant believed that morality began with the rejection of non-universalized principles. His philosophical approach is known as the Categorical Imperative, in which the

notion of human rights is included. Central to Kant's notion of human rights are the concepts of free will, respect for persons, beneficence, and justice.

Regarding these principles Kant felt that unless humans are free they cannot perceive the causality of their actions, and considering the different stages of freedom experienced by individuals, then people should be treated simultaneously as means and as ends. This means that people should support each other's capacities to act, to make decisions, and to pursue their goals. An effort that requires some beneficence, at least in the sense that people should not be denied needed help, and respect for human dignity. For Kant, to be autonomous was to act morally (O'Neill 1991:177-179).

Skaft's comments are corroborated by Wilk's (1991) discussion of humanistic anthropology. In Wilk's view there are two types of humanism: secular and scientific. Secular humanism has to do with the recognition of a natural truth, which reflects the capacity of human minds to creatively adapt and adjust to natural truth, while scientific humanism is concerned with the relationship between 'is' and 'ought'. For Wilk the two types of humanism are not mutually exclusive, rather they are stages of the process that lead us to the discovery of our common humanity. Thus, anthropology is "the science where one can discover one's humanity" (Wilk 1991:37-39).

Levy (1987) explains the concept of human nature by relying on the theory of evolution, the principles of philosophical anthropology, and the recognition that humans are political beings and as such political action represents a vehicle for culture making. The theory of evolution serves to explain that species develop

through their interaction with the environment and that the balance of features within a population alters depending upon its worldly context. In the case of humans, that context is increasingly the product of our own world-transforming activity, since as humans we are constantly remaking ourselves through our experiences (Levy 1987:2). Philosophical anthropology is useful in explaining and defining certain features of human experience such as humanity's role in the development of political systems and social institutions aimed at meeting their physical and intellectual needs. Levy builds on the concepts previously discussed to explain that humans' relationship with the environment involves their ability to choose and consequently to speak of choice is to speak of freedom. He states that humans are endowed with a high degree of free will which allows them to interact with the environment beyond their need for satisfying their basic needs and therefore are able to "say no" to their immediate environment. He adds that humans possess self-consciousness and the ability to establish causal relations between experiences. Consequently, the relationship between humans and their environment is not static (1987:8). In terms of political action as a human characteristic, Levy (1987:50-52) explains that the universal "natural" condition of humans is to be cultural beings. This allows them to create a balance between themselves and the world that is lacking at the organic level of their existence. So in a sense, political order is the vehicle through which humans may exercise their relative freedom to balance their basic as well as their higher needs. A balance that can only be maintained through a process that guarantees their survival and the preservation of their world. So it was through the formation of institutions that

humans integrated the order of power with the order of meaning. However, this order has to be in agreement with the order of the world humans inhabit. This implies that the "...political order must not merely be, it must be right, this means it must be in accord with the order of being as a whole" (1987:57-59).

Furthermore, the institutions that make the political order must be a reflection of the people they represent, other wise they loose their power.

This is precisely what has been happening in the United States with our political system, where the connection between philosophy and every day life has been lost and where people's participation in the political process is not truly desired. According to Boggs (2000:40), this disconnection has depoliticized our political process and consequently opposition to the status quo has been "dispersed if not completely eliminated". Boggs claims that the existing anti-political climate has been fostered by corporate growth with its power to commodify most human activities, through their ownership of mass media and their ability to manipulate electoral and legislative politics to serve their own purposes. This power is permanently reproduced and reinforced through the constant rationalization of the existing economic structures and an increased atomization of social life outside the confines of the corporation (2000:69-72). In addition, Boggs claims that the removal of the decision-making from the public sphere also comes from the institutionalized merging of key powers such as government, corporate, military and to an extent labor. This, in turn is facilitating "corporate colonization" (2000:86).

Boggs' theory is supported by Chomsky (1996), who also points at corporations as the place where policies emerge, creating an inversion of the democratic process, in which policies should emanate from popular choice. He refers to this removal of the center of decision making from the public eye as "forms of private tyranny" that have been crafted by the judicial system in the process of developing a state that serves private interests. Chomsky also converges with Boggs in his analysis of how corporate power is using existing media resources to win "the everlasting battle for the minds of men" and manufacture consent among them (1996:71-72).

This political transformation/depoliticization has significant human implications. Of particular relevance to this study is the continuous displacement of large segments of the labor force resulting from the market economy, mergers, and technological development that are leaving millions of people unemployed or underemployed. Millions of jobs are being replaced with low-wage service-oriented jobs that are increasing the level of poverty, and that no longer provide workers with a sense of social cohesiveness (Boggs 2000:50-51).

As politics become increasingly subordinated by private interests government agendas tend to have a shorter-term focus and hardly any attention is given to the larger vision that would consider the purpose of human experience that goes beyond corporate life. In addition, resource allocation is limited and the differences between rich and poor are increasing as well as the hostility towards politics and government (2000:76-88). This is a complex process that by cutting

across social and human dimensions makes it very difficult to determine what is being rejected and ways to address the rejection (2000:94).

However, it is through this rejection of the political system that people are consenting to the removal of their human rights. In his discussion on human rights, Kushner (1988: 29-38) highlights self-determination, participation in governance, and the relation between the state and the impacted communities, which in this study are the poor, as central to the process of reassuring those rights. Ironically, people tend to view their decision not to participate as a way to exercise their rights and are blinded to the fact that by not participating they may be giving up their rights. According to Downing (1988:10-13), the subtlety of such situations, the complexity that surrounds them, and the prevailing norms of society are some of the reasons that prevent people from grasping the full meaning of their actions. If one considers that individualism and self reliance represent distinctive American norms (Wolfe 2000), then one can better understand that in supporting the 1996 welfare reform, the public was responding to internalized norms and therefore and was blinded to the less evident consequences of this social reform. There is an extensive body of literature on American individualism that includes scholars such as Hsu (1983), Hofstede (1980), and Vogt (1955). However, that literature was not included in this revision since individualism was not one of the variables explored in this study.

The manner in which human rights are formalized in society enhances the complexity of the political process and the way people interact with it. Downing (1988:10-13) mentions that there are seven dimensions of human rights one of

which is the option to deny individuals “access to certain human rights as a sanction necessary for social control”. In this manner, state institutions “simultaneously protect and deny human rights”. This duality is what seems to be at play when it comes to political participation. At a larger level, it also means that even if a particular state/country has agreed to a common set of human rights, as the United States has done in their support of the United Nation’s declaration of human rights, which includes that

*Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. [Chomsky 1999:76, emphasis added]*

these rights are not necessarily reflected in the country’s internal dealings on human rights issues. In other words, human rights may exist at the level of theory but not at the level of practice (Wolfram 1988: 109).

This disconnect between theory and practice is also linked to the diffusion of power outside of the institutions created to serve the common good, and to the relation between ideas and domination established by Foucault. In his discussion on domination, Gordon (2002:125-126) uses Foucault to describe the process through which consent is manufactured in society in order to produce norms and shape behaviors in such an intricate manner that decision-making is no longer a manifestation of free choice. This is a process that normalizes the presence of social hierarchies while at the same time depoliticizes and rationalizes iniquitous social relations. As such social control is no longer seen as a negative but as part

of the identity and interest of people. Gordon explains the process of social control as taking place through: (a) discourse, (b) fields of research that are funded, (c) normalization by conceiving a situation or action as natural rather than a social construction, (d) the lack of neutrality of institutions that follow a concealed agenda, and (e) the invisibility of power which tends to be located in the language used (2002:127-128).

While an in-depth discussion of the process of social control is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to point that for Foucault the legitimating force of discourse was supported by the fact that even the opponent voices use the same discourse, which is part of the deployment of power. Another important aspect of his analysis refers to the new political rationality in which individuals are viewed as a resource/object. Thus individuals are of interest only to the extent that they contribute to strengthen the state (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1983:130-139).

Having established some of the consequences of depolitization and domination, it is important to also consider ways to overcome them. In this regard, Boggs (2000) discusses the emergence of community-based groups in the 1970s. These groups were influenced by Alinsky's ideas and were aimed at empowering people and communities. Boggs reports that by the 1980s there were around 500,000 local organizations with membership of more than five million people (2000:187). Despite the many achievements of these organizations, Boggs states that because these organizations tend to focus on their local accomplishments and on the protection of their gains, they feel they owe little to larger society. Consequently, they have failed to see their struggles

as part of the larger picture and the need to reach out to other spheres in order to promote social change (2000:189). While Boggs believes that grassroots organizations are an important piece of a transformative agenda, he argues that in a depoliticized system is very difficult for these organizations to achieve any real transformation considering that the American political system was designed to provide space for local participation apart from the federal apparatus. He contends that under such circumstances it is difficult for even the most organized and sustained grass root effort to destabilize the power structure (2000:191). Although Boggs does not presently see any signs of a repolitization process, he believes that such a process will depend on the coalescing of multiple forms of local opposition around common goals such as the democratization of economic and political life (2000:266).

Such efforts must be assisted by individuals who as suggested by Foucault (Bernauer 1990:150) have a historical perspective of the political process and can identify where the hold of power of the political system is as well as its areas of weakness. Furthermore, he adds that the capacity of these individuals to promote change is not based on their discourse abilities but on their knowledge of the institutions and the system that allow them to question them.

The anthropological study of policy can play a significant role in the promotion of social change, considering that policies are anthropological phenomena that can be read as:

*...cultural texts, classificatory devices with various meanings, as narratives to justify or condemn the present, or as rhetorical devices and discursive formations that function to empower some people and silence others. [Shore and Wright 1997:7, emphasis added]*

Policy studies serve to counteract the somewhat common belief that policies are ideologically neutral and above morality. An examination of the relationship between policy and morality shows that both are guided by philosophical principles and rationality. However, whereas morality is concerned with ethics, policies are concerned with practice and efficiency (1997:10). Despite the notion that policies are intended to increase the efficiency of the system, policies are usually unclear and making sense of them requires examining legislative documents, political speeches, mandates, and their actual implementation. Such examinations represent a way of 'studying through' by analyzing connections between policy levels and the various social processes in order to trace the webs of power that link "actors, institutions, and discourses across time and space" (1997:14). This is central to the anthropological study of poverty because by understanding the relationship between politics and policies and between policies and programs anthropologists would be better able to contribute to the policy-making process (Spicer 1966).

### **Historical Background**

Central to the anthropological approach is placing the object of research in its proper historical background so that one may be better able to understand the different players and forces that have made current situations what they are. In

terms of welfare policies and the interrelation of church and state, the historical background is broad. For this reason, only those aspects considered more relevant to this study and that contributed to answering the study's guiding questions were considered when reviewing the literature. These questions aimed at: (1) determining the overall impact of the 1996 welfare reform, including its impact on non-profit organizations such as Catholic Charities, (2) exploring the images of the poor held by Catholic Charities and government, and (3) assessing the impact of the implementation of charitable choice in the church-state relationship.

### ***Poverty***

Understanding poverty is central to this study because the reform of the welfare system directly impacts the poor. The concept of poverty is one that may have many meanings and interpretations depending on the approach used in its definition or the perspectives of those attempting to define it. However, for the purposes of this review, poverty is defined according to Stein (1971:5), who proposes that poverty may mean any of the following things: as not having enough, having less than most people, or not having the basic necessities such as food, shelter, clothing, and whatever else a person needs to live. Another way to define poverty is by contrasting the income of the poor with the non-poor. Most importantly, Stein points out that the difference between the two definitions is determined by public policy, since these policies are an effort to establish the need for relief and the form of the relief to be provided. Currently in the U.S.

poverty is measured using the standard developed by Mollie Orshansky's in the early 1960s. This measure is based on two factors: the costs assumed necessary to meet the basic food needs of low-income families of various sizes and the share of income spent on food by all families (Bernstein 2001:5). Other than adjusting for price changes, the measure has not been updated since its adoption. However, according to Bernstein (2001) this measure is out of date and other measures are being proposed. Experts associated with the Northwestern University/University of Chicago Joint Center for Poverty Research (Joint Center for Poverty Research 2001), reported that the poverty rates released by the U.S. Census Bureau ignore both the expenses that families incur, such as taxes, child care and medical expenses, as well as many of the benefits they receive such as food stamps and Earned Income Tax Credit, in calculating poverty rates. In addition, their report highlighted the fact that the Census Bureau continues to rely on a measure developed 38 years ago which does not take into account the basic needs of families and does not adjust for cost-of-living differences in large cities compared to rural communities. These claims are supported by many poverty experts (Bulletin 2002) who argue that family incomes at or just above the official poverty income threshold do not provide families with their basic necessities, especially in cities like New York, San Francisco and Washington, D.C., where housing is so expensive. Another concern regarding poverty measures is that focusing on single poverty spells can downplay how frequently some families move in and out of poverty and, as a result, spend much of their lives in poverty. According to the Bulletin (2002:12), a recent study showed that

about one-half of the people who escape poverty fall back into it within four years.

Throughout history, government, religious, and nonprofit organizations have shaped social policies towards the poor. In certain respects these organizations have been and are interdependent on each other in their efforts to serve the poor. Some religious organizations as well as nonprofits depend on government funding for some of the services they provide to the poor (Queen II 2000b:16-17) and in turn the government depends on these organizations to expand the network of social supports available to the poor. However, this interdependence has not always been balanced. Rather, this responsibility has shifted from the private (FBOs and nonprofits) to the public sectors depending on the political and economic circumstances of the times (Abramovitz 1986:257). The creation of the welfare state in the early 1900s transferred most of the responsibility from the private sector to the state, and with the passing of the 1996 welfare reform, the state is looking for ways to transfer some of those responsibilities back to religious organizations and nonprofits. These changes will once again shift the balance between the public and private sectors regarding their responsibility in caring for the poor.

Looking at the historical trajectory of government policies towards the poor as well as the manner in which FBOs and nonprofits have attempted to influence social policy is, therefore, central to understanding current policies and how these organizations are responding and adapting to them. The following

summaries highlight some of the factors that have shaped public policy regarding the poor.

### ***Government Policies***

Public assistance programs aimed at providing social security to individuals emerged from the English Poor Law of 1601. The Poor Laws statute was established during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, and was amended only under extreme pressure, such as natural disasters, the breakdown of the church with its formal role in charity, and the transition from a feudal social and economic system to the beginnings of a capitalist system (Stein 1971; Trattner 1999). Some of the amendments to the Law (Reamer 1993; Stein 1971:42) were the Gilbert Act in 1782, the Reform Bill of 1834, and the 1935 Social Security Act in the United States.

The Elizabethan Poor Law was a national law that required local jurisdictions to maintain their own poor by using a portion of their taxes earmarked for this purpose (Stein 1971:49). The Reform Bill of 1834 emphasized the belief that poverty was no longer the result of economic conditions, but rather the result of personal characteristics, such as the moral inferiority of individuals (Reamer 1993). As a result, public assistance for able-bodied individuals ended, except in public institutions, also known as indoor relief. Public aid needed to be given as cautiously and carefully as possible because it could increase the individual's dependence. The purpose of the Gilbert's Act was to separate the employable from the unemployable (Stein

1971:49). The latter were considered to be deserving of assistance and separate poor houses were established for them.

The distinction between the “deserving” and “undeserving” poor was clearly established in the United States by the mid-nineteenth century as reflected by the Yates Report, a strong influence on social welfare policy, during that time. Based on a survey of public relief conducted in New York in 1824 the report recommended that employable individuals between the ages of 18 and 50 should not be given public assistance, and that only institutional relief should be provided for the old, the young, and the disabled (Trattner 1999). The “deserving” poor were provided indoor relief.

The creation of public assistance programs in addition to providing relief to families in need also served as a vehicle to perpetuate the characterization of the poor into the two distinctive groups: the deserving and undeserving poor. A study conducted by Loseke and Fawcett (1995) discusses how the yearly charity campaigns initiated by the New York Times in 1912 served to shape the public's image of the poor by emphasizing those characteristics that made them morally worthy of assistance. The morally worthy poor were portrayed as hard working people, fighting against all sorts of adversity (i.e., death or illness of main breadwinner), until the point where they could no longer meet their basic needs and family responsibilities. In addition, the morally worthy were always portrayed as good citizens who regardless of their situation would always abide by the established social and moral norms (Shaw Lowell 1971). These descriptions of the deserving poor served to define the characteristics of the undeserving poor,

who possessed the opposite characteristics of the deserving poor. In other words, they represented those persons who did not abide by the social norms requiring all individuals to work hard and to display acceptable moral behavior. Goode and Maskovsky (2001:8) contend that with the emergence of the new market ideology the distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor has been reshaped in a way that the deserving poor are those who embrace the notions of consumerism, voluntarism and self-help, and the undeserving poor are those who continue to depend on the state. These perceptions about the poor not only influence the perceptions of the general public, but are also reflected in welfare policies. Peterson (1997) states that welfare policies reflect the belief that poverty is the result of moral breakdown and that holding such images of the poor allows for the stigmatization and further degradation of welfare recipients.

The economic crisis that affected the United States during the Great Depression set the stage for the creation of many social programs aimed at providing economic relief to American families. Like many of the programs developed during the New Deal in the 1930s, the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program was created to provide temporary relief to widows and to those women who were the victims of unusual circumstances such as being abandoned by their husbands. For these women, the need for welfare in an industrial society was in accordance with the patriarchal system that had discouraged their financial independence, encouraging them to depend on men and marriage (Abramovitz 1988, Gordon, Piven, and Cloward 1988) a dependency that, according to Gordon, Piven, and Cloward (1988), was not

traditional but rather a creation of the industrial society. Just as women's dependency was a creation of the industrial society, the emergence of racist social policies was an effort to keep racial minorities from having equal access to resources and opportunities. According to Thomas and Horton (1992:3), the works of Glazer and Moynihan in the 1960s were instrumental in creating the perception that the structure of African-American families had been so weakened by slavery that they could no longer provide the basis for lifting their communities out of economic hardship. It was this kind of thinking that created the perception that being poor was equivalent to being African-American and that promoted the development of welfare programs aimed at keeping them poor. This perception was greatly influenced by Lewis' (1985) theory of the culture of poverty (Goode and Maskovsky 2001). This ideology still remains even after many social studies (Stack 1974, Newman 1992, Williams 1992, Hyatt 1995) have disproved this theory. As a result of this stigma racial minorities face greater challenges in their efforts to lift themselves from poverty.

According to Bellah et al (1986), the conditions resulting from the economic collapse of 1929 brought about a debate between those in favor of protecting private capital, Neocapitalism, and those who supported the New Deal policies known as Welfare Liberalism in which government places a central role in balancing the behavior of the market to protect the interests of its citizens. However, both political currents agreed on the idea that the aim of society was to ensure the well being of their citizens. The economic prosperity between 1950 and 1970 reinforced the views sponsored by Welfare Liberalism and prompted

the supporters of Neocapitalism to develop a critique of the former based on the economic difficulties of the 1970s. This debate set the stage for the Regan administration to promote the dismantling of the welfare state in the 1980s, reinforcing Neocapitalist views, which place individuals as primary responsible for their well being in a free market context.

This period also coincided with the deterioration of inner-city neighborhoods- the loss of jobs in the central cities, “white” flight from these neighborhoods, the conflict between the use and exchange value of real estate, and urban renewal- all conditions that were exacerbated by racist attitudes and that resulted in an increased dependency of low income families on the welfare system (Greenbaum 1993; Medoff and Sklar 1994; Silver and Moeser 1995; Yelvington 1992). High unemployment in the inner-city was related to the process of de-industrialization that started in the United States since 1948. This caused the loss of millions of manufacturing, wholesale, and retail jobs by the largest metropolitan areas and a simultaneous job increase in the suburbs between 1954 and 1963 (Block et al 1987; Mullings 1987). The emergence of new businesses in the suburbs benefited middle class families and disinvested inner-city communities.

According to Block et al (1987), the issues surrounding poverty are complex and consequently it is difficult to suggest clear-cut answers. Particularly, because this is a highly politically charged topic in which the economic elements are closely link to political thought. At the time, the authors recognized that while the welfare state may not be the ideal situation for every one, its elimination,

however, it is not the best solution considering that the fluctuating economy, the globalization of the economy, and the limited access to resources by a large segment of the population have a direct impact in the rates of utilization of the welfare state.

Throughout the years, the number of AFDC recipients grew steadily. Between 1971 and 1981 the number of cases rose by more than 50 percent (Mann & Abelda 1989). This increase coincided with changes in the political arena that reinforced the attack on the welfare state. Wolch (1990) contends that during this time the New Right arguments stressing individual and family responsibility were well received by a wide audience just as the social welfare needs of the population were increasing due to the economic policies of the times, marking the beginning of the restructuring of the welfare state. Also during this period the AFDC program was serving approximately four million adults, mostly single mothers, and more than seven million children (DeParle 1997). As the numbers grew, so did the government's concern, which responded with the creation of programs to help AFDC recipients become self-sufficient. In 1988 the Family Support Act was enacted. This Act called for the provision of education, childcare, transportation, and any other needs welfare recipients needed in order to make the transition to self-sufficiency. Most of the programs implemented at this time were not mandatory and their success was limited. Studies conducted by the Manpower Research Demonstration Corporation, a nonprofit research center in New York City, concluded that these programs lacked both the funds and the long-term commitment required to help women and their children

improve their economic conditions. In other words, and as suggested by Griffen (1992), it appeared as if the purpose of this Act was to prune the welfare rolls and not to improve the lives of those it served.

Block et al 1987 and Piven and Cloward 1981, contend that historically employers have opposed the welfare state, in part because they tend to think that when people are provided for they would stop making efforts to work.

While this may be the situation in some cases, the authors also state that the presence of social supports allows people to search for working conditions that are more favorable to them and in many cases not so favorable for employers. Some of the reasons this condition may be unfavorable for employers are: (1) Income maintenance programs support higher wages even when unemployment rates are high. The programs prevent the unemployed from feeling so desperate as to having to take any job at any pay.

Consequently, this condition creates a reserve of workers who are instrumental in preventing the wage levels from dropping. (2) The presence of income maintenance programs provides a sense of security to the employed. Knowing of the existence of a safety net, employees are less willing to put up with unacceptable working conditions. (3) The welfare state is a way to ensure capital accumulation and social harmony. This is accomplished by lowering the cost to employers of having a solid work force and by creating programs to limit the discontent among the less fortunate ones.

These authors (Block et al 1987, Piven and Cloward 1981) also identified the effects of the reduction of the income maintenance program on the poor. These are: an increased level of insecurity among the unemployed, a requirement that the unemployable find work, which in turn may create additional unemployment, and increased insecurity among the working poor. The tensions that these new measures may bring have resulted in the politicization of the economy, which in turn is propelling the administration to make structural changes intended at separating politics from the economy. An example of this pursuit is the tax cuts, which by reducing revenue impose limitations on future government expenditures, including expenditures in social programs. This also limits social conflicts since the government may be able to blame their inability to provide social relief on their lack of resources rather than on government policy. Wolpertt (2002) believes that the Contract with America, which was endorsed by the Republican congressional candidates in the 1994 and became the official legislative agenda of Congress in 1995 has become the crux of a debate over how much responsibility the federal government can and should pass on to state and local governments and private charities.

The passing of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of 1996 with its focus on individuals as being responsible for their economic condition set a new course for the welfare system and for the way people are expected to address and meet their social needs (Wolfe 2000). The reform is based on the concept of devolution of

power to the states to allow them to design their own welfare programs and in the privatization of services.

Privatization has been a strong undercurrent in shaping the 1996 welfare reform and its implementation. As such, it is important to understand some of the premises regarding this concept and how it has been integrated into social policies. According to Nasu (1992:84-89), privatization is part of the modern plural society. Nasu's analysis of privatization theory refers to this phenomenon as one in which people lose the relationships they previously had with social institutions and at the same time free themselves from the constraints imposed by these institutions, even if these relationships have been weakening for some time. Thus privatization suggests enhanced freedom on the part of the population on their ability to select what they want based on their personal preferences. This shift from the public to the private sphere also suggests that the private sphere becomes the arena in which social change takes place. However, Nasu contends that there are two reasons that prevent this from being so: (1) The private sphere is totally invaded by the public sphere and (2) The private sphere tends to isolate people into groups defined by personal preference or identity, which may limit their ability to promote social change.

This fragmentation of the population impacts the very notion of citizenship as carrying with it particular rights, social as well as political, which are intended to include rather than exclude people and to benefit all equally. Coburn (2000:141) states that neo-liberals generally view anything in the 'public' sphere as something, which would benefit from privatization. In other words, what is

private is valued and what is public is denigrated. In this context, Coburn asserts that programs that follow a more neo-liberal approach not only are exclusionary of people but also are exclusionary in 'privatizing' the negative effects of market mechanisms. As such, individuals and families become responsible for the negative effects of privatization rather than the structure of opportunities within society.

Devolution and privatization represent some of the fears and concerns expressed by FBOs, nonprofits, and the public in general regarding charitable choice, considering that a strong privatization of social services started in the 1970s when the government increased their reliance on service contracts, coinsurance, and the distribution of welfare provision through the fringe benefit system (Abramovitz and Epstein 1983:13). It was also during this period that influential policy institutes, both conservatives and liberals, began to reconsider welfare policies. Stoesz (1987:8-10) states that one of the manifestations of privatization was the emergence of private health and welfare corporations that were responding to an increased demand in this market. As a result, the private sector began to dominate certain aspects of the human services market and consequently was able to take a strong position in shaping the markets they serve as well as government policies.

As is the case with any social policy, privatization has its supporters and its critics. The role of privatization in the process of adapting social services to the private industry is significant (Abramovitz 1986:262) and continues to be a concern for FBOs and nonprofit organizations. Accountability and a decrease in

public oversight are two aspects of privatization that were not discussed in the literature reviewed regarding the privatization of social services. However, these are important issues that will be considered during data collection.

### ***Nonprofit and Faith-Based Organizations***

In this section, the roles of charitable organizations including foundations and philanthropic organizations and ways they have influenced social policies in the United States are discussed. This discussion is relevant to this study considering current government efforts to transfer the care for the poor to these organizations, in particular to FBOs, which might result in increased funding competition among secular and religious nonprofits.

The existence of nonprofits precedes the establishment of public aid. Historically, churches, ethnic groups, fraternal associations, and self-help groups have created these organizations. While their roles and policies may differ in some ways, devolution and privatization efforts may tend to homogenize these organizations, as they have to comply with government regulations in their delivery of social services.

### ***Charity Organizations***

Charity that expands beyond self-help groups relies on the existence of a class of wealthy persons for funding. Some of the reasons that have historically motivated the wealthy into the creation of charitable organizations are: compassion, distaste for the appearances of poverty, certain fear of government

intervention, a preference for voluntarism rather than taxation, and having a good feeling about their actions towards the poor (Stein 1971:56). For the most part, the provision of charity by non-religious organizations followed the distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor previously established.

Charity Organization Societies (SOCs) began operating in England in the 1860s and were introduced in Buffalo, New York in 1878. Their approach was based on making friendly visits to families in need to investigate their background, behaviors, and attitudes in order to advise them about appropriate behavior and help them improve their conditions (Katz 1990:228-229). According to Mandler (1990:13) these visits tended to emphasize morals and behavior rather than the provision of relief. This was in keeping with the existing fear that charity provision may promote pauperism among the recipients.

Devine (1971: 12) contends that this concept of charity was harmful in the sense that it helped perpetuate a class distinction between the donor and the receiver. In this regard, Katz (1990:227) reinforces Devine's statement by adding that while charity provision brought women from two distinct social classes together (donor and recipient), the type of relationship established among them also reinforced the distance between them. Considering the complexity of these relationships, Devine sees public policy as the context in which democracy and charity may be jointly articulated.

According to Wolpertt (2002) this is precisely what began taking place in the 1980s as public policies regarding public relief began exploring the capacity of volunteer organizations to fill social service gaps and to assume some of the

government's responsibilities in these areas. As a result of these efforts, charitable giving became popular again. Currently charitable nonprofit organizations are accountable for about 7% of the national income and about 6% of total U.S. employment. In terms of their growth, Lampkin and Stevenson (2001) reported that the number of public charities that engage in programs and services grew 78% from 1989 to 1999, their expenses grew to almost \$680 billion, and their assets rose 71% to over \$1.2 trillion. According to the authors, these numbers do not include small organizations that are not required to file taxes.

Despite the increased involvement of charitable and nonprofit organizations in social service delivery, transferring of these roles to charitable organizations requires that a clear distinction be made between the donors and the recipients, particularly in terms of the values and norms underlying charitable giving (Mandler 1990:28). This concern is more extensively discussed under the Charitable Choice section of this proposal.

### *Nonprofit Organizations*

Two principles guided the operation of nonprofits when they first came to be: (1) the wealthy preferred a systematic approach to the distribution of aid, and (2) the undeserving poor needed to be rehabilitated (Stein 1971:58). These views were reflected in the way foundations attempted to make a distinction between charity and philanthropy at the beginning of the twentieth century in that charity was interested in serving the poor and philanthropy in identifying the causes of

poverty (Karl & Karl 1999:56-57). This distinction between charity and philanthropy marked the beginning of a partnership between government and the philanthropic world.

During and long after the postwar (WWII) years, the state increasingly depended on voluntary bodies, such as universities, research institutes, and foundations to develop policies and implementation plans for the delivery of social services. This partnership was viewed as one in which the government provided funding and foundations ideas (Boris 1999:6; Wolch 1990:52). Bellah et al (1986:258) add that to this day many research universities, museums and other social institutions that in other countries would be run by government are administered by “private” organizations.

In 1981 the Reagan administration began questioning this partnership and the President appointed a President’s Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives. This created a sense of hopelessness and anger among the supporters of social services in the 1970s because the Reagan administration rather than looking at the philanthropic world as a place from which to develop new ideas for social progress, viewed these organizations as a useful resource (money and volunteers) to carry out government policies. In a sense the Task Force began promoting the idea that the private sector should have greater responsibility in solving society’s problems (Boris 1990; Karl & Karl 1999; Katz 1990; Lenkowsky 1999). This new way of looking at the private sector set in motion a debate regarding the distinction between the public and private sectors aimed at shifting some of the responsibilities for the poor from the government to the private

sector. Particularly when nonprofit organizations often surpass private companies in providing career opportunities for women and members of racial and ethnic minorities, even if at lower salary and benefit levels than in the private sector (Wolpert 2002).

At the center of this debate stand the opposing views of the conservatives who believe that the federal government should reduce its funding of social services and nonprofits and of the liberals who believe that government support is necessary for the provision of adequate services for those in need (Gronbjerg & Rathgeb-Smith 1999:140). The debate, however, has not stopped government policies from moving towards privatization and devolution of social services.

The passing of the welfare reform in August 1996 devolved responsibility for welfare programs to the states. The reform allows states to design their own welfare programs as long as they follow the federal mandates. In this regard, devolution may not be as devolutionary as people are led to believe. The new regulations are important because states will rely on nonprofits for the provision of services to the welfare population (Gronbjerg & Rathgeb Smith 1999; Lenkowsky 1999), and are forcing the nonprofit sector to direct their efforts to local communities and to rethink their role in the social service arena.

Another challenge being faced by nonprofits receiving funding from corporations is increased pressure from these entities to link their donations to profitable activities. Coupled with the trend that expects nonprofits to become less dependent on government and at the same time more lean and effective, nonprofits are being forced into for profit activities as a way to remain in

operation, which may cause the blurring of the line between non-profit and for profit organizations (Boris 1990:3; Gronbjerg & Rathgeb Smith 1999:159-160). In addition, nonprofits are facing increased competition from FBOs that provide human services and are eligible for government funding as a result of the Charitable Choice provision of the welfare reform.

An important role played by nonprofits throughout their existence has been that of advocates for the poor and for social policies intended to improve their conditions. Boris (1990:2) believes that this new approach threatens to silence the voices of nonprofits as emphasis is placed on the delivery of social services to the exclusion of other important roles played by these organizations. Following the enactment of the 1997 Istook Amendment, intended to curtail the type and level of advocacy allowed nonprofits receiving federal funding, many nonprofits became increasingly aware of any activities that could be considered political advocacy. The intention of this Amendment was to severely limit the ability of non-profit organizations receiving federal funds to advocate on policy or legislative issues at any level of government. As a result nonprofits have limited some of their advocacy efforts and instead are spending more time making sure they are not stepping over their boundaries (Gronbjerg & Rathgeb Smith 1999: 163). Their increased reliance on government funding as well as their increased participation in the provision of human services is also undermining their ability to advocate for the development of more just social policies. Boris (1990) is of the opinion that efforts to limit the engagement of nonprofits in policy development

must be carefully examined considering their historical social role and the fact that the private sector does not face similar restrictions in their lobbying efforts.

Wolch views the increased participation of nonprofits in the provision of social services as the emergence of a shadow state. In her view this shadow state is

*A parastate apparatus comprised of multiple voluntary sector organizations administered outside of traditional democratic politics and charged with major collective service responsibilities previously shouldered by the public sector yet remaining within the purview of state control. [Wolch 1990:XVI, emphasis added]*

Wolch explains that this is a complex process in that the expansion of the voluntary sector has prompted state efforts to promote voluntarism. She adds that the pragmatic argument emphasized by Neo-conservatives revolves around four factors related to voluntary service delivery: (1) It is efficient, less expensive than government, and promotes competition and economies of scale; (2) It allows the state to fund and oversee programs while giving voluntary organizations the flexibility necessary to address local needs; (3) It increases the stock of human services without increasing the size of government; and (4) Funding voluntary groups is a good way to insure the political support of affected groups and of incorporating them into the political system.

One of the key arguments presented by Wolch (1990:16) is that the emergence of the shadow state is linked to the recent transformations of the welfare state (devolution and privatization of human services) that enhanced the significance of voluntary organizations. This is the result of a long

interdependence of voluntary groups and the state that in some ways increased these groups' political influence but also is constraining their activism.

### *Catholic Charitable Organizations*

This section summarizes the historical background of two Catholic organizations dedicated to helping the poor, Catholic Charities and the Catholic Worker, and some of the premises of the Catholic Social Doctrine regarding the poor. This summary is central to this study considering that Catholic Charities was used as a case study in this research.

In contrast with the secular view of the poor, the Catholic Church holds a communitarian view that highlights the belief in human dignity and that recognizes individuals as part of a larger community in which every individual is responsible for the welfare of others. This is evident in the Catholic Church policies or doctrines that guide the functioning of the institution as well as the lives of its members. These policies are expressed through documents published by the Vatican. In many instances the elected Popes author these documents. Starting in 1891 the documents published by the Vatican represent what is known as the *Catholic social thought*. These documents are intended to address the social condition of humanity and suggest ways to ensure that their lives are endowed with the Gospel's wisdom

Long before the establishment of public assistance programs, Catholic missionaries and religious orders provided care to the needy (Catholic Charities USA 2000). They introduced a form of charity to the United States that was less

judgmental and demanding (Allahyari 2000:31). Following their religious beliefs, Catholics have historically been concerned with issues of social justice and welfare. According to Brown and McKeon, (1997:1), “Catholics have played a crucial but largely undocumented role in the evolution of American welfare.” This became evident during the New Deal debates over social security when Bishop Aloisius Muench rose and stated, “the poor belong to us” in an effort to mark their territory and then added, “We will not let them be taken from us.” The Catholics’ claim to the poor responded to the efforts of many religious communities of women and diocesan organizations formed around welfare issues that increased the Catholic presence in the shaping of local state welfare policy.

The presence of Catholics in the welfare arena was supported by the Catholic University in Washington, D.C. that from the turn of the twentieth century had begun to train their priest-students and major clerical figures in the new social sciences (Brown and McKeon 1997). In addition, Catholic social workers began to enter the nonsectarian workforce through welfare organizations.

The first Conference of Catholic Charities was held in 1910. By 1922, there were 35 Catholic Charities Agencies across the nation and by 1937 there were 68 (Catholic Charities USA 2000; Dendinger 1978:5). The 1933 National Conference of Catholic Charities (NCCC) held in New York brought together many government leaders, Church leaders, and professionals who engaged in discussions regarding social justice and social programs emerging from the New Deal (Brown and McKeon 1997:1). During this period Catholic Charities increased their search for support among the laity and as a result developed a

network of 1,400 social agencies and institutions with over 200,000 volunteers who provide emergency assistance and social services to over 11 million Americans. Since its inception, the mission of Catholic Charities has been to advocate for the poor in order to create a more just and compassionate society (Catholic Charities USA 2000).

Catholic Charities was not exempt from the criticism received by Voluntary Service Organizations (VSO) in the 1960s regarding their inability to fulfill their responsibility due to their increased disengagement from the poor, their reliance on ineffective service approaches, the increased bureaucratic character of their agencies, the less central role played by volunteers, and their lack of responsiveness to ethnic minorities (Dendinger 1978:3). This coincided with the publication in 1965 of the Vatican II, *Gaudium Et Spes* (O'Brien and Shannon, 1993:166-237), spelling out in a more specific way the views of the Catholic Church regarding economic inequalities and suggesting that economic development should not be viewed as an instrument of domination, but rather as a vehicle to help humanity meet their material, intellectual, and spiritual needs. And as such, economic development should be under the control of the largest possible number of people instead of being under the control of a few or of the political community. While it should not be assumed that Catholic organizations in the United States completely mirror Vatican pronouncements, these pronouncements greatly influence their stand on social, economic, and political issues.

As a result of these criticisms, the NCCC published in 1972 a document titled *Toward a Renewed Catholic Charities Movement*, popularly known as the Cadre Report. The report reexamined Catholic Charities' stand, their need for change, and formulated a specific mandate by putting forth a theology for their organization (Dendinger 1978:5, Flynn 1977:35). The principles articulated in the theology of the NCCC (Flynn, 1977: 35) rely on the values of experience and discovery (of self, others, and God). Meaning that all reality and experience reveal God and that humans have the capacity to face life challenges and to free themselves from inappropriate behaviors through self-discovery.

It was also during this time that the NCCC adopted a more activist stance by focusing more on liberating people from institutional oppression and exploitation. This was in keeping with the Liberation Theology proposed by Gutierrez (1971) in Latin America. Gutierrez's work represents a new interpretation of the Gospel that requires a dynamic interplay between theology and action. For Gutierrez (1971:15) this is a viable way of liberating people from oppression and domination and for the creation of a more just society. In response to the Liberation Theology, the United States Catholic Conference (1986) developed the Pastoral Letter on Catholic Social Teachings delineating the Church's position regarding the basic justices all humans are entitled to enjoy. The Pastoral Letter is centered on the premise that the dignity of the human person, realized in community with others, is the criterion against which all aspects of economic life must be measured. It calls for three types of basic justice: (1) commutative: proper business relations (appropriate wages for work

done), (2) distributive: everyone is entitled to a share of earthly goods needed for survival, and (3) social: everyone is obligated to participate in creating common good. The Pastoral Letter summarizes key elements found in multiple documents published by the Vatican since 1891 (O'Brien and Shannon 1992), and serve as the guiding framework used by the Catholic Church in their efforts to respond to the needs of the poor.

Another Catholic organization that has been actively working on behalf of the poor is the Catholic Worker. Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin created this organization in 1933 (Allahyari 2000; Roberts 1984) when the country was going through the Depression. When first established, more than an organization, the Catholic Worker was a movement based on the New Testament. Its message was based on the premise that change begins with the individual and called for personal involvement in the struggle for a just society for all (Eagan 1988). In addition to advocating for social justice, this organization also provided food and shelter to the poor without any government support. Presently there are approximately 130 houses of hospitality associated with this organization (Allahyari 2000:37).

Contrary to Catholic Charities, Day was not interested in government support because doing that would create a power relationship with the government that would jeopardize the movement (Roberts 1984:8). Although Day and Maurin were not interested in politics, since their movement fostered Catholic social action rather than political action (Piehl 1988:178), the Catholic

Worker has been a political movement in the sense that it has promoted a clear vision of the values that should shape public policies.

Catholic Worker and the NCCC share their interest in serving and advocating for the poor. They are different in that Catholic Charities relies on government funds for many of the services they provide and offer a wider array of social services. According to Brown and McKeon (1997), the history of the NCCC shows this organization as one capable to adapt to the changing environment of the American welfare arena and still advocate for the poor as well as an organization that has resisted to the secularization of charity.

#### *Service Provision by FBOs*

The inclusion of the charitable choice in the 1996 welfare reform has brought great controversy in the public arena regarding the constitutionality of allowing FBOs to apply for federal funding considering the existing separation of state and church. The central focus of the discussion according to Queen II (2000a:5) seems to rest on two specific issues: (1) the delivery of faith-based human and social services is not new, and (2) increased access to federal funding by FBOs for the provision of social services will also increase government oversight of these services.

Most religious organizations care about individuals as a whole and not about who they are or what they have. Furthermore, service provision to the poor is part of their organizational mission. Organizations such as Catholic Charities began accessing public funding for the implementation of some of their programs

since the Depression (Brown & McKeown 1997). Many Catholic Charities agencies work with parishes using a community organization approach to promote social action and/or to provide access to social services (Joseph 1982:25). Currently, many religious organizations, such as Lutheran Social Services, Jewish Welfare and Family Services, and Catholic Charities receive almost 50 percent of their funding from public funds. Dudley (2000:31) states that this is in keeping with the increased challenge posed to churches, synagogues, Mosques, and temples by the Reagan, Bush, and Clinton administrations to create social welfare programs, as well as the efforts initiated in the 1980s by the Lilly Endowment to encourage FBOs to become more aggressive in their social efforts in their communities. As discussed in the Nonprofit's section, this calling points to the reliance religious organizations have on voluntarism. For the Catholic Church (Allahyari 2000:44-46) voluntarism is central to their ability to carry out their mission, disseminate their vision of the poor, and seek social justice. This however, does not mean that volunteers are closing the distance between them and the poor (donor & recipient), since as previously stated the donors' motivations may have nothing to do with promoting social change.

Nevertheless, the element of voluntarism that characterizes the efforts of Catholic organizations as well as many other FBOs is one of the factors that prompted the establishment of the White House Faith-Based Initiative by President Bush (White House 2001d). This Initiative is discussed in detail under the Charitable Choice section included in this chapter.

### **1996 Welfare Reform**

This section summarizes the key elements of the 1996 welfare reform containing charitable choice, which is the focus of this research. Although program funding is up for reauthorization in 2003, it is expected that the main elements of this reform will remain the same.

In August 1996, President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) aimed at reforming the existing Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. The reform called for the distribution of federal funds to the states in “block grants” to be utilized for the Temporary Assistance for Needed Families (TANF). Several federal mandates are attached to the block grants to insure program participation is limited. These mandates require that:

- Families receiving TANF work in exchange for benefits soon after they enter the program (less than 24 months).
- Within a year of enactment of the Act, states must achieve work participation rates that are more oriented to work rather than training. It was stipulated that for fiscal year 1997, 25 percent of those meeting the work requirements should work at least 20 hours per week. By the time fiscal year 2002 comes around, 50 percent of the same group should be working a minimum of 30 hours per week.
- TANF benefits can only be received for 60 months during a lifetime or shorter if the state so chooses.

- Childcare services are provided to those who are participating in community service programs.
- Cash assistance and food stamps are permanently denied to individuals convicted of a felony, drug possession, use, or distribution unless the state passes legislation opting not to comply with this mandate.
- Unmarried teen parents are required to live with their parents or with a state approved adult and must participate in educational programs to obtain their high school diploma or equivalence.
- Families losing benefits due to work related earnings receive transitional Medicaid benefits.

In addition, PRWORA (United States GAO 2001: 6) Established four broad goals for TANF: (1) provide assistance for needy families so that children may be cared for in their own homes or in the homes of relatives; (2) End dependence of needy families on government assistance by promoting job preparation, work and marriage; (3) Prevent and reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies; and (4) Encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.

In order to meet the new laws, states have set up their own set of regulations which include welfare-to-work programs that adopt the “work first” philosophy; harsh financial penalties for non-compliance with the program; and time limits that may be shorter than those federally mandated. The “work first” philosophy is based on the premise that the best way for welfare recipients to become self-sufficient and job ready is by entering the job market. As stated by

Pavetti et al (1997), rather than assessing the participants' abilities and job readiness, their experience should serve as the measurement test.

### *Charitable Choice*

This section provides information about the key elements of this policy and of their historical background. In addition, this section addresses the extent to which this mandate has been implemented, the research that has been conducted in this area, the challenges this mandate represent, and efforts that have been undertaken in Florida. All these issues are relevant to this study, which aimed at looking how Florida is responding to this mandate.

Section 104 of PRWORA (Government Printing Office 1996) called Charitable Choice addresses the use of contracts, vouchers, and other funding to arrange for the provision of social services under TANF. The statute also requires that FBOs be allowed to receive such funding on the same basis as any other non-governmental provider (Griener 2000; Yates 1998).

The background for this legislation can be traced back to the Contract with America, developed by conservative intellectuals who predicted that Americans would respond positively to the end of the welfare state. Part of this conservative ideology is the view that charity has been suppressed by the welfare state and will re-emerge to provide the support needed by the poor by filling the gaps of the existing safety net and replacing government programs (Wolpert 2002). In addition, Wolpert mentions that conservatives like Marvin Olasky believe that "tough love" with a religious basis is the best prescription for providing help to the

needy since in his view Christian conversion is “the key to poverty fighting” and is precisely what is missing from welfare approaches. As such, conservatives would like the responsibility for the poor to rest first on the individuals and their families, then on their neighbors, then the local community, which includes churches and charitable organizations, and then the local and state government only if conditions are severe. In this role, charities would be responsible for assessing the problems of those in need, finding them a home, providing them with goods and services instead of cash, helping them find jobs, and giving them moral guidance.

Some preliminary studies were conducted to explore the possible role of FBO’s in supporting communities develop amidst the increasing demands of the welfare system. The Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy contracted with the Greater Washington Research Center to include four questions about interaction between the community and religious organizations in their 1997 consumer survey for Washington, D.C. (Twombly and DeVita 1998). Respondents were asked about church attendance, donation of money to religious congregations, volunteering time to religious organizations, and receiving services from these organizations.

Results from the survey showed that almost 60% of the area residents made financial contributions to religious organizations. Close to 46% of the respondents reported attending religious services on a regular basis. About one in five residents donated time to religious organizations and one in ten used some type of service offered by these organizations. The survey also showed

that African Americans tend to attend religious services and to provide financial support to religious organizations more than any other racial group even after controlling for the effects of race, income and place of residence. In regards to volunteering time, it was determined that higher income residents tend to volunteer their time more than any other socioeconomic group. In addition, respondents identified childcare as the service offered by religious organizations that they used the most. Counseling was the second most used service. Other services identified were tutoring, mentoring, services for the elderly, emergency food programs, housing, and clothing services.

In reviewing the results of the survey, the authors (Twombly and DeVita 1998) found mixed support for the notion that religious organizations are able to do more than what they are presently doing. Similarly, they questioned the possibility of increasing the participation of the community members in community initiatives. They are of the opinion that a large percentage of African Americans are already involved with religious organizations and thus to increase this number may be difficult. In addition, the authors point that most people provide financial support because it is difficult for them to volunteer their time. The authors concluded that more questions should be asked regarding the role of congregations in the community. Some of these questions relate to ways to encourage community participation (time and money), the capacity of congregations to handle the provision of additional services and the willingness of community residents to interact with religious congregations.

Implementation of charitable choice has been taking place at a slow pace and not all states have complied with this legislation. According to Washington DC's Center for Public Justice (2000), compliance with charitable choice is not optional and as long as states are spending federal welfare funds to buy services in the private sector they must comply with it. In addition, charitable choice, allows even "pervasively sectarian" religious organizations to compete for funds and does not refrain religious organizations from displaying religious symbols, and from using religious and moral criteria in the hiring of staff.

A study conducted by the Center for Public Justice (2000) regarding the compliance with charitable choice in nine states, showed that many states have not followed the law regarding this legislation. Seven out of the nine states –California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, New York, and Virginia- received an unsatisfactory score. Only Texas and Wisconsin received satisfactory scores.

In her discussion paper *Background on Charitable Choice and Welfare Reform*, Smith (2001) explains that implementation of charitable choice depends on the leadership of each state and on their existing religious infrastructure. One of the examples she uses is Texas, where under the leadership of then Governor George W. Bush, an executive order was issued to prompt the implementation of charitable choice. In addition, a charitable choice work group was created, similar to the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, to evaluate the collaborations between religious organizations and the Texas Department of Human Services (TDHS). As a result, by the end of 1997 FBOs in Texas were

awarded 10 percent of the contracts awarded by TDHS. Smith also discusses the evaluation of services provided by FBOs and states that the jury is still out in trying to determine the significance of the faith component in the successful implementation of social services. However, one thing that is significant is the public's support to FBOs. She refers to a survey conducted by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life showing that 75 percent of the respondents support the funding of FBOs. However, she adds the public is less enthusiastic about funding non-Judeo-Christian organizations.

Chaves and Tsitsos' (2001) National Congregation Study (NCS) challenges two commonly held assumptions about faith-based social services. The first is that services provided by religious congregations are more holistic and focused on long-term personal transformation. The second is that collaborations between FBOs and secular and governmental agencies have a negative impact in the FBOs holistic approach. What the authors found in their study is that most congregations do not provide long-term services aimed at personal transformation, but rather are engaged in meeting short-term and emergency type of services such as providing food, shelter, and emergency cash assistance. They also found that collaborations between FBOs and secular and governmental agencies do not impact the character of the services provided by FBOs and that these collaborations provide religious organizations with the opportunity to provide the more long-term, holistic type of services they are perceived to provide. The authors also recognize the need for more in-depth studies where the character of more long-term services provided by FBOs may

be assessed as well as the impact that collaborations with non-FBOs may have on them.

In his analysis of the Contract with America and the current status of charitable and non-profit organizations, Wolpert (2002) states that a major component of the Contract with America is the transfer of many safety-net programs to the states. In doing so some of the existing welfare programs would lose their status as entitlements leaving needy people without government help in times of budgetary crisis. The needy would then be dependent on charity, which is also heavily dependent on government funding. While some charitable organizations may have the infrastructure to play a more significant role in caring for the poor, Wolpert contends that because Americans are not uniformly generous, depending on charity to meet the needs of the poor would result in a patchy system that may be weak where it needs to be strong. Furthermore, in order for private charities to assume such responsibility they would have to attract more donations than they currently receive. As a result, charitable organizations fear that funding cuts will lead to curtailments for the nonprofit organizations serving the poor, and they may become the government's junior partner.

In Florida, the Florida Catholic Conference has taken a leadership role in advocating for the poor because of their understanding that poverty is the result of many intertwined circumstances, which are generally out of the control of those most affected by it. Members of the Florida Catholic dioceses gathered in February 1999, to discuss the findings from *Listening Sessions* (Florida Catholic

Conference 1999) organized by Catholic Charities in each diocese. As a result of this meeting, the Florida Catholic Conference developed a list of recommendations that were presented to the State Legislature.

Overall, little research has been conducted to determine the extent to which FBOs are participating in the implementation of welfare reform and about the limitations and successes they are facing. There is hardly any information about efforts made by FBOs to influence state policies. A document prepared by Anderson and Miller (2000) from the Northern California Interreligious Conference discusses public policy and theological reflections on welfare reform. Two important issues addressed in this document are the ability/capacity of FBOs to provide social services and their concern that by doing so they may compromise their historic role and become subservient to the government. Allahyari's (2000:232-233) study reiterates this concern in her description of a Catholic run shelter that was not interested in government funding, despite their financial needs, because of the implications this could have on their philosophy and their unwillingness to develop a bureaucracy within the agency in order to deal with governmental requirements.

Many of the challenges associated with the implementation of charitable choice did not emerge until the election of President Bush. In fact, the inclusion of charitable choice in the 1996 welfare reform did not create as much political controversy then as it did during the 2000 presidential campaign that resulted in the election of George W. Bush as President of the United States. Soon after his inauguration to the presidency, President Bush began pushing his "faith-based"

initiative and created the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (WHOFBCI) headed by John Dilulio (Walsh 2001:2). As discussed by Walsh (2001:1-3) the reaction to charitable choice went beyond the argument about funding “faith-based” social services at the expense of “secular” programs and the concern of putting services on the hands of sectarian groups. Rather, it seemed that greater concern was placed on the potential damage religious groups may suffer as a result of taking government’s funds.

According to Walsh (2001:1-3) since the establishment of the WHOFBCI there has been a lot of partisan controversy over granting local and state exemptions to these organizations in terms of antidiscriminatory laws in hiring. While the resignation of Dilulio in August 2001 and the terrorist attacks of September 11 changed the focus of the legislation, in October 2001 the President suggested he would be willing to go along with the Democrats and not exempt religious groups from workplace discrimination laws. However, the funding of charitable choice will bring additional discussions and partisan controversy.

De Vita and Wilson’s (2001) research identified several concerns over specific legal issues such as the difficulty in defining a “faith-based” organization, the selection of grantees among service providers of varying faiths, grantee accountability, the possibility that clients might feel their beliefs are challenged or compromised in their efforts to obtain services, and the potential of these proposals to undermine civil rights laws mandating nondiscrimination in hiring. In

addition, the limited guidance provided by the current administration in terms of building this partnership seems to be problematic.

Dobkin Hall (2001:80-81) supports DeVita and Wilson's views and states that there exists great structural complexity and diversity among religious institutions, which makes them difficult to define and to research their impact. In an effort to define formal religious organizations, Dobkin Hall categorizes them as follows: (1) Free-standing congregations: ranging from corporations to store-front quasi commercial enterprises; (2) Federated or franchise form organizations: ranging from the "monarchical model" such as the Roman Catholic Church to the "constitutional monarchy" such as the Episcopalian and Protestant Churches; (3) Parachurch organizations like the Promise Keepers and Habitat for Humanity; (4) Interdenominational and ecumenical bodies that coordinate community activities; and (5) Secular corporations established by clergy or members of religious orders and by lay members of faith communities.

Finally, De Vita and Wilson (2001: 4) contend that funding of this initiative is also an issue, considering that expanding charitable choice would make 350,000 houses of worship eligible to compete for government funds at a time when the Bush administration's proposed budget only requested modest levels of new funding for narrowly targeted programs. This would result in having to divide existing funds into smaller pieces and greater competition among service providers. Whether such environment would produce better program outcomes is unknown. While it is believed that the passing of HR 7 (CARE Act) by the House and its pending approval by the Senate would make religious organizations

subject to the same regulations as other non-governmental organizations, there is lack of specificity as to how these regulations would be applied and who would be responsible for enforcing them.

### *Promotion of Healthy Families*

This section is relevant to this study not only because the promotion of healthy families is one of the goals of the PRWORA, but also because President Bush has placed increased attention to this issue by proposing using public funds for its promotion (Lerman 2001). As promoting marriage and two-parent families has become of greater importance to policymakers, the Bush administration is determined to include marriage as a major piece of the welfare reform reauthorization debate (McLanahan, Garfinkel, and Mincy 2001) as well as in his Faith-Based Initiative. This policy will have a direct impact on the implementation of charitable choice.

Increased emphasis on marriage promotion has prompted analysts from both sides of the debate to voice their opinions about the causal relationship between poverty and marriage. While some analyses strongly suggest marriage as a protective factor against poverty, others are less conclusive and suggest that such analyses cannot be conducted without considering social and cultural variables in addition to the economic ones.

Lerman (2001) claims that unmarried parenthood and child poverty are closely linked. His argument is based on an analysis of the 2000 census figures showing that one in three poor families with children is not headed by a married

couple and that unmarried couples make up an even higher share of the chronically poor. Considering that economic disadvantages often hurt children's academic performance and limit their long-term economic well-being, and that children in cohabiting-couple households also experience more material hardship than children of married couples, Lerman concludes that "marriage appears to benefit cohabiting-couple households as well as single parents". While Lerman believes that government initiatives to promote healthy families would result in a decline in child poverty, he is not sure people would be responsive to the effort and if they are whether these will be stable marriages.

The *Fragile Families Study* conducted by McLanahan, Garfinkel, and Mincy (2001) while supports Lerman's findings also provides a better understanding of the circumstances surrounding poor couples. This study also found a high rate of cohabitation among unmarried parents. These parents were optimistic about their future together and had clear expectations for their future. Mothers reported that having a husband with a steady job and being emotionally mature were important qualities for a successful marriage. Most fathers reported wanting to help raise their children. Both were committed to their relationship and to doing the best for their child at birth. Unfortunately, the study reports that many of these parents are poorly equipped to support themselves and their children and that services alone are not likely to strengthen weak families. This situation is compounded by the fact that many social programs give preference to single parents. Thus, the authors emphasize that if the government's goal is to promote

marriage they need to start by eliminating the existing unfavorable treatment to two-parent families.

Thomas and Sawhill (2001) argue that from a policy standpoint, existing research does not necessarily imply that increases in marriage among single parents would inevitably bring about reductions in poverty. Variables that should be considered are unobservable disparities between the earnings potential of married and unmarried adults, or between the work opportunities available to them. In addition, they point to the “feminization” of poverty, which reflects the reshuffling of already poor families across family types. Considering these kinds of variables may show that poverty has less to do with family formation per se than with unobservable characteristics that affect both poverty status and family structure (2001:4). The authors conclude that while higher rates of single motherhood could have a significant effect on the economic well being of their children, they feel that social policies should not measure children’s welfare based on just economics (2001:12).

Other critics of this proposition feel that such efforts would only serve to further stigmatize single mothers, who would marry if they found a suitable husband, or would force them into staying in abusive relationships in order to meet welfare requirements exposing themselves and their children to harmful situations. While others feel that marriage and relationships are a private matter and should remain outside the purview of government (Bulletin 2002).

Critics of the promotion of healthy marriages are also concerned about the funding required to implement this program. In 2002, President Bush proposed

spending \$300 million per year for a five year period, \$200 million of which would go for marriage education, training, mentoring and public advertisement, and \$100 million for funding of research and demonstration projects promoting healthy marriages (Parrott and Fremstad 2002; Bulletin 2002; Lerman 2001). According to Parrott and Fremstad (2002:3) approximately \$100 million would come from a 50 percent reduction in the High Performance Bonus given to states that succeed in helping parents transition to self-sufficiency, which may have a negative impact on the ongoing welfare reform. Furthermore, the authors point out that if Congress decides that additional resources should be allocated to this effort, states should be required to contribute new resources rather than using existing TANF dollars (Parrott and Fremstad 2002:19).

### *Impact of Welfare Reform*

Since the implementation of the 1996 reform many studies have been conducted across the United States to determine its impact. The findings from most studies recognize that the reform has been successful in reducing the welfare rolls. Greenberg (2001:22) reports that the nation's welfare caseload fell from 5 million families in 1994 to 2.2 million in June 2000. Katz and Allen (2001:31) report that Florida is one of the states in the nation that quickly reduced its caseload by 58 percent.

In spite of these finding, the reports also show that those left on the rolls continue to face many of the employment barriers previously described based on the studies conducted by Olson et al (1996) and Pavetti et al (1998). In addition,

the findings show that transitioning families are still facing barriers that prevent them from acquiring the economic stability necessary to become self-sufficient. For example, for many families it is difficult to find quality and affordable childcare services and/or lack adequate transportation (Acs et al 1998; Anderson et al 1999; Henly, 1999; Long et al 1998; Niedringhaus et al 2001). Some families are losing their medical benefits because of their unawareness of their eligibility for transitional benefits, or because once they begin working Medicaid eligibility is more stringent, and/or because many of the jobs they take do not provide medical benefits (Acs et al 1999; Anderson et al 1999; Holahan, Wiener, and Wallin 1998; Norton and Lipson 1998; Regestein, Meyer, and Dickemper 1998).

Another two important findings about the impact of the reform are its inability to remove families from poverty (Berlin 2001; Downey 2001; Greenberg 2001; Haskins 2001; Katz and Allen 2001; Nathan and Gais 2001; Niedringhaus et al 2001; Primus 2001; Sawhill 2001) and to promote marriage and therefore out of wedlock pregnancies (Horn 2001; Niedringhaus et al 2001; Nathan and Gais 2001; Sawhill 2001). As reported by Sawhill (2001:5) “the poverty rate has not fallen as much as the caseloads.” This is evidenced by the low earnings of families leaving the rolls with a reported median income of \$6.61 an hour and annual earnings of \$8,000 - \$12,000 (Greenberg 2001:22), and an increase in the number of requests for emergency assistance experienced by shelters, food pantries, soup kitchens, and other charitable services (Niedringhaus et al 2001, Sawhill 2001, and Downey 2001). Downey (2001:10) cites a report from Catholic Charities published in December 2000, stating that the number of people

receiving assistance from their shelters had increased by 22 percent, those individuals receiving food assistance from food services had increased by 32 percent, and their emergency cash assistance to help people with rent, utilities, and medicine had increased by 29 percent. They also reported an increase in the number of people seeking clothing assistance and in the number of homeless. Thus, as the caseloads decrease, the number of working poor increases and this population is not receiving services for which they may be eligible such as childcare, Medicaid, and food stamps (Long et al 1998; Norton and Lipson 1998; Zedlewski and Brauner 1999).

Reports regarding the decline in out-of-wedlock births and marriage promotion vary. For example, Sawhill (2001:5) reports a decline in teen pregnancy and the leveling off in the number of children born outside marriage, while Horn (2001:39) reports that the number of children born out of wedlock increased from 1.26 million in 1996 to 1.3 million in 1999, and Nathan and Gais (2001:29) report that welfare reform has not been successful in promoting marriage and reducing out-of-wedlock and teen births. The United States GAO report (2001:6) states that there are limited data regarding these two aspects of welfare reform. Niedringhaus et al (2001:17) emphasize that while there may be positive signs about the leveling off of teen pregnancy and of the formation of two-parent families, the presence of a family structure and two working adults does not mean that these families are able to meet all their basic needs and to raise above poverty.

In terms of funding, data from the Treasury Department show that in FY 2001, states spent \$18.5 billion a year on TANF. This amounts to \$2 billion more than the annual TANF block grant level. Parrott and Fremstad (2002:20) reported that states were able to do this because they could tap unspent funds from the early years of the TANF program. However, since funding for TANF has remained frozen, those resources are quickly dwindling and inflation rates continue to lower the value of money. Consequently, the authors predict that if funding continues at the current level for the next five years, the block grant would fall 22 percent below its value in 1997.

#### *Future Considerations for TANF Reauthorization*

In reviewing the literature regarding areas of further consideration during the 2002 TANF, which was postponed to 2003, the salient issues appear to be:

- Emphasize change in cultural norms and behaviors regarding out-of-wedlock childbearing and single parenthood (Sawhill 2001; Horn 2001).
- Simplify and extend transitional benefits (Medicaid and food stamps) for working families (Berlin 2001; Greenberg 2001; Primus 2001).
- Understanding the structural and contextual factors that influence the successful participation of low-income workers in the labor market. This requires looking beyond personal characteristics of this population and considering the functioning of the labor market, the demands imposed by parenthood, and their interplay (Henly 1999; Holcomb, Pavetti, Ratcliffe, and Riedinger 1998).

- Expanding and facilitating access to support services such as childcare, food stamps, and health services to the working poor (Long et al 1998; Niedringhaus et al 2001; Zedlewski and Brauner 1999).
- Expand time limitations for those families that may need more time to transition to work (Niedringhaus et al 2001).
- Provide married families equal access to benefits as single parents (Horne 2001; and Niedringhaus et al 2001).
- Provide resources to community organizations and FBOs to help eligible families obtain benefits (Primus 2001).
- Provide premarital education to low-income families applying for or receiving income assistance (Horne 2001).

## ***Florida***

This section provides information as to the shape welfare policies have taken in Florida as a result of the 1996 reform and describes the structure of the Florida's welfare system.

### ***The Reform in Florida***

The State of Florida responded to the comprehensive demands of the federal legislation, by the enactment in 1996 of the "Work and Gain Economic Self-Sufficiency Act" (WAGES). For the implementation of the WAGES program, the State created 24 WAGES Coalitions, which corresponded with the service boundaries for the Jobs and Education Regional Boards. Based on each area's

caseload and the needs of their residents, each coalition was asked to develop their own programs and financial plan. The WAGES program, as dictated by the federal mandate emphasized work, self-sufficiency and personal responsibility, and provided for some transitional needs of the participants such as employment referrals, childcare, transportation, and health care.

While WAGES attempted to address some of the needs of children and families it failed to place equal emphasis in other areas which had been identified as representing significant personal and family barriers. According to Olson et al (1996) and Pavetti et al (1998) 54 % of AFDC recipients prior to the implementation of the reform faced one or several of the following barriers: lack or low basic skills (64.5%), substance abuse (36.9%), mental health problems (24.2%), health problems of the head of household (17.1%), low self esteem, and domestic violence. In addition, the literature also points to the intimate relationship that exists between poverty and the mental well being of children and families. For example, Brooks-Gunn and Duncan (1997) as well as Zaslow, Tout and Botsko (1998) established that poor children suffer emotional and behavioral problems more frequently than do non-poor children. Poor parents are also likely to be less healthy, both emotionally and physically than those who are non-poor. Others, such as O'Hare (1996) believe that children growing in poverty are less likely to develop the cognitive skills they need to succeed in life. Belle's (1990) study talks about the relationship between economic stresses, lack of employment, and lack of education and depression, which is common among single mothers. She also points to the fact that poor women experience more

uncontrollable life events, such as crime, violence, child illness and death, incarceration, and financial uncertainties than non-poor women.

Four years after the enactment of WAGES the implementation of the welfare reform in Florida went through some changes as the Workforce Innovation Act (WIA) of 2000 substituted the WAGES Program. The primary aim of WIA is to eliminate fragmentation in the delivery of workforce-related services in the State. The program consolidates several State programs including the work-training and education-related aspects of TANF. In other words, Workforce Florida is an effort to provide all employment and economic development services under one agency. WIA also includes a provision that allows extensions for up to 20 percent of the TANF caseload, as is permitted by federal law. Overall, the general themes of social welfare policy in Florida have not changed much since the inception of the 1996 reform. The maximum monthly welfare benefit for a family of three without other income has remained stable at \$303 since 1996. This is considerably below the national median, which has risen slightly to \$421 (Botsko, Snyder, and Leos-Urbel 2001). In addition, Florida's focus continues to be on encouraging the contracting out of more social services, decentralization and local control. However, according to Botsko, Snyder and Leos-Urbel (2001:11), local control does not mean control by local governments, but rather the shifting of responsibility from state agencies to regional boards that include representatives from state agencies, local government, community-based organizations, and private business. In summary, Florida is engaged in a process

of devolution of responsibilities from the state to the local level and from public agencies to public-private partnerships.

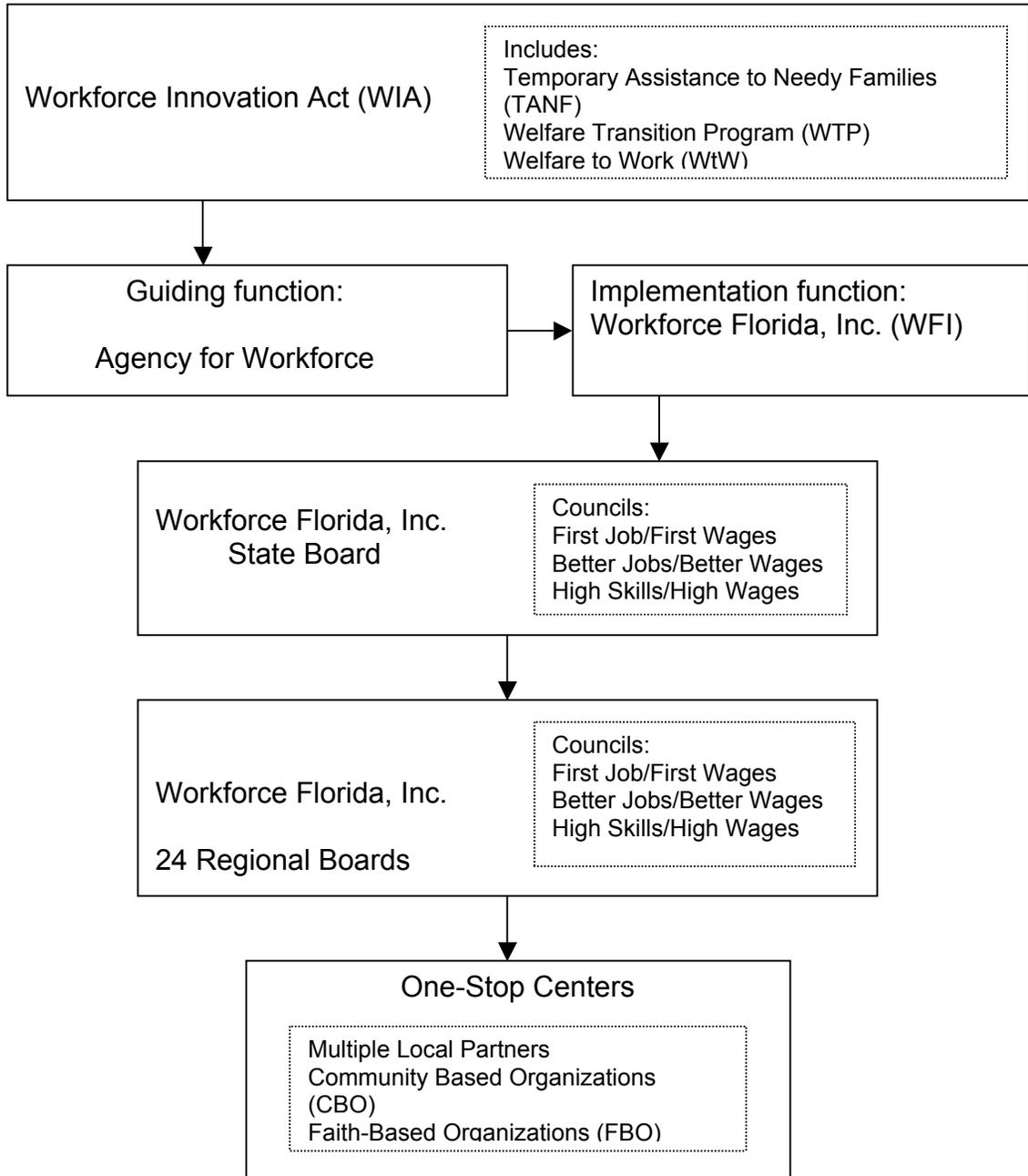
### *Structure of the Welfare System in Florida*

Presenting the structural organization of the Florida welfare system helps in understanding the role of the various agencies and organizations involved, as well as their place in the overall structure. Figure 1 displays the various levels of the system, which are described in the following narrative.

***The Workforce Investment Act (WIA):*** reformed the federal job training programs and created a new comprehensive workforce investment system. The reformed system is customer focused to help people access employment tools through information and services, and to help employers find skilled workers. This comprehensive reform legislation superseded the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). Many Acts are included within it, including the Adult Education and Family Literacy Act (title II) and the Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1998 (title IV). The Florida Workforce Investment Act was shaped based on WIA.

***The Agency for Workforce Innovation (AWI):*** provides administrative and program guidance for the newly merged workforce and welfare support delivery system and is the administrative and fiscal entity for Workforce Florida, Inc. AWI is also responsible for implementing policy dealing with workforce development programs, welfare transition, unemployment compensation, workforce information services and labor market information (AWI web page).

**Figure 1. Structure of Florida's Welfare System**



**Workforce Florida, Inc. (WFI):** is the State's chief workforce policy organization. Created by the Workforce Innovation Act of 2000, the public-private partnership supports and promotes economic growth through workforce development. To

improve performance and accountability WFI consolidated various workforce programs and funding streams, including Florida's welfare reform initiative under a single umbrella.

**WFI State Board:** was appointed by Governor Jeb Bush in July 2000. The 45-member state board sets policy and provides oversight to the 24 regional workforce boards in designing and implementing programs to develop a skilled workforce. It includes representatives from business and industry, the state community college system and the Florida Board of Education, as well as leaders of state agencies such as the AWI, the departments of Children and Families, Education, and Community Affairs. Workforce Florida is comprised of three standing councils in charge of developing strategies to target the needs of job seekers and employers across the employment spectrum—from entry into the workforce to cultivating workers to fill high skill/high demand jobs. The councils exist at the state and regional levels and their responsibilities are as follows:

- **First Jobs/First Wages:** promotes successful entry into the workforce through education and job experience, including school-to-work initiatives that enlist business and community support to ensure that students have the educational and occupational skills required to succeed in the workforce. Also addresses adults entering the workforce for the first time and youth programs related to welfare reform.
- **Better Jobs/Better Wages:** assists families transitioning from welfare to work and former welfare recipients working in low-wage jobs with limited mobility. Also includes the Incumbent Worker Training program, which

helps employers retrain and upgrade the skills of their employees to meet the changing demands of the economy and avert layoffs.

- **High Skills/High Wages:** aligns Florida's education and training programs with higher-paying, high-demand jobs that advance careers, build a more skilled workforce and enhance the state's efforts to attract, grow and expand job-creating businesses. The high skills/high wages strategy is comprised of several initiatives including identifying high-demand, good paying occupations and linking performance to educators who graduate workers for these jobs; targeted industry sectors; regional high skills/high wages committees which bring economic developers, businesses and educators together; and customized training programs.

***Regional Workforce Board:*** Senate Bill 2050 merged the 24 local WAGES Coalitions and 24 Workforce Development Boards to 24 Regional Workforce Boards. These 24 Boards are now responsible for the delivery of workforce, welfare, and employment support services to be provided and coordinated via the local One-Stop centers. Board membership requires one representative from a nonpublic postsecondary educational institution that is an authorized individual training account provider within the region and confers certificates and diplomas, one representative from a nonpublic postsecondary educational institution that is an authorized individual training account provider within the region and confers degrees, and three representatives of organized labor. The importance of minority and gender representation is also considered when making appointments to the board.

***The Welfare Transition Program (WTP):*** is focused on work, self-sufficiency, and personal responsibility. It is intended to enable welfare recipients to move from welfare to work. To help them accomplish this goal, the following programs and services are available: child care and transportation assistance; substance and mental health treatment; child support enforcement programs; diversion programs to reduce domestic violence and child abuse; up-front diversion services to prevent families from going on welfare with one-time and emergency funding and services; relocation assistance; severance payments; and job training and employment assistance programs (WFI web page).

### ***Interrelation of Secular and Sacred Views***

The intersection between the state and FBOs proposed under charitable choice, which is the focus of this study, has brought to the forefront extensive debates regarding the boundaries that exist between these institutions and whether new legislation is stepping beyond these boundaries. Despite all the political debates and rhetoric, it cannot be denied that religion has played and continues to play a significant role in shaping social policies in the United States and in influencing the views and behaviors of Americans.

This section highlights the evolution of this interrelation. Also, it briefly considers whether this insistence in separating the secular from the sacred is a realistic effort, even if they are integral parts of people's identities, or whether it may be more fruitful for society if secular and sacred institutions work together.

Religion, and in particular biblical religion has been a part of the American public and political life since colonial times (Bellah et al 1986). The Bible was the book that literate Americans knew well throughout the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and as such provided the framework for American thinking. What characterized religion during this period was that it was not controlled by a hierarchy of priests, but rather it was, as stated by Bellah (1975:48) “democratic and republican” in the sense that religion was subjected to personal judgment.

The principle of separation of church and state follows the principle of privatization previously described in that it provides participants freedom to select their beliefs and association, but also isolates them into smaller private groups. Demerath and Williams (1992:107-109) contend that when the First Amendment was adopted two hundred years ago, its intention was to protect a young government from the pressures of some of the religious organizations that were strong during this period. They also add that one of the historical paradoxes of the relationship between the church and the state is that in establishing the separation of the two, the fact that Protestant philosophy and values had shaped the government was not acknowledged.

The separation of the church and state has not in any way removed religion from the political or public arenas (Bellah 1991). Discussions about the separation of church and state incremented in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century when the increased diversity within Protestants weakened their hold on American culture and the Catholic Church became more active at a national level (Bellah et al 1986:238; Demerath III and Williams 1992:107). During the first part of the

century Catholics had become more actively engaged in social activism, particularly during the Depression, and were becoming a larger portion of mainstream society. This was a period of institutional building for the Catholic Church in which they grew larger and more confident. This was also the period (early 1960s) of an unprecedented ecumenical cooperation among Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, who jointly participated in endeavors such as the Civil Rights movement, creating a new religious atmosphere in America (Bellah et al 1986:238). Then, the publication of the Bishop's Pastoral Letter in 1983 placed the Catholic Church at the center of American public life, reinvigorating not only their own institutions, such as Catholic Charities, but also other religious organizations.

In his work, Wilk (1991:98) addresses the issue of freedom of religion and the guarantee of a secular state as stated in the First Amendment of the constitution. He contends that contrary to the beliefs of the Religious Right, the freedom of religion in our society does not imply the responsibility to convert the whole society to a particular sectarian interpretation of a particular religious tradition. Rather, it means that is up to the individuals who enjoy these freedoms to respect the same freedom of others. He believes these are "natural rights" that represent "the fruit of a humane approach that allows naturalistic reason and experience to create a humane social order through the establishment of a limited form of government (1991:99)". Consequently, he argues that a legitimate state must be neutral in terms of religion to protect the freedoms of all citizens.

In the political arena, some of the battles the Catholic Church has faced relate to their ability to receive state funding for the provision of social services. While Catholic Charities agencies have been able to obtain federal funding since the New Deal, this does not mean that obtaining access to these funds has been an easy process. Ahman (1988:4-5) describes this process as one that requires the development of complex legal strategies. For example, he mentions that when the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) began in the mid 1980s to deny Community Block Grant funds to religiously sponsored organizations serving the poor, Catholic Charities organized a coalition of religious social service providers and sought the assistance of the housing and banking committees in both Houses of Congress to pressure HUD into reviewing their policies.

Thus, it seems that the separation of church and state is much less firm than generally thought and that government and religious organizations have a long history of cooperation (De Vita and Wilson 2001). De Vita and Wilson (2001:2) claim that efforts to have the Supreme Court interpret the First Amendment's Establishment Clause and the relationship between church and state have resulted in landmark cases, such as *Everson v. State Board* 1947, in which the Court ruled in a five-to-four decision that public funds could be used to transport students to parochial as well as public schools. This case opened the way for public funding of school lunches at parochial schools and student loans used at religiously affiliated colleges and universities.

At the individual level, religion and religious worship is considered a private affair. However, there are certain elements of religiosity that according to Bellah et al (1986, 1991) cut across the American culture. For example, Bellah et al (1986:225) refer to the use of the term “God” as being widely accepted by most Americans and as being helpful in reducing religious antagonism. More specifically, Bellah (1991:170-171) highlights how religious references are an accepted part of American public discourse. For instance, he mentions how presidential speeches usually include religious language, without making specific references to a particular religion or belief. This is what Bellah calls the American civil religion, a phenomenon that helps to promote national solidarity by touching on the personal values of individuals and avoiding religious conflict.

The concept of civil religion is interesting in that in a sense it reinforces the idea of the impossibility to remove religion from the public and political arenas, and offers a compromise between the secular and the sacred spheres. As stated by Angrosino (2002:248), American civil religion “has nurtured a sense of a unique American destiny and a type of civil millenarianism that leads Americans to view the nation as the focus of God’s work in human history”. This becomes evident in studies of the interrelation of politics and religion. For example, Demerath and Williams (1992:133) state, “Asking politicians to disdain religion is like asking them to slap babies.” They contend that politicians welcome opportunities to participate in religious events, regardless of the denomination, not only because the moral legitimacy they gain by doing so, but also because

religious organizations have become “mediating institutions” in the political process in the absence of labor unions and community organizations.

It is clear that the separation of state and church has not been successful in relegating religion to a private sphere. Religious pluralism has resulted in the establishment of multiple religious institutions and bureaucracies that impact American life at the personal, local, public, and political levels (Bellah et al 1986:226-227). However, Bellah et al (1991:179) contend that the presence of these institutions and their relationship with the state has polarized the views of Americans regarding this relationship into two views. One view has to do with the establishment of religion and takes the position that everyone should share the same faith, and the other, which views each individual as having its own faith. For Bellah, the second alternative is more dangerous because that would mean the privatization of religion to the extent of eliminating collective expression.

While for many Americans the presence of religious institutions may be seen as an impingement on their freedom and may resent them just as much as they resent “big government” (Bellah et al 1991:291), for others, these institutions are vehicles through which their voices may be heard and political processes influenced. The present challenge faced by religious institutions is their ability to maintain the balance between their guiding philosophies and the current political and economic forces that tend to invade all public and private sectors. As stated by Demerath III and Williams (1992:109), the church and state relation has been reversed in the sense that originally the concern was the protection of the state

from strong religious influence and now is the church that needs to be protected from the state.

Including the charitable choice act in the 1996 welfare reform and the election of President Bush to office in the year 2000 has infused this legislation with the impetus it lacked when it was first approved (De Vita and Wilson 2001). A few states, including Indiana, Michigan, New Jersey, and Texas, have sponsored charitable choice programs, but so far relatively few faith-based organizations have applied for government funds. President Bush's proposal to expand charitable choice under his broader faith-based initiative could greatly increase participation. In addition to establishing the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, the administration set up offices in five government agencies—the Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, and Labor—to identify barriers to government partnering with faith-based organizations and to encourage new arrangements. Then on December 2002, President Bush issued another executive order directing federal agencies to allow FBOs to compete for grants and contracts, bypassing Congress on the church-state issue. In addition, another executive order will create faith-based offices at the Agriculture Department and the Agency for International Development (Hutchenson 2002).

In addition, new legislation has been proposed and approved by the US House of Representatives. The Community Solutions Act of 2001 (H.R. 7), passed by the House on July 19, 2001, gives pervasively religious organizations the right to compete for federal grants and ensures that they are not required to

abide by state and local anti-discrimination laws. It would also extend charitable choice to more areas of government and enact tax incentives that stimulate individual and corporate giving to faith-based groups (De Vita and Wilson 2001).

All the topics and issues presented in this chapter are part of the conceptual orientation used in answering this study's research questions. This conceptual orientation represents an anthropological approach that is composed of the following elements:

- An anthropological approximation to economic, humanist and philosophical principles and
- A historical overview of the most significant social, economic and political factors that have shaped social welfare policies.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **INTERVIEWS**

Interview results are presented following the predefined units labeled as: FBOs, Intersection and Secular. In addition, within each grouping findings are organized by the research's guiding questions. As such they provide a more integrated picture of the multiple perspectives of the interviewees considering the complexities surrounding the 1996 welfare reform legislation, the charitable choice act contained within it and the President's FBI. Respondents' comments that represent many views are integrated in the text in an effort to more accurately convey their feelings and opinions. The interviews are followed by a summary in which the most relevant similarities and differences among the three actors are highlighted.

#### **FBOs**

This section represents the analysis of interviews conducted with Catholic Charities representatives from the seven Florida dioceses and from the Florida Allegany Foundation.

The interviews were unstructured and focused on the following topics: interviewees understanding of welfare reform and charitable choice and their

implementation, their views on the privatization of social services, how State policies and Catholic policies are merged into service delivery practices, the salient characteristics of the population they serve, their images of the poor, their views about aspects of the reform they consider most difficult to implement, their efforts in helping shape policy at the local and State levels, and ways accountability issues are addressed. In addition, they were asked about the type of services they provide to support the entry of TANF recipients into the labor force, the provision of financial and food supplements to this population, and their opinion about the marriage promotion strategy being proposed as part of the welfare program.

### ***Impact of Welfare Reform***

The respondents' overall views regarding the impact of welfare reform were mixed. While they recognized the need for the reform and the help it has provided to a number of recipients who were able to successfully move into the labor market, they also concurred that this reform has not been as successful as the public has been led to believe. Their views are summarized in the following four domains that address the social and economic impact this reform has had on those directly impacted by it and the impact it has had on Catholic Charities as a non-profit social service agency.

### *Welfare Reform Lacks Planning and Resources*

The belief is that when the federal government mandated the enactment of welfare reform there was not enough planning in the legislation to provide the safety nets for the chronically unemployable as well as the resources in terms of training, child care, transportation, and mental health services needed by families in order to transition out of welfare. In terms of lack of planning, one respondent mentioned attending in 2001 a presentation of the welfare reform model being implemented in Wisconsin and was surprised to see that while this state was articulating the need for continuing education programs for their clients, Florida had spent the first 14 months of their initiative focusing on job retention.

Respondents also mentioned that welfare reform policies were not clearly articulated to close the gap for this population and in particular for those people who are either medically or physically unable to work. This lack of planning was also reflected in the lack of training provided to welfare workers responsible for the implementation of the reform. Many of these workers were not familiar with the details of the reform and what it entailed and therefore were not able to properly assist their clients. A respondent summarized the lack of planning and resources in the implementation of welfare reform as a “politically inspired and financially motivated” reform.

### *Creative Interpretation of the Success of Welfare Reform*

Amidst the constant reports about the declining number of people on the welfare rolls, this was viewed as a creative interpretation of the success of the

reform. In regards to reports about the success of the reform an interviewee mentioned, "...reports of the media here really paint a false picture of the results of the welfare reform as far as we can see." Several reasons explain this creative interpretation of the success of the reform:

- Roll reduction is a self-fulfilling promise since it was mandated by the legislature and from that point of view it had to work, there was no other choice. Therefore to assume that because people left welfare "...everything is fine, is simplistic and a naïve way of looking at welfare reform". One respondent mentioned that welfare reform is "looking at long term effects of public policy while being blind to the short-term effects...While they are looking at some utopia having everybody in good shape, people are going hungry because they cannot make it with \$5.00 an hour."
- Government expenditures in assisting low-income families have not declined; rather they have been shifted to other programs such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). As stated by an interviewee, "the government may have succeeded in decreasing the welfare rolls but they shifted the cost of welfare into areas like FEMA and scattered site housing programs." In addition, one respondent mentioned that Florida's legislation keeps directing the flow of block grant money for general revenue to support other efforts such as prison building and that TANF money is going through other channels to substitute funding and the switch of funds is going unchallenged.

- Former TANF recipients are being recycled through different systems. Some are receiving services through private and non-profit agencies and others through government programs such as FEMA. This is evident when looking at the State's budget, which instead of coming down is going up. In addition, one respondent mentioned that soup kitchens that usually were frequented by homeless men and the mentally ill were being frequented by "welfare to work moms". The respondent added that there was no record of this because "soup kitchens are one of the few benefits you have without having to complete any paperwork".

### *Unemployment Rates Are Still High*

Respondents made clear distinctions between the chronically unemployable, new immigrants and refugees, and the unemployed due to current economic conditions. Those individuals facing greater employment barriers due to physical, emotional, and/or educational barriers continue to be unemployed after six years of the inception of this reform.

Many new immigrants and refugees face language, transportation, and cultural barriers that prevent them from fulfilling TANF requirements. New immigrants whether they are documented or not are not eligible for TANF services. In a sense they are part of the "invisible poor" who are being served by the private non-profit sector. While refugees and asylees are entitled to TANF services, they require special services. As described by a respondent "Someone who is new to the country, doesn't have transportation, who doesn't speak the

language isn't going to be able to go out and document that they made ten interviews this week in order to continue their public assistance benefits." While these individuals are motivated to work they do not fit the configurations of the TANF program.

Many former TANF recipients as well as people who had not previously sought services are (re) entering the social service system (government and non-government) due to the down turn of the economy. As a result of "what is happening with the economy, the revenue short falls in Florida, the big changes in the electronic sectors with mass lay offs, the banking industry, I think we are seeing a group of people that had not been seen before."

A more in-depth look at the economic impact of the reform shows it has touched the most vulnerable members of society:

- **The poor:** this population is marginally surviving whether they are on or off TANF. Those off TANF more than likely have exhausted their life limits and are depending on family, friends, and other social systems to make ends meet. Many lack the necessary skills to improve their condition and face serious challenges. "They are sort of at the bottom, they either cannot qualify for any work and are concerned as time [TANF] begins to run out for them." This population is competing in the job market with people with skills and experience.
- **The working poor:** this population also lives marginally as described by an interviewee "I think they are marginally self-sufficient...we used to be able to get jobs for people [at an] average \$7.50 an hour and since the

economy went down the tubes we are seeing about \$6.30 – \$6.40 an hour now.” Their financial stability can easily be thrown off balance by external or internal factors in their lives such as unemployment and health related issues. Many of the working poor are seasonal workers (i.e., fields, tourism, etc.) or work in service related areas that are subject to constant economic fluctuations (i.e., landscaping, construction, etc.). This population is also competing in the job market with the more skilled unemployed.

- **The skilled-unemployed:** while this population has greater skills, employment opportunities are not there for them. In addition, they may be forced to take low-paying jobs unfitting to their skill level and to their living standards.
- **The medically needy:** this is a population that according to one respondent is found among the low income as well as among people from higher income brackets. The respondent mentioned that there is a “health care squeeze” that is forcing people to go without health insurance and as a result “the uninsured are wealthier”. According to this respondent, hospitals have been noticing the increase number of uninsured whose yearly income ranges from \$75,000 to \$100,000. In addition, the respondent stated that the health care crisis is creating a “new brand of homelessness” who are going through the same syndrome as the elderly in that they are exhausting their resources in order to meet their medical needs.

The economic situation of the populations described are also being exacerbated by the reluctance on the part of small business to pay a living wage and to offer health benefits to their employees, particularly when hiring former TANF recipients. One of the interviewees commented about an article in the local paper where the message conveyed by small business was “if you want us to hire these people, don’t expect us to pay them a living wage and to provide health care because we can’t do that.”

### *The Impact on Private Nonprofit Agencies*

Private non-profit social services agencies are trying to meet the needs of the poor whether they are TANF recipients, former TANF recipients, the working poor, and/or the documented or undocumented immigrant population that does not qualify for government assistance. Consequently, Catholic Charities has felt the impact of this reform since its inception. During the initial phase of the reform much of the support needed by TANF recipients in order to secure employment, such as job training, retraining, childcare, transportation vouchers, and in some instances vouchers for food and utility payments were provided by private social service agencies. The comments of one respondent are used to illustrate this sentiment,

*For the most part the government went into the process clearly not intending to underwrite the full cost of what it would take to reform the welfare system and anticipating that much of the responsibility would fall on the private, non-profit social service agencies as well as religious institutions. If I can use the term, the cost of welfare was shifted from governmental control to the private sector.*

This sentiment was echoed by all respondents who reported a significant increase in the request for emergency services such as food, rent and utility subsidies that demonstrate the non-existence of the appropriate safety nets. While respondents could not directly speak about the impact the reform has had on other private non-profit agencies, their sense was that this was the case across the board. However, one respondent mentioned that one of the barriers faced by non-profits is their inability to lobby and therefore they are underrepresented in public policy, which is not the case with contractors like Lockheed Martin. It was pointed out that there was a direct relationship between the decline in the welfare rolls and the increase in emergency services provided by both governmental and non-governmental agencies.

### ***Images of the Poor***

The images of the poor from the perspective of the interviewees encompass the multiple circumstances surrounding this population whose common denominator is poverty. Whether the poor are immigrants, refugees, single parents, and/or families they were described in the following terms:

- **Lack resources:** Many of the poor lack transportation and therefore it is difficult for them to seek employment and to keep jobs once secured. In Florida, many areas lack public transportation altogether and where there is public transportation routes and schedules do not always meet the needs of the poor. Others do not have access to affordable and reliable child care services. This is particularly difficult for those working night and

weekend shifts. Consequently, many families end up leaving their children in non-licensed day care centers or with strangers, situations that “people with economic means would never consider” for their children. As a result this population is greatly susceptible to external factors that threaten their self-sufficiency because “ a lot of them are constantly being unemployed, let go, unfair wages, baby sitting arrangements fall through, transportation falls through.”

- **Susceptible to stress:** Life conditions faced by the poor and what is required of them in order to meet their basic needs whether or not they receive any type of subsidy place great amounts of pressure on them. One respondent used as an example the effect that the pressures faced by a single mother -who has to get up at 4:00 or 4:30 am to get her children ready because she is dependent on public transportation and has to make a couple of stops to take her children to school or child care so that she can get to a menial job on time and then do the same after work- have on her well being and her ability to parent. In addition, many of the poor feel frustrated because you see them “working a stream of minimum wage jobs [and] have not become economically self-sufficient”.
- **Susceptible to predatory lenders:** Considering that minimum wage jobs do not provide a desirable quality of living, the poor are susceptible to predatory lenders who have become a major detrimental factor on their lives. One interviewee mentioned that this phenomenon might be observed by simply driving through economically depressed areas where

you can find these businesses in almost every corner. People who use these services usually pay 20-25-30% interest-rates on their loans and are engaged in a process that ends up draining them financially.

A respondent also mentioned that immigration represents an interesting issue because “it helps to contrast new poverty [undocumented population] vs. intergenerational or historic poverty”. According to this respondent, Florida’s agricultural industry hires a lot of illegal immigrants, who cannot even obtain a driver’s license, “creating the environment for a classic capitalistic model” considering that welfare reform was created for the historically poor, without addressing the fact that many of the members of the undocumented labor force have children who are American citizens. The respondent concluded her comments with the following rhetoric question “Will you ever hire the historically poor when you can hire the undocumented?”

Respondents also described those factors that shape their views of the poor and the ways they relate to them and how these set them apart from government social service agencies:

- **Underlying philosophy:** At the root of all the services provided by Catholic Charities lays their philosophy, which emphasizes compassion, dignity and respect for human kind. While these values may also be found in government agencies, they are not usually emphasized. Catholic Charities’ emphasis is on the family, on the quality of life and dignity of each individual, and on the belief that each person deserves to be all that they can be. Instead of valuing people according to productive value, they

value their humanness. This distinction represents “the classical conflict between man and machine.”

- **Mission:** Catholic Charities mission is to assist the poor and as such their first mandate is to meet their immediate needs and the second is to find out why there is an immediate need so that they can be a source for helping people remedy their situation. In other words Catholic Charities “believes in feeding the hungry person and teaching them how to fish.” Presently this translates into helping people meet their immediate needs while influencing public policy to try to eradicate the causes of poverty.
- **Catholic Charities Charter:** Catholic Charities is chartered as a faith-based social welfare institution but not a religious institution. As such this institution has been able to compete head to head with secular institutions for government funding. Their non-governmental status allows them to be more flexible in their service provision even if programs are government funded. For example their case managers are able to work with people on a case-by-case basis. This is particularly helpful when working with the refugee population receiving TANF because their public assistance is only for a short period of time. While Catholic Charities is required to adhere to the requirements established on the government contracts they understand the population and their needs and find ways to work with them. Otherwise, as stated by one interviewee, if their clients had to strictly follow the Workforce requirement, they would all be sanctioned. Having undesignated funding also allows Catholic Charities to provide

services to sectors of the population not eligible for government services such as undocumented individuals. This population feels more comfortable walking into a Catholic Charities office than into a government agency.

### ***Charitable Choice***

Charitable choice is a complex and somewhat controversial issue. Interviewees were asked about their opinions about this legislation, the benefits and challenges associated with it, and its implementation in Florida. They were also asked about the emphasis currently being placed in marriage as a factor in alleviating poverty and the role they may play in promoting this policy.

### ***Views and Opinions***

Several views emerged from the interviews reflecting the uncertainty surrounding this legislation. One view pointed to charitable choice as a concept that began in Texas when President Bush was this state's governor as a way to level the playing field to allow religious institutions to compete for government dollars. One respondent commented that based on a couple of studies he had read about the manner in which these programs were implemented in Texas, he did not have much faith in this initiative's success. It seemed that the procedures used for awarding the funds and for establishing the expected outcomes of the funded programs lacked the rigor that is usually required when funding secular programs. Similarly, this respondent was not optimistic about the enactment of

the Faith-Based Initiative (FBI) by President Bush because it was enacted outside of the legislative process through an executive order. This led this respondent to believe that this initiative is nothing more than an effort on the part of President Bush to pay back the “conservative Christians who for years have supported the Bush administration, the Aschcroft administration and the Republican Party.” Furthermore, this argument is supported by the lack of any type of legislation to amend the constitution regarding the separation between church and state and consequently any “federal government or any government direct support of a religious institution whether for social services or any type could be interpreted as a violation of that first amendment.” Another respondent mentioned that the FBI was a good opportunity to clarify these issues, but also added “what we learned from the great society is that you cannot legislate community engagement”.

Another view stated that there was no consensus among Catholic Charities representatives regarding the implications of this legislation. Although this policy seemed to be about leveling the playing field for religious institutions, many questions were yet to be answered. Two important questions are: (1) What is the definition of a faith-based organization (FBO) and (2) Where is the funding for this initiative coming from? One respondent stated that establishing a distinction between FBOs and churches was important because “regardless of what anybody says, churches go out and market and recruit.” This can be problematic if competition among churches increases due to funding because

then they may no longer be about faith but about services and it would be like “creating Wal-Marts in the religious world.”

Regarding the funding of the initiative the feeling was that unless new funding is assigned for its implementation it would not be of any benefit. According to one respondent, the absence of funding for the FBI shows the lack of sincerity of the current administration regarding this initiative. Because “if they [administration] are sincere about the mission of FBI then attach the funding to it, don’t shift the funding, attach new funding.” Without new funding and constitutional approval, the FBI is considered to be dead. While there is great admiration for Jim Towey, the director of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, the feeling among respondents was there is nothing he can do because “politics is politics.” In addition, another respondent mentioned that there was an assumption in the privatization effort and the Faith-Based and Community Initiative, including TANF and welfare to work programs, that “good people at the local level will make up the difference between federal/state funding and the actual cost of services” by providing the additional money or volunteering.

Another view was that USA Catholic Charities and the USA Catholic Bishops support this legislation. One respondent mentioned that this is a good piece of legislation and that it has not created any conflict and does not need to be any conflict about it. Another respondent stated that “there needs to be some intersection between the Church and services” because churches can have great impact. The problem, according with this respondent is that there is an

unresolved issue in the American people about the abuse of power by the Church. Consequently, she feels that it would have been better “if President Bush would have focused on partnering with non-profits, because the church creates problems”. Respondents also concurred that there was no evidence of any action taken by the state of Florida regarding the FBI.

### *Benefits and Challenges*

The main benefit of allowing religious organizations access to federal funding is the availability of additional sources of support to assist the poor. Respondents concurred that religious organizations “are in the business of helping people no matter what denomination” and that they bring a lot of leveraging resources. An example of such leverage is Catholic Charities’ one million dollar match for their migrant program and the hundreds of volunteers providing huge amounts of time to their various initiatives. It was also mentioned that since religious organizations are usually smaller than governmental agencies, they are in a better position to provide more individualized attention to their clients.

Charitable choice poses several challenges from the perspective of the respondents:

- **Accreditation:** There is concern that some of the religious organizations competing for funding may not have proper accreditation and qualifications to provide services. In this sense, Catholic Charities believes that all the rules that apply to secular agencies should apply to religious

organizations to ensure that services are provided in a professional manner and in a proper environment. Lack of accreditation was a problem during the war on poverty of the 1960s when people with good intentions but without the proper training and accreditation were implementing programs to help the poor “and failed in spite of their good intentions.” These agencies were given vast amounts of money but they did not have the necessary knowledge to successfully implement the programs.

- **Accountability:** The concern is that religious organizations applying for funding may not be required to adhere to strict regulations and the oversight required of secular organizations. The sense was that all organizations should have rigorous accountability measures and that proper oversight should be established. One respondent mentioned that what they fear is a lack of what should be required regulation in an effort to be compassionate. It was also mentioned that in asking for strict regulations they are “not looking to regulate people out of the helping profession” but to protect the well being of the people being served.
- **Infrastructure:** The concern is that smaller religious organizations may not have the proper infrastructure to handle the extensive requirements and paperwork associated with government contracts. Government contracts can be overwhelming for an agency that does not have enough administrative personnel in charge of contracts.
- **Identity:** The possibility of losing their religious identity by contracting with the government was not a serious concern for the interviewees. Catholic

Charities has a long history of contracting with the state and federal government and this has not impacted their mission. However, respondents also recognized that their organization has been careful in selecting the type of funding they seek from the government. In general the programs implemented by Catholic Charities match their mission and beliefs. One respondent mentioned that there is a concern within the Catholic Church that they [Catholic service providers] may “soft peddle” their views if they start receiving more federal funding and in the process their Catholic values will be diluted. In this regard another respondent mentioned that the value they place in their Catholic identity and commitment to the poor keeps them from following that path. The respondent also added that having Catholics in leadership position within the organization was important in preserving their Catholic identity.

- **Proselytism:** There was little concern about charitable choice opening the doors for religious organizations to proselytize through the delivery of services. Two views emerged from their responses: (1) if it happens it will come to the surface and the government will have to enact proper regulations and (2) the quality of service is what is going to drive the funding and the clients not the religious orientation and beliefs.

Throughout their existence Catholic Charities has not used their services to promote their religious beliefs. This is reflected in their staff who are religiously diverse and the population they serve which is mostly non-Catholic. Their values are expressed through their actions and the way

they treat and help people. There were no concerns about religious organizations displaying their icons. As stated by a respondent “If I went down to a synagogue I would expect to see the Star of David.” Religious icons are an expression of the beliefs held by religious organizations and therefore of their identity.

- **Assuming responsibility for the poor:** Respondents recognized the risk that charitable choice may be a vehicle through which most of the responsibility for the poor is transferred from the government to religious organizations. While there is no way for religious organizations to anticipate whether this is the intention of the government, the sense was that if funding is removed after programs are initiated, then religious organizations may be challenged into finding funds to continue their programs or will be forced to close their doors. Respondents concurred that to avoid this from happening religious organizations have to be selective about the types of contracts they establish with government and avoid becoming too dependent on this source of funding. One respondent stated that while she applauded the FBI, there was some skepticism in terms of its funding and added “this is yet another stream of money [that will be used] as replacement dollars so they [government] can move their attention to other things”. The feeling is that “Florida is going to continue to cannibalize programs” to create a juvenile justice prison system for children to subsidize funding for other programs. All respondents shared the notion that government holds the primary responsibility towards the

poor and they should not be dismissed. Catholic Charities mission's, on the other hand, is to help people but they could never do it on their own.

### *Marriage Promotion*

Several views emerged considering the emphasis the current administration is placing in the promotion of marriage as an important piece of the reform. There was consensus among respondents that they are in no position to implement this policy for several reasons. It was also pointed out that the mere existence of such policy reflected the underlying discriminatory basis of the reform because it appeared that the logic driving this legislation was that most TANF recipients are promiscuous single parents and therefore the intent of this policy is to legislate morality and life choices. For one respondent this meant that

*...the government is going to tell me to get married because I have been a whore and I had children out of wedlock...I am appalled...The government has never been successful in legislating morality.*

While the respondent recognized that a religious experience might influence the developmental or conversion experience of a person, it is not the single source element, and there are many studies that support his statement. Another respondent mentioned that Catholic Charities' philosophy is to "help people at the place where they are" and that "there are a lot of women who are going to be single mothers all their lives and we need to support them..." The respondent added that as Catholics they are against the anti-marriage [welfare] system that has been in place for such a long time. Another respondent found this policy "barbaric" considering that we do not live in an ideal world and that there are

many situations in which is best for women and children to live apart from their husbands and fathers.

### *Impact of Charitable Choice*

The general consensus was that charitable choice is not being implemented in Florida. The State has not done anything to include religious organizations in their funding streams. This is evidenced by the fact that only those FBOs that have been receiving State funding, such as Catholic Charities, are competing for this funding. There has not been an increased in the number of FBOs competing for funding. As stated by a respondent “I have not seen St. Rosa of Lima Catholic Church stepping forward and competing.” Another example of how this is not happening is the pro-life car tag program implemented by the Diocese of St. Petersburg, which is being sued by a pro-choice group because the benefits of the tags were to be given to the Diocese.

Respondents concurred that while the State’s republican administration as well as the conservative population of Florida may be in favor of charitable choice, this is not a priority of the State legislature and therefore is not even in their agenda. This also seems to be the case at a national level. One respondent commented reading about a religious organization that had applied to the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) agency for funding and was denied because they engage in daily prayer before lunch. According to the respondent the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiative’s position was

that this should have not happened and that HUD should reconsider their decision.

While Catholic Charities' agencies have contracts with the federal and state government, these contracts are not associated to the charitable choice legislation. Rather these contracts are the result of the long history and expertise that Catholic Charities has in social service provision. Many of the services provided by Catholic Charities are indirectly linked to TANF services. Such is the case of their refugee programs since most refugees receive TANF benefits. This is also the case with some of their substance abuse, mental health, foster care, and homeless programs. Catholic Charities also has a long tradition of receiving federal funds from FEMA and HUD, which predate the enactment of the 1996 Welfare Reform that contains the Charitable Choice Act.

The implementation of the 1996 reform provided the opportunity to staff from Catholic Charities to become part of the Regional Workforce Boards (previously called WAGES Coalitions) as a way to advocate for the poor. Only a couple of the agencies are represented on the boards and their influence is limited due board size (40+ members) and the manner in which these meetings are run. The boards' participatory approach consists of telling the members what has been decided.

Advocacy is part of Catholic Charities mission and it is done through several avenues. Each Catholic Charities agency has an Office for Justice and Peace that constantly monitors social concerns. Staff members from these offices work closely with local advocacy groups that share their same concerns

and also at the State level with the office of the Florida Catholic Conference.

Other advocacy efforts include educating the legislators about issues of concern and building coalitions with other organizations.

Lobbying efforts regarding welfare reform revolve around prompting the State legislature to provide a more appropriate safety net for the poor, particularly considering the downturn in the economy. Respondents expressed great concern regarding the future of the safety net based on the impact the reform has had thus far. They know that is only so much their agencies can do for the poor and recognized that “there is not a lot of policy making now, only a budget conversation”. For some, the actual condition of the safety net is directly linked to the philosophy of the current republican leadership and know that the pendulum will swing back when the democrats take the leadership role, as has happened before.

### **Intersection**

Data for this analysis were obtained from interviews with representatives from the following agencies/organizations: the Florida Catholic Conference, the Florida Faith-Based Association, the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives, and a reverend from the Pinellas County Faith-Based Coalition. These interview were conducted over the phone to accommodate the schedules of the interviewees, except for a follow up inquiry sent to the Florida Catholic Conference via e-mail.

Interviews were unstructured and focused on charitable choice and its implementation and on the FBI. These included the political and programmatic aspects of this legislation, its benefits and challenges, and plans being developed to address FBO eligibility and accountability.

### ***Charitable Choice***

Interviewees from this group tended to focus more on clarifying existing policies and in finding ways to support the successful implementation of this initiative. There was little disagreement among respondents.

### ***Views and Opinions***

The views and opinions of the interviewees tended to focus more on clarifying issues related to this legislation and the processes that have been taken place in 2002 in relation to this initiative. The following are some of the views that emerged.

One view pointed to the limited number of people, among the general public, government and legislators at the state and national levels, who know and understand charitable choice and the FBI. This lack of knowledge and understanding seems to be the reason for the lack of support some bills such as the CARE Act have received in Congress. This is also the reason for people questioning the unconstitutionality of this legislation, particularly when they question FBOs hiring practices. As stated by one respondent, “this keeps bugging this [effort] down”. Another respondent explained that charitable choice

is a piece of legislation passed as part of the 1996 Welfare Reform and contains within itself four pieces of legislation targeted to TANF, SAMHSA, the Community Block Grants, and the Welfare to Work Program. In other words, the respondent added, charitable choice laid the stage for the FBI, which is not a law, but nothing else than a generic form of charitable choice intended to develop a series of strategies to help level the ground for FBOs and small community organizations. And one way of leveling the ground is by expanding the FBI to all federal and state offices.

Another view pointed to the fact that Florida's Senate Bill 912 received unanimous support for the creation of the FFBA. This, according to a respondent shows the level of support for the FBI, starting with Governor Bush, "who is very much behind FBOs and the work they do". The process that led to Senate Bill 912 began with Governor Bush's implementation of a faith-based program in a prison, following his brother's Texan example. A representative of the FB community was consequently invited to participate in a State's task force that addressed self-inflicted crimes, such as prostitution and addiction. The task force was successful in showing the effectiveness of FBO run programs and made several recommendations, some of which were included in the Bill.

At a more local level, a respondent reported charitable choice not being a central issue because the FBI had stalled due to budget cuts. Another respondent felt that the lack of approval of the CARE Act was slowing the process but that the President was moving forward as much as possible without having the endorsement for the program. As an effort to promote the initiative the

FFBA was working on developing a Florida faith-based directory and a survey to be implemented among all FBOs in Florida, since this agency serves the function of intermediary for the State. DCF and Miami Catholic Charities underwrote the creation of the directory.

In terms of funding for this initiative one respondent mentioned that TANF funds could be used. The way he explained it was that since WIA includes TANF funds and TANF falls under the charitable choice legislation, then “of course it [charitable choice] should be included”. It is part of the One Stops and consequently should not be excluded from funding. Additionally, Florida received some funding from HHS to help them build an infrastructure to promote the FBI. The expectation is that as the FBI continues to link with other organizations such as the Homeless Coalition it will be easier for the initiative to sustain itself.

### *Benefits and Challenges*

Interviewees identified several benefits and challenges related to charitable choice and the FBI. Benefits identified included:

- **Wider service reach:** including FBOs in the network of service providers would widen the range and number of services available for those in need. An example provided by one of the interviewees referred to the fact that “in Florida neither CBOs nor the government can handle the substance abuse problem by themselves”. Consequently, it would be beneficial for them to work with FBOs.

- **Service provision history:** FBOs have a long tradition of working with the poor. Rather than creating new organizations, FBOs and CBOs should be included to enhance the impact of human services in the population. As stated by an interviewee, “The bottom line is that by giving FBOs greater opportunity to participate the poor are helped. More poor people are reached and served, better served”.
- **Service outcomes:** FBOs’ programs have positive effects on the participants, contrary to what their critics would say. In this regard one interviewee mentioned the existence of research evidence to support this statement. He added that is challenging to demonstrate positive outcomes when a program is in its initial stages of implementation, but this is not reason enough not to try it, because “otherwise there would be no innovation” in services and practices.
- **Leveraging resources:** FBOs raise enormous amounts of money from private services. According to one respondent, the amount of money raised by FBOs surpasses \$20 million per year and government is leveraging those resources. The respondent added that the replacement costs of FBOs’ programs would be enormous.  
  
Some of the challenges identified by the respondents were:
- **FBO hiring practices:** although interviewees did not consider this issue a serious challenge, they recognized that it is a source of general debate. One respondent stated that since charitable choice allows FBOs to hire their own, and since TANF falls under those guidelines, this should not be

an issue. The comments made by another respondent also reinforced that hiring choice was up to the FBOs and that they should be able to hire people who share their faith, morality and life style. The respondent added that as long as FBOs were not discriminating on the basis of race, ethnicity, and origin, they should not be required to meet any other hiring criteria.

- **Accreditation:** some secular organizations have voiced their apprehension about funding FBOs that are not certified to provide services. According to one respondent, those raising the concern are afraid to lose some of their funding. It was also reported that one of the future efforts of the FFBA would be to screen out the FBOs providing services, set up standards, provide training and work with all the main players. Currently FBOs are license exempt when providing substance abuse services, but need to be certified when seeking funding for these services.
- **Existing regulations:** it seems that there are many regulations that prevent the implementation of FBI that have grown over the years and no one knows what was the regulators' original intend. Consequently, one of the challenges of the FBI is "to remove barriers that have no statutory basis". It was also mentioned that quite often disagreements in the interpretation of the regulations "are over small technical points, not over legislation". Emphasis was placed on keeping in mind that this is about

servicing people in need as are the “children of prisoners [and] people with substance abuse problems”.

- **Proselytism:** the possibility of FBOs using their services for proselytism was not a concern shared by all respondents. One view was that it is impossible to meet the needs of every person and that FBOs will not try to be all things to all people because they want to maintain their identity. According to one respondent, the way his organization, which is Christian, deals with this situation is by being open to anybody as long as they understand that “we are not teaching out of the Koran or the Torah”. Another view was that the conversation as to how FBOs are going to focus on human needs and not on proselytizing recipients is still being discussed and clarified. Obviously FBOs’ contract with the State specifies this restriction, and contract renewal would depend on meeting this requirement.
- **Accountability:** regarding FBO accountability the sense conveyed was that there needs to be a happy medium in terms of what is required. According to one respondent, the government has recognized that they do not want to be lapsed in the thinking that only people with MA or PhD degrees are qualified to serve others, considering that FBOs have been doing this for years without any certification. The respondent added, that when the main priority for organizations is to keep the state happy, “compassion goes out the window”. Consequently, this is a gap that needs to be bridged in order to develop regulations that are fair and consistent

among agencies. For example, currently contracts with the Department of Corrections place more emphasis on compliance with city codes than on certification. Lack of certification is addressed in the level of funding agencies receive. Uncertified agencies are funded at a lower level than those that are certified.

### *Impact of Charitable Choice*

As previously stated, the implementation of charitable choice and the FBI in Florida has been slow. However, the effort seemed to have gained a lot of momentum in 2002 with the passing of Senate Bill 912 and the funding received from HHS. This initiative still requires a lot of work in order to help it grow. The impact of this initiative thus far has been as follows:

- **Creation of the FFBA:** establishing the FFBA was an important achievement because it provided the mechanisms to facilitate partnering efforts between FBOs, CBOs and the State. According to an interviewee this organization is solid and has the trust of the community and of the State.
- **State conference:** the FFBA in conjunction with the Governor's office held a statewide faith-based conference in September 2002. Representatives from many faiths including Buddhist, Jews, Muslims, and Christians, as well as government representatives attended the conference. Jim Towey, who directs the WHOFBCI, brought several representatives from various federal agencies. The conference was a success and served to bring

together the faith-community with State and federal agencies as well as with the private non-profit sector. As part of the post-conference effort the FFBA was planning to bring back the faith and community leaders to develop a plan of action.

- **CBO/FBO Gateway:** the website created with some of the funding received by Florida is supporting the efforts of the FFBA in that it provides information about funding availability and other information pertaining to the initiative. It will be up to FBOs to take the initiative to apply for grants and show that they are able to provide services.

In terms of advocacy, the Florida Catholic Conference has continued to play this role and to find ways to work with State officials in helping them build the infrastructure of the FBI. In particular, the agency is interested in helping the State identify those FBOs that qualify for meeting the physical needs of people not for proselytizing, in working with legislative committees to determine what legislative changes are needed in order to implement the FBI, and in working with the FFBA, which is working out of the Governor's office and has a broader representation of people. Because this organization has been around for a long time, State agencies and representative regularly seek their input. For example, prior to their participation in this interview, one of their representatives met with then Speaker Designee Byrd, who was interested in their input regarding ways to meet the needs of Florida's foster children and another meeting was scheduled to meet with a representative from WIA to discuss FBI legislation. The agency was also participating in a group providing input for an interim report for the

House Committee on Child and Family Security charged with the task of identifying the barriers faced by FBOs in contracting with the State for the provision of services to children and families.

Regarding the longevity of the FBI, independent from the charitable choice legislation, one respondent mentioned that since President Bush is the architect of the FBI, which he created to support his vision, there is a possibility that once he leaves the White House this effort may mutate into something else. When asked about whether the FBI would disappear, the respondent stated that what he meant was that the format of how government interacts with FBOs may be different, but “ the basic principle should not roll back”. The expectation seems to be that once states realize the value of the services provided by FBOs and CBOs they would want to keep partnering with them. In other words, the “President is hoping it [FBI] takes root” and his efforts amount to “undoing the tangles that shouldn’t be”.

## **Secular**

The data for this analysis were obtained from interviews with administrators from Workforce Florida, Workforce Region 16 (Hernando & Pasco Counties), staff from the House Committee on Child and Family Security, the House Committee on Workforce and Technical Skills, and the Senate Commerce Committee, and from a member of Representative Fasano’s staff. It is important to note, that the information provided by staff from legislative committees does

not represent their personal views and/or opinions, rather is information these staff members have gathered in order to inform their committees.

Interviews were conducted over the phone to accommodate the schedules of the interviewees, except for Region 16, which provided information via e-mail. As mentioned in the methodology section, a member of the communication's department from the Florida Workforce Development Association sent an e-mail survey to Florida's 24 Workforce regions asking them if they were subcontracting with FBOs in their regions. Five regions responded: Region 4 (Gulf Coast Regional Workforce Board), Region 6 (North Florida Regional Workforce Board), Region 16 (Pasco-Hernando Regional Workforce Board), Region 20 (Treasure Coast Regional Workforce Board), and Region 23 (South Florida Workforce Board). The researcher contacted the five regions to solicit additional information about their partnering efforts with FBOs and only Region 16 responded.

The interviews were unstructured and focused on charitable choice and its implementation and the FBI in Florida. These included the political and programmatic aspects of this legislation, its benefits and challenges, plans to address FBO eligibility and accountability, and about using FBOs to help State agencies in their efforts to promote behavior modification among program participants.

### ***Charitable Choice***

Overall, respondents did not express any ideological dissonance regarding this legislation and seemed more interested in focusing on its

implementation and compliance with the law, that in questioning it. Their views and opinions are summarized below.

### *Views and Opinions*

Interviewees did not seem to be concerned with the constitutionality of charitable choice and the FBI. One respondent's comment summarizes the interviewees' perspective in this regard: "It [charitable choice] is the legal thing to do. It is required by law, but the money was not there." Interviewees concurred that implementation of the FBI is something that has been happening in Florida for many years as part of a tradition that began long before the federal initiative. This relationship has existed with FBOs that range from large 501c non-profits such as Lutheran Social Services, Catholic Charities, and Methodist Services to small individual churches such as a Baptist church in Tallahassee. One respondent used the Department of Children and Families (DCF) as an example of this tradition, and added that DCF has \$70 million in contracts with FBOs.

When asked about the existence on any particular State law or statute defining the constitutionality of the State/Church relationship, respondents concurred that there is not a specific piece of legislation. One respondent mentioned, "There is no specific framework policy for this initiative, no real central location for that". He added that one statute that is on print is Chapter 409, which talks about accreditation of FBOs to be licensed for service provision. Another respondent pointed to House Bill 921 establishing the faith-based coordination effort through the creation of the Florida Faith-Based Association

(FFBA). Another respondent mentioned that a great deal of discretion is afforded to Workforce Florida, which is a non-profit public corporation. Respondents also referred to the creation of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (WHOFBCI) as a reinforcement of the State/Church partnership with the creation of the five faith-based offices in federal departments including Education, Labor and HHS. Respondents mentioned that the departments of Labor and HHS were the most active in “putting out grants and encouragement for FBOs”.

In terms of financing for this initiative, respondents pointed in various directions. One respondent mentioned the \$70 million in contracts between DCF and FBOs. Another mentioned that the First Job First Wages program states that 15% of all youth programs, particularly after school programs, be allocated to FBOs. Funds for this program come out of the TANF block grant. In addition, this respondent mentioned that there is a Challenge Grant to maximize welfare to work programs through training and education that is also open to FBOs. Another respondent mentioned the contracting relationship that has existed for a long time between FBOs and the Juvenile Justice Department. One respondent mentioned the efforts of the State in responding to requests for proposals (RFP) put out by the US Labor Department in May 2002. Florida responded to three RFPs in collaboration with local agencies. The grants covered three areas: state, regional/inter-median and local. The three proposals were funded. Funding from the state area grant is being used for the creation and maintenance of the CBO/FBO Gateway website promoting partnerships among these organizations.

## *Benefits and Challenges*

The benefits of the charitable choice legislation identified by interviewees were:

- **Current environment:** this refers to the current political environment, which is facilitating the increased access of FBOs into services. A respondent mentioned that previously there was a lot of suspicion between the state and FBOs. This suspicion has dissipated with the establishment of federal provisions and the expressions of key leaders who favor the inclusion of FBOs. As a result, FBOs are also more receptive to participate and partner with government agencies.
- **Increased outreach:** this refers to the ability of local Regions to widen the scope of their services by including FBOs as partners in their service implementation efforts.
- **Creating a more effective system:** this refers to the elimination of duplication of services that will result from the integration and coordination of services provided by State agencies and FBOs. As stated by a respondent, “Rather than [FBOs] having a feeble effort to find a job, link to the robust system”. In other words, the respondent mentioned that agencies and organizations that are good at some specific services should not try to duplicate services such as job search and transportation when those services are already provided by the system.

Charitable choice poses several challenges from the perspective of the respondents:

- **Funding:** some FBOs do not have the capital or funding to initiate programs. This may be an issue even for those organizations that are participating in the State effort to develop FBO and CBO partnerships. In this regard a respondent mentioned, “There are no allusions regarding the sustainability of the funding received”. He added that the current funding would provide them with 6-8 months of work to create partnerships to show the value of such efforts and prompt the Regions to be more inclined to design RFPs that include FBO participation. The expectation is that through this effort some organizations would become established “by just working at it”. According to the respondent, an example of an organization that became established in the Workforce development by just working at it is Goodwill Industries. Other examples of organizations that provide multiple services and are established are the Salvation Army and the YMCA.
- **Infrastructure:** some FBOs do not have the infrastructure necessary to implement social service programs. Respondents mentioned that FBOs may lack the facilities and personnel required to implement certain programs such as a residential program for children or other programs needed in communities like mentoring and counseling. In addition, FBOs may not have the expertise and capacity to find out about funding opportunities and to pursuit them.
- **Accountability:** most respondents did not identify FBO accountability as a challenge. One respondent stated, “FBOs are notorious for front porch

initiatives but they are not good administrators”. However, this respondent recognized that there is great variability among FBOs and that some are sophisticated in terms of their ability to set up accounting and reporting systems and to pursue grants. The expectation is that the FFBA and the CBO/FBO Information Gateway will provide the technical support to assist FBOs in meeting accountability requirements.

- **Hesitancy:** respondents mentioned FBOs being apprehensive about this initiative because of fear of government control considering that FBOs are used to operating in a certain way. One respondent mentioned that the Florida Catholic Conference was concerned about being required to have a separate audit from what they are already required. This hesitancy, according to a respondent, is also due to State regulations that may infringe in the FBOs ability to provide ministry. In terms of hesitancy, one respondent mentioned that “basic inertia” could keep this effort from moving forward, while another stated that it takes a lot of legwork, time and effort to encourage and draw the participation of FBOs.
- **Proselytism:** this did not seem to be a concern among respondents. One respondent mentioned that the American Civil Liberty Union had some objections. Another respondent stated “there has never been in Florida legislation about religious icons; the tide shifted at the Federal level and that removed many barriers”. Another respondent seemed to see proselytism as having some positive value for some people, something that was not possible to do at the One Stop centers. This is what he

stated, “In the One Stops we can’t evangelize and invoke religious values, and this is not for everyone, but for some”.

### *Behavior Modification*

The role of FBOs in helping implement behavior modification as part of welfare reform was acknowledged by some of the respondents. These comments did not directly refer to the marriage promotion aspect of the reform, but to efforts to change behaviors that would help people secure employment and become self-sufficient, of which marriage could be one. One respondent explained that the Welfare to Work Program (WtW) is designed to serve those with greater needs, the hardest to serve and that without behavior modification the participants are less likely to succeed. This view was shared by another respondent who stated that FBOs “are extremely good at outreach and motivation and motivation is what it takes, is behavioral change, and that is their [FBOs] business”. Another respondent mentioned that local organizations are able to provide the social pressure necessary for producing life altering attitudinal changes in certain individuals.

### *Impact of Charitable Choice*

Implementation of charitable choice in Florida began in 2002 as a result of the President’s launching of his FBI and the creation of the WHOFBCI and of funding received by the State to begin implementation plans. Although there has been a long tradition of State-Church partnership in the delivery of some human

services, these were not associated to the 1996 Welfare Reform legislation.

According to one of the respondents, “Charitable choice has not come up [in the legislation] in a major or minor way”. However, as a result of a new impetus, this initiative has been able to achieve the following:

- **Florida FBI Director:** the governor’s office has assigned a person to be in charge of the Florida FBI to help facilitate the flow of information both horizontally and vertically about funding opportunities and the development of FBO-CBO partnerships.
- **The FFBA:** legislation (House Bill 921) established a faith-based coordination effort through the formation of the Florida Faith-Based Association (FFBA) also referred to it as a coalition. As a result of this effort, regional coalitions have been developing in the State (i.e., north, central and south Florida). One example is the Jobs Partnership in Orlando. According to a respondent, a lot of what is happening with the coalition building in the Workforce side is a bottom up effort.
- **CBO/FBO Gateway:** this is a website created to increase communication and enhance partnering opportunities between these organizations. The website provides information about grant opportunities and would have available proposal write ups that can be downloaded to help these organizations with grant writing efforts. According to one respondent, a survey completed in 2001 with all Workforce regions showed that there was a lot of informal involvement of FBOs but because the only RFPs put out by the regions was for the full service administration, FBOs did not

apply. Now, regions are encouraged to break their RFPs into more discrete services to help FBOs have access to resources.

In terms of regional efforts to include FBOs in service delivery, Region 16 reported a program they are starting to implement. The name of the program is *Whatever It Takes* (WIT) and consists of a three-tiered approach to serve participants in the Welfare to Work Program (WtW). The tiers consist of community and faith-based organizations (CFBOs), soft-skill/employability training and Career Central (one stop). Key to the success of this program is the CFBOs efforts to recruit and accept referrals from Career Central to encourage, mentor and follow up WtW participants through 90 days of employment. Contracting with CFBOs is happening through a letter of agreement with the Region's Workforce Board. The efforts of the CFBOs will be closely monitored by Career Central to ensure that they comply with program requirements. CFBOs will be reimbursed based on their recruitment and mentoring effort. Each recruitment and mentoring effort is potentially worth \$1,000 based on payment points once the individual moves through the program. For example, for each individual recruited the finding fee is \$100 and for having him/her complete the life skills training another \$200 are added. Additional points are added up to the point where the individual is employed and remains employed for 90 days.

In terms of the impact that charitable choice and the FBI may have on the advocacy efforts of FBOs to impact State policies, one respondent mentioned that he did not think there was a move to strip FBOs of their ability to advocate for social change. He added that those FBOs that have created a separate entity

could still participate in the political process and that there are ways “to separate the political arm from the program arm”. Another respondent reported that the Florida Catholic Conference was interested in policy and advocacy at the State level, but that it has been explained to them that their engagement should be at the service level. FBOs are not necessarily represented on Regional Boards because there is no State mandate requiring their representation. CBO representation is included in the mandate.

## **Summary**

This section summarizes the perceptions of the various actors. The respondents’ views place their experience in the appropriate historical and socio-economic contexts. This is particularly important considering that these are the contexts in which the pending TANF reauthorization and the increased efforts to promote the FBI at the national and State levels will be played out. Their responses also provide insight into the political processes that have shaped the implementation of this legislation and the direction it is taking in Florida now that the FBI has regained Presidential attention and Florida has received some funding for this effort. The most salient conclusions about their views can be summarized as follows:

- For the FBOs it is clear that the existing safety net is not meeting the needs of low-income families considering that these families are struggling in their effort to become self-sufficient. They view the reform as being

successful in reducing enrollment figures but not in decreasing poverty. It could be argued that it has had the opposite effect.

- FBOs still have questions about the constitutionality of the FBI and the availability of new funding for its implementation. Consequently, they are of the opinion that there are many challenges that must be resolved before charitable choice and the FBI can be successfully implemented. Although FBOs will continue to serve the poor to the extent of their capacity and according to their mandate, their view is that primary responsibility for the poor rests on the government.
- The Intersection is of the opinion that knowledge and understanding of charitable choice and the FBI is limited among the general public, state agencies and government, and that this lack of understanding has resulted in a slow implementation effort.
- The Intersection also recognized that although funding for this initiative is considered to be part of TANF funding, the absence of new funding has also slowed the implementation process. Proof of this is that the launching of the FBI in Florida as a concerted effort between the State and FBOs took place as soon as some additional funding was available. However, there are many challenges that still need to be worked out before this Initiative can be fully implemented.
- The Intersection views the role of FBOs such as Catholic Charities as providers of technical assistance to other FBOs with less experience and resources. A role that will be mediated and coordinated through the FFBA.

- The Secular are of the opinion that charitable choice and the FBO have not received much attention by Florida's legislative bodies. They also believe that implementation of this legislation is largely dependent on the desire and ability of local regions to partner with FBOs in the delivery of services. Efforts that up to now have been minimal.
- The Secular expressed little concern about the limitations some FBOs have in terms of their infrastructure and the capacity to comply with state and/or federal regulations. They also expressed limited concerns about the possibility that FBOs might use their service provision as opportunities for proselytism. For some, this is may be one of the benefits of including FBOs in this effort since they may be better able to change or alter behaviors.
- The Secular have no concerns about charitable choice allowing FBOs increased opportunities to participate in the shaping of social policies considering their exclusion from Regional Boards and the role they are expected to play.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DOCUMENT REVIEWS**

Findings from document reviews are organized following the group categories established for the interviews: FBOs, Intersection, and Secular and by the guiding research questions. Not all documents reviewed addressed every research question and this is reflected in the findings. While each group is presented separately, the summary section is derived from all of them. The documents reviewed covered a three-year time period (1999-2002). However, as seen in the findings, charitable choice was not a relevant topic until the year 2001. This seems to be directly related to the presidential elections considering that President Bush was a strong advocate of this legislation while serving as Governor of Texas.

#### **FBOs**

The documents reviewed for this component consisted of publications from Catholic Charities USA and Catholic newspapers and magazines. The common denominator for these organizations is their desire to serve the community through direct services, advocacy, and information dissemination.

### ***Impact of Welfare Reform***

Reports on the impact of welfare reform were few, but significant in that they captured the complexity of the situation. These reports may be summarized in two statements:

- **Increased request for assistance:** in June 2001 Catholic Charities reported that despite low unemployment the need for donated food was outstripping their capacity (Catholic Charities 2001b). Two months later (Catholic Charities 2001f), they reported that during the past year request for emergency food assistance nationwide had increased 30% and that these requests came mostly from the working poor. According to their frontline caseworkers, the typical family requesting assistance was a working parent earning minimum wage or \$1 or \$2 above the minimum wage.
- **Persistent poverty:** as part of their testimony in August 2001 (Catholic Charities 2001f), Catholic Charities recognized that it was difficult to argue the success of the welfare reform considering the decline of the rolls. However, the report added that if the point of the reform was to lift people out of poverty and to help them live in dignity, the outcome was not that simple.

### ***Images of the Poor***

The images of the poor that emerged from the documents encompass some of the circumstances surrounding this population as described below.

- **Single mothers:** single mothers are considered to be the primary TANF recipients (Catholic Charities 2002d). Their situation is described in the following statement, “Unfortunately, all too often the supports that were promised to these mothers – supports like childcare, food stamps, Medicaid, and transportation assistance are not being provided (Catholic Charities 2002c).”
- **Working poor:** these are the families who cannot afford to put food on the table after spending so much of their income in rent and childcare. These are the parents who are not earning enough to cover basic expenses and make ends meet without government assistance (Catholic Charities 2001d; 2001c). They are also hard working families who face work and family challenges such as dealing with sick children, lack of childcare during non-traditional hours, or medical emergencies that make it difficult for them to transition into the workforce (Catholic Charities 2002d). According to their statistics, these families represent 31 million Americans, approximately 12 million of whom are hungry children, living in families that cannot afford balance diets, or where parents are skipping meals so their children can eat (Catholic Charities 2001b; Patterson 2002).
- **Struggling families:** these families are part of the working poor and may or may not be eligible for TANF. They are accurately described by Catholic Charities as follows:

*The people whose daily labors make life easier for all of us. They clean our offices and our office buildings. They care for our children in understaffed day care centers, or for our parents in nursing homes and long term care facilities. They stock the shelves in our supermarkets. They harvest our food in the fields, get meat and poultry to market in the slaughterhouses, and prepare food and serve it in restaurants and cafeterias. They have provided the difficult and often backbreaking labor that has played a large role in creating and sustaining this nation's recent economic boom. [Catholic Charities 2001f, emphasis added]*

In addition, the documents address some of the conditions that make it difficult for families to transition from poverty into self-sufficiency and therefore to change the configuration of the poor. Some of those conditions are:

- **Low skills and low wages:** many TANF recipients are transitioning into low skills and low paying jobs that will never lead them to a living wage job. These families will continue to struggle in order to make ends meet (Catholic Charities 2002d).
- **Lack of work supports:** poor families need supports such as Medicaid, food stamps, and childcare assistance in order to survive (Catholic Charities 2001f).
- **Increasing TANF requirements:** proposals to increase the number of work requirement hours and to shorten the time allowed families to leave TANF will have negative consequences in their ability to become and remain self-sufficient (Catholic Charities 2002c).

### ***Charitable Choice***

The documents do not directly discuss this legislation, however, they address some of the themes that have derived from it.

### *Views and Opinions*

The views and opinions that emerged from the documents reinforced the interest of the Catholic Church to have increased access to resources and to have a voice in the legislative decision-making process. Their publications included:

- Dissemination and interpretation of the White House Report on Barriers Facing FBOs and CBOs (Catholic Charities 2001e). This document was revised as part of the Intersection Documents and represents the efforts of the White House in trying to recognize and address the barriers that have kept FBOs and CBOs from equal participation in accessing federal funding.
- Catholic Charities' support of the FBI and the appointment of John Dilulio Jr. to head the WHOFBCI (Catholic Charities 2001g).
- Catholic Charities' requests for the fulfillment of legislation, in accordance with the 1996 welfare law, by asking Congress for full funding of the Social Services Block Grant, which is the primary source of federal funds for FBOs and CBOs to provide social services and help the poor (Catholic Charities 2001d).
- Concerning legislative action, Catholic Charities' supported the CARE Act and urged the Senate for its approval. In their opinion, this bill will strengthen their ability to serve the poor and to receive equal treatment in their funding seeking attempts (Catholic Charities 2002a; 2002b; 2002c). In addition, representatives from Catholic Charities met with HUD's

secretary Mel Martinez to ask for new federal initiatives to help FBOs and CBOs develop affordable housing for the poor (Catholic Charities 2001a).

### *Benefits and Challenges*

The documents are supportive of the FBI and of the creation of the WHOFBCI. However, the documents do not address any specific benefits resulting from this effort. Challenges associated with the charitable choice legislation and its implementation refer to the inability of FBOs to carry full responsibility for the poor and the need to attach funding to this initiative. These are some of the statements found in the documents:

- “Congress should not be misled. The religious and community organizations that feed the poor now are already stretched past their capacity. The cupboard is almost bare. Government, especially the Food Stamp Program must play a key role in protecting children (Catholic Charities 2001b).”
- This new support for private and religious programs cannot be a substitute for government anti-poverty programs; consequently, new federal dollars are needed in order to implement this initiative. “None of the faith-based partnerships proposed by the President can work without sufficient funding” (Catholic Charities 2001g). In addition, the documents mention that the conditions of the poor can only be alleviated by appropriate federal legislation addressing the minimum wage, affordable housing, quality childcare, and access to health care (Catholic Charities 2001f).

### *Marriage Promotion*

The documents contain a couple of comments regarding the position of Catholic Charities USA towards marriage. One comment addresses this organization's support for optional programs for marriage counseling, marriage preparation, relationship training, and family budget counseling for poor parents (Catholic Charities 2002c). This is in keeping with Catholic Charities' belief that children raised in two parent families are less likely to be raised in poverty (Catholic Charities 2001f). Catholic Charities also supports the elimination of the family cap established as part of welfare reform to deny or restrict cash assistance when a new baby is born. As stated in the document

*Denying benefits to families based on the birth of an additional child sends the wrong signal about the value that the government places on human life, and punishes all the children in the family. [Catholic Charities 2002c, emphasis added]*

### *Impact of Charitable Choice*

Considering the limited implementation of this legislation, the documents do not contain any information about its impact. A couple of documents focused on the importance of supporting the FBI (Murray 2002; Pattison 2002). Catholic Charities' documents place greater emphasis on their advocacy efforts aimed at requesting the Senate to improve the support systems needed by mothers to transition from welfare to work (Catholic Charities 2002c), to restore benefits for legal immigrants (Catholic Charities 2001i), to increase the minimum wage, and to provide affordable housing and healthcare for the millions of uninsured (Catholic Charities 2001d; 2001e).

## **Intersection**

The documents reviewed for this component consisted of publications made by agencies and organizations, such as the White House Office of Faith Based and Community Initiative (WHOFBCI), the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), the US Catholic Bishops, and the Florida Catholic Conference. These organizations, regardless of their secular and religious orientation, are engaged in efforts to influence Congress and the general public on allowing FBOs to have equal access to state and federal funding for the provision of social services. These efforts are considered to respond to a deep desire to provide the poor with services that are guided by true caring and compassion.

## ***Impact of Welfare Reform***

The impact of the 1996 welfare reform was not discussed at any length. Only the documents published by the US Catholic Bishops make any references to it. These comments are directly related to the economic impact of the reform on the poor. In terms of the overall economic status of the nation, the documents mention that beneath the surface of economic prosperity lies a reality that may be described as three economies living side by side: (1) many people who are prospering in the age of information and globalization; (2) people who are doing well by some measure but are being squeezed by declining incomes, are having a hard time trying to afford healthcare, and are worried about being able to provide a college education for their children. In other words, they view

globalization as an opportunity as well as a source of worry; and (3) those left behind who cannot escape poverty. They lack the skills for the “new economy” and the supports necessary for work (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2000:2).

In addition, the documents point to the need to temper the enthusiasm for failing welfare roll numbers with the reality of persistent poverty and inappropriate wages that do not cover all the basic needs of families. As stated in a document, “many may be leaving welfare; too few have left poverty” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2001:3). Furthermore, the document claims that even if the minimum wage increase proposed by Congress was passed, a head of household working full time would still live in poverty.

### ***Images of the Poor***

Images of the poor found in these documents do not go beyond general descriptions that lack any specificity as to what they mean, their implications, or are placed in the context of the life circumstances faced by this population. These descriptions are found on documents published by the WHOFBCI and whose author is President Bush. The statements gathered from the documents include the following:

- Citizens in need (White House 2002a)
- People who need hope (White House 2002a)
- People living in despair and hopelessness (White House 2002a)
- Single black mothers (White House 2002a)

- Suffering people (White House 2001c)
- Families in poverty, prisoners reentering communities and their families, children of prisoners, homeless families, and at-risk youth (White House 2002c)

Documents also describe those factors that set the images of the poor held by religious organizations apart from those held by government. It is important to point that only the documents published by religious organizations reflect these distinctions:

- **Underlying philosophy:** the Catholic philosophy is emphasized by its teaching, which insist that “all people have the right to economic initiative, to productive work, to just wages and benefits, to decent working conditions, as well as to organize and join unions and other associations” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999a:1). The documents also refer to the teachings of John Paul II who during his pastoral visit in 1995 described a society truly worth of the human person as one “in which none are so poor that they have nothing to give and none are so rich that they have nothing to receive” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999a:7). The documents also mention the importance of maintaining the principles which the Catholic Church believe are vital to maintaining the nation’s commitment to ensuring a life of dignity and that should be included in the national dialogue and in the national economic policy. Furthermore, these documents state that based on this religious tradition, the fundamental moral test of any society is how the poor, the

weak, and the vulnerable are fairing (Florida Catholic Conference 2002; United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2000). As a result of the Catholic philosophy, the documents highlight that according to the Catholic social tradition “the economy, including the global economy, exists to serve the human person, not the other way around” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2001:3).

- **Catholic Church Charter:** it is the Catholic Church’s charter to help improve the conditions of humans by promoting and upholding the dignity, sacredness, and integrity of humans at all stages of their lives, from conception to natural death (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999a; 2001). As such, the Church and its members exercise their responsibility to ensure the common good by participating in the volunteer, private and public sectors of society (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999b).
- **Understanding of poverty:** the documents provide detailed descriptions of the poor and the difficulties they face in trying to meet their basic human needs. Among these descriptions specific comments are made that clearly capture some of the basic distinctions between the government and Church views: (1) “The first line of attack against poverty must be to build and sustain a healthy economy that provides employment opportunities at just wages for all adults who are able to work (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999b:17)” and (2) the need to stop blaming the poor for the conditions that oppress them by abandoning “a mentality in which

the poor – as individuals and as peoples – are considered a burden, as irksome intruders trying to consume what others have produced” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999b:7).

### ***Charitable Choice***

The documents reviewed address charitable choice through the on-going discussion of the separation of state and church, legislation proposed to the Congress, and the impact this legislation has in secular as well as religious organizations. The views that emerged from these documents are discussed below.

### ***Views and Opinions***

One view is that the implementation of charitable choice does not represent a violation of the separation of state and church. Many of the documents published by the WHOFBCI are an attempt to clarify this issue by placing this legislation in the proper historical background and interpreting the meaning of the First Amendment. In this regard the documents explain that the First Amendment both secures religious liberty and protects against governmental establishment of religion, but that for some reason, officials have focused much more on avoiding the prohibition than on honoring the protection. As a result, many federal policies and practices have gone beyond sensible constitutional restrictions sharply restricting the equal opportunity for FBOs to seek and receive federal support (White House 2001b). The President (White

House 2002b) also refers to the Baptist Church as a model of democratic government that existed before the founding of America and which was clearly articulated by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. when he said “the Church is not the master or the servant of the state, but rather the conscience of the state”. Consequently, the President concludes that Baptists have been guardians of the separation of the state and church and of preserving the integrity of both.

Another view is that several regulations allowing equal participation of FBOs in seeking federal funding have been in place for some time. For example, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, national origin, gender and religion, while simultaneously allowing religious organizations to staff on a religious basis. Congress passed this protection over 30 years ago and reaffirmed and extended it in the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 to cover not only core religious staff but also those engaged in the provision of social services (White House 2001b). Housing and Urban Development (HUD) regulations concerning the Community Development Block Grants and in particular the HOME program allows religious organizations to participate in funding. These regulations, as stated in the document, were developed in response to obsolete Supreme Court cases with the intention of increasing the involvement of FBOs. Furthermore, these regulations no longer divide FBOs into acceptable and problematic religious organizations as previously required by the Supreme Court (White House 2001b). The passing, by bipartisan majority, of the 1996 PRWORA enacted charitable choice as part of this reform, added charitable choice language to the

reauthorization of the Community Services Block Grants and in 2000 extended charitable choice to cover SAMHSA's Federally funded substance abuse and prevention programs (White House 2001b). Consequently, the President states that charitable choice was carefully designed to ensure religious liberty of service recipients, forbidding any religious discrimination and mandating a secular alternative for those who are not interested in receiving services from a religious provider. In addition, charitable choice preserves government accountability and honors the constitutional prohibition of using federal funds for religious activities and proselytism. The intention is to make government programs more friendly to faith-based and community solutions and to eliminating government discrimination against FBOs while also aiding secular non-profit initiatives (White House 2001d).

Since the passing of charitable choice, other governmental actions have taken place to support this legislation. By executive order, President Bush called for each of the following Cabinet agencies to create a Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives: Department of Health and Human Services, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Department of Labor, Department of Justice, and Department of Education. The mission of these Centers is to follow the direction of the WHOFBCI in becoming open and supportive of FBOs and CBOs (White House 2001d:16). In January 2002 Congress appropriated \$30 million to the Compassion Capital Fund created by the Department of Health and Human Services to target grassroots organizations that are the focus of the President's FBI. The fund will be used to expand the role of FBOs and CBOs in

providing social services to those in need (White House 2002c). The HR7, later changed to the Charity Aid Recovery and Empowerment Act (CARE Act), passed the House and it is pending approval by the Senate. This Act encourages donations to charitable organizations and FBOs by allowing tax itemization of donations. It is hoped that this Act will encourage 84 million taxpayers into charitable giving (White House 2002a).

### *Benefits and Challenges*

Mostly the documents address the challenges rather than the benefits of charitable choice. One benefit articulated by the President is the fact that the passing of this legislation represents a remedy to the barriers faced by FBOs in gaining access to federal funding. The only problem, according to the President is the limited attention federal administrators have given to this legislation, which in general, have ignored this bill by doing little to enforce it (White House 2001e).

The challenges found in the documents include the following:

- **Lack of trust:** from the government's perspective a close collaboration with religious organizations is legally suspect (White House 2001b). Some FBOs have theological objections, others worry about becoming dependent on a source of funds that may disappear suddenly, while others have concerns about implementing policies that are not congruent with their missions (White House 2001c).
- **Lack of resources:** charities are concerned about the transference of responsibility for the poor from the government to them. These

organizations lack the resources to provide steady monthly support to families without adequate income. They believe that it is the government's responsibility to develop policies and programs that ensure that all people are able to meet their basic needs (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999a).

- **Finding common ground:** from both the secular and the religious perspective there seems to be a desire to finding ways to enable collaboration between the government, FBOs and CBOs. The religious perspective is that they should move beyond disputes about whether more or less government is needed and concentrate on the collaboration (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999a). And from the government perspective there is a need to make the federal grant system more hospitable to FBOs and CBOs (White House 2001c). To facilitate this process HHS (2001b) prepared an analysis of the barriers that prevented FBOs from full participation in federal funding and proposed plans to reduce those barriers as well as a summary of technical assistance they will make available to FBOs to incorporate them into their programs. In addition, their Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives expanded their online resources to facilitate FBOs access to their resources. One of the key features of the website is the listing of HHS as well as other agencies' funding opportunities (HHS 2002).
- **Proselytism:** proselytism was not presented in the documents as a challenge in the implementation of charitable choice, but simply as part of

the regulation that prohibits the use of federal funds for this purpose (White House 2002c; White House 2001b).

- **Privatization:** privatization is a concern expressed in the Catholic documents. The feeling is that in this process, responsibility is first shifted from the federal to the state level then states shift responsibilities to localities, which often turn to the private sector “in the name of greater efficiency, cost-effectiveness, and local control”. As such, the Church believes that “legislators and government administrators have the primary responsibility to ensure that the move to privatization does not turn into profiteering at the expense of the poor and vulnerable” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999b:19).

### *Marriage Promotion*

The documents do not address the marriage promotion bill included as part of the 1996 welfare reform. However, the President (White House 2002b) alluded to it when he stated his belief in a culture of life in which marriage and family are sacred institutions that should be preserved and strengthened. However, HHS (2001a) reported the awarding of \$75 million in bonuses to states that achieved the nation’s largest decreases in out-of-wedlock birth between 1996 and 1999. According to Secretary Thompson, the efforts made by these states (District of Columbia, Alabama and Michigan) were useful in helping families become self-sufficient because “by emphasizing the importance of marriage and family, we can change the culture of poverty into one of

responsibility and success". On their part, the Catholic Church (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999a) stated that thanks to their efforts, the government has given greater recognition to the inviolability of human life, the sanctity of marriage, the dignity of women and the value of human work.

### *Impact of Charitable Choice*

According to the documents, the impact of charitable choice has been minimum. White House document state that in the past, grants awarded to non-profits and state and local governments had shown little impact (White House 2001a; 2001b). From the Catholic perspective (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2002), the US Conference of Catholic Bishops supported H.R. 7 as well as the CARE Act. They believe these bills will provide them with the tools to address persistent poverty, violence, substance abuse, inadequate housing, and employment barriers.

In their role as advocates for the poor, the Church calls on their members to join with business and labor in legislative networks to ensure that their voices are heard as critical decisions are made (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999a) and also reach out to parishes to support their concerns and activities. In addition, they are working to increase their acceptance and support from the public sector (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999b:18).

## **Secular**

The documents reviewed for this component consisted of federal and state publications as well as publications by community organizations. These documents do not address the characteristics and circumstances of the welfare population. Rather they address some of the aspects of charitable choice that have created controversy and discussion among legislators, researchers, and community organizations.

## ***Charitable Choice***

### *Views and opinions*

In terms of the view of the state regarding charitable choice, the documents were mostly informative and their function seemed to be to clarify misconceptions regarding this legislation. At a federal level, the GAO (United States General Accounting Office 2002) published a document explaining the multiple aspects of charitable choice and its implementation. It clarifies that the provisions of this legislation apply to the following programs:

- Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and Welfare-to-Work grants as well as Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Medicaid, Food Stamps, and child support enforcement under the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA).
- Community Services Block Grant Program (CSBG), reauthorized in 1998.

- Substance abuse treatment and prevention programs under two separate amendments to the Public Health Services Act in 2000.

In addition, the document clarifies that charitable choice provisions do not prescribe how states or localities should implement the law, however, these provisions:

- Require states and localities to allow religious organizations to compete for, or receive, federal funding for the provision of social services on the same basis as any other non-governmental provider.
- Provide that if a beneficiary objects to the religious nature of a provider, the state or locality must make available an alternative (non-religious), accessible provider.
- Prohibit states and localities from requiring faith-based organizations to change their form of internal governance or from having to remove religious art, icons, or symbols.

In Florida, the only document disseminated to the Florida's Workforce System was an announcement made by Governor Bush (Workforce Florida 2002) stating the creation of a partnership between this system and FBOs and CBOs. The document also informed this constituency about the creation of a web-based clearing- house and gateway.

Other documents reflect the controversy that emerged as a result of charitable choice and efforts to implement the FBI. A document published by Berkowitz (2002) mentions the passing of HR7 – the Community Solutions Act- by the House in July of 2002, which was stalled at the Senate. The document

states that while administrators remained firm to the FBI, the initial proposal was sliced and criticized by political activists. Becker (2001) also reported about the waning enthusiasm of the Senate regarding this bill.

In terms of the separation of state and church, the documents were informative and somewhat critical of the initiative. For example, one document (Berkowitz 2002) mentions the fact that President Bush signed an executive order creating the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and also the position taken by the Americans United for Separation of State and Church, which declared that charitable choice was a violation of the First Amendment by undercutting civil laws because “allowing religiously based employment discrimination with tax dollars pit houses of worship against each other in a bid for federal funding and could subject needy Americans to unwanted proselytism”. While the Coalition Against Religious Discrimination asked House representatives to reject the expansion of charitable choice because they considered it to be a frontal assault to the First Amendment, a conservative religious coalition rallied President Bush to provide additional funding for FBOs and to fund programs based on religion, not despite their religious teachings but because of them (Associated Press 2001). Another report mentions that critics were furious and viewed the President’s executive orders as an effort to hijack every dollar he could and move into faith-based ministries since he could not get the votes he needed in Congress (Associated Press 2002).

A similar controversy emerged regarding the CARE Act (HR7) as both supporters and critics concurred that the White House had failed to calm

persistent fears about how this Act would undermine constitutional guarantees separating church and state (Becker 2001). Another document (Small 2001) mentions that not all FBOs embrace this partnership, regardless of government efforts, such as the Federal Children's Health Act of 2000 allowing FBOs to apply for federal monies for the implementation of substance abuse and mental health counseling.

Regarding the financing of the FBI a poll conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life (CCN 2000) found that 75 percent of 2,041 people surveyed supported the funding of this effort, while 25 percent opposed it. In addition, respondents were selective about who should receive the money and did not think that non-Judeo-Christian religious organizations should be entitled to funding. Furthermore, rather than being concerned about FBOs influencing government, 68 percent of the respondents expressed concern about too much government involvement in religious groups. The Associated Press (2002) reported that in 2001 Congress allocated \$30 million for technical assistance to help religious groups learn how to apply for government funds and that HHS added a twist to the RFP process by allowing groups awarded large grants to pass an unlimited amount of money to small religious organizations to be used as start up costs and operations of programs. In this manner, these organizations could by-pass congressional guidance on the church vs. state issue.

## *Benefits and Challenges*

In general the documents do not address the benefits of charitable choice but rather the challenges, which serve to further criticize this legislation and the faith-based initiative. The challenges mentioned are:

- **Accountability:** on the one hand, the documents mention that a survey conducted by the National Association of Community Action Agency (NACAA) (2001) showed that Community Action Agencies (CAAs) believe that FBOs should be held to the same program guidelines and accountability as other providers. On the other hand there was direct criticism to the lack of accountability included in charitable choice, which was seen as the Achilles heel of the FBI and referred to it as the “massive transfer of tax dollars to religious institutions [that] often would come with no demand for fiscal accountability, no requirements that religious institutions not discriminate and no safeguard against recipients social services being subjected to proselytizing and other forms of coercive activity” (Berkowitz 2002).
- **Proselytism:** one document mentions that the success of FBOs in service provision depends on the personal transformation of individuals through religious/spiritual guidance, which is exactly what the law prohibits (Small 2001). Another one (Berkowitz 2002) states how Malvin Olasky, also known as the guru of “compassionate conservatism” had exposed the administration’s covert congressional effort to have Carl Esbeck, from the Justice Department “finesse the discrimination issue” creating an opening

for religious groups to obtain federal funds without having to give up proselytizing. The poll conducted by the Pew Research Center showed that 6 in 10 respondents were concerned about FBOs trying to convert those they were trying to help (CCN 2000).

- **Effectiveness of faith-based programs:** the challenged is based on the lack of empirical evidence as to the effectiveness of such programs. The document (Berkowitz 2002) cites Byron K. Johnson from the Center for Research on Religion and Urban Society who told the New York Times “we’ve created an office based on anecdotes. From the left to the right, everyone assumes that faith-based programs work. In terms of empirical evidence that they work, it’s pretty much nonexistent.” The document also cites Dr. David Reingold of the Indiana University School of Public and Environmental Affairs who also questioned the effectiveness of such programs and who stated that based on his research, religious institutions “are more likely to limit and filter the clientele they serve [and that] it’s an extreme exaggeration to say that religious organizations are more effective.” Results from the Pew poll showed general consensus among respondents in that government agencies do a better job than FBOs in areas such as education, health care and job training and that FBOs do better in programs to feed the homeless and counsel prisoners (CCN 2000).

## Summary

This section summarizes the views and perceptions regarding welfare reform and in particular the charitable choice legislation gathered from multiple documents published by Catholic, governmental, and secular organizations. These documents represent an important aspect of the process of policy development in that it is through dissemination that the various actors call on their constituencies to support pending and future legislation. The most salient issues regarding the impact of this reform and the charitable choice legislation can be summarized as follows:

- All organizations published materials for the purpose of information and clarification regarding the charitable choice legislation. Part of these efforts consisted in determining what was included and/or missing in this legislation.
- Only the Intersection and FBO documents address the economic impact of the 1996 welfare reform and mention in some detail the existing circumstances of the poor. This information was mostly found in religious publications, where it is clearly stated that regardless of the decrease in the welfare rolls, poverty is persistent among a wide sector of the population. Non-religious publications view the impact of welfare reform in a more positive light.
- All documents address the challenges associated with the implementation of charitable choice and the FBI. Secular documents question the accountability and effectiveness of services provided by FBOs. The

Secular and Intersection documents share a concern about service recipients being subjected to proselytism through service delivery.

Intersection documents also reflect a concern for the lack of trust between secular and FBOs organizations and the impact of privatization in service delivery. The Intersection and FBO documents share a concern for the lack of resources/funding needed for the implementation of charitable choice.

- Documents published by the WHOFBCI address those issues relevant to the current political discourse such as clarifying that charitable choice and the FBO are in no way violating the First Amendment and the separation of state and church. They also seek support for this initiative by explaining that this is an effort to enhance services to those in need.
- Catholic publications do not address the constitutionality of the charitable choice legislation. Their focus is on what they believe are the rights of people in terms of their economic survival and on how current economic conditions are not appropriate for the poor to meet their basic human needs. Their political discourse is wrapped in a mixture of advocacy and caring for the poor.
- Secular documents tend to focus more on the constitutionality of the legislation and its political implications.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Findings from this research study present the current status of charitable choice in Florida from the perspective of representatives from Catholic organizations, government, and FBOs with different levels of involvement in planning the implementation of this legislation in Florida. In this chapter the findings are discussed integrating the study's conceptual framework presented in the Literature Review Chapter.

The chapter is organized following the same format used in Chapters 4 and 5 in which data were organized by the questions guiding this research. However, discussions are not fragmented by unit/actor (FBO, Intersection, Secular), but rather are presented in an integrated manner. The discussion is followed by a set of suggestions aimed at policy makers and FBOs/service providers regarding future policy considerations, and to applied anthropologists considering their role in helping shape policy and in conducting additional research.

## **Discussion**

The purpose of this research study was to explore how Catholic Charities and policy makers in Florida are responding to the charitable choice mandate and how their views are impeding or facilitating its implementation. In addition, the study also explored the extent to which the views these institutions hold regarding the poor are changing as a result of this mandate. To assist in this exploration, the study was divided into three areas addressing the overall impact of welfare reform in Florida, the views of the poor held by state and church, and the impact that charitable choice is having on the state-church relationship. Since Catholic Charities was used as a case study in addition to other Catholic sources of information, references to the Church in this discussion are inclusive of all Catholic data sources. Distinctions between the different sources will be made only when such distinction is necessary to clarify or emphasize a point. In addition, discussions within each area are addressed at the policy and implementation levels considering the disconnect that tends to exist between theory/policy and practice and the different views and perspectives provided by those who are more directly involved with practice and those who operate at the policy level.

### ***Impact of Welfare Reform in Florida***

The passing of the 1996 welfare reform, including the charitable choice act, provide good examples of how state governments and the Church are constantly creating and responding to shifts in the political arena. Although this

shift emerged in the political landscape many decades before reaching the level of political consensus necessary to make it a law, neither the states nor the Church had developed concrete strategies to address the changes and the impact this law would have on local governments and on the citizenry.

At a policy level the reform in Florida has prompted the privatization of social services as part of the devolution of power to the states. While the idea of having less bureaucracy and granting more power to states and local communities is appealing, the reality is that devolution is a double edge sword. In Florida, devolution of power to the state and local regions has not meant devolution of power to the people even if that was the explicit intent of this reform. While regions may be better informed about their own needs and ways to address those needs, the devolution has not necessarily granted them complete autonomy in program implementation. Federal and state government continue to mandate the ways in which many aspects of the reform must be implemented. For example, in Florida the composition of the State Workforce Board as well as the Regional Boards is mandated by existing legislation and the Governor assigns the Chair of the State Board.

The processes of devolution and privatization taking place in Florida are good examples of how these approaches simultaneously reduce government bureaucracy while increasing the control of the ruler, in this case the Governor, by creating direct links into programs and services and having the power to assign people to positions without public input. In this sense the concept of devolution has been used to deceive the population by suggesting that this

approach would provide them with increased service choices as well as increased participation in the shaping of local policies. In reality, privatization has helped to solidify the desires of the ruling elites through the two mechanisms discussed by Nasu (1992:84-89) in which government completely controls the private sphere, which in turn is fragmented into defined groups in such a way that limits people's ability to promote social change. These are anti-democratic processes that have been identified by scholars such as Chomsky (1996) and Boggs (2000) as being part of a calculated effort to remove decision-making from the public sphere through contracting decisions in which citizens have no voice. These efforts are intricately related to the on-going depolitization of society.

The Church has expressed its concern about the effects of privatization because they fear that under this economic model, financial interests may supersede the caring for those in need (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2001:3); however, these concerns are not reflected in their lobbying efforts at the State level. Mostly, these concerns are expressed in their own publications where they call on the government to insure that privatization does not turn into a profit-making schema at the expense of "the poor and vulnerable" (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999b:19). At a national level the Church has supported lobbying efforts aimed at increasing the minimum wage and improving the financial situation of many families, even though they recognize that even if this goal could be achieved, many people would continue to live in poverty. Lobbying efforts at the State level have been more focused on requesting that families be provided with the supports necessary to transition out

of welfare. These efforts reflect the opinions and first-hand experiences of the Church regarding the lack of careful planning by the legislation to provide appropriate and effective safety nets for people, particularly considering the downturn in the economy and the impact the reform has had thus far.

Lobbying efforts by the Church confirms this study's assumption about the efficacy of this institution in terms of having a lobbying agenda and knowing how to carry it forward in the political process. Their success in terms of impacting future welfare policy could not be ascertained during this study since the reauthorization of the welfare program was postponed by the legislation until 2003. However, based on information disseminated by Network (Letter to the author, January 24, 2003), a Catholic lobbying organization based on Washington, they were unsuccessful in their efforts to impact the reauthorization agenda.

At the implementation level there is discrepancy between the Church and the state in terms of the impact of the reform. This discrepancy can best be described as responding to a quantity vs. quality view of the reform. Thus, government reports are more concerned with quantity while Church's emphasize quality. The distinct emphases used by government and Church rather than providing a contradictory picture of the impact of the reform, present a complimentary one. Furthermore, there are numerous scholarly reports that support both views. The fact that welfare rolls have considerably dropped as a result of the implementation of this reform is undeniable. However, just as undeniable are the reports of the Church regarding the increase in the number of

people requesting assistance in order to meet their basic needs (i.e., food, shelter, etc.), as well as their reports about the deterioration of the quality of life of families that have become homeless as a result of the reform, or are quickly becoming part of the increasing number of working poor who are constantly a step away from a financial crisis.

It is important to note, that according to Church reports, while the government continues to report declines on the welfare rolls, government expenditures in assisting low-income families have not declined; rather they have been shifted to other programs such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). An attempt to confirm whether this was the case by looking at state databases turned out to be a difficult task that was beyond the scope of this study. In speaking with individuals familiarized with these databases the researcher learned that it was difficult to determine whether individuals being served under FEMA were at one-point welfare recipients due to the manner in which databases are set up.

Another distinction between the Church and state in terms of the impact of the reform is that the Church does not seem to lose sight of the realities faced by the poor, while the state seems more removed from them. This reflects the different views of self-sufficiency held by the Church and government. This discrepancy responds to the impersonal nature of the state, which views citizens as a mass but not as individuals with needs, unless it serves their purposes to do so (Dreyfuss and Rabinow 1983). Contrary, when speaking about the poor and the impact the reform is having on them, the Church is quick to point to the

chronically unemployable as individuals who face physical, emotional, and/or educational barriers, and the unemployed as individuals who due to their immigrant and/or refugee status and to current economic conditions are not able to secure employment.

Thus, while political speeches and newspaper articles bolster about the positive impact of the 1996 welfare reform, Church publications insist that while “many may be leaving welfare; too few have left poverty” (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 2001:3). Based on Church reports about the increased number of people seeking their assistance and about the increased number of medically uninsured among middle and higher income people, one could argue that under current economic conditions and considering the current welfare system, more people are being pulled into poverty than lifted from poverty.

### ***Images of the Poor***

Prior to the passing of the 1996 reform there was more congruency between the state and Church in terms of the poor. The existence of a welfare program based on entitlement was closer to the Catholic Social Teaching that states that people have the right to have their basic needs met so that they can live with dignity. A welfare policy based on entitlement was also congruent with the International Declaration of Human Rights to which the United States also ascribes. The 1996 reform not only removed the entitlement and limited the

responsibility of the state in terms of helping the poor live with dignity, but also reinforced the notion that the poor are directly responsible for their situation.

Through the removal of the entitlement, basic human rights were also removed, confirming that rights can be adjusted according to the political and economic climate of a country, even when the basic needs of people remain the same. As presented in the literature review, this process took some time to consolidate, since its inception dates back prior to the Reagan administration when the Republican agenda was set to work towards privatization and the elimination of the welfare state. This agenda was carefully planned and implemented in accordance to the existing vehicles of social control defined by Foucault (Gordon 2000) in which powerful elites use multiple vehicles to convince the masses that the decisions being made reflect the views and desires of the majority. This process of manufacturing consent is conducted in such a way that it is difficult for people to realize the true meaning and implications of social policies. Coupled with the process of depolitization, which goes hand in hand with the manufacturing of consent, people tend to dismiss and/or overlook the potential implications that policies may have because their minds have already consented with the decisions being made. In other words, they have been provided with the information necessary to obtain their consent without much opposition. Consequently, manufactured consent is what prevents some people from identifying the violation and others from condemning it since they are convinced that such policy will deliver the most good to the majority of the

population. And, this is an argument that could also be supported from the perspective of the universality of human rights proposed by Kant (O'Neill 1991).

At the level of policy, there are two clear but related distinctions between the way in which the Church and the state view the poor, confirming the notion about the different views of the poor they both hold. The first distinction refers to the concept that the poor are to be blamed for their unfortunate circumstances (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops 1999b:7), and the second with the lack of recognition that there are multiple structural barriers that keep individuals in poverty despite their efforts to overcome them. In terms of the first distinction, the Church uses a more holistic perspective when looking at the poor in that it recognizes the multiple dimensions of human experience and places them in the historical, social and political contexts. By not objectifying the human experience, the Church is able to value their humanness beyond their ability to respond to the market economy.

Contrary to the Church's perspective, the state is more concerned with finding ways to limiting the government's financial responsibility for the poor by transferring part of this responsibility to the private sector. As such, the government is not interested on emphasizing people's humanness or the social, economic, and political contexts impacting their situation. Human worth has been objectified to the point that it is solely measured in terms of people's production and the cost they represent to the state and to society in general. Presenting the poor as a burden for the entire society is also one of the ways in which

government manufactures consent among the general public to support their policies.

Many structural barriers, such as the current wage structure, education, transportation, childcare, and health related issues, keep many individuals and families from being self-sufficient. These are barriers that the poor are not able to overcome because this is an effort that would require significant changes in the current social and political systems, something that is beyond their reach, particularly in a depoliticized society. The Church recognizes that the origin and nature of those barriers are outside the realm of the poor and that in many ways they are simply the victims of existing societal structures. As such the Church tries to influence public policies to be more responsive to the realities of this population. While the government recognizes the existence of such structural barriers, and programs may be funded to attempt to address those needs, these efforts are not intended to address the system's deficiencies, but rather are geared to provide superficial short-term remedies. This is a clear example of how policies are increasingly being subordinated by private economic interests, which have little interest in funding programs aimed at changing the status quo (Boggs 2000).

At the level of practice, the reality is that the market economy is full of uncertainties and fluctuations that directly impact the labor market. As a result jobs are no longer guaranteed and there is increased job insecurity. In addition, there has been an increased in the number of low-paying jobs that do not provide any benefits. For these reasons, the images of the poor portrayed by the Church

tend to focus on these realities. Thus, the poor no longer can be classified as people who lack resources, although many do, but also as people with limited resources who are susceptible to even the smallest fluctuation of their social and economic situation, and who live in a society where they are held responsible for existing social inequities.

### ***Charitable Choice***

The inclusion of charitable choice in the 1996 welfare reform legislation, confirms Bellah's (1991) assertion that the separation of church and state has not in any way removed religion from the political and public arenas. Consequently, much of the discussion about charitable choice and the views gathered through this study do not directly point to the constitutionality of the legislation but rather to the strategies for its implementation. This is supported by the absence of legislation geared to amend the Constitution regarding the separation between church and state. Nevertheless, there has been some criticism to this legislation, which according to the government responds to the lack of knowledge and understanding among legislators, government, state agencies, and the public in general about the specifics of charitable choice. This also seems to be the reason for the lack of support some bills such as the CARE Act have received in Congress.

In Florida the initial response to charitable choice seemed to have been non-compliance by simply ignoring the issue. To date, the Florida Legislation has not included charitable choice in legislative debates and the limited legislation

that has been passed allowing the participation of FBOs in state grants and contracts is not focalized under specific laws; rather it has been inserted through various programs and initiatives. One could argue that the little attention given to this legislation, which for several years was kept in the back burner, served to allow the State to quietly build the foundation necessary to launch the initiative without much opposition from the general public. Fragmenting the few pieces of legislation that pertain to this initiative and having only a limited number of people aware of the particulars of this legislation and of the plans for implementation also seem to be strategies intended to keep decision-making out of the public sphere, and at the hands of specific members of the governing body.

Findings from this study show that there was hardly any concern among respondents as well as the legislative body about this legislation representing a constitutional violation of the First Amendment. Mostly, the concerns emerged with the idea that the implementation of this legislation could be placed in the hands of religious organizations that may use this opportunity to promote their religious ideologies. Although the government and the Church insist that government contracts strictly prohibit such activities, both are aware that some critics do not seem satisfied with this argument.

In its effort to promote and develop a more solid partnership between government agencies and FBOs in the provision of social services to the poor, the government has acknowledged the barriers that are preventing the partnership from developing and is making multiple attempts to eliminate them. Thus a careful analysis of their respective views in terms of charitable choice

shows that both the Church and the state are moving toward reaching greater congruency between them, and that perhaps the one issue that may hold them back is funding. Following is an analysis of their views and concerns.

Financing of the implementation of charitable choice (more commonly referred to as the Faith-Based Initiative) has been one of the issues the Church identified as representing a significant implementation barrier considering that existing funding could not be stretched to include additional programs and services. Although the government has clarified that funding for this initiative is included as part of the TANF block grants and as such states should allocate funding for this effort, the government has also found ways to identify additional funds. Funding has been made available through the expansion of the FBI to federal agencies that provide funding opportunities through grants on a regular basis. While the expansion of the FBI to these agencies does not necessarily mean that new money has been assigned to the initiative, it represents additional opportunities for FBOs to compete for funding that previously were out of their limits. Of course, this also means increased competition for funding and perhaps having to split the pie into many more pieces. In addition, new legislation has been proposed through the CARE Act, allowing the deduction of charitable contributions from income taxes, to promote increased charitable contributions from the citizenry. Even if critics of this proposition (Wolpert 2002) claim that it will not have the results anticipated by government due to the non-permanent nature of donations, government efforts in this regard cannot be denied.

Despite the efforts on the part of government to identify sources of funding for the FBI, efforts that are supported by the Church (Catholic Charities 2002b; 2002e; 2002a), the fact that no new funding has been allocated to this initiative partially supports one of this study's assumptions stating that the Church has the resources to care for the poor. This is also supported by the literature (Lampking and Stevenson 2001) as well as data collected in this study showing the increased number of charities involved in service provision as well as the increase in their revenues. In other words, FBOs are raising significant amounts of money for their services and the government is interested in leveraging those services rather than replacing them. What these analyses fail to consider is the fact that the Church as well as many other FBOs are caring for all those people who are not eligible for government services (i.e., legal and illegal immigrants, working poor, etc.).

The roles played by FBOs in service provision fit perfectly with the government's goal of dismantling the welfare state because these efforts indirectly support deep cuts in social programs, deregulation and the freeing of more resources that can be used by the private sector (Wolpert 2002; Boggs 2000). This is also in line with this study's assumption regarding the underlying interest of the government to transfer the responsibility for the poor to FBOs. However, the reality is that funding for the FBI continuous to be uncertain and unless the State were to guarantee the Church/FBOs a certain amount of funding out of their block grant, the Church is not willing to assume additional responsibilities in serving the poor. As it stands, the Church could not rely on

chances of being awarded state or federal grants or on the charitable contributions they receive to sustain this initiative. Unlike the times during the Depression when the Church claimed its responsibility for the poor (Brown and McKeon 1997), presently the Church is not willing to assume this responsibility unless funding is guaranteed.

Almost six years after the passing of the 1996 reform and charitable choice, the only additional funding received by Florida in 2002 is being used to promote FBO-CBO partnerships and the funds are only expected to last around six months. Therefore the success of the initiative is highly dependent on the willingness of regional Workforce Boards and CBOs to partner with FBOs in order to help the latter become established in the service provision system. Furthermore, there is also uncertainty as to the future of this initiative once President Bush leaves the presidency, since he is the architect of much of this effort and considering that much of the implementation of this initiative has been mandated through executive orders that could be easily overturned by future administrations.

Accountability and accreditation were also issues identified in the literature and by some of the interviewees as areas of concern considering that many FBOs do not have the infrastructure, the knowledge and the experience necessary to provide services in accordance to professional standards and to meet government reporting requirements. This is one of the areas where there is a clear distinction between the views of those operating at the policy and implementation levels. Concerns were voiced by those at the level of

implementation, while those at the policy level felt that current levels of accreditation required of service providers are in some cases too stringent and therefore efforts would be made to bring requirements to a more realistic level. In addition, they felt that the creation of the Florida Faith Based Association (FFBA) would serve to provide technical assistance and training to FBOs needing to become accredited and to improve their monitoring and reporting procedures.

The Church's expressed willingness to participate in the partnership building required for the implementation of the FBI was confirmed through the interviews and document reviews. Clearly, the Church wants to play a central role considering their long history of service provision and government contracts. They are one of a limited number of FBOs that have extensive experience contracting with government agencies and have the infrastructure and the know-how necessary to meet government requirements. However, although the Church is called upon by the Florida and the USA legislations to provide insight about services, the FBI has been constructed in such a way that the insertion of FBOs is only possible at the level of service delivery. All evidence suggests that there is no interest on the part of government to grant FBOs any more political power, other than what they may have as a result of their own efforts. Participants in this study also confirmed this point by emphasizing that the place of the Church in this effort is at the level of service provision. The composition of the Workforce Florida State Board and the Regional Boards serve to reiterate this issue based on their mandate to recruit members from the public and private sectors and from CBOs but not from FBOs. Thus, existing fears about the

Church gaining additional political power as a result of FBI are not supported by this research study.

The expressed interest of the government in including FBOs as service providers is in keeping with the notion of the creation of a shadow state (Wolch 1990). Under such circumstances, the state-church partnership serves to consolidate the subjugated condition of FBOs in terms of their place in the political and social hierarchy. The level of dependence of FBOs would also determine the extent of their function as executors of state policies. This partnership would not only serve to normalize the subjugated position of the Church in the political hierarchy (Gordon 2002), but also to normalize the increased presence of FBOs as service providers to the citizenry so that in their eyes this is seen as natural process rather than as a political construction.

This normalization process has the potential of having an impact on the identity of FBOs, particularly from the perspective of service recipients. Both the literature as well as some of the documents reviewed as part of this study mentioned the loss of identity on the part of FBOs as one of the concerns associated with the FBI. Interviews with Church representatives showed this not to represent a concern for them based on their extensive experience providing services under government contracts. While this may hold true for the Church it may not hold true for other FBOs that may not have the experience, knowledge, and resources necessary to set boundaries between their missions, and program requirements based on state regulations. Furthermore, one can argue that even if the identity of FBOs remain unchanged, the perceptions of the public will be

impacted by this partnership. This will happen as FBOs begin to adhere to stricter eligibility requirements that will force them to be more stringent in their provision of services. Consequently, clients looking from outside in might begin to perceive FBOs as government agencies, particularly if clients are not offered alternative service choices or are required to comply with services provided by FBOs as part of their welfare eligibility requirement.

Another aspect of FBO activity that may become subjugated under the FBI is their advocacy efforts (Boris 1990). The Church did not identify this as a major concern, although it was mentioned in one of the interviews, perhaps because they have the organizational infrastructure that allows them to conduct different functions at different levels. For example, the Florida Catholic Conference is the advocacy and lobbying arm of the Church in Florida. As such, the Florida Catholic Conference is able to advocate and lobby in ways Catholic Charities may be restricted due to existing government contracts. Once again, consideration must be given to the fact that many FBOs do not have the human and financial resources to create separate advocacy arms through which they can continue their advocacy efforts. Many would have to limit or completely eliminate their advocacy efforts if they receive state funding or would have to refrain from being part of the partnership.

Even though there are still many issues that have not been completely resolved regarding the FBI in Florida, implementation efforts are underway aimed at developing the CBO-FBO partnership that will open the door for more FBOs in the area of service provision. By creating the FFBA as the intermediary agency

between the state and FBOs, the State is hoping to address many of the pending issues and to maintain certain distance between this initiative and government. Consequently, in a sense the creation of the FFBA can be viewed as a vehicle to facilitate partnering of CBOs, FBOs and the state as well as the vehicle that distances them from government (Shore and Wright 1997). This may have an impact on FBOs that historically have approached government directly, without an intermediary, as is the case of the Florida Catholic Conference. In the future, these organizations may be forced to go through the FFBA for all their government dealings.

At the time of this study, the FFBA was in the early stages of developing a coalition of FBOs and CBOs. Organizations such as the Florida Catholic Conference and the Florida Homeless Coalition were already on board, and the head of the organization that had initiated the association served as chair. Information as to how future governance of this association will be determined to ensure representation of multiple faiths was not defined. In addition, several regional coalitions were in their beginning stages.

### ***The Future of Charitable Choice***

The participation of FBOs in the delivery of federally funded social services is likely to increase and continue regardless of changes in the political environment, particularly considering that charitable choice was approved through bipartisan consensus. Many FBOs have been engaged in government-contracted social services for many decades and their services are of great

benefit to the government in terms of cost leveraging, client outreach, and service expansion; as well to service recipients who enjoy the caring and respect they receive from these organizations.

Throughout the last century the Church positioned itself as a leader in caring and lobbying for the poor and was successful in growing an extensive network of service provision agencies. Part of their success lays in their ability to separate government-funded activities from their lobbying and advocacy efforts and part from their knowledge of the political system and their ability to accommodate to it. In other words, the Church is strategic about their lobbying efforts and would not attempt to push their ideologies beyond what the political system allows. The Church promotes social change but only within the range of tolerance of the system. Therefore, it could be argued that their strategy has been useful in helping them consolidate their position in society, and at the same time has prevented them from pursuing true social change. In this regard, they are no different from other community organizations that are focused on their own accomplishments and on the protection of their gains than on compromising their position by challenging the political process (Boggs 2000). While their ideology and philosophy speak of the right of individuals to live with dignity and to have access to resources to meet their basic needs, rights which are indirectly reflected in some of their lobbying efforts, if and when their efforts to impact policy prove unsuccessful their position is to keep trying, but never to find alternative ways to challenge the ideology of the system.

These considerations lead one to believe that in terms of trying to impact social policies the role of the Church within the context of charitable choice policies will not experience significant changes, as found in this study. Consequently, these findings beg two questions: (1) Will the Church be willing to compromise their position and follow their ideology in the event that economic conditions continue to deteriorate to the point where the masses will demand drastic changes in the political system?, and (2) Would this enhanced partnership between the state and the Church result in an increased hostility on the part of the public towards religious organizations?

### ***Behavior Modification***

This study partially confirmed the assumption that supporters of charitable choice view FBOs as having the ability to shape the behaviors of the poor considered to be directly related to their economic condition. This assumption was partially confirmed because there were clear distinctions between the views of those operating at the policy and implementation levels.

At the policy level, representatives from government and state agencies recognized that FBOs are in a better position to promote behavioral changes in welfare recipients not only because they are able to exert moral and social pressures on individuals but also because state agencies are not appropriate places to proselytize. Some of the behaviors of the poor that need shaping point to the absence of the appropriate work ethic, including motivation and good work habits, as well as the absence of moral principles that are reflected in their

promiscuity and their having children out of wedlock. The emphasis on behavioral change is supported by the significant amount of funding this administration is assigning to marriage promotion programs (Parrott and Fremstad 2002; Bulletin 2002; Lerman 2001). On the other hand, Church publications and efforts at the policy level were limited to reinforcing the sanctity of marriage and to condoning welfare policies that punish families for having additional children.

At the implementation level, representatives from the Church rejected this assumption based on the character of the services they provide and on existing research showing the limited effects of religion in altering human behavior. In addition, respondents did not seem interested in emphasizing the promotion of behavioral change in their service provision efforts. Their responses are congruent with the research conducted by Chaves and Tsitso (2001) who concluded that personal transformation is not the aim of FBOs involved in the provision of social and human services. However, it is important to note that while traditionally this may have not been the intention of FBOs, their role in the implementation of welfare programs aimed at changing individuals' behaviors and attitudes may change their focus and their approach. The Jobs Partnership of Florida (2002), whose board is mostly composed of representatives from religious organizations, is a good example of this. Their mission is to help people rise above poverty and in order to help them achieve this goal individuals are required to participate in a 12-week class called *The Keys* that teaches them biblical work discipline. Pastors from partner churches facilitate the classes.

Participants also attend the *STEPS* program where they learn practical applications of biblical concepts. Instructors from Goodwill Industries provide the training.

## **Recommendations**

Recommendations are intended to address issues at both the policy and implementation levels. Within each category distinctions are made between the secular and religious realms. Additionally, there are recommendations for applied anthropologists as part of their pursuit to improve human conditions.

### ***Policy Level***

- There is an increased need for policy makers to engage in a dialogue that addresses the existence of basic human rights that need to be considered and protected when social and economic policies are revised or developed.
- There is an increased need for policy makers to recognize that current social and economic conditions are the result of deeply rooted structural problems and that continuing to ignore them will have negative consequences for all.
- The Church/FBOs need to recognize that in their efforts to enhance their partnership with the government they may be jeopardizing their ability to distance themselves from policies that may have a negative impact on the poor they are supposed to protect.

- The Church/FBOs need to develop strategies that help them maintain their own identity and self-governance.
- Policy makers need to be careful that in their efforts to leveling the playing field for FBOs secular service providers are not denied access to funding.
- Policy makers need to ensure that the transferring of the responsibility for the poor to FBOs or the private sector, does not translate into reduced access to services by this population.
- Policy makers should consider leveling the field for the poor through legislation aimed at improving the educational system, the wage system and the safety net.

### ***Implementation Level***

- Regional Workforce Boards need to ensure that their clients are not forced to receive services from FBOs.
- Regional Workforce Boards should seek representation of FBOs in their boards in the same manner they seek representation from CBOs. FBOs' input and their inclusion as part of the network of providers should be encouraged.
- FBOs should consider providing services only in the areas in which they have expertise and that are congruent with their religious ideology.
- FBOs should not become financially dependent on state contracts to prevent their livelihood from being threatened if contracts are not renewed.

- FBOs need to engage in interfaith dialogues to ensure that their competition for government contracts does not turn into increased animosity among the various faiths.

### ***Applied Anthropology***

Considering that humanistic anthropology provides the context within which it is possible to develop a critique of political systems and their institutions, then one of the functions of anthropology is to emphasize the importance of the human condition (Levy 1987:48), and to also point to issues of inequality rooted in the existing systems that are impacting humanity (Berreman 1980). Achieving these tasks requires following an approach that responds to logical arguments based on naturalistic concepts and is supported by empirical investigation (Wilk 1991:103). As such, the task of applied anthropologists is to aid in the formulation of policies that preserve the potentiality of people for self-determination in their effort to meet their human needs (Kushner 1988: 37-38). Given that self-determination goes hand in hand with the concept of “devolution of power” to people, anthropologists can play an important role in finding ways to help communities in the process of re-engaging themselves in the political processes by making them realize not only what is at stake, but also that in the process of defining their lives they can also have a higher sense of freedom and of control over their destinies.

Applied anthropologists can play a significant role in placing social policies in the appropriate historical, social, and political contexts and in exploring the

implications these have in terms of their impact on society at large, particularly, if the goal of humanity is to experience life in a manner that basic needs and freedom are ensured. Just as anthropologists may serve as brokers between different cultures, they should also act as interpreters of policies in order to help improve the human condition. This requires careful examination and assessment of the underlying intentions of policies rather than simply describing their impact (Clay 1988, Spicer 1966). This is a process that has important implications in the practical applications of anthropology since anthropologists are part of the collective agreement that is represented in the political system (Skafta 1979). In other words, this is part of the anthropologist commitment to anthropology.

### ***Future Research***

This research study explored the historical, social and political background of current welfare policies and in particular of the inclusion of charitable choice as an important aspect of the 1996 welfare reform. Considering the time it took for this initiative to be launched in Florida, this study was only able to capture its initial planning stages. There are many areas in which further anthropological research should be conducted as this initiative moves forward. Some of these areas are as follows:

- The continuous development of the CBO-FBO partnership.
- The process through which the governance of the FFBA is established and efforts to ensure representation from all religious faiths.
- Types of contracts awarded to FBOs.

- The increased access to federal/state funding by FBOs that traditionally have not contracted with government agencies.
- The availability of secular choices for clients not interested in receiving services from FBOs.
- Efforts made by the FFBA to provide technical assistance to FBOs in order to ensure their equal access to funding.
- Policies intended to continue reducing the role of government in caring for the poor.
- State budgetary changes that would reduce funding allocation to social services.
- Perceptions of service recipients receiving services from FBOs.
- Behavioral changes among the poor.
- Changes in the types of services provided by FBOs and in their eligibility requirements.

As suggested by Maskovsky (2001) this research agenda must be placed within the context of neo-liberal ideologies and practices and require that anthropologists develop “habits of thought” (Spicer 1966) that can help us decipher the values and intentions underlying social policies as well as the social structures of power arrangements and of administration. This is one way we can help the poor gain a deeper understanding of what is at stake as an attempt to reengage them in the political process so that they may reclaim their right to self-determination. This is central to the construction of the just society, both the

church and the state endorse, but that for the poor continues to be an unreachable goal.

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## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

# Social Sciences/Behavioral Adult Informed Consent

University of South Florida

### Information for People Who Take Part in Research Studies

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The following information is being presented to help you decide whether or not you want to be a part of a minimal risk research study. Please read carefully. If you do not understand anything, ask the Person in Charge of the Study.

<b>Title of Study:</b>	<u>Social Policies and Faith-Based Organizations</u>
<b>Principal Investigator:</b>	<u>Angela Gomez, M. A.</u>
<b>Person in Charge of the Study:</b>	<u>Angela Gomez, M.A.</u>
<b>Study Location(s):</b>	<u>Florida</u>

You are being asked to participate because of your familiarity with social policies regarding welfare reform and Faith-Based Organizations.

#### General Information about the Research Study

The purpose of this research project is to explore how Catholic Charities and policy makers in Florida are responding to the charitable choice mandate of the 1996 welfare reform and how their views are impeding or facilitating its implementation. In addition, this study will look at whether the views of these institutions hold regarding the poor are changing as a result of the mandate, and at the efforts of the Church in attempting to influence welfare reform policies in Florida.

#### Plan of Study

- You will be asked to participate in a face-to-face or telephone interview. This interview will consist of questions related to the current policies regarding the incorporation of FBOs in the implementation of the 1996 welfare reform, and about your views regarding the welfare program and its participants. This interview will take approximately 45 minutes and will be tape recorded to ensure the accuracy of the information collected.

#### Benefits of Being a Part of this Research Study

- There are no direct benefits for the participants in this study. However, it is expected that the data collected would help the Florida Catholic Conference/Catholic Charities and members of State government participating in the study have a better understanding of the barriers and challenges they face in their efforts to implement government policies. They may also find the study useful in their efforts to shape public policy.

#### Risks of Being a Part of this Research Study

- There are no known risks associated with this study.

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

### Confidentiality of Your Records

- Your privacy and research records will be kept confidential to the extent of the law. Your name will not be used to identify any information. Each interview will be assigned a number. All interviews will be kept in a locked cabinet. Authorized research investigators, agents of the Department of Health and Human Services and the USF Institutional Review Board may inspect your records from this research project.

The results of the study may be published in grouped form. In other words, the published results will not include your name or any other information that will identify you or your child.

### Payment for Participation

You will not be financially compensated for participating in the interview.

### Volunteering to Be Part of this Research Study

- Your decision to participate in this research study is completely voluntary. You are free to participate in this research study or to withdraw at any time. If you choose not to participate, or if you withdraw, there will be no consequences to you.

### Questions and Contacts

- If you have any questions about this research study, contact Angela Gomez at (813) 974-6415.
- If you have questions about your rights as a person who is taking part in a research study, you may contact a member of the Division of Research Compliance of the University of South Florida at 813-974-5638.

### Your Consent—By signing this form I agree that:

- I have fully read or have had read and explained to me in my native language this informed consent form describing a research project.
- I have had the opportunity to question one of the persons in charge of this research and have received satisfactory answers.
- I understand that I am being asked to participate in research. I understand the risks and benefits, and I freely give my consent to participate in the research project outlined in this form, under the conditions indicated in it.
- I have been given a signed copy of this informed consent form, which is mine to keep.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## APPENDIX A (Continued)

### Investigator Statement

I have carefully explained to the subject the nature of the above protocol. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the subject signing this consent form understands the nature, demands, risks and benefits involved in participating in this study and that a medical problem or language or educational barrier has not precluded a clear understanding of the subject's involvement in this study.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Investigator

\_\_\_\_\_  
Printed Name of Investigator

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

### Institutional Approval of Study and Informed Consent

This research project/study and informed consent form were reviewed and approved by the University of South Florida Institutional Review Board for the protection of human subjects. This approval is valid until the date provided below. The board may be contacted at (813) 974-5638.

**Approval Consent Form Expiration Date:**

**Revision Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX B: QUESTIONING ROUTES**

### **Questioning Route for State Representatives**

#### Overall impressions of welfare reform

How is the reform impacting welfare policies and the safety net in Florida?

What differentiates this reform from previous attempts to reform the welfare system?

What is the philosophy guiding the reform in Florida?

Who are the people being served by TANF?

Who are the people left in the roles after four years of implementation? Why?

What safety nets are available for those individuals who exceed the time limitations stated in the reform?

What have been some of the benefits and disadvantages of the reform thus far?

What are some of the issues you would like to see included in the 2002 welfare reform reauthorization? Why?

What concerns, if any, do you have regarding the successful implementation of this reform?

In what ways are you able to influence local and state policies regarding the reform?

#### Charitable Choice

What is your opinion about the charitable choice section of the 1996 welfare reform?

How is this section impacting the implementation of this reform in Florida?

What, if anything, has changed in the State's relationship with the Church?

What are some of the benefits and disadvantages of charitable choice?

In your opinion, what role should the Church occupy regarding the provision of social services?

## **APPENDIX B (Continued)**

In your opinion, what is the overall stand of your constituency regarding charitable choice?

In your opinion, what is the overall stand of other state legislators regarding charitable choice?

What concerns, if any, do you have regarding the implementation of charitable choice?

In your opinion, what represent some of the biggest challenges in implementing charitable choice?

In what ways are you able to influence local and state policies regarding charitable choice?

## **APPENDIX B (Continued)**

### **Questioning Route for FBO Representatives**

#### Overall impressions of welfare reform

How is the reform impacting welfare policies and the safety net in Florida?

What differentiates this reform from previous attempts to reform the welfare system?

What is the philosophy guiding the reform in Florida?

How is this philosophy different from your organizational philosophy?

Who are the people being served by TANF?

Who are the people left in the roles after four years of implementation? Why?

What safety nets are available for those individuals who exceed the time limitations stated in the reform?

What have been some of the benefits and disadvantages of the reform thus far?

What are some of the issues you would like to see included in the 2002 welfare reform reauthorization? Why?

What concerns, if any, do you have regarding the successful implementation of this reform?

In what ways are you able to influence local and state policies regarding the reform?

Is your agency represented in the Workforce Development Board or any other service provision boards?

#### Charitable Choice

What is your opinion about the charitable choice Section of the 1996 welfare reform?

How is this section impacting the implementation of this reform in Florida?

## APPENDIX B (Continued)

What, if anything, has changed in your organization's relationship with the State as a result of this reform?

What are some of the benefits and disadvantages of charitable choice?

In your opinion, what role should the Church occupy regarding the provision of social services?

In your opinion, what is the overall stand of state legislators regarding charitable choice?

In your opinion, what is the general public's stand regarding charitable choice?

What concerns, if any, do you have regarding the implementation of charitable choice?

In your opinion, what represent some of the biggest challenges in implementing charitable choice?

In what ways are you able to influence local and state policies regarding charitable choice?

Is this in line with efforts being conducted by other Catholic Charities organizations state and nationwide?

### Service Provision

Are you under State contract to provide specific services to TANF recipients?

If so, which ones?

What differentiates these services from the other services you provide?

Are there other services you provide to this population for which you are not compensated by the State?

What are your agency's requirements for program participation?

Are these requirements the same for all the programs you offer?

What accountability measures do you have in place regarding government funded programs?

**APPENDIX B** (Continued)

What role does religion play in service delivery?

How do you foresee the future of the safety net?

Angela Gómez completed her master's in Applied Anthropology at the University of South Florida. She is an Assistant in Research at the Louis de la Parte Florida Mental Health Institute. She has been researching the impact of the 1996 welfare reform since its inception. She has been awarded a postdoctoral fellowship from the National Science Foundation and will be conducting research in Chile. The focus of her research will be on a poverty reduction program currently being implemented in Chile.