



CITIZENS' COMMITTEE for CHILDREN

O F N E W Y O R K I N C

Keeping Track: the Millennium Edition

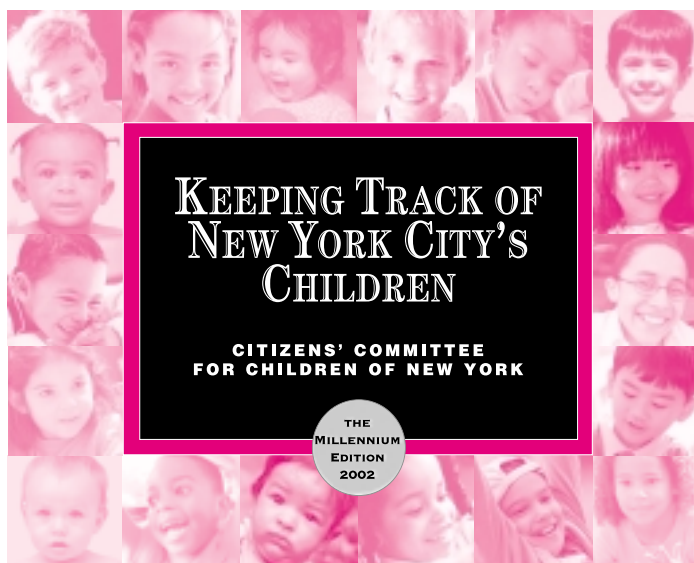
While strategic investments in children's services during the 1990s increased child well-being for some, too many of New York City's two million children remain at tremendous risk and are threatened further as a fiscal crisis forces policymakers to slash vital public programs.

Keeping Track of New York City's Children: The Millennium Edition,

the authoritative source on the status of children in every city neighborhood, was released on February 13, 2003, by Citizens' Committee for Children of New York (CCC) at a press conference hosted by City Council Speaker Gifford Miller and the New York City Council. The goal of the event was to make clear, the relationship between child well-being and public investments in children's services, as well as how budget cuts scheduled for FY'04 risk the future of children who rely on public service programs for health, safety and education.

The 6th edition of **KEEPING TRACK** shows that investments in programs that address specific needs have led to improved outcomes for children. Significant gains were made in the following areas:

- The number of infant deaths in New York City dropped 42 percent from 11.6 to 6.7 per 1,000 live births.
- Rates of teen childbearing declined by 15 percent, from 10.1 percent of total births in 1990 to 8.6 percent in 2000.



what is happening to children in neighborhoods throughout the city. The numbers in **KEEPING TRACK** tell a story about the pressures of growing up in New York City. It catalogues risks and opportunities in one document.

The Millennium Edition of **KEEPING TRACK** has been updated to include data from the 2000 Census. It adds a community-building chart, an expanded chapter linking problems to solutions, 100 pages of new and expanded indicators and utilizes census data to create new benchmark standards of child well-being for the next decade

- Reports of abuse and neglect decreased in each of the five boroughs, as the number of families receiving preventive services increased between 1990 and 2000.
- The number of children on the city's waiting list for child care decreased by 49 percent between 1998 and 2001.

KEEPING TRACK documents child well-being in each of New York City's 59 community districts and across the five boroughs, on race/ethnicity and age, comparing New York City to New York State and the United States and New York City to other large cities, providing information on economic conditions, housing and community life, child welfare, child care, education, and youth at risk that is easy to use and understand. **KEEPING TRACK** integrates and organizes data to show

What Keeping Track Tells Us

- Thirty percent of New York City children live in poverty. More than half of all children are born into poor families.
- Everyday, 11,526 children are homeless, an increase of more than 78% since 1990.
- Everyday, nearly 60 percent of all elementary and middle school students read below state and city standards.
- Everyday, 151 children are reported abused and neglected.

Race and Ethnic Disparities Persist

The data shows great disparities in child well-being and a concentration of risks affecting African-American and Latino

continued on page 5

A Message from Our Leadership



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Gail B. Nayowith
Executive Director

CCC's staff and volunteers have been busy with numerous activities aimed at fulfilling our mission – working to ensure that every child has the opportunity to be healthy, housed, educated and safe. The difficult fiscal times we are experiencing as a city make CCC's work more important than ever, as we seek to protect essential, core services on which so many New York City families depend. Projected city budget cuts threaten important preventive services that avert foster care placement, much needed childcare slots, child health clinics, afterschool programs, and summer youth employment opportunities, to just name a few. They jeopardize the safety net that provides at least the minimum quality of life standards for children and families. CCC is working hard to preserve these standards. In addition, we are providing creative solutions regarding raising revenue and in providing technical assistance to city agencies regarding cost savings and efficiencies.

To that end, we would like to highlight just a few of the activities that have taken place since our last newsletter. We are proud to announce the release of the Millennium Edition of *Keeping Track of New York City's Children*, our encyclopedia of child well-being in New York City, a comprehensive and invaluable resource for policymakers, students, educators, journalists and community activists that integrates and organizes data to understand what is happening to children in every neighborhood throughout the city.

CCC's State Advocacy Day took place on February 25 with staff, adult volunteers and YouthAction members participating. Meetings were held with New York State Legislators, and a special legislative briefing and separate press conference introduced *Keeping Track*, linking its data with the state budget. City budget advocacy is also underway with activities for our volunteers scheduled throughout May and in early June.

We have completed the Issues Updates, our spring series of six briefings, providing over 200 volunteers and concerned New Yorkers with information on pressing issues affecting children, youth and families in specific program areas and on the work CCC is doing to address them. Task Forces are under way in the areas of homeless youth, mental health and health needs of children in foster care, and the service needs of youth in the juvenile justice system. The unique collaboration of staff and citizen volunteers continues to enhance the strength and effectiveness of CCC as the premier child advocacy organization working on behalf of New York City children.

We are at a defining moment in our city as together we face challenges that have the potential of affecting the future of our children. Now more than ever, New York City's children need CCC to be their voice, and now more than ever, CCC needs and appreciates your commitment to this important work.

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Impact on Children of City and State FY 2004 Budgets

Uncertainty abroad and at home has heightened fear and anxiety for New York City children. Sightings of armed officers on street corners and subway platforms, school evacuation plans and lock-down drills are the new reality for two million New York City children. Overheard conversations about layoffs and unemployment among parents, teachers and neighbors and press reports that thousands of children will no longer be able to count on their schools, child care centers or afterschool programs, adds to the stress of growing up in New York City.

In the days, weeks and months following 9/11, we learned that services were needed to help children pull through – whether it was counseling provided in the schools, supportive afterschool environments or caring child care workers who jumped into action to protect them. We learned that we were a city of survivors, and eager to help the most needy and most vulnerable among us.

We've also learned the importance of investing in support services to secure a better tomorrow. For example, efforts over the last decade to reduce infant mortality caused the number of infant deaths in New York City to drop 42 percent – from 11.6 to 6.7 deaths per 1,000 live births. Rates of teen childbearing decreased by 15 percent, and reports of abuse and neglect decreased in each of the five boroughs. The number of children on the city's waiting list for child care also decreased by almost half between 1998 and 2001.

Still, New York City children continue to face daily challenges above and beyond the anxiety and stress caused by 9/11 and the economic fall-out today. Thirty percent of city children live in poverty and more than half are born into poor families. Over 11,500 children are homeless every day, and nearly 60 percent of all elementary and middle school students read below state and city standards. Over 150 children are reported abused and neglected every day.

It is because of such unmet need among children that the city's proposed budget for FY 2004 is so troubling. The city's FY '04 Executive



On February 25th, 46 volunteers and staff traveled to Albany for CCC's State Advocacy Day. CCC's advocates arrived at the Legislative Office Building for the morning's Legislative Briefing on Keeping Track. Following this event, volunteers attended 22 meetings with members and staff of the State Senate and Assembly to advocate for revenue maximization initiatives that will allow New York City and State to raise the funds needed and for restoration of funding for core services for children and youth.

Budget proposes to cut \$1.2 billion in city funding for children's services starting July 1st. This total includes FY'04 proposals made in the November Modification, the January Financial Plan and the April Executive Budget. Child care, afterschool programs, summer jobs, summer camps, programs to prevent child abuse and neglect, child health and school based health clinics – will be cut and many of these programs will

continued on page 4

What's New With YouthAction?

The Great Kids Budget Debate is designed to offer young people the experience of analyzing city budget documents, researching budget proposals and forming convincing and coherent opinions about the allocation of resources for programs serving children and youth in New York City. This year CCC hosted the fifth annual Great Kids Budget Debate (GKBD) deepening the learning experience for all youth involved. Our goal was to create an even more interactive experience, giving young New Yorkers a hands-on understanding of the city's budget process. Crafting New York City's budget is perhaps the most important activity in which the Mayor and City Councilmembers participate. The budget sets an agenda for the way government will address the needs of New Yorkers in the coming year.

YouthAction members spent four weeks learning about the city budget, researching a debate issue and learning basic debating skills and debate structure. The culmination of this month of study was a debate where YouthAction members worked in teams to debate current budget proposals. This experience lays the groundwork for citizen action in critical decisions of lawmakers and hones YouthAction members' skills as advocates who will be conveying budget priorities for children in meetings with Councilmembers this spring.



Clockwise from top left: Marcus Morales, Crystal Lowe, Diana Garcia, Shauneeka Heyliger, and Lilianna Germosen.

Budget

continued from page 3

close. The city's fiscal crisis requires tough choices to be made. Children, however should be spared and the vital core services that protect them and our future, saved.

To address a budget deficit that was projected to be over \$6 billion for FY'04, New York City lowered expenses by \$844 million and raised property taxes by 18.5% in November. In May, the Legislature voted to raise taxes statewide and to allow the city to raise city sales tax and city income tax for higher earners. The State Legislature overrode the Governor's veto of a revenue package and state budget restorations that

will provide New York City with \$2.7 billion – approximately \$1.7 billion in revenue and approximately \$1 billion in budget restorations, largely for the city's education and health care costs. (See below for highlights of the Legislature's budget restorations.) The Mayor and the City Council supported the Legislature's revenue package in order to diminish the magnitude of service cuts that would be needed to address a current \$3.8 billion budget shortfall. These increases will prevent a doomsday budget scenario in New York City.

New Yorkers have been asked to pay more taxes, fees, fines, subway and bus fares as the Mayor and the City Council negotiate the FY'04 budget, CCC asks that they ensure that New York City's budget protects vital children's services.

Protect our Children, Protect our Future

New York City Fiscal Year 2004 City Budget Restorations Needed to Protect Vital Children's Services

ACS CHILD CARE

- \$12.1 million to avoid increased parent fees for child care
- \$9 million for 2500 child care slots

CHILD WELFARE

- \$33 million for foster care rates and foster and adoptive parent stipends
- \$7.6 million for substance abuse prevention and treatment for youth in foster care
- \$7.8 million for programs to prevent child abuse and neglect provided in Beacon schools and through contracts with community based organizations
- \$1.75 million for the Safe and Timely Adoption Reunification (STAR) program
- \$500,000 for independent living programs

DOE

- \$33 million for non-mandated summer school students and summer school for grades K-2
- \$12.5 million for the Teacher Mentor Program

DHMH

- \$300,000 for infant mortality programs
- \$268,000 for subsidies to five School-Based Health Clinics

HHC

- \$3.5 million for 12 Child Health Clinics and \$3.26 million for 6 Communicare Clinics

DYCD

- \$8.4 million for Beacon schools
- \$5 million for baseline youth programs: City Council Initiatives (\$1.16 million) which include Virtual Ys, Sports and Arts, Institute for Student Achievement; City Council Discretionary funding (\$3.2 million); and Street Outreach and Neighborhood Youth Alliance (\$967,000)
- \$10 million for the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Program
- \$11.8 million for Summer Youth Employment
- \$2.5 million for the After Three program

DJJ

- \$750,000 for Community Based Intervention Services for at-risk youth

- \$538,000 for two non-secure detention contracts with a capacity of 25 beds

DHS

- \$1.73 million for family aftercare services
- \$2.5 million for anti-eviction legal services and move from HPD to DHS

CCC's Principles to Guide Reorganization and Government Streamlining

The FY'04 proposed budget also includes plans to restructure city agencies and save \$75 million. While CCC supports efforts to rethink and streamline government, we urge the Mayor and the City Council to ensure that city agency consolidations lead to improved outcomes and address unmet needs of children, youth, families and communities. Each proposal should be considered carefully and guided by the following principles:

- Principle 1. Assess risks and monitor consolidations
- Principle 2. Avoid disruptions in service and reductions in service availability and quality
- Principle 3. Streamline agency administration to reduce duplication and inefficiencies
- Principle 4. Maximize state and federal funds

Highlights Of The Legislature's State Fiscal Year 2004 Budget Restorations To The Governor's Executive Proposal.

- Restores \$204 million for Universal Pre-Kindergarten
- Restores \$140 million for Early Grade Class Size Reductions
- Restores \$25 million for Summer Youth Employment
- Eliminates Parent Fees for the Early Intervention Program
- Maintains Child Health Plus A (Medicaid) eligibility for 6-18 year olds at 133% of the Federal Poverty Level.
- Continues access to essential health services for children and families by maintaining state support for Graduate Medical Education, not imposing assessments on hospitals, nor increasing the local share of Medicaid from 25% to 37%.
- Restores \$18 million for existing preventive service programs.
- Rejects the Governor's proposal to overturn the Jiggetts rental subsidy for families at risk homelessness.

Keeping Track

continued from page 1

children in virtually every category tracked. The data also show rapidly growing poverty for Asian children.

- Over seventy percent of Latino children are born into poor families, compared to 59 percent of African-American and 19 percent of White children.
- Two thirds (62 percent) of all children in state juvenile detention facilities are African-American, compared to 33 percent who are Latino, and 3 percent who are White and 2 percent who are Asian children.
- Fifty two percent – more than half – of all teenage mothers are Latina, compared with 37 percent who are African-American, 7 percent who are White, and 3 percent who are Asian teenage mothers.
- Twenty three percent of African-American youth and 26 percent of Latino youth drop out of high school, compared to 12 percent of White and 11 percent of Asian youth.

Economic Conditions are Troubling for Children

Family economic insecurity and child poverty have increased since 9/11. There is no doubt that 9/11 created an economic crisis for NYC families and children, the economic impacts of which exceeded those felt in the rest of New York State and the United States.

- Forty two percent of children in the Bronx, 34 percent of children in Brooklyn, 32 percent of children in Manhattan, 19 percent of children in Queens, and 14 percent of children in Staten Island are living in poverty.
- The national unemployment rate was 5.5 percent, while in New York City the rate was 7.6 percent in May 2002.
- There are nearly twice as many children living in poverty in New York City as there are across the U.S. (30.3 percent and 16.6 percent respectively).

The Housing Situation is Worse

KEEPING TRACK'S data shows record increases in the number of homeless children and families. The challenge of finding affordable housing is now a crisis in New York City. In 1990, 6.8% of apartments rented for \$1000 or more, now the number of units renting at that amount has nearly tripled to 19.4%. At the lower end of the rental market, the number of affordable apartments available has been cut in half. This helps explain a 78%

Changes in Child Well-Being

Indicator	Year %		Change from 1990 to 2000
	1990	2000	
Children Below Poverty	30.1%	30.3%	0.7%
Children Born into Poor Families	44.0%	50.7%	15%
Children Receiving Public Assistance	30%	17.6%	-41%
Fair to Poor Condition of Rental Housing	40%	25.4%	-37%
Homeless Children	6,450	9,021	40%
Violent Felonies Per 1,000 Children (0-17 years)	89	31.3	-65%
Infant Deaths per 1,000 Live Births	11.6	6.7	-42%
Infants at Low Birthweight	9.3%	8.3%	-11%
Mothers with Late or No Prenatal Care	14.8%	6.3%	-57%
Children Receiving Mental Health Services	11,165	15,722	41%
Math Scores at or Above Grade Level	63%	49.0%*	-22%
Reading Scores at or Above Grade Level	50%	49.1%*	-2%
Four Year Class Graduating Rate	37.6%	49.9%	33%
Youth Arrests for Felonies/ Misdemeanors (16-20 years)	53,407	69,297	30%
Juvenile Arrests for Felonies/Misdemeanors (< 16 years)	12,581	10,185	-19%
Violent Death Rate Per 10,000 (15-19 years)	8.2	1.6	-80%
Births to Teen Mothers (% of total births)	10.1%	8.6%	-15%
Abuse and Neglect Reports Per 1,000 Children (0-17 years)	30.8	25.8	-16%
Average Hazardous Incidents Per Community District	15	26.2	75%

Note: *This figure is for school year 1998-1999

increase in the number of homeless families with children seeking shelter since 1990.

NYC Children's Health Can Improve

Our children's health lags behind that of children in other parts of the state. **KEEPING TRACK** documents very high hospitalization rates for preventable illnesses that can be treated effectively and at lower cost on an outpatient basis. Contrasting this is the incredible reduction in infant mortality that proves quite clearly how investment pays off.

NYC Schools are not Producing Achievement

The problems of our public schools are well known and **KEEPING TRACK** details what they are: high enrollment, overcrowding, students with high needs, high drop out rates, and poor performance on reading and math tests. The situation is so serious that New Yorkers have expressed unanimous support for a system-wide overhaul.

- On average, there are seven computers for every one hundred students and eight library books for every student.
- Only 41 percent and 34 percent of students

are meeting reading and math standards respectively.

- Only half of New York City high school students are graduating in four years.

Youth are at Risk

The numbers of youth at risk – in this case neither in school nor working – tells the sad story of how neighborhoods shape outcomes, how schools fail students and the extent of youth unemployment. It also tells a story about young people who will be unable to support themselves or their families financially.

Gains have been Made for Children at Risk of Abuse and Neglect

The data shows that the reforms and investments of the last six years have paid off. Fewer children are being placed in foster care and more are remaining safely with their families and receiving preventive services in the community.

The data in Keeping Track tells the story of progress and promises to keep. The city's budget crisis threatens to reverse this progress (See page 3 for more information) on the city's FY '04 budget.

New York City Homeless Families Special Master Panel

On January 17, 2003, Mayor Michael Bloomberg and Legal Aid Society President Daniel Greenberg announced an historic settlement in the 20-year old litigation involving homeless families and the Department of Homeless Services. This landmark agreement includes the formation of a new three-member independent New York City Family Homelessness Special Master Panel, which will oversee and make reports and recommendations to the Court, including those relating to the resolution of the existing litigation involving homeless families. Gail Nayowith, CCC's Executive Director, was named to the panel, along with Daniel Kronenfeld, Senior Fellow for the Fund for the City of New York and John Feerick, former Fordham University School of Law Dean. The members of new Special Master Panel will serve for two years and are responsible for evaluating the family shelter system and making recommendations for improvements.

For 20 years homeless family policy in New York City was battled out in the courts, in newspapers and on radio and television. From judges' chambers and the Court of Appeals to the court of public opinion created by local media, an increasingly adversarial dynamic emerged that defined and shaped the development of public policies for homeless families for two decades. Over the years, litigation brought about key improvements to the shelter system including the right to shelter, improved access



Michael Cardozo, Corporation Counsel; Linda Gibbs, Commissioner, Department of Homeless Services; Frederick Schaffer, Chairman, Legal Aid Society; Steven Banks, Associate Attorney in Chief and Lead Counsel, Legal Aid Society; Michael Bloomberg, New York City Mayor; Daniel Greenberg, President, Legal Aid Society; Gail Nayowith, Executive Director, Citizens' Committee for Children; Daniel Kronenfeld, Senior Fellow, the Fund for the City of New York and John Feerick, former Dean Fordham University School of Law.

to safe and decent shelter accommodations, rational standards for shelter eligibility, and protections for families with special needs. These important improvements however, came at a great cost to the attorneys, mayors, judges and commissioners involved and to homeless families themselves. Improvements also came after several administrations and many years of foot-dragging the bill for fines, legal fees, and remedies that did not provide lasting relief.

A new city administration in January 2002 brought its own ideas about serving homeless families and a commitment to structural change. In June 2002, the Department of Homeless

Services, (DHS) released, "The Second Decade of Reform: A Strategic Plan for New York City's Homeless Services" (DHS Strategic Plan) that laid out a broad vision for reform of the shelter system and the promise of ending homelessness.

The city and the Legal Aid Society also saw the possibility of doing things differently and better and assembled a team to help the parties resolve several thorny issues, a process that led to a broader negotiated settlement of the homeless families lawsuits. The settlement was negotiated over a six-week period from late November 2002 through mid-January 2003 and approved by the presiding judge, Justice Helen E. Freedman on January 17, 2003.

The settlement envisions creative policy-making outside of the courtroom and promises to reshape city homeless policies for the good of all New Yorkers. Characterized as historic, the settlement includes five major changes. The settlement: 1) establishes a three member panel to evaluate the functioning of the family shelter system and make recommendations to resolve litigation; 2) promotes standards of client responsibility; 3) withdraws all pending motions before the court while maintaining court orders; 4) creates a new process for problem solving and resolving disputes to avoid court; and 5) supports the implementation of the DHS Strategic Plan and provides a renewed focus on permanent housing for homeless families.

The Panel has two distinct roles: The first is to evaluate and assist DHS in its efforts to implement its Strategic Plan and new standards of client responsibility and improve the overall func-

continued on page 7



The Women's City Club (WCC) of New York presented Citizens' Committee for Children with a Civic Spirit Award for our work in providing a voice for children. Gail Nayowith accepted the award on behalf of CCC at their annual awards dinner on April 9, 2003. CCC is the first non-profit organization to receive the WCC Civic Spirit Award. Seated (left to right): Heidi Stamas, Nancy Solomon, Edythe First, Nancy Hoving, Bernard Warshavsky, Frances Levenson, and Gail Nayowith. Standing (left to right): Elinor Mannucci, Elizabeth Sheehan, and Nancy Locker.

Works on Paper

On February 26th, over 1,000 people joined Citizens' Committee for Children of New York for our benefit preview of the 15th Annual Works on Paper Show at the Park Avenue Armory. The evening's success was due in large part to the outstanding co-chairs and the tireless and enthusiastic steering and benefit committees. Emily Satloff and Nancy Locker agreed to co-chair for the second year in a row and were joined by Jennifer Hand, Thomas Tierney and Heidi Stamas.

Produced by Sanford Smith, Works on Paper, has been hailed by the New York Times, as a "great visual adventure" and "the most important show of its kind." This year over 85 of the finest international exhibitors gathered, showing watercolors, fine prints, photography, drawings, posters and illustrated books from Old Master to Contemporary.

Special thanks to Lehman Brothers for continuing to be the primary corporate benefactor of the evening and the corporations who, like Lehman Brothers and CCC, believe in making New York City a better place for children: Goldman, Sachs & Co; HBO; Neuberger Berman, LLC; Salomon, Green & Ostrow, P.C.; and Showtime Networks.

Early admission tours were led by Cynthia Nachmani and Beverly Schreiber Jacoby. All proceeds from the preview evening, as well as a percentage of sales from selected exhibitors benefited CCC.

Homeless Panel

continued from page 6

tion in the homeless families shelter system. The second role of the panel is to adjudicate disputes between the parties in "extreme circumstances involving a major problem."

The bulk of the Panel's work will be evaluative and intended to help DHS foster a climate focused on moving families more quickly from homelessness to permanent housing.

The Panel will submit regular reports to the Court, including recommendations for relief or remedies requested by the parties, keeping the Court updated on the implementation of the DHS Strategic Plan and other efforts undertaken to address issues affecting homeless families. At the end of the two years, the Panel will make recommendations to the Court about resolving lawsuits on behalf of making of homeless families.



Margery Kern and Jane Levin



Amy and Ron Guttman, Paul and Alex Herzan



Steve and Bonnie Beer



Brian and Judy Berger



Christine Bennison, Ed Swenson, Richard and Katherine Kahan



Martha Olson, Amy and Peter Bernstein



Jennifer Klein and Nancy Locker



Marla Nissan, Jonathan Foster and Howard Chatzinoff



Heidi Stamas and Samuel Peabody

Photographs by Katrina Stamas

The Justine Wise Polier Memorial Lecture

On Thursday, February 13, 2003, CCC along with Louise Wise Services and the Marion E. Kenworthy-Sarah H. Swift Foundation held the Eighth Justine Wise Polier Memorial Lecture. The event was hosted by Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, LLP.

The Justine Wise Polier Memorial Lecture is named to honor Justine Wise Polier a renowned jurist and children's advocate who was one of the founders of CCC. A visionary in juvenile justice reform, Judge Polier was called a "voice of conscience" due to her frequent outspokenness and action on controversial social issues. She felt that the law should be an agent of social change, and she led the way for the establishment of mental health and public adoption services for children. She pioneered a preventive and rehabilitative model of juvenile justice, avoiding a strictly punitive approach to delinquency. Polier also understood the interplay of social issues and fought against racial and economic discrimination both in and out of the courtroom.

Our keynote speaker for the evening was the Honorable Judge Sara P. Schechter of the New York County Family Court who exemplifies Judge Polier's values and practice. Appointed by Mayor Edward I. Koch in 1983, Judge Sara P. Schechter has served as a Family Court Judge for twenty years.

Since January 1999, Judge Schechter has been the Presiding Judge of the Model Court Project in the New York County Family Court. The Model Court is designed to eliminate unnecessary court delays in child protective and permanency proceedings, to emphasize early identification and implementation of services for children and families, and to achieve expeditious permanency for children in foster care.

Judge Schechter delivered a lecture entitled "Outside the Box with the Baby and the Bathwater: Reflections on Responsible Change." In a brilliant lecture, she challenged the notion that the courts create lasting social reform, arguing instead that broad social movements produce social change. She posited a three part theory of responsible change:

1) Responsible change requires selfless, long-term commitment.



Hon. Judge Sara P. Schechter of the New York County Family Court.

Judge Schechter used the example of dedicated people, such as the suffragists at the Seneca Falls conference, who fought for over 50 years for the right to vote. They struggled not only for change that would benefit themselves and those of their generation, but for the rights of generations to come. Only one woman from the Seneca Falls conference lived to exercise her right to vote.

2) Responsible change rests on a foundation of shared values. The hope for social change cannot be vested solely on confidence in courtroom litigation. Courts follow the shifts in public opinion. Women were fined for illegally registering to vote, and they fined Margaret Sanger for sending her 'obscene' birth control materials through the mail. And yet, today, we have universal suffrage and freely available contraception. As public opinion shifted, a consensus developed supporting change.

3) Responsible change engages the collective efforts of many concerned individuals. New Yorkers must relearn the art of coalition building, and search for the talents of people of diverse backgrounds to enlist in our efforts to persuade and inspire.



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