

Appendix: Proposals from this paper, the AEI-Brookings poverty report, and the candidates

	Sawhill/Rodrigue recommendations	AEI-Brookings recommendationsⁱ	Clinton proposalsⁱⁱ	Trump proposalsⁱⁱⁱ
Strengthening families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand evidence-based home visiting. • Make the most effective forms of birth control (IUDs and implants) more widely available at no cost to women. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of participants said states and local governments should support programs that ensure "women and men, both single and married, are aware of their options for planning pregnancies and births [including long-acting contraception] and have easy access to programs that help them do so." • Encourage "continued federal support for the Maternal Infant, and Early Childhood Home Visiting Program, and... an even sharper focus on identifying and supporting the evidence-based models that show the greatest success and cost-benefit payoff." • Improve responsible fatherhood programs; enroll more fathers in parenting programs. • Set more reasonable child support orders and make it easier to reduce such orders if a parent is unemployed, in prison, or has other extenuating circumstances that prevent them from paying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide tax breaks for Americans facing "excessive out-of-pocket health care costs and for those caring for an ill or elderly family member." • "[Double] investment in home visiting programs such as the Maternal, Infant, and Early Childhood Home Visiting (MIECHV) program." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide pre-tax dependent care savings account, not to exceed \$2000 from all sources. The government would provide a 50 percent match for parental contributions of up to \$500 for low-income families. • Provide an income tax deduction for eldercare costs, limited to \$5,000 per year.
Paid leave	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide paid family leave as a matter of national policy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "One effort that states should consider is the provision of paid family and medical leave... the best way to provide paid leave is by funding it through an increase in state payroll taxes... and not as a mandate on employers to provide it." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Guarantee up to 12 weeks of paid family and medical leave to care for a new child or a seriously ill family member, and up to 12 weeks of medical leave to recover from a serious illness or injury of their own." The proposal would pay at least two-thirds of current wages, up to a ceiling, while on leave. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Enhance Unemployment Insurance (UI) to include 6 weeks of paid leave for new mothers so that they can take time off of work after having a baby." This would be funded by reducing fraud in the existing UI system. The reimbursement rate would be equal to that for laid off workers, which ranges from a maximum benefit of

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				\$240/week in AZ to \$722/week in MA.
Pre-K	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiment further with pre-K programs and evaluate the results, focusing on well-trained teachers, small classes, and proven curriculum, targeted towards low-income children, who stand to benefit most. • Experiment further with low-cost interventions, like providing parents with books and texting them reminders to read to their children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand access to high-quality preschool education. • Target resources in early learning programs to low-income children and their mothers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Ensure that every 4-year-old in America has access to high-quality preschool in the next 10 years.” • “Double the number of children served by Early Head Start and the Early Head Start–Child Care Partnership program.” 	
Child care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make the Child and Dependent Care Tax Credit (CDCTC) refundable and cap it at \$100,000 in income. • A second-earner deduction to make work more rewarding, by softening the blow of child care costs and other work-related expenses that affect two-earner households 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to improve child care quality for low-income working parents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Increase child care investments so that no family in America has to pay more than 10 percent of its income to afford high-quality child care...by significantly increasing the federal government’s investment in child care subsidies and providing tax relief for the cost of child care to working families.” • “Fund and support states and local communities that work to increase the compensation of child care providers and early educators and provide equity with kindergarten teachers by investing in educational opportunities, career ladders, and professional salaries.” • “Award scholarships of up to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce an income tax exclusion for childcare costs for children up to age 13, covering up to 4 children per family. This exclusion would be capped at the average cost of childcare in the state of residence for the age of child—which ranges from \$5,000 per year in MS to \$13,000 in MA. This benefit would be available to individuals earning up to \$250,000 and couples earning up to \$500,000.

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			<p>\$1,500 per year to help as many as 1 million student parents afford high-quality child care...Recipients can use the awards for costs that create barriers to success—including child care and emergency financial aid.”</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Increase access to high-quality child care on college campuses by serving an additional 250,000 children... by increasing funding for campus-based child care centers.” 	

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K-12 education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase investment in proven interventions, like Success for All and Social-Emotional Learning (in elementary and middle schools) and Small Schools of Choice and Career Academies (in high schools). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scale up high-quality, evidence-based social-emotional learning (SEL) programs . • Expand work-based learning opportunities. • States should collect budget and longitudinal outcomes on how high school graduates perform in college and in the workforce and use that data to improve high school education. • Conduct more experimental evaluations of teaching and learning approaches. • States should enact legislation to widen the use of innovative approaches to school organization. • Encourage voluntary school choice to promote socioeconomic and racial integration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Launch a national campaign to elevate and modernize the teaching profession, by preparing, supporting, and paying every child’s teacher as if the future of our country is in their hands.” • “Provide states and school districts funding to help scale computer science [and] increase college enrollment and completion in CS Ed fields.” • Create “Modernize Every School Bonds” [to] double the Build America Bonds subsidy for efforts to fix and modernize America’s classrooms [including] increasing energy efficiency and tackling asbestos to upgrading science labs and high-speed broadband.” • “Dismantle the school-to-prison pipeline by providing \$2 billion in support to schools to reform overly punitive disciplinary policies, calling on states to reform school disturbance laws, and encouraging states to use federal education funding to implement social and emotional support interventions.” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase local control of k-12 education and end Common Core: “I may cut Department of Education--Common Core is a very bad thing. I think that it should be local education. If you look at a Jeb Bush and some of these others, they want children to be educated by Washington, D.C. bureaucrats.”^{iv} “[As president I’d] end Common Core.”^v • Weaken teachers’ unions: “In our educational system, one huge obstacle is the strength of the teacher unions. Teacher unions don’t want school choice because it means a potential reduction in union-protected jobs....Thanks to strong contracts negotiated by the New York City teacher union, it’s become almost impossible to discipline a teacher, much less actually fire one.”^{vi} • Expand school choice. Proposed reallocating an unspecified \$20 billion in first budget into block grants to states, and directing them to use the money to help millions of elementary school students living in poverty attend the school of their choice.^{vii}

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Paying for college	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduce education-related tax breaks for the well-off; use the savings to increase the maximum Pell grant. • Radically simplify the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) form to two questions—adjusted gross income and attendance status. • Tie college financial assistance more closely to performance both in high school and in college. • Give more generous state and federal funding to schools with higher graduation rates and greater enrollment of low-income students, as Ohio, Indiana, and Tennessee have tried to do. • Consider requiring institutions to pay part of their students' defaulted federal loans back to the government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen performance initiatives and make it so that at least some part of state subsidies depends on colleges' performance. • Target federal or state funding for two-year colleges specifically to raising teaching capacity in high-demand fields of study. • Supplement traditional higher education institution accreditation with other methods of measuring quality. • Federal government should open its college rating platform to multiple scorecards that meet standards of integrity but reflect differing views of quality. • Taper down future public support for students from wealthier families. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allow borrowers to refinance their student loans at current rates. • Expand income-based repayment options, with borrower forgiveness after 20 years (10 if the individual "works in the public interest"). • Allow individuals starting their own business to defer loan repayments for up to 3 years. "Social entrepreneurs and those starting new enterprises in distressed communities" would receive up to \$17,500 in loan forgiveness. • Debt forgiveness for AmeriCorps members who complete a 2-year term and a year of public service afterward. • Introduce a 3-month moratorium on student loan payments, during which borrowers could seek help, or restructure or refinance their debt. • Eliminate community college tuition. • Eliminate tuition at in-state public institutions for families with income up to \$125,000 by 2021. • Condition increased tuition subsidies on work-study for some students. • Create a \$25 billion fund to support minority-serving institutions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lower federal student loan interest rates: "There is no reason the federal government should profit from student loans."^{viii}

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Minimum wage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase the minimum wage to \$10.10. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise the minimum wage (still keep it below \$10.10, but no exact amount proposed). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Supports a \$12 federal minimum wage...encourages states, cities, and workers through bargaining to go even higher, including a \$15 minimum wage in places where it makes sense.” 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gone back and forth on raising the federal minimum wage, though has consistently said that the states should lead.^{ix}
EITC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise the EITC for families with very young children, eliminate the marriage penalty, and redirect some benefits from larger to smaller families and to single individuals. • Consider an EITC bonus to those who work full-time as a way to encourage more hours of work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make EITC more generous for low-income childless adults and non-custodial parents; double childless EITC to at least \$1,000 per year. • Slow the phase-out of EITC benefits for married couples • Deduct outstanding child support debts from a non-custodial parent’s EITC. • Extend the Additional Child Tax Credit beyond 2017, as long as the credits are based on earnings from work and not overall income. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide a “boost” in the EITC equal to half of the payroll taxes paid by the lower-earning parent.

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Jobs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to prioritize full employment when forming monetary and fiscal policy • Use today's low-interest environment to borrow cheaply and invest in physical capital projects, like a smarter energy grid • Invest in the nation's human capital and in basic research • Expand and evaluate transitional job programs that provide subsidized low-wage work in either the public or the private sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • States should conduct experiments to see if apprentice tax credits and/or technical assistance actually increase apprenticeships and skills; expand apprenticeships that work • Enforce the federal Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) law • Pass and enforce "ban the box" ordinances at the city and state level • Federal government should promote development and evaluation of work programs for ex-offenders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Pass the Paycheck Fairness Act to...fight [gender] discrimination at work [and] promote pay transparency." • "Restore collective bargaining [through measures like] the Employee Free Choice Act." • "Reward companies that share profits and invest in their workers...crack down on companies that move profits overseas to avoid paying U.S. taxes...make companies that export jobs give back the tax breaks they've received." • "Protect workers from exploitation, including employer misclassification, wage theft." • "Invest in high-quality training [and] apprenticeships...Put forward a tax credit for businesses of \$1,500 per apprentice [with] a bonus [for selecting] young people." • Pursue models to address concentrated geographic poverty based on James Clyburn's "10-20-30" approach. • "[Launch] \$125 billion Economic Revitalization Initiative," including \$50 billion for youth employment, reentry support, and small business support, \$50 billion for water and transportation infrastructure, and \$25 billion to promote homeownership for lower-income families and support state and local efforts to develop affordable housing and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invest in infrastructure: "[As president I'd] rebuild the country's infrastructure. Nobody can do that like me. Believe me. It will be done on time, on budget, way below cost, way below what anyone ever thought."^x • "establish a national goal of reaching 4 percent economic growth"^{xi} • Introduce a \$4.4 trillion tax cut^{xii}

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			revitalize struggling neighborhoods.	

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- ⁱ All recommendations taken from “Opportunity, responsibility, and security: A consensus plan for reducing poverty and restoring the American Dream.” AEI-Brookings Working Group on Poverty and Opportunity, 2015. Available here: <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Full-Report.pdf>
- ⁱⁱ All recommendations taken from the Clinton campaign website: <https://www.hillaryclinton.com/issues/>
- ⁱⁱⁱ Child care and paid leave recommendations were taken from the “Child care reforms that will make America great again” page on the Trump website: <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/positions/child-care-reforms-that-will-make-america-great-again>. Ranges of state UI benefits and average child care costs from *New York Times* article by Richard Pérez-Peña on September 14, 2016: http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/15/us/how-the-trump-and-clinton-child-care-plans-stack-up.html?_r=0.
- ^{iv} Fox News Sunday 2015 Coverage of 2016 presidential hopefuls, Oct 18, 2015. (At the 5-minute mark). Available here: <http://video.foxnews.com/v/4564712932001/donald-trump-talks-taxes-trade-and-911/?#sp=show-clips>
- ^v 2015 announcement speeches of 2016 presidential hopefuls, Jun 16, 2015. Available here: <http://time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/>
- ^{vi} Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again. Donald J. Trump. Page 55. November 3rd, 2015.
- ^{vii} “Clinton's and Trump's Plans to Help Education Differ Sharply,” AP Wire report, September 12, 2016. <http://abcnews.go.com/Health/wireStory/clinton-trumps-plans-tackle-education-differ-sharply-42025204>
- ^{viii} Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again. Donald J. Trump. Page 58. November 3rd, 2015.
- ^{ix} “A guide to all of Donald Trump’s flip-flops on the minimum wage,” Michelle Ye Hee Lee, Washington Post, August 3rd, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2016/08/03/a-guide-to-all-of-donald-trumps-flip-flops-on-the-minimum-wage/>
- ^x 2015 announcement speeches of 2016 presidential hopefuls, Jun 16, 2015. Available here: <http://time.com/3923128/donald-trump-announcement-speech/>
- ^{xi} Speech at the Economic Club of New York, September 15th, 2016. <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/press-releases/trump-delivers-speech-on-jobs-at-new-york-economic-club>
- ^{xii} “Trump promises to create 25 million jobs with economic plan,” Nick Gass, Politico, September 15th 2016. <http://www.politico.com/story/2016/09/donald-trump-jobs-economic-plan-228218>