

A Social Profile of a Poverty Area

C. DALE JOHNSON, Ph.D.

THOMAS L. GILLETTE, Ph.D.

DAVID FELDMAN, Ph.D.

JANUARY, 1966

sociological research associates san diego, california

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research report was made possible by the Economic Opportunities Commission of San Diego County. We take this occasion to thank the Commission, especially the Executive Director, Mr. Jack Katz, for support, understanding, and encouragement of a rather novel research approach to the problems of poverty. We acknowledge also the indispensable contribution made by our interviewers. Their energy, dedication, and deeply interested involvement in the study and its purposes have made possible a more penetrating awareness of the lives and problems of the people who live in southeast San Diego than we had initially thought possible. Finding such interviewers is no easy task. For their generous assistance in this we are especially grateful to Mr. Jesse Albritten, Father Joseph Gallus, S. J., and the Reverend Richard Schwitzgebel. We, of course, assume sole responsibility for the quality of the study.

C. Dale Johnson, Ph.D.
Thomas L. Gillette, Ph.D.
David Feldman, Ph.D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	p. 1
Part I Procedures and Methods of the Survey.....	p. 2
Part II Data Analysis and Demographic Characteristics of the Sample.....	p. 16
Part III Neighborhood Evaluation.....	p. 20
Part IV How Residents of a Poverty Area View Their Own Situation.....	p. 27
Part V Views on Selected Aspects of Employment in San Diego.....	p. 39
Part VI Views of Social Welfare: Agencies and Personnel.....	p. 49
Part VII The War on Poverty.....	p. 61
Part VIII Final Comment.....	p. 77
Statistical Tables.....	p. 79 and ppf.
Appendix Follows Table 40	

INTRODUCTION

A unique aspect of the recent concern with the elimination of poverty in American society is the commitment to a more direct participation by the poor as planners and doers in the "War on Poverty". Implied concerns, therefore, include how the poor define their own situation, what they believe are the causes and consequences of poverty, and what they think would be effective strategies in the fight to eliminate poverty. The research reported here focused on such concerns. In more specific detail, questions such as the following guided the design and conduct of the survey:

1. What do residents of a poverty area regard as the major problems in their lives? Do they, for example, think of themselves as "poor"?
2. What do these people feel should be done to alleviate their problems? And who (what agencies, public officials, etc.) should take what kinds of action in dealing with the problems? Of concomitant and equal importance, what proposed or possible action do they believe should not be taken?
3. What previous or existing programs for alleviating poverty are they aware of? What is their evaluation of the effectiveness of these programs - of their administration and personnel? What experiences, if any, have they had with these programs?

PART I

PROCEDURES AND METHODS OF THE SURVEY

Determination of what constitutes a "poverty area" is accomplished by consideration of median income, rates of unemployment, proportion of racial and ethnic minorities, and other crucial variables. Such information is readily available in Census Tract Statistics compiled by the Census Bureau. In addition, direct observation yields overt indicators of poverty, for example, rapid changes in land use patterns such as commercial-industrial invasion of residential neighborhoods, the resulting deterioration of housing, and the general neglect of various facilities and services. It is also valuable to consult community leaders and others who have firsthand familiarity with local social and economic conditions.

The study has utilized all of these approaches in defining and selecting the poverty area to be surveyed. The survey area comprises four census tracts in southeast San Diego, the major poverty section of the city. Census Tracts I-39, I-40, K-50, K-51 were determined to possess social and economic characteristics which define poverty areas, that is, low income, low education, high proportion of minority group members, and the physical characteristics noted above. The tracts include the area bounded by Market Street on the north, Wabash Boulevard on the east, Harbor Drive on the southwest, and Eighth Street on the west. (A wedge-shaped area lying roughly between Interstate Highway 5 and Twenty-Eighth Street consisting of three

other census tracts was excluded from the study.)

While the information on ethnicity, education, and information in Table 1 documents the poverty character of the selected tracts, not all residents of the area are poor. Southeast San Diego exhibits the variations typically found in any segment of a large metropolitan area. That this area has some of the characteristics of a "ghetto" -- chiefly restrictions on residential mobility -- means it has an even greater variation by income and education than will be found in many other areas of the city. Minority status can and most frequently does exclude many economically qualified individuals from middle and upper class neighborhoods. In some instances, business and professional men and their families live a quasi-middle class life within the boundaries of predominantly lower class neighborhoods. Evidence of this appears in the 1960 census data for the four tracts (see Table 1). For example, in 1959, total yearly income of 181 of the families was \$10,000 or more and 174 residents had four or more years of college education. Thus, while most of our interviewees are economically deprived, many cannot be so classified. This makes clear that the study is not simply a survey of poor people but a survey of a poverty area.

Selection of the Sample

The data of the study were obtained from interviews with 361 residents of the four census tracts. The procedure for selecting the sample residents was as follows: Maps indicating the boundaries of

each block within the census tracts were obtained from the San Diego City Planning Office. The investigators visually surveyed all blocks in the four tracts. Each block was classified as either residential or non-residential. Blocks classified as "residential" had three or more residences. Of the residential blocks, every third residence was selected for interviewing. The interviewers were instructed to interview one adult at each residence selected. When an interview could not be obtained from the selected residence, the interviewers were instructed to go to the next residence to their right; if unsuccessful there, they went to the residence immediately to the left of the original residence.

The Interview Schedule

The data of the study were responses to a fifty-two item interview schedule. Formulation and selection of items in the interview schedule (the items appear in the Appendix) were based on familiarity with the literature on poverty and the theoretical orientations of the discipline of sociology. While the interview schedule is solely the responsibility and product of the investigators, discussions with members of the Economics Opportunities Commission were most helpful.

Selection and Training of Interviewers

Recent literature dealing with interviewee response bias shows that bias is related to ethnic, racial, and/or social class differences

between interviewer and interviewee. We attempted to minimize such bias by hiring interviewers who were typical, disadvantaged residents of the area. Of course, they had to be sufficiently literate and articulate to conduct an interview and record responses. Not only are such criteria for interviewer selection methodologically sound, but hiring the disadvantaged also implements, in a modest way, some of the goals of the Economic Opportunities Commission by providing work and specialized training.

Several sources within the poverty area were utilized to identify potential interviewers: a Catholic priest, a Presbyterian minister, a high school vocational counselor, and a citizen's group involved in the local anti-poverty program. They made available a pool of applicants for screening and selection from which the interviewers for the study were employed. The interviewer team members were primarily of lower socio-economic and/or minority status, unemployed and/or underemployed, and residents of the general area. Two were especially selected for bilingual talents enabling them to interview those Mexican-Americans who spoke little or no English.

Once selected, the interviewers were given brief but accelerated training in interview techniques and sampling procedures. Pre-tests of the interview schedule and interviewer skills were made. In addition, throughout all stages of data collection, interviews were checked and evaluated. When necessary, additional instruction was given the interviewer.

Sources of Error

A research report, whether it is concerned primarily with advancing "pure" scientific knowledge, or whether it is concerned primarily (as this one is) with application to practical problems, is useful and enlightening to the reader only to the extent that he is aware of both the shortcomings and the strong points of the information, analyses, and conclusions it presents. Accordingly, we have provided an account of our data collection procedures. We shall now discuss the sources of error most frequently encountered in studies of this kind and indicate how we attempted to minimize them. We shall also assess as objectively as possible how well this was accomplished.

The chief sources of error include the following possibilities:

- I. The sample of persons interviewed may not be truly representative of the population of the area studied.
- II. The responses to the items on the interview schedule do not reflect the true opinions or feelings of the people interviewed.
- III. The interviewer may make errors in recording the responses.
- IV. Those analyzing the completed interviews may make mechanical errors or errors in judgment in classifying the information recorded on the interview schedules.

These problems are next considered in detail.

- I. In all survey research, one of the fundamental problems is

that of generalizing from the characteristics of the sample to the characteristics of the population from which the sample was selected. With random sampling (which our procedure approximates), the characteristics of the population are the most probable characteristics of the sample. This has been established both mathematically and experimentally. (See any standard text which deals with statistical inference, e.g., Wilfred J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr., Introduction to Statistical Analysis. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951.) In general the larger the sample the greater can be the confidence that the characteristics of the sample approximate the characteristics of the population. With a sample size of 361, the standard error of percentage estimates (nearly all of the statistics appearing in the tables of this report are percentages) is quite low, 2.6 per cent or less.

Survey research, however, is subject to the errors resulting from bias as well as from chance. For example, our sample is necessarily limited to persons who were willing to be interviewed. It has not been possible within the limits of the study to determine whether the nonrespondents were socially, or in other ways, different from those who consented to be interviewed. The rate of refusal, however, was quite low.

Daytime interviews (which most of ours were) conducted at places of residence tend to result in a preponderance of female respondents. Overcoming this possible source of bias would have required a more complex sampling procedure than could be implemented within the limits imposed by time and financial resources. (This applies, incidentally, to virtually all other possible sources of error.

There is, roughly, a direct relationship between the degree of precision attained and its cost in time and money.) While the expressed opinions obtained in the study obviously apply more to the female than male population of the area, other considerations indicate an adequate sampling of households with respect to economic and socio-cultural characteristics. The sex ratio among the respondents of the study is not as unbalanced as it might have been, however. While there are approximately equal numbers of men and women in the area (see Table 1), our sample consisted of about 1/3 men and 2/3 women (see Table 5).

Failure of the interviewers to follow sampling instructions precisely can result in biases of various kinds. Three operations minimized the possibility of bias from this source. First, the interviewers were given very detailed instructions during their training; second, each interviewer was provided with a separate map for each block from which he was to obtain interviews; and third, recording of the address of the residence at which the interview was obtained made possible the plotting of the residences on the census tract block maps. (This last operation indicated conformity with the sampling design.) Finally, comparison of the general demographic characteristics of our sample with the census data for the four tracts showed no marked deviations (besides the sex ratio mentioned above) except those which can be accounted for by the general changes that are known to be taking place in the area. (This is discussed in Part II.)

II. The problem of whether responses to questions in the

interview schedule reflect accurately the opinions and feelings of the respondents was met in a number of ways. As we noted earlier, the interviewers were ethnically, economically, and in other ways similar to the people of the area. This was done in an attempt to avoid the uncooperativeness and distortion of responses which lower class hostility toward middle class interviewers - and more especially, Negro hostility toward white interviewers - might cause. Ideally, only Negroes should have interviewed Negroes, Mexican-Americans interviewed Mexican-Americans, etc. While this could not be arranged in all cases, it was in most, and close examination of "inter-ethnic" interviews indicated that the quality and completeness of the data were not greatly affected. A demonstration of potential difficulty between interviewer and interviewee even under what might be supposed to be the most favorable conditions, however, is provided by the following instance in which one of our young male Negro interviewers was refused an interview by a Negro housewife. The encounter was as follows:

Housewife: Who tellin' you to do this, boy?

Interviewer: Two professors at State College are doing this survey.

Housewife: They white men?

Interviewer: Yes.

Housewife: Shame! Shame! Shame on you, boy! Git outa here!

The last page of the interview schedule contained instructions and space for recording the conditions under which the interview took place, the general social atmosphere, and the attitudes and degree

of cooperativeness of the interview subject. Perusal of these descriptions provided additional evidence that interviewer and interviewee were in most instances in rapport. In a number of instances, the interviewer reported hostility or suspicion at the beginning of the interview which was then overcome, usually by the interviewee becoming ego-involved in the interview process, especially if he were impressed by the fact that someone was interested in his opinions concerning anything. Since all of this is common in survey research, especially that which involves probing in depth into areas of fact, opinion, and feeling, which may be viewed as highly private and/or threatening to the interviewee, the interview schedule began with a few innocuous questions which would allow the interview to get well under way before the more emotion-provoking questions were asked.

During the training period, we prepared the interviewers for various contingencies. We were especially insistent that the interviewer secure complete and detailed responses to all questions even though the interviewee may have tended to respond in indifferent and cursory fashion to some of the questions. The interviewers were instructed further to write down as completely as possible literally everything the interviewee said during the course of the interview. Thus, we obtained from numerous interviewees not only categorical responses to such questions as: "Do you think that city officials, such as the Mayor and the City Council, should be in charge of this (i.e., anti-poverty) program?", but detailed comments more richly expressive of their true feelings and opinions than a

simple "Yes" or "No".

The continuous review and critique of the completed interviews during the data collection period enabled us to seek clarification from the interviewers of cryptic and/or incomplete data and also to give them further training with respect to eliciting and recording appropriate responses.

To help insure that responses to various items in the interview schedule would accurately reflect the feelings and behavior of the respondents and their life circumstances, some items of desired information were explored by means of several rather than by a single question. Substantial agreement in the responses to questions which approach the same facts from different directions yields high confidence in the validity of the data obtained.

Some interviews were found to contain grossly inconsistent responses, that is, responses to some questions directly contradicted responses to other questions. In some, responses to the various questions, while not directly contradictory, could not in all reasonable probability reflect the condition and attitudes of any one person. In a final critical evaluation of the interviews prior to coding and tabulating, all such interviews were eliminated along with others in which responses to too many of the crucial interview items were missing. Approximately 50 interviews were discarded for these two reasons. We have, regrettably, no precise way of determining what biasing effect, if any, this had on our final results and conclusions. Our examination of the unsatisfactory interviews indicated that the failure was most probably one of communication. Either the inter-

viewees did not understand the questions or they were too inarticulate to provide meaningful and relevant responses. Most likely, the rejected interviews were with the area's least educated and most culturally deprived residents. If this judgment is correct, our final sample of 361 cases, while certainly containing a high proportion of disadvantaged persons (see Table 6), is slightly biased in favor of those who are not at the absolute bottom of the social and economic ladder. In some respects, then, the study may tend to underestimate the magnitude and distribution of the life problems of the area's residents.

III. That our interviewers made some mechanical errors in the recording of responses was inevitable. We have reason to believe that the frequency of such errors decline rapidly as the interviewers become more experienced. The quality of interviewer performance differed from individual to individual, not so much in errors in recording, as in their ability to provide complete and detailed information. Besides the initial interviewer screening process, considerable control over interviewer quality was obtained by keeping the most able interviewers the busiest. This was accomplished not only by our deliberate efforts but also by the fact that those interviewers who performed best were also those who found the interviewing task most congenial and continually pressed us for new interviewing assignments. Finally, in many cases, we were able to correct obvious errors and to supply missing information by inference. For example, if the interviewer had forgotten to record ethnicity, but the interviewee was a member of Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church and listed

only persons with Spanish surnames as "People in your neighborhood who really count" (Question No. 37), he was classified as Mexican-American. Thus, some data were salvaged that otherwise would have been lost. We judge that bias due to interviewer error was relatively slight.

IV. In view of the data collection problems commented upon, and because of the noncategorical, discursive character of much of the data, it was judged unwise to turn over to clerical assistants any portion of the task of coding (categorizing) the data from the completed interviews. The investigators did all of the coding. Ideally, all responses to each interview item should have been coded independently by at least two persons. Pressures of time precluded this. Partial reliability checks of the coding procedure were made on a sample of 75 of the interviews. Coding discrepancies ranged from zero on the categorical items to less than 5 per cent on the qualitative items.

With respect to the general representativeness and validity of the data, the following claims can be made. While difficult to demonstrate with any degree of precision, our coding and tabulation of interview responses yielded over-all findings not inconsistent with expectations based upon the body of sociological theory and relevant research with which we, the investigators, are familiar. Furthermore, to a great extent, as the tables show, economic and ethnic differences among the respondents are reflected in the remaining data with considerable consistency. Finally, quite apart from the question of precision in the quantitative sense, the rich detail

and the wide range of variation in the discursive responses and incidental comments which our interviewers were so frequently able to record, have provided insight into the deeply human reality so easily obscured or even by-passed by purely quantitative analysis.

Epilogue

The entire study was conceived, discussed, designed, and carried to completion during approximately eleven weeks - from about the end of October, 1965 to the middle of January, 1966. Not only were sample design, interviewer selection and training, data collection, and data analysis (counting only the 361 interviews finally selected, nearly 19,000 separate items of information were coded and tabulated) completed within this period, but construction of the tables, writing of the text, typing of stencils, printing, and finally the staggering physical task of assembling more than 250 copies of the report were compressed into a two-week period of frenetic activity.

All of this is mentioned in case the reader - layman or professional social scientist - should wonder why our text does not include a survey of the relevant literature, why we have not summarized the theoretical implications of the study, why our study design was not "tighter" and more elaborate, why we have dispensed with documentation by footnote, why our style of expression is lacking in elegance, and, perhaps especially, why certain types of analysis which our data virtually ask for were not made. With respect to the last point, our scientific curiosity has been whetted by the research experience but

by no means satisfied. For example, we have limited our control variables to income and ethnicity whereas we should have liked to consider also age, sex, residence, attitude clustering, etc. We have not been able, in fact, even to comment upon some facets of our data. We have also had to forego the use of tests of statistical significance.

This does not mean that we are displeased with the report. Quite the contrary is true. We wish to make clear, however, that this report presents but the first of several analyses of what we regard as a highly significant mass of sociological data. In the meantime, we are content that the urgency of the practical decisions which wait upon completion and publication of our work has priority over our purely scholarly interests.

PART II

DATA ANALYSIS AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Data Analysis

Data analysis and tabular presentation follow a uniform scheme. Interview responses throughout the tables (with the exceptions of Tables 1 and 6) are classified separately for each of three major ethnic categories and for two income levels within each ethnic category. The rationale for this is the fact that ethnicity and income are two of the major determinants of behavior and life chances in our society.

Negro, Mexican-American, and white-other were the ethnic groupings used. The low income category includes all respondents whose annual family income was \$3,999 or less. The high income group includes those with annual incomes of \$4,000 or more.

The responses of the interviewees were coded into the categories which appear in the tables of the report and then tabulated. Since comparison of numbers of responses in a given category is meaningless without reference to some common base, the numbers of responses in each category were converted to percentages. Thus it is possible, for example, to compare (say) the frequency of "Yes" responses of low income Negroes to a particular question with the frequency of "Yes" responses to the same question given by low income whites, despite the fact that the sample contains 129 low income Negroes and

51 low income whites.

The number of interview responses upon which each percentage is based is indicated in the tables. The larger the number of cases to which the percentage refers the greater the confidence which can be placed in that statistic. As a matter of standard procedure we have recorded no percentages which are less than 1 per cent. (This explains why some categories will occur in the tables with no percentages recorded for them, even though such responses did occur.)

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

The majority of the respondents interviewed were Mexican-American or Negroes. More specifically, 57.6 per cent (208) were Negroes; 23.6 per cent (85) were Mexican-American; the remaining 18.8 per cent (68) were white or Oriental. Because there were so few Orientals and their responses were so similar to white responses they were not treated separately.

Long term residents of San Diego predominate; 68 per cent reported they had lived in the city for more than ten years, only 10 per cent reported less than three years residence. Negroes and whites (for the remainder of the report "white" will refer to the "white-other" category) have quite similar residence patterns; a smaller proportion of Mexican-Americans report long-term residence (Table 2). The population of the area appears to be relatively stable so far as residence is concerned. Of the total sample, 56 per cent reported they had lived in their present neighborhoods for seven or

more years and only 28 per cent less than three years (Table 3). Neighborhood residence patterns of Negroes and Mexican-Americans are virtually identical, with the whites having a slightly higher proportion of long term residents.

Although the entire sample is fairly evenly distributed on the basis of these age categories (Table 4), some important differences do occur. There is a relative shortage of young adults in the white category, and a slight surplus of whites in the 50 and over category. Considering only low income whites, the surplus of persons age 50 and over is more obvious.

Thirty-two per cent of the sample were male, and 68 per cent female (Table 5). Sex ratios for the ethnic categories were approximately the same.

Comment

Comparison of the sample data with the 1960 Census information (Table 1) for the four tracts studied indicates that ethnic composition has remained relatively stable. Our sample has almost exactly the same percentage of Negroes (57.6 per cent) as shown in the Census report (56.8 per cent). The sample does contain, however, a somewhat higher proportion of Mexican-Americans (23.6 per cent as against 24.3 per cent) in 1965 than in 1960. It also appears that there has been a decline in income. The median annual income reported by our respondents was less than \$3,000; the 1959 median family income for the area was, however, more than \$4,000 (see Tables 1 and 6). Neither

of these apparent changes is in any way unusual or unexpected in deteriorating urban areas. As the area declines, those able to leave do so, leaving behind those who are socially and economically most disadvantaged. The declining white population, the high percentage (68 per cent) of whites in the under \$3,000 annual income category (Table 6), the relatively small percentage of whites in the under 36 age category (Table 4), and the fact that the percentage in the low income-over 50 age category (47 per cent) is higher for whites than for either of the other ethnic groups, illustrates the general trend. All of this is concomitant with the general depopulation which occurs on the fringes of industrial-commercial invasion.

PART III

NEIGHBORHOOD EVALUATION

This part reports the findings based on responses to questions 3, 4, 5, and 7 in the interview schedule, questions dealing with the respondents' evaluation of the neighborhoods in which they live. Statistical analysis of the relevant data is contained in Tables 7 through 10.

General Findings

Obviously, feelings of satisfaction and/or dissatisfaction with one's neighborhood involve complex dimensions. Accordingly, we approached the matter from a number of directions. Responses to the question: "How do you like living in this area?" were coded as either "favorable" or "unfavorable" and reported in Table 7. The most obvious finding here is that most of the respondents (81 per cent) made favorable comments. When asked whether they would rather, if given \$1,000, stay in the area and live as well as they could, or move to another area (Question 7, Table 10), 68 per cent said they would rather stay. These findings appear to contradict some popular stereotypes concerning areas like this. Our study indicates that most of the residents have lived in their present neighborhoods for some time, and feel reasonably well settled and habituated to them, at least well enough so that they have no desperate desire to leave.

Inquiry was made concerning what the residents believed to be the most favorable features of their present locations (Question 4, Table 8). Relatively few (only 11 per cent) reported no "best" feature of their neighborhoods. Sheer physical convenience headed the list of favorable features; proximity to stores, schools, churches, and public transportation constituted 38 per cent of the responses. Thirteen per cent of the responses involved mention of the quiet, peaceful character of the neighborhood. Interpersonal relations appear to be important; 18 per cent of the responses consisted of appreciative comments concerning nearness to good friends and the presence in the area of people who are good neighbors, good in the sense that they are respectable, keep up their property, etc.

It should be emphasized, of course, that the picture of satisfaction given so far must be tempered by consideration of the specific complaints (summarized in Table 9) the respondents made about their neighborhoods. Heading the list in frequency (13 per cent) were complaints concerning the general deterioration of the area. While favorable aspects of interpersonal relationships were mentioned frequently, a high proportion of the responses to the question: "What is the worst thing about living here" consisted of complaints concerning bad or troublesome neighbors (11 per cent) and unruly, misbehaving children (8 per cent). The specific complaints concerning neighbors ranged from those concerning rowdy drunks ("winos" who toss their empty bottles on the sidewalk, etc.) to people who fail to keep up their property and to people with whom the respondent just can't get along. The

complaints concerning the children in the area mostly concerned relatively minor matters such as encroachment on property, minor vandalism, etc. Complaints concerning more serious misbehavior on the part of both adults and youth were tabulated separately. Five per cent of the responses were complaints about the depredations of criminals, hoodlums, the streets being unsafe, etc. This last datum, while exposing a serious problem, is also contrary to popular stereotypes concerning areas such as this. It does not indicate that any great proportion of the residents are acutely aware of living in a dangerous "human jungle".

Remaining complaints concern especially poor municipal services (neglect of street repair, street cleaning, garbage pick-up, sewage facilities, etc.), heavy traffic and/or noise, negligences and/or discrimination by the police, failure of landlord to make repairs and maintain housing, industrial odors, proximity to undesirable ethnics, ghetto existence, and invasion by business and industry. Twenty-six per cent of the responses consisted of statements to the effect that there were no "worst" features of living in the area.

The reader should be aware that the information contained in Tables 8 and 9 must be interpreted in rather different fashion from that of most of the other tables. Some respondents gave single responses while others gave several responses to each of the two questions. The number of responses given by any particular respondent may be regarded as influenced by how articulate he is, whether or not he is impatient with the interview and wishes to complete it as soon as possible, as well as the degree of interviewer skill in

eliciting and recording a detailed response. The particular response or responses given in any one case reflect the most salient concerns of the respondent at the moment. The specific results we obtained were thus partly a function of the way in which we asked the respondents to evaluate the area. We know (on the basis of research literature as well as personal experience) that if we had provided the response categories listed in Tables 8 and 9 and asked the respondents to choose those which were applicable to their area, the frequencies of at least some types of comment (both favorable and unfavorable) would have been considerably higher. We were especially anxious, however, to get as spontaneous a set of reactions as possible and hence wished to avoid putting words in the mouths of the respondents. With a few exceptions, this principle was followed in construction of the interview schedule. We assume that the most frequently mentioned categories of response represent the dominant feelings of our respondents.

Our discussion in this part of the report is limited, of course, to respondents' concern with their area; their generally favorable - or at least tolerant - attitudes concerning their neighborhoods do not reflect a general absence of other life problems.

In general, what the residents of the area regard as bad is probably amenable to social and civil engineering. Our impression from reading the responses to questions 3, 4, 5 and 7 is that few in the area are looking to slum clearance or other massive projects to solve area problems. Street improvement, better sewer and water service, better garbage pick-up, repair and maintenance of existing

housing, enforcement of ordinances governing industry and business, perhaps the passing of new zoning ordinances and other regulations, and a serious effort at improving police services as well as working toward mutual understanding between police and residents of the area would seem to be desirable, attainable, and necessary in any comprehensive program of change in this area.

Some Inter-Group Differences

For the most part, differences between the various groups with respect to satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not large. Had inter-ethnic differences occurred only with respect to material dealt with in this section of the report, we might well ignore them. That inter-ethnic and economic differences in response, while often small in magnitude, appear throughout the subject matter we explored makes them worthy of mention. The following are a few of the inter-ethnic and income-group differences which appeared worthy of note:

1. Whites are more likely than Negroes and Mexicans to object to traffic and noise.
2. Negroes and whites are more likely than Mexican-Americans to object to poor municipal services. This may be because Mexican-Americans have not yet come to apply typical United States standards in judging such things.
3. Mexican-Americans, especially those in the higher income bracket, delivered the most frequent complaints concerning the police. They also tend to be more concerned with their

physical safety in the area than either Negroes or whites, but the difference is slight. This is in some respects quite understandable since a Mexican-American, much more than a white or Negro may find themselves a "stranger in a strange land". This interpretation is reinforced by comments such as the following concerning a "best" feature of the neighborhood: "My people (Mexican-Americans) live here. We can protect each other."

5. Negroes most frequently (16 per cent), and whites least frequently (6 per cent) object to the general deterioration of the area. The difference may, though we have no way of proving this by our data, reflect real differences in the physical character of the immediate locales in which the two groups live.
6. Only Negroes (only 2 per cent) mentioned resentment concerning living in a ghetto milieu.
7. With respect to over-all evaluation of the area of residence (Question 3, Table 7), there is a slight tendency for the higher income groups of all three ethnic groups to comment unfavorably. Some responses to this question, and to others as well, show that some higher income residents of the area resent living among people whom they regard as their inferiors.

Final Comment on Neighborhood Evaluation

This account of neighborhood evaluation would be incomplete and somewhat misleading if we did not report also the emotional tone, the human "feel" of the data relevant to this topic. "Apathetic" is probably the most accurately descriptive term which can be applied. In most instances, the questions on neighborhood evaluation did not provoke strong emotions. The following response to question 5, constituting a significant exception, is quoted in full:

Fate moved this old house - two story - from somewhere across town. The damn shit pipe plugs up - the toilet runs over, my bath tub - floating everywhere - dishwater, washing clothes - gut droppings everywhere. I wake up at night or come in smelling that old sewage. I know somebody is washing and maybe the pipe is stuffed up again. I got four employment checks coming; I am going to move the hell across to some hotel - but they ain't no Nigger hotel here. Brother, we have such little chance, most of that is running back to the white man. Buddy, if the President Johnson poor deal don't work, Hell will write the story!

With respect to other subjects and issues, for example, concerning unemployment, welfare agencies, etc., many of our respondents expressed considerable resentment. In the great majority of cases, however, their feelings had not yet reached the level of articulate hatred expressed above. Whatever may be the reader's own emotional response to the above quotation, our considered sociological judgment is that such feelings can become more typical under the "right" conditions.

PART IV

HOW RESIDENTS OF A POVERTY AREA VIEW THEIR OWN SITUATION

Many of the comments accessible to the interested and responsible citizen seeking knowledge concerning poverty in American society indicates, either by explicit statement or by innuendo, that the poor do not know they are poor, that minorities do not know they are discriminated against, or that people in general are not aware that they have problems until someone, supposedly a politician, social worker, or sociologist, has told them. Whatever the validity of this notion - and the authors consider it to be very slight indeed - most of the respondents in this study considered themselves and their friends and neighbors to be poor. This part of the report summarizes information concerning responses to questions 9 through 15 and the data analyses in Tables 11 through 18.

Poor or Not

Responses to the question: "Would you say that it is mostly poor people who live in this neighborhood?" were two-thirds (67 per cent) affirmative with 4 per cent, mostly Negroes, refusing to make any judgment concerning the economic condition of others. (See Table 11.) For the total sample, low income respondents more frequently than high income people answered the question affirmatively,

as was expected. Mexican-American and white respondents, however, made responses contrary to this general trend. The higher income members of both of these groups, more frequently than the low, believed that most of their neighbors were poor. On the other hand, a high proportion (42 per cent) of the higher income Negroes denied that it was mostly the poor who lived in their neighborhoods. These ethnic and income differentials are simply noted. The writers decline to speculate concerning how they should be interpreted.

Question 10, which asks: "How about you, do you think you're poor?" was the first of the specific items in the interview to provoke hostility on the part of some interviewees. Despite complaints of: "Hey! I thought you said you weren't going to get personal"; "That's a heck of a question to ask people"; etc., nearly all (more than 99 per cent) of our final sample of 361 respondents gave categorical answers. The asking of this question did, however, serve as the occasion which terminated some of the uncompleted interviews.

Nearly two-thirds (64 per cent, see Table 12) regarded themselves as poor. In each ethnic group, the percentage of "Yes" responses was higher for the low income category than for the high income category. This is, of course, to be expected. The reader might even ask why the high-low difference was not greater. The answer is that very few of the incomes reported for the sample are even moderately high. Eighty-nine per cent (Table 6) report incomes under \$6,000 per year.

In general, the whites in the sample are considerably more

optimistic in assessing their own economic situation than are the Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Furthermore, the whites exhibit the lowest differences between income categories. Only 49 per cent of the low income whites regard themselves as poor while 73 per cent of the low income Mexican-Americans and 81 per cent of the low income Negroes believe they are poor. One is tempted to interpret the difference between whites and the other ethnic groups in terms of the lesser economic needs of older whites. A glance at Table 4, however, shows this to be only a partial explanation at best. Rather, it would seem, minority status might determine the respondents' attitudes toward many matters, including their own economic status. Perhaps poverty is a kind of "lightning rod" which attracts other complaints related to minority status; complaints more difficult to communicate than being poor, but nonetheless frustrating. This would not, of course, affect the whites, at least not most of them. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that, despite the high income-low income differences which hold for Negroes and Mexican-Americans, a higher proportion of high income members of both of these groups believed they were poor than was true of high income whites.

How Much is Needed?

Table 13 shows how the sample respondents estimated the weekly income they would need in order to "get along all right" (Question 11). Most striking to the investigators was the modesty of the

estimates; 45 per cent of the 361 respondents indicated figures of \$100 per week or less. Only 14 per cent estimated they would need more than \$150 per week. The investigators had expected that the temptation to indulge in unrealistic fantasy in response to this question would have been strong. This seems not to have been the case. While nothing in our data can really prove that our interpretation is correct, the writers suggest that these results may be quite meaningful with respect to the aims and purposes of the war on poverty. Perhaps the responses to Question 11 indicate that a sizable proportion of the sample, and therefore of the residents of the area, simply do not know how much it costs them to live - whether well or poorly. Nine per cent, in fact, responded "Don't Know" or failed to give any classifiable response to this question. For those whose incomes are both low and uncertain, whatever funds are available are spent immediately without even the most elementary attention being given to budgeting or accounting. To the extent that this is true of low income people, a significant aspect of the problem of poverty may be a conditioned inability to plan and use income in the most effective manner, hence, the unrealistically low or nonexistent estimates of how much weekly income is needed. A corollary of this statement would be that installment buying charges and interest paid to finance companies consume disproportionate quantities of already low incomes. That 12 per cent of the respondents should estimate their weekly income needs at less than \$50.00 is little short of incredible.

Perusal of Table 13 indicates there are ethnic and income level

differences in the estimates. One stands out especially; Mexican-Americans (of both high and low incomes) make lower estimates of their needs than do either Negroes or whites. Eighteen per cent said they would need less than \$50.00 per week and 60 per cent said they would need less than \$100 per week. We suggest again, as we did in connection with the lesser dissatisfaction of Mexican-Americans with municipal services reported in Part II, that their immigrant status and previous experience has explained, in part, their different response - in this case lower income expectations.

Intended Use of Additional Income

What would our respondents do with their money if they had more of it coming in each week? Table 14 (based on responses to question 12) displays their verbally expressed intentions. The growing literature on the "culture of poverty" suggests that the poverty-stricken are perpetually debtors. Our data confirm the prevalence of debt and concern with debt. Twenty-nine per cent of the responses to question 12 indicated that payment of existing bills and other debts would have high priority on any additional income. Whether significant or not, actually, a slightly higher percentage of high income respondents than those of low income indicated that payment of bills was a matter of pressing concern. Improved housing (17 per cent), savings and/or investment (16 per cent) and such necessities of life as medical care, food, clothing, etc. (15 per cent) were next most frequent among the intended uses of additional income.

Buying a car, entertainment, education (for children or job-related training for self), and increased religious and charitable contributions all received mention in addition to what is noted above. Interestingly enough, religious and charitable contributions (including, simply, "helping others") comprised a more frequently mentioned (6 per cent) category than car purchase, entertainment, or education.

Ethnic and income level differentials with respect to this material can be observed though little in the way of a systematic pattern appears, partly because the numbers upon which many of the percentages are based are quite small. The following are among the noticeable deviations from the typical:

1. Fifteen per cent of the low income whites but less than 1 per cent of the high income whites indicated they would spend additional income on medical care, food, or clothing. High-low differences were nonexistent for Negroes and merely moderate in the case of Mexican-Americans.
2. Higher income whites and Mexican-Americans were noticeably more interested in savings and investment.
3. Though the numbers are small, high income whites and high income Negroes are more aware of their needs for education than is true for low income persons in the same ethnic groups. Both high and low income Mexican-Americans, however, mentioned education and/or training about as frequently as the high income Negroes and whites.
4. Finally, in all three ethnic groups, those of low income are

more interested in making religious and charitable contributions than are the high income people. Again, however, the numbers involved are relatively small.

To reinforce the dominant impression from Table 14, we emphasize the concern with the pressures and needs of mundane existence. Lumping together payment of bills, medical care-food-clothing, and housing improvement, puts 61 per cent of the responses in this new "every day need" category.

The Worst Problems

While people of very low income may be expected to perceive that they do have money problems, it is entirely possible that they experience problems they regard as even worse. Tables 15 and 16, which summarize the responses to two parts of question 13, give the results of our inquiry concerning the relative importance of money problems versus other kinds of problems.

Table 15 indicates that most respondents (59 per cent) in our sample, whether of higher or lower income, believed money problems to be their "worst problems", the lower income respondents believing so more frequently than the higher income respondents. The only reversal of this occurred in the case of the high income Mexican-Americans, 70 per cent of whom responded "Yes". The highest proportion of "No" responses (65 per cent) came from high income whites.

The second part of question 13 asks: "What kind of money problems do you have?". Tabulation of responses to this part of the

question is not presented because most of the responses were not enlightening beyond noting that money was in short supply, for example, "Not enough money coming in to meet expenses"; "Not enough to live on"; etc. A few of the responses mentioned the extreme difficulty, in fact, impossibility of obtaining credit for anything but installment buying. Thus, repair of property is foregone because home improvement loans are not available. Conversations with knowledgeable people in the area have led the writers to believe that the single factor of lack of credit available to home-owners, landlords, and small businesses contribute significantly to the physical deterioration and the general social and economic decline of the area.

Responses to the third part of question 13, by those for whom money problems were not their worst problems, showed that health problems, marital problems, child-rearing problems, other problems involving interpersonal relations (with neighbors, etc.) and various problems which we have categorized as "general living conditions" (discrimination, political conditions, work situation, lack of education, transportation problems, and others, including one instance in which the worst problem appeared to be the limited nature of the programs available on local T.V. stations!) were regarded by some as more serious than money problems. Table 16 shows how the responses were distributed among the categories. There were only 103 classifiable responses and in this case the "Don't Knows" and "No Responses" do not appear in the table.

Most frequently mentioned (36 per cent of the responses)

among the non-money problems were health problems. This was true for high and low income groups considered separately. It was also true for each income category of each ethnic group except the Mexican-Americans, who mentioned marital and child rearing problems more frequently. While there are only eight responses from the higher income Mexican-Americans tabulated here, the responses are in accord with the experience of other immigrant groups who have attempted to bring traditional, patriarchal forms of family life to American cities, only to have them break down. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that Mexican-Americans as a group (high and low combined) mentioned marital problems and child-rearing problems more frequently than did either the Negroes or the whites. If marital, child-rearing, and other personal relations-type problems are lumped together, they are involved in nearly half (46 per cent) of the complaints. A final point to be made is that it was Negroes who complained most frequently concerning "general living conditions", higher income Negroes doing so more frequently than those of lower income.

Sources of Informal Help with Money Problems

A frequent comment which appears in the literature concerning the poverty-stricken is that informal mutual aid systems emerge which have the effect of insulating individuals and specific nuclear families from the worst effects of financial and other disasters.

It is frequently suggested that this is one of the reasons many of the poor not only do not anticipate the future, but do not fear it. It is also asserted that these informal systems of mutual aid, usually involving people who are kin to each other, but not necessarily, make it almost impossible for welfare agencies to deal effectively with individual family units as such. One complaint of welfare workers and welfare administrators is that under these circumstances, not only are there violations of law with respect to the use of assistance by the families, but even the threat of public assistance being taken away means relatively little.

Whatever may be true of other areas or of other cities, our data show relatively little dependence on informal mutual aid. Question 14 asks: "When you have money problems, do you feel you can count on your friends to help?". Only 30 per cent of our sample replied affirmatively (Table 17). The most noticeable deviation from this occurred in the case of the low income whites, 39 per cent of whom answered affirmatively. Table 18, which shows how the people in our sample responded to question 15: "When you have money problems, do you feel you can count on your relatives to help you?" indicates only a slightly greater tendency toward reliance on relatives (37 per cent of the total sample answered affirmatively) than on friends. Inter-ethnic differences in response are virtually absent, but in each case, more high income respondents felt they could rely on relatives than did low income respondents.

Even in the case of affirmative responses to questions 14 and 15, however, the remarks which accompanied the "Yes" responses

indicated that in many cases little substantial reliance on friends and/or relatives was involved. The remarks included: "Yes, I hope so"; "Yes, but not very much"; "Yes, but they don't have very much either"; etc. Many of the negative responses were supplemented by remarks such as: "How could they help? They're worse off than we are"; "None of my folks live around here"; etc. Our conclusions concerning the matter of reliance on informal mutual aid when money problems occur are, then, that such reliance does exist but the proportion of the population for whom it is really important or effective is relatively small. Of course, our one-dimensional questions did not elicit information about that kind of mutual aid which involves providing meals, a place to sleep, etc.

How Poor is Poor?

We believed the findings elaborated in this section of the report would be enhanced by a sampling of descriptions provided by our interviewers regarding the unfavorable conditions under which many of the people in the area live. Many of the descriptions refer to the run-down and unpainted condition of housing, the furniture that is falling apart, the ragged and sometimes very sick children, etc. Of course such information as: married couple with six children - income between \$3,000 and \$3,999, and divorcee with five children - income between \$2,000 and \$2,999 speaks for itself.

1. Young woman (undetermined age) living with mother, sister, and five children. Separated from husband. All eight live in a single room containing a single bed. The adults sleep in the bed with the children sleeping on the floor. Income level not known, but obviously extremely low.
2. Forty-one year old woman with 13 children and husband unemployed. Complains she could not manage on the \$81.00 per week welfare payments.
3. Thirty-two year old divorcee with five children. Complained to interviewer that the welfare checks had been stopped because of unreported windfall of \$18.00. Family had been subsisting on only rice.
4. Young couple (34 years of age) with eight children. Yearly income more than \$3,000 but highly uncertain because husband is frequently laid off. Complained of no money for Christmas tree let alone for presents for children. House and furniture poor. Children's clothing old and worn but patched and clean.
5. Low income middle aged woman living with her mother. Main complaint was housing. Quoted local building inspector as having said, ten years ago: "A match is your best solution for this trap."

PART V

VIEWS ON SELECTED ASPECTS OF EMPLOYMENT IN SAN DIEGO

One of the more crucial dimensions of life in our society might be described as the "world of work." A person's occupation determines in large part his social status, his standard of living, his self image, and the reactions of others to him. In short, an individual's entire life characteristically becomes intertwined with his occupational role. We approached the problem of the "world of work" by inquiring into the respondents' evaluation of San Diego as a place of employment and their views on some of the consequences of being unemployed. The data analyzed in this section are reported in Tables 19 through 23, and are based upon responses to questions 16 through 20.

Boom Town?

What kind of a town is San Diego for someone looking for a job? Many San Diegans are aware that San Diego no longer has the "boom town" image. In fact, it wasn't that long ago, that Time magazine referred to San Diego as a "bust town." To find out whether this attitude is shared in part by our respondents, we asked: "Do you think its harder to get a job in San Diego than in other places?" Sixty-eight per cent answered "yes" and twenty-two per cent "no." The rest offered no opinion or did not know.

As would be expected more of the individuals in the low income

group felt San Diego was a difficult place to find a job. They are the most likely to be affected by economic recessions. However, a sizeable number of individuals in the higher income category also felt this was a difficult town in which to find a job. Among the higher income group, 78 per cent of the Mexican-Americans as compared with 66 per cent of the whites and 64 per cent of the Negroes held this opinion. The Mexican-Americans also had the lowest number of respondents who did not respond, only 4 per cent in contrast to 14 per cent of the Negroes and 12 per cent of the whites.

Some insight into why most of our respondents thought that San Diego is a tough place in which to find a job is provided by their comments accompanying their categorical responses to the question. The following comments more or less representative of low income Negroes show a deep concern over prejudice in general and in particular, discriminatory practices favoring the Mexican-American.

In San Diego it is especially hard for the Negro because they will pay the Mexican little wages to keep from hiring Negroes for more. Mexicans will do the same job but take less money for it.

Because this San Diego city supports two cities, San Diego and Tijuana, Mexico.

The Spanish people come from over the border and do the job for little or nothing and that's hard on us. They always give you the run around before they say "No." It's the racial difference. They would rather hire a Spanish man than us.

Tijuana, Mexico takes, I bet you, 1/3 to 1/2 the jobs in San Diego from us.

There's too much prejudice here, but if you are neat, and dress nice, got some experience, maybe you have a chance.

Comments by Negroes in the higher income group while somewhat similar,

tend to comment upon prejudice and discrimination in hiring without emphasis upon the competition of the Mexican-American. In contrast, nearly all comments by whites refer to the continuing high rate of unemployment, unpredictable fluctuations in hiring and layoffs, and sub-standard wages. Mexican-American comments are quite similar to those of the whites. Mexican-Americans unlike Negroes do not make any reference to other ethnic groups as a possible or actual job competitor. It was quite interesting to note though, that a few Mexican-Americans from both income groups complained about the job competition from "green card workers" from Tijuana.

Regarding the issue as to whether Mexican-Americans are indeed in job competition with Negroes, Table 13 throws some light on this. Almost twice as many Mexican-Americans as Negroes say they can get along on less than \$100 a week. While such a low estimate of needs may truly reflect culturally determined expectations and life styles, it permits the individual to compete more effectively in the unskilled or low skilled job market.

Sources of Employment Assistance

Given that San Diego may be a more difficult town to find a job, where does a resident of a poverty area go when he needs a job? The data in Table 19 summarize the responses to this question. Thirty-nine per cent, the most common answer, reported the California State Employment Service. (A variety of names were used by the respondents to designate this state agency. For example, many referred to it as the State

Unemployment Office.) This was almost twice as many as all responses that referred to various specific industrial or business concerns.

Popularity however, is not necessarily associated with approval. The majority of comments accompanying the initial responses were either apathetic or critical of the California State Employment Service. The following are representative of the range of comments:

I go to the State Employment, but there's nothing there.

I go to the State Employment Service, but they just send me from business to business. They're just no good. I can do that myself.

They don't do nothing for you. The cards are marked by your race. I know that for a fact. It's to keep the Negroes from having the good jobs.

I would go to the State Unemployment Office, and come out the same way I went in. Then I would find some friends and make some personal contacts.

I would go to the State Employment, but it wouldn't do any good.

State Employment Service first. But they stand up and look at you and they wait for some white chick to come in for the job you're asking for. But I would try every place. But that Employment Service is a joke. That's why I'm going to vote against Governor Brown and Mayor Curran.

If you go to the State Employment Office they give the jobs to the Mexicans and we don't get anything. (This from a low income Negro). Those bastards have on your file whether or not you are a Negro and if you are they put you in a special place where you don't get hired. Isn't that supposed to be against the law now?

While Negroes are the most critical group, comments by Mexican-Americans follow a somewhat similar general theme of criticism or apathy. White respondents made very few negative remarks, but those who did were more likely to criticize the procedures (too long waiting

to be seen, inconsiderate job counselors, red tape, etc.) rather than difficulties in getting a job.

This difference between whites and Negroes and Mexican-Americans regarding criticism of the California State Employment Service is not unexpected. Among other things, whites do not face the blockages and hurdles of racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination. However, the conclusion does not follow that whites expect a great deal of success with the agency. What the data show is that for most of the respondents, job hunting is something which one (especially a member of a minority group) approaches with reluctance, anticipating difficulties and failure. This applies to respondents of higher income group as well as to those in the lower one.

As to other potential sources of jobs or job leads, as noted previously, 20 per cent identified specific industrial or business concerns. (Mexican-Americans are a bit more likely to provide this response [24%] than Negroes or whites [both 18%].) The inference is that only a minority of the respondents think it is worthwhile to directly contact a specific firm as a potential employer. Perhaps this is due to a history of little success or "bad luck" with this approach. Their comments appear to support this interpretation. A larger theme pervading these comments, however, is one of apathetic acceptance of an undesirable employment situation. Additional support may be inferred from the 9 per cent who just could not think of any place to go for help and were placed in the "Don't Know" or "No Response" category.

The remaining responses (32%) are distributed about equally among

friends, labor unions, city or county offices, state or federal offices, welfare agencies, and seeking employment in another community. A very few persons indicate they might resort to a private employment agency, run an ad in a newspaper, or try the church. The accompanying comments are similar to those discussed earlier; they suggest themes of apathy, pessimism, or occasionally hostility. In fact, a brief content analysis of all qualitative responses reveals a consistent theme of apathy and pessimism among the lower income minority respondents. Previously discussed data show why it is harder for them to get a job in San Diego than in other places; i.e., the normal channels for seeking employment just do not produce success. Some of the Negroes, however, and this is true for no other group, indicate they would go to great lengths to secure employment, exhausting all possibilities, employment agencies, government offices, newspaper advertisements, friends, and simply going from door to door in search of work.

Some Characteristics of the Job Situation

The data have already suggested that it is rather difficult for some respondents to find work in San Diego and that low wages may further complicate the situation. These interpretations are strengthened by the data in Tables 21 and 22. Table 21 reports the responses to the question, "Do most of the people you know get paid enough for the work they do?" Of the entire sample, 53% say, "No," they do not. Only a third feel that the pay is adequate for the work performed. (Thirteen per cent felt that they could not make a judgment.) Ethnic differences

on this item are consistent with earlier conclusions. Negroes (59%) are more likely to respond "No" to this item than Mexican-Americans (52%) or whites (38%). Once again, the implication is that minorities feel more dissatisfaction than whites, and Negroes more than Mexican-Americans. There obviously is a direct relationship between racial and/or ethnic characteristics and cultural deprivation; this is just one more supporting datum.

High income whites (59%) are more likely to feel that pay is adequate than are any others. This probably reflects the reality of a better job situation for this group, as noted earlier.

There are a few other differences. High income Mexican-Americans are the most likely (70%) to express dissatisfaction with pay. Perhaps they are being employed at below standard wages, as is already suggested by other data, and are sufficiently assimilated so that they are not only conscious of this but resent it.

The expectation that low income individuals would be more likely to respond "no" to this item than would high income persons (within the same ethnic category) is demonstrated by the white group only.

The majority of the respondents, then, feel that most of the people they know do not get paid enough for the work they do. Table 22 presents data for an accompanying question, "Which is the worst problem for most of the people you know: that they don't get enough money for the work they do, or that it's just too hard for them to get jobs, or is it both?" Most of the respondents (62%) feel that it is a combination of conditions, they do not get enough money and jobs are hard to come by. Only 9 per cent feel that it is only a matter of not enough

money, while 24 per cent limit their evaluation to employment per se. These data may be viewed primarily as supporting previous conclusions and interpretations in this section.

Ethnic differences are not impressive, with the possible exception of the responses in the "too hard to get jobs" category. Mexican-Americans are more likely (35%) to report this than Negroes (19%) or whites (22%). Perhaps this means that, for this group, it is difficult to get a job, but when they do the pay is adequate. If so, this may be consistent with the earlier interpretation that Mexican-Americans are more likely to be satisfied with sub-standard wages.

Income differences are slight, but consistent and expected. Lower income people within all groups are more likely than other groups to indicate that both low pay and nonavailability of jobs combine to create a problem.

Consequences of Unemployment

Unemployment and low pay are clearly important problems for the residents of this poverty area. But, what is the worst thing about not having a job? Obviously, it affects one's life style, appetites, etc. This is an almost common sense inference which any person might make simply from his own observations of the world in which we live. However, it seemed necessary in this study to move beyond such common sense observations and to seek verifications as well as examples of specific types of reaction to the dilemma. Accordingly, the respondents were asked: "What do you think is the worst thing about not having

a job?". As was expected, most of the respondents (74 per cent) referred to the immediate material consequences; that is, problems of keeping up a home, eating properly, securing adequate medical care, caring for children, etc. Some of the respondents (18 per cent), however, viewed the consequences in terms of secondary effects. That is, while recognizing the obvious economic impact, they felt that other things were worse than "just being broke". These included the possibility of family break-up, loss of sense of personal worth, problems of identity, forced dependence upon welfare agencies, etc. The following comments reflect the range of such responses:

A person might do anything. He might rob or steal - he might even kill, because without work a person got to do something to live.

You cannot be a person. If you have to depend upon someone else you just cannot be a person. You have no say about things. You are just pushed around.

If I had no income my kids would be hungry, but if I had to get on welfare, James [husband] would leave town rather than work for the county. I think he rather be dead than go on the welfare.

The worst thing is my husband gets so you can't live with him. It hurts him so much he about goes crazy.

I might go into crime to prevent my family from starving. I couldn't stand to see the kids starve to death. I might end up in jail. They have to feed you in jail.

The worst thing is that you can't be a decent citizen.

Pretty soon the police will pick you up for vagrancy.

You can't be a man if you have to have someone else feed you. A man has to work to be a man.

Thus, unemployment has many direct and indirect consequences. It has the potential of disrupting husband-wife relations, of producing criminal behavior, of destroying or mutilating one's self image, and,

ultimately perhaps, predisposing some toward mental illness or some other form of aberrant behavior.

In conclusion, the respondents view San Diego as a relatively difficult place for getting employment. Jobs are scarce; wages are low; and inter-ethnic competition produces not only an unbalanced labor market but increased inter-group hostility. Unemployment presents not only the specter of economic deprivation, but invades the family structure and very personality of the individual. An obvious recommendation is that the city needs an effective program to supply training in employable skills and jobs which pay enough to maintain the individual at some distance above a bare minimum, all this without ethnic-racial discrimination.

PART VI

VIEWS OF SOCIAL WELFARE: AGENCIES AND PERSONNEL

The War on Poverty is an attempt to introduce planned social change in response to new conceptions of the problem of poverty, a problem regarded now as more urgent than it has been in the past. The tendency is for societies to utilize traditional procedures and pre-existing structures in their attempts to cope with new or newly defined problems. It is always questionable to what extent it is possible to elaborate and build upon existing agencies and programs and to what extent it is necessary somehow to circumvent, or otherwise deal with, these agencies and programs.

To claim that this study has evaluated the degree of past success of existing agencies and programs that have been helping the poor would be pretentious in view of the limited quantity of information we possess. We have, however, inquired concerning the experiences of our respondents with welfare agencies and their evaluation of those experiences. Inquiry was made also concerning the general image of welfare agencies and welfare personnel held by our respondents, regardless of whether they themselves had ever had occasion to make use of welfare services. Still another variable concerning which we obtained data is the extent to which people in our sample are aware of the various local agencies and programs that have as their purpose helping the poor. As in the preceding parts of the report, we have approached the subject from a variety of directions. The findings con-

cerning this facet of the research are presented in Tables 24, 25, 26, 27, 32, and 38.

Experience With Agencies

About one-third (34 per cent - see Table 24) of our respondents reported they had had at least some contact with welfare agencies in San Diego. This included the 4 per cent (Table 26) who mentioned that they were receiving Social Security payments. Table 24 shows that more than twice as many low income people as high income people reported contact with welfare agencies. Whites reported less contact than did either Negroes or Mexican-Americans. The group with the highest reported percentage of contact with welfare agencies consisted of the low income Negroes.

Parts A and B of Question 21 ask for detailed information concerning the respondents' actual experiences with the welfare agencies with which they had contact. The responses were classified as favorable evaluations of the services, as unfavorable evaluations, or as being purely descriptive of what occurred. Four per cent of the 126 persons who reported they had had experience with local welfare agencies made no comment. Table 25 shows that of the 23 per cent who did make classifiable evaluations of their welfare agency contacts, more than twice as many made unfavorable judgments than made favorable judgments. Evaluations by whites were almost all favorable; those by Negroes and Mexican-Americans were heavily weighted toward the unfavorable. The actual numbers of cases involved here are, of course, small. Additional

comments recorded in various sections of the interview schedule, however, lend the weight of greater numbers to these evaluations. These additional comments provide no indication of reversal of the two-to-one ratio of unfavorable to favorable comment.

All but a very few of the respondents who had some experience with a welfare agency reported having had contact with no more than one agency. In those instances in which contact with more than one agency was reported, it was the first mentioned agency, or the one with which it was evident that there had been the most contact, for which the evaluations and descriptions were reported in Table 25.

Table 26 shows that "County Welfare" (San Diego County Department of Public Welfare) was the most frequently mentioned welfare agency. We have reason to believe, but have no proof, that most of the 14 responses (10 per cent of the total) in which the specific agency could not be identified definitely, nevertheless involved services provided by the San Diego County Department of Public Welfare. The problem of salience of response to open-ended questions has been mentioned in an earlier section of the report. It is entirely possible that more of our respondents than our data show have had contact with such agencies as the Legal Aid Society, Family Service, Neighborhood House, etc., but to whatever extent this is so, such unreported contact evidently made little impression.

In part VII, the knowledge, opinions, and attitudes of our respondents concerning the War on Poverty are explored. In connection with this, our interviewees were asked, "Do you think that this program (the War on Poverty) should be run by the social welfare agencies in

San Diego?: Of the total sample, only 28 per cent said "Yes," 59 per cent answered, "No," and 12 per cent said that they did not know or else gave no response. (See Table 32.) In order of increasingly unfavorable response, the rank of the three ethnic groups was white, Mexican-American, and Negro. Of all categories, low income whites were most favorably inclined toward having the War on Poverty conducted by local social welfare agencies. Negroes and Mexican-Americans, as noted above, were more critical, with especially Negroes complaining of discrimination in the administration of public welfare.

The following quotations are illustrative of the comments made by the respondents in connection with their evaluation of welfare agencies:

Why don't they respect your privacy? They're always snoopin' around. They just got to find out everything you do. (Low income Negro)

The man (apparently from welfare) always comin' around asking my neighbors about me. He say, "What do she do at night? Who come to see her? Do any man live with her?" Why do they do that? Who asks them to? (Low income Negro)

A welfare worker came to me. I didn't go to them. I had been at Neighborhood House a few times. They knew how bad things were and told the Welfare. I would never go see Welfare myself. It's a horrible thing to have to do. They don't leave you a person. But we were almost starving. We had to take it. (Low income Mexican-American)

Welfare agencies stink! After what seemed like years, we finally got a grocery order. And we were damned hungry! (Low income Negro)

One hundred and forty-five dollars a month is just not enough for a woman with a child. Then I had a second baby and they increased it by \$15.00 a month. My God! Did you ever try to raise a baby on \$15.00 a month? (Low income Negro)

They help a little. But, if I really need anything for the kids, I got to go out and find things on my own and make more bills. Then they try to tell you what to do with your money and how to spend it. They act like crazy people to me. They want me to move now. I like it here. It's close to school and to the stores. But they're crazy. They're goin' to make me move. (Low income Negro)

My wife left me and they helped her - the County Welfare did. Here in America, a woman does not have to stay with her husband because she can live alone and claim welfare. It breaks up a family. The wife doesn't need her husband for income. (High income Mexican-American)

They did not help me because they said I would use what they gave me to help my children in Ensenada. When I came, they said I was very backward and needed help. The man asked a lot of questions and wrote on a lot of papers. He told me because some weeks I made \$50.00 I didn't need any help from them because that was enough for four people. And then he sent me away. (Low income Mexican-American)

If you do try to get a little ahead, then they take you off welfare. What's the sense in that? (Low income Negro)

The relationship between the legal system under which public welfare operates and the unorthodox family arrangements frequently found among the poor is always a source of potential difficulty. Despite the fact that we deliberately refrained from probing into this area in the research, information concerning such matters was occasionally recorded. The following is a verbatim quotation from one of the interviews:

I am a woman who lives with a man. We're not married - just common law. I have one child by this man. I don't know where my husband is. The Welfare did help me. They have this man work until they found out we weren't married. Then they wanted him to work for nothing (which he apparently refused to do) and so they got him for nonsupport. They don't do people right.

There is obviously some confusion in this account. How much of it may

be the woman's own confusion concerning the legal aspects of her case and how much is due to the interviewer's inability to record everything accurately cannot be determined. However that may be, we regard the quotation as a valid expression at least of the woman's feelings about the matter, namely, that she and the man she regarded as her common-law husband were in trouble, needed assistance, and had been unfairly deprived of it.

There are cases, too, which fit no legal or otherwise formally "proper" category and hence the desired and/or needed assistance is not available. A partial example of this is the following:

I went to the Catholic Charities when I got sick. I had to wait two and a half weeks for anyone to see me. They sent me to the County Clinic and they said there that I couldn't get aid because I didn't have a four year period (of residence) in the United States. They sent me back to the Catholic people. I finally had to borrow some money from my son and go back to Tijuana to get to see a doctor and get treatment.

To summarize briefly the character of the complaints concerning welfare agencies (this applies almost exclusively to County Public Welfare), many of the complaints concerned the small amount of the assistance, what the welfare recipient regarded as invasion of privacy, racial discrimination, the impossibility of improving one's own circumstances by independent effort (which would be rewarded by decreased aid), etc.

So far, only negative comments have been cited. Positive comments also were made, but these were much less vivid and consisted usually of very mild praise, for example:

I guess they do the best they can.

The agency people was very nice. They gave me money; they send food and clothes. They were real nice.

They gave us groceries and clothes when we were in need.

While there were only a few mentions of it, some of the most favorable comments concerned the assistance provided by the Salvation Army. Some of the remarks compared the Salvation Army very favorably with County Welfare, despite the fact that the amount of assistance obtained from the Salvation Army was relatively small. The crucial difference in the eyes of the recipients seems to be that assistance from the Salvation Army need not meet any highly bureaucratic, legal requirements; the Salvation Army is viewed as being for the most part unconcerned with private matters or with fraud, the latter constituting, perhaps, sin but not crime in their eyes. A typical comment is:

They don't have as much to do with, but they don't care who you are. They don't ask a lot of fool questions. They just see you in need and do what they can.

Welfare Personnel

It might be difficult for would-be and actual recipients of public assistance to distinguish between the institutional system under which help is given or withheld and the personnel, the specific individuals, with whom they have to deal. We have, however, made a separate inquiry into the opinions and feelings of our respondents concerning welfare agency personnel. Question 22 asks "From what you know, do you think the kind of people who do this kind of work, who work for social agencies, are the right people for the job?" and "Why do you say that? What makes you think so?". Tabulation of these responses is recorded

in Table 27. The responses are more positive than negative, Mexican-Americans most frequently responding affirmatively, followed by whites and Negroes, in that order. The less positive responses of the Negroes can be interpreted most reasonably in terms of their probable experience with both real and imagined discrimination. The explanatory remarks tend to substantiate this. The affirmative responses of the Mexican-Americans, especially the exceptionally strong tendency toward affirmative response on the part of the low income Mexican-Americans, may be a reflection of their immigrant status, their feeling of vulnerability and helplessness induced by the language barrier, social isolation, and culture shock. The case worker may be seen as one of the few allies in an alien environment. A partial explanation may also lie in the Mexican-American's lesser opportunity for socialization to the typical American lower-class (both Negro and white) hostility toward officialdom and the middle class which it personifies.

Twenty-nine percent of the 361 respondents gave no classifiable response to this question. The extreme variation among the various ethnic-income level categories in percentage of "Don't Knows" makes further interpretation of the material in Table 27 hazardous.

While 50 per cent of the respondents did indicate that they felt that the people "who work for social agencies are the right people for the job," comparison of the reasons given for positive judgment with the reasons given for negative judgment suggests conclusions similar to those set forth with respect to evaluation of the agencies themselves. The positive responses were supported in rather vapid fashion by remarks such as:

They are good people.

They have a good personality.

Some people say they are good and know what they are doing.

They're well trained.

They have a good education.

I have nothing against them. Someone has to do this kind of work.

I think most of them are trained for the job.

Some of the responses were a bit more enthusiastic, however. For example:

(From a low income Mexican-American) One of my case workers was a colored man. He was very nice. He took his time in explaining things to me.

In general, the explanations supporting positive responses seem to portray simply an assumed validation for an official status, for example, "they must be the right kind of people for the job or they wouldn't be allowed to do that kind of work."

The negative responses tended to be more laden with both detail and emotion. The following explanations for negative responses are typical:

When we went to the agency there was very rude behavior on the part of one social worker. At all times we have had to take our own interpreter. Other workers have tried to be helpful. The rude interviewer caused us much trouble and delay in getting our checks. (In this case, the interviewee provided the case worker's name, possibly in hope that a reprimand would be forthcoming.)

Some (case workers) have been there so long they make their own rules.

No they are not worth nothing. If they put you to work they don't pay you for what it's worth. There should

something else beside Welfare. You can't own anything and if you do manage to get something, you have to lie about it.

They act like they're giving the money out of their pocket. Why in the hell do they act like they are giving their own money? The hell with them!

They are not doing right by the job that they have. They make a man act like a woman. They let a man draw money that he don't really need and the person that needs it can't get it.

Because they do the impossible thing, like keep the money that you are supposed to get. They might do this poverty program like that.

Some act too smart. They make you want to hit them in the head.

They are not fair. You are not your own boss. You can't have a penny if they say "no." I got a paper route for one of my boys and they found out and they cut us off. I had to draw his money out of the bank. I had to cancel all my children's endowment policies.

The above quotations have not been identified by ethnic group or income level. In general, explanations by Negroes for their negative judgments of social workers tend much more than those by Mexican-Americans to express bitterness and hostility.

Who Else Helps the Poor?

A metropolitan community the size of greater San Diego has scores of agencies and organizations other than County Public Welfare, most of them private, which fall in the general category of welfare agencies, or at least which purport to pursue programs which are supposed to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. Within the context of questions concerning the War on Poverty, the interviewees were asked, "What other programs

do you know about in San Diego that are trying to help poor people?". Table 38 summarizes the responses to this question. Detailed treatment of the findings is hardly necessary. The most striking, in fact, spectacular, aspect of the responses here is that, with the exception of "County Welfare" and the Salvation Army, no agency or organization received more than 4 per cent of the 474 responses. Approximately one-third of the responses were in the "Don't Know" category. It can be argued that the general scarcity of responses reflects the lower than average level of education of our sample respondents. While this may be true, it must also be stressed that the various organizations and agencies, whatever the character of their programs, and however much they may have accomplished over the years, have not sufficiently touched the lives and fortunes of the people in our four census tracts so that they are remembered and talked about. One respondent, hard pressed to answer the question, extemporized that perhaps Radio Free Europe was doing something! The relatively high proportion (13 per cent) of the responses naming the Salvation Army reinforces the earlier comment concerning this organization.

Comment

The general tone of Part VI has been negative. While the writers have not actually made this explicit, the findings imply strong criticism of those organizations and agencies which for long years have been fighting the war on poverty, even before its recent declaration. The implied criticism is not only of the organizations but also of their personnel.

We emphasize, however, that these negative evaluations are not those of the writers but rather of our interview subjects. Whether the evaluations, accusations, incidents, etc. which have been reported here have the merest shred of literal truth is something which we cannot know with certainty. The consistency of responses from people of varied ethnic background and income level indicates, nonetheless, the probable existence of serious flaws in the total structure of social welfare. Whatever the degree of literal truth in what our respondents have told us, those who would continue, and even escalate, the War on Poverty must know that people always respond, not to their world as it "really" is, but to their world as they perceive and understand it.

PART VII

THE WAR ON POVERTY

The Image of the War on Poverty

One of the unique and essential characteristics of the War on Poverty is the direct involvement of the poor in the planning and execution of the various programs. This means that their perception of the program and its objectives, along with their own needs and values, will determine to a considerable extent the course of this somewhat bold experiment in social engineering. We have, accordingly, attempted to learn something of the image of the War on Poverty held by the respondents, their evaluation of the program and its staffing possibilities, and their suggestions for program procedures and objectives. The responses to questions dealing with these areas are found in Tables 28 through 37 and 39 and 40.

The initial question was simply: "Have you heard anything about President Johnson's War on Poverty Program?" (Table 28). Despite what appears to have been a great deal of publicity and discussion via the mass media and from many local public and private sources, almost a third (30 per cent) of the respondents said "No", they had not heard anything about the program. A few social scientists have recently theorized that many of the culturally deprived exist in a state of quasi-social isolation. This appears to be the case for some of our respondents, especially those who are elderly or who have a language

barrier, as some of the Mexican-Americans. It is quite interesting that Negroes are the most likely (76 per cent) to report having knowledge of the program, while Mexican-Americans have the least awareness (54 per cent). Nonetheless, over half of the respondents in every category have heard something of the program, a figure that is certainly high enough to suggest that efforts to communicate something about the program have been at least moderately successful.

This first question was followed up with: "What have you heard about it?", (asked only, of course, for those who had provided an affirmative response). The responses to the question range from a fairly valid perception of the program to rather vague or highly distorted perceptions. The majority of the respondents (about three-fourths) felt that the program, in one way or another, was centered on jobs and job training, housing improvement, schooling, and assistance to high school drop-outs. The tone of the responses also exhibited considerable variation, from moderate enthusiasm to open scepticism. The following is a sampling of responses by income and ethnicity:

High Mexican-American

It will give housing to poor people. There are so many things they are not doing. I mean a lot he says he's going to do, but not doing it.

I don't remember much except that he promises jobs for the poor.

They are helping the needy people.

I saw something on T.V., but I don't understand what it means.

The President wants us to live better. I think they are going to build some kind of bridge or sewer over here. I'm not sure which.

It's supposed to bring relief. I think most of it is for back East.

Low Mexican-American

They want to raise wages. They're going to organize unions so the people who are working won't be cheated.

The President wants poor people to have better jobs and houses. If he gets this, is another thing.

It is a program where they continuously argue over what people will help the Negroes.

They say they promise a lot of work to the people of San Diego.

High Negro

He's a good man. It will help the poor. We'll get Medicare and better wages and give the children an education.

They are going to clean up these old houses and get more jobs for the uneducated man.

They will train people for jobs, send people to school and pay while they learn.

I've heard about it, but I haven't seen nothing done yet.

They're offering jobs to those who need it.

I've been curious about when some of the money might reach San Diego.

I heard about it at a downtown meeting. The money is being held up by all the unnecessary talking downtown. They should hurry and get the money out. Hunger knows no discrimination. White man gets as hungry as a black man. They don't accomplish anything in those meetings. I never heard so much nonsense!

I heard the worst part about it. They don't do anything. I haven't heard where it helped anyone yet.

I saw it on the T.V. and in the papers. We're going to get better schooling and help for the poor people. However, nothing seems to be progressing now.

Low Negro

It is to help youth that drop out of school.

I can't recall anything about it other than that it is for better jobs and it hasn't done anything for the Negro in San Diego.

The President is trying to help the poor. I hope he does. He is trying to make it so that every man has a right to the tree of life. But they give one colored man a job and the rest are left out to go hungry.

It's to help all the poverty stricken areas, but that's just talk because Johnson is from the South himself.

I saw the President's War on the Poor over T.V. - it was the riot in Watts in Los Angeles. He sure don't like those poor people!

High White

It's set up to counterbalance inadequate city and county agencies in helping the poor.

It's going to give the poor work to do and better houses.

It has something to do with seeing that everybody has the same working rights, especially the colored.

Low White

It's like giving out trading stamps. I know all about programs like that. I remember when we used to have WPA. We got along much better than now.

The President is trying to make it possible for the poor people to live in better houses.

Going to give drop-outs a chance to go back to school and get a job.

I heard the President on T.V. He said so much - better homes for the poor and all that. But they're not doing much about any of it.

Will it Work?

We next asked: "Do you think this program, the War on Poverty, is going to help you?" (Question 4, Table 29). (If the respondent was one who had not heard about the program, the interviewer was instructed to provide a brief description of the program before asking this question.) The majority of the respondents (67 per cent) answered in the affirmative, they did think it might help them. Twenty-one per cent, for a variety of reasons, felt that it would not, while 12 per cent either didn't know whether it would or would not, or declined to express an opinion. Negroes were more likely (71 per cent) to give a positive response than were Mexican-Americans (66 per cent) or whites (52 per cent), and those of lower income more likely than higher income with the exception of the whites. The differences are consistent and expected in that those experiencing the greatest amount of cultural deprivation are the ones who are most likely to see themselves as potentially benefiting from the program. In addition, for many people, the War on Poverty is associated with the civil rights movement and related programs concerned with the advancement of the Negro. This helps to explain why more Negroes are aware of the program, and why white respondents described the program as being "for the Negroes".

The fact that a majority of the respondents view the program as being potentially helpful, does not mean their expectations are necessarily without qualification. A content analysis of responses suggested that there really isn't a great deal of active enthusiasm for

the program. There is more hope than conviction or firm belief in its success. The individuals who responded "No", it would not help them, actually seemed firmer in their belief (often a cynical one) than those who said "Yes". Some sample responses are:

Yes Responses

I do hope so.

I hope it does.

I don't know, yes, I hope so.

If President Johnson wants to, he has lots of money.

If it's going to help this neighborhood it will help me too - but it will help the colored people the most.

Yes. Maybe. I guess I am too old for anyone to want to help.

I really hope with all my soul that it will.

It might. Everything else voted in hasn't helped me. I have my doubts about this, too.

If it helps the other fellow it will help me.

No Responses

It can't help me. Things like that don't ever work.

Not a damned bit. Don't make me laugh.

Our government is a racket for the privileged few.

It won't help me. I'm white. It's for the Negroes and the Spanish.

Hell no. By the time the politicians and the social workers get through with it there won't be anything left!

What Should be Done?

It is probable that most of the many professionals working in the field of poverty could provide an expert opinion on the needs of the poor. Sometimes these opinions will undoubtedly be congruent with those held by the poor. But we also suspect that sometimes the personal value system of the professional, strongly influenced by a middle-class orientation, hampers his ability to see the situation as the poor do. We were interested in determining just how the residents define their own needs within the framework of the War on Poverty. Accordingly, we asked the following question (Question 25, Table 30): "What should this program do to help you the most?". The most frequent responses are concerned with providing jobs or job training. All groups were in agreement as follows: Negro - 46 per cent, Mexican-American - 50 per cent, and white - 42 per cent. The differences are slight, leading us to infer that one of the major needs of people who are economically depressed is jobs and job training to improve their situation. This expressed need is strongly in keeping with middle class value in our society which holds that it is good and desirable for a man to work for a living and not to be dependent upon others for his economic well being. This finding contradicts the opinion held by some that all the poor want are larger cash benefits from the social welfare state.

The next highest frequency of responses was "Don't Know" or "No Response". A partial explanation for this is undoubtedly found in the generalized attitude of apathy reported in earlier sections. The following, for example, are representative of about a third of the

comments:

I don't know what it should do. I doubt that it can do much of anything.

God, who knows? I don't.

Don't ask me. I'm just a poor person. Ask them what knows.

Where the individual indicated that the question did not apply to him, for example, he felt that his financial situation or ethnicity would preclude him from the program, he was put into the "Don't Know" or "No Response" categories. Whites were much more likely (51 per cent) than Negroes (23 per cent) or Mexican-Americans (19 per cent) to lie in this category and they also are more likely to have the impression that the program is for minorities, not whites.

Eleven per cent of the respondents report that the program should somehow provide money or food and clothing. This response occurs three to four times as often among the ethnic groups as it does among whites.

The remaining responses are about equally divided among the following: providing better housing (4 per cent), helping minority groups through ending discrimination (5 per cent), improving the neighborhood (3 per cent), and providing medical care (3 per cent).

A general conclusion is that the orientation of the respondents is essentially a pragmatic one. They are not immediately interested in changes in the more abstract areas of life. Rather they want access to an occupational role which will permit upward social and economic mobility. They want more jobs, better jobs, and the training necessary for this transition. This emphasis upon employment and self-determination through work is consistent with a dominant theme of the middle class and one which should, therefore, certainly be well received by the larger

society. Again, we wish to emphasize, there is very little data to support the frequently heard notion that the economically deprived are "just looking for a handout."

What Should Not be Done?

The implications of the above seem rather obvious. A large proportion of the respondents feel that the War on Poverty, to be effective, should provide employment and employment training. But what do they think are some potential problems in administering the program? Table 31 reports responses to the question: "What should this program not do? What are some mistakes they might make?" This seemed to be a difficult question; about half of the respondents either could not or would not speculate upon this. Perhaps this is related to either little knowledge about complex administration, a general attitude of apathy, or simply an inability to think through the problem. The data provide some support for all of these interpretations, but at best are only suggestive. For example, low income minority members are more likely to only give this response than high income minority members and in general, are more likely to reflect apathy or indifference.

Nineteen per cent felt the program might make the mistake of helping those who don't need help. The implication is that administrators should exercise diligence and caution in determining who are to be the recipients. A few respondents expressed a fear that political "boondoggling" might result in more money going into the pockets of the people who run the program than to the poor. (Mexican-Americans

more often expressed this opinion, but differences by ethnicity are slight, as are differences by income.)

The possibility of administration of the program by officials who are unsympathetic or indifferent was a concern of 13 per cent of the respondents. Negroes more often expressed this concern than did Mexican-Americans (10 per cent) or whites (10 per cent). This response occurred about twice as frequently among high income Negroes as among low income Negroes. The inference is that poverty program administrators should know a great deal about the culture of poverty and be in sympathy with the values and aspirations of the poor.

Discrimination in administration of the program was identified as a potential problem by 9 per cent of the respondents. Discrimination was categorized as racial, ethnic or religious discrimination, and, as would be expected, was of more concern to Mexican-Americans (16 per cent) and Negroes (9 per cent) than to whites (4 per cent).

Other categories of possible problem areas are: building up the hopes of people, and then not coming through; giving handouts to people without actually solving or understanding the problems of being poor; giving help to foreigners rather than to "American citizens," and developing an administration which might be too rigid to be successful. Two per cent of the respondents expressed general disapproval of the War on Poverty. They suggested that everything done by the program would be a mistake. This response more frequently occurred among whites (7 per cent) than Negroes (less than 1 per cent) and Mexican-Americans (1 per cent).

Who Should Be in Charge?

One problem in the development of the War on Poverty has been the determination of who is to be in charge. Obviously, the degree of success of any program is determined in part by the relationships among the participants. Cooperation is often associated with approval. Thus, we secured data on the attitudes of the respondents toward the possibility of various groups assuming leadership in the program. Although other groups might have been considered, we included only social welfare agencies, city officials, churches, and school personnel.

Table 32 presents findings evaluating the potential role of social welfare agencies as leaders in the War on Poverty. As can be seen the general evaluation is negative. (The reader is referred to Part VI where the findings have been analyzed in detail.)

City officials are no more popular than social welfare personnel. When asked, "Do you think that city officials, such as the mayor and city council, should be in charge of the program?" (See Table 33) 61 per cent of the respondents said "No." Only 29 per cent gave an affirmative response, while 10 per cent could not be classified as "Yes" or "No." Negroes expressed more antipathy (68 per cent said No) toward city officials than did whites (56 per cent) or Mexican-Americans (48 per cent). Perhaps as some data indicate, this is because Negroes are more likely to have perceived local government as supporting or ignoring discriminatory practices. Income differences are not substantial: a majority or near majority of all groups do not want city officials to be in charge of the poverty program. This may be one part of the general

condition of alienation of lower income groups from the political process. At any rate, we must conclude that public officials should not expect an enthusiastic welcome if they become substantially involved in the poverty program.

Churches and religious leaders are viewed more optimistically as sources of leadership. When asked, "Do you think that the churches in this area can help in the problem of poverty?" (Table 34) only 24 per cent of the respondents said "No." A bit over two-thirds answered in the affirmative. Negroes and whites were more likely to approve of churches (73 per cent and 72 per cent) than Mexican-Americans (58 per cent). (We have no specific information on this difference, but it may be related in part to the active role taken by leaders of Negro congregations in the civil rights movement.) Attitudes toward ministers and priests are consistent with the above findings. When asked, "How about ministers and priests? Do they really understand what it's like to be poor?", three-fourths (74 per cent) of the respondents said "Yes," only 22 per cent said "No." (Table 35) There are no important differences among ethnic groups; the majority in all groups gave a "Yes" response. High income Negroes more often said "Yes" (82 per cent) than did low income Negroes (68 per cent). The situation is reversed among whites (59 per cent versus 74 per cent). There is no difference by income among Mexican-Americans.

Although it is possible that these findings merely reflect the religious traditionalism often found among lower income groups in our society, we have no explicit data confirming this. An implied conclusion is that the War on Poverty should draw upon some church leaders as

advisors, consultants, or in other active roles.

Evaluation of the educator as an active participant in the War on Poverty was explored through Questions 30 and 31 (see Tables 36 and 37). Two-thirds of the entire sample feel that: "school people, like teachers and principals, are very helpful in solving the problems of the poor," and also that "teachers really understand poor people and their problems." There are no important ethnic differences, although whites are slightly more positive regarding the ability of the educator to solve such problems. Differences by income levels are irregular and small. The major conclusion is that residents of the area look upon educators favorably. They view them as people who not only understand the poor, but who can also contribute to solving the problems of poverty. This contradicts some of the current criticism being directed toward educators. Despite the fact that educators in our society have been blamed for a variety of social ills, they nonetheless may be a second important source of potential leadership.

Unrecognized Leaders

It is frequently supposed that every neighborhood has somewhere within its confines individuals who are capable of assuming leadership roles (a supposition yet to be adequately proved.) We approached this subject simply by asking, "Who are the people in your neighborhood who really count?" (See Table 39). It was felt that the responses might serve as a minimum source of identification of potential leadership.

Perhaps one reason why so many community experts have commented

upon a relative lack of community leaders in lower class areas is because either they are not there, or they are not visible. Our data tend to support this. Two-thirds (66 per cent) were unable to identify even one person who "really counts." Eighteen per cent could think of no more than one, while the remaining 16 per cent provided information on two or more people in the neighborhood.

While we do not present tabulation of the varieties of response to this question, it can be noted that those who did respond characteristically named personal friends as those "who really count." Friendly and lenient landlords and proprietors of local businesses who do not press for payment of small bills constituted most of the remaining responses. A very few mentioned clergymen. None of the persons named could be identified with any degree of confidence as neighborhood or community leaders as we ordinarily conceive such leadership. A more complete analysis of these data should be applicable to the problem of emergent community leadership. At this point, we can do little more than note that the majority of respondents for one reason or another, do not or cannot provide the identification. This may be further evidence of the apathy, isolation, and alienation of the culturally disadvantaged individual, or it may simply reflect a common condition of man in mass society, where few people anywhere "really count."

The Respondent as Participant

We return now to the concern with the direct involvement of the poor in the War on Poverty. How do they feel about this dictum from the Federal

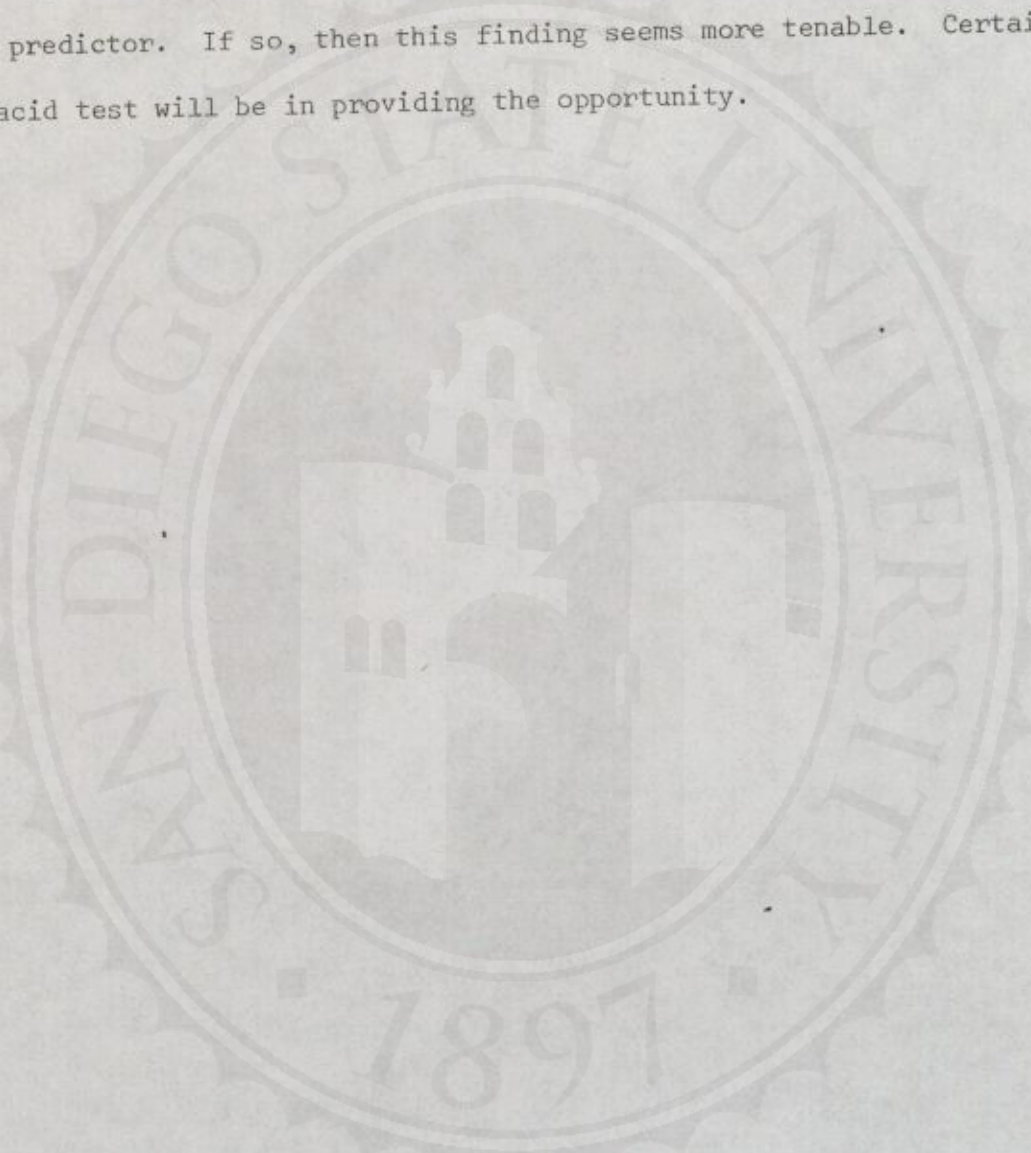
Government? Are they willing to take on such a role? One question was asked: "Would you be willing to take an active part in a group, or a committee, or in some organization set up by the War on Poverty to improve things in San Diego?" (Table 40). Slightly over half (53 per cent) of the respondents said they would be willing to do this, the remaining 43 per cent said "No."

Negroes much more often expressed such willingness (67 per cent) than did whites (43 per cent) or Mexican-Americans (38 per cent). This is no doubt related to recent major social changes in the role of the Negro in the United States. Political leadership has emerged and power groups have been formed. The Negro now actively and effectively works for his civil rights, equal opportunities, and a more equitable share of the "Great Society." The War on Poverty may be perceived by the Negro as one more dimension of his total struggle. In a similar vein, the low proportion among Mexican-Americans willing to be involved, may be explained by the relative lack of effective socio-political structures having visible, competent leaders who can successfully organize action programs.

Response differences between high and low income groups were found only in the case of Negroes and Mexican-Americans. High income Negroes and Mexican-Americans volunteered for such a role more often than their lower income counterparts. Perhaps the higher the income among minorities the greater is the optimism and faith in planned social change.

Returning to the data for the entire sample, we have some doubt as to whether such a large proportion (53 per cent) would become directly involved in the poverty program. It would seem unlikely for few people

in our society have such involvement. But, on the other hand, rarely, if ever, have low income groups had such an opportunity available to them. Perhaps, one might scan the participation of minorities in the various programs, movements, and organizations which have been developed in the past decade to combat discrimination and prejudice and use that as a predictor. If so, then this finding seems more tenable. Certainly the acid test will be in providing the opportunity.



PART VIII

FINAL COMMENT

In Part I we stated what we regarded as the strengths and weaknesses of the research, and thus the strengths and weaknesses of the report. Despite a high level of confidence in the general validity of our findings, it must be emphasized that more detailed information should be sought. Each separate aspect of the problem of poverty which we have explored should be the subject of further, more detailed, and more elaborate research - in southeast San Diego and in other poverty areas.

The writers defined their role, from the initiation of the research to its conclusion, as objective collectors and interpreters of social facts. We have tried - how well we succeeded the reader must judge - to avoid polemic. We are aware that the study may be used as a weapon for either attacking or defending the economic and political interests of various groups in the community.

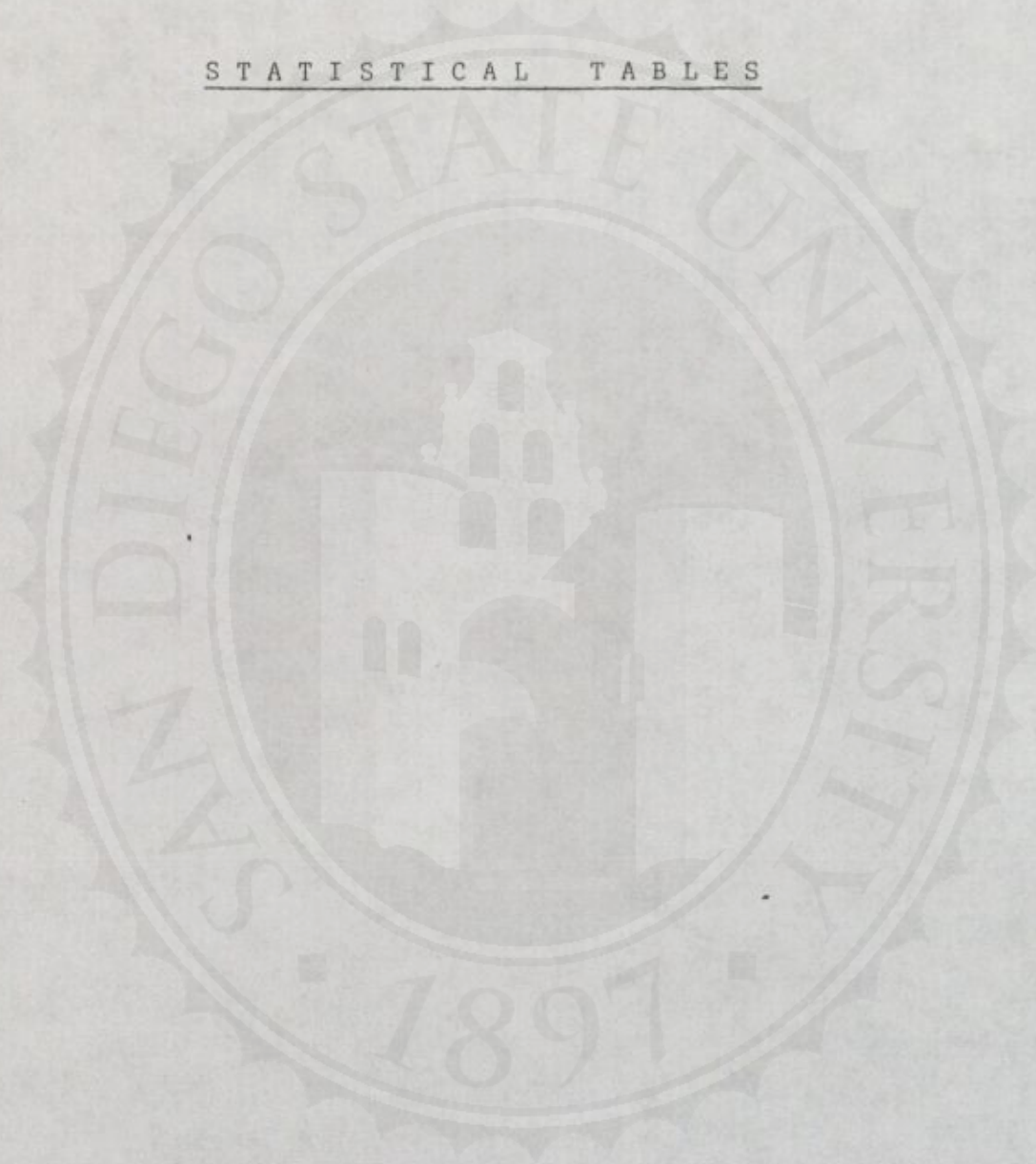
We are thoroughly convinced that the findings clearly support the contention that new ideas and different means must be developed and used in overcoming poverty. The faith the poor may have had in existing agencies, programs, and leadership is at low ebb. Some, it is true, continue - apathetically - to accept the status quo, but resentment, dissatisfaction, and hostility emerged in every facet of our inquiry. That a majority of our respondents felt that the War on Poverty might help them was more an expression of hope than of conviction.

Recent legislation recognizes, and rightly, we believe, that

effective amelioration of the problem of poverty can be achieved only through active participation of the poor, in planning as well as in implementation. At present, the prerequisites for this, namely, viable organization and leadership among the poor, barely exist. Therefore, existing organizations and leaders must be encouraged and supported, and the ranks of the poor must be searched for additional talent and organizational potential.

As platitudinous and full of pious but ineffective intent as the above comment may appear, its genuine implementation will affect profoundly the existing social order and its ideological presuppositions. New interest groups, new centers of power, and new ideas will challenge the old. Painful as the cure may be, the disorder calls for nothing less.

STATISTICAL TABLES



DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AREA SURVEYED:
FOUR CENSUS TRACTS IN SOUTHEAST SAN DIEGO (1960)

Type of Information	Combined Statistics for Census Tracts I-39, I-40, K-50, and K-51	
Total Population	15,150	100.0%
Negro	8,608	56.8%
Mexican Origin	2,866	18.9%
White and Other	3,676 ^a	24.3%
Median Years School Completed ^b (Person 25 Years of Age and Older)	Lowest Tract 8.3 Years	Highest Tract 9.1 Years
Age Distribution - Adult Population ^b		
20 - 34		37.4%
35 - 49		31.0%
50 and Over		31.6%
Sex ^b	49.1% Male	50.9% Female
Family Income, 1959 ^b	Per Cent	Cumulative Per Cent
Under \$1,000	7.0	7.0
\$1,000 - 1,999	10.8	17.8
\$2,000 - 2,999	14.4	32.2
\$3,000 - 3,999	15.8	48.0
\$4,000 - 4,999	12.2	60.2
\$5,000 - 5,999	13.8	74.0
\$6,000 - 9,999	20.7	94.7
\$10,000 and Over	5.3	100.0
Median Family Income	Lowest Tract 3,583	Highest Tract 4,602
Median Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals	Lowest Tract 2,415	Highest Tract 3,741

^a
Includes 389 Orientals, Polynesians, Puerto Ricans, etc.

^b
These statistics based on a 25% sample of the tracts.

NOTE: The information in this table was compiled from U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960; San Diego, California Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Census Tracts, Final Report.

TABLE 2

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN SAN DIEGO

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Length of Residence	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total ^a	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Less than 3 years	12	11	11	9	10	9	12	8	8	12	10	10
3 - 6 years	4	8	6	17	13	14	--	8	6	4	9	8
7 - 10 years	16	9	12	22	19	20	24	12	15	16	12	14
More than 10 years	67	72	71	53	58	56	65	72	71	67	69	68
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

^a

This total includes all Negro respondents classified by income as high and low plus twelve cases which could not be so classified. This procedure has been used throughout this report.

TABLE 3

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Length of Residence	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Less than 3 years	27	34	31	35	24	27	24	20	21	27	28	28
3 - 6 years	21	16	17	9	21	18	18	14	15	21	16	17
7 - 10 years	12	7	9	13	14	14	12	18	16	12	11	12
More than 10 years	40	43	43	44	40	41	47	49	48	40	44	44
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 4

AGE DISTRIBUTION

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Age	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Under 20	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	--	--	--
20 - 35	33	29	30	30	27	28	--	24	18	27	28	27
36 - 49	36	39	39	39	32	34	65	27	37	41	35	37
50 and over	25	29	28	30	40	38	24	47	41	25	36	33
Don't Know or No Response	4	2	2	--	--	--	12	--	3	5	--	2
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 5

SEX DISTRIBUTION

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Sex	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Male	37	29	31	53	31	36	29	26	26	39	28	32
Female	63	71	69	48	69	64	71	74	74	61	72	68
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 6

INCOME DISTRIBUTION^a

(By Ethnicity - In Percentages)

Total Family Income	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Mexican- American</u>	<u>White and Other</u>	<u>Entire Sample</u>	Cumulative %
Under \$1,000	19	14	22	19	19
\$1,000 - \$1,999	23	21	22	22	41
\$2,000 - \$2,999	11	17	24	15	56
\$3,000 - \$3,999	12	21	7	14	69
\$4,000 - \$4,999	11	8	12	10	80
\$5,000 - \$5,999	11	12	4	10	89
\$6,000 - \$9,999	9	7	6	8	97
\$10,000 and over	4	--	3	3	100
Number of Cases	196	85	68	349	

^a
Includes income from County Welfare, Social Security, Old Age Assistance, etc.

TABLE 7

SATISFACTION WITH AREA OF RESIDENCE. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"HOW DO YOU LIKE LIVING IN THIS AREA?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Favorable Comment	75	82	78	78	82	81	82	90	88	75	84	81
Unfavorable Comment	25	16	21	22	18	19	18	10	12	25	15	19
Don't Know	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 8

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHAT IS THE BEST THING ABOUT LIVING HERE?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Best Features of Area	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Convenient to Schools, Stores, Etc.	25	25	25	16	23	21	16	21	20	22	24	23
Convenient for Trans- portation	16	14	14	13	16	15	12	19	17	15	16	15
Good Neigh- bors, Friends	18	16	17	13	13	13	32	23	24	20	17	18
Quiet Atmos- phere	14	16	15	10	11	11	12	10	10	13	13	13
Climate	5	5	5	6	4	4	12	10	10	7	6	6
Privacy	4	6	5	6	13	12	--	7	6	4	8	6
Favorable Housing Situation	--	3	2	6	4	4	4	4	4	2	3	3
Proximity to Own Ethnic or Kin Group	3	--	2	19	2	7	--	--	--	6	2	3
Low Rent	--	--	--	6	--	2	--	2	2	--	--	--
Good Schools	--	--	--	--	2	2	--	--	--	--	--	--

Continued on next page

TABLE 8 CONTINUED

Best Features of Area	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
No Discrimination by Police	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
No Discrimination in General	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nothing Best about Living Here	14	12	14	3	11	9	12	4	6	11	10	11
Number of Cases	93 ^a	179	288	31	82	113	25	84	110	149	343	511

^a

Note that some totals are larger than the total number of respondents because some individuals gave more than one response.

TABLE 9

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHAT IS THE WORST THING ABOUT LIVING HERE?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Worst Features of Area	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Inconvenient to Schools, Stores, Etc.	--	3	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--
Inconvenient for Transportation	4	2	2	--	2	--	--	2	--	2	2	2
Bad or Troublesome Neighbors	12	11	12	9	12	11	10	7	8	12	10	11
Unruly, Misbehaving Children	9	8	9	4	10	9	16	5	8	9	8	8
Hoodlums, Crimes, Streets Unsafe	4	6	5	9	8	8	5	2	3	5	5	5
Invading Industry, Business	4	4	4	4	--	--	--	2	--	3	3	3
Traffic, Noise	9	4	6	4	9	8	16	14	14	9	7	8

Continued on next page

TABLE 9 CONTINUED

Worst Features of Area	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Negligence and/or Discrimination by Police	--	2	2	18	3	7	--	3	3	3	3	3
Poor Municipal Services	17	7	10	4	6	6	5	14	12	13	8	10
Industrial Odors	--	2	2	--	--	--	5	3	4	2	2	2
Landlord Does Not Maintain Property	2	8	5	9	3	4	--	5	4	3	6	5
Deterioration of Area	21	14	16	14	10	11	10	5	6	18	11	13
Proximity to Undesirable Ethnic	--	--	--	--	3	2	--	3	3	--	2	--
Ghetto Milieu	--	2	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nothing Worst About Living Here	15	26	23	23	34	32	32	34	34	19	30	26
Number of Cases	81 ^a	160	257	22	67	89	19	58	77	122	285	423

^a

Note that some totals are larger than the total number of respondents because some individuals gave more than one response.

TABLE 10

ATTACHMENT TO AREA. RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"IF SOMEONE GAVE YOU \$1,000, WOULD YOU RATHER STAY IN THE
NEIGHBORHOOD AND LIVE AS WELL AS YOU COULD, OR MOVE TO
ANOTHER NEIGHBORHOOD?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Stay	70	63	65	48	74	67	65	78	75	70	69	68
Move	27	35	32	53	24	32	29	22	24	27	29	30
Don't Know or No Re- sponse	3	2	2	--	2	--	6	--	2	3	2	2
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 11

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WOULD YOU SAY THAT IT IS MOSTLY POOR PEOPLE
WHO LIVE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	51	74	66	87	73	76	65	57	59	61	70	67
No	42	22	27	9	27	22	35	39	37	35	27	29
Don't Know or No Re- sponse	7	5	7	4	--	--	--	4	3	6	3	4
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 12

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"HOW ABOUT YOU? DO YOU THINK YOU'RE POOR?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	46	81	70	48	73	66	41	49	47	46	72	64
No	52	19	30	51	27	34	59	51	53	53	28	35
Don't Know or No Response	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 12

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"HOW ABOUT YOU? DO YOU THINK YOU'RE POOR?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	46	81	70	48	73	66	41	49	47	46	72	64
No	52	19	30	51	27	34	59	51	53	53	28	35
Don't Know or No Response	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 13

RESPONDENTS' ESTIMATE OF NEEDED WEEKLY INCOME.

RESPONSES TO QUESTION NUMBER 11

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Estimates	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
\$ 0 - \$ 49	4	17	12	13	19	18	--	8	6	6	16	12
\$ 50 - \$ 99	16	30	25	22	50	42	18	57	47	18	41	33
\$100 - \$149	39	34	36	48	21	28	35	18	22	40	27	32
\$150 - \$199	13	8	10	13	2	5	18	4	7	14	6	8
\$200 or More	13	3	6	4	5	5	12	6	7	11	4	6
Don't Know or No Response	13	7	11	--	4	2	18	8	10	11	6	9
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 14

RESPONDENTS' INDICATION OF USES FOR ADDITIONAL INCOME.

RESPONSES TO QUESTION NUMBER 12.

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Income Use	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Pay Bills, Debts, Etc.	32	32	32	32	19	22	29	33	32	32	29	29
Medical Care, Food, Clothing, Etc.	14	13	14	13	21	19	--	15	12	12	16	15
Buy or Rent Better Housing	4	8	7	13	11	11	10	4	6	7	8	8
Buy Car	6	6	6	3	4	4	5	4	5	5	5	5
Savings or Invest- ment	17	15	15	26	17	19	33	11	16	21	15	16
Improve Pres- ent Hous- ing	11	11	11	--	8	6	5	11	9	8	10	9
Entertain- ment, Leisure	3	2	3	--	3	2	5	6	6	2	3	3
Education, Training (Self and/ or Child- ren)	8	2	4	--	7	6	5	--	--	6	4	4

Continued on next page

TABLE 14 CONTINUED

Income Use	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Help Others, Give to Church, Etc.	3	6	5	3	9	8	5	8	7	3	7	6
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	3	4	4	10	--	3	5	8	7	4	4	4
Number of Cases	110 ^a	197	327	31	110	141	21	66	87	162	373	555

^a

Note that some totals are larger than the total number of respondents because some individuals gave more than one response.

TABLE 15

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"DO YOU THINK MONEY PROBLEMS ARE YOUR WORST PROBLEMS?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	52	68	64	70	56	61	35	49	47	53	61	59
No	48	31	36	30	44	40	65	49	53	47	38	40
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 16

IDENTIFICATION OF WORST PROBLEMS BY THOSE FOR WHOM
MONEY PROBLEMS ARE NOT WORST PROBLEMS.^a

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Worst Problems	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Health	28	41	36	12	44	33	25	47	37	24	43	36
Marital	17	9	12	25	12	17	17	7	11	18	10	13
Child Rear- ing	11	16	14	38	25	29	33	20	26	24	19	20
Other Prob- lems In- volving Interper- sonal Re- lations	11	12	12	12	6	8	17	20	18	13	13	13
General Liv- ing Condi- tions ^b	33	22	27	12	12	12	8	7	7	21	16	18
Number of Cases	18	32	52	8	16	24	12	15	27	38	63	103

^a

Includes only those who answered "no" to question 13.

^b

Includes discrimination, political conditions, working situation, lack of education, transportation problems, etc.

TABLE 17

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHEN YOU HAVE MONEY PROBLEMS, DO YOU FEEL YOU CAN
COUNT ON YOUR FRIENDS TO HELP?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	30	30	28	35	24	28	35	39	38	32	31	30
No	70	70	72	61	76	72	59	59	59	66	69	69
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	--	--	--	4	--	--	6	2	3	2	--	--
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 18

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHEN YOU HAVE MONEY PROBLEMS, DO YOU FEEL YOU CAN
COUNT ON YOUR RELATIVES TO HELP YOU?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	46	35	37	44	36	38	41	37	38	45	36	37
No	54	65	63	56	64	62	59	59	59	55	64	62
Don't Know; or No Re- sponse	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	3	--	--	--
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 19

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHERE WOULD YOU GO TO GET HELP IN TRYING TO FIND A JOB?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Sources of Employment Assistance	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
California State Em- ployment Service	33	37	36	45	36	38	48	55	53	37	40	39
Union	5	2	3	3	8	7	10	6	7	6	4	5
Friends	4	5	5	7	6	6	--	2	--	4	5	5
Various Spec- ific In- dustrial or Busi- ness Con- cerns	17	17	18	21	26	24	10	21	18	17	20	20
City or County Offices	8	4	5	3	4	3	--	4	3	6	4	4
Federal or State Of- fices (e. g., U. S. Navy, Etc.)	11	6	7	--	5	3	--	--	--	7	4	5
Welfare Agencies	8	4	5	--	4	3	5	2	3	6	4	4
Go to Another Community	6	3	4	3	2	3	5	4	--	6	3	4

Continued on next page

TABLE 19 CONTINUED

Sources of Employment Assistance	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Private Em- ployment Agency	3	6	4	7	2	3	5	2	3	4	4	3
Run Ad in Newspaper	--	4	3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2
Church	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	--	--	--	--	--
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	3	11	8	10	10	10	14	6	8	6	10	9
Number of Cases	^a 92 156		267	29	86	117	21	53	74	142	297	458

^a
Note that some totals are larger than the total number of respondents because some individuals gave more than one response.

TABLE 20

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE WORST THING ABOUT
NOT HAVING A JOB?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Worst Thing	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Unemployment Interpret- ed in Purely Economic Terms (Physical Depriva- tion, Etc.)	67	80	74	87	73	76	59	76	72	70	77	74
Unemployment Interpret- ed in Personal- Social Terms ^a	30	12	18	9	23	19	12	16	15	22	16	18
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	3	8	8	4	5	5	29	8	13	8	7	8
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

^a

Includes anxiety, marital conflict, loss of sense of personal worth,
forced dependence, etc.

TABLE 21

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"DO MOST OF THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW GET PAID ENOUGH
FOR THE WORK THEY DO?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	34	24	26	30	47	42	59	45	48	37	34	34
No	57	60	59	70	45	52	24	43	38	54	52	53
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	9	16	15	--	8	6	18	12	13	8	13	13
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 22

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHICH IS THE WORST PROBLEM FOR MOST OF THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW:
 THAT THEY DON'T GET ENOUGH MONEY FOR THE WORK THEY DO?
 OR THAT IT'S JUST TOO HARD FOR THEM TO GET JOBS? OR IS IT BOTH?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Not Enough Money	4	10	8	9	13	12	6	6	6	6	10	9
Too Hard to Get Jobs	27	17	19	44	32	35	18	24	22	29	22	24
Both	63	67	67	44	52	49	47	65	60	56	63	62
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	6	5	6	4	3	6	29	6	12	9	5	6
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 23

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"DO YOU THINK IT'S HARDER TO GET A JOB IN SAN DIEGO
THAN IN OTHER PLACES?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Others</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	55	69	64	74	79	78	41	74	66	57	73	68
No	37	16	23	22	18	19	35	18	22	34	16	22
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	7	16	14	4	3	4	24	8	12	9	11	11
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 24

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"HAVE YOU EVER HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH ANY OF THE WELFARE AGENCIES
IN SAN DIEGO?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	16	46	36	26	42	38	12	31	26	18	42	34
No	84	54	64	74	58	62	88	69	74	82	58	66
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 25

EVALUATION OF EXPERIENCE WITH WELFARE AGENCIES - INCLUDES
ONLY THOSE WHO RESPONDED "YES" TO QUESTION 21

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Evaluation	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Favorable	9	5	5	25	8	12	--	6	6	14	6	7
Unfavorable	18	17	16	12	27	24	--	--	--	14	17	16
Non-evalua- tive De- scription of Serv- ice Ren- dered	46	78	74	50	62	59	100	94	94	52	76	73
No Comment	27	--	4	12	4	6	--	--	--	19	--	4
Number of Cases	11	60	74	8	26	34	2	16	18	21	102	126

TABLE 26

WELFARE AGENCIES CONTACTED - INCLUDES ONLY THOSE
WHO RESPONDED "YES" TO QUESTION 21^a

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Welfare Agency	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
County Welfare	42	97	81	67	85	81	--	78	74	48	90	79
Vocational Rehab.	5	--	2	--	--	--	--	6	5	4	--	2
Legal Aid Society	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Red Cross Homemakers Service	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Foster Mother	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Social Security	16	--	4	--	--	--	100	11	16	16	2	4
Family Service	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	--	--
Salvation Army	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	--	--
Neighborhood House	--	--	--	--	4	3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Catholic Charity	--	--	--	--	4	3	--	--	--	--	--	--
Unspecified	21	3	10	33	8	12	--	6	5	24	5	10
Number of Cases	19	58	83	6	26	32	1	18	19	25	102	136

^a

Figures refer to number of responses rather than number of individuals responding.

TABLE 27

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"FROM WHAT YOU KNOW, DO YOU THINK THE KIND OF PEOPLE
WHO DO THIS KIND OF WORK, WHO WORK FOR SOCIAL AGENCIES,
ARE THE RIGHT PEOPLE FOR THE JOB?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	34	47	41	53	73	67	35	59	53	38	56	50
No	16	26	22	30	14	19	12	27	24	19	23	22
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	49	27	36	17	13	14	53	14	24	43	21	29
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 28

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S
WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAM?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	79	76	76	56	53	54	71	59	62	73	66	68
No	19	23	22	44	47	46	29	39	37	26	33	30
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2	2	--	--	--
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 29

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"DO YOU THINK THIS PROGRAM (THE WAR ON POVERTY) IS GOING TO HELP YOU?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	67	74	71	65	71	66	53	51	52	64	68	67
No	18	12	14	30	24	26	41	35	37	24	20	21
Don't Know, or No Response	15	14	15	4	5	5	6	14	12	39	12	12
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 30

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHAT SHOULD THIS PROGRAM DO TO HELP YOU THE MOST?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Don't Know, or No Response	24	22	23	30	15	19	55	49	51	26	28	27
Provide Jobs, or Better Jobs	31	36	34	44	39	40	30	30	30	36	34	35
Help Minority Groups (End Discrimination, Etc.)	4	7	6	13	7	7	--	--	--	7	3	5
Provide Training (Especially Job)	16	11	12	8	11	10	5	14	12	10	14	12
Provide Better Housing	5	6	5	--	4	3	5	2	3	5	4	4
Provide Money, Clothes, Food	12	10	12	4	19	16	5	4	4	8	12	11

Continued on next page

TABLE 30 CONTINUED

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Improve Neighborhood	8	4	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	3	3
Provide Medical Care	--	5	3	--	6	4	--	2	--	4	2	3
Number of Cases	^a 86 158 261			23	72	95	20	57	77	201	215	433

^a Figures refer to number of responses rather than number of individuals responding.

TABLE 31

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHAT SHOULD THIS PROGRAM NOT DO?
WHAT ARE SOME MISTAKES THEY MIGHT MAKE?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse, Redundant Response	28	52	49	37	44	42	56	53	53	34	50	48
Build Up Hopes, but Not Come Through	--	2	--	--	2	--	--	4	3	--	2	2
Helping Those Who Don't Need It	23	19	18	26	23	24	11	18	16	22	20	19
Disapproval of Program in General--	2	--	--	4	--	--	11	6	7	2	2	2
Giving Hand- outs, Not Solving Problems	9	4	5	7	4	5	--	7	5	8	4	5
Giving Help, No Diag- nosis of Problem	--	2	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Discrimina- tion in Admin- istration of Prog- ram	12	7	9	11	18	16	11	2	4	12	8	9

Continued on next page

TABLE 31 CONTINUED

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Administration by Unsympathetic or Indifferent Officials	24	13	15	11	9	10	6	11	10	18	12	13
Helping Foreigners	--	--	--	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Too Rigid Administration	--	--	--	4	--	--	6	--	--	2	--	--
Number of Cases	a											
	75	134	241	27	57	83	18	55	73	120	246	398

a

Note that some totals are larger than the total number of respondents because some individuals gave more than one response.

TABLE 32

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"DO YOU THINK THAT THIS PROGRAM SHOULD BE RUN BY THE
SOCIAL WELFARE AGENCIES IN SAN DIEGO?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	19	19	19	39	40	40	29	47	43	25	31	28
No	67	69	69	56	52	53	47	35	38	62	57	59
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	13	12	12	4	8	7	24	18	19	13	12	12
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 33

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"DO YOU THINK THAT CITY OFFICIALS, SUCH AS THE MAYOR
AND THE CITY COUNCIL, SHOULD BE IN CHARGE OF THIS PROGRAM?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	15	23	20	44	42	42	41	37	38	25	31	29
No	76	64	68	53	47	48	53	57	56	67	58	61
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	9	12	12	4	11	9	6	6	6	8	11	10
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 34

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"DO YOU THINK THAT THE CHURCHES IN THIS AREA
CAN HELP IN THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	73	74	73	56	58	58	82	69	72	71	69	69
No	19	19	20	39	32	34	6	26	21	22	24	24
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	7	6	7	4	10	8	12	6	7	8	7	8
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 35

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"HOW ABOUT MINISTERS AND PRIESTS?
DO THEY REALLY UNDERSTAND WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE POOR?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	82	68	72	83	81	81	59	74	71	78	73	74
No	13	28	24	17	18	18	29	20	22	17	24	22
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	4	4	4	--	2	--	12	6	7	5	4	4
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 36

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"HOW ABOUT THE SCHOOLS? DO YOU THINK THAT SCHOOL PEOPLE,
LIKE TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS, ARE VERY HELPFUL IN
SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOR?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	70	60	64	61	64	64	71	78	76	68	65	66
No	27	30	29	39	27	31	24	16	18	29	26	27
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	3	9	8	--	8	6	6	6	6	3	8	7
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 37

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"DO YOU THINK THAT TEACHERS REALLY UNDERSTAND
POOR PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS?"

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	69	59	62	53	76	69	76	76	76	66	67	66
No	24	34	31	48	23	29	24	18	19	29	28	28
Don't Know, or No Re- sponse	7	7	8	--	2	--	--	6	4	5	5	6
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

TABLE 38

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WHAT OTHER PROGRAMS DO YOU KNOW ABOUT IN SAN DIEGO
THAT ARE TRYING TO HELP POOR PEOPLE?"^{a, b}

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Don't Know, Or No Re- sponse	32	35	34	35	51	46	25	38	35	31	40	37
County Wel- fare	12	19	16	26	20	21	4	22	17	12	20	17
Salvation Army	13	12	12	9	9	9	7	25	20	12	17	13
Urban League	9	4	6	4	--	--	4	--	--	9	2	4
Churches	6	5	5	--	5	4	11	--	3	6	4	4
Red Cross	5	4	4	4	--	2	4	6	5	5	4	4
NAACP	7	6	6	--	--	--	7	--	2	6	3	4
CORE	4	4	4	--	--	--	11	--	3	5	2	3
Goodwill	6	--	3	--	3	2	--	4	3	4	2	3
United Fund, Community Chest	--	--	--	4	5	5	4	--	--	2	2	2
Manpower Training Program	2	2	2	4	--	--	--	--	--	2	--	--

Continued on next page

TABLE 38 CONTINUED

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican-American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Neighborhood House	--	--	--	--	4	3	7	--	3	--	--	--
Navy Relief	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Number of Cases	^c											
	97	170	267	23	75	98	27	68	95	162	312	474

^a

Figures refer to number of responses rather than number of individuals responding.

^b

Agencies listed in the table were mentioned three or more times. The following were listed only once or twice: Job Corps., Women's Civic League, Masons, schools, Elks, Volunteers of America, VISTA, Medicare, Rainbow Social Club, Democratic Party, Logan Heights Business Association, Southeast Anti-Poverty Council, Mayor's Job Committee, State Department of Employment, American Legion, VFW, Heart Fund, Flying Samaritans, Kiwanis Club, Radio Free Europe, and the Economic Opportunity Commission.

^c

These totals include the organizations listed under footnote b.

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Number of Persons Mentioned ^a	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
0	64	59	62	70	58	61	82	82	82	68	64	66
1	13	22	18	22	29	27	6	10	9	14	21	18
2	13	10	11	4	3	4	12	4	6	11	7	8
3	4	7	6	4	5	5	--	4	3	4	6	5
4 or more	4	2	3	--	5	4	--	--	--	3	2	3
Number of Cases	67	129	208	23	62	85	17	51	68	107	242	361

^a
Husband and wife counted as one person.

TABLE 40

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

"WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN A GROUP, OR A COMMITTEE
OR IN SOME ORGANIZATION SET UP BY THE "WAR ON POVERTY"
TO IMPROVE THINGS IN SAN DIEGO?"

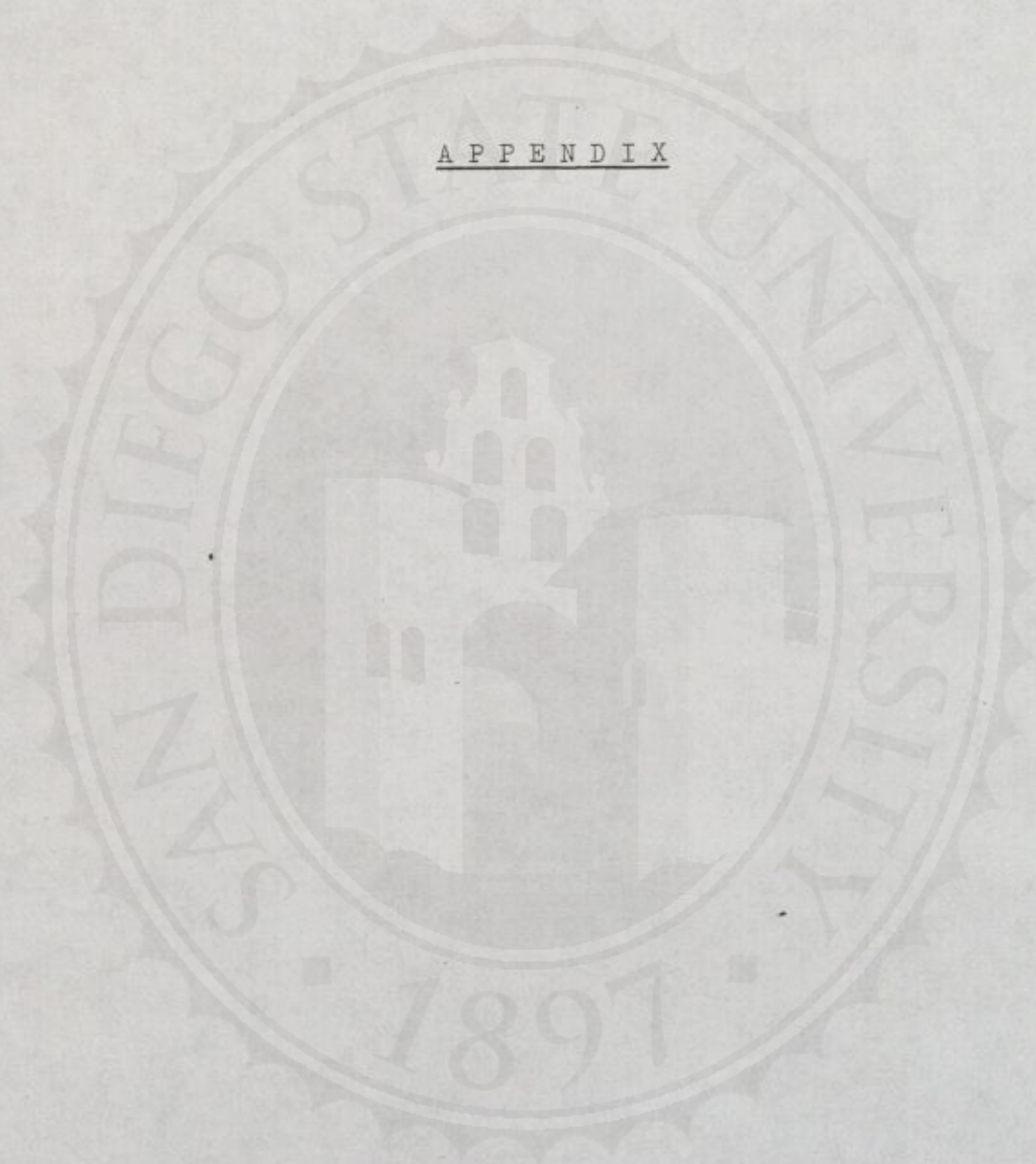
(By Ethnicity and by Income - In Percentages)

Responses	<u>Negro</u>			<u>Mexican- American</u>			<u>White and Other</u>			<u>Entire Sample</u>		
	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total
Yes	73	63	67	50	35	38	43	44	43	61	50	53
No	27	37	33	50	65	62	57	56	58	39	50	47
Number of Cases	44 ^a	76	120	18	55	73	14	45	59	82	176	258

^a

The discrepancy between these totals and preceding totals is accounted for by the fact that this question was inserted into the interview after the data collection was already underway.

A P P E N D I X



Schedule of Interview Items*

1. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN SAN DIEGO?

_____ LESS THAN 3 YEARS

_____ 7 TO 10 YEARS

_____ 3 TO 6 YEARS

_____ 10 YEARS OR MORE

2. AND HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD?

_____ LESS THAN 3 YEARS

_____ 7 TO 10 YEARS

_____ 3 TO 6 YEARS

_____ 10 YEARS OR MORE

3. HOW DO YOU LIKE LIVING IN THIS AREA?

4. WHAT IS THE BEST THING ABOUT LIVING HERE?

5. WHAT IS THE WORST THING ABOUT LIVING HERE?

6. DO YOU THINK THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD ARE ABOUT LIKE YOU?

_____ YES

_____ NO

7. IF SOMEONE GAVE YOU A THOUSAND DOLLARS, WOULD YOU RATHER STAY IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD AND LIVE AS WELL AS YOU COULD? _____

OR MOVE TO ANOTHER NEIGHBORHOOD? _____

8. DO YOU THINK THAT MOST OF THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD ARE PRETTY GOOD PEOPLE?

_____ YES

_____ NO

9. WOULD YOU SAY THAT IT IS MOSTLY POOR PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD?

_____ YES

_____ NO

IF YES, GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 10.

IF NO, ASK: WELL, IF THEY ARE NOT MOSTLY POOR, HOW WOULD YOU CLASSIFY OR DESCRIBE THEM?

*The questions have been listed here in the order asked. Probes and most of the specific instructions and suggestions to the interviewer are excluded.

10. HOW ABOUT YOU, DO YOU THINK YOU'RE POOR?

_____ YES

_____ NO

IF YES, GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 11.

IF NO, ASK: WELL, IF YOU DON'T THINK OF YOURSELF AS POOR, HOW DO YOU THINK OF YOURSELF?

11. A LOT OF PEOPLE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO FIGURE OUT JUST HOW MUCH IT COSTS TO GET ALONG. HOW MUCH MONEY DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD NEED EVERY WEEK TO GET ALONG ALL RIGHT?

12. IF YOU HAD MORE MONEY COMING IN EVERY WEEK, WHAT WOULD YOU DO WITH IT?

13. DO YOU THINK MONEY PROBLEMS ARE YOUR WORST PROBLEMS?

_____ YES

_____ NO

IF YES, ASK: WHAT KIND OF MONEY PROBLEMS DO YOU HAVE?

IF NO, ASK: WHAT ARE YOUR WORST PROBLEMS, AS YOU SEE THEM?

14. WHEN YOU HAVE MONEY PROBLEMS, DO YOU FEEL YOU CAN COUNT ON YOUR FRIENDS TO HELP?

_____ YES

_____ NO

15. WHEN YOU HAVE MONEY PROBLEMS, DO YOU FEEL YOU CAN COUNT ON YOUR RELATIVES TO HELP YOU?

_____ YES

_____ NO

16. DO MOST OF THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW GET PAID ENOUGH FOR THE WORK THEY DO?

_____ YES

_____ NO

17. WHICH IS THE WORST PROBLEM FOR MOST OF THE PEOPLE YOU KNOW: THAT THEY DON'T GET ENOUGH MONEY FOR THE WORK THEY DO? _____

OR THAT IT'S JUST TOO HARD FOR THEM TO GET JOBS? _____

OR IS IT BOTH? _____

18. DO YOU THINK IT'S HARDER TO GET A JOB IN SAN DIEGO THAN IN OTHER PLACES?

_____ YES

_____ NO

19. WHERE WOULD YOU GO TO GET HELP IN TRYING TO FIND A JOB?
20. WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE WORST THING ABOUT NOT HAVING A JOB?
21. HAVE YOU EVER HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH ANY OF THE WELFARE AGENCIES IN SAN DIEGO?

_____ YES

_____ NO

IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 22.

IF YES, ASK: WHICH ONE(S)? (LIST EACH AGENCY MENTIONED. ASK ITEMS A AND B FOR EACH AGENCY)

A. DID _____ HELP YOU?
(insert name of agency)

B. IF YES, ASK: HOW DID THEY HELP YOU?

IF NO, ASK: WHAT HAPPENED? WHY DIDN'T THEY HELP YOU?

22. FROM WHAT YOU KNOW, DO YOU THINK THE KIND OF PEOPLE WHO DO THIS KIND OF WORK, WHO WORK FOR SOCIAL AGENCIES, ARE THE RIGHT PEOPLE FOR THE JOB?

_____ YES

_____ NO

A. WHY DO YOU SAY THAT? WHAT MAKES YOU THINK SO?

23. HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S "WAR ON POVERTY" PROGRAM?

_____ YES

_____ NO

IF YES, ASK: WHAT HAVE YOU HEARD ABOUT IT?

IF NO, PROVIDE DESCRIPTION OF THE PROGRAM AND GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 24.

24. DO YOU THINK THIS PROGRAM IS GOING TO HELP YOU?

_____ YES

_____ NO

25. WHAT SHOULD THIS PROGRAM DO TO HELP YOU THE MOST?

26. WHAT SHOULD THIS PROGRAM NOT DO? WHAT ARE SOME MISTAKES THEY MIGHT MAKE?

27. DO YOU THINK THAT THIS PROGRAM SHOULD BE RUN BY THE SOCIAL WELFARE AGENCIES IN SAN DIEGO?

_____ YES

_____ NO

28. DO YOU THINK THAT CITY OFFICIALS, SUCH AS THE MAYOR AND THE CITY COUNCIL, SHOULD BE IN CHARGE OF THIS PROGRAM?

_____ YES

_____ NO

29. DO YOU THINK THAT THE CHURCHES IN THIS AREA CAN HELP IN THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY?

_____ YES

_____ NO

30. HOW ABOUT THE SCHOOLS? DO YOU THINK THAT SCHOOL PEOPLE, LIKE TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS, ARE VERY HELPFUL IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF THE POOR?

_____ YES

_____ NO

31. DO YOU THINK THAT TEACHERS REALLY UNDERSTAND POOR PEOPLE AND THEIR PROBLEMS?

_____ YES

_____ NO

32. HOW ABOUT MINISTERS AND PRIESTS? DO THEY REALLY UNDERSTAND WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE POOR?

_____ YES

_____ NO

33. WHAT OTHER PROGRAMS DO YOU KNOW ABOUT IN SAN DIEGO THAT ARE TRYING TO HELP POOR PEOPLE?

ASK FOR EACH PROGRAM MENTIONED. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PROGRAM? DOES IT WORK?

34. WHAT DO YOU YOURSELF THINK SHOULD BE DONE RIGHT NOW TO HELP POOR PEOPLE IN SAN DIEGO?

35. AS YOU LOOK AT YOURSELF NOW, DO YOU THINK YOU ARE BETTER OFF OR WORSE OFF THAN FIVE YEARS AGO?

_____ BETTER OFF

_____ WORSE OFF

_____ ABOUT THE SAME

36. HOW ABOUT THE FUTURE? DO YOU THINK THAT THINGS WILL BE BETTER FOR YOU IN FIVE YEARS? OR WORSE?

_____ BETTER OFF

_____ WORSE OFF

_____ ABOUT THE SAME

37. WHO ARE THE PEOPLE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD WHO REALLY COUNT?
38. WHAT DO THESE PEOPLE DO?
39. WHAT IS IT ABOUT EACH OF THESE PEOPLE THAT MAKES HIM IMPORTANT?
40. DO YOU KNOW THE NAME OF YOUR ASSEMBLYMAN OR STATE SENATOR? OR YOUR LOCAL CONGRESSMAN?

IF YES, ASK: WHAT IS IT?

IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 41.

41. DO YOU BELONG TO ANY CLUBS, LODGES, UNIONS, OR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS?

_____ YES

_____ NO

IF YES, ASK: CAN YOU GIVE ME THE NAME(S) OF THE ORGANIZATION(S)?

IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 42.

42. DO YOU GO TO CHURCH?

_____ YES

_____ NO

IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION NO. 43.

IF YES, ASK:

A. ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES EACH MONTH DO YOU GO TO CHURCH?

B. WHAT CHURCH DO YOU GO TO?

43. ABOUT HOW OFTEN DO YOU GO AND VISIT AT THE HOMES OF FRIENDS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD?
44. ABOUT HOW OFTEN DO YOU GO TO A MOVIE? _____ A MONTH.
TO A BAR OR TAVERN? _____ A MONTH.
45. HOW FAR DID YOU GO IN SCHOOL? HOW MUCH EDUCATION DO YOU HAVE?
46. WOULD YOU LOOK AT THIS CARD AND GIVE ME AN ESTIMATE OF WHAT YOUR TOTAL FAMILY INCOME WAS LAST YEAR, BEFORE TAXES?

UNDER \$1,000 _____	\$4,000 TO \$4,999 _____
\$1,000 TO \$1,999 _____	\$5,000 TO \$5,999 _____
\$2,000 TO \$2,999 _____	\$6,000 TO \$9,999 _____
\$3,000 TO \$3,999 _____	\$10,000 OR MORE _____

47. SEX OF RESPONDENT.

_____ MALE

_____ FEMALE

48. ETHNICITY OF RESPONDENT.

_____ NEGRO

_____ MEXICAN-AMERICAN

_____ WHITE

_____ OTHER

49. WHAT IS YOUR AGE? HOW OLD ARE YOU?

50. ARE YOU MARRIED? _____ SINGLE? _____

DIVORCED? _____ WIDOWED? _____

51. HOW MANY CHILDREN DO YOU HAVE?

52. WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN A GROUP, OR A COMMITTEE, OR IN SOME ORGANIZATION SET UP BY THE "WAR ON POVERTY" TO IMPROVE THINGS IN SAN DIEGO?