

not whether to differentiate in access, treatment, giving and outcome, but *how* to differentiate . . . We cannot now disengage ourselves from the challenge of distributing social rights without stigma; too many *unfulfilled expectations* have been created, and we can no longer fall back on the rationale that our economics are too poor to avoid hurting people."

Towards the end of his brilliant analysis of significant factors for social policy which we have too long neglected, Mr. Titmuss listed these:

1. "We overestimated the potentialities of economic growth by itself alone to solve the problems of poverty—economic, educational and social.

2. "We exaggerated the trend towards equality during the Second World War in respect to income, employment and other factors.

3. "We overestimated the potentialities of the poor without help, to understand and manipulate an increasingly complex *ad hoc* society, and we failed to understand the indignities of expecting the poor to identify themselves as poor people and to declare, in effect, 'I am an unequal person.'

4. "Lastly, and perhaps most significant of all, we have sought too diligently to find the causes of poverty among the poor and not in ourselves. Poverty, we seem to have been saying, has its origins in *either* social pathology and a lack of self-determination or in agency delinquency and a failure in coordination *or* in the shortage of social workers and psychiatrists. Now, in the poverty program, the United States appears to be discovering a new set of casual explanations: the lack of political power among the poor themselves.

5. "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings," he concluded.

The Declaration of Purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act is most revolutionary. For the first time in the history of man, a government has declared that it is its policy and intent to eliminate poverty—"to open to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."

These revolutionary concepts are directed at submerged classes who constitute about 20% of our nation, over 30 million souls. Numerically, under our democratic system, they ought to be able to exert enormous power. In truth, despite the revolution in their expectations, their influence has been negligible.

The many causes of his impotence are rooted sometimes in diverse and conflicting aims; in our heritage of deep suspicion of strong central government as against States' rights; or our preference for individual as against common effort; or the imbalance in our state and federal legislative bodies in favor of rural as against urban areas.

As a result, the poor are caught up and held to their lot by a complacent, prosperous overwhelming majority enjoying the goods and services of the most affluent society of all times.

This leads us, then, to revolutionary evolution in response to rising expectations, both in the War on Poverty and in race relations. Inevitably, one small part of this is uncoordinated violence in scattered communities. To some Negro teenagers, even the Black Muslims seem conservative. To many of them the Economic Opportunity Act and the Civil Rights bill are meaningless. Some would move toward partition rather than equal rights.

But for the largest number neither violence nor partition are the means and goals. Instead, they choose the following:

1. *Social mobility*.—moving up and out of lower class life. The physical movement away from the port of entry slum is one measure of social mobility.

The availability of jobs and of training opportunities to qualify for them is essential. A major concern for us, then, is a rational approach to the development of entry-level jobs, for sub and non-professionals, in all the service occupations in industry and commerce and, finally, through a major component of public works.

2. *Political and Social Action*.—participation of citizens, including the disadvantaged, in efforts to change the society and its institutions.

Perhaps the largest thrust of the War on Poverty is in these areas. It is a means for people to enter the mainstream of society. It is a tool for reducing detachment and alienation of poor people. Psychologically, it is a part of their attaining a new sense of self worth as a part of a healthy, democratic community.

It is expressed in a variety of forms in the War on Poverty, and this goes back 80 years for those of us in Settlements. It includes organizing local residents for self-help, through Kitchen Clubs, Block Clubs and Councils of Organizations.