

of welfare, a great many, the overwhelming majority of people who are dependent on public assistance are dependent because of factors outside of themselves. It may be discrimination in employment; it may be discriminatory union practices. It may be the absence of adequate low-income housing, it may be poor schooling, inadequate education, unavailable health services or poor health services; or the attitude that says if you are dependent you are less a person. It may be a variety of factors outside. The minute you put income maintenance and social services in the same structure, you are saying you need this money because we have to help you personally become adequate. That is one important reason for separating them.

The other is that I happen to believe in universal availability of social services. I am not dependent upon public assistance, but tomorrow morning, I may need a family counselor. I may need a child guidance clinic. I may need a variety of social services that have nothing to do with the absence or presence of income.

Then finally, we have found from bitter experience that developing and administering social and health services for a particular economic class, particularly if that class is the economically needy, means that those services are poor services; to wit, look at the municipal hospital services of New York City?

Senator PROXMIRE. Poor in the sense of inefficient?

Mr. DUMPSON. Inefficiency and standards. Once you focus a service system to an economic class, you can bet your bottom dollar that that service system is going to be inefficient, poor quality and low standards, because it is associated with a low status group.

Representative GRIFFITHS. Poor white rural and smalltown America is also discriminated against, and bears also the challenge of the weather. This may be the thing that makes some poor, or the price of crops. But second, they are dependent also upon the power structure in small towns, the fact that those in power refuse to lend money to people with good ideas that could bring industry or could create job activities in those towns. So that discrimination comes in a lot of forms in a lot of areas.

Permit me to thank all of you for being here. Mr. Ryan, I am sure, and I have to go because we need to vote, but Senator Proxmire and Senator Percy will be here. We need to cast a few votes for HEW and try to stop a few cuts.

Senator PROXMIRE (presiding). Mr. Dumpson, along the line that I was questioning Congressman Ryan, how would you feel about putting more emphasis on this as a work incentive program, calling it that, orienting it in that direction, and take advantage of the public attitude expressed last Sunday by the Gallup poll report that two-thirds of the people, people in every single category, \$10,000 and above, \$7,500 to \$10,000, the poor—everybody favored this and by a big margin—white, black, all people. Members of Congress, I think, favor this kind of thing. Why not recognize, as I think so much of the emphasis by Dr. Tobin the other day and by Congressman Ryan this morning was, that this is to a considerable extent a work incentive program, intended to get away from the deadening welfare effect that people will not take jobs because they will lose their welfare check. Can we do that?