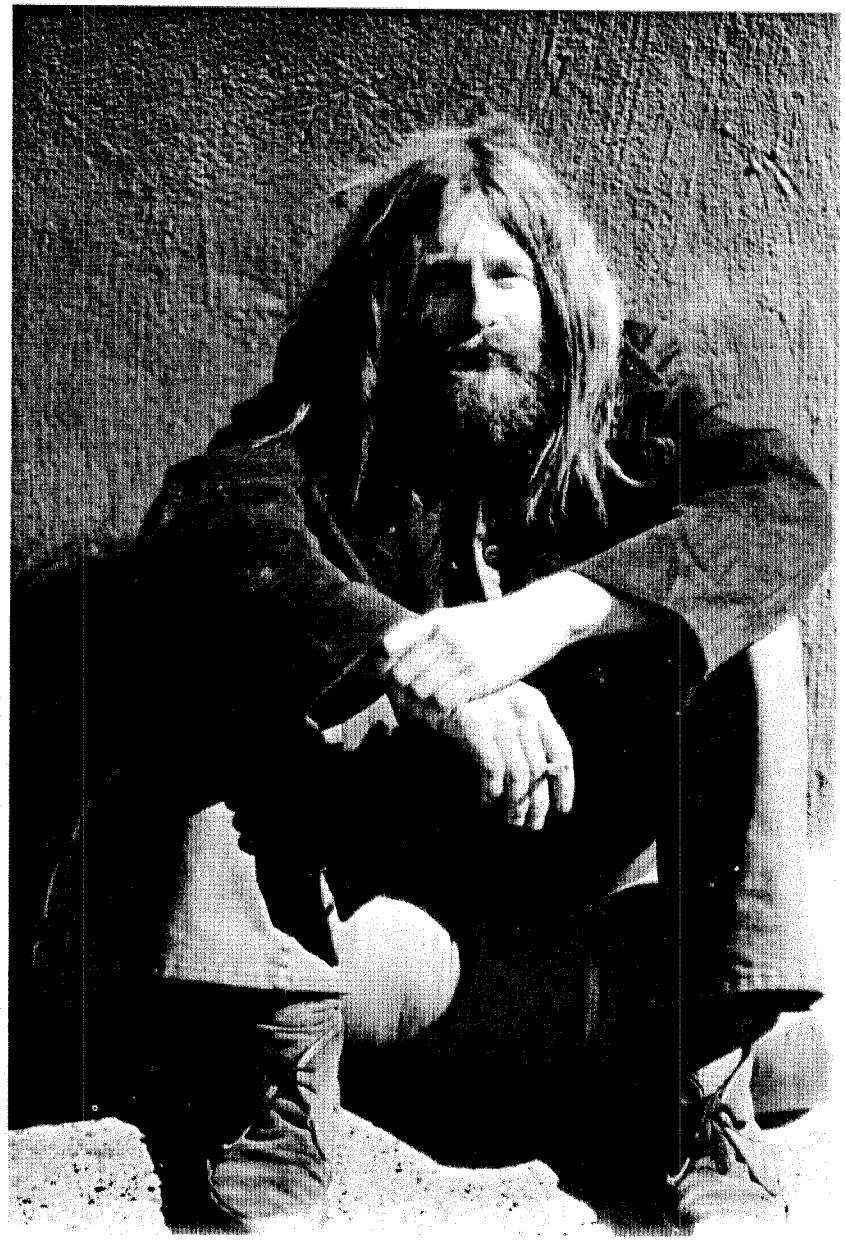
DOWN AND OUT IN BERKELEY

Jim Baumohl and Henry Miller



DOWN AND OUT IN BERKELEY

an overview of a study of street people

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prepared for the City of Berkeley -
University of California
Community Affairs Committee

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When work is done with little money and much good will many debts are accrued. It is trite but nonetheless true that this study could never have "happened" without the help of many friends. Several people, though, are especially appreciated for their help at crucial times or in special ways. Sue Davidson and Bob Somers of the Institute for Research in Social Behavior, and Frank Many of the University of California's Survey Research Center were remarkably generous with their help on technical and stylistic problems. Patsy Sanders and Toni Anderson of IRSB contributed important clerical assistance. Dr. Howard "Gonzo" Levy was consistently reasonable in times of near chaos.

Finally, it is *impossible* to adequately thank Kathryn Komatsu and Charlane Brown for their support, wisdom, and patience.

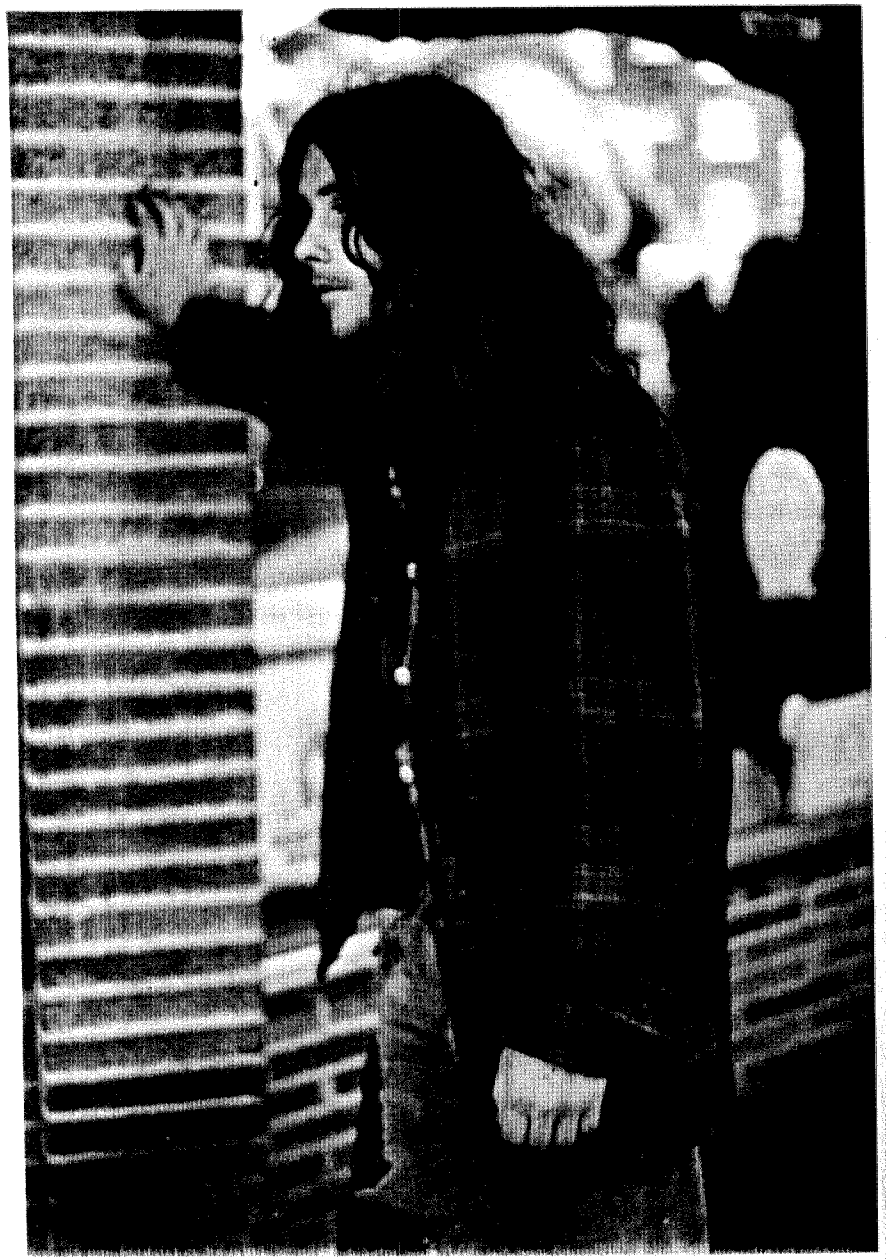

Photo by Gary Doberman

FOREWORD

The history of the Community Affairs Committee--it began meeting hardly more than a year ago--has been marked more by a struggle to lay guidelines to its complex and difficult task than by a series of concrete achievements. The Committee, however, can take justifiable pride in having voted during the early months of its existence to sponsor this report.

The report necessarily concentrates its attention on the area alongside the Berkeley campus. The Committee's mandate embraces the entire city but its interest in this district is natural enough: as in many other university communities--the areas surrounding Columbia, the University of Chicago, the University of Michigan, Harvard, UC Santa Barbara--it has been in the streets where tensions have built to crisis proportions. It is surely not a narrow construction of the general community interest to see such an area as a common ground for constructive collaborative effort rather than as a potential theatre of conflict that can disrupt and polarize the city as a whole.

Berkeley's history has not been instructive in providing models for such collaboration--it has taught mainly by dramatic failure: witness People's Park. In the broad perspective, though, most town and gown conflicts of the past seem of an innocent character and it is only since the mid-sixties that they have become more serious. Not until those years did it prove impossible to isolate the campus from involvement in issues of national and even international scope. And it was only in the last decade that students began to involve themselves in the politics of the city itself.

The founders of the university would have been dismayed. It was precisely to avoid such a possibility that they had located the campus as a pastoral reserve where the state's youth would be isolated

from the roiling excitements and the exuberant license of a sinful port city. In the fullness of time, however, the hillside retreat was engulfed by a booming conurbation and the campus was finally to sit rather ill-at-ease cheek by jowl to an expanding city--"Westward the course of empire takes its way" indeed!

Until the fifties, however, the South Campus area at least maintained the character of a traditional "neighborhood." To the local businesses, most of them more typical of the usual district shopping area than many of those operating there today, came the numerous families still living nearby. University students, faculty and staff mingled with them on Telegraph and there existed a congenial "mix". Significantly, the city's Master Plan, adopted in 1955, described "the Telegraph Avenue community shopping center" in much the same terms as it described other commercial districts in the city except that considerable attention was devoted to an analysis of traffic problems and the parking situation which was declared to be "intolerable".

The university process of acquiring land off the campus, mainly on nearby streets, was ratified by the Board of Regents in 1956. In the years that followed, many private housing units near the campus came down to make way for residence halls, parking lots and athletic facilities. During the same years, many other single-unit houses and those student lodging houses still surviving in the district were removed and apartment houses of another character became more numerous. The population density in the area registered a massive increase, automobile traffic grew heavier, and the sidewalks were crowded with pedestrians. The days of South Campus as a modest residential and commercial backwater, enlivened by the university, were numbered.

As a consequence, the early sixties were transition years for the South Campus. Traffic and parking, economic factors, and physical design were the subjects of successive studies, reports and recommen-

dations. Out of them finally came what was known as the South Campus Urban Renewal Project. This became, during the course of its review and discussion in the community, a subject of bitter controversy. Amid charges that the Project would benefit only real estate developers, contribute to the "plastic" commercialization of the area, and remove "undesirables", the City Council voted to abandon it in June of 1966. Some recommendations survived to be carried out in succeeding years.

The "undesirables" of the South Campus were beginning to attract considerable attention in the mid-sixties. Below Channing Way on Telegraph Avenue there was something of a bohemian, "Village" ambiance with the expresso coffee shops, the art cinemas, the bookshops. This area was the favored resort of more adventurous students and those who were known in that ancient era as "beatniks". The Free Speech Movement, although it brought crisis to the university, was almost entirely confined to the campus, so far as the demonstrations and confrontations were concerned. Yet it seems that FSM--because of what it symbolized, and because of its notoriety--was crucial to the formation of the South Campus' enduring image as a pleasure ground, political hotbed, and special preserve for the young.

Intermingled with, and perhaps inextricable from, the politics of the time, came the challenges rained down upon a bewildered Establishment by the so-called Youth Revolution or Counter-Culture. Responding to a variety of compulsions, a generation took to the road, and, as it sometimes seemed, headed *en masse* for Berkeley and the South Campus in what has been called the "hippy invasion". As the movement against the Viet Nam War gathered momentum, it was inevitable that this area would become the scene of demonstrations and street meetings expressing opposition to U.S. participation. The reactions of the City Council and the police brought a series of confrontations which at times turned the South Campus into an urban battleground.

But, as *Down and Out* is at pains to make clear, this is an era which has ended. The transient and homeless of the present day South Campus have little in common with the hippies of past years. Yet out of those years came the patchwork of community institutions which form the continuing and sustaining structure for the social services that meet the needs of today. Nor was the experience of the period without effect upon the university and the city. The liaison between them had been sporadic and limited during the sixties and before; it has now assumed a form which recognizes that, together, they form one community, equal partners in a marriage which, though by convenience, had necessarily to be arranged. There are grounds, at last, for hoping that both will unite in a sober and incisive apprehension of the elements that should, interacting in constant flux, determine the joint formulation of policy.

The study that follows has the virtue of emphasizing one such element. It focuses on what has become a constant in the lives of both the university and the city: the South Campus as a refuge for a transient, homeless, unemployed population, mainly in its younger years. The study lays to rest the all too useful myth of the contemporary hippy: its findings compel us to face a social problem with profound, even ominous implications. The study's *content*, then, is somber, but the report as a product embodies a more sanguine prospect. Although modest in its dimensions, it may be seen as one of the first steps toward an active and creative city-university collaboration aimed at building a humane city.

Fred Cody
Berkeley, California
May, 1974

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INTRODUCTION

It is common knowledge that in the South Campus area of the city of Berkeley there exists a population of young persons carelessly identified as "street people". It seems that this population grew during the mid and late sixties, coincident with the rapid growth of the campus population and the political events which made the South Campus a focus of national attention. In those days street people were more likely to be called "hippies", and identified with hippiedom's presumed consequence, the counter-culture. Now, the times are different, the scene is different, and, even though the hippies left an important legacy which affects all American youth, that movement is essentially over.

An analysis of the forces which led to the accretion of street people on and around Telegraph Avenue would be far beyond the scope of this report. There is, in fact, a local literature on the subject to which the reader can turn for some insight on the matter.[1] What is important, for our purposes, is that street people have been in evidence for several years, and that they have become a source of concern to the city of Berkeley, the University, and frequently to one another. As a consequence of these various concerns, a variety of social and health services have arisen to attend to the street population's needs. The idea of this study and its general purposes were first conceived by staff members of several of these agencies.

Although most of the street-oriented service agencies within the South Campus community attempt to keep some simple statistics about their clientele, they are severely constrained in this effort by the ethos of the population they serve. Street people

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1. See our Bibliography, and "Suggestions for Further Reading", appended.

avoid bureaucratized services and record keepers -- some because of serious problems with law enforcement agencies, some out of a distaste for any bureaucratized organizational form, and many out of a resentment of those they perceive to be powerful moral agents (social workers, physicians, and clergymen among others). This pervasive desire for anonymity and secrecy makes data gathering counter-productive to the rendering of a needed service.

Ironically, it is difficult to continue rendering needed services without data. Rather, it is difficult to do so without money, and good data frequently make the difference between a creative, continually improving service, and one which withers as its funds ebb. It was out of a growing need for basic data, then, that this study emerged. Its intent was to provide a *systematic descriptive portrait of street people in Berkeley*. The research questions were broad and modest; the questionnaire probed essentially three domains: demographic, family and individual background, and lifestyle characteristics. We were asking, in other words, what are street people like in terms of age, sex, and race; where did they come from -- and how and why; what were their socio-economic backgrounds; and how do they get by?

As one intuitively knows, and as our data will show, street people are of many different kinds, and are, to the dismay of the researcher, somewhat elusive. While we were wary of hamstringing our inquiry with a strict *a priori* judgment regarding who street people are -- we preferred to generate such a broad definition as a *product* of the study -- we had, nonetheless, some initial presumptions, and we now turn to these considerations as well as to a detailed discussion of our methodology.

METHOD

Usually when researchers set out to gather survey data from large numbers of individuals they are provided with, or can themselves construct, a sampling frame. Simply speaking, a sampling frame is a defined universe from which representative subjects may be drawn at random. Unfortunately, constructing such a universe of street people is not only difficult, but probably impossible. There are two major problems. The first involves setting adequate delineators: who are street people? The second is a logistical problem: how does one find those individuals included within the defined universe.

A partial solution to these problems came about through an intuitive process. We had to set boundaries based upon what were considered to be reasonable hunches about who was out there. We felt we could draw the following sketch of Berkeley street people with some assurance. Most were probably male, White, and under thirty. Many were very poor, and without a stable residence. Upon reaching Berkeley they congregated in the South Campus area, specifically on and around Telegraph Avenue from the campus entrance as far south as the International Pancake House at Derby Street, some seven blocks. This intuitive preliminary sketch, and our limited resources dictated our further strategy.[1]

The perceptible poverty of street people suggested that they would be hard pressed to adequately take care of such necessities as shelter and food. We knew, however, that although the Berkeley Youth Hostel provided shelter, many persons still slept outside --

1. This entire study was done for less than $2500, most of which was provided by the City of Berkeley-University of California Community Affairs Committee. The remainder came from the University of California School of Social Welfare, and the researchers' shallow pockets.

in the hills, on the Free Clinic porch, in doorways -- wherever, we supposed, opportunity and conditions warranted. By surveying Youth Hostel clients we would also be eliminating those who were "crashing" with friends, or living in cheap hotels. We chose, then, the Berkeley Emergency Food Project as our survey site. Located in the heart of South Campus, the Food Project was known to serve all comers free, and without the missionary zeal of most traditional breadlines. The Food Project's "eligibility criteria" did not exclude those we wished to survey, and the circumstances of our prospective subjects seemed to compel most of them to eat there at least once in awhile. We reasoned, then, that among the Food Project's clients we would find a good cross-section of street people.

Still, several bothersome problems needed to be solved. The first involved the timing of the data collection. Observation indicates that there is a great amount of seasonal variation in the street population. Our goal was to describe those who were not merely summer "tourists" taking advantage of a free meal to save on travel costs. Thus we needed to collect our data during the "off season". We also felt that the data collection should be spread over at least one week so that any daily variation in the Project's clientele would not bias our results.

A further difficulty involved a potential conflict between our need to convince respondents of the anonymity of their responses and our need to estimate a turnover rate at the Food Project. Fortuitously, the Food Project itself was concerned with arriving at some estimate of the number of unique individuals eating there, and had, in the week prior to our census, instituted a system whereby "repeaters" could be identified from daily client rolls.[1]

1. Clients who preferred to use aliases were asked to be consistent in that regard.

Although we did not take any names during the time we sampled (March 26-31, 1973), the roll system instituted in the week prior to our survey was reinstated during the week after. After three weeks, then, we had (a) a count of the number of meals served each evening; (b) a count of each evening's turnover for the weeks preceding and subsequent to the survey, as measured by the number of new names; and (c) the number of surveys which had been filled out each night of the week of March 26. Table 1 summarizes these data (see page 6).

Table 1 indicates that the number of meals served during the survey week exceeds the totals for the weeks of March 19 and April 2. A proportion of this increase, which was 28% over March 19, and 27% over April 2 can be attributed to timing.[1] The week of March 26 was the last week of the month, and a vacation week for local students. Toward the end of a month welfare recipients who have spent their grants may be expected to patronize the Food Project, and during vacation a number of poor students may do so as well. However, the minimal number of welfare recipients and full-time students in our sample suggests another explanation which emerges from a consideration of the survey's impact on the normal course of Food Project patronage.

The Food Project's primary service goal is to feed hungry people. They do an admirable job of this in a church basement which comfortably holds seventy-five diners. Since the number of hungry people seeking meals is often double, sometimes triple this capacity, mealtime (5-6:30 PM) is a noisy, chaotic period during which staff and clients alike are cramped, hurried, and otherwise inconvenienced. Clients rarely linger, even to smoke an after-

1. It may also be that our very careful meal count was somewhat more reliable then that conducted by the Project during the weeks of March 19 and April 2.

TABLE 1

No. of Meals Served, No. of New Names for All Weeks,
Survey Data for the Week of March 26

	Week of March 19			Survey Week March 26			Week of April 2		
	No. of Meals Served	No. of New Names	% of New Names	No. of Meals Served	Estimated No. of Non-repeaters[a]	Surveys Completed	No. of Meals Served	No. of New Names	% of New Names
MONDAY	125	125	100.0	166	166	123	164	164	100.0
TUESDAY	167	59	35.3	195	80	53	180	83	46.1
WEDNESDAY	160	46	28.8	201	70	42	180	72	40.0
THURSDAY	151	41	27.2	190	53	42	132	38	28.8
FRIDAY	135	21	15.6	188	49	24	124	47	37.9
SATURDAY	126	19	15.1	165	34	21	95	26	27.4
TOTALS	864	311	36.0	1105	452[b,c]	305[d]	875	430	49.1

a. By "non-repeaters" is meant the number of unique individuals fed during the *survey* week and is based on a weighted average of % of New Names for the weeks of March 19 and April 2.

b. Includes 18 children who we made no effort to survey.

c. This is 41% of the No. of Meals Served during the Survey Week.

dinner cigarette. Overworked and underpaid staff, most of whom have been preparing for the meal since nine in the morning, are cleaning up and preparing to leave even before the last arrivals are finished eating. Into this situation came a group of researchers whose design necessitated a long extension of the meal-time, and thus changed the atmosphere of the Food Project enormously. In order to encourage clients to take the time to complete our survey we provided the funds for a special dessert to be served each evening. Homemade pie, ice cream, and coffee were the typical ingredients. Also, tables were rearranged to provide more space, the radio was turned up -- in short, the Food Project became during that week a comfortable place just to "kick back" until after nine at night. The combination of an elaborate dessert and the party-like atmosphere undoubtedly contributed to the greater patronization of the Food Project during that week. If not in terms of more unique individuals, at least in terms of client repetition.

Another facet of design may also have attracted a few new clients and repeaters. Although we gave self-administered forms to as many clients as possible, we also interviewed a large sample. Interviewees were determined by their survey number (a process unknown to them), and paid two dollars to participate in a half-hour interview designed to ensure the completeness of their survey, and to probe in more depth areas related to transience, employment, family background, and their street survival techniques.[1] While this was a randomized selection procedure, it became generally known that we were over-sampling women and Third World clients (since they are numerically few in this population). It is possible that a few women and Third World members may have

1. Staff members of local "alternative" service agencies were employed as survey monitors and interviewers. A list of those who worked in this capacity is appended.

come to the Project because the word was out that they stood a good chance of making two dollars.

In order to compare the sexual and racial composition of our interview subsample with that of the entire Food Project "sample pool" we conducted an appropriate head count of clients on four evenings, two during the survey week, two during the week of April 2. From the weighted average of the sexual and racial composition on these nights we obtained an approximate number of unique individuals who were White males, White females, Black males, Black females, etc. From these figures comparative percentages were generated, illustrating the compositional differences between (a) all Food Project clients, (b) our survey respondents, and (c) our interview subsample. Table 2 summarizes this comparison (see page 9).

Table 2 shows that we achieved a reasonably good response rate across all racial and sexual groups -- considering the kind of population we were concerned with. Further, the calculated oversampling of respondents for more detailed interviewing is also indicated.

When individuals declined to participate in the survey, monitors attempted to ascertain the reason. While this could not be done in a very systematic or comprehensive way, the monitors' impressions yield a picture of non-respondents which is consistent with other findings. As we will show, many street people are characterized by poor educational achievement, a history of psychiatric hospitalization, and a voracious consumption of drugs. "Disorientation" (apparently drug-induced in many instances -- most often by alcohol or LSD), and "embarassment and defensiveness seemingly related to poor reading skills" were often mentioned by monitors as reasons for non-response. It must also be noted that many non-responders, especially among White males,

TABLE 2

Comparison of All Food Project Clients, Those Surveyed, and Those Interviewed by Per Cent of Sex and Race

	White Males	White Females	Black Males	Black Females	Other Males	Other Females	TOTAL
%, by Sex and Race, of All Food Project Clients[a]	68.7	16.4	10.6	0.1	3.4	0.8	100.0
% of Total Surveyed[b]	66.4	71.8	78.3	100.0	80.0	100.0	70.2
% Attrition	33.6	28.2	21.7	--	20.0	--	29.8
% of "All Clients" Who Were Interviewed	9.7	33.8[c]	32.6[c]	--	33.3[c]	100.0[c]	17.3
% of Those Surveyed Who Were Interviewed	14.6	47.1[c]	41.7[c]	--	41.7[c]	100.0[c]	24.6

a. Based on an average of people served on four evenings.

b. Includes those interviewed.

c. Deliberately over-sampled.

evinced a great deal of suspicion about the purpose and usefulness of the survey itself. This suspicion varied from mild skepticism to strident ideological objection, but perhaps the remark of one non-respondent best captures the attitude of this group: "I don't mind, but I don't see what good it'll do. I just can't get into it."

Non-responders undoubtedly introduced an element of bias into the survey results. The exact nature of this bias is impossible to determine, but on the whole it seems that non-responders may have been the street scene's most severely disorganized, drug-saturated, ill-educated, and philosophically disaffected members. If the data presented in this report paint a bleak picture, keep in mind that it may, in reality, be worse.

A final point should be made concerning the reliability of survey responses. Reliability was judged on the basis of response consistency. That is, someone who claimed to be seventeen years old and a college graduate was judged unreliable. If a questionnaire contained such major inconsistencies the respondent was pulled from the analysis. Six respondents were eliminated because of highly inconsistent responses. In addition, four were pulled because they were born and reared outside of the United States and Canada, and were not American citizens. Other non-citizens, mostly Canadians, were included because they had been reared in a cultural milieu similar to America's. Such exclusion is, in the end, arbitrary, but without the theoretical framework to assess the differences between this group and "North Americans", and, indeed, without the numerical representation from foreigners to even begin to do so statistically, it was thought best to exclude them. The data in the following section, then, are based upon a respondent group of 295, rather than 305.

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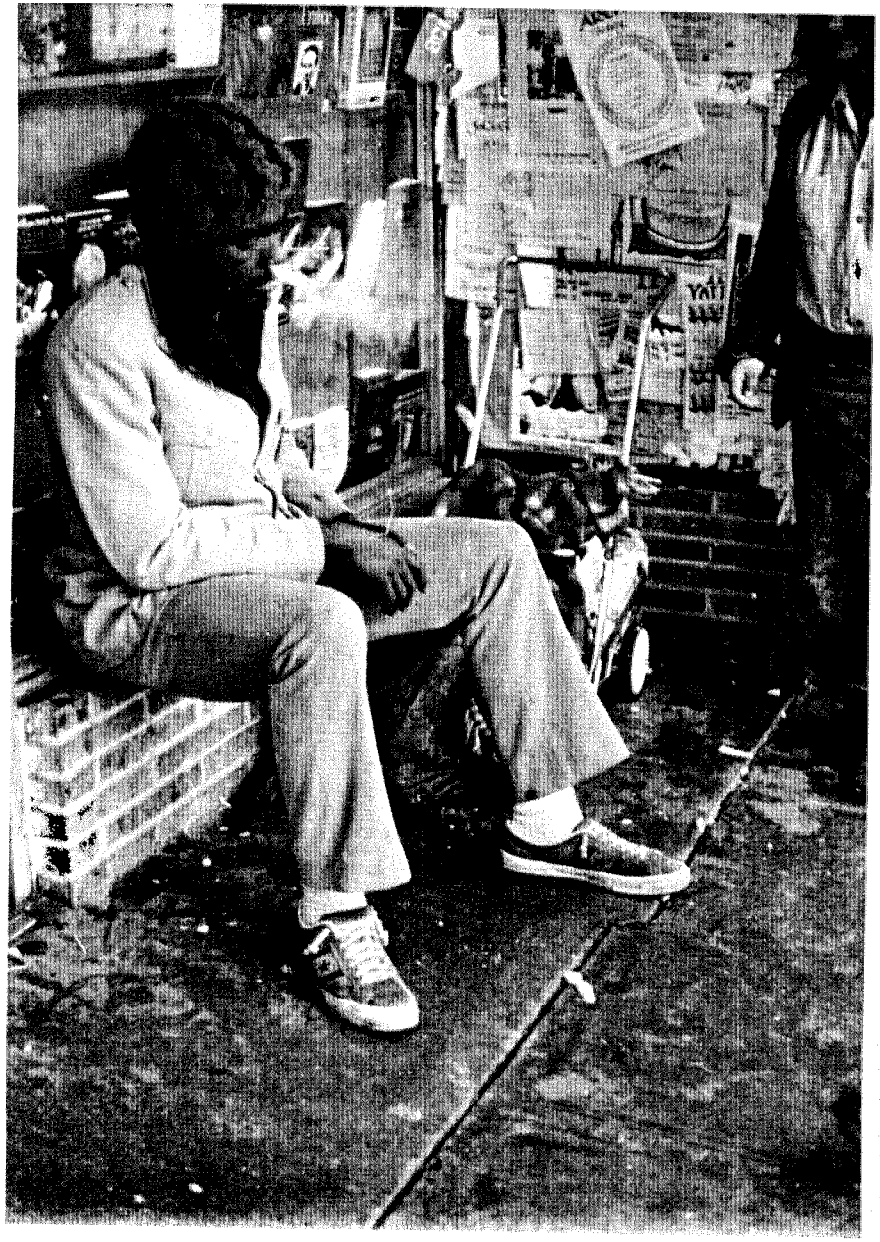


Photo by Gary Doberman

AGE, RACE AND SEX

Of the 295 respondents in our study population, 239 (81%) are males and 56 (19%) are females. The percentage of women found in this census is unusually high; the only comparable studies of homeless and transient populations report, at best, a ratio of 12 men to every woman.[1] But notwithstanding the surprisingly large number of women, the population is predominantly male.

Respondents' ages range from 15 to 62 years with a median age of 22.7, and a mean age of 23.6. Table 3 illustrates the age distribution of subjects by sex:

TABLE 3[a]

Age by Sex

	Male (N=238)	Female (N=56)	Total (N=294)
under 18	2.5	23.2	6.5
18-20	16.4	39.3	20.8
21-25	49.6	30.4	45.9
26-30	23.1	5.4	19.7
31-35	5.0	1.8	4.4
36 or over	3.4	0.0	2.7
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

a. All tables are by per cent unless otherwise indicated. Because the amount of missing data varies from item to item the percentages are based on the number of respondents (N) indicated in each table column.

1. Bahr (1973), pgs. 312-313.

As can be seen from Table 3, the population is young: nearly 3/4 are 25 or less. Women, 62.5% of whom are under 21, are considerably younger than the men. In fact, nearly 1/4 of the women are juveniles. Further, it appears that as many as 1/5 (19%) of all respondents between 19 and 25 years old originally left home as juveniles.[1] Women are also greatly over-represented in this group.[2]

Most (82.9%) of the street population is White. Blacks comprise 11.6%, Chicanos and Latinos 2.1%, American and Canadian Indians 2.1%, and Asians 1.4%. The small Chicano/Latino group is composed mostly of Puerto Ricans; of the four Asians surveyed, two are Filipino, one Chinese, and one Japanese.

The Black subjects are, with one exception, male, and tend to be somewhat older than their White male counterparts, and considerably older than White women (see Table 4).

1. This figure was arrived at by determining the per cent of respondents in this age group who left home before, or shortly after their 17th birthday. Because a very few subjects, mostly male, may have left home for college at that age, this should be viewed as only a rough estimate of the number of yesteryear runaways still living on the street.

2. Women represent 37.7% of this group as opposed to 18.9% of the 19-25 year old age cohort.

TABLE 4

Age by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=33)	White Males (N=192)	White Females (N=50)	All[a] (N=292)
under 18	0.0	3.1	20.0	6.5
18-20	12.1	17.2	44.0	20.8
21-25	60.6	46.9	28.0	45.9
26-30	21.2	23.4	6.0	19.7
31-35	6.1	5.2	2.0	4.4
36 or over	0.0	4.2	0.0	2.7
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

a. Includes Asians, Indians, Chicanos and Latinos, and one Black woman.

EDUCATION

Contrary to what seems to be a prevailing stereotype, this is not a well educated population. In fact, street people are relatively ill educated. Available nationwide data do not permit us to make a sophisticated comparison of populations by birth cohort, but the percentage of the national population between 20 and 24 years old which has *not* completed high school declined from roughly 23% in 1966 to about 18% in 1972.[1] Of those street people now 25 years old or younger, 36.7% have not completed the twelfth grade.

Referring to all respondents, nearly 1/3 (32.5%) have not gradu-

1. Executive Office of the President: Office of Management and Budget (1973), p. 77.

ated high school. Another 27% graduated high school, but never entered college. Of the 40% who enrolled in college, 62.3% dropped out before completion of either an A.A. or an A.B. degree. Only 9.2% of our respondents graduated a four year college; an additional 6% graduated a two year program.[1]

Among street people, women and Blacks are less educated than White men. Among the women there are only two graduates of a four year college, while nearly 43% never finished high school. Among Black men, 46.6% failed to finish high school, and only one individual graduated college. Table 5 displays the educational achievement of respondents by race and sex.

TABLE 5

Educational Achievement by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=30)	White Males (N=186)	White Females (N=49)	All (N=283)
Less than 9th grade	13.3	5.4	6.1	7.4
9th, but less than 12th grade	33.3	22.6	36.7	25.1
High school grad only	20.0	24.7	34.7	27.2
Partial college[a]	30.0	35.5	18.4	31.1
College grad or better	3.3	11.8	4.1	9.2
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

a. Includes those with A.A. degrees.

Many (43%) of the respondents want definitely to return to school, and quite a few others (27%) are unsure. From our analysis, however, it is clear that those wishing to return are those who already have achieved the most -- both with regard to grade level and grade point obtained.[1] Also, of those indicating some desire to return to school more than half (52.2%) cite the lack of money, housing, or child care as the major obstacle.

1. Some 10.2% (N=29) are still in school. Nearly all of these are attending a junior or community college.

GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS

Street people in Berkeley come from almost every state in the nation. In addition, some 2.8% hail from Canada, 4.2% from Western Europe, and 2.4% from other countries spread across the globe. Even though regions of origin are quite scattered, some areas yield large numbers of street people. Figure 1 (next page) illustrates these geographic origins.[2]

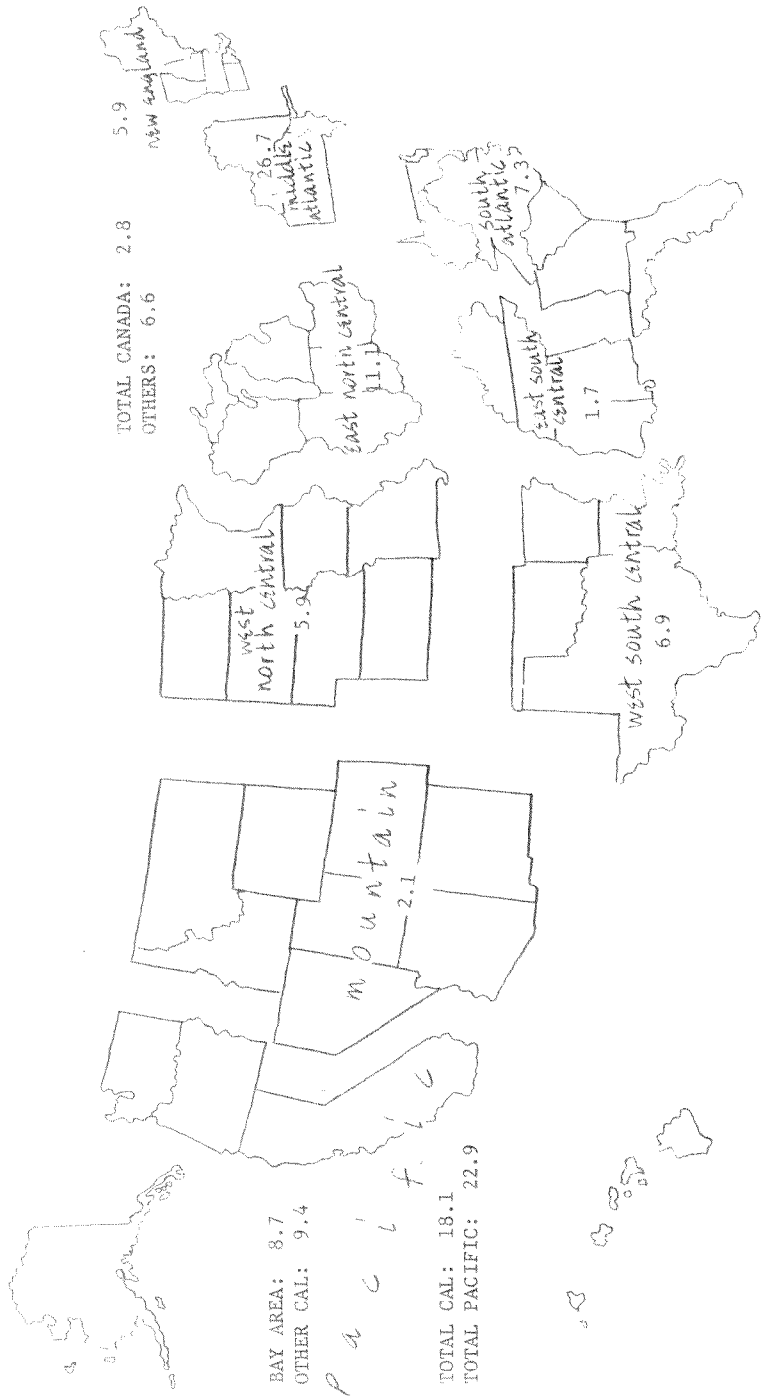
As can be seen from Figure 1, only 8.7% of the subjects are native to the San Francisco Bay Area; 18.1% were born in California. The largest number of respondents (26.7%) come from the Middle Atlantic region -- specifically the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Following California are the East North Central States, origin of 11.1% of the population.

These loci of geographic origin are understandable when we consider that street people come primarily from *urban* backgrounds --

1. Those most eager to return to school are those respondents who had A or B averages and never got beyond high school or a year or two of college. This seems especially true among women.

2. The data in Figure 1 refer to place of birth, which by and large was also the region of respondents' upbringing. Obvious exceptions are those individuals born in exotic corners of the world, all of whom were reared in either the U.S. or Canada. Family mobility will be discussed in the next section, "Background Characteristics".

FIGURE 1
RESPONDENTS' PLACES OF BIRTH
PERCENT BY REGION



particularly urbanized, *industrial* areas of the country. Some 55.3% come from huge metropolitan areas -- New York City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles. Only 22.2% come from cities of between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants which are not located near (within 50 miles of) a large urban area. A mere 16 individuals (5.6%) come from what can be clearly described as rural America: those towns with a population under 10,000 not situated near a large city.[1]

RESIDENCE IN BERKELEY

Street people are highly mobile, but, as we will show later, there are stable elements within the population. Thus, while we see from Table 6 (following page) that nearly 1/3 have been in Berkeley only one month or less, and almost 60% for less than six months, we also find that roughly 1/4 have been around for over a year. As a group, Blacks display the longest "residential"[2] tenure.

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1. As expected, there is some difference between Blacks and Whites regarding geographic origin. Blacks tend more frequently to have been born in southern states (36.6% as opposed to 14.9%), and in large cities (70% as opposed to 54%). Additionally, there are no Blacks in this study who were born or raised in the plains or mountain states, or in New England. Blacks, however, show a higher percentage of Bay Area born (16.7% versus 9.3%).

2. "Residence" must be applied to street people in a broad sense. As we shall see, most do not have an address, but are "crashing".

TABLE 6

Length of Time in Berkeley by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=32)	White Males (N=185)	White Females (N=50)	All (N=282)
1 week or less	6.3	21.6	20.0	18.8
8 days - 1 month	3.1	13.0	22.0	13.1
5 weeks - 6 months	21.9	23.2	30.0	25.2
7 months - 1 year	12.5	8.1	6.0	8.2
13 months - 2½ years	28.1	12.4	8.0	13.5
Longer than 2½ years	9.4	11.4	6.0	10.6
Residence outside Berkeley	18.7	10.3	8.0	10.6
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In our sample of street people there is a group -- 10.6% of the total population -- who have a stable residence outside of Berkeley, usually in Oakland, Richmond, or San Francisco. These are individuals who are drawn to the Avenue for what its social milieu provides. Frequently, these street people are viewed, by both police and social workers, as predators who use the Telegraph area as their place of illicit business. They are characterized as gamblers, thieves, dealers, con men -- in short, as the "Ave's" hustler population. While systematic field observation may in the future support these assumptions, our data do not suggest that these "non-residents" are any more involved in such activities than Berkeley's own.[1]

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This is a population composed primarily of young, White males

1. For the extent of "hustling" among street people see Table 14, "Sources of Income by Race and Sex".

who are not native to the area, who come from urban, and often Eastern settings, who have been in Berkeley a rather brief period of time, and whose academic education has been short-lived. This simple portrait, though, masks the fact that there are sub-populations of Blacks and women who have somewhat different demographic features, and who are -- although numerically fewer -- distinct elements of the population known as street people.

FAMILY TYPE

For the most part, respondents come from families which were at least superficially intact. With respect to a gross dichotomy, 61.6% were reared by both natural parents, while the remaining 38.4% experienced varying degrees of family disruption. Among Blacks, however, just the opposite situation obtains: 72% come from one-parent or otherwise structurally unconventional families. This finding -- shown in Table 7 -- should not be viewed as indicative of "social pathology", however. Single-parent and extended family arrangements may often be as viable as the nuclear family, and we find no indications that street people from "broken homes" are significantly worse off than their "luckier" peers along any measured dimension. What matters, it seems, is the quality rather than the structure of familial relations.[1]

TABLE 7

Family Type by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=25)	White Males (N=157)	White Females (N=46)	All (N=245)
Intact	28.0	66.9	69.6	61.6
Disrupted	72.0	33.1	30.4	38.4
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

FAMILY SIZE AND BIRTH ORDER

The mean number of children in the families of all respondents

1. Hill (1971); Nye and Hoffman (1963).

is 3.9. Blacks tend to come from larger families, the mean number of children being 5.3. A substantial number of street people -- 43.3% -- are eldest children; 9.7% are *only* children. Men, far more frequently than women, are the eldest child, and the only children are primarily White males. The women in our sample are in most cases middle children.

GEOGRAPHIC ORIGINS OF PARENTS

The parents of our respondents were also born in urban environments. Thus, 71% of the fathers, and 67.8% of the mothers were born in cities of 100,000 or more. Black parents, however, come frequently from small, rural towns (40.6%), and would seem to represent the last big, cityward wave of Black migration during the second world war.

FAMILY MOBILITY

These peripatetic street people come from residentially rather stable families. Of all families, 60.8% lived in only *one city* up to the time the subject left home. Only 9.1% of the families can be considered itinerant, as defined by a history of chronic movement from city to city.[1] Of these "nomadic" families, over half were military; 5% of our respondents are "army brats", the sons and daughters of career servicemen.

FATHERS' SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

The occupational status of subjects' fathers is far from homo-

1. Specifically, a family was considered "itinerant" if it moved to at least four different cities, spending no more than two continuous years in any one.

geneous, and varies considerably with race. Table 8 indicates an hierarchical ordering based upon an elaboration of the occupational code of the United States Census Department. The ten categories are briefly defined as follows: categories 1 and 2 include essentially unskilled laborers and service providers (e.g., cooks, porters); categories 3 and 4, the semi-skilled (bus drivers, most mechanics); categories 5 through 8 skilled laborers and craftsmen, technicians and some professionals (typesetters, lithographers, bookkeepers, nurses, teachers, designers); categories 9 and 10 include the occupationally elite: doctors, attorneys, architects, engineers, etc.

TABLE 8

Fathers' Socio-economic Status by Race

		Black (N=14)	White (N=172)	All (N=199)[a]
HIGH	10	0.0	7.0	6.0
	9	0.0	13.4	12.6
	8	0.0	7.6	7.0
	7	0.0	19.2	17.1
	6	14.3	8.1	8.5
	5	7.1	10.5	10.6
	4	0.0	6.4	6.5
	3	14.3	5.8	6.5
	2	42.9	18.6	20.1
LOW	1	21.4	3.5	5.0
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

a. Because of ambiguous, and sometimes spiteful responses (e.g., "drunk"), the percentage of missing data on this variable is very high. For all subjects it is 32.5% (including 6.2% who never had a father); for Whites, 29.2%; for Blacks, 57.6%. For what seem to have been emotional reasons, some respondents simply skipped the survey section on family background while completing everything else. Most variables concerning family have roughly 20% missing data.

FATHERS' EDUCATION

The educational achievement of the fathers is higher than that of the subjects. Some 34.2% of the fathers graduated college as opposed to only 9.2% of the subjects. In addition, while 25.6% of the fathers failed to finish high school, 32.5% of our respondents have failed to finish. While street people are still young, and could theoretically return to school, their circumstances suggest that this kind of optimism is unwarranted. In fact, this phenomenon of educational slippage is but one important indicator of the significant downward mobility which appears to characterize street people as a population. Table 9 compares the educational achievement of fathers and subjects by race and sex.

TABLE 9

Comparison of Educational Achievement of Fathers (F) and Subjects (S) by Race and Sex

	Black Males F / S (N=18)/(N=30)	White Males F / S (N=147)/(N=186)	White Females F / S (N=37)/(N=49)	All F / S (N=219)/(N=283)
Less than 12th	61.0/46.6	21.8/28.0	21.6/42.8	25.6/32.5
High School Graduate	5.6/20.0	22.4/24.7	24.3/34.7	22.4/27.2
Partial College	27.8/30.0	17.7/35.5	13.5/18.4	17.8/31.1
College Graduate or more	5.6/ 3.3	38.1/11.8	40.5/ 4.1	34.2/ 9.2
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

It should be noted that not only were the fathers, on the whole, better educated than their children, but also the mothers, though not by so wide a margin. When White women are compared to their mothers we find that their slippage is *more* pronounced at the secondary level than when they are compared to their fathers. They also slip badly at the college level -- more, in fact, than

White males in comparison to their fathers at that level. Despite the extent of educational backsliding among White street people there persists a discernible direct relationship between the educational achievement of White subjects and their fathers. That is, *subjects* who did not finish high school tend more frequently than better educated respondents to have *fathers* who did not finish high school. Similarly, street people who at least began college were more likely to have fathers who reached at least that level. Table 10 illustrates this relationship between White respondents and their fathers:

TABLE 10

Educational Achievement of Whites: Father by Subject

		Fathers' Level			
		Less than 12th	High School	Partial College+	TOTAL
Subjects' Level	Less than 12th (N=47)	29.8	23.4	46.8	100%
	High School (N=49)	18.4	22.4	59.2	100%
	Partial College+ (N=84)	17.9	21.4	60.7	100%

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

The respondents were not reared in families where there were strong religious currents; their parents' religious preferences were, by and large, nominal ones. With regard to the *intensity* of parental religious affiliation, as measured by the frequency of their church attendance, the fathers for the most part, attended hardly at all, and the mothers only slightly more often. Blacks, however, come from more religious families than Whites; 57.7% of Black mothers attended church regularly, and 55.6% of our Black respondents attended regularly as children. Among Whites only

34.3% went to church often while growing up, but White women were more apt to be regular attenders than the men (47.8% and 30.5% respectively). Table 11 shows the religions in which respondents were raised.

TABLE 11

Subjects' Childhood Religious Affiliation by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=28)	White Males (N=167)	White Females (N=46)	All (N=255)
Protestant	64.3	37.8	44.7	42.0
Catholic	21.4	37.8	29.8	34.9
Jewish	0.0	9.1	12.8	8.2
Others	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.2
None	14.3	14.0	12.8	13.7
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

When subjects were asked to indicate their *own current* religious persuasion, only 11% responded with a conventional preference (Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish); 64.2% indicated "none" (a specific category choice); 24.8% indicated one of the more exotic or cultish sects. Most of the latter are of Eastern bent, but of these 63 individuals, 11 (17.5%) identify themselves as "Jesus Freaks". Interestingly, on the street Jesus freakery and conventional Christianity find their widest audience among Blacks; devotees of Eastern religions are predominantly White.

POLITICAL AFFILIATION AND BEHAVIOR

As reported by the subjects, their parents have political preferences much as one would expect from a cross-section of American adults. On the whole, Democrats slightly outnumber Republicans, and among Black parents this difference is more pronounced. The

subjects, however, manifest a stark political disaffection and cynicism. Table 12 shows subjects' political preferences by race and sex, and Table 13 summarizes their voting behavior in the 1972 Nixon-McGovern presidential election.

TABLE 12

Subjects' Political Preference by Race and Sex[a]

	Black Males (N=31)	White Males (N=187)	White Females (N=49)	All (N=284)
Republican	3.2	3.3	2.2	2.9
Democrat	29.0	18.1	17.4	19.1
American Independent	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.7
Left of Demos	25.8	17.6	23.9	19.9
None	41.9	59.9	56.5	57.4
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

a. Includes U.S. citizens only

TABLE 13

Subjects' Voting Behavior in November 1972 by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=32)	White Males (N=178)	White Females (N=35)	All (N=259)[a]
Voted	28.1	39.3	65.7	41.7
Did Not Vote	71.9	60.7	34.3	58.3
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%

a. 11% (N=32) of the population was ineligible to vote in November 1972 by virtue of age and/or citizenship. Of 50 White women there were only 35 eligible voters.

We are, frankly, unable to offer a solid explanation of the amazingly different voting pattern among White women (Table 13). Being younger, and having been on the street for a shorter time,

they are, perhaps, simply less cynical than the men.

In terms of candidate preference, there was a clear mandate for George McGovern. Those who voted for president in 1972 favored McGovern over Nixon by a 10 to 1 ratio. Among those who did not vote, McGovern enjoyed an 8 to 1 edge, but 53% of those who did not vote indicate that they really didn't care one way or the other. This means that nearly 1/3 (31.4%) of all eligible voters in this sample did not care who won the 1972 presidential election.

Voting has always been problematic for mobile people. Anderson (1923) indicates that among America's hoboes there was great rancor over the political disenfranchisement perpetuated by residency requirements. Street people do not appear to be as politically interested as the hoboes of Anderson's day. They do, however, run up against the residency test when they wish to vote. Of the 31.3% of our respondents who indicated a desire to vote in the April 1973 Berkeley municipal election, over 1/4 (27.3%) were clearly ineligible due to their mobile status.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Our respondents come from essentially intact and stable urban and suburban families. Their fathers, for the most part, are employed in blue collar and less prestigious white collar occupations; only 18.6% of the subjects come from the upper reaches of the middle class.[1] The parents of our respondents are much better educated

1. This SES distribution is substantially different from that of the hippies of yesteryear -- a population accurately perceived as generated by the upper middle class. Pittel and Miller (1974) indicate that 48% of their Haight-Ashbury respondents had fathers employed as administrators, managers, executives, professionals, and the like. At *most* only 25.6% of our respondents can be seen as coming from comparable backgrounds.

than their children; they have more conventional religious and political convictions. In short, street people come from families which -- on the surface at least -- are rather ordinary. It would seem to be a reasonable assumption that their parents are typical American folk: upward aspiring, hard working, and possessing aspirations of affluence, prestige, and conventional respectability for their children.

But it has not been so for their children. As we will see, street people lead anything but ordinary, respectable lives.

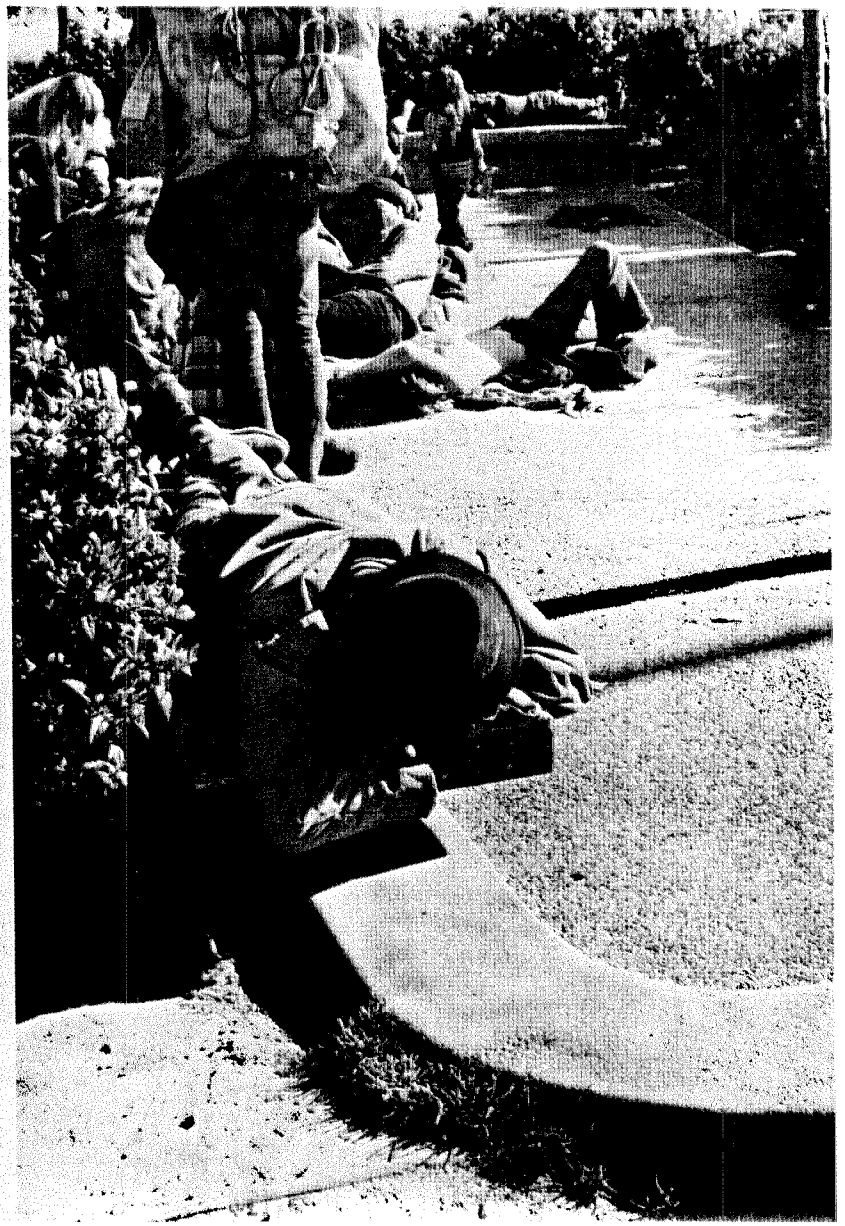

Photo by Gary Doberman

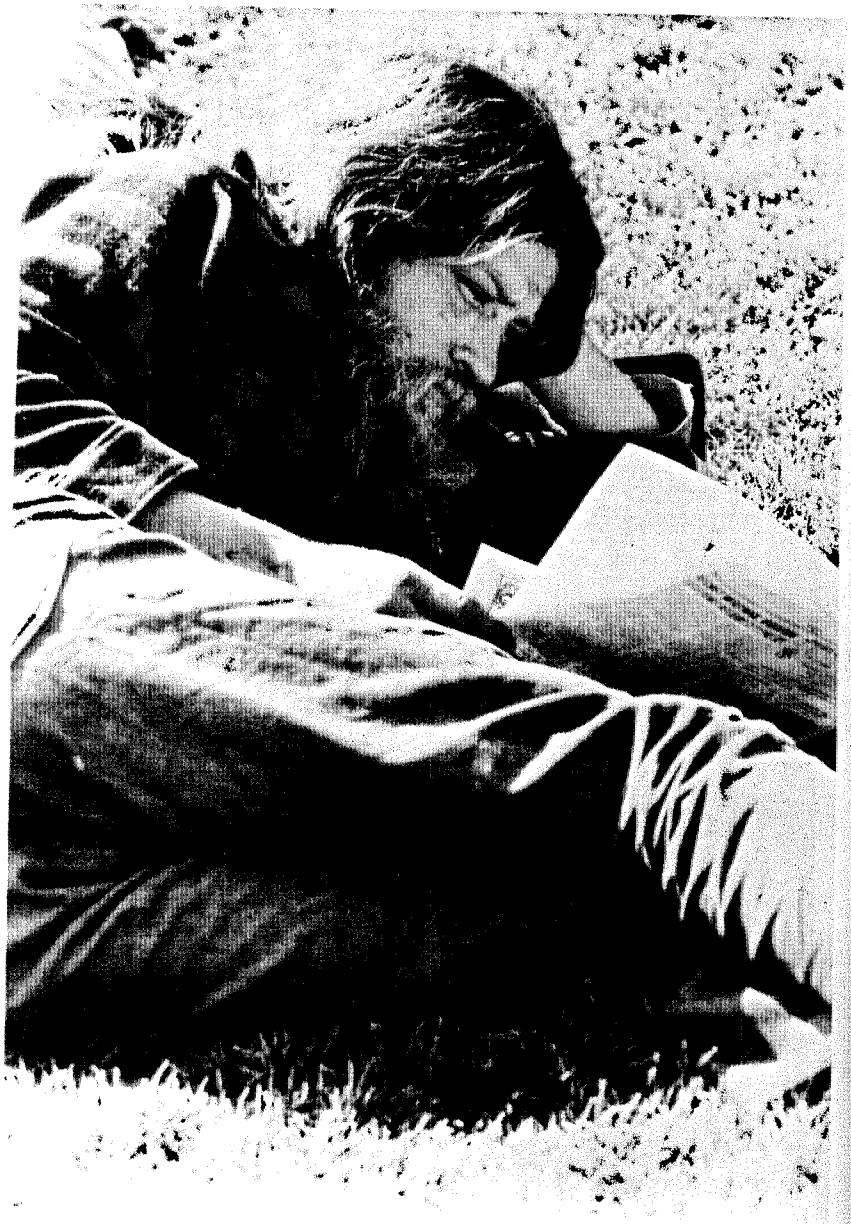

Photo by Gary Doberman

WORK AND WELFARE

Our respondents were hungry. This was, of course, at least a partial artifact of where we located them. However, the most compelling observation which emerges from the data is that the hunger of street people is a consequence of what can only be construed as an *authentic* poverty. A resounding 86.7% are unemployed. The remaining 13.3% are engaged in the most marginal and erratic types of work -- often on a temporary *and* part-time basis.[1,2]

In the absence of employment individuals engage in numerous income-generating activities or relationships. Table 14, on the following page, presents our subjects' sources of income by race and sex.

1. Of those earning some income from employment during the previous month, 34.9% work at odd jobs, the same percentage at teaching or performing fine arts or selling craftware. The rest are employed almost exclusively as waitresses, housekeepers, or gardeners. Of this small working minority, 61% work fewer than 20 hours per week.
2. Drug dealing, panhandling, and thievery, although considered by a few on the street to be legitimate "gigs", are not considered as "employment" in this report.

TABLE 14

Sources of Income by Race and Sex[a]

	Black Males (N=29)	White Males (N=181)	White Females (N=50)	All (N=278)
Job	10.3%	14.9%	10.0%	13.3%
Savings	6.9	19.9	28.0	19.4
Unemployment Insurance	0.0	3.3	0.0	2.5
Welfare	31.0	13.3	20.0	15.8
Food Stamps	6.9	7.2	12.0	7.9
Social Security	0.0	2.2	2.0	1.8
Parents or Relatives	13.8	19.9	34.0	22.7
Husband, Wife, Girlfriend, Boyfriend[b]	10.3	6.1	26.0	10.4
Friends	41.4	32.0	30.0	33.1
Panhandling	37.9	39.0	58.0	41.9
Drug Dealing	37.9	20.3	16.0	20.8
Selling Stolen Property ("Fencing")	13.8	1.7	0.0	2.9
Stealing	10.3	15.5	4.0	11.9

a. The precise form of the question put to respondents was: "Please check any of the following sources you have obtained money from in the *last month*." The percentages, then, total more than 100 because most subjects checked more than one source of income.

b. Few street people -- 4.4% -- are married, though more (16.7%) have been through unsuccessful marriage relationships. The percentage disparity here between men and women is probably a result of their differing definitions of sexual relationships. Zimmerman (1972) has observed that street women are highly dependent, and "base their identities on men". Baumohl (in progress) notes the importance of aloofness among many street men as an affirmation of power. Women, then, would be expected to readily identify their sexual companions as their "old men", while men would tend to treat sexual partners as "friends" or avoid labeling the relationship at all.

Table 15 shows the total income received by respondents from these various sources during the month prior to the census.

TABLE 15

Income During the Past Month by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=28)	White Males (N=155)	White Females (N=44)	All (N=243)
$0-50	28.6	47.7	45.5	47.3
$51-100	21.4	18.1	18.2	18.1
$101-150	21.4	7.1	6.8	8.2
$151-200	10.7	7.7	15.9	9.1
$201-250	3.6	8.4	6.8	7.0
$251 or more	14.3	11.0	6.8	10.3
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

If Tables 14 and 15 are viewed together some interesting patterns emerge. First of all, with reference to sources of income (Table 14) we can see that Blacks and women tend to be the best utilizers of public assistance, but that the population as a whole, despite its obvious impoverishment, does not add much to the welfare rolls. This can best be explained by considering the nature of direct assistance programs, and their eligibility requirements.

Federal programs have stringent categorical limitations. Essentially, the only two federal programs available to this population are Aid to the Totally Disabled (ATD), and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC).[1] ATD requires that the recipient be

1. Since the implementation of this study the administration of *federal* welfare programs has been transferred to the Social Security Administration. This transferral has resulted in a somewhat quicker processing of grant applications and better casework services for applicants. Categorical program definitions still pertain, however, and whether the new system will make public assistance programs more accessible to street people remains to be seen. The descriptions of ATD and AFDC offered here are based on the realities of 1973.

totally disabled (i.e. -- unable to work in the forseeable future) by some physical or psychological infirmity. The applicant must be able to prove the validity of his claim, and in the case of those applying for a psychiatric disability proof is required in the form of a psychiatric evaluation and usually by the submission of a verifiable history of mental hospitalization. The maximum grant is approximately $180 per month. ATD generally takes anywhere from four to six months to obtain.

AFDC is received almost exclusively by families and single women with children, although men with custody of children are eligible. It is relatively easy to get, and pregnant women may also receive benefits. AFDC grants vary depending on family size, but for families with one child the average grant is between $180 and $200 per month. AFDC benefits can start within a week of application.

Alameda County also has a county-run General Assistance Program (GA). Maximum benefits are $100 per month, and recipients must be "temporarily unable to work". Benefits can be obtained by "employables", but with imposing qualifications which will be discussed below.

All public assistance programs, including the federal Food Stamps program, and California'a Medi-Cal plan, have eligibility criteria which effectively discourage or disenfranchise significant numbers of street people. In the first instance, an applicant must have two forms of acceptable identification, which presents a problem for many street people.[1] Next, an applicant must have an address -- an obstacle of no small consequence for members of

1. Many street people are periodically robbed, and are either unaware of the procedure whereby identification can be replaced or cannot spare the two to five dollar cost of a duplicate birth certificate. In addition, a surprisingly large number of street people -- especially women -- are unable to drive, and have never had a driver's license.

a population with no rent money and characterized by extreme transience.[1] Eligibility for Food Stamps requires the recipient to have cooking facilities; however, a hot plate in a residential hotel is not sufficient.[2] In Alameda County, an "employable"[3] applicant for GA must, in most cases, hire out for county-contracted farm labor.[4]

The preceding, by no means exhaustive, sketch of public assistance in Alameda County, California should explain in great part the low utilization of welfare and food stamps by our subjects. We began this digression with the observation that Blacks and women tend to be the best welfare utilizers among this population. With regard to women, the reasons should be clear when we note that 22.4% of our White female respondents either have children with them, or are pregnant. The "upper middle class" among street women, then, as indicated by Table 15, may be primarily composed of AFDC mothers. Blacks are better welfare utilizers for reasons which will become clearer when we discuss frequencies of mental hospitalization. In short, though, Blacks have more frequently been hospitalized, and are thus in a better position to claim ATD.

1. Legally this is not the equivalent of a residency requirement. However, as it effects this population it is virtually the same. In practice the following "Catch-22" roughly applies to all forms of public assistance: if one is poor, one is entitled to welfare. If one is so poor as to be homeless, one cannot get welfare.
2. This explains, for the most part, the disparity between welfare and food stamp utilization apparent in Table 14.
3. The term "employable", as used by the Alameda County Department of Social Welfare, indicates only able-bodiedness, and has no relation to individual skills, education, or other labor force variables, most notably the unemployment rate.
4. Much of the year Alameda County requires that its employable applicants report each morning at 4:30 AM in downtown Oakland for farm labor. Exceptions are generally made for women (ostensibly because of the danger of going unchaperoned to downtown Oakland at such a time). If an applicant is not hired by the foremen he is given $3 GA for that day. For an account of this process see, Nick Kazan, "The Last Job", *San Francisco Chronicle* (California Living section), August 6, 1972.

In summary, Table 14 indicates that among street people White women more often have legitimate sources of income; Blacks least so, with the exception of welfare recipients. Women, being younger and away from home a shorter time, more often receive some support from parents or relatives. On the whole, though, it appears that almost all street people are heavily reliant for money on friends, panhandling, and other forms of scrounging. As we see from Table 15, nearly 2/3 of the population are surviving on $100 per month or less; and many of those receiving more money are the beneficiaries of some form of public aid (welfare, food stamps, social security, unemployment insurance, etc.).

The data presented in Tables 14 and 15 surely qualify the bulk of this population for the dubious distinction of living in poverty. Contrary to what may be a popular misconception, the threadbare squalor associated with the street person is *not* cultivated, *not* self-imposed. The bare feet and tattered clothes are not the accoutrements of some roving band of willful mendicants.[1]

Only 34 (16.5%) of our respondents do not want to work.[2] In fact, 77.3% have repeatedly sought work in the past year and were repeatedly rebuffed. Of those subjects who have sought work in the past year, 35.6% have been turned down for *every*

1. Such a popular conception was held of the earlier "flower child" or hippie. For that population the stereotype had more basis in fact, although it was complicated by many other considerations. See Pittel and Miller (1974).

2. Of these 34, two are full-time students and nine others are on welfare. Those in this group who are receiving welfare are mainly women concerned about adequate care for their children, or individuals with psychiatric disabilities who feel that they *cannot* work. For the sample as a whole we find no difference between welfare recipients and others regarding the desire to work.

job for which they applied. About 1/3 of the respondents will take *any* job they can get, and an additional 29% object only to "bad conscience" jobs for which in all probability they are not qualified.[1] It is not unfair to conclude, then, that more than half of our respondents will take any job available to them. The others have, for the most part, objections to particularly boring, poorly paid employment, but many of these individuals express a desire to work at nearly anything "interesting", or on a part-time basis.[2]

The self-reported skills and occupational histories of our respondents leave no doubt as to their economic superfluity. When asked if they have a skill *with which they could earn a living*, 62.8% say they do; 11.2% are unsure, and 26% frankly admit that they do not. As it turns out, however, most (78%) reporting the possession of a skill indicate that what they know best how to do is no more than, for example, to punch a cash register, trim hedges, or mold candles.[3] The remainder claim skill in the traditional crafts (plumbing, carpentry, etc.), but their extent of proficiency should be viewed skeptically. Looking at the data, we are left with the feeling that those responding that they do in fact have a skill are sadly overestimating its utility.

Our respondents' occupational histories and their employment patterns over the course of their vocational careers confirm the poverty of their skills, and their questionable employability.

1. "Bad conscience" jobs were usually in law enforcement, environmental exploitation, and arms-manufacturing.

2. Most (69%) street people who want to work want *full-time* or nearly full-time jobs.

3. Included in this group are no more than a handful of people, mostly older, White males, who have some real clerical or professional experience. The "candle molders" should not be confused with street vendors. While there is undoubtedly some overlap, street vendors are *not* street people. See Sondra Betsch (1973).

Fifty-seven per cent of the subjects show a history of chronic unemployment. (A quarter of this perenially unemployed group have *never* worked.) Many other subjects (19.1%) have been employed only sporadically, and of all respondents who have at some time been employed, 81.3% have worked only at short-term or casual labor jobs, never being employed for longer than a few months at a time.

The implications of such poor skills, such erratic and meager occupational histories among a group of young people whose schooling (such as it is) is more than likely at an end, will be discussed in our concluding section. For the moment, let us say that it does not portend well.

FOOD AND SHELTER

Survival on the streets and in transit becomes a difficult task. Food and shelter are obtained cheaply and irregularly -- wherever they can be found. The Berkeley Emergency Food Project, as Table 16 shows, is a most important source of food.

TABLE 16

Number of Meals per Week Eaten at the Food Project[a]
(N=207)[b]

1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
17.4	15.9	14.0	10.1	13.0	29.5	100.0%

a. The Food Project is open 6 evenings per week (Monday through Saturday).

b. This total excludes 44 individuals who had never eaten at the Project before. Almost without exception these are people who have been in Berkeley less than one week.

From Table 16 we see that nearly half (42.5%) of our respondents are Food Project "regulars" in that they eat there at least five nights per week.[1] This pattern of patronage is comparable for all racial and sexual groups. When street people do not eat at the Food Project they manage in the ways shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17

Main Sources of Meals Other Than the Food Project
(N=244)

Restaurant or Market	36.0
"Cook at home"	27.0
"Friends"	19.7
"Don't eat"	7.4
Steal food	6.6
Find food in garbage	3.3
TOTAL	100.0%

Some elaboration of Table 17 is of interest. Restaurant-going is an important social activity for this group of people whose means do not permit extravagances. Sitting in a restaurant, sipping coffee, and talking with friends is cheap entertainment, as well as an excellent way of keeping warm and dry. Also, there may be some overlap between those who indicate that they "cook at home" and those who are fed by friends. By far, the majority of street people may be described as "crashers" -- i.e., they will find someone or some group to provide them with shelter and sometimes food for a night or two or three. In some of the more permanent "crash" settings this rent-free situation may even extend

1. The *mean* patronage is 3.7 meals per week; the *median* is 3.2.

over several weeks.[1] In short, among the homeless, home is wherever it is found, and "cooking at home" tends to merge with being provided for by friends. As Berkeley poet, Julia Vinograd has written:

> I don't have a home
> and I live there
> all the time. [2]

Table 18 shows the circumstances in which our respondents live:

TABLE 18

Living Arrangements
(N=292)

House	Apartment	Hotel	"Crashing"	TOTAL
15.2	18.7	9.0	57.1	100.0%

The above table can be somewhat misleading as it probably underestimates the number of homeless among this population. A better indicator of the prevalence of homelessness may be the percentage of individuals who pay no rent. Table 19 shows the amount of rent paid by respondents.

1. There were during 1973 two loosely organized urban "communes" in Berkeley which regularly housed and fed crashers. As of this writing they have ceased to exist -- one because of internal disorganization, the other because its house was condemned and boarded up. Baumohl (1972) has remarked that the open, freewheeling "crash pad" scene of the late 1960's has dissipated; that the last two houses mysteriously converted to such use burned down during the summer of 1971.

2. "Downhill" from Julia Vinograd, *Street Spices*, Berkeley, Thorp Springs Press, 1973. Used with permission.

TABLE 19

Rent Paid per Month by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=32)	White Males (N=186)	White Females (N=50)	All (N=285)
None	50.0	66.1	70.0	66.0
$1-60	18.7	16.7	12.0	15.1
$61-80	15.6	15.1	8.0	13.3
$81 or more	15.6	2.2	10.0	5.6
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As Table 19 shows, 66% (2/3) of the respondents pay no rent. This percentage, however, is considerably lower among Blacks for two reasons. First, a substantial percentage of Blacks (31%) are receiving welfare. Welfare ensures the "luxury" of, in fact requires, the payment of rent during the period grants are received. Second, the area's crashing scene is dominated by Whites, and there is a good deal of friction between Black and White street people.[1] From Table 19 we also see that Blacks and women pay "high" rents (over $80 per month) more frequently than White men. This is explained, for the most part, by their better utilization of public assistance.

TRANSIENCE

In addition to looking at our respondents' current living arrangements, we examined their detailed itineraries extending from the time they first left home. From these itineraries we constructed a crude typology of their transient behavior. Three meaningful patterns emerged:

1. Jennings (1971); Baumohl (1972).

1. "Rooters" - who have lived primarily in one city since leaving home.

2. "Nesters" - who have spent most of their time in only two or three cities; i.e. - those who showe a tendency to settle into a city for 6 months or more at a time.

3. "Chronics" - those who have never spent an appreciable length of time in any one place, but who move about - either in a discernible pattern, or seemingly at whim

Table 20 shows the frequency of these patterns by race and sex.

TABLE 20

Transience Patterns by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=27)	White Males (N=156)	White Females (N=46)	All (N=243)
"Rooters"	18.5	12.2	15.2	14.4
"Nesters"	25.9	19.9	2.2	16.9
"Chronics"	55.6	67.9	82.6	68.7
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The mobility patterns summarized by Table 20 have been developed by many subjects over a period of years. Thus, some 34.1% of all respondents have been on their own for five years or more; 18.8% between three and five years; only 20.4%, one person in five, one year or less. Table 21 indicates by race and sex the length of time respondents have been away from home.

TABLE 21

Length of Time Away From Home by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=26)	White Males (N=167)	White Females (N=47)	All (N=255)
6 months or less	7.7	6.0	36.2	11.8
7 months to 1 year	0.0	9.0	12.8	8.6
13 mos. to 2 yrs.	11.5	11.4	12.8	12.5
25 mos. to 3 yrs.	23.1	13.8	10.6	14.1
37 mos. to 5 yrs.	30.8	17.4	14.9	18.8
Longer than 5 yrs.	26.9	42.5	12.8	34.1
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 20 shows that Black street people are geographically more stable than Whites, and that women are the most transient members of the street population.[1] Without longitudinal data -- that is, data collected at several points in time -- it is impossible to know whether, in fact, chronic transients settle down to any degree. When we compare the data summarized by Tables 20 and 21, however, they suggest that this may be the case as the percentage of chronics declines sharply among those away from home longer than five years. Women, though, no matter how long they've been away from home, are consistently more transient than the men.

Another facet of our respondents' transience deserves mention here -- their *geographic* patterns. About 60% of the subjects have itineraries which constantly locate them in college towns;

1. Actually, it appears that women tend either to dig in or to rapidly move on, but the small number of observations does not permit detailed analysis of this pattern.

e.g., Berkeley, Santa Barbara (Isla Vista), Boulder, Ann Arbor, Cambridge-Boston.[1] Only 11% frequent cities which cannot be characterized in this way.[2] Obviously, cities are difficult to categorize in such neat fashion, but our data suggest that university towns, with their high youth density, have a particularly strong attraction for street people.

Some of our subjects, mostly older and White, have been to Europe. A very few have spent some months there. Nearly 1/5 (18.8%) have spent a few months somewhere outside of the United States. On the whole, though, street people -- for obvious financial reasons -- restrict their travels to the continental United States.

CONTACT WITH PARENTS

We have observed that few street people are currently receiving any financial support from their parents or relatives (see Table 14). On the other hand, most (79.7%) have maintained some *tenuous* contact with their parents -- an occasional phone call or letter, often in times of distress. Going "home", however, does not appear to be a satisfactory option for our respondents. Slightly less than half (48.5%) indicate that their parents would allow them to come home and live with them, and only 6.5% of the subjects express any intention or desire to do so. It seems that

1. This group is composed of those subjects who have spent 3/4 of their "careers" in cities noted for the presence of one or more major educational institutions.
2. Cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, Detroit, and New York were *not* considered to be college towns.

for better or for worse, street people are on their own.

MENTAL HOSPITALIZATION

A large proportion of our sample (22%) admit to having spent at least some time in a mental hospital. Of these, 1/5 (20.7%) have been admitted at least twice; 1/4 (25.9%) have been hospitalized for a total of six months or more; and over 1/3 (36.2%) have been hospitalized during the past year. The mental hospitalization rate for Blacks (37%) is considerably higher than for White males (22.5%) or White females (14.9%). In addition, it should be noted that with few exceptions these mental hospitalizations occured *after* the individual's departure from home.

MILITARY SERVICE

Fifty-two of our male respondents (23.1% of those men 19 years or older who are U.S. citizens) have been in the military service -- most in the Army. Of those who have spent some time in the service, 38.5% (20) have served in Viet Nam. More than half (51.1%) of all discharged subjects were discharged under less than honorable circumstances. Two of our respondents are still in the service -- both long AWOL. The social and practical stigmata related to dishonorable or undesirable discharge need not be detailed here -- but they are considerable.

POLICE AND THE COURTS

This is a population with much experience of America's judicial

system and local police. Of those 18 years or older, 64.9% indicate that, as adults, they have been arrested at least once. By and large these arrests have been for such misdemeanors as "panhandling", "vagrancy", "shop-lifting", or "drug possession", but 12.4% of all adult respondents have been convicted of felonies, and 5.3% have spent at least one year in prison.[1] While there is little difference between the overall arrest rates of Black (75%) and White men (68.9%), there is some indication that Blacks are more often charged with, and convicted of felonies. Women have a "low" arrest rate (38.9%), and only one woman indicates that she has been convicted of a felony.

DRUG USE

The use, possession, and sale of drugs are frequent sources of tension between street people and law enforcement personnel. As shown in Table 22 (next page), most of the subjects have had extensive experience with drugs.

1. "Drug possession" is frequently a felony.

TABLE 22

Drugs Ever Used by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=28)	White Males (N=186)	White Females (N=47)	All (N=277)
Beer and/or Wine	100.0	99.5	97.9	99.3
Marijuana, Hashish, etc.	96.4	98.4	97.9	97.8
LSD	77.8	90.3	91.3	88.0
Mescaline, Peyote	73.1	82.0	80.4	80.7
Other Psyche-delics	53.8	70.7	60.9	65.7
Methedrine	57.7	61.1	52.2	58.8
Other "Uppers"[a]	65.4	68.3	73.9	68.5
"Downers"[b]	63.0	71.7	72.3	70.6
Cocaine	77.8	65.9	68.9	68.4
Heroin	29.6	40.3	28.3	36.8

a. "Uppers" include the garden variety amphetamines as well as "diet pills" and other stimulants.

b. "Downers" include all barbiturates and their equivalents (e.g., quaalude).

Table 23 shows, in detail, the current frequencies of drug use by respondents. Following Table 23 is a brief discussion of drug use among street people.

TABLE 23

No. of Days During the Previous Month that the Drug was Used by Race and Sex

	Black Males (N=22)	White Males (N=160)	White Females (N=41)	All (N=236)
BEER AND/OR WINE				
None	22.7	11.2	17.1	13.1
1-5	36.4	35.0	46.3	38.1
6-10	0.0	11.9	4.9	8.9
11-15	0.0	6.9	2.4	5.5
16-20	4.5	13.1	7.3	11.4
21-25	13.6	5.6	14.6	7.6
26-31	22.7	16.2	7.3	15.3
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MARIJUANA, HASHISH				
None	20.8	15.8	9.8	15.3
1-5	16.7	20.9	19.5	20.9
6-10	4.2	10.1	12.2	9.8
11-15	8.3	6.3	4.9	6.0
16-20	4.2	8.9	9.8	9.4
21-25	16.7	12.7	14.6	12.8
26-31	29.2	25.3	29.3	26.0
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LSD				
None	69.6	58.5	55.8	59.9
1,2	17.4	23.9	20.9	21.9
3-5	0.0	9.4	9.3	8.9
6-9	8.7	3.8	7.0	4.6
10 or more	4.3	4.4	7.0	4.6
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 23 (cont'd)

	Black Males	White Males	White Females	All
"DOWNERS"				
None	91.3	76.5	67.4	75.9
1,2	4.3	10.5	25.6	12.9
3-5	0.0	6.2	2.3	5.4
6-9	0.0	3.7	4.7	3.3
10 or more	4.3	3.1	0.0	2.5
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
"UPPERS"				
None	95.7	82.9	78.6	84.2
1,2	0.0	8.5	9.5	7.5
3-5	0.0	3.7	7.1	2.5
6-9	0.0	3.7	4.8	3.7
10 or more	4.3	1.2	0.0	2.1
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
METHEDRINE				
None	100.0	88.9	95.3	91.2
1,2	0.0	6.2	2.3	4.6
3-5	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.8
6-9	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.8
10 or more	0.0	2.5	2.3	2.5
COCAINE				
None	81.8	78.3	76.7	79.0
1,2	9.1	13.7	16.3	13.0
3-5	9.1	6.2	7.0	6.3
6-9	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.8
10 or more	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.8
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TABLE 23 (cont'd)

HEROIN	Black Males	White Males	White Females	All
None	88.5	91.1	97.7	92.5
1,2	7.7	6.5	0.0	5.2
3-5	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.4
6-9	0.0	0.6	2.3	0.8
10 or more	3.8	1.2	0.0	1.2
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As can be seen from Table 23, marijuana (and its derivatives) is the most commonly used drug among street people, followed closely in use by beer and/or wine.[1] Although less than half of the population is currently using LSD, there is a substantial percentage (18.1%) of "regular" users.[2] Methedrine use among street people is negligible, as is the use of cocaine. Cocaine, however, unlike methedrine, enjoys a good reputation on the street but is infrequently used because of its high cost.[3]

Heroin addiction is not *at this time* widespread among street people. Only 1.2% of our subjects report using heroin ten times or more during the previous month. However, an additional 6.4% report that they have used it at least once during the month,

1. Informal and fairly systematic observation over the last three years suggests that the use of alcohol by street people is steadily rising.
2. "Regular" users are here defined as those using LSD three days or more in the last month.
3. Interviews with street people reveal that there are a large number of would-be cocaine "freaks" who simply can't afford the drug.

and a total of 10.2% report a history of heroin addiction.[1]

While not thoroughly studied, the data analyzed at this point suggest that wide experimentation, and multiple and *relatively* indiscriminate consumption are the prevailing patterns of drug use among street people.

CONCERNING WOMEN'S HEALTH

We have observed that there is a substantial women's presence in this population -- larger than has been found in comparable studies of homeless or transient populations.[2] In the course of this report we have pointed out numerous differences between men and women on the street. The women are younger, less educated, have been away from home for a shorter time, more frequently obtain income from legitimate sources, etc. Here we will consider some of the particular health needs and vulnerabilities of our female respondents.

On the whole it appears that street women have a better knowledge of and greater access to birth control, abortion, and gynecological care than one might expect. Over 3/4 (77.4%) have access to birth control devices, and half (51.9%) know where to obtain an abortion inexpensively and with relative safety. (Indeed, eleven women -- 20.4% -- have undergone abortions in the past.) Roughly 70% of our female respondents have had a gynecological examination in the past year, although only half (49.1%) have access to a doctor with whom they are comfortable. Eight women (17.3%) think that they have, or may have, a venereal disease.[3]

1. While self-reported addiction histories should be viewed with some skepticism, this population's extent of experimentation with heroin makes this figure seem reasonable.
2. See p. 12.
3. For men this figure is 10.9%.

Despite the fact that more women receive welfare or money from home, many are left to panhandle, deal drugs, shoplift -- hustle to survive. Zimmerman (1972) and Baumohl (in progress) point out that this style of life has inherent hazards for all who lead it, but that many of these difficulties are especially acute for women. One of the foremost dangers they face is rape.

Fifteen (30%) of our female respondents report that they have been raped; eleven of these women report having been raped on more than one occasion.[1] We should emphasize that the circumstances of these occurrences are unknown to us. Zimmerman, however, finds that many street women trade sexual favors for food, shelter, or other necessities. Further, she suggests that underlying this promiscuous dynamic is a strong, frustrated desire for a conventional, monogamous relationship, and that the conflict following upon a conspicuously pragmatic or coercive sexual encounter may produce a retroactive experience of rape.[2] Whether "real" or perceived, then, many street women are sexually quite vulnerable.

SUMMARY

Thus far we have established that this is a population of young people from differing backgrounds who are markedly impoverished, who obtain food from wherever they can get it, and who sleep on floors, in parks, on churchgrounds, in parking lots. They would like to work, but have neither the skills for many jobs, nor the opportunity for others. They are highly transient, and many have been so for several years. On the street they live by

1. Only 2 of these 15 women report having gone to the police
2. Elaine Zimmerman (1972), and in private conversation.

their wits, and by any means available -- panhandling, dealing, in some lucky cases, collecting public assistance. They are voracious consumers of numerous drugs.

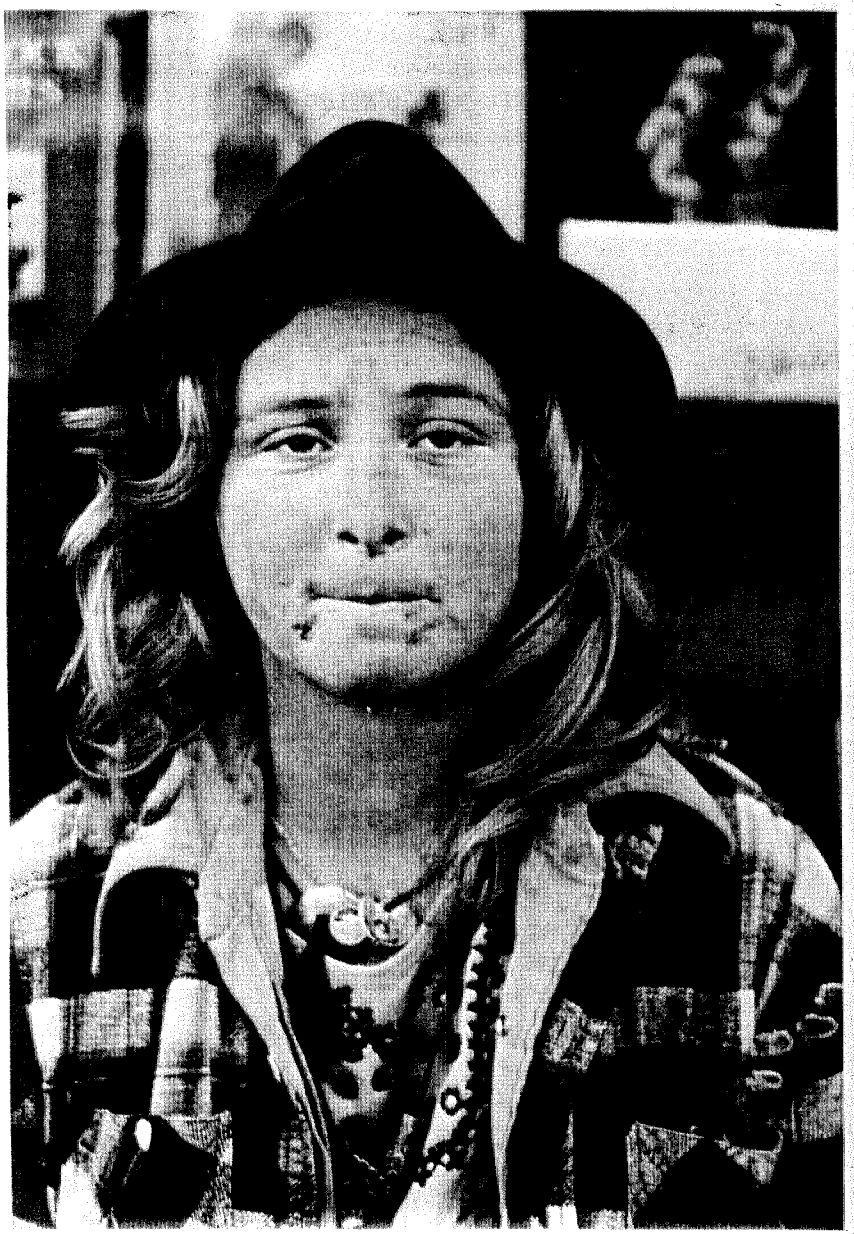

Photo by Gary Doberman

C O N C L U S I O N

We have presented a considerable amount of data bearing on the attributes of Berkeley street people. What is one to make of these data, and how should the phenomenon be viewed?

In the first instance, we must emphasize that our subject population is very special. From the wide spectrum of young men and women who can be found wandering the streets of South Campus -- a universe including students, tourists, university instructors, shoppers, merchants, street vendors, and many others -- our interest focuses on the most marginal of sub-populations. The Berkeley Emergency Food Project yields a study population which, in terms of affiliation, social capability, and psychosocial assets is extremely deficient. In the jargon of the times -- which can be marvelously precise -- they are the "least together", or the "most out of it".

Still, we cannot overemphasize the imprecision of the term "street people". As we have indicated, there is considerable heterogeneity of background among this group. We find not only the more predictable variations in age, sex, and race, but also an hierarchy of social assets deriving from such demographic attributes. In short, street people comprise a complex and variegated population, and to speak of them in general terms -- as this report must -- is to impose upon both reader and writer an obligation of caution.

Our most salient findings bear on the socio-economic origins and conditions of street people. We find what has for some time been intuitively known by those who staff the area's social agencies: the street person of 1974 is a qualitatively *different* kind of human being than the hippie of 1967. The differences are profound, and they must be recognized in order to accurately assess the current scene. There is a pervasive myth -- ex-

tremely difficult to dispel -- that the street person is an heir of the hippie; that he is today's version of the flower-child. Continuing in the logic of that analysis, the street person is seen as possessing similar attitudes, values, skills, ideology and background. But that analysis is wrong, and the most unfortunate consequence of the error is the presumption that the poverty of the street person is self-imposed.

In the case of the hippie, such a presumption was relatively accurate. There is ample data in support of the popularly held stereotype of the hippie, that he was the child of affluence (Pittel and Miller, 1974). Through a confluence of forces, that incredible "movement" peaked during the great "human be-in" of 1967 in Golden Gate Park. It died, perhaps, with People's Park in 1969. In its course the movement attracted multitudes of middle and upper-middle class youth who *chose* the trappings of austerity, if not poverty; who *chose* a disengagement from academic pursuits; who *chose* withdrawal from the conventional labor force. The hippie, although plagued with psychological and ideological difficulties, had options. He may have rejected the possibilities before him, but -- and this is of great importance -- the possibilities were there.

This is not the place for an elaborate discussion of the hippie phenomenon, but we must note that underlying hippiedom was a complex (though at times, confusing) ideology which fostered the rejection of convention and orthodoxy, which contributed to the formation of unconventional political, religious, and social values. This ideological, even cognitive perspective was an essential element of the hippie movement. It was fantastically influential -- so much so that aspects of it were rapidly imitated, even merchandised in the wider culture. Many vestiges of the movement remain as general features of contemporary

American society (Berger, 1971).[1]

The street person of 1974, then, would be expected to embody certain of these ideological characteristics. Indeed, most American youth would be expected to share such legacies of hippiedom. We are led by our data, however, to believe that the ideology of street people -- to the extent that it resembles that of the hippie -- is somewhat superficial. We have seen that street people are not very political. When pressed they might respond with "leftish" positions -- but this is more a reflection of contemporary *Zeitgeist* than of propelling conviction. Further, although the street person's drug involvement is quite intense, it lacks ideological motivation. The street person uses drugs to get high, to avoid boredom; the hippie, whether or not it was self-deception, used drugs as a *means* to some kind of personal awareness. So too with other dimensions of comparison. Communal living -- for the hippie an experiment in new social forms -- becomes, for the street person, a practical necessity characterized by little interpersonal commitment or satisfaction.[2] Panhandling for many hippies was part need and part fun; for the street person it is, again, a necessity of survival.

Nothing we have said should be construed to mean that the hippie was a pure, lovely, ideologically committed young person, and that the street person suffers by comparison. Our point, really, is simple: by and large street people are not hippies. While there are certainly a few left-overs from the 1967 Haight-Ashbury adrift on Telegraph Avenue today -- they are exceptions.

1. For a fascinating treatment of the commercial appropriation of international drifting, for instance, see Erik Cohen (1973).

2. It is almost inappropriate to designate group living situations among street people as "communal" arrangements as the membership is rarely intentional and highly transient (Baumohl, in progress).

It is a very real poverty, then, which is the hallmark of the street person. Our data are quite compelling on this score. Whereas the hippie was the child of the affluent middle class, the street person is the child of the working class. His parents are hard working people whose accoutrements of affluence are heavily mortgaged. The street person does not have the luxury of wiring home to mom or dad for money. They may have responded on occasion to such a call, but they are in no position to afford the upkeep of a chronically dependent child. In addition, the psychological strain between parent and child is such that the affiliative conditions for continued financial support do not exist. The street person, in terms of both financial and emotional needs, is on his own.

But "being on one's own" is not an unusual situation for youth. The American ethos holds that young people do leave the family nest -- more than that, they are *expected* to make their own ways in the world. It is at this point that the street person comes face to face with an insuperable problem: *how* is he to make his own way? The conventional path, indeed -- the socially required path -- is by way of the occupational structure.

In recent times entrance into the labor force, into the occupational structure, has required extensive involvement in the educational process. We have seen that our subjects were school drop-outs. Fully 1/3 never completed high school; only 6% completed a two year college degree, and only 9% graduated a four year institution. A generation ago such data would be commonplace, and not particularly relevant to ultimate labor force involvement. Today, when even college graduates have difficulty finding employment, street people appear to have grim occupational futures. From our canvass of subjects' occupational endeavors we glimpsed how ominous their futures may be. Street people are,

with few exceptions, *unemployed* and, more significantly, *unemployable* in the context of today's labor market. Their work histories, when they have worked at all, are testaments to economic superfluity. Their employment has been part-time, unskilled, erratic or episodic in nature. Most are dependent on a fast disappearing casual labor market. The sad fact is that they have little in the way of marketable skills, and without references or "presentable" attire, have few "saleable virtues".[1]

Unlike the hippie, the street person would work if he could. It is an unexpected finding that so many of our subjects indicate a need and a wish for conventional employment. And it must be remembered that they do not express grandiose occupational aspirations. They are not seeking employment as physicists, architects, or executives -- they seek unskilled work (although they may not be satisfied with such a limitation). Nearly 35% say that they "will take any job they can get"! This is not the response of the jaded counter-culturist. It is, indeed, more akin to the response one would get if sampling the unemployed of the depression era, and it comes, in many cases, from subjects who have experienced several years of constant and relentless rejection by prospective employers. One might think, as we did initially, that they would have turned, in bitterness, from any willingness to be employed.

It is almost beside the point to ask how the street people we studied got into this rather desperate situation. For some, there were serious family problems; for others there may well have been real limitations in psychological and intellectual equipage; for most there seems to have been a subliminal or

1. "Saleable virtues" are those desirable characteristics which make an individual a successful job seeker. As a general statement we may say that it is not that street people are not, or could not be, ambitious, punctual, courteous, and the like, but that their credibility on these counts is in severe disrepute.

barely articulated knowledge that "making it" in America had become more fantasy than reality. To serve an educational apprenticeship of some sixteen years requires not only discipline and purpose -- it requires some sense that it's worth it. The mystique of the late 1960's did not encourage such an attitude, and the realities of the job market make the notion of a liberal arts education as occupational preparation seem ludicrous. The official unemployment rate -- for half a decade -- has hovered between 5 and 6%; for youth it has been much higher. Teenagers, for example, have a rate of unemployment between 15 and 20%. And these are official rates, which minimize the realities of part-time employment, underemployment, and labor force disaffiliation.[1]

In short, our subjects are cut off from this country's primary

1. "The unemployment rate is the proportion of persons in the civilian labor force who do not have jobs but are actively looking for work ... The unemployment rate is based upon a monthly survey in which *household members* are asked a series of questions, one of which seeks to find out if a person who does not have a job looked for work at some time during the preceding 4 weeks. Those looking for work are considered in the labor force but unemployed. Those not looking for work (even if they say they would like work) are not considered in the labor force and are not counted as unemployed. *Thus, those who have become discouraged with the lack of opportunity to find work and have stopped looking are not included in unemployment statistics.*"
(Executive Office of the President: Office of Management and Budget, 1973, p. 112; emphasis added.)

   It should be kept in mind that street people are very elusive "household members" and are, as a group, unlikely to be found by the methodology which is used to measure most aspects of American life.

   Again, with regard to the minimization of unemployment and underemployment by official rates: "Employed persons include [among others] all persons, who, during the [household] survey week, worked as paid employees [for even one hour] ...
(Executive Office of the President: Office of Management and Budget, 1973, p. 132.)

source of personal income. The most distinctive, and public features of their lifestyle follow from this over-riding fact. Stylistically, the street people we describe in this report have responded to their plight in ways consistent with a time-honored tradition. They do what socially marginal people have done throughout the centuries -- they scrounge, they hustle, they beg, they steal -- in a phrase, they try very hard to survive. Therefore, we see the dramatic resemblance between our subjects and previous generations of such people: the vagrant, the tramp, the hobo, and the derelict. All share a legacy of ignoble impoverishment; they all have had the *superficial* attributes of self-sufficiency, and all have been marked by their inability to make it by acceptable means.

The welfare apparatus of this society is not attuned to the survival needs of youth, as welfare in western societies has never been attuned to the needs of the able-bodied poor. Welfare, rather, is geared to providing for those who in other times were called the "worthy poor" -- which is to say, the disabled, the blind, the aged, and dependent children. Street people are similar to the "sturdy beggars" of Elizabethan England. Superficially, they possess the attributes of self-sufficiency; hence, the benefits of philanthropic and welfare concern are foreclosed to them.

Thus, they survive -- of necessity -- outside the bounds of a formal social welfare system. Unskilled, their employment is haphazard, and in time many become much like the early century hobo, who was, essentially, a migratory laborer constantly on the move (Anderson, 1923). Street people, like hoboes, seek out those geographic locations which afford some small measure of opportunity, hospitality, or at least, tolerance. Within these areas they too carve their protective (though all too permeable) "jungles" from the urban landscape. Street people

have chosen the periphery of college campuses for such congenial ambience. In most cities and towns across this country which house major residential colleges and universities, colonies of street people can be found. Sometimes, as in Berkeley's People's Park in 1972, they create tent-towns.[1] More often, they monopolize certain restaurants, coffee shops, cafes, and public landmarks and facilities. While college towns, because of their high youth density, afford a measure of acceptance, street people tend not to interact frequently or well with students.[2]

Our data have shown how extremely transient street people are: almost 1/3 of our subjects have been in Berkeley less than one month; only 25% have been here over a year. At any moment they could as readily be found in Cambridge, Madison, Ann Arbor, or even along the Southern California coast from Santa Barbara to San Diego. Their lifestyles in these other locations are similar to what we found in Berkeley: they panhandle, borrow from "wealthier" peers, engage in petty theft and small-time dope dealing. They sleep and eat when and where they can, but if fortunate or creative enough a few may establish sufficient residential permanence to receive food stamps or some other form of public assistance. It is an unenviable life. Energy becomes focused on the requisites of survival: where to sleep, where to eat -- and, to take the edge off these requirements -- where to score a little dope or wine. It is understandable, then, that even the casual observer of street people is impressed (or depressed) by the number of twenty year olds who appear far older.

With regard to social, and even ecological attributes, street people resemble another well-known vagrant group: skid row

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1. Baumohl (in progress).
2. Ibid.

habitues. The differences between the old skid rows and the new "youth ghettoes" (Lofland, 1968; Kuhn and Mason, 1972; Mason, 1972 and 1973) are *not* profound -- with one decisive exception: the age of the residents. Skid row is a terminus for the impoverished, marginal man who is entering his late middle age; the youth ghetto is populated by late teenagers and young men and women in their twenties. If the youth ghetto, or at least its sub-stratum of street life, represents a terminus -- we have a problem of tragic dimensions.[1]

With a constricting economy there is every reason to believe that this problem will grow. The social history of our society points to an important, if obvious, lesson: in boom times the proportion of marginal, disaffiliated persons diminishes; when times are tough the cohorts of the disaffected multiply quickly. Thus, a wave of hoboism which grew to frightening proportions during the great depression of the 1930's, practically disappeared during the wartime and post-war boom.

Today's problem is compounded by new and unique elements -- among youth, a widespread and visceral disillusionment with the very fabric of social life; a demanding, rigorous educational apprenticeship which bears less and less on students' emotional or occupational needs; the attenuation of familial and geographic ties -- the list of such factors is long. The case may be summarized simply: it is not easy to be young today -- and it is even more difficult if one lacks crucial psycho-social and occupational assets.

1. It seems doubtful that the youth ghetto -- as a whole -- will undergo the same kind of physical and financial deterioration which accompanied the rise of skid row. Street people, however, in their interpersonal relations and in their relationships to the wider community and its institutions are very "skid-row-like". See Blumberg, Shipley and Moor (1971).

In the end, street people may be viewed as the bell-weathers of a *national* problem. No single municipality can hope to provide any permanent relief. A durable, pervasive solution can only be accomplished through a radical alteration of the economic and occupational possibilities available to youth. In the short run, however, any given community can provide help to its street people. A community can feed them; it can try to house them adequately; it can tend to their medical needs, of which there are many; it can counsel and provide psychotherapeutic services; it can do what is possible in terms of job training and placement. And a community can advocate the interests of a group of young people such as these who are without spokesmen, without leaders -- without a semblance of cohesion.

This inquiry has been motivated by the need to understand the phenomenon street people represent. It will, hopefully, dispel some myths and contribute to the change of potentially invidious attitudes. There is no better way to close than by reporting the comments of one respondent, a man of twenty-six:

> I'm a very lonely person who feels very humble here when I come to eat here. This project is of a priceless value to poor people in Berkeley. I wish I had the nerve to volunteer here for work. I feel sorry for myself a lot, but at least I know I can come here to eat when I'm hungry. I wish I could meet a girl because I haven't made love in almost a year. If only we had men in power who had the same feelings toward people as you people who are reading this: then we would have true peace and love. Long live the people who do the work of the Berkeley Emergency Food Project! I love you all!

Any community program -- any national program -- which cannot address itself to these sentiments will be an inadequate program.

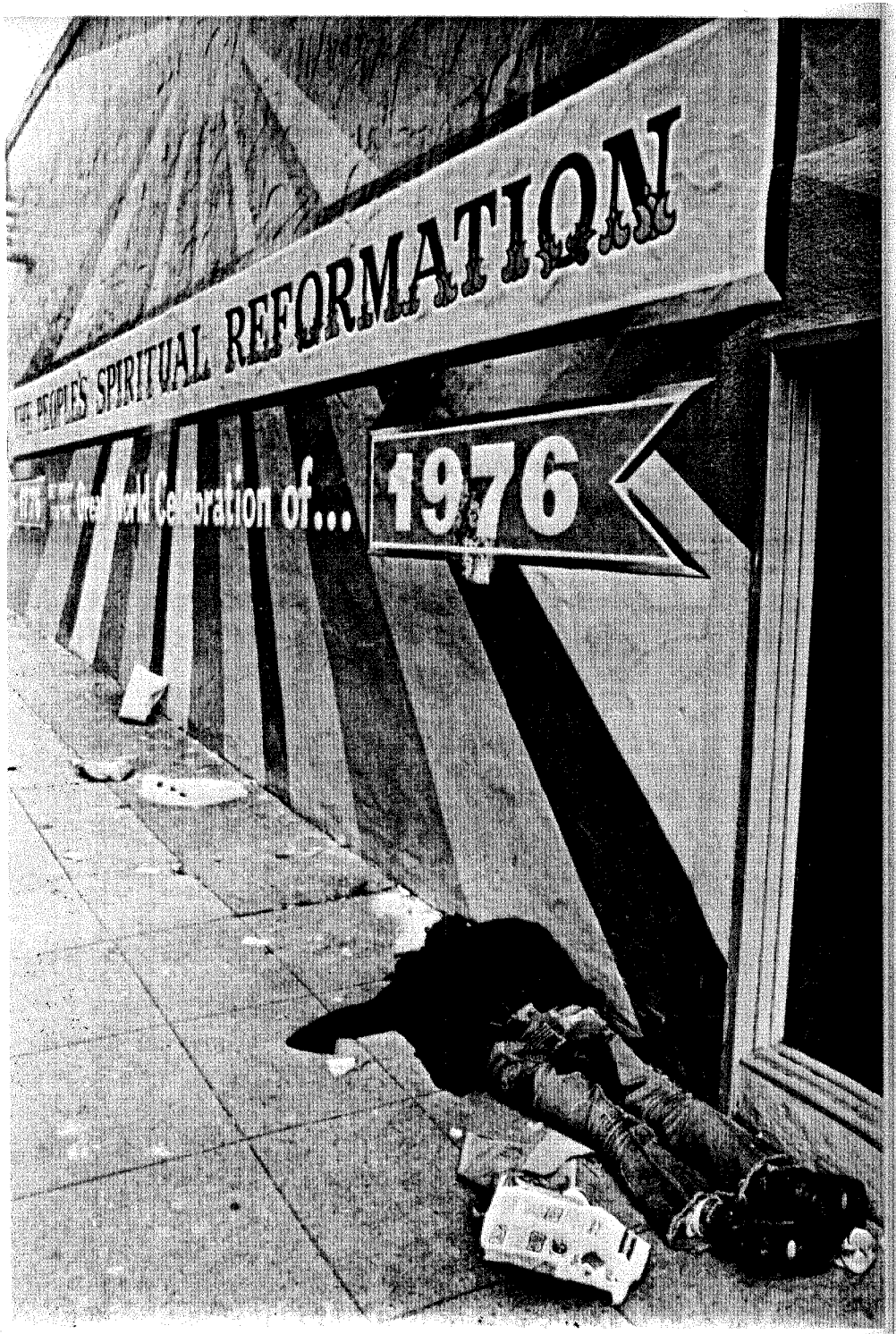

Photo by Gary Freedman

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SEVEN NARRATIVE CASES

The sketches presented here were selected from among 75 interviews conducted during the census. These individuals were not chosen because they are perfectly representative of the study population as a whole. Indeed, finding a few subjects to represent in every detail a group so diverse as street people would be impossible. These seven were selected because as a group they represent exactly this *diversity*. We hope that these sketches will add some life to the statistical material in the body of this report. All names, by the way, are fictitious.

"TOM FINLEY"

"Tom Finley" is a tall, pale kid who despite his size looks younger than 21. He is clean, but raggedly dressed; his cotton shirt and levis are torn and ill-fitting, and his old work boots are full of holes. He has no socks.

Tom has been in Berkeley for almost two years, living in a condemned house with the myriad members of his communal family. The membership grows as friends meet friends and friends of friends with nowhere to sleep. Originally from New York's East Village, the family is now rooted in Berkeley.

Tom's father is a photo engraver, his mother is a secretary. They still live in the New York working class suburb where Tom grew up. His two brothers and sister, all younger, still live at home. The Finleys are conservative, church-going Catholics, and by mutual agreement Tom makes little effort to stay in touch.

After graduating high school Tom attended Syracuse University for one year where he studied forestry. He quit because school

"was a hassle", but maintains an interest in forestry and photography. In January, 1973 he enrolled in Grove Street College -- but never went.

Upon leaving Syracuse Tom went back to New York City and lived with his folks. That summer (1971) he worked as a telephone repairman, then as a parking lot attendant. Bored and unhappy at home he moved in with friends in the East Village. Through these friends he became involved with his new "family". In October, 1971 the family moved *en masse* to Berkeley, where they have inhabited numerous run-down or condemned houses; dispersed when none were available. During those periods, still maintaining a "home-base" relationship to Berkeley, Tom lived briefly in Texas, Massachusetts, and various parts of Northern California. He appreciates the uncertainty of long-distance hitch-hiking. He stays with people he meets, usually those who give him rides. "On the whole, the road is beautiful," he says.

In Berkeley Tom doesn't work, nor does he look. "I'd kind of like a job -- but there aren't any here, and I'm getting by. When I want to work I go back to New York for awhile. It's easier to find a job there, you know?" Instead, Tom panhandles on the Avenue and sells blood and plasma as often as allowed. He makes about $40 a month this way, but he notes that "the panhandling is getting worse -- lotta people doing it." So on many days Tom doesn't panhandle -- he drops acid (about every other day) and practices "Indian tribal ritual", which he's "heavily into". Tom doesn't deal drugs, and never has, though he's used every imaginable substance, beginning when he was 16 (1968). "No, I've never dealt, man -- I'm a consumer."

"MICHAEL SMITH"

"Michael Smith" is a 24 year old Black Viet Nam veteran who came to the Bay Area in November, 1971 -- just after receiving a "BC" (bad conduct discharge) from the United States Army. Unemployed and footloose he hitched from his home state of Texas to Oakland, where he has a relatively settled older brother.

For the past 15 months Michael has been jobless, alternately living with his brother and his girlfriend who is working part-time. His involvement with the street scene is limited to patronizing the Food Project, and occasionally panhandling, which he detests. Because of his bad conduct discharge he is ineligible for veteran's benefits. He has not and will not apply for welfare. "If I can work, man, I want to work. But it's a hard scene. Lotta dudes goin' down around here."

Michael grew up in Houston, Texas. His father died when he was six, and his mother, who never remarried, has worked as a maid to support four children, one of whom is still at home. It is a close-knit, working-poor family, and going home, for Michael, is economically impossible.

After high school Michael started college, planning to be a draftsman. He quit to take a job as a meter reader, and was subsequently drafted. (In Viet Nam he was AWOL much of the time. "Craziness, man. Just crazy -- the whole thing. Makes me sick to think of it.") Michael still hopes to get a degree in drafting, perhaps from a junior college, but he can't find a job to put himself through. "I may go back to Texas, man, I don't know. Can't go to school and live like this."

"ANNIE PETERS"

"Annie Peters", at 17, is an accomplished runaway.

> The first time I was 13. I got busted for smoking dope in a park. The whole heavy juvi scene came down, and my parents - 'specially my father - couldn't deal with it at all. I was kind of the shitty example they'd hold up for my little brothers. It's like everybody in the family was kind of scared of me.

Annie's father is an offset pressman in Kansas City. Her mother is a keypunch operator. Her father is frequently unemployed and drinks a lot.

> My father's got his own problems, but he's never really gave a shit about me. I feel really sorry for my little brothers, though. I figure they'll end up fucking up like me. (Laughs)

Annie quit school in the 10th grade and subsequently left town with a carnival worker she met. They wound up in Denver, Colorado that summer (1972).

> He was getting into junk, and all his friends were junkies - I got kind of scared and split to Boulder and started hanging out in a different scene ... Now I stay away from that shit - I mean, you know, I smoke dope and stuff, but, you know, downs are about as heavy as I'll get.

Survival and travel -- complementary activities for a runaway -- are Annie's only plans.

> When I come to a town I usually go to the longhair part and look for a place to crash. It's not usually much trouble. If I'm with a dude we can usually pan-

handle or score some acid to deal ... Markets throw out a lot of food, and you can live off that and out of garbage cans most of the time if you don't have any money ... Usually people are concerned about me - 'specially if I'm alone - and they turn me on to things. But I'd rather travel with a dude, because a lot of times he'll know somebody somewhere we can stay with ... When you travel alone you get pushed into all kinds of weird sex trips and shit. When you travel with a dude for awhile you may ball him, but at least you know where he's coming from.

Annie calls home on her brothers' birthdays, but doesn't plan on returning.

My parents figure I'm a bad influence, and they'd just as soon have me out ... I'm not really happy - I don't know, it depends on my mood, what's happened recently, you know? I've got a lot of head hassles, and I don't want to settle down ... I guess I'd rather fuck up here where my parents won't find out about it unless I get busted. I'm pretty careful about that now.

"BRUCE REED"

"Bruce Reed", 23, has been in Berkeley for a week. He has been drunk most of that time; he has been "wasted" in one way or another for the last three years -- since his release from a New York mental hospital. He looks forty.

When Bruce was two years old both of his parents were killed,

and he went to live with his grandparents. By the time he was eight both grandparents had died. No other relatives would take him in: "they either didn't want me or no one could find them." Bruce was placed in a state hospital, in a ward for the "developmentally disabled". He speaks of his twelve years in the hospital with great confusion and despair: "I don't know why they put me with all those retarded kids, man. It was ... like being alone all the time."

At twenty (1970) he was discharged from the hospital. He collected Aid to the Totally Disabled, and lived in an apartment in Rochester. He spent most of his time "on the street, drinking, getting high -- getting it on with people". He left Rochester in February, 1973 bound for New Orleans and Mardi Gras. In New Orleans his travelling companions were arrested for drunk driving, their vehicle impounded. Bruce hitched to Berkeley. He sleeps in a hotel room rented for him by the Welfare Department. He spends all day and much of the night on the Avenue, "drinking, getting high, man".

"SUSAN GREER"

"Susan Greer", 25, is a small, pale blonde. Despite a cold she is very perky, and while answering questions she plays with her 2½ year old daughter who is a little cranky. Susan's son, who is almost five, is spending the night with her mother in Hayward.

I'm sterile now, and I tell people 'don't have kids', but, I guess it's kind of neat to have kids. I hitchhiked to L.A. last summer with my kids just to prove could do it. I just started travelling last year. I used to hitch, but now I have this old van. I wish the Welfare Department would let me live in it.

Susan was married at 18, divorced at 23. She gets $150 a month

child support from her ex-husband, and $85 per month from AFDC.

> Welfare is cool for me because I have simple needs ... I'd like to work with kids eventually. Right now I'm just into spending time with my own. But a job seems kind of far off right now -- especially a straight office job. I'd rather do embroidery, or maybe go back to school. But, you know, I've got to worry about the kids.

Susan feels that she is living her life "backwards" in some ways.

> After high school I went to Denmark for a summer, but I was so straight and quiet that I didn't get anything out of it. I spent the whole time being uptight. Then I came home, got married, got pregnant, got depressed! For the last year and a half I've felt really free. I go where I want, do acid if I want, and say what I want. I guess I'm doing a lot of the things other people my age did when they were 18. But it's okay -- I like my life for now, and anything can happen.

Susan's father is a retired Naval officer. The family spent years moving from New Jersey to California to Hawaii and back again. She gets along with her mother; she and her father "tolerate" each other. "My father's kind of an alcoholic, and I think my mother's a little jealous of my freedom," she says. Still, Susan is aware of some of her lifestyle's limitations.

> I get kind of paranoid of straight people ... No matter where I go I like to come back to Berkeley. Everyone in Berkeley -- except Jesus Freaks -- accepts you for what you are. Being poor bothers me sometimes, like at the end of the month when the money and food

> stamps are gone -- that's when I eat here -- but the nice thing about Berkeley is that if you're poor you're not hassled too bad. There are people to help you, and you can go on looking for good things to happen.

"JOHN MILES"

"John Miles", 19, is a garrulous, casual kid. Playing against his quickly asserted love of the bizarre, of "weirdness", is a counterpoint of frustration and bitterness over his life's disorganization.

John has been to Berkeley twice in the year he's been away from his parents' home in Baltimore. Both times Berkeley has been his last stop on rapid coast-to-coast jaunts. Cambridge, Massachusetts has been the Eastern terminus of these trips. John spent five months there:

> I got involved with this midwestern-type chick - the whole meaningful relationship trip. It was a bummer ... Berkeley is like Fellini's *Satyricon*, like the edge of the earth. I've crashed in five or six places the last two weeks, and the people have been warmer, friendlier, crazier than anyplace else. But it's getting to be a hard trip, just energy-wise, you know. I had a pack stolen, got busted for panhandling - that kind of shit. With my, you know, *history*, like they say, I guess I could get welfare. But I'm not 21 so they hassle me about my parents, and I don't want to have them called

and shit. I don't know, I've got to get some bread together I guess. It's getting pretty frustrating. I know a lot of people into ripping-off, from markets and stuff. I could do that but it seems like a drag. I got stuck in a blizzard once with this wino, and that's how he got by.

John is an intelligent, ingratiating sort, fond of being taken home by people he meets. His parents, it seems, especially his father, are just as happy to have him off their hands. John portrays his father, a union official, as a distant, stern man -- "a hardass". His mother, who is a nurse, comes across as concerned but ineffectual. When John was 16 his parents committed him to a private mental institution. He spent ten months there off and on until at 18, after graduating high school, he left home "forever and for good, man".

In Boston John worked for three months as an electronics assembler. This "skill" is the extent of his vocational proficiency. A "B" student in high school, he wants to go to college. "Sometimes when I'm tripping out in the woods -- especially if it's good mescaline -- I really get into plants and stuff. Fascinating, man, really -- it's like another world out there ... I could really dig studying botany." But John has no money, and will not ask his parents. "I guess I'll try the welfare trip again. If it doesn't work out -- I don't know."

"ROBERT HIGHTOWER"

"Robert Hightower" is a 27 year old Apache. He is a big man with deep lines in his forehead and around his mouth. He speaks very slowly, smiling slightly; he is a little amused by his role as

sociological subject. He talks about Wounded Knee: "... it makes us all very proud. People should know what it is like to be poor, and to be an Indian."

Robert grew up on a Navajo reservation in Arizona. His father is a silversmith; his mother, who has no occupation, is illiterate. As a child, and then as an adolescent, he spent much of his time tending horses, sheep, and cattle. Aside from welding, which he learned in the reservation high school, these are his only skills.

In 1967 Robert left the reservation, hitch-hiking to Okmulgee, Oklahoma in a futile search for work. He lived there with an uncle for three months before returning to Arizona. In Arizona he got a job as a chainman on a surveying team. Then, after a lay-off, he found work as a trucker's helper. Layed off again, he hitched to San Francisco.

Since late 1969 Robert has been drifting back and forth between the Bay Area and Los Angeles. He eats at missions, panhandles a little:

> But I don't like to panhandle. It's begging, and I don't like to beg. It's like welfare. If you go to welfare and tell them that you are useless, then they will help you -- maybe. If you say "I can work", then they are no good. They ignore you. I have a strong back; I'm healthy, I want to work. But, it seems like when you're an Indian, and you don't have a white shirt and tie ... what can you do?

In 1972 Robert lived in Oakland with an aunt for six months. She and her husband eventually moved back to Arizona when her

husband lost his job. Robert doesn't want to return to the reservation, but may eventually be forced to do so. He finds the reservation as boring as he finds the city harsh.

> During the summer of '72 I picked tomatoes and cucumbers. It was okay -- being outside all day. I didn't mind it so much because I had done it many times. Some of the others couldn't take it. But how can you live on $11 a day? I would rather be a welder, but the unions ... I may have to go back, like my aunt and uncle. But there is nothing to do there, either.

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APPENDIX C: SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING ON BAY AREA STREET PEOPLE

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