



The Presbyterian Panel

Listening to Presbyterians



REPORT

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SOCIAL WELFARE AUGUST 1997

Table of Contents

Overview	i
Social Welfare: Views and Experiences	1
Demographic Characteristics and Welfare Opinions Among Members	1
Does Personal Experience With Poverty Affect Welfare Opinions?	2
Opinions on Welfare Reform	3
Opinions Vary by Salience of Welfare Reform	4
Theological Perspectives and Views on Welfare	6
The Church and Welfare Reform	7
Interpreting Opinion Differences between Men and Women	7
Politics, Welfare, and Church Aid	8
Church Aid and Church Size	10
Ministries to the Poor	11
Size of Community and Welfare Reform	12
How Americans in General View Welfare	12
Appendix	A-1

Join Us in Celebrating 1998 as the 25th Anniversary of the Presbyterian Panel

RESEARCH SERVICES
Congregational Ministries Division
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
100 Witherspoon Street
Louisville, KY 40202

Overview

The Presbyterian Panel consists of three nationally-representative samples of groups affiliated with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): members, elders (lay leaders), and ordained ministers (for analysis, split into two groups based on current call: *pastors*, serving in a congregation, and *specialized clergy*, serving elsewhere). New samples are drawn every three years.

These pages present results and analysis of the Panel survey mailed in August 1997. The first half uses text and graphics to highlight important and useful findings. An appendix follows with comparative tables that display the percentage distribution of responses to every question for each of the four Panel groups.

Response rates for this survey are: members, 44%; elders, 55%; and ministers, 68%. (Additional returned questionnaires from 181 members, 121 elders, and 5 ministers were unavailable for analysis.) Results are subject to sampling and other errors. As a general rule, differences of less than 6% between samples are not statistically meaningful.

- Suggested Citation:** Research Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). *Social Justice and Social Welfare: Report for the August 1997 Presbyterian Panel*. Louisville, KY, 1997.
- Author Note:** John P. Marcum, Administrator of the Presbyterian Panel, wrote this report and was assisted in this study by the staff of the office of Research Services.
- Staff of Research Services:** Keith Wulff, Deborah Bruce, Ida Smith-Williams, Cynthia Woolever, Vicki Rucker, Charlene Briggs, and Louella Aker.
- Sponsor:** The Office of Corporate Witness (in the National Ministries Division) and the Presbyterian Hunger Program (in the Worldwide Ministries Division) requested this survey. For more information, contact Vernon Broyles, Office of Corporate Witness (502-569-5812), or Gary Cook, Presbyterian Hunger Program (502-569-5816).
- Additional Copies:** Additional copies of this *Report* may be purchased for \$5 from PDS—call 1-800-524-2612 and request item number 70360-97253. Copies of a four-page *Summary* of results are available for \$1.25 each directly from Research Services. Call for information on quantity discounts (800-469-6390).
- Panel on the Web:** A catalog of Panel topics, and *Summaries* of recent surveys, are available on-line at the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) web site: <http://www.pcusa.org> Use the pull-down quick menu to select *Presbyterian Panel*. Or select *Research Services* to learn more about our work.
- Panel Data Sets:** Panel data sets may be accessed for further research through the American Religion Data Archive at Purdue University. Contact them at 765-494-0081 (phone) or 765-496-1476 (fax) for current availability.

Social Welfare: Views and Experiences

■ Majorities of members and pastors believe that welfare:

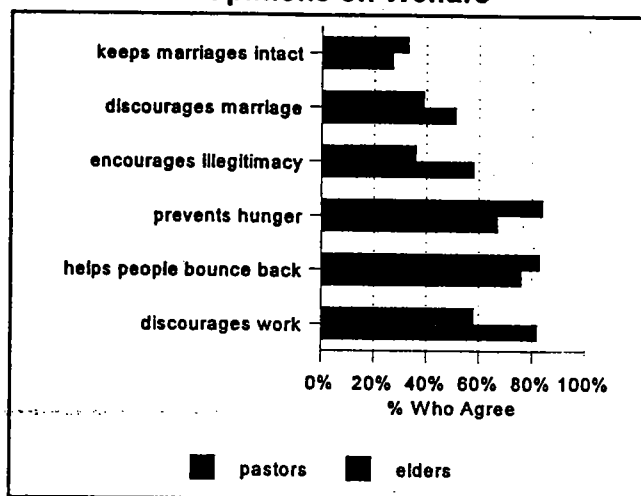
- *encourages people to work less*
- *makes it too easy for unwed fathers to neglect parental responsibilities.*

but majorities also believe that welfare:

- *helps people get back on their feet*
- *helps to prevent hunger and malnutrition.*

- A third of pastors (35%) believe that welfare *encourages young women to have babies before marriage*, while more, 40%, disagree with this view. Among members, 52% hold that welfare *encourages young women to have babies* prior to marriage, while 23% disagree.

Figure 1
Opinions on Welfare



- In each sample around one-third believe that welfare *helps keep people's marriages together in times of financial problems*, a third disagree with this statement, and a third cannot decide. At the same time, slim majorities of members (53%) and elders (51%), 39% of pastors, and 34% of specialized clergy hold that welfare *discourages young women who get pregnant from marrying the father of the child*.

Demographic Characteristics and Welfare Opinions Among Members

Sex. In general, men and women reveal similar patterns of opinion concerning welfare.

Age. Opinions on some aspects of welfare vary by age. In particular, younger members (less than age 40) are more likely than older members to view welfare as having limited effects on individual decisions regarding marriage and childbearing:

Welfare ...	Percent of Members Agreeing by Age			
	<40	40-54	55-69	70+
encourages young women to have babies before marriage	40%	50%	58%	56%
helps keep marriages together in times of financial problems	19%	24%	30%	47%
helps to prevent hunger and malnutrition	69%	71%	65%	76%
discourages young women who get pregnant from marrying the father of the child	36%	56%	61%	53%
makes it too easy for unwed fathers to neglect their economic responsibilities as parents	70%	76%	74%	87%

Education. As years of formal schooling increase, the percentage of member panelists who believe that *welfare encourages young women to have babies before marriage* declines (from 60% among those with no more than a high school education to 46% among those with a graduate degree).

Political Party Preference. Compared to Democrats, Republican members are somewhat more likely (differences of 10% or more) to see welfare, in general, as something that: *discourages work; encourages out-of-wedlock childbearing; discourages marriage when a single women becomes pregnant; and makes it too easy for unwed fathers to neglect parental responsibilities;* and somewhat less likely (again, differences of 10% or more) to see welfare as something that: *helps people recover from a setback and helps to prevent hunger and malnutrition.*

Social Welfare: Views and Experiences

- At one time or another, 8% of members and elders, 18% of pastors, and 20% of specialized clergy have found themselves *living in poverty*. Also, 1% of members and elders and 3% of all ministers have, at some period in their lives, been *homeless*.
- Around one in five panelists in every sample have at some time received welfare or other government assistance (including unemployment insurance), although less than half as many (6% of members, 5% of elders, 7% of all clergy) report that they have ever received assistance from one or more of four major programs: Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Food Stamps, or Medicaid.
- 14% of members, 11% of elders, 15% of pastors, and 12% of other clergy report having a close relative or family member who *currently* receives either AFDC, SSI, Food Stamps, or Medicaid.
- A large majority of pastors report that one or more members of their congregations currently receive some form of welfare. Only 4%, however, describe the number of welfare recipients among their memberships as "many." Most use "some" (33%) or "few" (40%) to depict the numbers. Only 10% assert that there are no welfare recipients in their congregations, while 13% respond "don't know."

Does Personal Experience With Poverty Affect Welfare Opinions?

One might expect that individuals who have been poor themselves or on government assistance would view the matter of welfare somewhat differently from others. And some do, although overall the effect on opinions is small and uneven. For example, among members there is a (statistically) significant association between prior welfare experience (yes/no) and opinions on whether or not *welfare helps to prevent hunger and malnutrition* (see table). In brief, members with welfare experience are more likely to view it as beneficial in preventing hunger than are members with no such experience. Among pastors who have ever used a food pantry, however, the opposite seems true (at least a first glance): those with prior welfare experience are *less* likely to view welfare as beneficial in preventing hunger. Notice, however, that few pastors of either background disagree that welfare helps in hunger prevention. Rather, pastors who have themselves used a food pantry are more likely to choose the equivocal middle category, "neither agree nor disagree." On balance, differences in opinions associated with prior welfare or food pantry experience are small, both within and between samples. The broad pattern that obtains, regardless of background, is this: *among Presbyterians, both those with and those without prior welfare experience, large majorities believe that welfare is helpful in preventing hunger and malnutrition.*

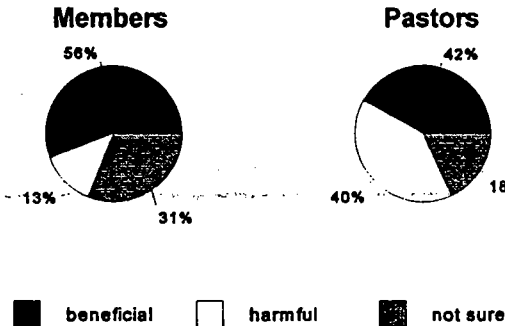
Most Presbyterians, Regardless of Prior Welfare Experience, View Welfare as Helping to Prevent Hunger and Malnutrition

	<u>Any Prior Welfare Experience?</u>		<u>Ever Used a Food Pantry?</u>	
	<u>Members</u>		<u>Pastors</u>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Welfare helps to prevent hunger and malnutrition				
Strongly agree	18%	8%	17%	22%
Agree	57%	61%	58%	63%
Neither	18%	18%	19%	8%
Disagree	6%	10%	6%	6%
Strongly disagree	1%	3%	---	1%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Opinions on Welfare Reform

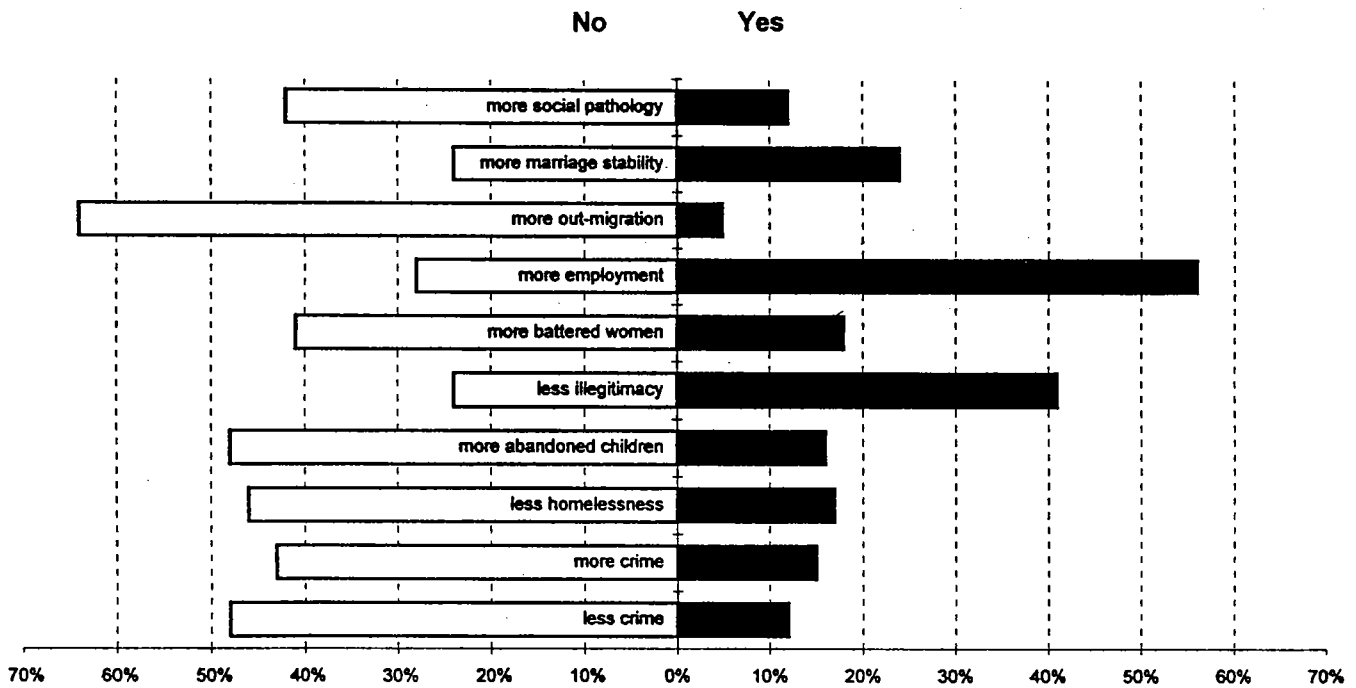
- One in every ten members (11%) and elders (10%) believe that the welfare reform provisions approved by Congress in 1996 will prove “definitely beneficial” to their communities. Another 45% of members and 50% of elders perceive the new law as “probably beneficial.” Among pastors, 7% believe the new law will be “definitely beneficial,” and 34%, “probably beneficial.”

Figure 2
Expected Impact of Welfare Reform on Local Communities



- Many panelists, ranging from 49% of elders to 33% of specialized clergy, select the statement “many good provisions, but could be modified a little bit to make it even better” as the one that best describes their *overall opinion of the new welfare law*. However, almost one-third of members (30%), one-fourth of elders (22%), and one-eighth of all ministers (13%) respond “not sure” or “don’t know enough to have a definite opinion.”

Figure 3
How Members See Various Consequences of Welfare Reform



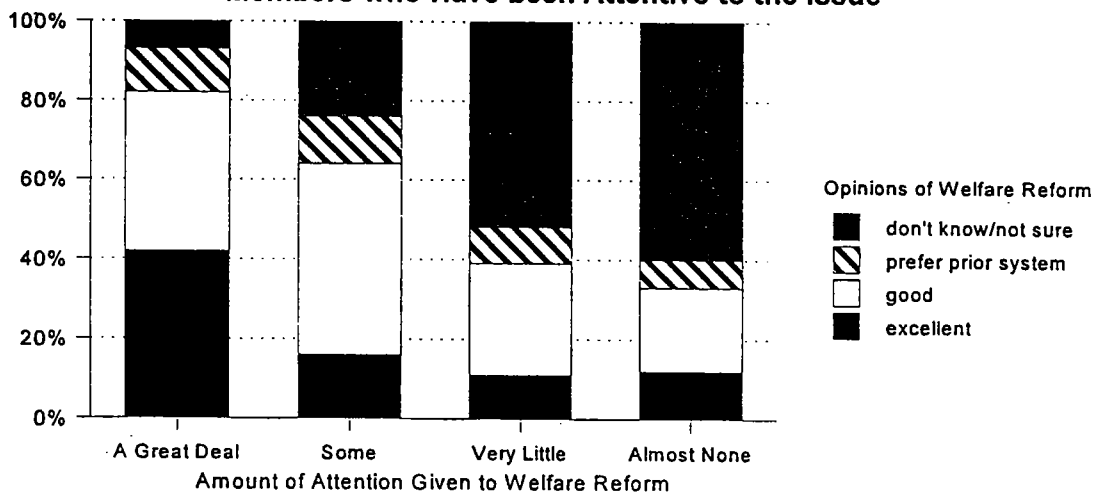
Opinions on Welfare Reform

- Majorities of members and elders (both 56%) believe that one benefit of welfare reform for their communities will be *more employment*. Large minorities (41% of members, 40% of elders) also hold that welfare reform will result in *lower birthrates for unwed/welfare moms*.
- Few members foresee changes in crime rates as the result of welfare reform; while 12% expect *less crime*, a similar share, 15%, expect that *crime will increase*. Pastors and other clergy are not so sanguine; only 8% expect *less crime*, compared to 25% who expect *crime will increase*.
- When asked to volunteer other potential benefits of welfare reform, sizable numbers of panelists in every sample list such personal and psychological ones as:
 - *a refocus on the dignity of the individual*
 - *individuals becoming more responsible for themselves*
 - *self-respect of citizens*
 - *people will have more self-esteem*
 - *promote personal accountability*

Opinions Vary by Salience of Welfare Reform

Relatively few panelists (16% of members and elders, 23% of pastors, 24% of specialized clergy) report that they have given “a great deal” of *attention to recent changes in welfare laws*. But those who do, especially among members and elders, generally hold favorable views of welfare reform. As the figure shows, over 80% of this attentive (as self-described) subgroup evaluate welfare reform as having either “excellent changes” or “many good provisions.” Among members who report lower levels of attention to welfare reform, fewer provide such positive evaluations. It’s not that folks who have ignored the issue are more pessimistic about welfare reform, though; lack of attention is associated with lack of an opinion. Whether they’ve given “a great deal” or “almost no” attention to welfare reform, only about one in every ten members would like to see a return to something closer in form to the previous welfare system.

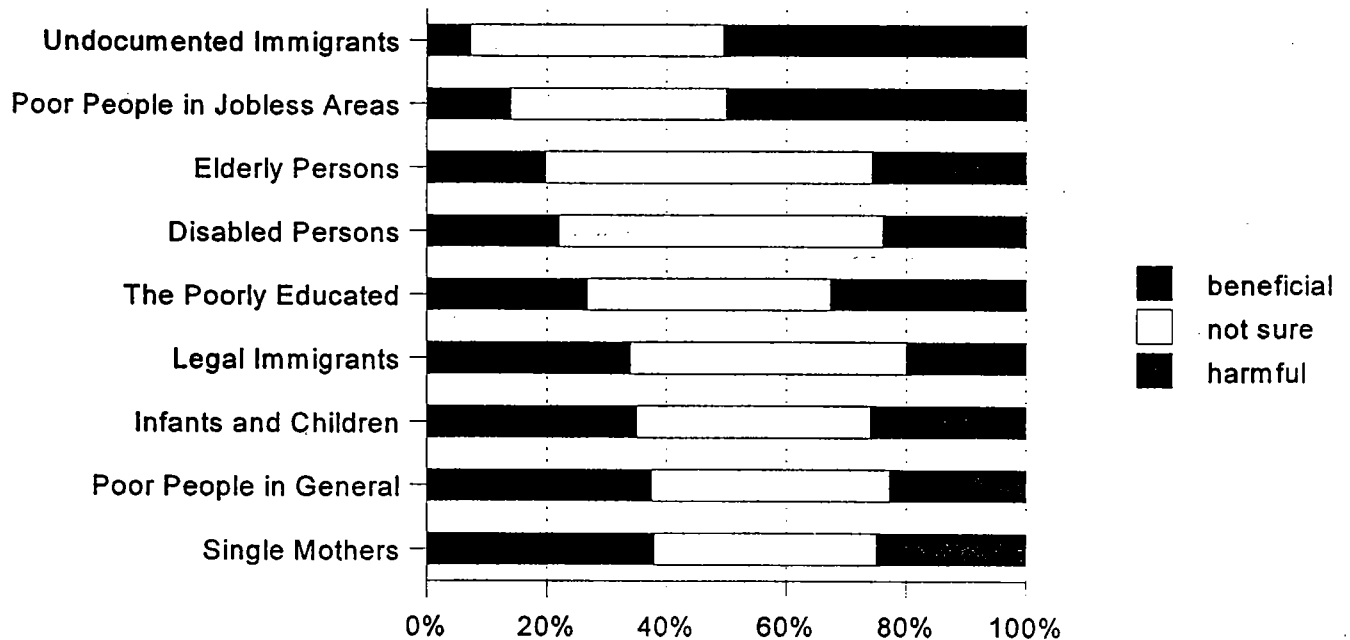
Figure 4
The Most Favorable Opinions of Welfare Reform are Found Among Members who Have been Attentive to the Issue



Opinions on Welfare Reform

- In every sample, more panelists “disagree” than “agree” that welfare reform will have these harmful consequences for their communities: *people will move away from the area, more families will break up, and less money will be spent in local stores.*
- When asked to volunteer other potential damages that welfare reform might bring to their communities, sizable numbers of panelists list risks to the social “safety net”: *[more people who] can't survive economically on minimum wage jobs, limiting access to education, some people in need may “fall through the cracks,” children will be harmed, and more drinking.*
- One in five members (21%) and elders (18%) believe that, *in the short run, more of today's low income individuals and families will be economically better off* because of welfare reform. However, two-thirds (66% of members, 68% of elders) believe that the economic situation of the poor will improve *in the long run.*
- Few pastors (12%) or specialized clergy (10%) believe that *in the short run, more of today's low income individuals and families will be economically better off* because of welfare reform. When the focus shifts to *the long run*, however, about half of both pastors (52%) and specialized clergy (46%) expect welfare reform to benefit the economic situations of poor families.
- Two segments of the population that many panelists believe will be harmed by welfare reform are *poor people living in areas of high unemployment* (judged as “worse off” by 50% of members and 67% of pastors) and *undocumented immigrants* (judged as “worse off” by 45% of members and 62% of clergy).

Figure 5
Members' Views of the Impact of Welfare Reform on Specific Groups:



- How will society respond to individuals who, under welfare reform, have reached the mandated five-year limit on welfare benefits and still have no income? Of six options presented, only one—*continue support, but for food and housing only*—is viewed as either an “excellent” or “good approach” by more than one-fifth of members (23%), elders (22%), and pastors (27%).
- Large majorities of panelists (two-thirds of members and elders, eight in ten clergy) favor *giving a second chance* to persons who have been denied welfare benefits because they failed to find a job and refused to participate in job training.

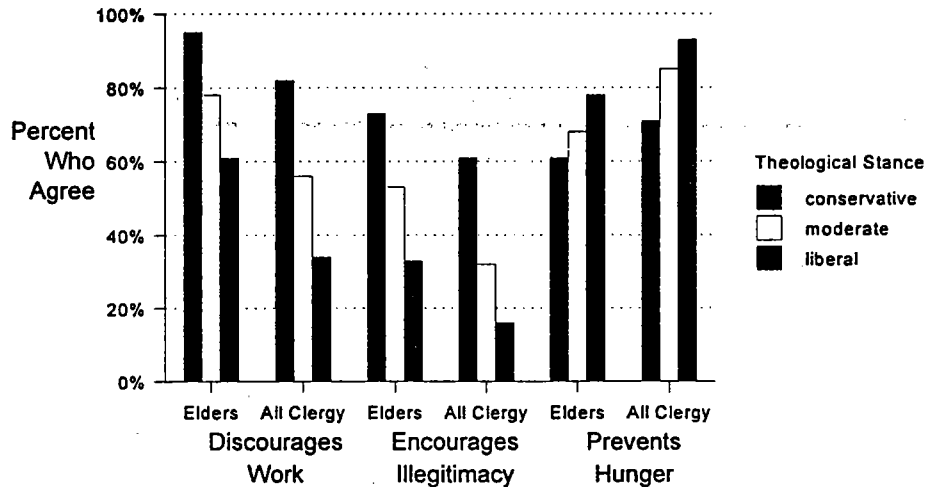
Opinions on Welfare Reform

Theological Perspectives and Views on Welfare

As already noted, few issues are linked so closely to political ideology as social welfare: But what about *theological* orientation? Are theological perspectives related in any way to views on welfare and welfare reform?

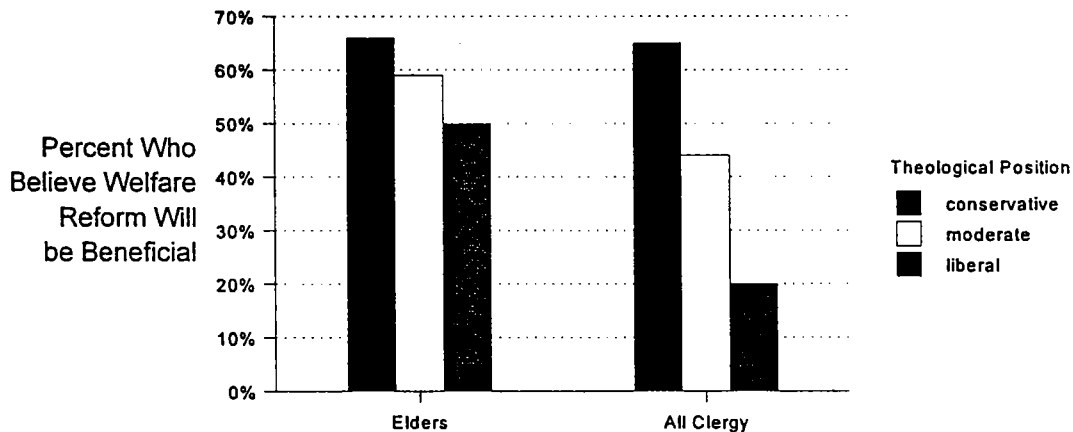
In a word, *yes!* Consider how opinions on certain aspects of welfare vary by theological stance among elders and all ministers:

Figure 6
Welfare Opinions Vary by Theological Stance



Expectations for welfare reform show similar patterns, although here theology reveals a stronger relationship with opinions among clergy than among laity. For both elders and total clergy, the proportion of *conservatives* who view welfare reform as *beneficial* is identical, at around two-thirds. However, the proportion of liberals who evaluate welfare reform positively is much higher among elders (50%) than among the total clergy (20%).

Figure 7
More Theological Conservatives than Liberals see Benefits in Welfare Reform



In short, theological orientation, like political orientation, is strongly associated with views toward welfare and welfare reform, and in the same direction: theological liberals, much more than theological conservatives, support welfare programs and (especially among clergy) view welfare reform as problematic.

The Church and Welfare Reform

- Large majorities of panelists, ranging from 76% of members to 90% of specialized clergy, agree that a potential negative consequence of welfare reform for their communities is likely to be *more demands . . . on churches and other helping organizations.*
- Around one-half of panelists (ranging from 54% of elders to 43% of pastors) believe it is “not a good idea” for *states to contract with churches and other religious organizations to provide welfare benefits directly to needy families and individuals.* Another sizable share (23% of members, 17% of pastors) respond “not sure.”

Interpreting Opinion Differences between Men and Women

Men and women often display similar patterns of responses to many of the issues explored in this survey. Even when gender differences are found, they owe in part to a greater tendency for women, as compared to men, to “sit on the fence.” Consider the matter of whether or not contracts between states and churches for the latter to provide benefits are seen as a *violation of the U.S. Constitution’s First Amendment Provision to provide separation between church and state:*

Are Church-State Contracts Unconstitutional?	Men	Women	Total
Yes	50%	55%	53%
No	29%	15%	20%
Not sure	21%	30%	27%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Still, if we *exclude* the members who respond “not sure” to the question on church-state contracts, we find that, *among those who have an opinion*, relatively more women than men view such contracts as unconstitutional:

Are Church-State Contracts Unconstitutional?	Men	Women	Total
Yes	63%	79%	66%
No	37%	21%	34%
Total	100%	100%	100%

While interesting, however, these relatively small male-female differences should not obscure the larger, more important finding in this case, found among *both* gender groups: *large majorities of men and of women believe that church-state contracts are unconstitutional.*

- Among members, age is related to opinions on whether or not contracts between states and churches for the latter to provide welfare is a *violation of the U.S. Constitution’s First Amendment Provision to provide separation between church and state.* However, the effect is small and uneven: while 61% of those aged 55-69 view such contracts as constitutional violations, 43% of those in the 40-54 age range hold this view. The very youngest (<40) and oldest (70+) members are intermediate, with 56% and 52%, respectively, viewing state-church contracts as constitutional violations.
- Among members who (in an earlier Panel survey) rated *supporting social action groups and ministries* as an “essential priority” for the church, 27% believe that churches (in general) can significantly increase aid to the poor, while 65% do not (another 7% respond “not sure”), and 42% believe that their own congregations can increase aid to the poor, while 50% do not (another 8% respond “not sure”).

The Church and Welfare Reform

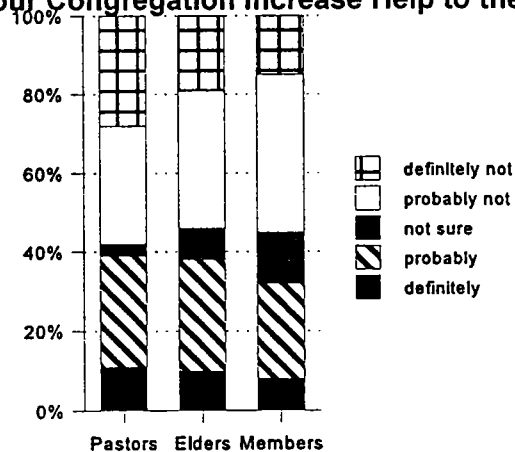
Politics, Welfare, and Church Aid

Among members, opinions on whether or not churches can increase aid to the poor do *not* vary systematically by political party preference. Among pastors, however, more Republicans than Independents, and more Independents than Democrats, believe that the churches are able to increase their aid to the poor:

Are Churches Able To Increase Aid to Poor?	Political Preference of Pastors		
	Democrat	Republican	Independent/Other
Yes	13%	33%	21%
No	83%	60%	72%
Not sure	4%	7%	7%

- Only about one in five panelists believe that *religious organizations in general* either “definitely” or “probably” lack *sufficient financial and other resources to step in and significantly increase help to the poor*. In fact, large majorities of members (65%), elders (66%), pastors (75%), and specialized clergy (78%) hold that religious entities are *not* able to markedly expand their aid to the poor.
- More than one-third of pastors (38%) and elders (37%), and almost as many members (32%), believe that their own congregations have *sufficient resources to significantly increase help to the poor* in their localities. Nevertheless, majorities in all samples, ranging from 54% of members to 62% of specialized clergy, believe that such a shift is either “probably not” or “definitely not” an option.

Figure 8
Can Your Congregation Increase Help to the Poor?



- How much more might congregations give to help the poor? Among pastors who believe that their congregations are able to significantly increase gifts to the poor, the median estimated amount was \$4,000.
- Pastors split on whether or not *there would be widespread consensus among church members* for their congregations to increase help to the poor. While four in ten pastors (42%) believe such a consensus exists, almost as many, 38%, do not; another 20% are “not sure.”

The Church and Welfare Reform

Figure 9
Pastors who Perceive a Congregational Consensus on Helping the Poor are More Likely to View it as Having the Resources to Increase Aid to the Poor

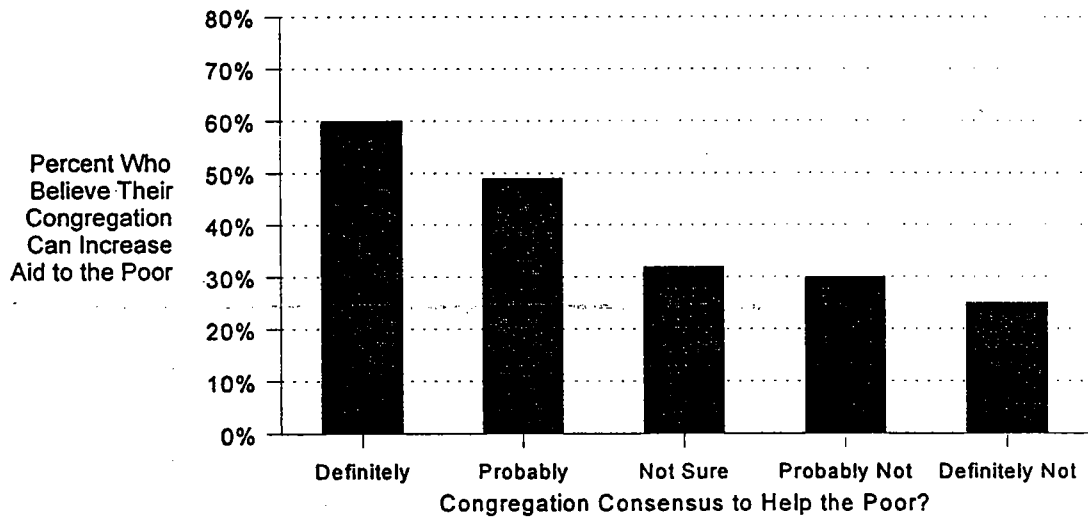
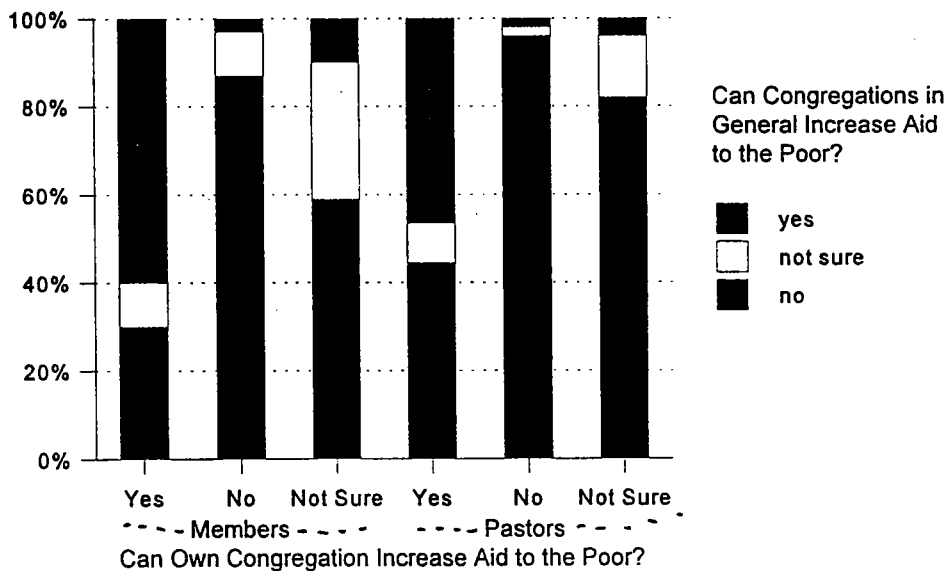


Figure 10
Panelists who Believe Churches in General can Increase Aid to the Poor are More Likely to Believe Their Own Congregation Can Increase Aid to the Poor

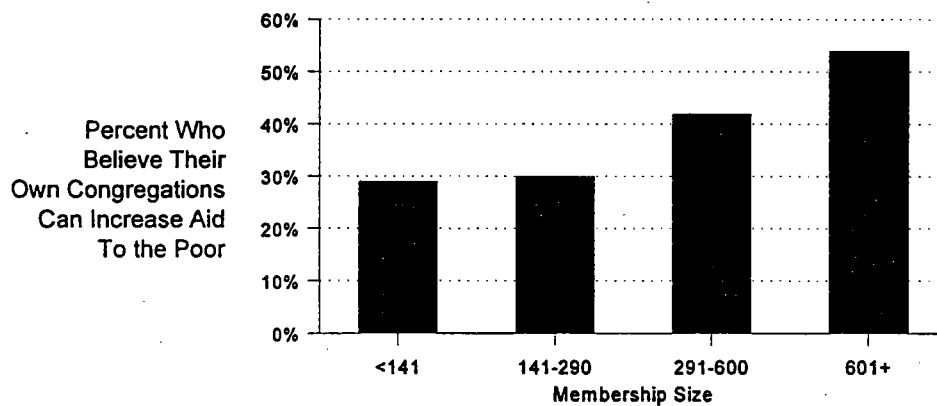


The Church and Welfare Reform

Church Aid and Church Size

The near-consensus view that religious bodies do *not* have sufficient resources to increase their aid to the poor is found among pastors regardless of their own congregation's size: 77% in the smallest churches (<141 members), 77% in medium-small churches (141-290 members), 74% in medium-large churches (291-600 members), and 71% in the largest churches (601+) respond "no" when asked about this matter. However, when the focus narrows to whether or not their own congregation is able to step up its own help significantly, a pattern emerges: more pastors in larger- than in smaller-membership churches report that their congregations are able to increase services to the poor.

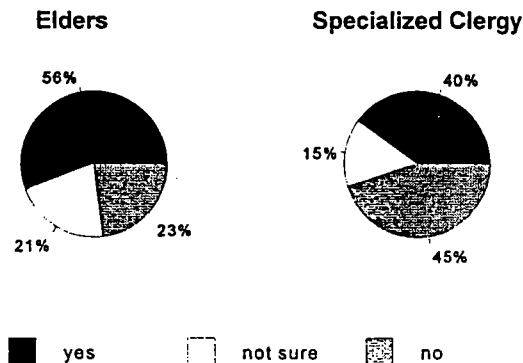
Figure 11
More Large-Church Pastors Believe that their Own Congregations Have the Resources to Increase Aid to the Poor



- Majorities of members and elders, 40% of specialized clergy, and 36% of pastors believe it is "definitely" or "probably" a *violation of the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment on separation of church and state* for states and religious entities to enter into contracts by which the latter would provide welfare services paid for by the government.

Figure 12

If States Hired Churches to Provide Welfare Services, Would it Violate the U.S. Constitution?

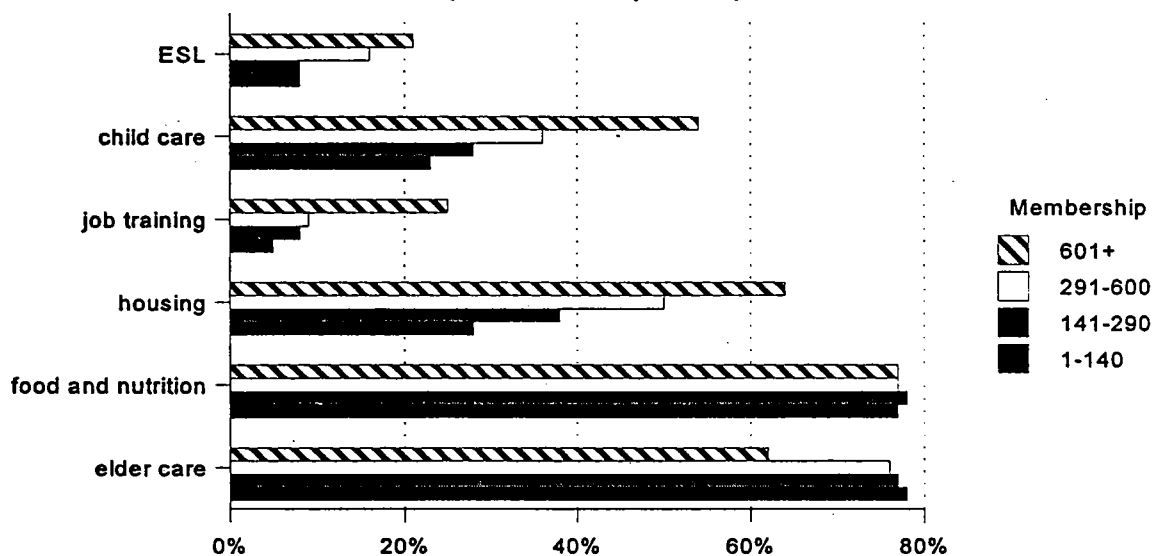


- Only 7% of members, 10% of elders, and 12% of pastors believe that an "excellent" or "good" way for society to deal with persons who have already used their maximum of five years of welfare benefits is to *depend on churches to take care of them*.

Ministries to the Poor

- Almost all pastors—96%—indicate that one or more members are involved in programs in their communities *that address the needs of the poor*.
- Presbyterians who volunteer time and services to address needs of the poor do so in a variety of institutional ways. Large majorities of pastors report that member volunteers carry out such service *through the congregation* (78% so report), *through other religious organizations* (84%), and/or *through non-church community organizations* (74%).
- At least one-third of all pastors report that their congregations are involved in poverty-related programs that address such individual needs as *food and nutrition* (so reported by 79%), *counseling* (48%), *housing* (48%), *tutoring* (37%), and *child care* (37%).
- Some ministries that address the needs of the poor are relatively infrequent in Presbyterian congregations, including *teaching life skills* (18% of pastors report member volunteers), *teaching English as a second language* (14%), and *job training* (12%).

Figure 13
Ministries to the Poor by Size of Congregation
(Pastors' Responses)



- Majorities of members (56%) and elders (59%), 46% of pastors, and 37% of specialized clergy believe that their communities have *enough jobs to provide work for adults now receiving welfare*.
- Around two-thirds of members and elders report that their communities have public transportation services. Of these panelists, most (65% of members, 58% of elders) describe their local public transportation system as “definitely” or “probably” *adequate for people who do not have any other way to get to work*.
- Large majorities of panelists support *providing public transportation services to enable welfare recipients who do not own cars to get to work*.

Size of Community and Welfare Reform

The public debate on welfare reform has noted differentials in the ability of communities to adapt to welfare reform, based on such factors as population size, nature of the economy, transportation and other infrastructure, and education. Opinions and expectations of Presbyterians as to welfare reform's impact on their communities reflect the importance of community size and type. Let's focus on the responses of elders, arguably the most appropriate Panel sample to assess community matters.

Public Transportation. Public transportation accessibility varies systematically by community size and type, with fewer elders in rural areas (31%) than in small towns and cities (55%) and large and medium-size cities (95%) reporting the existence of public transportation services in their communities. Size of place has little effect on *opinions* as to *providing public transportation services to enable welfare recipients to work*, however; majorities of 66% or greater in every community type favor provision of such services. Community size affects opinions only in the sense that elders in rural areas (20%) are twice as likely as elders in larger cities (10%) to respond "not sure" on this matter, presumably because of the lack of existing rural public transportation or the difficulty and expense of creating a system in sparsely-populated areas.

Out-migration. Only a minority of elders in any size of community believe that welfare reform will cause net out-migration, but the proportion who do is twice as large in rural (22%) and small towns (18%) as it is in medium and large cities (10%) and their suburbs (9%).

Effect on Local Economy. A majority of elders believes that their communities have *enough jobs . . . to provide jobs for adults who are now receiving AFDC or Food Stamps*, but the percentage is slightly lower in rural and small-town communities (54%) than it is in larger cities and their suburbs (63%).

How Americans in General View Welfare

The Panel results place Presbyterians squarely in the mainstream of American opinion on welfare and welfare reform. In a review of public opinion on welfare published in 1995, the authors note that "one of the most stable elements of . . . public opinion in the United States is the unpopularity of 'welfare' . . ." In general, the welfare system is viewed as having more negative than positive effects, with benefit amounts viewed as too generous and at odds with American values of self-reliance and hard work. Nevertheless, there is also a widespread belief that society should help the truly needy.

In the years leading up to the 1996 changes, public opinion clearly supported reform. Except perhaps in the case of mothers of young children (and even here, the trend was turning), public opinion overwhelming supported work requirements for welfare recipients. But the public also strongly supported such related steps as subsidized child care, job training, payment of transportation costs, and public sector jobs. Majorities also favored time limits on welfare benefits.

For more information, see: R. Kent Weaver, Robert Y. Shapiro, and Lawrence R. Jacobs, "The Polls—Trends: Welfare," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 59 (1995): 606-627. Also see Fay Lomax Cook and Edith J. Barrett, *Support for the American Welfare State: The Views of Congress and the Public*; New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Appendix A

Social Justice and Social Welfare—August 1997

	Members	Elders	Ministers
Number of questionnaires mailed	1,341	1,309	1,875
Number of questionnaires returned **	586	718	1,275***
Response rate	44%	55%	68%

**Additional returned questionnaires from 181 members, 121 elders, and 5 ministers were unavailable for analysis
 ***847 pastors; 428 specialized clergy

MEMBERS ELDERS PASTORS SPECIALIZED CLERGY

About a year ago, Congress passed a welfare reform law. This law shifts major responsibility for welfare from the federal government to the states.

Q-1. Indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement below concerning government welfare programs by putting a check in the appropriate box.

IN GENERAL, WELFARE . . .

a. encourages people to work less than they would if there wasn't a welfare system

strongly agree	30%	29%	15%	10%
agree	47%	52%	43%	37%
neither agree nor disagree	14%	10%	17%	24%
disagree	7%	7%	22%	23%
strongly disagree	2%	1%	4%	7%

b. helps people get on their feet when they have been set back by situations such as unemployment, a divorce, or a death in the family

strongly agree	10%	10%	15%	24%
agree	61%	66%	68%	62%
neither agree nor disagree	16%	13%	10%	7%
disagree	11%	10%	7%	6%
strongly disagree	2%	1%	1%	1%

c. encourages young women to have babies before marriage

strongly agree	20%	21%	8%	5%
agree	33%	37%	28%	22%
neither agree nor disagree	25%	24%	24%	25%
disagree	17%	15%	30%	35%
strongly disagree	6%	3%	10%	13%

d. helps keep people's marriages together in times of financial problems

strongly agree	4%	2%	3%	6%
agree	27%	25%	30%	34%
neither agree nor disagree	34%	35%	35%	32%
disagree	28%	32%	27%	23%
strongly disagree	7%	6%	5%	5%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

♦ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-1. Indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement below concerning government welfare programs by (cont) putting a check in the appropriate box.

IN GENERAL, WELFARE ...

e. helps to prevent hunger and malnutrition

strongly agree	10%	10%	21%	27%
agree	60%	57%	63%	60%
neither agree nor disagree	18%	18%	9%	8%
disagree	10%	14%	6%	5%
strongly disagree	2%	1%	1%	1%

f. discourages young women who get pregnant from marrying the father of the child

strongly agree	17%	16%	8%	5%
agree	36%	35%	31%	29%
neither agree nor disagree	30%	32%	32%	34%
disagree	14%	15%	24%	27%
strongly disagree	3%	2%	5%	5%

g. makes it too easy for unwed fathers to neglect their economic responsibilities as parents

strongly agree	27%	29%	17%	13%
agree	50%	48%	42%	40%
neither agree nor disagree	14%	14%	20%	26%
disagree	7%	7%	18%	18%
strongly disagree	2%	1%	2%	4%

Q-2. How much attention have you given to the changes in welfare law?

a great deal	16%	16%	23%	24%
some	57%	63%	59%	62%
very little	17%	16%	15%	11%
almost none	8%	4%	3%	3%
none	2%	1%	1%	1%

Q-3. Overall, do you think the new welfare law will be beneficial to the city, county, or metropolitan area where you live, or will it damage the community?

definitely beneficial	11%	10%	7%	5%
probably beneficial	45%	50%	34%	32%
probably result in damage	11%	12%	28%	28%
definitely result in damage	2%	2%	11%	14%
not sure	31%	25%	18%	20%

Q-4. On balance, what *benefits*, if any, do you think welfare reform will bring to your community? Will it result in ...

a. less crime?

no	48%	49%	59%	59%
yes	12%	11%	8%	7%
not sure	41%	40%	34%	34%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-4. On balance, what *benefits*, if any, do you think welfare reform will bring to your community? Will it result in . . .

(cont) b. fewer homeless people?				
no	46%	50%	65%	64%
yes	17%	12%	10%	7%
not sure	38%	37%	25%	29%
 c. lower birthrates for unwed/welfare moms?				
no	24%	28%	40%	40%
yes	41%	40%	28%	24%
not sure	35%	32%	32%	36%
 d. more employment?				
no	16%	17%	22%	28%
yes	56%	56%	49%	45%
not sure	28%	27%	30%	27%
 e. more families will stay together?				
no	24%	22%	33%	36%
yes	24%	21%	15%	14%
not sure	52%	57%	52%	49%

Q-5. If you can think of one or two other benefits, please write them on the line below:

	◆	◆	◆	◆
no response	81%	77%	75%	75%
encourages/compels fathers or family members to increase involvement, support	—	1%	*	1%
fosters self-reliance	8%	11%	12%	10%
encourages hard work	4%	4%	6%	6%
lowers taxes	1%	3%	2%	3%
cuts down on welfare	3%	3%	2%	1%
builds community	2%	3%	6%	5%
other	2%	1%	1%	2%
response not applicable	2%	2%	3%	4%

Q-6. On balance, in what ways, if any, do you think welfare reform will *damage* your community?

a. people will move away from the area				
no	64%	65%	61%	55%
yes	5%	6%	6%	6%
not sure	31%	29%	33%	39%
 b. more families will break up				
no	61%	59%	49%	44%
yes	4%	5%	12%	12%
not sure	34%	36%	40%	43%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category
 * = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero
 n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item
 + = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)
 ◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

MEMBERS

ELDERS

PASTORS

SPECIALIZED
CLERGY

Q-6. On balance, in what ways, if any, do you think welfare reform will *damage* your community?
(cont)

c. less money will be spent in local stores

no	58%	55%	47%	40%
yes	13%	16%	22%	25%
not sure	28%	29%	31%	35%

d. crime will increase

no	42%	44%	37%	33%
yes	15%	18%	25%	28%
not sure	42%	38%	39%	39%

e. more children will be abandoned

no	48%	49%	41%	34%
yes	16%	17%	23%	30%
not sure	36%	34%	36%	36%

f. there will be more battered women who are unable to leave their marriages

no	41%	43%	33%	23%
yes	18%	19%	34%	39%
not sure	41%	38%	33%	37%

g. more demands will be placed on churches and other helping organizations

no	9%	7%	6%	4%
yes	76%	81%	87%	90%
not sure	15%	12%	7%	6%

h. malnutrition and developmental problems will increase

no	39%	42%	24%	19%
yes	19%	22%	41%	50%
not sure	42%	36%	35%	31%

i. more people will feel hopeless, leading to increased drug use and/or gang activity

no	42%	48%	32%	26%
yes	12%	13%	26%	29%
not sure	45%	39%	42%	46%

Q-7. If you can think of one or two other ways that welfare reform may damage your community, please write them on the line below:

	◆	◆	◆	◆
no response	91%	90%	84%	84%
more people will fall between the cracks, not have necessities of life	1%	2%	4%	3%
emphasis on individuals/groups in need or potential need	3%	2%	5%	5%
society/community will suffer or be harmed	2%	1%	4%	3%
more demands placed on churches and other non-governmental social service providers ..	2%	1%	1%	1%
other	*	1%	1%	2%
response not applicable	2%	3%	3%	3%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-8. After receiving benefits for two years, the new law requires welfare recipients to find a job, participate in a job training program, or work in a public service job. Do you think there are enough jobs in your community to provide work for adults who are now receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) or Food Stamps?

yes	57%	59%	46%	37%
no	22%	24%	40%	44%
don't know	21%	18%	14%	19%

Q-9. In general, because of welfare reform do you think that more welfare recipients will *leave* your community to find jobs somewhere else, or will more welfare recipients *come* to your community looking for jobs?

more will leave	12%	14%	14%	8%
more will come	19%	18%	23%	20%
the number leaving will be about equal to the number coming	38%	36%	32%	32%
don't know	31%	32%	31%	39%

Q-10. Overall, because of welfare reform, do you believe that ...

a. *in the short run*, more of today's low-income individuals and families will be economically better off?

no	43%	47%	63%	68%
yes	21%	18%	12%	10%
not sure	36%	34%	26%	22%

b. *in the long run*, more of today's low-income individuals and families will be economically better off?

no	9%	10%	19%	26%
yes	66%	68%	52%	46%
not sure	25%	23%	29%	27%

Q-11. On balance, what effect do you think the new welfare law will have on people in each of the following categories? Do you believe that, overall, they will be better off or worse off, or are you not sure of the results?

a. infants and children

definitely better off	6%	5%	3%	2%
probably better off	29%	30%	19%	17%
not sure	39%	40%	29%	22%
probably worse off	23%	22%	34%	40%
definitely worse off	4%	4%	15%	18%

b. unwed teenage mothers

definitely better off	6%	6%	4%	2%
probably better off	29%	28%	22%	19%
not sure	35%	33%	26%	26%
probably worse off	27%	30%	38%	38%
definitely worse off	3%	4%	10%	14%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-11. On balance, what effect do you think the new welfare law will have on people in each of the following (cont) categories? Do you believe that, overall, they will be better off or worse off, or are you not sure of the results?

c. single mothers raising children				
definitely better off	5%	6%	3%	2%
probably better off	33%	32%	24%	21%
not sure	37%	36%	26%	25%
probably worse off	23%	22%	34%	37%
definitely worse off	2%	3%	13%	15%
d. single fathers raising children				
definitely better off	7%	6%	3%	2%
probably better off	29%	31%	25%	20%
not sure	44%	44%	38%	37%
probably worse off	19%	15%	26%	31%
definitely worse off	2%	3%	8%	10%
e. undocumented immigrants				
definitely better off	2%	2%	1%	1%
probably better off	6%	4%	4%	3%
not sure	46%	47%	33%	27%
probably worse off	34%	35%	36%	41%
definitely worse off	11%	12%	26%	28%
f. legal immigrants				
definitely better off	5%	3%	3%	2%
probably better off	29%	28%	21%	19%
not sure	46%	51%	37%	32%
probably worse off	18%	15%	27%	32%
definitely worse off	2%	4%	12%	16%
g. disabled persons				
definitely better off	3%	3%	2%	2%
probably better off	19%	19%	14%	13%
not sure	54%	52%	51%	41%
probably worse off	21%	21%	24%	29%
definitely worse off	3%	4%	9%	15%
h. elderly persons				
definitely better off	3%	3%	2%	2%
probably better off	16%	17%	14%	14%
not sure	55%	54%	50%	45%
probably worse off	23%	22%	26%	27%
definitely worse off	3%	4%	8%	13%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-11. On balance, what effect do you think the new welfare law will have on people in each of the following (cont) categories? Do you believe that, overall, they will be better off or worse off, or are you not sure of the results?

i. disabled persons				
definitely better off	3%	3%	2%	2%
probably better off	19%	19%	14%	13%
not sure	54%	52%	51%	41%
probably worse off	21%	21%	24%	29%
definitely worse off	3%	4%	9%	15%
j. elderly persons				
definitely better off	3%	3%	2%	2%
probably better off	16%	17%	14%	14%
not sure	55%	54%	50%	45%
probably worse off	23%	22%	26%	27%
definitely worse off	3%	4%	8%	13%
k. poor people in general				
definitely better off	5%	4%	4%	2%
probably better off	32%	37%	29%	22%
not sure	40%	35%	25%	26%
probably worse off	21%	21%	31%	34%
definitely worse off	2%	4%	11%	16%
l. poor people living in areas of high unemployment				
definitely better off	3%	3%	2%	2%
probably better off	11%	11%	8%	6%
not sure	36%	31%	23%	18%
probably worse off	41%	44%	40%	43%
definitely worse off	9%	12%	27%	31%
m. persons with limited education				
definitely better off	4%	3%	3%	2%
probably better off	23%	23%	17%	13%
not sure	41%	35%	30%	25%
probably worse off	28%	33%	33%	38%
definitely worse off	5%	7%	17%	23%

Q-12. Does your community have public transportation services?

no	33%	30%	30%	21%
yes	67%	70%	70%	79%

Q-12a. If you answered "yes," to Q-12, is the public transportation service adequate for people who do not have any other way to get to work?

	n=367	n=478	n=571	n=318
yes, definitely	23%	19%	19%	10%
yes, probably	41%	39%	30%	37%
no, not adequate	25%	33%	44%	44%
don't know	10%	9%	7%	9%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-13. To enable welfare recipients to work, do you favor or oppose providing public transportation services to those who do not own cars for personal transportation?

favor	72%	74%	84%	88%
oppose	15%	13%	5%	3%
not sure	13%	13%	10%	8%

Q-14. Do you favor or oppose denying welfare benefits to the *children* of people who do not enroll in job training or do not get a job?

favor	31%	35%	26%	19%
oppose	43%	42%	56%	60%
not sure	26%	24%	18%	21%

Q-15. Suppose a person has been denied benefits because s/he failed to find a job *and* will not participate in job training. Should this person be given a second chance to cooperate with job training and be allowed to receive benefits as long as s/he continues to participate in job training?

yes, should be given a second chance	68%	67%	81%	82%
no, should not be given a second chance	22%	22%	9%	8%
not sure	10%	10%	10%	10%

Q-16. The new welfare law places a lifetime limit of 5 years on receiving welfare benefits. What is your opinion of each of the following possible ways for society to deal with people who have reached the 5-year limit and still have no income or resources?

a. change the law to remove the 5-year limit

excellent approach	2%	2%	8%	12%
good approach	6%	4%	11%	19%
fair approach	10%	11%	18%	17%
poor approach	69%	74%	50%	40%
not sure	13%	9%	14%	12%

b. continue support, but for food and housing *only*

excellent approach	3%	3%	3%	4%
good approach	20%	18%	24%	26%
fair approach	42%	44%	43%	37%
poor approach	24%	25%	19%	22%
not sure	11%	9%	11%	12%

c. create government-sponsored "poor houses"

excellent approach	1%	2%	1%	1%
good approach	5%	4%	4%	5%
fair approach	12%	11%	10%	10%
poor approach	68%	72%	75%	76%
not sure	14%	12%	10%	8%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-16. The new welfare law places a lifetime limit of 5 years on receiving welfare benefits. What is your opinion of each of the following possible ways for society to deal with people who have reached the 5-year limit and still have no income or resources?

d. depend on the churches to take care of them				
excellent approach	1%	1%	2%	1%
good approach	6%	8%	10%	6%
fair approach	22%	23%	22%	19%
poor approach	60%	59%	62%	69%
not sure	12%	8%	4%	4%
e. depend on individual charity to take care of them				
excellent approach	1%	2%	2%	1%
good approach	7%	10%	9%	4%
fair approach	25%	28%	22%	20%
poor approach	55%	52%	63%	70%
not sure	12%	10%	4%	5%
f. let them fend for themselves as best they can				
excellent approach	3%	3%	3%	1%
good approach	8%	7%	4%	3%
fair approach	20%	19%	17%	12%
poor approach	54%	58%	70%	78%
not sure	15%	13%	6%	7%
g. other (specify): _____				
no response	87%	89%	88%	87%
deal with each person individually	2%	1%	2%	3%
individuals/community organizations/ business/government should step in to help meet needs	1%	1%	1%	1%
individuals/community organizations/ business/government should help through incentive(s)/coersion	2%	1%	1%	2%
individuals/community organizations/ business/government should provide "make-work" or temporary jobs	1%	1%	1%	2%
individuals/community organizations/ business/government should provide training and education	2%	2%	1%	1%
a cooperative community approach should be utilized	1%	2%	1%	1%
government funds should be provided to private charities to disperse for programs	1%	*	*	1%
churches should be involved in providing training, education, counseling	*	*	*	—
response not applicable	4%	3%	3%	2%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-17. Based on all that you know or have heard, which *one* statement below comes closest to your *overall opinion* of the new welfare law? (Check only *one*.)

excellent changes; definitely a major shift for the better	19%	16%	10%	7%
many good provisions, but could be modified a little bit to make it even better	40%	49%	38%	33%
the old system had some problems, but I'd rather have seen some tinkering with it rather than the massive reorganization that took place	7%	6%	16%	22%
on balance, I'd prefer that we go back to the old system, warts and all	*	1%	1%	2%
the old system was fine as it was, and we shouldn't have changed it	*	*	—	—
the old system was bad, but I'd rather have seen it changed in a different way	4%	6%	20%	24%
don't know enough to have a definite opinion at this time	21%	15%	9%	9%
not sure—haven't made up my mind yet	9%	7%	5%	3%

Q-18. With welfare reform, much of the role the federal government has occupied in providing welfare will be transferred to the states. Rather than set up their own massive structures to distribute welfare benefits, some states are considering the possibility of contracting with churches and other religious organizations to provide these benefits directly to needy families and individuals. What do you think of this general idea? Is it a good thing for churches and/or other religious bodies to receive money from state government to help poor and other disadvantaged people?

yes, for individual congregations	4%	4%	5%	1%
yes, for other religious organizations	2%	2%	3%	6%
yes, for <i>both</i> individual congregations and other religious organizations	21%	21%	32%	25%
not sure	23%	20%	17%	16%
no, not a good idea for churches or religious organizations to accept state money for this purpose	50%	54%	43%	51%

Q-19. In your opinion, would a contract between state government and a religious body to provide welfare services be in violation of the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment provision to provide for separation between church and state?

yes, definitely	23%	24%	15%	13%
yes, probably	30%	32%	20%	27%
not sure	26%	21%	16%	15%
no, probably not	14%	16%	30%	29%
no, definitely not	7%	6%	20%	16%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-20. Do religious organizations in general have sufficient financial and other resources necessary to step in and *significantly* increase help to the poor, if that were necessary?

yes, definitely	6%	4%	6%	4%
yes, probably	17%	20%	14%	12%
not sure	12%	10%	6%	6%
no, probably not	54%	52%	44%	44%
no, definitely not	11%	14%	31%	34%

Q-21. What about your own congregation? Does it have sufficient resources to significantly increase its help to the poor in your community?

yes, definitely	9%	10%	10%	9%
yes, probably	24%	28%	28%	21%
not sure	14%	8%	3%	7%
no, probably not	40%	36%	30%	36%
no, definitely not	15%	19%	28%	27%

Q-22. How much money do you think your congregation is able to add to the annual budget to help in this way? Estimate a dollar amount and write it on the line below.

	n=436	n=978	n=263	n=263
none	13%	8%	8%	9%
less than \$1,000	7%	9%	10%	12%
\$1,000 - \$4,999	16%	20%	33%	28%
\$5,000 - \$9,999	12%	14%	15%	14%
\$10,000 - \$19,999	23%	18%	17%	16%
\$20,000 - \$49,999	13%	15%	10%	10%
\$50,000 or more	15%	16%	8%	11%

Q-23. Do you think there would be widespread consensus among members in your church to help in this way?

yes, definitely	4%	6%	6%	4%
yes, probably	31%	32%	36%	29%
not sure	37%	29%	20%	22%
no, probably not	24%	28%	32%	38%
no, definitely not	4%	4%	7%	7%

Q-24. In what ministries are you or your congregation involved that address the needs of the poor in your community or area? (Check *all* that apply.)

	◆	◆	◆	◆
child care	42%	41%	37%	48%
counseling	45%	46%	48%	48%
elder care	29%	30%	27%	29%
English as a second language (ESL)	8%	9%	14%	9%
food and nutrition	73%	77%	79%	68%
health and hygiene	18%	25%	27%	20%
hospice	19%	21%	26%	20%
housing	39%	44%	48%	38%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category
 * = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero
 n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item
 + = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)
 ◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Q-24. In what ministries are you or your congregation involved that address the needs of the poor in your community (cont) or area? (Check *all* that apply.)

	◆	◆	◆	◆ +
job training	5%	8%	12%	10%
life skills	12%	12%	18%	18%
literacy	18%	22%	27%	22%
mentoring	22%	24%	27%	24%
tutoring	24%	32%	37%	35%

Q-25. Are any members of your congregation (including yourself) regularly involved as *volunteers* in such programs?

yes	80%	88%	96%	89%
no	4%	4%	2%	5%
not sure	16%	8%	2%	5%

Q-25a. If you answered "yes" to Q-25, is their work ... (Check *all* that apply.)

	◆ n=442	◆ n=608	◆ n=803	◆ n=352
through the congregation?	75%	78%	78%	75%
through other religious organizations in the community?	65%	73%	84%	85%
through community organizations, such as the United Way, Red Cross, etc.?	66%	72%	74%	74%
through local, state, or federal governments?	16%	22%	27%	18%
through school-based programs?	34%	38%	53%	41%
through other entities?(specify:) _____	15%	12%	11%	8%

Q-26. Because of sickness, unemployment, or any other reason, did you ever receive any form of welfare, unemployment insurance, or other aid from government agencies?

yes	20%	19%	18%	20%
no	79%	81%	82%	79%
not sure	1%	*	*	*

Q-27. Have you personally ever received income from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), General Assistance, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Food Stamps, or Medicaid?

yes	6%	5%	7%	7%
no	94%	95%	92%	93%
not sure	1%	—	*	1%

Q-28. What about your children, parents, other close relatives or members of your immediate family? Do any of them *currently* receiving AFDC, General Assistance, SSI, Food Stamps, or Medicaid?

yes	14%	11%	15%	12%
no	84%	88%	84%	86%
not sure	2%	1%	1%	2%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category

* = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero

n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item

+ = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)

◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

	MEMBERS	ELDERS	PASTORS	SPECIALIZED CLERGY
--	----------------	---------------	----------------	-------------------------------

Q-29. Are there other individuals in your congregation who *currently* receive any government assistance, such as AFDC, General Assistance, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Food Stamps, or Medicaid?

yes, many	2%	1%	4%	3%
yes, some	18%	20%	33%	29%
yes, but only a few	16%	22%	40%	31%
not sure	58%	51%	13%	26%
no	6%	6%	10%	11%

Q-30. In addition, have you ever found yourself:

a. homeless?				
yes	1%	1%	3%	2%
no	99%	99%	97%	98%
b. living in poverty?				
yes	8%	8%	19%	17%
no	92%	92%	81%	83%
c. completely broke (whether or not you declared bankruptcy)?				
yes	12%	16%	24%	19%
no	88%	84%	76%	81%
d. receiving food through a church or community food pantry?				
yes	4%	2%	8%	5%
no	96%	98%	92%	95%


Q-31. Please use the space below to make any additional comments.

no response	71%	75%	77%	73%
balanced or neutral regarding welfare reform ...	2%	1%	1%	2%
for welfare reform or some aspect of it	8%	8%	4%	4%
against welfare reform or some aspect of it	1%	1%	2%	2%
lacking in knowledge/information about reform .	3%	1%	1%	2%
technical critique of survey	2%	3%	3%	6%
explanation of response to earlier question	1%	2%	2%	1%
personal story	3%	2%	2%	2%
other	9%	7%	8%	9%

— = zero (0.0); no cases in this category
 * = less than 0.5%; rounds to zero
 n = number of respondents eligible to answer this item
 + = non-responses of 10% or more for this question (reported percentages for all questions omit nonresponses)
 ◆ = percentages add to more than 100 because respondents could make more than one response

Published by:
RESEARCH SERVICES
Congregational Ministries Division
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)
(502) 569-5148

PDS#70360-97253
\$5.00 per copy
1-800-524-2612
100 Witherspoon Street
Louisville, KY 40202-1396

 Printed on recycled paper

welfare.app