

MANPOWER POLICIES have a long history in the United States, but they have seldom equipped workers for lifelong advancement in skills, earnings, and occupational mobility. Instead, most of these policies have focused on short-term economic goals. Only in periods of low general economic activity marked by rising levels of unemployment has the federal government developed manpower measures directed toward helping people find work and improve their skills and earnings. For example, during the years of the Great Depression, which caused mass unemployment, the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt undertook large-scale intervention in the labor market by creating jobs through the Public Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the National Youth Administration—all of which continued into the early years of World War II. And during the early 1960s, when unemployment reached the highest level since World War II, the administrations of Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson developed new manpower policies to meet the special needs of workers who were displaced by automation. These policies called for the training or retraining of workers for new occupational opportunities. One of the measures, the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, shifted its focus from adult workers to youths because unemployment among the young, especially among young members of racial minorities in urban areas, had emerged as a major social issue and because the levels of unemployment among adult workers had begun to decline in 1963.

Few contemporary social problems appear as intractable as unemployment among blacks, especially among black youths between the ages of 16 and 24. Some groups of young people have been served through a variety of manpower programs instituted under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act and finally brought together under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) in 1974. (See Table 1.) Some CETA programs, for example, the Job Corps, have strict

Unemployment among black youths: a policy dilemma

James A. Moss

Manpower programs aimed at hard-core unemployed black youths did not reach them. In view of this failure, the author addresses the policy objectives that should govern such programs and proposes an income-subsidy program to meet the needs of these youths. It is not likely that such a program will be funded.

age limitations; others, for instance, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, require that the individual attend school and live with his or her parents; and most require that the individual be economically disadvantaged as a condition for eligibility.

Young people have also been served through special projects such as outreach apprenticeship programs that were undertaken to enforce the mandate of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbade racial discrimination in employment. Furthermore, they have been served through vocational counseling programs supported by the U.S. Employment Service, a federal-state employment system that brings job seekers and job openings together. The effectiveness of manpower, vocational, and special programs, however, in terms of their ability to reach the majority of hard-core unemployed black youths appears to be limited.

Robison, in describing the ineffectiveness of the U.S. Employment Service, offered the following by way of comment:

Perhaps the single greatest failure is the state employment service system. It is a shining example of inefficient government services that have become politically entrenched at the state and federal levels. The Jobs Service hardly touches the youths we are concerned with, yet it has 2,400 offices nationwide. . . . We need an effective youth labor market service.¹

Although manpower programs focus on job training, counseling, recruitment for training programs, and job discrimination, they are inadequate in terms of closing the gap between the unemployment rates of black and white youths. Furthermore, because of their focus on entry-level jobs, they have done little to enhance the occupational mobility of young blacks aged 16–24. ✓

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TABLE 1. MAJOR FEDERALLY ASSISTED MANPOWER PROGRAMS

Program Title and Authorizing Legislation	Target Population	Services Provided	Current Authorization
MDTA Institutional Training Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, Title II	Mostly unemployed, 16 years of age and over, underutilized workers for upgrading, and two-thirds disadvantaged	Occupational training or retraining in a classroom setting at a school or skill center, including testing, counseling, selection, job development, referral, and job placement	CETA
MDTA On-the-Job Training Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, Title II	Mostly unemployed, preference for 18 year olds and over, and one-half disadvantaged	Instruction and supervised work at the job site and classroom training at vocational education institution or employer's location	CETA
Job Corps Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title I-A	School dropouts, 16 to 21 years of age, family below poverty level, and youths from areas with no training opportunities readily accessible	Residential setting with intensive education, skill training, counseling, and related services	CETA
Neighborhood Youth Corps In-school and summer program	In-school youths, 16 to 21 years of age, and family below poverty level	Part-time employment and work experience and some counseling	CETA
Out-of-school program (Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title I-B)	Out-of-school youths, 16 to 18 years of age, and family below poverty level	Skill training, remedial education, work experience, counseling, and health care	CETA
New Careers Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title I-B	Disadvantaged adults and out-of-school youths	Work experience and training in human service field, including basic education, counseling, and related services	CETA
Job Opportunities in the Business Sector Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and Economic Opportunity Act of 1964	Disadvantaged hard-core unemployed and underemployed, 18 years of age and over	Orientation, counseling, job-related education, minor medical and day care, and on-the-job training	CETA
Concentrated Employment Program Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and Economic Opportunity Act of 1964	Disadvantaged persons in eighty-two urban poverty and rural deprived areas, predominantly male enrollees	Coordinated delivery of manpower, supportive services	CETA
Work Incentive Program Social Security Amendments of 1967	Recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children	Training work experience, job creation, basic education, orientation, child care, and transportation	Social security amendments of 1967

SOURCES: Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Employment Problems of Black Youth, *Job Crisis for Black Youth* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), pp. 114-115; and *Conference Report on Youth Unemployment: Its Measurement and Meaning* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1979), p. 252.

Most of these youths, some of whom no longer attend school and no longer live with their parents, find themselves moving in and out of unskilled jobs with little hope of occupational mobility. Their income, although near the poverty level, is higher than that allowed by most programs. Many of these young blacks are no longer in the active labor force, choosing, instead, to engage in illicit income-producing activities. These youths constitute the hard-core unemployed, whom the existing services have failed to reach. The growing severity of the problem over the last twenty years and the failure of social mechanisms to cope with it have left a wide gap in service to black youths. The social implication of this failure was noted by Hill:

It is evident that a permanent Black underclass has developed, that virtually an entire second generation of ghetto youth will never enter the labor force.²

Gil's model for assessing social policies provides the framework for the analysis undertaken in this article.³ The author addresses the following in the analysis:

- Spatial and time dimensions of unemployment among blacks in general and black, inner-city youths in particular
- Major policy issues that define and contain the unemployment problem of these youths
- Policy objectives that should govern manpower programs directed at black youths and a policy proposal that addresses the needs of the hard-core unemployed.

SPATIAL AND TIME DIMENSIONS

Black people have always experienced barriers to employment in the United States. Recognizing this problem, Higgenbotham remarked:

It is interesting today, when barriers to employment remain in certain industries, that a 1686 New York law banned Blacks from working as porters on certain bridges or driving wagons. Even then some white workers feared competition for jobs.⁴

Gutman wrote about the racial and job discrimination experienced by fourteen thousand black families who had migrated from the South in 1910 to New York City.⁵ And in 1967, Kenneth Clark, a black psychologist, had this to say to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) about the periodic racial uprisings by young blacks in protest of their economic situation:

I read that report of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee of the Harlem riot of 1935, the report of the investigation committee on the Harlem riot of 1943, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot. I must in candor say to you members of this Commission—it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland with the same moving picture reshown over and over again, the same recommendations and the same inaction.⁶

Most recently, black youths in Miami, Florida, were involved in a riot that many believe was as much the result of chronic high unemployment among black youths as of police brutality. In many black areas of Miami, more than 50 percent of the population is under 19 years of age, with 40 percent of them unemployed. And the unemployment rate for blacks generally is nearly twice that of whites.⁷

Although both black and white people benefited from a significant rise in incomes from 1954 to 1977, during this same period, while the overall unemployment rate for whites decreased by 43 percent, the overall unemployment rate for blacks decreased by only 23 percent. In contrast, the unemployment rate for black youths, aged 16–19, rose from 17 percent in 1954 to 39 percent in 1977, while the rate for white youths, aged 16–19, rose from 13 to 16 percent.⁸ One cannot overlook, in light of the rise in unemployment among young blacks, that the continuing influx of migrant labor from Latin America and the Caribbean and the growing number of women who enter the labor force have placed these youths in greater competition for jobs.

The problem of unemployment among the young appears more grave in

the United States than in other industrialized countries. In the period 1974–76, the unemployment rate for teenagers was 18.3 percent in the United States but only 3.5 percent in Japan.⁹ Although unemployment is more severe for black youths than for any other subgroups in America, the quantitative magnitude of the problem does not appear overwhelming. It is estimated that for young blacks who are actively looking for work, only 682,000 jobs are required to bring the present unemployment rate down to a manageable level.¹⁰ This estimate would have to be increased by an additional 700,000 if the hard-core unemployed were included.

A series in the *New York Times* described the unemployment problem among black youths as one that has "persisted through both recession and prosperity and through more than a decade of civil rights enforcement and minority job programs."¹¹ Despite the high unemployment among all blacks, the *New York Times* series found that many whites believe that unemployment among whites exceeds that of blacks. Firm resistance on the part of whites prevents acknowledgment of the chronic and severe character of unemployment among black youths as a problem worthy of national attention.

POLICY ISSUES

The *New York Times* noted the multiple causes of unemployment among black youths and indicated that even when some of the causes are known, their relative impact has yet to be measured.¹² A government study also underscored this point and identified factors contributing to unemployment:

The precise causes of such unemployment rates among nonwhite youths and of the strong upward trend in nonwhite teenage unemployment are difficult to identify. Nevertheless, some of the general contributing causes can be identified without separating their individual effects. These include: racial prejudice and discrimination, business cycle, location in poverty areas, characteristics of jobs available to nonwhite youths, education and

training inequalities, population growth, [and] increased supply of white youths and adult women in competition for unskilled, entry-level jobs.¹³

Thus, it is difficult to sort out the issues that are central to a formulation of an employment policy for black youths. At best one can identify those salient issues noted by social science theoreticians and practitioners. The following list is, therefore, not conclusive or presented in any hierarchical order: unemployment among black youths (1) as a consequence of racial inequality and social injustice, (2) as a test of the competence of society to cope with and solve serious social problems, (3) as a factor in the culture-of-poverty thesis, (4) as a consequence of structural defects, (5) as a factor in the allocation of economic and social costs, and (6) as a problem of income maintenance.

Issues 1 and 2 revolve around the beliefs and values that either support or constrict the advancement of black youths toward full employment. Issues 3 and 4 deal with institutional forces that either prevent or offer a solution to the employment problem. Issues 5 and 6 assess the social and economic costs resulting from failure to act effectively on the unemployment problem or assess those costs required to work toward a solution of it.

Racial Inequality and Competence of Society to Solve Social Problems Despite the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, racial discrimination still looms as one of the major causes of high unemployment among black youths. Because racism has contributed to the systematic unemployment of their fathers and older brothers, the majority of the black young see no future employment possibility for themselves. White Americans generally, however, view the black young as suffering less from job discrimination than from personal and cultural defects and an aversion to work. An unpublished report prepared by Ohio State University for the U.S. Department of Labor refutes this contention. It found that a majority of black youths would be willing to accept jobs in

fast-food restaurants and in supermarkets at salaries lower than the minimum wage.¹⁴

The attitudes of whites toward the unemployment problem faced by young blacks is likely to be reflected in congressional resistance to substantial allocation of funds to ease the current situation. The failure of Congress to approve President Carter's request for an additional two billion dollars in support of employment programs aimed at young people reflects this resistance.

The legitimate claims on jobs by women have resulted in diminishing job opportunities for black males.¹⁵ Similarly, the illegal influx of migrant labor from Latin America and the Caribbean has restricted opportunities for blacks. Thus, society is confronted with a test of national competence in meeting competing claims with equity and justice.

Cultural Deprivation and Structural Defects Earlier, the author referred to the widespread belief among whites that unemployment difficulties experienced by black youths lie in the individual rather than in the shortcomings of the labor market. A similar proposition suggests that the historically entrenched condition of poverty among blacks has resulted in the adaptation of blacks to their environment, rendering it almost impossible to introduce into the environment any meaningful change. This proposition shifts the blame from defects in the social system to defects in the individual or group. In responding to the proposition, Hylan Lewis, a black sociologist, notes:

The behavior of the bulk of the poor Negro families appears as pragmatic adjustments to external and internal stresses and deprivations experienced in the quest for essential common values. . . . Our experience suggests . . . that the common focus of efforts to change should be on background conditions and on precipitants of deviant behavior rather than on presumably different class or cultural values.¹⁶

Increasingly, more and more attention is being directed toward identifying those factors within the social structure

that inhibit the employment of black youths. Factors such as racial discrimination, educational inequality, technological innovation in industrial production, and the increasing use of migrant labor in the production of domestic goods are all seen as indications of the failure of the economic system to balance out the equities afforded one group in society against the inequities suffered by another. Increasing governmental intervention in the labor market to compensate for the social and economic dislocations is an essential component in any solution to the problem of disadvantaged youths.

Economic and Social Costs Do the social and economic costs of chronic unemployment among black youths exceed the costs of government programs aimed at ameliorating the problem? An estimate of the former costs has never been fully determined. According to an article in the *New York Times*,

a high crime rate and the fear it spreads through the larger community is only one of the costs to society of a persistently high unemployment rate for young blacks that has created a permanent underclass of the jobless. Virtually every segment of life, in the white community as well as the black, suffers from the hundreds of thousands of Americans who remain outside the job market throughout their productive lives.¹⁷

This article also drew attention to the community service costs, including costs related to fire, health, and drug control, that arise out of the deterioration of inner-city human and physical resources.

Although the income losses to blacks and the nation and the costs related to property damage are not fully calculable, some order of magnitude is possible to estimate. Out of a national total income of 1.1 trillion dollars, the black population's share is only 7 percent.¹⁸ According to the economist Thurow, even seven years ago, the income losses to blacks through unemployment and underemployment served to increase white incomes by approximately \$15 billion a year.¹⁹ (If these losses and gains were estimated for 1981, given

the inflationary surge, the figure would certainly be much higher.) Thurow also estimated that, in 1973, the loss of national income owing to job discrimination against blacks was \$19 billion and that the loss of property owing to illicit activities among blacks was \$5.9 billion. These estimates do not include damages to property and people resulting from race riots; for the 1965 Watts riot alone, property damage was estimated at \$40 million. Although the losses of income and property are a heavy financial burden on the economy, Congress, in responding to the negative attitudes of whites toward the unemployment situation among black youths, prefers to sustain these losses rather than allocate additional funds to resolve the unemployment problem.

The failure to provide jobs for inner-city black youths has created a permanent underclass in the American social structure. The report of the Kerner Commission stresses that the persistent inability of blacks to obtain steady employment results in a "cycle of failure—the employment disabilities of one generation breed those of the next."²⁰ The employment problems of black youths are also compounded by their limited education. As long as 42 percent of these youths are functionally illiterate, their ability to obtain jobs will be seriously impaired.²¹

Evidence suggests that despite the socially debilitating effects of unemployment, black youths still have residual strengths on which solid youth programs can be built. For example, Frost, in her research on unemployed black female teenagers, found that

[although] money was obviously important [to the teenagers] . . . prestige, self-esteem, and independence were the paramount considerations. . . . Nor had they themselves become so discouraged or unhopeful about their own prospects.²²

Income Maintenance Employers seem less inclined to hire certain groups of workers than others. These workers include youths who lack skills because of their age and limited work experience or who are members in certain racial groups left outside the labor market be-

cause of discrimination. Black youths fit in both categories. Some special inducements are required if employers are to exhibit the willingness to move these youths from their marginal position in society into jobs that offer occupational mobility.

The missing factors in the overall equation of linking jobs to inner-city youths are assuring increased incomes, higher skill levels, and upward occupational mobility. A major policy question is how best to provide these missing elements.

POLICY OBJECTIVES

Getting a program through the federal government's legislative and funding process may be somewhat easier than gaining agreement on policy recommendations. Programs often arise out of crisis situations and, therefore, are more immediately visible than are policy statements and propositions. A case can be made that failure to develop and implement a comprehensive employment policy for youths has resulted in the "tail wagging the dog." Nevertheless, one may be able to identify some policy objectives that lend themselves for consideration as building blocks in a policy structure governing the employment of young people, especially black youths:

1. Assure all young people desiring to enter the labor market the freedom to do so regardless of their race, gender, and national origin. This objective would comply with the mandates of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill.

2. Provide mechanisms for identifying gaps in the employment picture of black youths and for designing programs that will meet the needs of the hard-core unemployed.

3. Develop a procedure for monitoring and working with employers who resist changing their discriminatory employment practices.

The unemployment rate for young blacks has been increasing for almost two decades, ranging from 21 percent to 40 percent. Many of these youths have opted to withdraw from the labor market. The following proposal, which is a slight revision of Thurow's, seeks to

address the needs of this hard-core group.²³

The policy objective is to provide black youths with subsidized on-the-job experience through direct grants from the federal government to private firms. The firms would not be required to provide on-the-job training. Any young person who wanted to develop marketable skills and who had little or no previous job experience would be eligible for the program. The present income eligibility requirements of CETA would not apply. The subsidy would apply proportionately to all wage increases over a five-year period up to a maximum of \$5,000. The system would work as follows: For the first \$1,000, 4 percent of the total subsidy would be given to the employer for each \$100 increase in income; for the second \$1,000, 3 percent; for the third \$1,000, 2 percent; and for the fourth \$1,000, 1 percent. Thus, of the total subsidy, 40 percent would go for increases from \$0 to \$1,000, 30 percent for increases from \$1,000 to \$2,000, 20 percent for increases from \$2,000 to \$3,000, and 10 percent for increases from \$3,000 to \$4,000. This kind of progression in the income-subsidy payment constitutes a bonus to employers as an inducement to reach hard-core groups and to make the initial hiring decision.

The subsidy is not based on training but only on the employer's ability to increase the income of workers through on-the-job experience. Thurow estimated that to raise one man's income over a five-year period an average of \$4,000 would require a subsidy of \$5,000. The estimate here of 1 million youths to be served would require a subsidy of \$5 billion from the federal government. This is only a fraction of the total cost incurred by the nation for the unemployment of black youths.

This proposal bypasses the tax subsidies granted by CETA programs to private industry. These subsidies are offered to induce employers to provide on-the-job training. Private industry has been cool, if not hostile, to tax credits, which have proved ineffective. One of the major reasons cited for industry's lack of interest in tax credits was this:

Employers are more interested in funding qualified employees, and the tax credit did not compensate for what employers perceived to be additional costs of hiring poorly qualified persons.²⁴

Other employers complained that the requirements for tax credits were too rigid and complicated.

At the present time the successful implementation of the cash-subsidy plan proposed in this article is unlikely because the Reagan Administration and the Congress favor domestic cuts in federal spending in support of balancing the budget. Currently, proposed federal funds for CETA programs in the public sector are frozen for 1981, and the programs are scheduled for elimination in 1982. As it looks now, the employment of black youths is not likely to receive high priority in the current administration.

Because of traditional Republican support for programs that strengthen the private sector, the subsidy program proposed here would benefit from a more positive attitude on the part of private industry toward the job plight of black youths. Frank W. Schiff, Chief Economist for the Committee on Economic Development, sees the "time as ripe" for private industry to act:

More firms are starting to become concerned that a failure to equip large numbers of our young people with useful skills and work attitudes may lead to serious shortages of skilled entry level personnel five to ten years hence.²⁵

Failure to pursue an aggressive employment policy for inner-city youths, with firm guarantees of implementation, will encourage the belief of young blacks that society is "running a game on them" and that salvation in the system is light years away.

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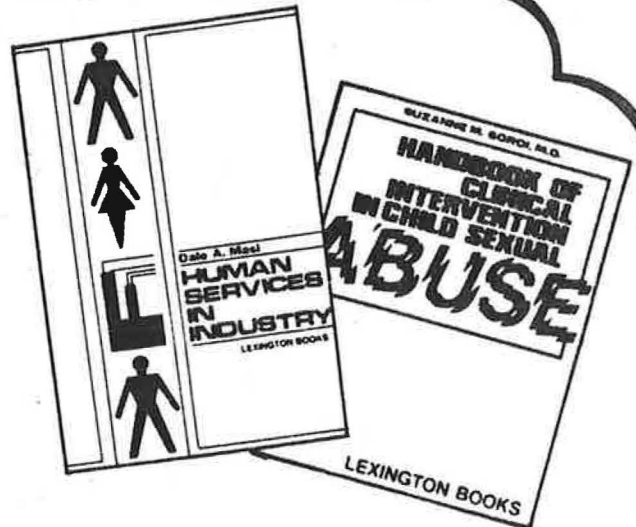
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By Peggy G. Carr, Ph.D.

BLACK Single Parents

It wasn't that long ago that popular expressions for describing female-headed households were somewhat derogatory. The words "broken homes" or "fatherless homes" implied that these types of families were, in many ways, inferior to traditional two-parent families.

In the last few years, the terms for describing single parent families have changed. Now that the numbers are so large, single parenting issues concern the nation. Single parenting has reached mainstream society.

But single parenting in the black community has been in the mainstream for a long time, that is, raising a child without the father in the home is a common occurrence. In the 70s, when single parenting concerns had low priority, the U.S. Bureau of the Census reported that one-third of all black families with young children were one-parent families. Ten years later, the rates reported by the Census Bureau were still alarmingly high. Now about 50 percent of all black families with children at home are one-parent families. Although the number of white single parent families have increased over the past decade as well, the percentage of white single parent families—about one-sixth—is relatively small when compared to that of blacks.

Black Single Parents: Why So Many?

While a number of factors account for the higher rate of single parent families among blacks than whites, a major reason is that marriage opportunities for black women are severely hampered—there are simply not enough black men to go around. And usually, the reasons can be traced back to socioeconomic differences, since a much larger number of blacks are

Single parenting has been in the mainstream of black communities for a long time, and in much higher numbers. The reasons why are numerous, but researchers believe it may all trace back to financial problems and racial discrimination.

in the lower class. A lack of money and the negative consequences of racial discrimination add up to fewer educational and job opportunities, as well as poor mental and physical health—all of which contribute to family instability among blacks.

Problem: High Black Infant Male Mortality. According to Walter Leavy, author of the popular article, "Is the Black Male an Endangered Species?", the black male faces a long list of unfortunate economic circumstances that, in one way or another, remove him from the civilian population. For example, black male infants die at twice the rate of white infants due to poor prenatal and postnatal care. The lack of money for health care for the mother accounts for a large portion of the problem.

Problem: A High Black Homicide Rate. Consider homicide as a reducing factor in the number of available black men. There

appears to be a close relationship between being poor and the likelihood of committing a crime. In the United States, the black-on-black homicide accounts for a large percentage of all homicides. The result? One male is dead and the other is jailed. In fact, the latest statistics indicate that about 49 percent of all people in jail are black males.

Regardless of the reasons, black men are scarce. The number of black men to black women is significantly lower than for whites. Moreover, a 1979 Census Bureau study indicated that the imbalance of the number of black males and females is the greatest in the age ranges where men and women are likely to marry and have families. Between the ages of 25 and 29, the average black female has only a 40 percent chance of finding a mate in her same age range. The problem gets more complicated when you consider that most people select mates based on many other factors, like proximity, educational level and personal compatibility.

Unfortunately, a high number of single parent families is a major result of the few marital opportunities for black women. Dr. Marsha Guttentag, author of *Too Many Women*, says that the proportion of black mothers who are separated, divorced or never married is larger when the sex ratio is low as compared to when it is high. Guttentag outlines an impressive list of reasons, but it boils down to the fact that a large number of black males are reluctant to commit themselves to marriages when there is a surplus of black women. The same social consequences would follow for the white population if it had similarly low sex ratios, Guttentag says. However, whites do not suffer from some of the other conditions that lead to a low sex ratio to the same extent as blacks.



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Problem: Improper knowledge and use of contraceptives. The black male shortage is only one contributor to the number of black single-parent families as a result of socioeconomic deprivation. Ignorance of contraceptives and/or using them improperly accounts for an overwhelming number of lower-class black never-married mothers. First of all, when someone is poor, there is little or no money for purchasing contraceptives. Similarly, when there is little money, women cannot afford to visit doctors where adequate education and counseling about contraceptives can be obtained. Although the same problem exists for whites, it is important to remember that there are proportionally more blacks in the lower classes. Hence, unwed motherhood due to inadequate contraceptive use is more pronounced among blacks than whites, again, mainly because of their depressed socioeconomic situation.

Strong Kinship Ties

Attitudes toward abortion and adoption among blacks is perhaps the only culturally related explanation for the high incidence of black single parent families. Some research has revealed, for example, that black mothers are less likely to give up or advise others to give up their out-of-wedlock children to adoption. Some black family experts attribute this to the high value blacks place on kinship ties, while others suggest black women have simply become adjusted to coping with single parenting, therefore, it's not that big of a problem.

There are also some indications that blacks have comparatively fewer abortions than whites. Although this too has been attributed to cultural practices, Dr. Harriette McAdoo, a professor of social work at Howard University, cautions that "We must not romanticize abortion practices among blacks," since the black abortion rate is steadily increasing due to increased accessibility and lower cost. McAdoo suggests that years ago, many black women may have chosen not to abort simply because they did not have the financial resources to do so.

One-Income Households Mean Money Problems

Socioeconomic deprivation is a consequence as well as a cause of single-parenting. Most single-parent families have difficulty making ends meet. This is especially true for single mothers who become pregnant during their adolescence. Unplanned parenthood during this period typically leads to poorer educational opportunities, which in turn, leads to poorer paying jobs and less income.

As for divorced, widowed or separated mothers, nothing can be more difficult

Types of Single Parent Families, By Race

	Separated/Spouse Absent	Divorced	Never Married	Widowed
1970				
Blacks	49.7%	16.5%	18.2%	15.4%
Whites	31.5%	40.0%	3.3%	25.0%
1982				
Blacks	28.7%	20.2%	44.0%	6.8%
Whites	27.7%	52.3%	10.1%	9.6%

In 1970 the U.S. Census Bureau reported that approximately 50 percent of all black single parents were separated from their spouses, while the largest group of white single parents were divorced—about 40 percent. The 1982 census data indicated a significant shift in the percentages representing different types of single parents for blacks, but not for whites.

Never-married parents currently represent the largest category of all black single parents—about 44 percent, while divorcees still maintain the largest representation among white single parent families—about 52.3 percent. Keep in mind that these figures represent 50.5 percent of all black families, and 16.8 percent of all white families.

than suddenly finding the household minus one income. Black women usually have an advantage over white mothers when this occurs, because a larger percentage of black mothers are full-time wage earners before marital disruption. According to Lander, who has conducted extensive research on the black family, black women are typically raised to be financially independent—just in case something like this occurs.

Nevertheless, most single-parents, whether black or white, identify their lack of money as their most difficult hurdle to overcome. This is particularly true of black single parent mothers, since they are black and female, as well as single parents—the characteristics that typically represent the lowest end of the pay scale. In other words, black single mothers are often struggling with low paying jobs due to racial, as well as sex and class discrimination. The actual figures indicate that black female-headed families have a lower per capital income than white female-headed families, as well as those single-parent families headed by black or white males. As one black single mother puts it, "I had three strikes against me when I entered the job market. I was alone, female, and black, with three kids under 10 to support."

When you look at the statistics, it is clear single-parent mothers, whether black or white, are up an "economic creek without a paddle." According to a 1978 census study, only 49 percent of mothers who were eligible for child support received the full amount that they were due in child support; and a significant number of the remaining ones received nothing. The latter was especially true of blacks.

Coping with Single Parenthood

Fortunately, however, black single-parent mothers tend to pool their needed resources in ways that do not require monetary exchange more so than whites. Audrey Chapman, a family therapist at Howard University, states that most of her female single-parent clients rely heavily on friends and family to provide them with the resources that they cannot afford to pay for. They rely on an informal support system. A black single parent who totally depends on her mother for Sunday meals and weekend babysitting needs is not unusual. A white single-parent mother, on the other hand, stands a better chance of receiving some sort of monetary support from her mother (and father). This may be primarily because her parents are more than likely still living together, and therefore, in a better position to offer financial assistance. In contrast, a black single parent mother is more likely to have a mother who is also a single parent, and therefore in a similar economic position as herself.

Middle Class Differences

Although black and white single parent mothers may differ in how they cope with the financial aspects of single parenting, recent evidence indicates that children raised in single-parent families, regardless of race, are not necessarily at psychological risk when adequate socioeconomic conditions exist. For example, in the area of achievement development, where there has been the most controversy concerning the possible adverse effects of single parenting, the evidence is remarkably consistent across race—children who are

raised in single parent homes have no more problems in achievement and achievement-related behavior than children of two-parent homes of similar socioeconomic status. In fact, in a study I recently conducted, black children reared in middle class single-parent families perform better in achievement-related areas than children reared in lower class two-parent families. Similarly, Dr. James Williams, director of a gifted and talented program for black children at Howard University, reported that all of his students with I.Q.s of 130 or more were from middle class single-parent families!

Raising a child who is motivated toward success, however, entails something different for a single mother as compared to a married mother. For instance, the results of my study also indicate that a single mother with an achievement motivated male child encourages little emotional dependency, whereas the opposite is true of a mother living with her spouse. Even when it comes to something as simple as sex role training, my research indicates that single mothers are more likely to have achievement motivated children if they encourage their children to develop non-traditional sex role attitudes, while married mothers usually have achievement motivated children when they encourage them to be traditional. Although there is no available evidence to support similar types of functioning within white middle-class single parent families, the results of such a study would probably be similar.

What Should Be Done?

Considering the many roles socioeconomic stability plays in the issues surrounding single-parenting, (particularly within the black community), the major focus of state and federal programs should be to expand, modify and develop programs that would address the financial circumstances leading to and resulting from this type of family structure. The child support law is only one of many types of legislation that should be improved. Most states will prosecute for not paying support, but few have laws that would automatically garnish money when the absent parent refuses to pay. Government supported after-school daycare programs need to be expanded. These types of programs are invaluable to the single-parent by virtue of the money they save in after-school babysitting expenses. Tax credits for providing employee child daycare facilities are excellent examples of laws that would help. These and similar types of social policies that address economic issues would benefit all single-parent families, regardless of racial origin. □

Peggy G. Carr wrote her doctoral dissertation on black single parents at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

the dawning of adolescence and visits to the non-custodial parent don't always mix. As peer groups, boyfriends or girlfriends take more time, parents can feel left out, until they remember that growing up is hard to do.

NON-CUSTODIAL GROWING PAINS

By Kay Marie Porterfield

Visits with the children used to go so smoothly. Naturally, right after the divorce, things were a bit rocky, but you worked through the awkwardness, the communication snafus and your own pain at being a non-custodial parent . . . only to stumble into adolescence. Now Sara demands to go on a backpacking expedition with her friends on *your* weekend. Sam insists on sitting in his room with stereo headphones clamped over his ears, that is, when he's not out playing basketball or on a date.

Sometimes it feels as if they're rejecting you, that they don't love you. But then you recall your own teen years, and you wonder if you aren't being too demanding. After all, adolescence means letting go of parents and childhood. Teenagers are busy finding out who they are apart from the folks who raised them. This leaves them often too busy to give a parent the time of day. Gradually their relationships with peers are taking priority over those with adults. They don't want to go to the zoo with you or to visit Aunt Martha.

"These changes are normal," says Dana Cogan, M.D. a Denver psychiatrist who has worked with teenagers and their parents for more than 10 years. "Adolescents go through the same changes in intact homes, and after divorce, in the custodial home, as well. Often, though, it is the non-custodial parent who feels intense pain when children reach adolescence.

"In the first place, the non-custodial parent usually hasn't spent a good deal of time with his or her children. When they begin to prefer being with their own friends and schedule their own activities during or instead of visits, it cuts into time together, and it hurts. As a parent, you tend to feel loss."

That pain is intensified more if the divorce was a particularly bitter one. Unresolved issues come to the fore as a part-time parent once again feels unloved and an unimportant part of his or her child's life.

"Then, because you aren't living day to day with them," Cogan adds, "your relationship with your children may not be as strong as the one they have with the parent they're living with. You often don't have the time to talk about what's going on or to work out problems. By the time you and the kids are ready to have a discussion, they're gone for another two weeks."

The limitations of part-time parenting combined with the growing pains of adolescence and a parent's own mid-life crisis can turn teenage visitation into a nightmare. Luckily, not all families have problems to the same degree. Generally, how well the kids have adjusted to the divorce has an impact on the relative calm or storminess of their teen years. The adjustment of the adults involved is also an important factor. When parents continue fighting with each other through their children, they make the situation more difficult for everyone.

Possibly the most important aspect of the parent/child relationship is how part-time parents handle the inevitable pain that comes with watching their offspring grow away from them. "I felt cheated," says George, a father who sees his kids one weekend a month and for two months during the summer. "I've found that I needed to lay down the law to them, to insist that they keep our time open for activities we can do as a family."

Even though George is getting what he wants on a short-term basis, he's fighting a losing battle. By rigidly reacting to his

children's growth, he almost insures that resentment will build. He pressures his children to feel guilty about wanting their own friends and their own lives apart from him and pushes them to rebel. "When a parent has to enforce his rights as a parent, he puts himself in the position of having to be more and more rigid and demanding as the kids break away," Cogan says. "Finally the child will say, 'I've had enough,' and end the relationship."

Some non-custodial parents react too far in the other direction. Mary felt so hurt when her 16-year-old daughter began spending both evenings of the weekend visit with a steady boyfriend, that she cancelled the visits entirely. Parents who withdraw from their children out of a deep sense of hurt, cause the child to withdraw. "They feel rejected and unloved, unimportant," advises Cogan. "Your kids want to remain important in your life. They expect you to fight them a little to spend time with them."

Parents running away from the reality of their children's adolescence sometimes act like teenagers themselves, have other children to replace the ones they're "losing," and fall victim to blaming their exes for all that goes wrong.

If demanding time and withdrawing are strategies that can damage a relationship, sometimes beyond repair, just what can a parent do? Social worker Katherine Cusack, who has a private practice in Lakewood, Colo., and has been working with single parents for five years, suggests compromise. "Parents can't always have exactly what they want and neither can teenagers. If you've become overly involved in your child's life, you may need to back off a bit. On the other hand, there's a danger of never setting limits

See VISITATION, p. 24

From VISITATION, p. 17

because you fear your kids won't love you anymore if you do.

"I strongly believe you need to continue the visitation arrangement even when your teenager has scheduled activities that don't include you. They can borrow your car instead of the custodial parent's. Some of their plans will be spontaneous, but others will be made in advance of your visit. You have a right to expect to know when your adolescent is making plans to spend an overnight with friends so you can meet your own needs. Some weekends you may be busy; others, the child may be busy, but there should be a good mix of time apart and time together. When things go askew, it's time to talk about it."

Talking with teenagers can be difficult, but it isn't impossible. "Adolescents are more action oriented than most adults," stresses Cogan. "If they have a feeling, they'll act on it rather than talking about it. That's why sometimes a teenager simply might not show up for a visit. You need to say, 'That really hurts me,' or whatever you are feeling and to ask your child how he or she is feeling. If it's difficult for your child to talk, you can start by talking about how difficult it is to talk . . . or to talk about talking!"

Sometimes visitation may need to be more flexible as children get older. If weekends during the school year are hectic for children, a part-time parent might want to reschedule some of them and make up for lost time with a longer summer visit. If summer jobs or summer school cut into visitation, you can arrange more time together during the winter.

Non-custodial parents are often cut off from informal parenting networks, so it's important to talk with other adults to find out how they cope with their adolescents. Parents Without Partners groups, parenting classes and seminars can be good places to begin gathering information and getting emotional support. "You begin to gain a sense of what's normal for teenagers," says Cusack who gives workshops for single parents through St. Luke's Hospital in Denver. "Reading books on adolescence helps, too, and you need to think back on your own adolescence and how you felt and acted."

It's critical to recognize that non-custodial parents suffer empty nest syndrome sometimes more severely than custodial parents. Allowing yourself to mourn makes it easier to let go with grace. Eventually all of us, divorced, married, custodial and noncustodial have to face our children's adulthood.

And even though it may not seem like it right now, there is a positive side to watching your children fly the nest. "You can begin involving yourself in activities you've put off," Cogan suggests. "Maybe you can begin planning extended travel or taking classes that would have interfered with visitation. You may be able to afford more things you want when child support payments end. It might be time to solidify your relationship with another adult. When you lose developmentally, you also gain. The key is to maximize your gains!" □

Kay Marie Porterfield is a free-lance writer living in Denver, Colo.

From STEP-SIBLINGS, p. 23

it interferes with family communication. There are some simple and obvious steps. By mixing same-sex children for room sharing, passing hand-me-downs across groups lines and taking one from each group for an outing, parents can help build a store of shared experiences.

If one child tries to control others to too great a degree, parents may have to intervene. For example, when Michael was playing with his stepbrother, his own brother Steve regularly interfered, sometimes by tickling and teasing Michael, other times by offering to share his treasured electronic game. When Susan played with her stepsister, Mandy, her biological sister Sara began crying because she felt left out. Without fail, Susan would do whatever Sara wanted, if only she'd stop crying. Parents may need to say that Sara doesn't own Susan and that Susan can decide for herself who she'll play with. Or they may need to involve Steve in an interesting activity so that Michael can play with his new brother.

Different families may have different lifestyles, and these may feed both the individual and group conflicts the family is already experiencing. Children may have been given varying degrees of freedom and responsibility. Janie's mother had, for example, expected her to help around the house, but Andrea had not been expected to do many chores or to keep her possessions in very good order. Some families may have an organized approach to meals, and others may be slapdash. Bed-times may be handled differently. Psychiatrist Richard Gardner feels that adjustments in lifestyle may be among the most difficult to make. Since they affect many aspects of daily life, they produce a continuing irritant that may be harder to accept than a major crisis.

It is important for families to create a new lifestyle that includes all members. Ritual can play an important part. Families with strong rituals tend to be more cohesive. Such practices are especially important in stepfamilies where members may be pulled by conflicting relationships from outside the household. By sharing family rituals, even over such simple matters as starting meals (Do you all sit down together? When do you start to eat?), the children from both sets develop the sense that "this is our way." Thus they are transformed from feeling like outsiders to insiders.

One important way of breaking the closed cycle of hurt and anger is planning cooperative activities to include the whole family, or on a lesser scale, one member from each set of children. One experiment conducted among children at a summer camp found that sharing tasks that affected the well-being of all campers reduced

See STEP-SIBLINGS, p. 25

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From *STEP-SIBLINGS*, p. 24

conflict among rival groups. In organizations and businesses, a task that requires a cooperative effort of previously competing groups can reduce conflict between those groups. What is true for campers and members of voluntary organizations is also true for families. These activities could be as simple as involving two children in baking cookies for the family or as complicated as developing new family rituals.

Carole Calladine suggests several strategies for coping with conflict among children, most based on developing adequate communication. When there is conflict, rather than being a judge or referee, she recommends that the parent act as mediator, thus encouraging a cooperative relationship rather than competition by stating the problem in one sentence and then requesting the children's suggestions for a solution. For example, when Andrea and Janie fight over television programs, the mother can turn off the television and help them arrive at a solution without taking sides. If they can't work out an agreement, the television can stay off until they finally do reach one.

If a problem recurs frequently, the parent can help the children write a contract. Such a contract should be limited to one specific activity, like room tidying or clothes borrowing or sharing time with the stereo. It should be put in writing to aid memory and be signed by all parties.

Another useful method is the family meeting, especially when problems affect the entire group. It can be used to good purpose even before the parents marry, as Bill and Nancy discovered. Some difficulties like differences in rules can be discussed and suitable new ones set to apply to all children. Immediately after the family merging, the irritations of living together can also be handled during meetings. Through this formal mechanism, even trivial complaints are recognized but they are not allowed to monopolize ongoing family interaction. Some of the feelings resulting from jealousies and the need to learn new roles may also surface as apparently trivial complaints. If these are brushed aside, the child may nurse a sense of injury that will explode in some other way. The absence of open discussion denies children the opportunity of airing feelings in a constructive setting.

Parents can plan family integration like that engineered by Bill and Nancy and can use strategies to encourage cooperation and communication. They can thus promote a sense of unity within the remarriage family. The new members—parents and two sets of children—can in time and with encouragement become one family. □

Margaret Ward lives in Sudbury, Ontario.

From *GRIEF*, p. 21

engaging is done, you will be a different person.

"Death has brought you face to face with your own mortality. You are looking at this irrational world with different eyes. You gain insights that had previously escaped you.

You are more aware than before of what is significant and what is trivial." (Earl Grollman)

Grieving is a lonely business even when other people in your family are grieving, too. There are some things you can do to keep from feeling quite so alone and to keep the process flowing.

● Acknowledge your right to grieve. You needn't have lost a child or a parent, a spouse or a sibling to be a "legitimate" mourner. If the person who died meant something to you, you have every right to mourn—and you need to.

● Find someone who has had a similar loss. You need someone who understands your grief, who won't minimize it or try to talk you out of it. Some people can share easily with their families. Other people welcome the extra help of counseling or a support group. Don't wait to get this help. Some of the people in my grief group had experienced losses years before. They had never been able to talk about them, and

From *DRINKING*, p. 19

problem. Certainly early detection is essential for effective treatment.

Where To Get Help

To find help, alcoholism counselors are a good bet. By providing insight into one's problems, they can help a person cope with his situation without the use of alcohol. Learning to handle problems in a mature and confident manner is essential for leading an alcohol-free existence.

Women for Sobriety (WFS) is the first national self-help program for women alcoholics. Until recently, treatment programs for women with drinking problems were virtually nonexistent. Therefore, WFS is long overdue. The fact that only 4 percent of all women alcoholics use Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), scores the importance of this program. Slanted toward the special needs of women, WFS provides a climate essential for recovery.

Al-Anon, which has groups in all 50 states, offers assistance to the family, relatives, and friends of problem drinkers. By encouraging involvement, Al-Anon helps families solve their problems. "It's a family problem," Dava Weinstein says, "and it must be treated as such."

In reaching out: Who should refer a family for help? "The child has too much

wounds were just as painful, just as fresh as they were at the beginning.

● Reach out to your family and friends. They may not realize just how grieved you are, and even if they can't truly feel the loss with you, they may be able to ease your burdens in a practical way.

● Be patient with yourself. Allow yourself some disorganization, inefficiency and down-at-the-mouth days. Grief takes time and energy that you might normally use for other things. You'll recover faster if you allow yourself a little time out when you need it.

Grieving is probably the hardest thing we will ever do in our lives. It doesn't get easier with practice. Still, it is an opportunity to examine our lives, our values and our relationships, to grow, to be more sensitive and compassionate. Only by facing grief squarely, by thinking about the people we have loved, crying over what we have lost by their deaths, can we come to appreciate what these relationships gave us and what we have to gain from the relationships we still have. If we let ourselves be paralyzed emotionally by our fear of death and loss, we will close ourselves off to the very thing we want most—opportunities to love and be loved for the rest of our lives. □

Elizabeth Hormann is a contributing editor of *The Single Parent* and a social worker living in Belmont, Mass.

responsibility to bring an alcoholic parent for treatment," Dulfano says. "They have roles as parents already." Therefore, a friend or relative should call Al-Anon.

What can a child do? He can turn to a clergyman, school counselor or doctor. He can also call Alateen. This self-help group for young people with alcoholic parents helps kids share their experiences with other children in similar situations. These children learn they did not cause the drinking problem, and they must not assume responsibility for it. Once a child accepts this, he can begin to handle his own problems.

Meanwhile, everyone should try to understand alcoholism. Certainly, understanding is the first step toward dealing with it effectively.

For assistance, call or write the following groups. Most are listed in your phone directory under "alcohol" or "alcoholism": National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism; or the National Council on Alcoholism (NCA); Al-Anon; Alateen; Alcoholics Anonymous (AA); Women for Sobriety, Inc. P.O. Box 618, Quakertown, Pa. 18951.

Edwin Osborne is a free-lance writer living in Staten Island, New York.

INQUIRY

Topic: BLACK FAMILIES

Hortense G. Canady, 55, of Lansing, Mich., is president of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, the USA's largest black women's organization with 125,000 members. She has organized a national conference on the problems of black families headed by women, which will be held in 40 cities during May. Canady was interviewed by USA TODAY's Barbara Reynolds.



Hortense Canady

Few programs really help black women

USA TODAY: Why is Delta Sigma Theta sponsoring a national conference on black single mothers?

CANADY: We're talking about black, female heads of households for the simple reason that they are on the increase. There are so many children that are born into families that are headed by the female. That means that more and more children are raised in really abject poverty. Then you get into health problems, difficulties with nutrition, poorer educational opportunities, because generally they are living in very substandard housing.

USA TODAY: You say these problems are becoming more severe. Didn't the war on poverty help?

CANADY: It never really reached the black female. If you look at statistics, between 1960 and 1982, there has been a sharp increase in the number of black, female-headed households. At the same time, there has been a sharp decrease in the rate of employment for black males. There appears to be a correlation between those two figures.

USA TODAY: Are federal programs helping or hindering households headed by single

CANADY: Some of the regulations almost seem to have been made in a vacuum, because other regulations are diametrically opposed to them. As a good example, when we talk about the education of women who perhaps want to return to school to improve their skills so that they can seek better employment, they are actually faced with disincentives for attempting to gain education — particularly if they happen to be on any form of federal subsidy, such as the welfare program.

USA TODAY: In other words, they are penalized if they go to school?

CANADY: Often the subsidy is subtracted from their food stamps in that case. Tuition and fees are allowed. You have a social service agency allowing all educational experience. Social services will allow it. But the Agriculture Department, which administers the food stamp program, will subtract any benefits over and above tuition and fees from the food stamps. So, in a sense, it's a penalty. Anytime you penalize a family to that extent, then that's a disincentive. There are also no allowances for day care and for child care.

USA TODAY: How big a problem is day care for single

CANADY: We hear horror stories of what happens to some of the children under the latchkey situation. There may be neighbors and other types of arrangements, other than the latchkey arrangement, but I suspect that there are some children who are pretty much left on their own — at least for a certain part of the day — between school and the time the parent comes home, at an earlier age than would normally be desired.

USA TODAY: Forty-seven percent of the black households are headed by women and one-half of all black babies are being born to unmarried women. Aren't black men fulfilling their responsibilities?

CANADY: We have to face the fact that there is still a great deal of racism that affects the number of black females and males, but particularly black males. Prisons are extraordinarily full of black males. If you look at the difficulties that despairing people face with drug abuse and alcoholism, you have a disproportionate number of black males affected by drugs and alcoholism. Add to that extraordinarily high birth deaths of black infants; further, there are more black females than there are black males. When you look at the sheer numbers, what are you saying to most black women? That you can never have any children because there is not a husband out there for them?

USA TODAY: Are you saying that some young black women are having children without husbands because there are fewer available males around?

CANADY: There are some in the category. Having a child is probably the best thing that's ever going to happen to them in their whole lifetime, and the only thing that they can contribute. Our society has such a taboo in a sense — against unwed mothers, or teen-age motherhood — because we tend to postpone marriage for education and for other economic gains. This is not true in most other countries in the world. But if you belong to a class or a group of people who have no educational opportunities stretching out before them, no other goals, that's probably the single, best thing that's ever going to happen to you in your

USA TODAY: What do you think are the black single woman's greatest needs?

CANADY: I think that definitely there is a need for day care. I think definitely there is a need for a recommitment of all of us to quality public school education, because that's obviously where most of those children are going to be educated. I think that we need to face up to the reality that there has been a rapid deterioration in health care services for the poor in this country, that they are not being served nor reached.

USA TODAY: Did you see this problem firsthand when you were growing up in Tennessee?

CANADY: That's why I feel so keenly about the situation in which you do grow up and how people perceive you. If you want to discredit a whole family or a whole people, discredit the mother. I grew up in a single-headed household, where my mother was a widow and moved back with her parents. She did that because there was no support system in place for help with the care of her children. Households without males are victims of a lot of problems that other households don't face, like exploitation of their own children that even advances to their children — abuse, molestation. The female-headed household is seen as easy prey for robbers, deviants of all kinds, in the community. And where is the support system for that?

black, single mothers, just as there is in all the other terms. When you say socio-economically deprived, when you say educationally disadvantaged, when you talk about unwed mothers, immediately the stereotype of a black female comes to mind, and I think there's something wrong with that.

USA TODAY: Are you saying that this is not true?

CANADY: In sheer numbers, there are more unwed white mothers than there are black unwed mothers. Yet when you say unwed mother, who do you envision?

USA TODAY: Does all this mean the black family is disintegrating?

CANADY: I'll tell you what Martin Luther King said many years ago, and I shall not forget it. He said, "When they tell you that the black family is in trouble, I say to you that the black family has always been in trouble."

USA TODAY: Are the Reagan administration budget cuts the reason black families are suffering so much?

CANADY: The declining statistics are over a 20-year period. When we had great programs of social advancement on paper — I think that they were sincerely drafted, sincerely promoted — they never ever trickled down to the black woman. They never reached her. In all of those 20 years, they never reached her.

black families, many grandmothers are forced into being the single head of their households.

USA TODAY: Is it true that black women don't choose abortion as much as other groups?

CANADY: There is still some great taboo. Many black people are very religious, and there is a taboo against destroying a life. Many young women, even against the advice of their families, are determined to have and to raise those children. Some of them make very fine families for their young children. That's what's not known or not stated enough, that being poor and even being unwed doesn't mean that many of those young women are not very fine mothers.

USA TODAY: What are some of the solutions expected to come out of the summit?

CANADY: The first part is analyzing what's already in the community. Then we want to target programs directly to the

don't come out with anything else but the identification of the programs that are already in place, it certainly will stimulate other cities to try to emulate programs that have been successful. We're also trying to get more opportunities for single mothers to earn a living. Obviously, we're going to talk about regulations in welfare that are discriminatory. The summit will also be geared toward breaking any dependence on welfare by finding jobs and training programs. Welfare dependency is a myth, and recent studies have shown that just because a family is on welfare, that doesn't become a way of life.

USA TODAY: Are victims often blamed for their own problems?

CANADY: Almost invariably. There is a great deal of

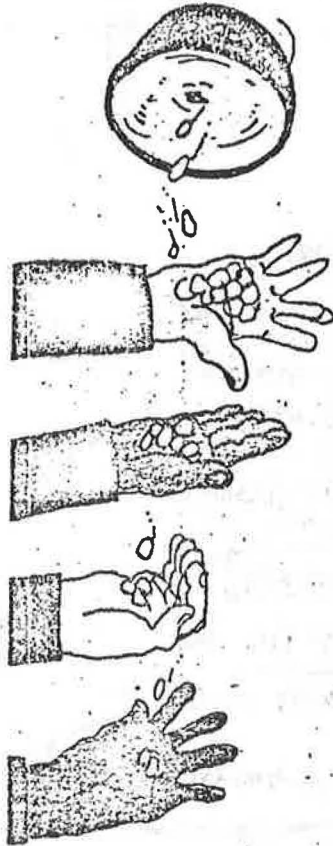


Illustration by Susan Harlan

USA TODAY: But doesn't that attitude provide ammunition for those who raise questions about having children out of wedlock?

CANADY: That's the reason for the summit. Because we want to show exactly who is the single mother. There may be teen-age pregnancies, yes. But when we talk about single, female-headed households, we are talking about the wed, unwed, divorced, abandoned, old and young. Particularly in black single mother. So if we

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Being poor and being unwed doesn't mean that many of those young women are not very fine mothers.

Black and white employment

From 1974 to 1984, the percentage of black women in the nation's workforce has increased while black male employment decreased. The statistics below compare black men and women with their white counterparts. The figures express employment as a percentage of the specific population aged 16 and older.

Year	All workers	Black women	Black men	White women	White men
1984*	59.1%	49.7%	64.8%	49.7%	74.0%
1983	57.9%	47.4%	61.6%	48.9%	72.6%
1982	57.8%	47.5%	61.4%	48.4%	73.0%
1981	59.0%	48.5%	64.5%	48.5%	75.1%
1980	59.2%	49.1%	65.8%	47.8%	75.6%
1979	59.9%	49.3%	69.1%	47.3%	77.3%
1978	59.3%	49.3%	69.1%	46.1%	77.2%
1977	57.9%	47.0%	67.5%	44.0%	76.5%
1976	56.8%	46.4%	66.8%	43.1%	76.0%
1975	56.1%	44.9%	65.5%	41.9%	75.7%
1974	57.1%	46.9%	71.9%	42.2%	78.6%

*For the month of February.

16 JUL 1984

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ADDRESS AT THE NEW YORK CHAPTER ANNUAL MEETING
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It is a great pleasure to be with you tonight. Your invitation gives me an opportunity to talk frankly about the historic alliance between Jews and Blacks, and to speak my mind about the troubling confrontations that have so badly damaged that alliance.

I'm told that it's a good idea for a speaker to get his audience's attention immediately, so I'll tell you that I will talk tonight about quotas, Jesse Jackson, and Israel, among other things.

I assume that got your attention. And the fact that it did is an indicator that each of those issues is a red flag. Each starts the adrenalin pumping. Each sends a signal of controversy and dissent.

The power of those issues to affect people is an indication of the change in our historic alliance. Twenty-five years ago I might have said that I will talk about separate drinking fountains, the denial of voting rights, the persistence of legal segregation.

The response would have been immediate and positive--great wrongs were to be addressed. There would have been a general consensus that speaker and audience were united in their opposition to those visible outrages of rampant racism.

But today, when a black man addresses a predominantly Jewish audience on quotas, Jackson, and Israel there is a sense of doubt. What will he say? Will he support quotas? Will he back Jackson? Will he disparage Israel?

So simply mentioning those subjects sets up a tension that indicates how far we have come from the days when black-Jewish friendship was a given--from the days when our two peoples were united in our outlook on America and the world--from the days when our alliance was strong and our interests largely identical.

There is no need here to go into the various factors that took us from marching together arm in arm to the kind of armed truce that now characterizes black-Jewish relations.

Still, the power of our historic alliance survives in the deep desire of most blacks and most Jews to reconstitute a healthy, working relationship.

✓ The reason is that we need each other. We are both minorities in a society that has the capacity to frustrate our aspirations for full and unconditional equality.

That equality is closer for Jews than for blacks. But for all of the accomplishments of the American Jewish community, it still realizes that it is a small island in a Gentile sea.

The historical consciousness of the Jewish people contains the evidence of the potential power of anti-Semitism. In 1933 Germany's Jews were the most assimilated Jewish community in the world; within months they became the most persecuted.

America is different. It can't happen here. And yet the Holocaust shows that even the most civilized nations can violate their deepest principles in an irrational plunge into racism.

That is why anti-Semitism is often taken as the barometer of civilization. And that is why no Jewish community can feel absolutely secure, no matter what its accomplishments or its degree of assimilation.

Thus, Jews have an abiding interest in the preservation of civil rights. They have been denied those rights in the past. And they have an over-riding interest in Justice for all minorities, for they are themselves among the smallest of America's minority groups, hence, among the most vulnerable.

And Jews have a paramount interest in a socially just society, a society whose divisions and racial tensions are healed by equal opportunities and a prevailing sense of fairness. For Jews have been victimized in societies where the social fabric was torn; where deep divisions led to scapegoating and persecution.

Black people have, for different reasons, similar interests. We are still denied the full exercise of our rights; we are still discriminated against; we are still at the margins of our economy and of our society.

For a brief, golden period, America acted to pass civil rights laws, to enforce the Constitution, to broaden educational and economic opportunities. There was a realization that abstract rights were insufficient to overcome centuries of oppression and discrimination.

There was an understanding of the need for the Great Society programs. Black poverty was cut in half. Food stamps fed the hungry. Head Start and education aid helped bring our kids the schooling they had been denied. Legal aid gave poor people a stake in the system of justice. The Job Corps took kids off the street and put them into jobs. Medicare and Medicaid helped old people and poor people get decent health care.

The spokesmen for the Mean Society say the Great Society made people dependent. The truth is that the Great Society programs helped bring to the most disadvantaged, the education and the skills to compete in the job market. It helped them achieve basic survival needs denied them by the operations of an imperfect market system.

The withering away of the Second Reconstruction can be measured by the widening gap between whites and blacks:

While some blacks have made it, the bulk of black Americans are locked into socio-economic conditions only few whites have tasted.

- Black unemployment is almost 17 percent, a figure not matched by whites since the 1930s.
- More than a third of black families are poor compared to a tenth of white families.
- Median income for blacks with some college education is lower than for white high school dropouts. At every level of educational achievement, blacks earn far less than whites.

A society that promised equality continues to thrust black people to the margins. The black sense of betrayal is great. The bitter harvest of broken promises and hypocritical support has spilled over to damage the broad coalition that fought and won the battles of the 1960s.

Instead of despairing about the deterioration of black-Jewish relations or the unfairness of the perceptions many Jews and blacks have of each other, we should see the current situation as an opportunity to rebuild a relationship free of the romanticism and paternalism of the past--a healthy, equal partnership based on mutual respect and understanding.

There will be plenty of things that blacks and Jews will disagree about. That should be accepted as a given. There will also be plenty that we can agree upon, and it is upon those issues that we should reconstitute our historic alliance.

It is probably premature to lay out a blueprint for the rebirth of that alliance. At this point we should concentrate on damage-repair. And the first step in that long overdue repair job is to understand how others view crucial issues--from their perspective, not our own.

I might describe this as an act of imaginative sympathy--to step into the shoes of another group and attempt to absorb its outlook on issues, not from a critical perspective, but from a sympathetic desire to understand its reasoning and its views.

It is that imaginative sympathy that bonded blacks and Jews in alliance for so many years--the black realization of the historic sufferings of the Jewish people and the Jewish realization of the present sufferings of black people.

It is that imaginative sympathy that should override differences on specific issues and enable us to rebuild an alliance that is good for Jews, good for blacks, and good for America.

Let me now turn to those three volatile issues I mentioned earlier--quotas, Jackson, and Israel. They provide fertile ground for the kind of imaginative sympathy I am calling for. We must accept understandable disagreements without transforming them into areas of irreconcilable confrontation.

Let's begin with quotas--a word I condemn for its obvious distortion of the concept of affirmative action.

The statistics I mentioned earlier speak eloquently for the need for affirmative action programs. In a race-conscious society there must be race-conscious remedies for racial wrongs. Successful affirmative action depends on using goals and timetables as indicators of progress, much as any business uses goals and timetables to achieve its ends.

I have never been among those who identify the Jewish community as an anti-affirmative action bloc. Affirmative action has been sponsored by Jewish legislators, defended in courts by Jewish lawyers, and supported by some national Jewish organizations.

But there is a perception that this leading agenda item among blacks is fought by the Jewish community, primarily because some Jewish organizations are in the forefront of opposition to affirmative action.

Our differences about affirmative action are based on our different historical experiences. Many Jews see quotas as a ceiling to their aspirations; blacks see quotas as a floor--a way, perhaps the only way, to get representations in schools and jobs.

So let us agree to disagree on this issue.

But I would point to two aspects of our disagreement that serve to maintain tensions and impede reconciliation.

The first is the apparent failure of Jewish organizations that oppose affirmative action to effectively implement their own definition of appropriate affirmative action; namely, the reaching out to recruit, train and otherwise prepare disadvantaged blacks to compete on equal terms in the marketplace.

If that concept is endorsed, there should be evidence that it works. But there is insufficient evidence, even in companies owned and operated by individuals who are members and even activists in the community organizations that endorse such an approach.

I believe that in order to avoid the charge of hypocrisy, those organizations and their members must aggressively implement their definition of affirmative action--in their schools, in their businesses, and in their neighborhoods. Absent that, it will continue to be court decisions and civil rights enforcement that result in black educational and economic opportunities, and not the good intentions of people who do not implement their stated beliefs.

Second, I believe Jewish organizations ought to question their leadership role in opposition to affirmative action and to other steps of importance to blacks.

How does it benefit the Jewish community to have its organizations act as the point men on an issue on which Jews themselves differ? What conceivable benefit is there for the American Jewish Committee, for example, to sponsor and be identified with Commentary, an organ of extreme conservatism that

does not reflect the viewpoints of the AJC or of its members, much less of the Jewish community at large?

These are important questions only the Jewish community can answer. But they should be raised.

The pluralism of both blacks and Jews encompasses a variety of social and economic viewpoints. But the Jewish community, which is largely economically secure and self-confident, can afford to demonstrate its pluralism to a greater degree than the black community, which is economically insecure and plagued by discrimination.

That difference helps account for the apparent monolithic black support for the candidacy of Jesse Jackson.

Many Jews have been rightly disturbed by the "Hymie" remarks, the belated and inadequate apology, and the rhetoric of Minister Farrakhan. Many blacks have been just as disturbed by those incidents.

The Jackson candidacy is an example of the need for what I called "imaginative sympathy." Blacks are voting for Jackson just as Jews flocked out of their ghettos in the early years of this century to vote for the first Jewish candidates for local and statewide offices--out of justified pride and enthusiasm for participating in the politics of the nation.

Those first Jewish candidates were radicals. They were outspoken advocates of what they and their constituents perceived to be Jewish interests. And some of them would be embarrassing to sophisticated Jewish voters in the 1980s.

But they filled a need of their times. They paved the way for others. They pioneered a trail blazed by passion and commitment. Today we have to respect them and the people who voted for them, just as we should respect the positives in the Jackson candidacy and the fundamental goodwill of Jackson's supporters and voters.

Despite its radical rhetoric, the Jackson campaign is a conservative movement in that it directs black energies to working within the political system, using the democratic mechanisms provided by our Constitution to effect change.

In drawing the most alienated and marginal Americans into the political process, the Jackson candidacy is making the system work by broadening the base of political participation. That, I believe, is its ultimate significance, and one worthy of the respect even of those who oppose the particular candidate and his views.

Even so, many who would be more tolerant of the Jackson candidacy cannot bring themselves to overcome his views on Israel and the Mideast. The memory of the embrace with a gun-toting Arafat is too searing.

I can respect that. I have been consistent in support of Israel and in opposition to the terrorists who would overthrow Israel, whether they are thugs like the PLO or brutal dictators such as are to be found in Libya, Syria, Iraq and similar places.

At the same time, I see no reason why Americans must be held to whatever position is held by the Israeli government of the moment. My love for Israel and its democracy is not subject to the whims of whichever party holds a plurality in the Knesset.

There is room for reasonable people to disagree about the absorption of the West Bank, about the Lebanon invasion, and even about the existence of a Palestinian state on the West Bank. Israelis disagree about these issues, why can't Americans? American Jews disagree--and disagree strongly about them--so why can't non-Jews disagree as well?

I recognize that much of the opposition to Israel's policies is a cloak for anti-Semitism. But much of it derives from a real concern for peace in the Middle East and for Israel's future as a democracy.

Most black Americans support Israel and recognize that the PLO is a terrorist group, not a legitimate liberation movement. Before 1967, when Israel was encircled by hostile Arab states, blacks were overwhelmingly in sympathy with Israel. In recent years, as Israel's military might has grown and its policies become more rigid, that support has been joined by other views.

But what is at issue is the degree to which unswerving support for current Israeli government policies is seen as the litmus test for black-Jewish reconciliation.

And I would argue that the litmus test has to be broader. If blacks are willing to overlook enmity to affirmative action in rebuilding our coalition, Jews should be willing to accept a broader range of opinions on Israel, as well.

Perhaps most important, we--Jews and blacks--must guard against judging each other as groups on the basis of statements made by individuals. It is morally objectionable to say that Jews are against blacks because some Jews oppose affirmative action. It is just as morally objectionable to say that blacks are anti-Semitic because some black may have made an anti-Jewish or an anti-Israel statement.

Too many blacks and Jews look for excuses to disassociate ourselves from our alliance. The zeal with which some Jews have fought affirmative action is an example of the search for an excuse to withdraw from concern for civil rights. And the anti-Israel sentiments expressed by some blacks strike me as a desire to wound, to satisfy rage at abandonment, to avoid the responsibilities of alliances.

Seen this way, many blacks and Jews are trapped in a self-destructive loop that only provides entertainment for anti-Semites and racists.

Reasonable people can only conclude that both blacks and Jews ought to be engaged in a more constructive use of their energies to overcome the injustices in our society that threaten both our groups.

I have already spoken of the need for "imaginative sympathy" in reconstructing our relations. To this, I would add another element for my Jewish friends, and that is "imaginative

For too many American Jews have forgotten the past--a past that kept Jews out of certain schools and jobs, a past that had "No Jews Allowed" signs at fashionable resorts, a past that stigmatized the masses of poor Jews as "dirty" and as "criminals."

Let me invoke that memory of the past for a moment. This is an excerpt from the New York Times of July 30, 1893:

"This neighborhood, peopled almost entirely by the people who claim to have been driven from Poland and Russia, is the eyesore of New York and perhaps the filthiest place on the eastern continent. It is impossible for a Christian to live there because he will be driven out either by blows or the dirt and stench. Cleanliness is an unknown quantity to these people. They cannot be lifted up to a higher plane because they do not want to be."

That article sounds like it was written yesterday about the black ghetto. It has all of the favorite neo-conservative code words and judgments. It embodies the prevalent belief that the poor like being poor and just want to exploit the system without adopting those middle class virtues we assume to be sacrosanct.

But it is not about today's blacks, it is about yesterday's Jews. That racist Times article was about your grandparents. They struggled against poverty and discrimination. Their heirs overcame because they were white in a society that learned to tolerate religious differences--because they lived in an economy that was expanding rapidly.

Today, the black poor are black in a society that has yet to come to terms with its racism. They are poor in a society that denied them when it was expanding and rejected them when it was contracting.

But their struggle today is similar to the struggle your grandparents waged against hate and racism. And their struggle is your struggle today too, for it is a struggle to create an open, pluralistic, integrated society. And more than any other group besides blacks, Jews have a stake in that kind of society.

Together we can rebuild an alliance to help win an open, pluralistic, integrated society. There are blacks who may be too embittered to join it; there are Jews who may be too deficient in both imagination and memory to join it. But the majority of both groups wants to join again in a creative partnership for the common good.

For most blacks continue to hold the simple faith of Anne Frank, who wrote in her diary in Nazi-occupied Amsterdam: "In spite of everything, I still believe that people are really good at heart."

And most Jews still look at the obvious inequities in our society--at the discrimination, the poverty, and the unfairness--and recall the words of the Talmud: "Who can protest and does not, is an accomplice in the act."

Let each of us then, with the ancient sage: "If I am not for myself, who shall be for me? If only for myself, what am I? If not now, when?"