Intro

so i made a video about race in america

it kind of went viral

and people asked a lot of follow-up

questions i want to mention

four questions that have come up a lot

and also talk about

one more topic that is really

interesting so what are the four

questions

number one what about the black family

too many black families have no fathers

why didn't you talk about that

number two what about the welfare state

the war on poverty didn't the welfare

programs of the 1960s do serious damage

to black communities

number three why do you say we did this

i didn't do any of this stuff

and number four beyond caring what can

State of Black Families

we actually do

okay let's jump in so what about the

state of black

families isn't that a big part of the

problem well let's take a look

in 1965 daniel patrick moynihan prepared

a report for president johnson on

the negro family as part of johnson's

war on poverty that report

included the stunning statistic that 25

of babies born to african-american

mothers were born

outside of marriage were non-marital

births

25 at that time the rate of non-marital

births for white

american mothers was less than 5 percent

moynihan believed that there was a

crisis in black families that required

intervention on a national scale

if black men couldn't find meaningful

work that could support families

black marriages and two-parent

households would continue to decline

non-marital births would continue at

this shockingly high rate of 25 percent

or more

and poverty would remain a large-scale

problem

the report declared that black

communities were suffering from

a tangle of pathologies that were

impeding progress

the moynihan report was not well

received to many it sounded like

moynihan was

blaming the victim martin luther king at

that time working for the passage of the

voting rights act

expressed fears that the problems

described in the report

would be attributed to innate negro

weakness

and used by racists to justify

opposition to voting rights

the moynihan report was kicked under the

table

since 1965 we've discovered a couple of

things

first we've learned that healthy

families are even more important than we

thought

or as the washington post declared 21

years later in 1986

moynihan was right intact families with

two involved parents are hugely

beneficial to kids

the collapse of marriage is in fact a

really big deal

but second we've discovered that the

decline of marriage is not a uniquely

black problem

traditional two-parent families are not

in crisis only in black communities

they're in crisis everywhere today the

non-marital birth rate for white

americans has

passed 30 percent that's higher than the

rate for african americans that shocked america in 1965, and what is the non-marital birth rate for african americans today a staggering 70 percent but let's back up and unpack the figure for white americans and see what we learn according to data from the cdc the non-marital birth rate for white women with college degrees is less than 5 percent exactly where it was for all white women way back in 1965. now take away the college degree and the non-marital birth rate for white women with only a high school diploma jumps up to 40 percent take away the high school diploma and the non-marital birth rate for white women without a high school diploma is 65 percent virtually matching the crazy

high non-marital birth rate for african

american women

so what do we learn from this upper

class and upper middle class americans

still value marriage regardless of race

it is in the working class especially

the working poor

where the institution of marriage is

collapsing but why are the overall

numbers so much worse in

african-american communities

because african-americans are two and a

half times more likely to be living in

poverty than

white americans and the non-marital

birth rate among african americans was

already

16 points higher than among white

americans way back in 1940

so african american communities started

at a much higher rate

since 1965 the non-marital birth rate

has actually been growing at a faster rate among white americans than among black americans marriage

isn't collapsing

in black america it's collapsing in

State of Working Class Families

working class america

now why marriage is in crisis among the

working class is a tricky issue but

think about it this way

you're a working class boy growing up in

a working class neighborhood

you see your dad go to the steel mill or

the car factory or the coal mine every

day and come home with a paycheck to

take care of his family

you assume you will grow up to do the

same then the steel mill closes

the car factory moves overseas the coal

mine

shutters how can you do what your father

did how can you take care of a family

that's what you've seen men do your

whole life that

as far as you can tell is what it means

to be a man

and you can't do it and the whole

pattern

school job marriage children breaks

whether you're african-american on the

south side of chicago or working class

white in ohio or west virginia

what you've always assumed you would do

grow up to be a man like your father

is suddenly undoable you lose

hope and if this repeats for another

generation or two

pretty soon there are little boys

growing up in these communities

with zero memory of a time when men went

to work with their hands and came home

and built families the chain is broken

the institutional knowledge of marriage

and

family is lost this is an incredibly

hard problem to address and today it is becoming as big an issue in working class white communities as it has been for several generations in working class black communities without the hope of

being able to support a family
men give up on the idea of fatherhood
and families collapse

when the moynihan report was issued in

1965

just as dr king feared many americans took it as a sign that african americans were somehow

morally inferior irresponsible they've abandoned god's design for families we said

and now they're suffering the
consequences was there something unique
about african-american morality that
created the breakdown of families
interestingly there's another ethnic

group in america that matches african americans on almost every metric unemployment for this group is even higher non-marital births are nearly as high single-parent homes nearly as high what ethnic group is it native americans think about it these are the only two groups of people that weren't given a choice whether or not to live in white america the only two groups that have been actively and consistently treated unjustly by european settlers since before there even was an america and today they are the two groups whose communities are marked the most by poverty unemployment and addiction is it just a coincidence that we see the most dramatic breakdown of family structure

in the two communities that have faced

the most historic injustice

the other reason i didn't bring up

family structure in my video on race is

because on the surface it seems like an

easy fix

simple if you don't want to be poor get

married do things in the right order

The Root of the Problem

and there is truth in that but what's

killing families

in working class america including white

working class america

isn't unwillingness to do things in the

right order

it's hopelessness yes two-parent

families are much better for kids the

data on that is clear

but the root of the problem isn't

irresponsibility the root of the problem

is that we have millions of men who do

not believe they can do what their

fathers and grandfathers did

go to work bring home a paycheck support

a family

the root of the problem isn't a loss of

responsibility

it's a loss of hope children need dads

and dads need to believe they live in a

society where it is

possible for them to succeed moynihan's

phrase a tangle of pathologies is the

most

quoted line from his report on the black

family but he said something else

that has been largely forgotten

something as true for native americans

as it is for african americans three

centuries of

injustice have brought about deep-seated

structural distortions in the life of

the negro

american the cycle can be broken only if

these distortions

are set right three centuries of

injustice have brought about deep-seated

distortions that need to be set right

it's tempting to say just get married

and everything will be better

but undoing the impact of three

centuries of injustice

injustice that was enforced by violence

is way more complicated than that

we need to resist overly simplistic

solutions

to very complicated problems

The War on Poverty

second question isn't the welfare state

responsible for the mess we have today

i've had people point to the welfare

policies of the 1960s

president johnson's war on poverty and

say

that's why african-americans are poor or

that's why african americans are

unemployed

or that's why african-american families

fell apart

if the government hadn't tried to help they'd be doing much better today we sometimes use this to argue against any additional government intervention on behalf of black communities because we tried it in the 60s and it only made things worse so is it true did the war on poverty make things worse let's take those questions one at a time the first one is easy did the welfare programs of the 1960s increase black poverty well in 1959 the poverty rate for black americans was 55 percent more than half of all african americans lived below the poverty line by the end of the 1960s after the implementation of johnson's policies the poverty rate for african americans had dropped to 32 almost by half now that's not

necessarily because

of johnson's policies the 1960s was a

decade of growth in american

manufacturing

and a period where many black americans

moved from low paying agricultural jobs

in the south

to higher paying factory jobs in the

north so the reduction in poverty isn't

necessarily a result of the new policies

but the argument that the war on poverty

increased

poverty is plainly false did the war on

poverty increase black

unemployment well that's really hard to

say one way or another since we didn't

start keeping track of black

unemployment until 1972

after the policies were in place but

since 1972 black unemployment has

tracked fairly

tightly with white unemployment just

typically

twice as high when white unemployment

goes down

because the economy is growing so does

black unemployment

and vice versa with the exception that

recessions that affect

white americans generally affect black

americans

much more but there is no evidence in

unemployment data that the welfare

policies of the 1960s

are responsible for higher black

unemployment today

Family Breakdown

so what about family breakdown well this

one is trickier

americans have always been rugged

individualists we've always believed

that any able-bodied man should be able

to provide for a family and we tend to

look down on men who can't

because of this belief that men should

be able to provide most of the welfare policies of the 1960s were written with a no man in the house clause meaning if a benefit was offered to a poor family the family was immediately disqualified if there was an able-bodied man living in the household the problem was that even though many black fathers were able-bodied many were also poorly educated and as unskilled manufacturing jobs began disappearing to the suburbs or overseas or to automation there simply weren't enough jobs left that could allow an unskilled laborer to support a family so if a black father was unable to find work that could support his family the only way his wife and kids could receive assistance surplus government cheese and peanut

butter for example

was if he literally walked out the door

and abandoned them

Unintended Consequences

this would be an example of unintended

consequences

and yes it probably did have an impact

on the increase in single-parent

households

in working-class communities but

remember the high non-marital birth rate

that shocked america in 1965

was recorded before johnson's welfare

policies had gone into effect

did the welfare programs of the 1960s

have some unintended consequences that

affected black families

yes did they create the situation we

find in black communities today

no most of the trends we see today were

established before

the war on poverty the notion that inner

city african-american communities were

doing just fine

until the government came along and

messed everything up is

entirely false we forget sometimes that

when johnson launched the war on poverty

the majority of impoverished americans

were white

the majority of the money spent on

benefits to the poor

went to white families typically rural

white

families and yet today when we think of

welfare we think almost exclusively of

black families in urban america

why is that this is the interesting part

i mentioned at the beginning of the

video

researcher martin gillins asked this

question and came up with an ingenious

way to look for an answer

he studied 40 years of back issues of

the three major news magazines

time newsweek and u.s news and world

report

he cataloged every article about poverty

in america across

40 years of issues and noted the race of

the families in the photos accompanying

each article

when america talked about poverty what

color were the families

they were picturing the results were

striking

before 1960 more than 80 percent of the

photos accompanying stories about

poverty

were of rural white families america's

poor

at least as the media represented them

were mostly

white and rural even in 1964 the year

president johnson announced the war on

poverty

roughly 75 of the accompanying photos

were of rural white families then

something happened the very next year

in 1965 pictures of poverty in america

were suddenly

50 percent black two years later in 1967

photos of poor americans in the three

major news weeklies

were 70 percent black so what made the

change

was there a sudden explosion of black

poverty

not at all in 1960 around 25 percent of

america's poor

were african-american in 1967 the figure

was slightly higher but still

under 30 percent so there weren't more

poor black americans

instead what had changed was a new focus

by civil rights leaders on

economic justice with a burst of news

stories accompanied by pictures of

impoverished black

americans and a focus on the state of

inner cities

brought about by an explosion of protest

marches and riots

the news about poverty had swung in just

three short years

from being predominantly about rural

whites to predominantly about

urban blacks the tone of the articles

was also changing

in 1964 the national impression of

johnson's war on poverty

was generally positive we were the

richest nation on earth

why should children be starving but a

year later there was a burst of

journalism about mismanagement of funds

and programs

and an increase in stories about welfare

fraud at the same time attitudes toward

welfare were growing more negative

the accompanying photos were growing

more black

politicians noticed changing attitudes

toward welfare programs and jumped in

during his 1976 run for president ronald

reagan repeatedly told stories of the

welfare queen

a chicago woman who had cheated the

government out of hundreds of thousands

of dollars

by filing welfare claims under false

names campaigning on a platform critical

of social programs

the welfare queen became a frequent

theme of reagan campaign events

and radio addresses even today the term

The Welfare Queen

welfare queen

brings to mind an african-american woman

sitting home

having babies and collecting chicks the

true story of the woman reagan was

describing

is a little different the chicago

welfare queen was a woman named linda taylor though no one knows if that was her real name since she used more than 30

aliases in addition to defrauding the government through various elaborate welfare schemes

linda taylor is also believed to have stolen babies from hospitals to sell them

and is suspected of having murdered at least two female acquaintances so far from a lazy grifter linda taylor was actually a very sophisticated and very dangerous criminal oh and according to the 1930 census records she was white back to martin gillan's research

from 1970 through 1990 black americans continued to make up roughly 60 of representations of poverty in the media even though they seldom made up

more than

30 percent of america's poor there were

exceptions though as in 1982

and 1983 when pictures of white families

suddenly spiked all the way up to 70

percent

what happened in 82 and 83 the worst

recession in a generation

combined with threatened cutbacks to

social programs by the reagan

administration

suddenly middle class families were

falling into poverty

with less of a safety net to help them

and who did editors choose to feature in

photos

to generate sympathy for these newly

poor families

white families as soon as the recession

ended

journalistic focus returned to stories

of wasteful spending

and portrayals of poor urban black

families

poverty in america went back to being

black why does this matter because

poverty in america isn't a uniquely

black

problem to this day african american

families make up less than 30 percent of

america's poor

and receive only about a third of

government spending on poverty programs

70 percent of our spending goes to white

and latino families

yet when we think about helping the poor

we think of handouts to african american

mothers with multiple kids

and no husbands living in the inner city

why because those are the images we've

been shown over

and over and here's the sad reality of

lingering racism

in america the more we think of poverty

as a black

problem the less we want to help it

isn't us

after all it's them and very old tropes

about african americans being

lazy and irresponsible remember the

vagrancy laws

rear their ugly heads to make us less

compassionate

about america's poor and as christians

called time and time again in scripture

to care for the poor

this is nothing less than tragic

third question and this one's short why

do you say we

did these things i didn't do any of

these things i didn't own slaves or

redline neighborhoods or push for mass

incarceration

so what's with the we we defeated hitler

we put a man on the moon we won the cold

war

we horribly mistreated native americans

for centuries

hey wait i didn't do that one

you didn't do any of those things we

love to take collective ownership for

the great things america has done

and then completely reject any ownership

of the terrible things

america has done the bible talks about

individual sin

and individual repentance as highly

individualistic westerners we like that

we get it it makes sense

but the bible also talks about societal

sin

and societal repentance multiple times

in the old testament we see all of

israel the people of god

called to repent for sins they did not

all commit

in daniel 9 we see daniel repenting for

the sins of his forefathers

sins he did not commit in nehemiah 1 we

see nehemiah

doing the exact same thing we don't like

the idea of taking responsibility for

sins we did not personally commit

it isn't very american but it is very

biblical but you're making america sound

like a terrible place

no america is good and bad

virtuous and sinful selfless and selfish

why because america is us and we

are all those things i am all those

things

let's own the problem together that's

how america has always accomplished big

things

and finally many people have asked okay

this situation is depressing

i care so what can i do and the problem

the after effects of 400 years of racism

does

seem too big to solve but many things

have been tried and we know some of them work for example preschool we know that access to free preschool has a dramatically positive effect on low income children any effort to provide preschool to disadvantaged communities should be supported by all of us it works and that leads directly to education funding when whites fled cities to the suburbs we took our property taxes with us we clustered into high-income mini communities and funded extraordinary schools for our own kids

leaving chronically underfunded schools
behind for minority kids
there have been many efforts at local
state and national levels to try to
balance funding between wealthy and poor
school districts

we should support those efforts even if

they make

our extraordinary schools ever so

slightly less

extraordinary we need to support efforts

to train more african-american teachers

we mentioned in the last video that due

to unconscious bias

gifted black students are half as likely

to be recommended for gifted programs

if their teacher is white the presence

of even

one black teacher during the school

years of a black student

has a demonstrably positive impact on

that student's educational

outcome why are there so few black

teachers

because when schools were integrated in

the 1950s and 60s

students were integrated but teachers

were not

because many white parents refused to

allow their children to be taught by

black teachers

thousands of black teachers lost their

jobs

the ranks of black teachers in america

were decimated

and have never fully recovered we need

to change that

we also need to support efforts to

provide mentors and role models to

low-income kids

we need to encourage not penalize

marriage and finally there are little

things that we can all do

in the old testament nehemiah was able

to get jerusalem's wall rebuilt

because he was in a position where he

could use his influence

to make a difference some of us are in

positions

or have resources that allow us to make

a difference too

not as saviors but as allies

for example my mother is a retired

college professor our lives

fell apart when i was nine and my

parents split up

for several years we ended up living

below the poverty line

but we had a house and she was able to

use that equity to move us to a suburb

of chicago

with great schools and ample opportunity

our house

funded our second chance realizing how

much home ownership had helped us

she recently wrote a check from her

retirement fund that gave an

underprivileged family in one of

chicago's poorest neighborhoods

the down payment towards their first

house our church was so inspired by that

idea that they're setting up a program

partnering with an inner city ministry to do the same thing on a larger scale not saviors allies a home an education an opportunity changes the course of a family change the course of enough families and you can change the course of a community one last thing some christian friends have said but what about the bible what about the gospel don't african-american communities need to hear about jesus as a christian i believe we all need the bible we all need the gospel but to propose that perhaps black americans aren't doing well

because of a lack of christian influence
well we need to look at the data
black americans are more likely to
believe in god than white americans
more likely to say faith is very
important more likely to read the bible

more likely to pray every day black

americans are more likely to have

biblically sound theology than white

americans and

are more likely to look to the bible as

their primary source of ethics

in other words if we're looking for the

most devoutly christian group in america

that group isn't white so let's

summarize

families are in trouble not just in

black america in

all of america especially among the

working class

this is an extraordinarily difficult

problem to address but there are

churches and ministries

trying to do just that and we need to

support them

the welfare programs of the 1960s had

some unintended consequences

but they did not create the problems we

see today

let's not use that as an excuse to not

help

i say we did this because those of us in

the majority have been in the majority

since the very beginning

the policies that created inequality

came from the majority

and any big changes needed to address

that inequality

will need the support of the majority

that's us

and finally you can do things to help

big things

little things the impact of historic

racism

still echoes in america harming millions

of lives

it is a problem let's make it our

problem and let's do something about it