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The Position and Progress of BLACK AMERICA

Some Pertinent Statistics



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The black community in America is today in a state of intense ferment. This contention is both a truism and an understatement. To comprehend the meaning of the contemporary 'Black Movement' it is imperative to have accurate information about the present position of black America and the path by which this position was reached.^a We present below some of the relevant information as well as a small sample of the social science research which has sought to illuminate its meaning.

The Black Population and its Distribution

In the early days of the American Republic, blacks constituted about one-fifth of the total population. The foreign slave trade was halted in 1808 while white immigration continued. Hence the proportion of blacks in the population declined more or less continuously until 1930. Since this date the proportion of blacks has risen steadily (see item one of Table I). If the 1960 rates of population increase were sustained, blacks would require slightly more than thirty years to double their population size, while whites would need in excess of fifty years (see item two of Table I).

Table I: Some Relevant Demographic Statistics

| | <u>1790</u> | <u>1840</u> | <u>1910</u> | <u>1920</u> | <u>1930</u> | <u>1940</u> | <u>1950</u> | <u>1960</u> |
|--|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Black population as a percentage of total population | 19.4% (757,000) | | | | 9.7% | | | 10.6% (18,900,000) |
| Rate of natural increase (excess of births over deaths per 1000 persons): | | | | | | | | |
| Whites | | | 13.8 | | | | | 13.2 |
| Nonwhites | | | 14.7 | | | | | 22.0 |
| Median age: | | | | | | | | |
| Whites | | 17.9 | | | | 29.5 | 30.8 | 30.3 |
| Nonwhites | | 17.3 | | | | 25.2 | 26.1 | 23.5 |
| Percentage of blacks living in North or West | | | 11% | | | | | 40% |
| Percentage living in urban areas: | | | | | | | | |
| White | | | 48% | | | | | 70% |
| Black | | | 27% | | | | | 73% |
| Percentage of total population living in central city of 24 largest US metropolitan areas: | | | | | | | | |
| White | | | | | | | | 15% |
| Black | | | | | | | | 31% |
| Life expectancy of males at birth: | | | | | | | | |
| White | | | | 58.9 | | | 66.3 | 67.6 |
| Black | | | | 47.1 | | | 58.9 | 61.5 |

Source: Philip M. Hauser, 'Demographic Factors in the Integration of the Negro'; and Rashi Fein, 'An Economic and Social Profile of the Negro American', both in Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark (eds.), The Negro American (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. 71-101, 102-133.

The life expectancy of blacks in America has always been shorter than that of whites, although in recent years the gap has narrowed somewhat (see item seven of Table I). This in conjunction with higher black fertility rates explains why the median age of whites in 1960 was about 6.8 years greater than the average age of nonwhites (see item three of Table I). According to the 1960 census, 45.6% of blacks were under twenty, while only 39.5% of whites fell in this age range.

During the twentieth century an immense migration of blacks occurred from rural Southern regions to urban areas in both the North and South (see items four and five of Table I). California, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania absorbed about 70% of the black net in-migration between the years 1910 and 1960. Today the black population is more highly urbanized than the white population. Furthermore, the proportion of blacks dwelling in the central cities of the 24 largest US metropolitan areas more than doubles the comparable proportion for whites (see item six of Table I).

Residential Segregation

The authoritative study by Karl and Alma Taeuber on residential segregation in the United States presents convincing evidence that this phenomenon actually increased between 1940 and 1960. There appears to have been a slight decline in residential segregation - particularly in Northern and Western regions - between 1950 and 1960, but not enough to counter the more substantial rise which occurred from 1940 to 1950.

Table II: Average Values of Segregation Indexes* for Regions and Subregions in 1940, 1950, 1960

| <u>Region and Subregion</u> | <u># cities</u> | <u>1940</u> | <u>1950</u> | <u>1960</u> | <u>Changes</u> | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| | | | | | <u>1940-50</u> | <u>1950-60</u> |
| Total all regions | 109 | 85.2 | 87.3 | 86.1 | 2.1 | -1.2 |
| Northeast | 25 | 83.2 | 83.6 | 78.9 | 0.4 | -4.7 |
| New England | 7 | 81.9 | 81.9 | 75.8 | 0.0 | -6.1 |
| Middle Atlantic | 18 | 83.7 | 83.7 | 80.0 | 0.6 | -4.3 |
| North Central | 29 | 88.4 | 89.9 | 88.4 | 1.5 | -1.5 |
| East North Central | 20 | 88.3 | 90.0 | 88.4 | 1.7 | -1.6 |
| West North Central | 9 | 88.6 | 89.8 | 88.3 | 1.2 | -1.5 |
| West | 10 | 82.7 | 82.9 | 76.4 | 0.2 | -6.5 |
| South | 45 | 84.9 | 88.5 | 90.7 | 3.6 | 2.2 |
| South Atlantic | 22 | 86.9 | 88.7 | 90.6 | 1.8 | 1.9 |
| East South Central | 9 | 84.8 | 88.1 | 91.4 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| West South Central | 14 | 81.7 | 88.5 | 90.5 | 6.8 | 2.0 |

* The index of segregation used here is called the index of dissimilarity. It gives the smallest percentage of blacks who would have to change residence to make the white and black residential distribution identical.

Source: Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, *Negroes in Cities* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965), p. 44, Table 5.

The Northern and Western regions of the United States seem to be making some very slow progress towards residential desegregation while the trend in the South is in the opposite direction. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the Taeuber and Taeuber data is the homogeneity it reveals in the extent of regional residential segregation. Although this homogeneity has decreased since 1940, it was still substantial in 1960.

Some General Indicators of Racism in American Life

The significance of color permeates virtually every aspect of American society. A short review cannot do justice to the numerous statistics which demonstrate the omnipresent impact of racism. Table III presents time series data on fifteen 'social indicators' with respect to which whites and nonwhites can be compared. On all but one of these indicators - suicide rate - nonwhites occupy a severely disadvantaged position relative to whites. In some cases the gap appears to be narrowing, though usually at a very slow pace. In other cases this is not so.

Table III: White-Nonwhite Comparisons on Fifteen 'Social Indicators' for 3-Year Intervals from 1948 to 1965

| | | 1948-50 | 1951-53 | 1954-56 | 1957-59 | 1960-62 | 1963-65 |
|--|-----|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| School enrollment, percent males aged 14-17 | N | 70.7 | 75.5 | 83.1 | 86.2 | 88.8 | 92.4* |
| | W | 84.5 | 87.2 | 89.6 | 91.7 | 92.9 | 94.6* |
| | N/W | .84 | .87 | .93 | .94 | .96 | .98 |
| Percent high school graduates, male labor force | N | NA | 15.1** | NA | 21.7** | 27.3** | 32.3* |
| | W | NA | 42.1** | NA | 49.4** | 53.5** | 56.8* |
| | N/W | | .36 | | .44 | .51 | .57 |
| Percent of male workers with year-round full-time jobs | N | 50.2** | 53.0 | 55.6* | 51.3 | 51.8 | 55.2* |
| | W | 66.8** | 69.9 | 58.8* | 66.0 | 65.3 | 67.2* |
| | N/W | .75 | .76 | .81 | .78 | .79 | .82 |
| Percent of employed persons in white-collar jobs | N | 9.6* | 9.7** | 12.2* | 14.0* | 16.4 | 18.6 |
| | W | 39.7* | 39.8** | 42.2* | 45.6* | 46.8 | 47.2 |
| | N/W | .24 | .24 | .29 | .31 | .35 | .39 |
| Median income of families (in dollars) | N | 1762 | 2277 | 2529 | 2797 | 3251 | 3758 |
| | W | 3329 | 4122 | 4646 | 5370 | 6018 | 6859 |
| | N/W | .53 | .55 | .54 | .52 | .54 | .55 |
| Infant deaths per 1000 live births | N | 46.1 | 45.5 | 42.6 | 44.4 | 41.8 | 41.3* |
| | W | 28.5 | 25.4 | 23.6 | 23.4 | 22.5 | 21.9* |
| | N/W | 1.62 | 1.79 | 1.81 | 1.90 | 1.86 | 1.89 |
| Deaths from tuberculosis per 100,000 population | N | 71.5 | 42.2 | 21.9 | 16.2 | 12.3 | 10.4* |
| | W | 21.0 | 13.0 | 7.7 | 6.0 | 4.6 | 3.8* |
| | N/W | 3.40 | 3.25 | 2.84 | 2.70 | 2.67 | 2.74 |
| Homicides per 100,000 population | N | 29.1 | 26.1 | 23.6 | 22.0 | 21.5 | 22.4* |
| | W | 2.8 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.7* |
| | N/W | 10.4 | 10.4 | 10.3 | 9.2 | 8.3 | 8.3 |
| Suicides per 100,000 population | N | 4.2 | 3.9 | 3.9 | 4.3 | 4.6 | 4.8* |
| | W | 12.2 | 10.9 | 10.9 | 11.1 | 11.4 | 11.8* |
| | N/W | .34 | .36 | .36 | .39 | .40 | .41 |
| Percent married women with husband absent | N | NA | 16.0 | 19.6 | 20.3 | 19.8 | 21.0 |
| | W | NA | 4.6* | 5.0 | 4.2 | .3 | 4.4 |
| | N/W | | 3.48 | 3.92 | 4.83 | 4.60 | 4.77 |
| Incomplete families per 100 families | N | 12.1 | 10.1* | 10.4 | 9.2 | 7.4 | 6.4 |
| | W | 6.1 | 4.4* | 4.2 | 3.4 | 2.8 | 2.4 |
| | N/W | 1.98 | 2.30 | 2.48 | 2.71 | 2.64 | 2.67 |
| Births per 1000 women aged 15-44 | N | 135 | 144 | 156 | 162 | 152 | 143* |
| | W | 103 | 110 | 114 | 116 | 111 | 102* |
| | N/W | 1.31 | 1.31 | 1.37 | 1.40 | 1.37 | 1.40 |
| Percent of live births illegitimate | N | 17.1 | 18.6 | 20.2 | 21.2 | 22.3 | 24.0* |
| | W | 1.8 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 3.2* |
| | N/W | 9.5 | 11.6 | 10.6 | 10.1 | 8.9 | 7.5 |
| Percent of aged population receiving old-age and survivor insurance benefits | N | 9.3 | 18.3 | 28.4 | 41.0 | 53.0 | 65.0 |
| | W | 17.3 | 30.0 | 43.8 | 59.4 | 69.6 | 77.0 |
| | N/W | .54 | .61 | .65 | .69 | .76 | .84 |
| Prisoners executed under civil authority, annual number | N | 65 | 42 | 40 | 31 | 25 | 5 |
| | W | 42 | 41 | 34 | 23 | 23 | 9 |
| | N/W | 1.55 | 1.02 | 1.18 | 1.35 | 1.09 | .56 |

W=white; N=nonwhite; N/W=ratio of nonwhite to white; NA=data not available

* indicates data based on two rather than three years; ** indicates data based on one rather than 3 years

Source: Duncan, Otis Dudley, 'Discrimination Against Negroes', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, Vol. 371 (May 1967), p. 91.

An economist, Rashi Fein, has suggested that ratios such as those used in Table III tend to underestimate the gap between whites and nonwhites, since improvement occurs more readily (and often in larger pieces) when starting from a low base, but subsequently becomes more difficult to achieve. He suggests instead a time lag statistic which for a specific variable and a specific date gives the number of years earlier that the white population attained the level on this variable attained at the given date by the nonwhite population. Some of Fein's data are given in Table IV. Item seven of Table I suggests that the gap between the life expectancy of whites and blacks is eroding. The statistic used by Fein, however, suggests this gap to be larger in 1960 than it was in 1940.

Table IV: Time Gap Between Blacks and Whites on Ten Social Indicators*

| | <u>1930</u> | <u>1940</u> | <u>1950</u> | <u>1960</u> |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Life expectancy | | 27 | 28 | 28 |
| Hospital births | | | 11 ('52) | 16 ('62) |
| Infant mortality | 15 | 17 | 11 | 20 |
| Maternal mortality | | 26 ('41) | 8 | 11 |
| School years completed | | | | 20+ |
| Percentage of persons 25 or older completing college | | | | 20+ |
| Percentage of persons 20-24 with some college | | | | 35+ ('63) |
| Percentage white collar workers | | | | 63 |
| Income | | | | 17 ('64) |
| Persons per dwelling room | | | | 20+ |

* Figures indicate the number of years prior to the date given when whites first achieved the level at which Negroes stood at the given date with respect to the listed social indicator. Dates in parentheses indicate dates to which the figures pertain when these deviate from the date listed at the column head. A plus indicates 'more than'.

Source: Rashi Fein, 'An Economic and Social Profile of the American Negro', in Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark (eds.), The Negro American (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. 102-133.

Income

The difference between white and nonwhite average income has increased steadily since 1939 at least. The ratio of nonwhite to white income has remained relatively stable since 1947, indicating that the relative income position of nonwhites has not changed since that time. World War II and the social transformation associated with it apparently produced a major redistribution of income between white and nonwhite, but liberal programs and legislation did not perpetuate this process into the post-war period.

Table V: The Income Gap: White vs. Nonwhite Male Workers aged 14 and over, in 1939, and 1947-1962

| Year | Average Income | | Diff. | N/W ratio | Year | Average Income | | Diff. | N/W ratio |
|------|----------------|----------|--------|-----------|------|----------------|----------|--------|-----------|
| | White | Nonwhite | | | | White | Nonwhite | | |
| 1939 | \$1112 | \$ 460 | \$ 652 | .41 | 1954 | \$3754 | \$2131 | \$1623 | .57 |
| | | | | | 1955 | 3986 | 2342 | 1644 | .59 |
| 1947 | 2357 | 1279 | 1078 | .54 | 1956 | 4260 | 2396 | 1864 | .56 |
| 1948 | 2711 | 1615 | 1096 | .60 | 1957 | 4396 | 2436 | 1960 | .55 |
| 1949 | 2735 | 1367 | 1368 | .50 | 1958 | 4596 | 2652 | 1944 | .58 |
| 1950 | 2982 | 1828 | 1154 | .61 | 1959 | 4902 | 2844 | 2058 | .58 |
| 1951 | 3345 | 2060 | 1285 | .62 | 1960 | 5137 | 3075 | 2062 | .60 |
| 1952 | 3507 | 2038 | 1469 | .58 | 1961 | 5287 | 3015 | 2272 | .57 |
| 1953 | 3760 | 2233 | 1527 | .59 | 1962 | 5462 | 3023 | 2439 | .55 |

Source: US Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports--Consumer Income, Series P-60, annual issues.

(Mayer, p. 5)

Differences between white and nonwhite incomes do not result entirely from differences between white and nonwhite occupational structures (i.e. from the fact that whites monopolize high paying white collar jobs while nonwhites are disproportionately represented in low paying manual occupations). As Table VI demonstrates, white-nonwhite income differentials occur even within the same occupation.

Table VI: Median Income for Total Population and for Nonwhite, by Occupation in 1959

| <u>Occupation</u> | <u>Median Income</u> | | <u>Ratio</u> |
|---|----------------------|--------------|--------------|
| | <u>Nonwhite</u> | <u>Total</u> | |
| Bakers | \$3354 | \$4633 | .72 |
| Carpenters | 2320 | 4271 | .54 |
| Welders and flame cutters | 4454 | 5116 | .87 |
| Elevator operators | 3122 | 3487 | .90 |
| Automobile mechanics | 3173 | 4372 | .73 |
| Tinsmiths, coppersmiths, and sheet metal workers | 4710 | 5542 | .85 |

Source: Rashi Fein, 'An Economic and Social Profile of the American Negro', in Parsons & Clark, op. cit.

Nor does the evidence reveal education as the royal road to income equality. In fact, the relative income deprivation of nonwhites increases with education, as can be seen from Table VII. Low education apparently acts as a barrier to the career aspirations of both whites and nonwhites. This prevents poorly educated whites from utilizing the full advantages available under the discriminatory occupational system. College educated whites suffer from no such handicaps. Willingly or unwillingly they reap the full income benefits of unequal opportunity.

Table VII: Nonwhite Estimated Lifetime Income as a Percentage of White Estimated Lifetime Income at Three Educational Levels

| <u>Educational Level</u> | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Elementary school graduates | 64% |
| High school graduates | 60% |
| College graduates | 50% |

Source: 'Statement of Herman P. Miller, Special Assistant, Office of the Director, Bureau of the Census', Hearings Before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on Bills Relating to Equal Employment Opportunity, US Senate, 88th Congress, 1st Session, July and August 1963.

This line of thought has been extended by Paul M. Siegel, who has calculated the amount of the difference between white and nonwhite incomes at each educational level which can be attributed to differences in the regional and occupational distributions of whites and nonwhites, and the amount which must be attributed to other (presumably sheerly discriminatory) factors. Siegel's main results are given in Table VIII. The last column of this table reveals that the income differences attributable to discriminatory factors increase with education. Even the percentage of the income difference attributable to discriminatory factors tends to increase with education. Thus highly educated nonwhites suffer the brunt of income discrimination more intensely than those with less education.

Table VIII: Decompositions of Mean Differences between White and Nonwhite Earnings in 1959 for United States Males Aged 25-64

| <u>Years of School Completed</u> | <u>Mean Income</u> | | <u>Difference</u> | <u>Decomposition of Difference</u> | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| | <u>White</u> | <u>Nonwhite</u> | | <u>Reg'l, etc.*</u> | <u>Discrim'tion**</u> |
| Elementary: 0-7 years | \$3,983 | \$2,562 | \$1,421 | \$725 (51%) | \$696 (49%) |
| Elementary: 8 years | 4,837 | 3,318 | 1,519 | 601 (40%) | 918 (60%) |
| High School: 1-3 years | 5,555 | 3,522 | 2,033 | 757 (37%) | 1276 (73%) |
| High School: 4 years | 6,250 | 4,021 | 2,229 | 823 (37%) | 1406 (73%) |
| College: 1-3 years | 7,554 | 4,355 | 3,199 | 1441 (45%) | 1758 (54%) |
| College: 4 or more years | 10,238 | 5,671 | 4,567 | 767 (17%) | 3800 (83%) |

* Figures given in this column indicate the part and percentage of the difference between white and nonwhite income (for each education group) which can be explained by the differences between the occupational and regional distributions of whites and nonwhites.

** Figures given in this column indicate the part and percentage of the difference between white and nonwhite income (for each education group) which cannot be explained by the differences between the occupational and regional distributions of whites and nonwhites and presumably result from sheer discrimination.

Source: Paul M. Siegel, 'On the Cost of Being Negro', Sociological Inquiry, Vol. 35, No. 1, Winter 1965, p. 53, Table 2.

Using these methods, Siegel has attempted to determine the average 'cost' of being nonwhite. In 1959 the difference between white and nonwhite earnings for males 25 to 64 was \$2,852. Differences in the regional, occupational, and educational distributions of whites and nonwhites accounted for 61.5% of this difference, or \$1,755. The remaining 38.5%, or \$1,097, would have existed even if whites and nonwhites had had identical regional, occupational, and educational distributions. Siegel calls this quantity the average 'cost' of being nonwhite in 1959.

Unemployment

Since 1950 official nonwhite unemployment rates have almost always been more than twice as great as official white unemployment rates. Unemployment for both whites and nonwhites is heavily concentrated in the younger age brackets. Unemployment among 14-19 year old nonwhites has exceeded 20 percent in every year since 1958, while it has hovered around 15 percent for nonwhites in the 20-24 age bracket. Interestingly, the ratio of nonwhite to white unemployment is somewhat lower in these age brackets than in others which experience less unemployment. Thus age cohorts who suffer less unemployment experience more inequality, while age cohorts for whom inequality is less pronounced endure more unemployment. (Table IX is on the next page.)

The official unemployment rates given in Table IX seriously underestimate the actual unemployment levels. They include only those persons actively looking for work who do not have even a part-time job. A recent Department of Labor report on subemployment uses an index which in addition to persons counted in conventional unemployment statistics includes (1) those who have dropped out of the labor market in despair; (2) those who are working part-time but want full-time employment; (3) heads of households under 65 but earning less than \$60 a week; (4) persons under 65 who are not heads of households and earn less than \$56 a week in full-time jobs; and (5) a conservatively estimated portion of males living in the slums who do not appear in either employment or unemployment counts. The ten cities surveyed revealed an average subemployment rate of 35 percent. Presumably the black subemployment rate would be even higher.

The Black Family

Daniel Moynihan and several other commentators have noted the effect of racism on black family structure. The financial, occupational, and educational disadvantages under which the black male must operate makes it difficult for him to fill the role of family head. This militates for a matriarchal family structure and severely curtails the longevity of the family unit. The family is the crucial socializing agency in American society. It provides material and emotional support for the child and motivates him to acquire the educational and occupational skills necessary for social advancement. The instability of the black family - itself induced by racist discrimination -

Table IX: Unemployment Rates by Color and Age in Selected Years

| Age | 1950 | 1953 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 |
|--------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <u>Total</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 8.9 | 4.4 | 8.4 | 13.7 | 11.5 | 10.7 | 12.9 | 11.0 | 10.6 | 9.1 |
| W | 4.5 | 2.2 | 3.7 | 6.1 | 4.6 | 4.8 | 5.7 | 4.6 | 4.7 | 4.2 |
| N/W | 1.98 | 2.00 | 2.27 | 2.25 | 2.50 | 2.23 | 2.26 | 2.39 | 2.26 | 2.17 |
| <u>14-19</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 13.2 | 7.1 | 17.5 | 24.3 | 22.8 | 22.0 | 24.7 | 20.7 | 25.4 | 23.3 |
| W | 10.5 | 6.3 | 10.5 | 14.0 | 12.5 | 12.9 | 14.1 | 12.3 | 14.2 | 13.4 |
| N/W | 1.26 | 1.12 | 1.67 | 1.74 | 1.82 | 1.71 | 1.75 | 1.68 | 1.79 | 1.74 |
| <u>20-24</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 12.4 | 7.1 | 12.7 | 19.5 | 16.3 | 13.1 | 15.3 | 14.6 | 15.5 | 12.6 |
| W | 7.3 | 3.7 | 7.1 | 11.7 | 7.5 | 8.3 | 10.0 | 8.0 | 7.8 | 7.4 |
| N/W | 1.70 | 1.92 | 1.79 | 1.67 | 2.17 | 1.58 | 1.53 | 1.83 | 1.99 | 1.70 |
| <u>25-34</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 9.4 | 3.7 | 8.5 | 14.7 | 12.3 | 10.7 | 12.9 | 10.5 | 9.5 | 7.7 |
| W | 3.7 | 1.6 | 2.7 | 5.6 | 3.8 | 4.1 | 4.9 | 3.8 | 3.9 | 3.0 |
| N/W | 2.54 | 2.31 | 3.15 | 2.63 | 3.24 | 2.61 | 2.63 | 2.76 | 2.44 | 2.57 |
| <u>35-44</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 7.3 | 3.1 | 6.4 | 11.4 | 8.9 | 8.2 | 10.7 | 8.6 | 8.0 | 6.2 |
| W | 3.0 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 4.4 | 3.2 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 3.1 | 2.9 | 2.5 |
| N/W | 2.43 | 2.07 | 2.56 | 2.59 | 2.78 | 2.48 | 2.68 | 2.77 | 2.76 | 2.48 |
| <u>45-54</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 7.0 | 4.3 | 6.2 | 10.3 | 7.9 | 8.5 | 10.2 | 8.3 | 7.1 | 5.9 |
| W | 3.5 | 1.7 | 3.0 | 4.8 | 3.7 | 3.6 | 4.4 | 3.5 | 3.3 | 2.9 |
| N/W | 2.00 | 2.53 | 2.07 | 2.15 | 2.14 | 2.36 | 2.32 | 2.37 | 2.15 | 2.36 |
| <u>55-64</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 7.4 | 3.2 | 5.5 | 10.1 | 8.7 | 9.5 | 10.5 | 9.6 | 7.4 | 8.1 |
| W | 4.5 | 2.2 | 3.4 | 5.2 | 4.2 | 4.1 | 5.3 | 4.1 | 4.0 | 3.5 |
| N/W | 1.64 | 1.45 | 1.62 | 1.94 | 2.07 | 2.32 | 1.98 | 2.34 | 1.85 | 2.31 |
| <u>65+</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 7.0 | 2.6 | 5.9 | 9.0 | 8.4 | 6.3 | 9.4 | 11.9 | 1.1 | 8.3 |
| W | 4.4 | 2.1 | 3.2 | 5.0 | 4.5 | 4.0 | 5.2 | 4.1 | 4.1 | 3.6 |
| N/W | 1.59 | 1.24 | 1.84 | 1.80 | 1.87 | 1.58 | 1.81 | 2.90 | 2.46 | 2.31 |

W = white; N = nonwhite; N/W = ratio of nonwhite to white

Source: Manpower Report of the President, March 1965, Table A-3, p. 206.

helps perpetuate the disadvantaged position of American blacks. Items ten and eleven of Table III furnish evidence in support of this argument.

At any moment about 36 percent of black children are living in homes with one or both parents missing, and less than one-third of all black youth reach eighteen having lived all their lives with both parents. The most recent figures indicate that one-fourth of all nonwhite births are illegitimate (see Table III). In fact, most black children are at some time supported by the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program.

Concluding Remarks

The data presented above illuminate a few aspects of the unique problems faced by black Americans. They indicate as clearly as anything can the racism which infects every aspect of American life. They also document the near total failure of liberal solutions to the problem of discrimination. There is little reason to believe that education, job programs, and increased welfare expenditures within the context of contemporary American socio-economic structure will make even a dent in the situation of American blacks. Racism is deeply embedded in American society. It was present in the colonial seed from which this society grew and it poisoned the milk which nurtured the young Republic. Color has for centuries been a major American emblem of status, and whites have appropriated for themselves all leading positions in virtually all institutions of American life. Blacks, on the other hand, monopolize the cellar of American society, despised by poor whites who view them as a status threat and patronized by liberals fearful lest the fury of black discontent explode their comfortable accommodation with racist society.

Persons of radical persuasion must not, however, content themselves with belaboring liberals. Indeed, this would imply adoption of liberal technique. Although the task is staggering, the outlook is not hopeless. Any strategy, to have the slightest chance of ending American racism, must be radical in the fullest sense of the word: universal in scope, daring in conception, and drastic in intent. We must study the strategy of liberalism and learn from the failure of its programs. Then with greater wisdom and resolution we must join the insurgent black masses in their historic struggle against the appalling heritage of four racist centuries.

