COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF MINORITIES

Presents

The Moynihan Report: 50 Years Later
A Social, Political & Historical Forum

MARCH 18, 2015
183 McFarland Student Union

Co-sponsored by the Department of Criminal Justice; KU Multicultural Center; and Office of the Dean, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences
COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF MINORITIES

The Commission on the Status of Minorities (CSM) is part of the governance structure of Kutztown University. The CSM reports to the University Administrative Council. The CSM focuses on the monitoring of the recruitment and retention of students, faculty, staff, and administrators of color at Kutztown University. The responsibilities of the CSM include making recommendations regarding new policies, as well as changes to existing Kutztown University policies, programs, and/or procedures to support the creation of a culturally and psychologically “safe” environment in which the cultural, educational, and intellectual needs of students, staff, faculty, and administrators of color can be met and their experience at Kutztown enhanced.

The current members of the CSM are as follows:

Dr. Arthur H. Garrison (Chair), College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Dr. Thomas Robinson (Vice-Chair), African American Professional Organization
Dr. James D. Jackson (Treasurer), Black Faculty Caucus
Dr. Soo Goh (Web Master), College of Visual & Performing Arts
Ms. Rhonda Branford, Division of Multicultural Services
Mr. Hunter Wuensche, Student Government Board
Dr. Krista Varano, Elementary Education
Dr. Gary Chao, College of Business
Dr. Qin Geng, College of Business
Ms. Jackie Fox, Esq., Office of Social Equity
Ms. Kiara Richardson, President of the Black Student Union
THE MOYNIHAN REPORT:  
An Introduction

In March 1965, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action, otherwise known as the Moynihan Report, was leaked to the press and it ignited a controversy regarding the status of the black family and the impact of that status on American society as a whole.

In 1965, Patrick Moynihan, Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Johnson Administration, wrote an internal government policy report to provide support for the unveiling of the declaration of the War on Poverty. Ten years after the beginning of the modern Civil Rights Movement, with the Supreme Court decision of Brown v. Board of Education in 1954 and culminating in the landmark passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, policy attention shifted from ending racial Jim Crow and segregation to a focus on economic disparities and the failure of black families to attain the American Dream.

In his famous “Freedom is Not Enough” speech at Howard University in July 1965, President Johnson said, “The voting rights bill will [establish the freedom to vote]. . . But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: ‘Now you are free’ . . . You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him . . . and then say, ‘you are free to compete with all the others,’ and still justly believe that you have been completely fair. . . . To this end, equal opportunity is essential, but not enough, not enough.”

It was this speech, along with Johnson’s War on Poverty speech before Congress in January 1964, which began four years of social programs which resulted in Medicare, Medicaid, federal school loans, food stamps, and a host of others between 1964 and 1968.

The author of Johnson’s 1965 speech was Patrick Moynihan. Being at the cusp of leadership of major policy implementation, Moynihan was sidelined when his report was leaked to the press.

The report made two conclusions regarding the state of the black family. First, the black family was dysfunctional and was getting worse as far as its stability. Second, the damage to the black family could be addressed through direct social programs, the top being employment for the black male and allowing the black male to be the patriarch of his family with support from the black female, just as it was in white families.

The damage to the black family, according to Moynihan, was caused by two factors. The first factor was centuries of slavery and Jim Crow and its impact on the structure of the black family. As Moynihan explained, “[t]hree centuries of injustice have brought about deep-seated structural distortions in the life of the Negro American” and that the “Negro situation . . . commonly perceived by whites in terms of the visible manifestation of discrimination and poverty” needed to evolve in order to consider “the effect that three centuries of exploitation have had on the fabric of Negro society itself.”

The second factor was the patriarchal nature of the black family in which the black male was neither the bread winner nor the male role model of manhood for young black males. This lack of black male presence in the home leads to failure in school and delinquent behavior of young black male children. Moynihan asserted that because the “negro community has been forced into a maternal structure . . . out of line with the rest of the American society” it has a weak family structure suffering from “a tangle of pathology.” At the center of the tangle of pathology is black male unemployment and the failure to hold a responsible position in the home, which resulted in “25% of [b]lack families not [being] intact[,] 24% of [b]lack children born illegitimate [,and] 25% of [b]lack families were single female headed households.”

Conservatives of the 1960s, as they do today, ignore the first factor and hail the second factor a political orthodoxy.

The report was only intended for internal government review as an empirical justification for the policies of the War on Poverty. The goal of the report was to justify the need for national action. What Moynihan received for his effort was national condemnation. Blacks, liberal ones
anyway, cursed him and his report as blaming the victim and justifying racist ideals. Feminists, both black and white, cursed the report for blaming women for the problem of the family and supporting a patriarchal view of America that was under direct challenge by the Women’s Movement of the middle and late 1960s.

Due to the backlash, the report was abandoned by the Johnson Administration and Moynihan left the Administration. By the 1980s, the report had reemerged as being prescient and evidence that the policies of the 1960s were a failure. As President Reagan in January 1988 asserted, “the Federal Government declared war on poverty, and poverty won.” Conservatives in the 1960s argued that social programs do not help the poor, and the problems of blacks are of their own making to be fixed by them. With the end of legal Jim Crow, the responsibility and fault of their family structure belongs to them. The pathology within the black family, it was asserted, was reinforced by social programs that removed the value of work and personal responsibility from the poor. Conservatives today, as they did in the 1960s, ignore the Slavery/Jim Crow historical context Moynihan used to assert that poverty was attached to black family structure. In doing so, conservatives distort the report by asserting that Moynihan was right - the issue of poverty lay in the black family.

The Moynihan Report and its receipt cannot be understood in a vacuum. It was leaked one year after the rise of Goldwater and the conservative takeover of the Republican Party. It followed the summer riots of 1964 and preceded the urban riots of 1965-1968. The Civil Rights Movement was beginning to shift away from the philosophy of Dr. King to a more militant approach. Lastly, white fear of black crime and its linkage to the Civil Rights Movement was forming a political backlash against the War on Poverty that would lead to President Nixon and later the war on drugs and crime. The politics of the middle 1960s had distorted the receipt of the report. The politics of the post-1960s have continued that distortion.

With the goal of fostering a historical and public policy understanding of these issues, the Kutztown University Commission on the Status of Minorities has organized The Moynihan Report: Fifty Years Later: A Social, Political & Historical Forum.

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**SCHEDULE**

8:45 a.m.
WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

9:00 – 9:50 a.m.
**PANEL ONE: THE REPORT AND 1965: THE SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT THEN**
Panelists will discuss the social and historical context and reasons for the drafting and publication of the report, and how the report was received.

*Moderator: Dr. James Peterson, Director, Africana Studies, Lehigh University*
*Dr. Louis Rodriguez, History, Kutztown University*
*Mr. Louis Day, MPA Student, Public Administration, Kutztown University*
*Dr. tonya thames-taylor, History, West Chester University*

10:00 – 10:50 a.m.
**PANEL TWO: THE REPORT AND 1965: ECONOMICS, POVERTY AND RACE THEN**
Panelists will discuss the correlations of economics, race, and poverty during the 1950s and 1960s that Moynihan addressed in his report. Panelists will also discuss the changing industrial nature of urban America, the rise of the suburbs, and the impact of the second great migration.
11:00 – 11:50 a.m.

**Panel Three: Biology, Nutrition and Learning: What the Report Did Not Say**

Panelists will discuss how families are impacted by the availability of healthy nutrition sources and how nutrition affects educational, social, physical health, and psychological advancement. Panelists will also discuss how location and financial status provides or limits the availability of choices for families.

Moderator: Dr. Carolyn June Grasse-Bachman, Education, Pennsylvania State University
Dr. Anne Zayaitz, Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Kutztown University
Dr. John Conahan, Social Work, Kutztown University
Professor Leslie Runell, Esq., Criminal Justice, Kutztown University

1:00 – 1:50 p.m.


Panelists will discuss the *Moynihan Report* in the context of poverty, education, and crime, and how they interact with issues of race. Panelists will also discuss the political and social context and causes of crime.

Moderator: Dr. Tonya Thames-Taylor, History, West Chester University
Ms. Rosalyn J. McPherson, President & CEO, Urban League of Philadelphia
Dr. Kristen Bazley, Elementary Education, Kutztown University
Dr. Thomas Robinson, Psychology, Kutztown University
Dr. Albert Fu, Sociology, Kutztown University

2:00 – 3:30 p.m.

**Panel Five: The Report in 2015: Is It Still Relevant?**

Panelists will discuss the significance of the report over the past 50 years and how various political perspectives have used the report in political discourse. Panelists will also discuss modern political and policy initiatives to address the issues in the *Moynihan Report* including the proposals made by Congressman Paul Ryan in his report *Expanding Opportunity in America: A Discussion Draft from the House Budget Committee.*

Moderator, Dr. Lallen T. Johnson, Criminal Justice, Drexel University
The Reverend Dr. Alyn E. Waller, Senior Pastor, Enon Tabernacle Baptist Church, Philadelphia, PA
Ms. Natalye Paquin, Esq., CEO, Girl Scouts of Eastern Pennsylvania
The Honorable Ed Pawlowski, Mayor, Allentown, PA
The Honorable Vaughn D. Spencer, Mayor, Reading, PA

3:30 – 3:45 p.m.

**Closing Remarks**
MODERATORS AND PANELISTS

Dr. Kristen Bazley
Associate Professor of Elementary Education, Kutztown University

Dr. Bazley is an associate professor in the Elementary Education Department. She teaches both in the undergraduate and graduate programs. Primarily Dr. Bazley teaches Children’s Literature Pre-K-4, Foundations of Education Pre-K-8, Early Childhood Theory and Development, and Family Collaboration and Diversity. Dr. Bazley is the coordinator and supervisor of the Alaska Distance Intervention program that has Kutztown teacher candidates tutoring students in rural villages in Bush, Alaska. She has authored numerous articles on culture and the pre-service teacher as well as the cultural experiences of teacher candidates while traveling and teaching in Bush, Alaska.

Dr. John Conahan
Associate Professor of Social Work, Kutztown University

Dr. Conahan is an assistant professor and licensed clinical social worker in Pennsylvania, and a member of the Academy of Certified Social Workers. He holds a doctorate in Human Development with a specialization in Social Work. He holds a master’s of Social Work degree from Marywood University and a bachelor’s degree from Belknap College. Dr. Conahan is also a certified addictions counselor in Pennsylvania. Dr. Conahan’s 30 years of experience as a generalist practitioner has included the provision of services to individuals, groups and families, community and organizational development, clinical management, and administrative management positions in the field of substance abuse treatment.

Mr. Louis Day

Mr. Day is a graduate student in the Public Administration Department, Kutztown University. Mr. Day has a bachelor’s degree in Business Management. His graduate research focuses on the impact that the “war on drugs” has had on urban poverty. He plans on pursuing a doctoral degree in Public Policy upon completion of his graduate work at Kutztown. His interest in poverty related issues stem from growing up in Allentown, PA in extreme poverty with a single mother on disability.

Dr. Patricia Norred Derr
Associate Professor of History, Kutztown University


Dr. Albert S. Fu
Assistant Professor of Sociology, Kutztown University

Dr. Fu holds a doctorate degree from Binghamton University and his bachelor’s and master’s degrees from the University of California at Irvine. His research interests include historical, cultural and visual sociology. His publications include “Natural Disaster, Capitalism and the Built Environment” and “Sentimentalizing Racial Reconciliation in the ‘New South Africa’: Invictus and the Cinematic Representation of the 1995 Rugby World Cup.”
Dr. Carolyn June Grasse-Bachman  
Assistant Professor of Education, Pennsylvania State University

Dr. Grasse-Bachman is a member of the graduate faculty in education as well as a professor in human development and family studies. Experience at the collegiate level includes teaching at the University of Delaware, and Montclair State University in New Jersey. Dr. Grasse-Bachman’s training and teaching experience has been in both education and in human development and family studies. Her teaching interests are in human development across the life span, and family relationships. Her research interests include family empowerment through child care programming, and family relationships across the lifespan. Dr. Grasse-Bachman has taught at Penn State Harrisburg for 14 years. She teaches graduate Education classes and Individual and Family Studies. Her research area is the role of electronic communication in long-term family care giving.

Dr. James Jackson  
Associate Professor of Psychology, Kutztown University

Dr. Jackson is a cognitive-experimental psychologist with special training in the field of gerontology. He teaches courses in General Psychology and Life Span Development. His academic degrees include a bachelor’s degree from the University of Maryland and master’s and doctorate degrees from the University of Kansas.

Dr. Mauricia John  
Assistant Professor of Sociology, Kutztown University

Dr. John holds a bachelor’s degree from South Carolina State University and both master’s and doctorate degrees from the Ohio State University. Her research investigates the assimilation patterns of second-generation Caribbean immigrants into the United States during young adulthood. Her areas of expertise include immigration and assimilation, social change and development, poverty and inequality, and race and ethnicity.

Dr. Lallen T. Johnson  
Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice, Drexel University

Dr. Lallen Johnson considers himself an interdisciplinary scholar, with research interests at the intersection of urban studies, crime, and place. His most recent research examines neighborhood-level effects of gaming establishments on crime; and, how structural shifts affect municipality-level violent crime hotspots within the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area. Dr. Lallen is a 2010 Graduate Research Fellow of the National Institute of Justice. His funded research has examined the travel patterns of illicit drug arrestees in the Philadelphia region to understand the relationship between drug crime and violence. In addition to studying illicit drug crime, he has collaborated with colleagues to assess the effectiveness of state legislation on the diversion and abuse of prescription drugs in the state of Florida. Before arriving at Drexel, Dr. Lallen was a visiting assistant professor of Criminal Justice at the University of Central Florida. He has taught courses on drugs and crime, communities and crime, and race and justice.

Ms. Rosalyn J. McPherson  
President and Chief Executive Officer, Urban League of Philadelphia

Ms. McPherson assumed the role of president and CEO of the Urban League of Philadelphia on July 1, 2014. She has extensive leadership, management, and entrepreneurial expertise, and her diverse background spans several industries, including the corporate, nonprofit and government sectors. She has a bachelor’s degree in Secondary Education from Southern University and A&M College and an MBA in Marketing from Fairleigh Dickinson University. Ms. McPherson came to Philadelphia in 2000 as a senior vice president at the Franklin Institute Science Museum before becoming president and founder of The ROZ Group, Inc.
**Natalye Paquin, Esq.**  
Chief Executive Officer, Girl Scouts of Eastern Pennsylvania

As CEO of GSEP, Ms. Paquin is responsible for oversight of $40 million in assets, managing a $16.8 million annual operating budget, and leading a workforce of 450 including part time and seasonal employees. As the state’s largest girl serving organization and among the largest Girl Scouts councils in the nation, GSEP’s footprint covers 9 eastern Pennsylvania counties. Ms. Paquin oversees 2400 acres of land, which includes 9 campsites, six retail stores and six office buildings. GSEP serves over 40,000 girls ages 5-18 with the support of 14,000 adult volunteers. Prior to joining the Girl Scouts as CEO in 2010, Ms. Paquin was the Executive Vice President and Chief Operating Officer of The Kimmel Center, Inc., directing the center’s day-to-day operations across three venues; the Kimmel Center, the Academy of Music, and the Merriam Theater (2006-2010). In that role, she oversaw a $35 million budget and led a work force of nearly 300 employees and volunteers. Ms. Paquin began her career as a litigation attorney with the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights. Ms. Paquin received her Juris Doctor degree from DePaul University College of Law and a Bachelors of Science degree in psychology from Florida A & M University. She has also completed executive education programs at both Loyola and Harvard Universities.

**The Honorable Ed Pawlowski**  
Mayor, City of Allentown, PA

Elected as mayor in 2005 and re-elected in 2009 and 2013, Mayor Pawlowski has a bachelor’s degree from the Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, and a master’s degree in Urban Planning and Public Policy from the University of Illinois. As an Allentown resident for more than a decade, Mayor Pawlowski knows the struggles and hardships that Allentown faces. He cares passionately about the future of the city he chose to make his home. As mayor, he strives to “build a better Allentown,” decreasing violent crimes by 30% during his time in office. He works to create new development projects in the city and build change.

**Dr. James Peterson**  
Director, Africana Studies, Lehigh University

Dr. Peterson is the director of Africana Studies and associate professor of English at Lehigh University. He has also held positions at Bucknell University, Princeton University and Harvard University. He is the founder of Hip Hop Scholars, LLC, an association of Hip Hop generational scholars dedicated to researching and developing the cultural and educational potential of Hip Hop, urban and youth cultures. Peterson has written numerous scholarly articles on Hip Hop Culture, Multiculturalism, African American Literature, Culture, and Linguistics as well as Urban Studies. Peterson has been featured on BET and Bet.com, The Michael Eric Dyson Show, Hot 97’s “Street Soldiers,” The Michael Baisden Show, and the award-winning PBS documentary, Beyond Beats and Rhymes. He has appeared on CNN, Fox News, CBS News, MSNBC, ABC News, ESPN, HLN, and various local television networks as an expert on popular culture, urban youth, and politics.

**Dr. Thomas Robinson III**  
Assistant Professor of Psychology, Kutztown University

Dr. Robinson is a developmental psychologist who teaches courses in child, adolescent, and general psychology as well as the psychology of prejudice. He holds a bachelor’s degree from Howard University and master’s and doctorate degrees from Ohio State University. His interests include college student retention, ethnic and racial identity, attachment and parenting styles.
Dr. Louis Rodriquez  
Assistant Professor of History, Kutztown University

Dr. Rodriquez holds a bachelor’s degree from Moravian College and earned his master’s and doctorate degrees from Lehigh University. He specializes in modern American history, the history of minorities in America, and business history.

Professor Lindsey Runell, Esq.  
Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice, Kutztown University

Professor Runell joined the Department of Criminal Justice at Kutztown University in January 2015. Prior to coming to the university, she taught at Rutgers University and East Stroudsburg University. Professor Runell received her Juris Doctor degree from George Washington Law School and her undergraduate degree in Political Science from Leigh University. She will receive he doctorate degree in Criminal Justice from Rutgers University in May 2015. Currently, she teaches courses on criminal law, criminal procedure and introduction to criminal justice. Professor Runell has also taught a variety of courses including case processing, criminology, reducing local crime, research methods and philosophical ethics and legal foundations. She has also published peer reviewed journal articles on the push and pull of environmental factors towards and away from crime with a particular focus on the intersection between race, class and community influences.

Dr. Yasoda Sharma  
Assistant Professor of Social Work, Kutztown University

Dr. Sharma earned her Ph.D. in Social Work from the University of Texas at Arlington. She has an undergraduate degree in Psychology and a master’s degree in Social Work with specializations in Psychiatry and Social Medicine. Dr. Sharma has worked in various national and international organizations in India and Nepal. She also taught courses on geriatric psychology and community medicine to the undergraduate medical and nursing students there.

The Honorable Vaughn D. Spencer  
Mayor, City of Reading, PA

As a life-long Reading resident, Mayor Spencer was sworn in as the first African-American mayor of the City of Reading on January 1, 2012. He served as City Council president from 2002 to 2011. Mayor Spencer’s experience working in the public sector spans more than 10 years when he was appointed to fill the District 3 Council seat vacated in January 2000. He holds a bachelor’s degree in Social Sciences from Cheney University. Mayor Spencer served for over 30 years as a teacher in the Reading School District. The Caron Foundation named Mayor Spencer Teacher of the Year in 2000. He has also received awards such as the Susan B. Weinberger Award in 1999 for YES Mentoring and has been named Teacher of the Year 1997 by Jr. Achievement of Berks County. Building a strong foundation in education, he works with youth to help create more economic opportunities for them.

Dr. Tonya Thames-Taylor  
Associate Professor of History, West Chester University

As a Mississippi native, Dr. Taylor is a magna cum laude graduate from Tugaloo College and the University of Mississippi. As the director of the African American Minor, chair of the Multicultural Faculty Commission, chair of the executive committee of the Frederick Douglass Institute, and the director of the FDI Summer Scholars Program at West Chester University, Dr. Taylor inspires and uses education to give back to her community; she also serves the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as the chair of Education Committee.
The Reverend Dr. Alyn E. Waller  
Senior Pastor, Enon Tabernacle Baptist Church, Philadelphia, PA  

Dr. Waller has been described by Upscale Magazine (February 1999) as “an individual who has been called to operate far beyond the restraints of traditionalism.” Dr. Waller received a bachelor’s degree in Music Business at Ohio University in Athens (1987) and went on to earn his master of divinity degree from Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Kentucky (1990) and a doctor of ministry degree in Ministry to Marriage and Family from Palmer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania (1998). Dr. Waller was licensed to the gospel ministry (1987) and ordained (1988) at Shiloh Baptist Church in Cleveland. He was the Minister of Music at Canaan Missionary Baptist Church in Louisville, KY (1987-1990) before accepting a pastoral position at the First Baptist Church of Donora, PA in 1990. In July 1994, Dr. Waller became the Senior Pastor of Enon Tabernacle Baptist Church. In 1997, Dr. Waller organized the Enon-Coulter Community Development Corporation (ECCDC), a non-profit entity that provides educational and support services to children and families. Dr. Waller is currently a member of the Board of Trustees for the Kimmel Center for the Performing Arts and Eastern University and is the First Vice-President of the Lott Carey Foreign Mission Convention. Dr. Waller has written two books and contributes to local op-ed pages to address important issues that challenge the community. Among his many honors, Dr. Waller has received the Young Minister’s Award from Upscale Magazine and the Most Influential African American Award from the Philadelphia Tribune.

Dr. Anne Zayaitz  
Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Kutztown University  

Dr. Zayaitz began her career in higher education as an assistant professor of Biology at Kutztown University in 1985, and was later promoted to associate professor. She was the first female faculty member in the Biology Department. Dr. Zayaitz was named associate dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences in 2008 and dean in 2011. Before her appointment as dean, Dr. Zayaitz served as the Medical Technology coordinator and the Pre-Professional Health advisor for two decades. She served as the university Ombudsperson for two terms. Dr. Zayaitz was a co-principal investigator on two National Science Foundation CCLI grants funded for a total of $268,000. She also attended the American Council on Education/Office of Women in Higher Education 73rd National Leadership Forum in June 2009 and the Millennium Leadership Initiative in June 2011. Dr. Zayaitz earned her bachelor’s degree in Botany at Duke University in 1979 and her master’s and doctorate degrees in Food Microbiology with minors in Nutrition and Economics from Cornell University.