



**WHAT**

**Fatherhood**

**MEANS FOR**

**Black America**



# PROJECT 21

## Black Leadership Network

Project 21 is a program of the National Center For Public Policy Research a non-profit, non-partisan educational foundation in Washington, D.C.

---

### **Fatherhood**

is the tenth topic in the Project 21 series

### **"What It Means for Black America"**

Other topics in the series include:

- **Affordable Housing**
- **Critical Race Theory**
- **Environmental Justice**
- **Election Reform**
- **Inflation**
- **Immigration**
- **The Second Amendment**
- **Reparations**
- **Electric Vehicles**

To receive booklets of other topics in the series, contact Project 21 at **[info@nationalcenter.org](mailto:info@nationalcenter.org)**

Or download a PDF at:  
**[www.NationalCenter.org/Project-21](http://www.NationalCenter.org/Project-21)**

# CONTENTS

Who We Are.....	2
Project 21 Leadership .....	3
The Brink of Extinction: America is battling a centuries-old agenda by malevolent forces to tear apart Western civilization.....	5
From Cohesion to Collapse: The Removal of the Father and the Disintegration of the Black Family .....	8
The Consequences of Missing Fathers.....	14
The Importance of Fathers in Raising High-Achieving Children .....	16
Abortion: The Children Who Were Never Born.....	23
The Dead End of Universal Basic Income.....	26
The Path Forward .....	28
References .....	30



# PROJECT 21

## Black Leadership Network

## ABOUT PROJECT 21

---

Project 21 is a program of the National Center for Public Policy Research, launched in 1992 to promote conservative and libertarian black leaders in the media so that news coverage better reflects the true diversity of thought within the black community.

Project 21 members have been interviewed over 50,000 times — currently averaging more than two television interviews each day — appearing on Fox News Channel, CNN, C-SPAN, MSNBC, Newsmax and One America News Network. In addition, Project 21 members are interviewed on radio an average of nearly 1.5 times per day and have appeared on major radio stations and shows with hosts such as Sean Hannity, Jim Bohannon and the late Rush Limbaugh. Members are also frequently published and quoted in newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Washington Times*, *Detroit News*, *Houston Chronicle* and many others.

Project 21 members come from all walks of life and from all over the country. Its membership includes members of the clergy, business leaders, entertainers, athletes, economists, journalists, attorneys and students.

What Project 21 members have in common is a desire to make America a better place for black Americans — and all Americans — to live and work.

They do so not only by writing op-eds and participating in radio and TV interviews on the most important issues of the day, but also by advancing a positive vision for improving the lives of black Americans. Project 21 publishes the "Blueprint for a Better Deal for Black America" offering specific policy recommendations for helping black America reach its full potential. Notably, these recommendations build on key aspects of Americanism — free enterprise, personal responsibility and limited government — and consequently would result in benefits for the country, not just blacks. It also publishes the "What It Means for Black America" series of monographs that assess policy initiatives for their specific impact on people of color.

Project 21 members give speeches before student, community, business and religious groups; testify before Congress and other government bodies; advise policymakers at the national, state and local level and file public comments on federal rulemakings.

# PROJECT 21 LEADERSHIP

---

## **HORACE COOPER**

### **CHAIRMAN**

In addition to serving as chairman for Project 21, Horace Cooper is a senior fellow and member of the board of directors of the National Center for Public Policy Research. He previously served as deputy director of Voice of America, chief of staff at the U.S. Department of Labor and was a senior aide to the leadership of the U.S. House of Representatives. He also taught constitutional law at the George Mason University School of Law. He is the author of *How Trump is Making Black America Great Again* and *Put Y'all Back in Chains: How Joe Biden's Policies Hurt Black Americans*. He appears regularly on the Fox News Channel and talk radio shows across the nation as a legal and political commentator.



## **TERRIS TODD**

### **DIRECTOR OF COALITIONS & OUTREACH**

Terris E. Todd brings a wealth of experience to our Project 21 team. Todd has served in the federal government, as an advisor for a leading think tank and a board advisor for several organizations. He is multi-talented and his seasoned career includes being an ordained pastor, a public school teacher, school administrator and college instructor. He is also an author and hosts a podcast host.

In 2020, Terris was appointed by The White House to be the executive director of the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans in the U.S. Department of Education.

He focused on working with educational professionals in the public and private sectors to elevate and bring awareness to the challenges faced by African-American students in the country, and on leveraging resources to help ensure students are prepared for college and productive careers that contribute to the well-being of society.



" If the father is not in the home, then the boy will find

**a father in the streets.**

I saw it in my generation and every generation before me and every one since. If the streets raise you, then the

**judge becomes your mother,**

and **prison becomes**

**your home."**

---

**Denzel Washington**

Actor, director, producer,  
pentecostal minister

2017<sup>1</sup>



# The Brink of Extinction

## America is battling a centuries-old agenda by malevolent forces to tear apart Western civilization

In a 1989 interview on ABC's *Nightline*, filmmaker Spike Lee — whose breakout movie, *Do the Right Thing*, had just made him an overnight celebrity — reflected on how his childhood in Brooklyn influenced his later professional success.

"I would have really liked to focus more on the black family because I remember when I was growing up, both my parents were home," he said. "When my friends would come over, they were amazed that both my parents lived with us. We were thought of as Martians. It was something so foreign to them. I think the reason why I'm able to do what I'm doing today is because I had both my parents there to raise me. And that makes a difference."<sup>2</sup>

Denzel and Spike, both black cultural icons born in the mid-1950s, point to the traditional nuclear family — one that is headed by both a father and a mother — as essential to the development of children into responsible adults.

It's now painfully apparent that the decline of the traditional family in the black community — notably the absence of the father in too many homes — presents a clear and present danger to black America in particular and also to America as a whole. It's a downward trend crying out for reversal.

"To put it simply, the traditional black family is on the brink of extinction because having babies without wedlock and raising children without a father in the home have become acceptable norms independent of the factors that started this trend 60 years ago," asserts Project 21 ambassador Delano Squires, a former Washington, D.C. city executive.<sup>3</sup>

But the breakdown of the family unit actually began hundreds of years ago, as part of an agenda by malevolent forces to tear apart Western civilization. In *The Communist Manifesto*, published way



back in 1848, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels demeaned the family as a “money relation” — a capitalist tool. They idealized instead the concept of a Marxist “New Man” who would be adopted by the state — essentially raised by the government and on the streets in a manner designed to rescue him “from the influence of the ruling class.”<sup>4</sup>

Later, during communism’s “long march through the institutions,” the Marxist Frankfurt School fleshed out this anti-family philosophy that helped birth the sexual revolution of the 1960s and the Critical Race Theory movement that rose to prominence in the 2020s.<sup>5</sup> In fact, one of the guiding principles of the modern-day Black Lives Matter organization was to “disrupt the Western-prescribed nuclear family.”<sup>6</sup>

The result of the left’s assault has been a near-extinction of the black family. Still, Squires’s claim that the trend began “60 years ago” is definitely not arbitrary.

In March 1965, the U.S. Department of Labor issued a report highlighting the deteriorating state of the black family in the United States. Authored by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a then-obscure Lyndon B. Johnson administration appointee who later became a U.S. senator, the report was titled “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action.” Commonly known today as the Moynihan Report, the analysis pointed to the alarming breakdown of the traditional black family. It noted, for example, that about 25 percent of black children were born out of wedlock. The report cited the disintegration of “family structure” as the driving force behind “the cycle of poverty and disadvantage” that threatened to perpetuate itself in the black community.

Moynihan did not believe that all hope was lost, however. “A national effort is required to give a unity of purpose to the many activities of the Federal government in this area, directed to a new kind of national goal: the establishment of a stable Negro family structure,” he advocated in the report.<sup>7</sup> But the 25 percent rate of black out-of-wedlock children that Moynihan lamented in 1965 has now climbed to 70 percent,<sup>8</sup> and the resulting social pathologies in low-income black neighborhoods are there for all to see.

The “national effort” to restore the black family, one spearheaded by the federal government, has been a spectacular failure, in large part because the federal programs created to address the problem wound up serving the interests of the agencies administering them, rather than the people they were supposed to help.

As more black Americans became wards of the state instead of members of functioning nuclear families, social cohesion in black communities broke down further, abetted by the rise of feminist ideology which further disparaged the traditional family and the role of the husband/father as provider.

Notably this dissolution is affecting all families not just blacks. Over the past few decades, the percentage of children born to unmarried mothers has risen across all racial groups, with significant increases noted among white women. Today, according to the National Institutes of Health, the fatherlessness rate of whites has reached 26.8 percent; higher than the rate that led to Moynihan’s report which triggered an “all hands on deck” emergency for blacks.<sup>9</sup>

Project 21 believes that continuing down the same path, yet expecting a different outcome, is not an option. Let us first understand how we got here, so we can then proceed to chart a course that will restore fatherhood to black families in America.

**The 25% rate of black out-of-wedlock children that Moynihan lamented in 1965 has now climbed to**

**70%**





Photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Feggen Jones at home with and their family in Zebulon, North Carolina. (Circa. 1940s)♦

## From Cohesion to Collapse: The Removal of the Father and the Disintegration of the Black Family

The Moynihan Report rightly emphasized the crucial role of family stability, including the presence of the father in the home, as an essential foundation for economic advancement and social cohesion in black communities. And its warnings about the consequences of rising illegitimacy rates in black households have been borne out in the years since its publication.

However, the report also contained a fatal flaw: When attributing the disintegration of the black family almost exclusively to the legacy of slavery, post-Civil War Reconstruction and conditions prevailing in the Jim Crow South, it ignored the remarkable story of the black family's survival under such adverse circumstances.

By not recognizing the resilience of the black family, the Moynihan Report set the nation on a self-destructive course with the launch of the Johnson Administration's Great Society and War on Poverty initiatives.

“The harsh realities of slavery created incentives for black men and women to keep their families together,” Squires notes. “In fact, former slaves sometimes traveled across the country to put their families back together. From the 1890s through the 1950s, black men and women married earlier and were more likely to be married by 35 than their white peers.”<sup>10</sup>

Despite the persistence of legalized segregation in the South until the mid-1960s, and the social disruptions caused by the migration of some 6 million black Americans from the rural South to cities in the Northeast, Midwest and Far West from the 1910s to early 1970s, the black nuclear family held up remarkably well through most of this turbulent period.

Indeed, the 1960 Census revealed that two-thirds of black children lived in two-parent households, even though the poverty rate among black Americans stood at an alarming 55 percent in 1959.<sup>11</sup> Times were certainly hard for most black Americans of that era, yet the traditional nuclear family structure was still the norm.

“From 1890 to 1950, black women had a higher marriage rate than white women,” noted legal and financial commentator Willis Krumholz in a paper for the Institute for Family Studies. “And in 1950, just nine percent of black children lived without their father. By 1960, the black marriage rate had declined but remained close to the white marriage rate. In other words, despite open racism and widespread poverty, strong black families used to be the norm.”<sup>12</sup>

That stability of the black nuclear family, and hence the role of fathers therein, was reinforced by strong black churches. “As the only stable and coherent institution to emerge from slavery, black churches were not only

dominant in their communities, but they also became the womb of black culture and a number of major social institutions,” noted religious scholars C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya in their book *The Black Church in the African American Experience*.<sup>13</sup>

The undoing of the traditional intact black family, and the myriad social pathologies — drugs, crime, truancy and the stifling of upward social mobility — that flowed therefrom, is rooted in the

**“From 1890 to 1950,  
black women had a  
higher marriage rate  
than white women.”**

**Willis Krumholz**

Legal and financial commentator  
Institute for Family Studies

vast expansion of the Great Society's welfare programs. "Cash welfare in meager form existed since 1935, and some welfare expansion took place during the Kennedy Administration," Krumholz points out. "But under Johnson's Great Society, which began in 1964, benefits became substantially more generous and came under greater control of the federal government."<sup>14</sup>

**"... The government paid mothers to keep fathers out of the household – and paid them well!"**

**Jason Riley**

*The Wall Street Journal*

Harvard University's Paul Peterson notes that "some programs actively discouraged marriage" because "welfare assistance went to mothers so long as no male was boarding in the household... Marriage to an employed male, even one earning the minimum wage, placed at risk a mother's economic well-being."<sup>15</sup>



Mother and children in the playground at the Ida B. Wells Housing Project in Chicago, Illinois. (Circa. 1940s)♦

Krumholz additionally points out that “[i]nfamous ‘man in the house’ rules meant that welfare workers would randomly appear in homes to check and see if the mother was accurately reporting her family status.”<sup>16</sup>

The benefits that single women received were quite generous, provided adult males — including the fathers of their children — were absent from the household. According to Peterson, it’s “estimated that in 1975 a household head would have to earn \$20,000 a year to have more resources than could be obtained from Great Society programs.”<sup>17</sup> That equates to about \$120,400 in annual earnings in 2020s dollars.<sup>18</sup>

As *Wall Street Journal* columnist Jason Riley has noted, “the government paid mothers to keep fathers out of the household — and paid them well.”<sup>19</sup>

Even though the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously struck down the “man-in-the-house” rule in 1968’s *King v. Smith*, that ruling had little effect on anti-poverty bureaucrats who continued to funnel funds to female-headed households.

The expanding welfare state, which in addition to cash payments also included food stamps and Medicaid, all but erased the traditional role of a husband/father as the chief provider for his family. The federal government, primarily through the Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, became the de facto breadwinner for poor families.

“The racial demographics of these programs were striking,” Squires observes. “Despite being only 12 percent of the population in 1985, 42 percent of AFDC families were black. This was hardly a surprise given that the poverty rate for black female-headed families with children under 18 was 59 percent.”<sup>20</sup>

The disintegration of the black nuclear family, particularly the absence of the father, gathered steam as Great Society programs tightened their grip on black communities. In dismantling the structure of the black family, Great Society bureaucrats and the politicians who supported and enabled them assaulted the one institution best suited to withstand the pressure of social engineering.

Writing for the American Enterprise Institute in 2021, social critic Thomas Chatterton Williams paid homage to economist Thomas Sowell’s keen insight into the role the family plays in thwarting the schemes of social engineers:

**In his 1995 book, *The Vision of the Anointed*, Sowell argues persuasively that, “The family is inherently an obstacle to the schemes for central control of social processes.**



Men, women, and children on the Mall in Washington, D.C., demonstrating in support of jobs and anti-poverty programs. (Circa. 1960s) ♦

Therefore, the anointed [essentially his proto-term for 'woke'] necessarily find themselves repeatedly on a collision course with the family." This is because, he continues, "the preservation of the family" is fundamentally a source of freedom. "Friedrich Engels's first draft of the Communist Manifesto included a deliberate undermining of family bonds as part of the Marxian political agenda."<sup>21</sup>

Engels may have struck the deliberate undermining of family bonds from his draft of the *Communist Manifesto* in the mid-19th century, but the idea and — more importantly — the practice resurfaced in American welfare policies beginning in the 1960s.

Indeed, welfare policies launched during the Great Society/War on Poverty era created powerful incentives for a woman not to marry the father of her children and to forgo having a family altogether.

In addition to the perverse incentives created by myriad anti-poverty welfare programs, black family structure was further undermined by feminist voices calling for black Americans to abandon the Eurocentric model of the nuclear family.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, black feminist writers such as the Marxist Angela Davis (a two-time vice presidential candidate of the Communist Party of the USA and winner of the then-Soviet

**“On the one side was the government that displaced men from their traditional role as providers and protectors ... On the other was the feminist movement that pushed women to seek financial independence and see a man in the home as unnecessary.”**

**DELANO SQUIRES • PROJECT 21 AMBASSADOR**

Union’s Lenin Peace Prize) and Ms. magazine editor Alice Walker viewed the nuclear family as a relic of capitalist exploitation and urged women to liberate themselves from being dependent on men.

The combined effect of Great Society programs and feminist ideology — the former difficult to eradicate once the programs became entrenched in myriad bureaucracies, the latter repeated endlessly in the media, educational institutions and popular culture — contributed mightily to the decline of fathers’ roles in the black family. “On the one side was the government that displaced men from their traditional role as providers and protectors,” Squires notes. “On the other was the feminist movement that pushed women to seek financial independence and see a man in the home as unnecessary.”<sup>22</sup>

Higher rates of absent fathers in black households, compared with white and Hispanic families, appear to be hobbling social mobility among black Americans. “Between 2012 and 2022, the percentage of Hispanic households in the country that qualified as middle-class grew from about 42 percent to 48 percent ,” the Pew Charitable Trust’s Stateline new service reported in December 2023. “The proportion of black middle-class households grew more slowly, from 41 percent to 44 percent.”<sup>23</sup>



Activist Angela Davis featured on presidential election poster for the 1976 Communist Party of the United States. ♦

# THE CONSEQUENCES OF MISSING FATHERS

“Tragically, fatherlessness strongly correlates with negative outcomes in nearly every aspect of a child’s life,” note retired pro football player and philanthropist Jack Brewer and Project 21 ambassador Dr. Alveda King. “Fatherless families are 25 percent more likely to raise a child in poverty, and 90 percent of all homeless and runaway children do not have a father.

Additionally, 85 percent of all children and teens with behavioral disorders come from fatherless homes. Fatherless children also account for 71 percent of child substance abuse cases, and approximately 70 percent of all youths in state-operated systems are fatherless.”<sup>24</sup>

While the lack of a father in many black households might — at first glance — be thought to have its biggest impact on the development of boys, girls also suffer from fatherlessness. A 2023 Liberty University paper, “The Impact of the Absent Father on African-American Women: A Phenomenological Study,” sheds additional light on this often-overlooked subject:

Research indicated that children, in general, have an inherent tendency to grow and adapt in a healthy manner when their father is active in their lives from birth to adulthood; the presence of a healthy father-daughter relationship can impact friendships, romances, decision making, healthy habits and even likelihood to become involved with drugs and alcohol.... Research indicated that there are certain behaviors and life skills that a mother may not be able to provide as well as a father to their daughter.”<sup>25</sup>

“Having a father means a lot to me, especially as a young woman, because he has shown me an example of how a man should be,” says Alexis Robinson. “He has shaped my perspective of a black man because he’s provided a positive example of what healthy interactions look like between black men and their families. His example has been the foundation of how I move through life today.”<sup>26</sup>

Boys, however, are affected by the absence of fathers in ways in which girls are not, and some are taking matters into their own hands. Technology podcaster Will Spencer says some are responding to the “Father Famine” by turning to a “digital substitute for dads... on

handheld devices [where they can] browse forums on social media, watch videos on YouTube, or participate in men's chat groups." Spencer says this sometimes-dark corner of the online world, "known as the Manosphere, ... is a decentralized network for under-fathered boys [who] discuss what it means to be a man." It is a place, he explains, where healthy masculinity has been replaced by "the Nietzschean pursuit of power — physical, financial and sexual."<sup>27</sup>

This quest for masculinity spills out into the streets as well. "Why are hordes of young men, from Seattle to San Diego, and from Minneapolis to Miami, taking over America's cities like a pack of rabid wolves?" Everett Piper asks in a 2025 *Washington Times* column. "Millions of boys have no male authority figure in the home to help raise them," he notes. "Boys need faithful fathers who model biblical wisdom, self-discipline and moral character. Without this, they will search out the definition of their masculinity elsewhere and find it in the dark world of street gangs, thuggish mobs and the dark rabbit hole of the 'manosphere.'"<sup>28</sup>

Sadly, those on the left are often quick to dismiss the effects of fatherlessness on black communities. "Black elites are quick to speak about the importance of every institution except the institution of marriage, and every social structure except family structure," Squires points out.<sup>29</sup> For instance, in a 2019 *New York Times* op-ed titled "The Myth of the Two-Parent Family," Harvard sociologist Christina Cross downplayed the importance of black family structure, arguing instead that "living apart from a biological parent does not carry the same cost for black youths as for their white peers, and being raised in a two-parent family is not equally beneficial."<sup>30</sup>

Claiming Cross's argument "amounts to a particularly egregious case of cherry-picking," AEI colleagues Brad Wilcox and Ian Rowe point out that "Cross completely passes over a finding from her own study that showed the link between family structure and college enrollment was not lower for African-Americans." They add: "To talk about the 'myth of the two-parent home' when it comes to thinking about 'black kids' success,' does a profound disservice to racial inequality in America."<sup>31</sup>

This refusal by some on the left to acknowledge the obvious — even to the point of decrying the "myth" of fatherless black families — is a clear indication that today's black elites are more interested in preserving their status than uplifting black communities.



# The Importance of Fathers in Raising High-Achieving Children

In June 2025, an intellectually diverse group of scholars released a landmark report, *Good Fathers, Flourishing Kids: The Importance of Fatherhood in Virginia*. Contributors to the report hailed from the University of Virginia, the American Enterprise Institute, the American Institute for Boys and Men, the Brookings Institution, the National Center for Black Family Life at Hampton University, the Institute for Family Studies and the National Marriage Project.

“As Richard Reeves observed in *Of Boys and Men: Why the Modern Male is Struggling, Why it Matters and What To Do About It*, ‘the separation of fathers from children... is bad for men, bad for women and bad for children,’” the report opens. “What’s more: the consequences of these fatherhood and family trends are often more salient for children and adults ‘lower down the economic and social ladder,’ as Reeves noted.”<sup>32</sup>



While this report focuses exclusively on Virginia, the state's mix of urban, suburban, exurban and rural areas – along with its racial and ethnic composition – largely reflects conditions prevailing elsewhere in America.

Among the report's more intriguing findings:

- ✓ **“There is no racial divide in academic performance or school problems between white and black children from intact families in the state.** More than 85 percent of these children get mostly As and Bs and less than one in five have parents contacted about school problems. By contrast, white and black children from father-absent families do markedly worse in school: fewer than two-thirds of white and black children from such families get good grades, and more than one in three have parents contacted for school problems.”



- ✓ **“More than a quarter of Virginia children living in mother-only families live below the official poverty line, compared with six percent of those living in intact, father-present families.** Note also that black children and Hispanic children in single-mother homes were, respectively, 5.7 times and 3.8 times more likely to be living in poverty, compared to their peers in intact, father-present families. After controlling for differences across race, parent educational levels, immigration status and age and sex of children, the odds of children in mother-only families being poor were over three and a half (3.6) times greater than the odds for children in the intact family group.”
- ✓ **“Children, men and women are more likely to thrive when they live in communities where families are stable and fathers are engaged.** We know, for instance, that the American Dream is stronger in communities where two-parent families are the norm, and fathers are plentiful. By contrast, poor children are more likely to remain in poverty, and young men are more likely to land in prison, when fathers are absent.”
- ✓ **“Eight times as many children in father-absent families had witnessed or been victimized by neighborhood violence as children with fathers and mothers present in the home (eight percent versus one percent).** Given that such families are more likely to live in neighborhoods marked by concentrated poverty where violence is more common, much of this story is about neighborhood effects. Still, after controlling for parent education, family income, race of child, immigration status and sex and age of child, the odds of exposure to violence were ten times higher for children in father-absent homes, than for children with both parents present in the home.”<sup>33</sup>

The findings on children’s exposure to “neighborhood violence” in the Virginia study underscore an often-overlooked effect of family structure. In neighborhoods where there are many absent fathers, children can be trapped in the “village” that surrounds them. By contrast, even in low-income black neighborhoods with fathers present in most homes, children stand a much better chance of upward social and economic mobility.

In a 2019 study, “Race and Economic Opportunity in the United States: An Intergenerational Perspective,” Harvard economist



The Queensbridge housing projects in New York City, NY, was opened in 1939. It is the largest housing project in North America, with 96 six-story buildings and 3,142 units which accommodate approximately 7,000 people.

Raj Chetty and his colleagues found, as noted by AEI's Wilcox and Rowe, that "one of the strongest predictors of a big racial gap in adult income between black and white men traces back to the absence of black fathers in the neighborhood where they grew up."<sup>34</sup>

However, the Harvard study also found that "the black-white intergenerational gap is significantly smaller for boys who grow up in certain neighborhoods — those with low poverty rates, low levels of racial bias among whites, and high rates of father presence among low-income black Americans. Black boys who move to those areas at younger ages have significantly better outcomes, demonstrating that racial disparities can be narrowed through changes in environment."<sup>35</sup>

One obstacle to the creation and proliferation of neighborhoods with a high percentage of fathers in households is the continued existence of public housing.

Public housing in the United States dates to the New Deal era, and later became absorbed in the massive federal "slum clearance" carried out with great rigor in the 1950s and 1960s. Low-income families living in detached homes and apartment buildings designated as slums by federal housing bureaucrats were uprooted and relocated to high-rise housing projects that sprang up in predominantly urban areas around the country. It did not take long for the projects to become a breeding ground for drug-trafficking and all manner of violent crime and truancy.



1940s poster promoting governmental Planned Housing. ♦

1.6 million Americans,” AEI scholar Howard Husock writes in his book *The Projects: A New History of Public Housing*. “Such households are among the nation’s poorest. Some 25 percent of households have less than \$5,000 in annual income, and just six percent earn more than \$20,000.”<sup>36</sup>

There is also a racial component to public housing projects. “It is housing not just for people in poverty but, disproportionately, racially segregated housing for the black poor: 42 percent of public housing residents are black, in a nation where they make up just 13 percent of the population,” Husock points out.<sup>37</sup>

Husock notes that, in New York City, 10 percent of public housing residents have been there for more than 40 years. “This is so antithetical to upward mobility,” he told *The Wall Street Journal’s* Jason Riley.<sup>38</sup> Given the preponderance of absent black fathers in public housing units, the “neighborhood effect” offered by an environment of at-home fathers is largely absent from these taxpayer-supported dwellings.

If the physical environment in many black neighborhoods often thwarts family formation and socioeconomic advancement by facilitating the absence of fathers, so, too, do certain laws covering domestic relations.

Custody battles between parents going through divorce proceedings, for example, have historically favored the mother. “For more than a century, many court decisions aligned with the ‘cult of domesticity,’ which presented women as sole and primary

Great Society programs all but removed fathers from these low-income households, with predictable consequences. The social disaster became so obvious that these giant structures were demolished over time, and none are being built today. But the damage had been done, and the legacy is very much with us.

“Even as demolitions and smaller, differentiated types of replacements and variations have thinned the ranks of the projects, there remain 886,000 public housing ‘units’ that are home to

caregivers,” noted Creighton University’s Joti Kaur in a 2022 study published in Johns Hopkins University’s *The Macksey Journal*.<sup>39</sup>

Custody disputes are subject to state laws, which are not uniform, and are further complicated by the difference between legal and physical custody. “Legal custody refers to parents’ rights to make important decisions about their children’s upbringing,” explains Divorce.net. “Physical custody deals with where the children will live and how much time they’ll spend with each parent — which is why some states call it parenting time, time-sharing, or similar terms.”<sup>40</sup>

While mothers continue to be disproportionately granted physical custody of children, whether the parents are married to one another or not, there is a clear national trend to award fathers at least joint custody upon divorce or separation. Still, separation — sometimes necessitated by household violence, alcoholism, drug abuse or incarceration of one of the parents — can come at a steep price. Data from the U.S. Census Bureau shows that “child custody issues and economic hardship often go hand-in-hand — hitting some communities harder than others,” notes an article published by *Modern Family Law*.<sup>41</sup>

“Around 30 percent of children living with a custodial parent are below the federal poverty line — that’s over 6.5 million kids,” the law firm explains. “Custodial moms (45 percent) are more likely than dads (26 percent) to be on at least one form of public assistance, like food stamps or Medicaid.”<sup>42</sup>

*Modern Family Law* also reveals significant racial disparities found in the Census data:

Almost half (49 percent) of Black children live with a custodial parent. That’s compared to 29 percent of Hispanic kids, 23 percent of white kids, and just 14 percent of Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American and Alaska Native youth. These numbers suggest black and Hispanic families are bearing the brunt of the negative impact of divorce, separation and single parenthood.<sup>43</sup>

In an analysis of divorce and custody data, **“the lower the income of the mother, the more likely she is to win custody instead of a father with higher income.”**

---

#### JOTI KAUR

Johns Hopkins University,  
*The Macksey Journal*

Despite these troubling statistics, the current system for handling custody disputes only perpetuates the poverty of single-family households headed by the mother. In her analysis of divorce and custody data, Kaur found to her surprise that “the lower the income of the mother, the more likely she is to win custody instead of a father with higher income.”<sup>44</sup>

The difficult decisions rendered by judges or — more often — lawyers representing the parents should, where possible, ensure that children can partake of the unique qualities that only fathers can provide. This is especially true in cases involving black Americans, where the absence of fathers is destabilizing to the child and to the community.

Reflecting a gradual change in the appreciation of the role of the father, research from Arizona State University showed that “children who spend more time with their fathers are more likely to succeed academically, grow up healthier mentally and physically and not abuse substances.”<sup>45</sup>

The assault on the black family is also being waged by those with the power to set the culture. As the late political activist Andrew Breitbart famously noted, “politics is downstream of culture.”<sup>46</sup>

Over the last few decades, the depiction of fathers in popular culture has too often devolved into caricatures of hapless buffoons, constantly in need of adult supervision. “Thanks to a campaign by the entertainment industry and advertising, fatherhood has gone from something important and revered by men to something many flat out run away from,” writes political commentator Pete Williams at *Medium*.<sup>47</sup>

Yet fatherhood is serious business. As psychologist Joost Meerloo explains:

**The father is the first one to cut into the essentially biological relation between mother and child. He is what the psychoanalyst calls the first transference figure the first new prototype to whom the child can transfer its expectations of gratification, its feelings of relatedness, of satisfaction, of fear. This first new trial relationship with the father giant may become the conditioning prototype for every subsequent social relationship.**<sup>48</sup>

It’s vitally important that political, legal and cultural forces not rob black children of these formational milestones. All children benefit from having a father in their lives, and today’s culture war hurts them all — but it hurts black kids most.

# ABORTION

## The Children Who Were Never Born

---

Extraordinarily high abortion rates among black women constitute another barrier to family formation and development and are undermining black Americans' demographic standing nationwide.

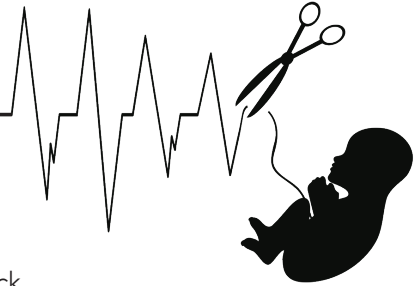
"In a 2024 survey, around 21 percent of black women in the United States reported having had an abortion," Statista reported. "In comparison, only 11 percent of Asian/Pacific Islander and white women had gotten an abortion after becoming pregnant." The comparable figure for Hispanic women was 19 percent.<sup>49</sup>

This national trend can also be seen at the state level. "The black community accounts for just over 13 percent of Ohio's population, yet according to the Ohio Department of Health in 2022, 48.4 percent of abortions performed in Ohio were on black women," reported Ohio Senator Michele Reynolds in 2023. "Black babies in Ohio are six times more likely to be aborted than white babies."<sup>50</sup>

Not surprisingly, the high percentage of abortions among black women is not seen as a problem among left-leaning voices. Indeed, the 2022 U.S. Supreme Court decision overturning *Roe v. Wade* is viewed by the left as a setback for racial minorities.

The headline of a June 2023 article posted by the American Psychological Association read: "Abortion Bans Cause Outsize Harm for People of Color." The article quotes Wisdom Powell, chief social impact and diversity officer at Headspace Health, as saying: "Women of color face more structural barriers to care to begin with, and these inequalities are exacerbated when these policies further diminish their power and bodily autonomy. You end up having a domino effect of negative impact on women's overall health and well-being."<sup>51</sup>

Lamenting the effect she believes the Supreme Court's ruling will have on black women, Kay Matthews, founder of the maternal



mental health nonprofit Shades of Blue, told *The Texas Tribune*, “It seems like everything is falling apart and just our basic rights to make our own decisions about our bodies are being taken away from us.”<sup>52</sup>

Black women do not suffer from restricted access to abortion; black men and women suffer from decades of abortion, which has been used as a means of racially targeted population control. “The reality is that black women are being pushed — led from behind into abortion centers by a cadre of elitists who agree with Frederick Osborne, the leading eugenicist of the 20th century, that ‘birth control and abortion are turning out to be great eugenic advances of our time. If they had been advanced for eugenic reasons it would have retarded or stopped their acceptance,’” reported a team of researchers in a 2015 study by the Center for Urban Renewal and Education (CURE).<sup>53</sup>

The reference to eugenics points to the origins of the cult of abortion and to the special place black Americans occupy therein. Margaret Sanger, who opened the first birth control clinic in the United States and founded Planned Parenthood in 1916, advocated for controlling the birth rate of black people and others she considered genetically inferior. Sanger’s “Negro Project” succeeded in enlisting black leaders of her era to support first birth control and later abortion in the name of “family planning.”<sup>54</sup>

Over time, Sanger’s notion of abortion as birth control became entrenched in black communities. “The prevalence of abortion facilities within minority communities serves as a major contributor to the rate in which black women obtain abortions,” the CURE study noted, citing a 2012 Protecting Black Life study showing that 79 percent of Planned Parenthood surgical abortion facilities were in minority neighborhoods.<sup>55</sup>



## Mother of Death

Margaret Sanger opened the first birth control clinic in America and founded Planned Parenthood in 1916. Sanger advocated for **controlling the birth rate of black people** and others she considered genetically inferior. Her “Negro Project” succeeded in enlisting black leaders of her era to support first birth control and later abortion in the name of “family planning.”

On July 4, 2025, President Donald Trump signed the “One Big Beautiful Bill Act” into law, which, among other things, denied Planned Parenthood and affiliated organizations federal Medicaid funding if they continued to provide abortions. The cut in federal funding led to the closure of 45 Planned Parenthood facilities by the end of November 2025.<sup>56</sup> Recognizing the dire threat caused by cuts in federal funding, abortion advocates are suing to have the provision overturned.

One of the most disturbing trends in a sphere of what is sometimes referred to as “reproductive rights” is the expanding war on the nation’s roughly 2,600 pregnancy resource centers. These mostly nonprofit centers provide medical support to predominantly low-income women to help them bring their babies to term. The pregnancy centers are the exact opposite of abortion clinics, incurring the wrath of so-called “pro-choice” advocates. “According to a tally by the Family Research Council, more than 100 of these centers, pro-life organizations, and churches were attacked with arson, firebombing and vandalism after the May 2022 leak of the ruling that reversed *Roe v. Wade*,” wrote *Washington Post* columnist Kathleen Parker.<sup>57</sup>

The campaign against pregnancy centers extends to medical journals and to the courtroom. Parker cited an article in the American Medical Association’s *Journal of Ethics* by two University of North Carolina physicians who wrote: “Although crisis pregnancy centers enjoy First Amendment rights protection, their propagation of misinformation should be regarded as an ethical violation that undermines women’s health.” On Dec. 2, 2025, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to hear a case brought by First Choice Women’s Resource Centers Inc. against New Jersey Attorney General Mathew J. Platkin. Platkin had issued a subpoena against First Choice “demanding 10 years of confidential records, including donor, volunteer and staff information, without cause or evidence of wrongdoing,” Parker reported. “Indeed, such centers have been offering life-affirming support to expectant mothers and families for decades.”<sup>58</sup>

A disproportionate percentage of low-income expectant mothers seeking support from pregnancy centers are no doubt black women. By demonizing pregnancy centers, elites have found another way to combat family formation, a subject of particular interest to black Americans. Restoring the black family – father, mother and children — is essential to the social mobility of black Americans. Allowing family formation to be thwarted under the guise of protecting women’s health should be seen for what it is.

## THE DEAD END OF

# Universal Basic Income

The rapid spread of artificial intelligence (AI) computing throughout all sectors of the economy has sparked fears of crippling layoffs as AI's breathtaking efficiency roils the labor market. This has brought renewed interest to an idea that has hitherto largely been confined to the outermost reaches of serious social policy discussions: "universal basic income" (UBI), also known as "guaranteed basic income."

In June 2020, Mayor Michael Tubbs of Stockton, California created Mayors for a Guaranteed Income, a coalition to "advocate for a guaranteed income — direct, recurring cash payments — that lifts all our communities, building a resilient, just America."<sup>59</sup> Monthly or annual payments to low-income recipients would come with no work requirements attached.

Additionally, with an eye towards AI's disrupt potential, several tech titans — including Tesla's Open AI's Sam Altman — are calling for a "mass redistribution system" to deal with the uncertain *The Wall Street Journal*.<sup>60</sup>

UBI is a temptation that should be resisted, by black Americans, because it will further undermine the position of fathers as providers and weaken the fabric of black families. Harkening back to Marx and Engels and *The Communist Manifesto*, UBI proponents seeking to provide entitlements with a goal of increasing dependence upon the government.

And the resulting cultural ideals — envisioned as the Marxist "New Man" in previous generations and reimagined today by the likes of Black Lives Matter and Planned Parenthood — have little regard for traditional father figures.



“Nearly 7 million men in the prime of life — over a tenth of the 25-to-54 age group — are neither working nor looking for work these days,” writes the American Enterprise Institute’s Nicholas Eberstedt. “Today, for every ‘prime-age’ man who is actually unemployed — out of a job but looking — there are three who are neither working nor looking for work.”<sup>61</sup>

Like the failed Great Society programs of the 1960s, UBI will result in making its recipients wards of the state — only in this case, that is the stated goal. And by eliminating all work requirements, it would — by making the government the household’s breadwinner — all but erase the father’s position as chief provider for his family. Indeed, the family as we know it would cease to exist.

UBI will result in making its recipients **wards of the state.**

And by eliminating all work requirements, it would — by making the government the household’s breadwinner — **all but erase the father’s position as chief provider for his family.**

Indeed, as we know it, **the family would cease to exist.**





## The Path Forward

---

Project 21 is committed to restoring the essential role of fathers in black households, and to promoting the nuclear family as the institution best suited for men and women and for the children they jointly raise as husbands and wives. To that end, Project 21 calls for the adoption of a holistic approach to family, one that includes:

- ✓ Making expansive use of social media — the best outlet to reach younger people — to promote a healthy vision of fathers and the virtues of intact families.
- ✓ Enhancing the social cohesion of black communities by raising the profile of black churches through social media and old-fashioned door-to-door neighborhood activism to provide a compelling alternative to local gangs.
- ✓ Redoubling efforts to promote school choice in low-income communities, including reestablishing high-quality vocational training — thereby opening the door to gainful early entry into the workforce and avoiding the exorbitant costs of traditional four-year colleges and their often dead-end degrees.
- ✓ Eradicating diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) programs at the federal, state and local level, as well as throughout the private sector, to roll back the culture of victimhood and its emasculating effect on black men.

- ✓ Halting the construction of all public housing projects in the United States, putting an end to these breeding grounds of gangland violence, and replacing them with vouchers for low-income people with strictly-enforced income limits to avoid widespread fraud.
- ✓ Terminating insidious law-enforcement policies, such as no-cash bail, that put violent criminals back on the street, providing an endless source of negative role models, particularly for black boys.
- ✓ Opposing the adoption of universal basic income (UBI) at all levels of government, removing the government as chief provider of households, a role traditionally borne by the father.
- ✓ Promoting awareness of pregnancy centers as an alternative to abortion mills to rid black communities of the scourge of widespread abortion, which has hindered family formation and further undermined the role of the father in black households.
- ✓ Reversing the cultural assault on families and amplifying the importance of men in the lives of their children in America. This includes pushing back on negative stereotypes of manhood and encouraging Americans to find ways to promote fatherhood including having a greater emphasis on events like Father's Day.

To learn more about Project 21, please visit:

**[www.NationalCenter.org/Project-21](http://www.NationalCenter.org/Project-21)**

# References

- 1 Jason L. Riley, "Family Values Are the Theme of Spike Lee's 'Highest 2 Lowest,' *The Wall Street Journal*, Sept. 9, 2025, <https://www.wsj.com/opinion/family-values-are-the-theme-of-spike-lees-highest-2-lowest-fa5d3312>
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Delano Squires, "Moving Beyond Moynihan: A Blueprint to Revive Marriage and the Black Family," *The Heritage Foundation*, Sept. 17, 2025, <https://www.heritage.org/marriage-and-family/report/moving-beyond-moynihan-new-blueprint-revive-marriage-and-rebuild-the>
- 4 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, Marxist Internet Archive, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/index.htm>
- 5 "What Critical Race Theory Means for Black America," Project 21 <https://nationalcenter.org/what-critical-race-theory-means-for-black-america/>
- 6 Joshua Rhett Miller, "BLM Site Removes Page on 'Nuclear Family Structure' Amid NFL Vet's Criticism," *New York Post*, Sept. 24, 2020 <https://nypost.com/2020/09/24/blm-removes-website-language-blasting-nuclear-family-structure/>
- 7 Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," U.S. Department of Labor, 1965, <https://minio.la.utexas.edu/webeditor-files/coretexts/pdf/196520moynihan20report.pdf>
- 8 Squires, Op. Cit.
- 9 National Vital Statistics Reports Michelle J.K. Osterman, M.H.S., Brady E. Hamilton, Ph.D., Joyce A. Martin, M.P.H., Anne K. Driscoll, Ph.D., and Claudia P. Valenzuela, M.P.H., <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK618136/>
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Willis Krumholz, "Family Breakdown and America's Welfare System," *Institute for Family Studies*, Oct. 7, 2019 <https://ifstudies.org/blog/family-breakdown-and-americas-welfare-system>
- 13 C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, "The Black Church in the African American Experience," *Duke University Press*, 1990 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv125jv2p>
- 14 Krumholz, Op. Cit.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 CPI Inflation Calculator <https://www.in2013dollars.com/us/inflation/1975?amount=20000>
- 19 Krumholz, Op. Cit.
- 20 Squires, Op. Cit.
- 21 Thomas Chatterton Williams, "Encountering Thomas Sowell," *American Enterprise Institute*, March 15, 2021 <https://www.aei.org/op-eds/encountering-thomas-sowell/>
- 22 Squires, Op. Cit.
- 23 Tim Henderson, "More Hispanic Families Are Reaching the Middle Class," *Yahoo News*, Dec. 18, 2023 <https://www.yahoo.com/news/more-hispanic-families-reaching-middle-191600218.html>
- 24 Dr. Alveda King and Jack Brewer, "This Black History Month Let's Shine a light on Fatherlessness and

- Saving Black Babies," *Fox News*, Feb. 1, 2023, <https://www.foxnews.com/opinion/black-history-month-shine-spotlight-fatherlessness-saving-black-babies>
- 25 Abishag Israel Douglas, "The Impact of the Absent Father on African American Women: A Phenomenological Study," Liberty University 2023, <https://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5284&context=doctoral>
- 26 Testimonial by Project 21 ambassador Alexis Robinson, Jan. 22, 2026, <https://nationalcenter.org/ncppr/2026/01/22/black-families-celebrate-fatherhood/>
- 27 Everett Piper, "America Needs Real Dads," *The Washington Times*, Aug. 10, 2025, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2025/aug/10/america-needs-real-dads/>
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Squires, Op., Cit.
- 30 Christina Cross, "The Myth of the Two-Parent Home," *The New York Times*, Dec. 9, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/09/opinion/two-parent-family.html>
- 31 Brad Wilcox and Ian Rowe, "Three Facts about Family Structure and Race: Responding to *The New York Times*," American Enterprise Institute, Dec. 12, 2019, <https://www.aei.org/op-eds/three-facts-about-family-structure-and-race-responding-to-the-new-york-times/>
- 32 Brad Wilcox, Nicholas Zill, Richard Reeves, Ian Rowe, Gerard Robinson, Linda Malone-Colon, "Good Fathers, Flourishing Kids: The Importance of Fatherhood in Virginia, University of Virginia, June 2025, [https://nationalmarriageproject.org/sites/g/files/jsddwu1276/files/2025-06/](https://nationalmarriageproject.org/sites/g/files/jsddwu1276/files/2025-06/UVA%20-%20Good%20Fathers%2C%20Flourishing%20Kids%20Report.pdf)
- UVA%20-%20Good%20Fathers%2C%20Flourishing%20Kids%20Report.pdf
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Raj Chetty et al., "Race and Economic Opportunity in the United States: An Intergenerational Perspective," Harvard University, National Bureau of Economic Research, and U.S. Census Bureau, Dec. 2019, [https://opportunityinsights.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/race\\_paper.pdf](https://opportunityinsights.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/race_paper.pdf)
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Jason L. Riley, "Can Black Neighborhoods be Saved from Public Housing?" *The Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 7, 2025, <https://www.wsj.com/opinion/can-black-neighborhoods-be-saved-from-public-housing-861d46af>
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid.
- 39 Joti Kaur, "Who Wins Custody Battles: The Effect of Gender Bias," Johns Hopkins University *Macksey Journal*, 2022, <https://share.google/aez57lqsJnIGUQcjA>
- 40 E.A. Gjelten, "Do Women Get Child Custody More Often Than Men?" *divorce.net*, July 10, 2024, <https://www.divorcenet.com/resources/divorce/for-men/divorce-for-men-why-women-get-child-custody-over-80-time>
- 41 "Child Custody by the Numbers: Stats Every Parent Should Know," *Modern Family Law*, Nov. 6, 2024 <https://www.modernfamilylaw.com/resources/child-custody-by-the-numbers-stats-every-parent-should-know/>
- 42 Ibid.

- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Kaur, Op. Cit.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Josh Hammer, "Breitbart, Zuckerberg and the Two-Way Politics-Culture Street," *Daily Press*, January 13, 2025 <https://www.dailypress.net/opinion/local-columns/2025/01/breitbart-zuckerberg-and-the-two-way-politics-culture-street/>
- 47 Pete Williams, "Do You Want Men to Step Up and be Fathers" *Medium*, Nov. 2, 2021 <https://pwwross.medium.com/do-you-want-men-to-step-up-and-be-fathers-c5e6adb632c2>
- 48 Devon Foley, "Psychologist: What is the Role of the Father?" *1819 News*, Feb. 5, 2025 <https://1819news.com/culture/devin-foley-psychologist-what-is-the-role-of-the-father>
- 49 Conor Stewart, "Share of Women of Reproductive Age in the United States Who Had Ever Had an Abortion as of 2024, by Race and Ethnicity," *Statista*, Nov. 26, 2025 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1549818/abortion-among-women-of-reproductive-age-us-by-race/?srsltid=AfmBOop2tIsGi8C2T7N2eB1yegHIAQgUjB6M4z3Yd2jjBaAOILRY2Pqt>
- 50 Michele Reynolds, "Abortion is Killing the Black Community: This is not Healthcare – This is Extermination," *Ohio Senate*, Oct. 18, 2023 <https://ohiosenate.gov/news/on-the-record/abortion-is-killing-the-black-community>
- 51 Zara Abrams, "Abortion Bans Cause Outsized Harm for People of Color," *American Psychological Association*, June 1, 2023 <https://www.apa.org/monitor/2023/06/abortion-bans-harm-people-of-color>
- 52 Cecelia Lenzen, "Facing Higher Teen Pregnancy and Maternal Mortality Rates, Black Women Will Largely Bear the Brunt of Abortion Limits," *The Texas Tribune*, June 30, 2022 <https://www.texastribune.org/2022/06/30/texas-abortion-black-women/>
- 53 Star Parker, ed., "The Effects of Abortion on the Black Community," *Center for Urban Renewal and Education*, June 2015 <https://www.congress.gov/115/meeting/house/106562/witnesses/HHRG-115-JU10-Wstate-ParkerS-20171101-SD001.pdf>
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Steven Ertelt, "Planned Parenthood Abortion Biz Closes 45th Center in 2025 Thanks to Defunding," *Life News*, Nov. 25, 2025 <https://www.lifenews.com/2025/11/25/planned-parenthood-abortion-biz-closes-45th-center-in-2025-thanks-to-defunding/>
- 57 Kathleen Parker, "Progressives Ramp Up Their War on Pregnancy Resources Centers," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 7, 2025 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2025/12/05/abortion-pregnancy-resource-supreme-court/>
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Mayors for a Guaranteed Income <https://www.mayorsforagi.org/about>
- 60 Jason L. Riley, "Elon Musk Wants to Give You Money for Nothing," *The Wall Street Journal*, Aug. 20, 2025 <https://www.wsj.com/opinion/elon-musk-wants-to-give-you-money-for-nothing-a991c3a9>
- 61 Ibid.

---

◆ Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection





Project 21 is a program of the National Center for Public Policy Research a non-profit, non-partisan educational foundation based in Washington, D.C. Project 21 works to promote the views of black Americans whose entrepreneurial spirit, dedication to family and commitment to individual responsibility have not traditionally been echoed by the nation's civil rights establishment.

**National Center for Public Policy Research**

**[www.NationalCenter.org](http://www.NationalCenter.org)**

**[www.NationalCenter.org/Project-21](http://www.NationalCenter.org/Project-21)**

**[info@nationalcenter.org](mailto:info@nationalcenter.org)**

Please visit:

**[www.NationalCenter.org/Project-21](http://www.NationalCenter.org/Project-21)**

to download a PDF of this document, or any of the other topics in the series

**What It Means for Black America**