

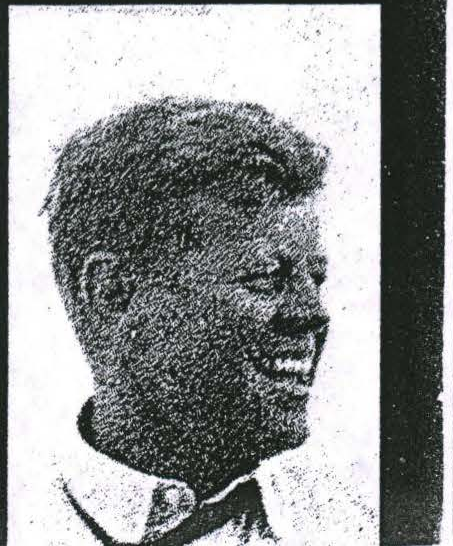
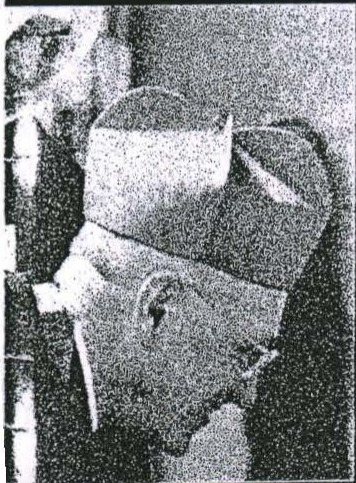
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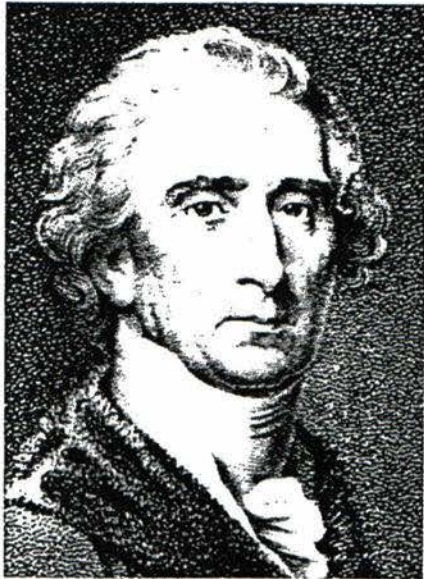
SPECIAL ISSUE:

Interview
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What it means to be CATHOLIC IN AMERICA



INTRODUCTION: Catholic



"When I meet God I expect to meet him as an American," says Lutheran pastor John Neuhaus. While this may sound like a little chauvinism before the Almighty, it is meant to indicate that religion is always affected by culture. There is no such thing as a "pure" Calvinist or an isolated laboratory-specimen Catholic. There are only German Catholics, Polish Catholics, Spanish Catholics, etc. And there are only Irish American Catholics, French American Catholics, Italian American Catholics, etc.

"next to of course god america i love you land of the pilgrims' and so forth" wrote e.e. cummings back in 1926. He may have been expressing a combination of the highest faith and patriotism or a perfunctory display of both, but he saw the necessity of taking them together.

Accordingly, this year's special issue, Catholic in America, focuses on both our Catholic identity and our American identity. Who are we? Where have we been? Where are we going? Where should we go? We have tried to take these questions that all Americans will be asking during this 200th birthday year and reflect on them so we can come to a fuller understanding of ourselves as Catholic Americans and of America as a nation dependent on religious dreams and religious traditions for her life and for her future.

Where have we been? In "The Way We Were," a five-part article, Father Leonard Foley takes a panoramic view of the history of Catholics in our land, stopping at each "milestone on the long road to 'making it' in America."



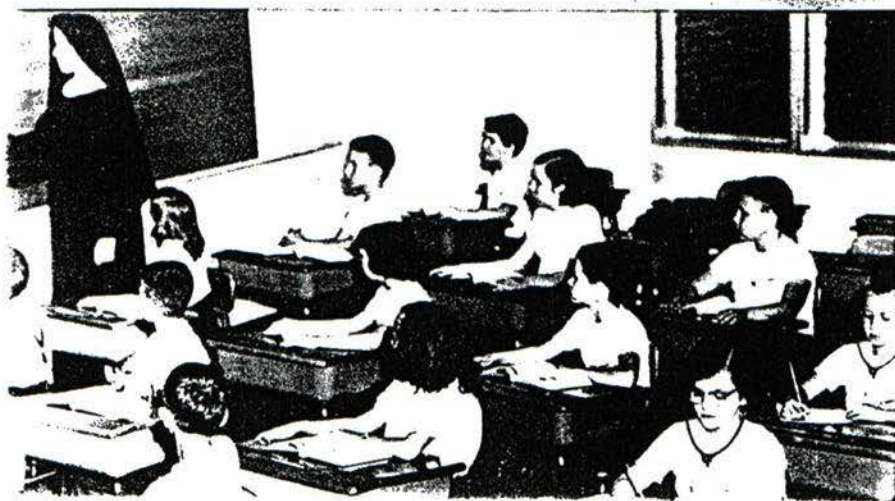
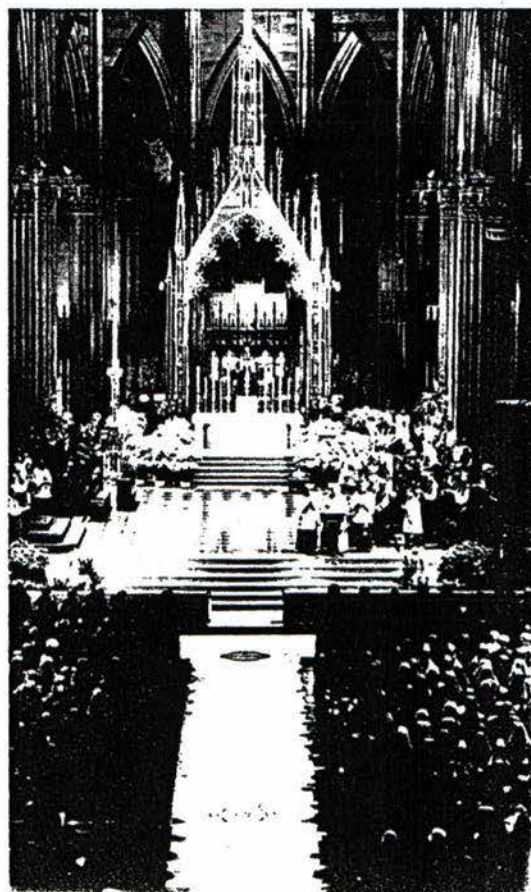
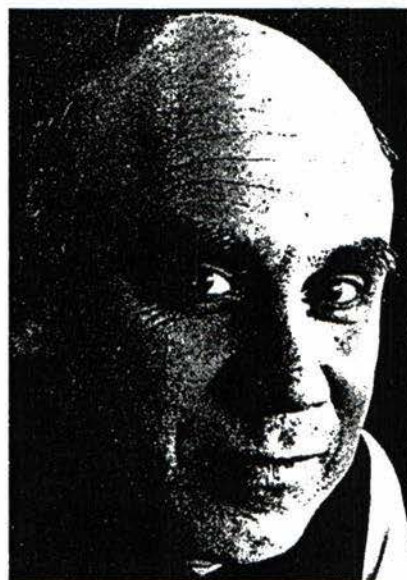
n America

We asked 10 prominent individuals of varying backgrounds to comment either in writing or by telephone interview on what it was like to grow up Catholic in America. Each has some unique emphasis on what it means to be Catholic in the United States today, and on what the Church should mean for America's next 200 years.

An anniversary is a time for looking back, but it is also a time for looking within. What's really important to you as an American? As a Catholic? Do your values as citizen and Catholic support or clash with one another? As an aid for reflection, we offer a personal values checklist.

Where are we now? Karen Hurley suggests three stages in the development of our American Catholic identity to help us understand where we are now and where we are going. If we become what ideally we can be as Catholic Americans, then what can we offer our fellow Americans from the riches of our unique religious tradition?

Our bicentennial issue comes to you at the same time Churches throughout the land celebrate the annual Church Unity Octave (January 18-25). Christians and Americans of all religious faiths have a common stake in the American future. By focusing on the meaning of being Catholic in America we hope to better determine how to put our Catholicism to work in helping America grow. We hope our fellow believers will also talk about the meaning of being Jewish in America, Baptist in America, Unitarian in America. In that way we can all assess our particular strengths and assume our appropriate responsibilities in helping America reach for the goodness that should be hers. □



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he pope didn't tunnel into the White House when John Fitzgerald Kennedy was elected president in 1960, and Catholics could celebrate another milestone on the long road to "making it." The American system, if not perfect, had again proved that it could work. If Catholics had to admit that the proverbial glass was still half empty, they couldn't deny that it was half full.

Most of them were third- or fourth-generation children of immigrants in a country that could once have been called the United Nations—English and Polish, Italian and German, Irish and Spanish. America has been accused of being a melting pot, making immigrants ashamed of their sauerkraut and kielbasa, pasta and enchiladas, Irish wakes and Polish polkas, dirndls and lederhosen. But it was in much-maligned America that a suspected minority of Catholics could finally "make it," by the protection of American ideals and law.

The great wave of Catholic European immigrants grew into an American Church that is noticeably different from the Churches of their fatherlands. Catholic Americans have been molded by the culture in which they live, and have in turn made their distinct contribution to American life.

I. CATHOLICS IN THE COLONIES 1500-1776 "Who let *them* in?"

We might be saying, "Buenas noches, amigo!" Older women might be wearing mantillas and younger ones dancing to steel guitars and castanets. Instead of booing the umpire in the stadium, we might be shouting "Ole!" in the bullring.

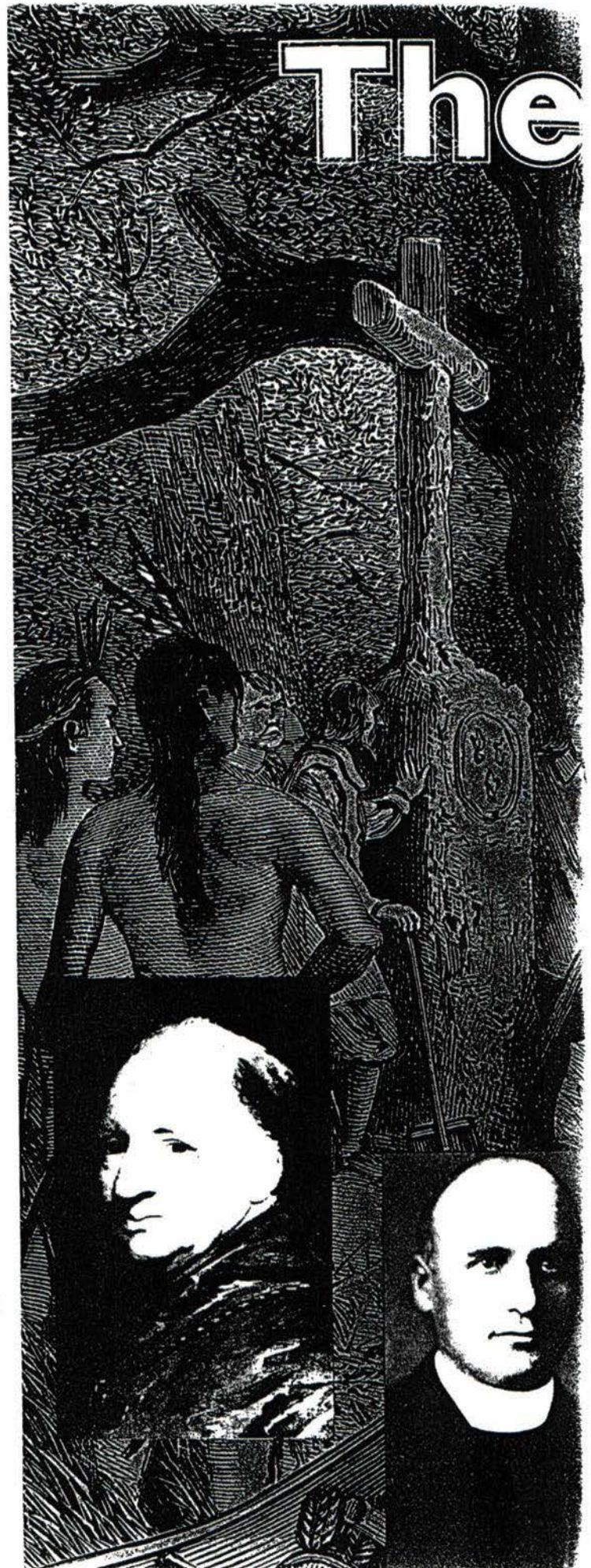
That is, if Spain, one of the three world powers who converged on the "new found" land, had won the battles of politics and war.

As early as the 1540's, Catholic Spain colonized and evangelized the southern rim of the New World, from St. Augustine in Florida to Junipero Serra's royal road of missions in California.

Though the Spaniards were not to be dominant in America, they contributed richly to its heritage. The map of the U.S. is graced with names that recall their contribution: Saint Augustine, San Francisco, San Antonio, Sacramento, Santa Fe, Los Angeles. Today, one-fourth of all American Catholics are Spanish-Americans.

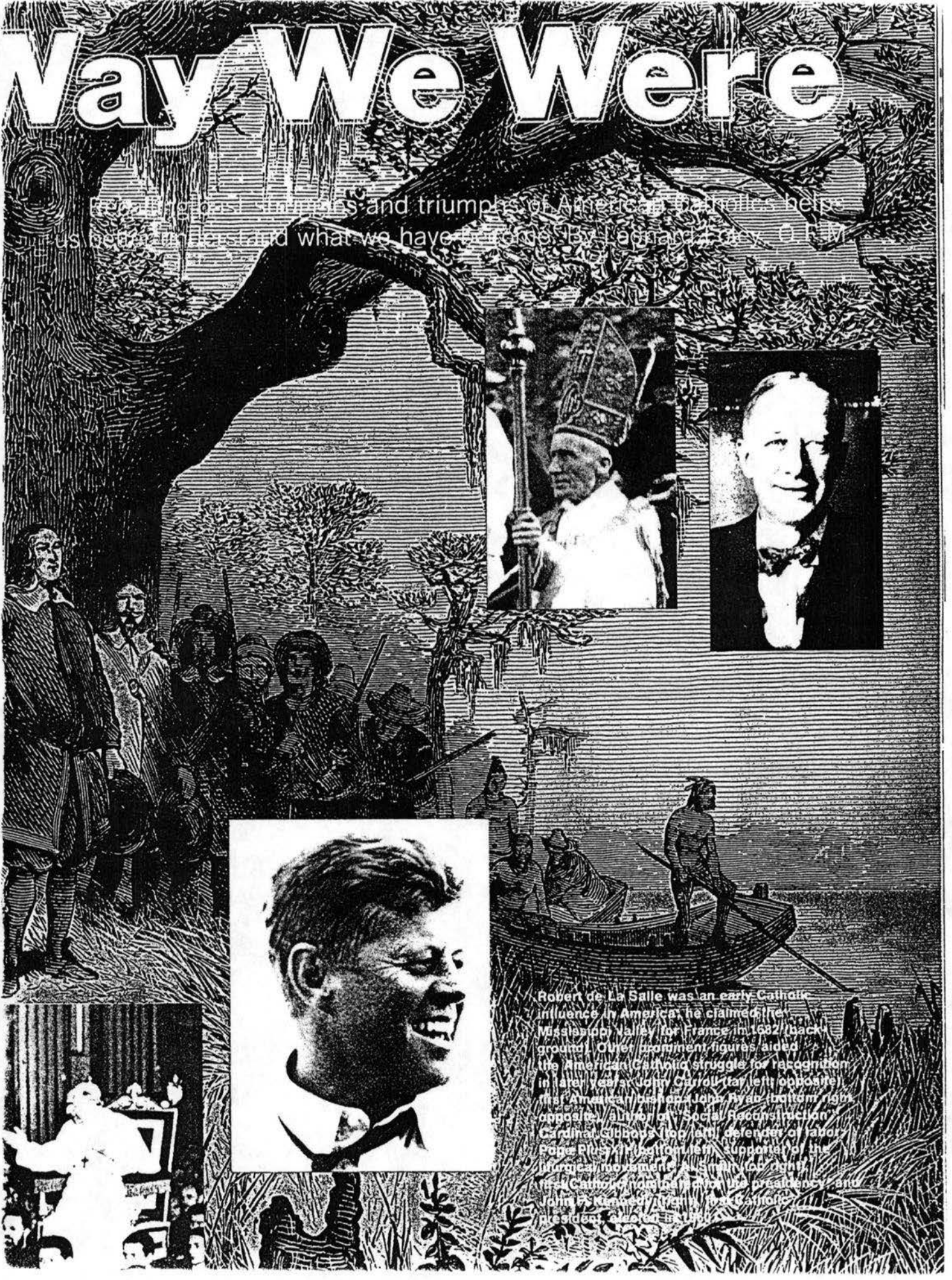
There was another possibility. Little boys today might be bringing home those yard-long sticks of French bread. Men might be wearing berets and drinking light American wine at sidewalk cafes. A new Notre Dame cathedral might stand somewhere along the Mississippi, and travelers would stay at the Chateau Frontenac instead of a Holiday Inn.

The French came early. A dozen years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, the first permanent French settlement was made at Quebec. Missionaries and



Way We Were

The Catholic past, struggles and triumphs of American Catholics helps us better understand what we have become. By Leonard Casey, O.F.M.



Robert de La Salle was an early Catholic influence in America; he claimed the Mississippi Valley for France in 1682 (back ground). Other prominent figures aided the American Catholic struggle for recognition in later years: John Carroll (far left opposite this American edition), John Ryan (bottom right opposite), author of "Social Reconstruction," Cardinal Gibbons (top left), defender of labor; Pope Pius XII (bottom left), supporter of the liturgical movement; a Smith (top right), first Catholic nominee for the presidency; and John F. Kennedy (far right), the first president elected by Catholics.

explorers spread from there into the Great Lakes country and the valley of the Mississippi. But again, it was not the French who were to give the U.S. its dominant culture, though here, too, the map reveals their presence: Detroit, St. Louis, Louisiana, Dubuque, Des Moines, Sault Sainte Marie, Marquette.

It was, of course, English culture that finally captured and largely created the United States, bringing the basis of our laws, literature, free institutions and—after much hypocrisy—religious freedom.

The history of Catholics in the colonial period is summed up by the eminent American historian, Father John Tracy Ellis (largely the source of this article): A universal anti-Catholic bias came to Jamestown in 1607 and was vigorously cultivated in all 13 colonies; a small body of Catholics, mostly English and Irish, clung to their faith through a century of persecution. The Catholic minority, in their brief tenure of power in two colonies (Maryland and New York) lived according to the principle of religious freedom. No particular Protestant denomination was dominant in the colonies, so a kind of live-and-let-live policy existed between them.

From their founding, the principle of religious freedom was formally recognized in at least two colonies, Rhode Island and Maryland. Later it was recognized in several others, though Anglicanism received some special support. In still others, there were established Churches. But toleration (i.e., an established Church allowing others to exist) verging on freedom had been achieved by 1775.

Sydney Ahlstrom says that during the revolutionary era the trends toward liberty were accelerated. Even Rhode Island's famous freedom was extended, after Roger Williams' death, by the removal of disabilities imposed on Catholics. Toleration was granted, at least to all Protestants, in each colony. With the ratification of the Constitution, the full range of Protestantism enjoyed liberties matched nowhere else in the world. Catholics suffered legal disabilities of various sorts, but in no other thoroughly Protestant land were they so free.

But it was a difficult time for Catholics. The bitterness of the Reformation was only a century old when English colonization began, and the anti-Catholicism of England became one of the major traditions in the new country's religious life. Some Protestants, such as Richard Hakluyt, believed that the Lord had delayed the discovery of America until the hour when Protestantism could settle it and use it as a place to re-establish the Christian message in its New Testament purity, free of "Catholic" corruptions and infidelities. If there was one thing the divines agreed on, it was to close ranks against the supposed threat of the Church of Rome, the "whore of Babylon." The divines opposed the Catholic Church primarily for religious reasons, not because it was considered a threat to the democratic spirit. Actually, the colonials were not advocates of democracy. "Republicanism," as a moral-religious-political system (rather than a type of government), was the controlling concept during the revolutionary period.

English opposition to Catholic France and Catholic Spain aggravated the situation.

As we look back, the Catholic "threat" was mild indeed: Catholics were less than one per cent of the population, most of them farmers in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, was a powerful force in gaining justice for his Catholic coreligionists. He founded the colony of Maryland, and made it open to all faiths. In the first two shiploads of colonists arriving in 1634, Catholics were dominant, but Protestants were a numerical majority from the beginning.

Thus Maryland has the distinction of being the first colony to announce the principle of religious freedom.

Anglicans fled there from Puritan persecution in Massachusetts, and Puritans fled there from Anglican persecution in Virginia.

After the revolution of 1688 in England, the Church of England became the established Church in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the penal code that had oppressed Catholics in England and Ireland for a century was now laid on Catholics in these two states.

Some of the laws were mitigated two decades later. Worship was permitted, but only in private. Catholics could not vote, hold office or practice law. A required oath against the doctrine of transubstantiation was a frequent cause of imposition of penalties. There were similar provisions elsewhere in the colonies, except in Quaker Pennsylvania, where public worship and voting were permitted for Catholics.

In the two places where Catholics held political power in America (Maryland for 50 years under the Calverts and New York for five years under convert William Dongan), they lived by the principle of religious freedom, or at least toleration, paralleling the efforts of Penn in Pennsylvania and the Baptist Roger Williams in Rhode Island.

II.

CATHOLICS AFTER THE REVOLUTION 1776-1850

"Do they come under the Constitution?"

The movement toward greater freedom for Catholics was immeasurably aided by an outstanding Catholic gentleman, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. His defense of his fellow Catholics won respect. Virginia passed the Toleration Act in 1776 and Pennsylvania and Maryland soon after.

With France so powerful a backer of the young nation, it became politically unwise to offer public or official slights to Catholics. Washington himself rebuked the burning of the pope in effigy on Guy Fawkes Day: "To be insulting their religion is so monstrous as not to be suffered or excused." After the war in his address to Catholics, the first president said, "I presume that your countrymen will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the establishment of their Revolution, and the establishment of their government; nor the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed."

Catholics were "in"—a little. Even after 1776 only a few of the original states allowed Catholics full equality: Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland. (Virginia's disestablishment law did not come until 1795.) In most states one of the Protestant denominations or Protestantism in general was the established state religion, and anyone who held public office had to publicly confess that faith. Most Americans felt that this was the proper order of affairs. In the colonies, the fact that the English parliament had given religious liberty to Canadians was cited as a cause for revolt.

When it was rumored that Rome was sending a bishop for the U.S. in 1765, 256 Catholics signed a petition against it—fearing the move would incite their adversaries who even resented priests being subject to a bishop in distant England or Canada. But a general chapter of U.S. clergy was held in 1783 and a petition was sent to Rome to appoint a prefect apostolic (a prelate with jurisdiction over an entire missionary territory).

The formal inauguration of the organized Church in the

U.S. took place when John Carroll, cousin of Charles, was installed as the first bishop of Baltimore in 1790. His diocese was the whole U.S. of that time. The number of Catholics was around 25,000—a little more than one half of one per cent of the population, most of them native born. There were 24 priests.

Trusteeship

Carroll's biggest problem was what has become known as lay trusteeship. There was nothing in canon law against a system of lay trustees, for money matters were often left in the hands of the laity. Trouble began when the lay trustees arrogated the right to hire and dismiss pastors. The matter was complicated when the Know-Nothings, a political party opposed to "foreigners" and Catholics, had a bill passed in New York (on the books until 1863) forbidding clergymen to hold property, compelling lay ownership of all Church property.

Carroll's second big problem was friction between various immigrant nationalities. The Irish resented having French priests. In time the bishops themselves were divided into a French and an Irish party.

Carroll also had difficulty with Rome authorities, in whose mind democracy was associated with French anticlericalism and irreligion. One of his proposals, that the liturgy be carried out in English, was considered outrageous.

His success in reducing fear of Catholicism is shown by the fact that, when the first Catholic church in New York was dedicated in 1786, Washington, the cabinet, and members of Congress attended a public dinner to celebrate the occasion.

By John Carroll's death in 1815, there were 100 Catholic parishes. Penal laws against Catholics were gone, never to return, though the spirit that brought them into being would soon be revived.

Catholics did not figure prominently in the new nation's life, because they were few in number, poor and obscure and apparently not well-informed on public affairs.

The Immigrant Flood

In the first half of the 19th century, the U.S. Church became an immigrant Church—almost three million "foreigners" poured in—a million and a half from Ireland, 600,000 from Germany.

The new Americans settled in the large cities, where the jobs were, and urban concentration became a distinctive mark of the American Church. Jobs in construction of canals and railroads brought Catholics westward, but most remained in the East and Midwest.

The Revival of Anti-Catholicism

By the time of the economic panic of 1819, Americans began to grow uneasy about the presence of this horde of foreigners—especially the Catholics. The first major anti-Catholic campaign was opened in 1830 by *The Protestant*, a weekly edited by a group of ministers to save the country from "popery."

The bishops finally spoke out in 1837. It was false, they said, to deduce from spiritual allegiance to the Holy See that Catholics' civil rights should be abrogated.

They counseled their people to go on quietly about their business and to show good example. "This, beloved brethren," they said, "is the vengeance of Christianity." Catholics entered their own ticket in the 1841 New York elections and the legislature passed the Maclay Bill which broke the monopoly of the privately-operated Public

School Society over the schools—but also forbade any state aid to religious schools.

Anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia, with loss of life and church burnings, deeply shocked the majority of Americans, and after 1846 nativism began to decline, though the Know-Nothings survived for a while. Lurid books like *Six Months in a Convent* and *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* appeared in this half-century. Nativism, opposing all minorities as foreign and "un-American," still flourished.

A Catholic Contribution: The "Americanization" of Immigrants

The American Church rendered a distinct service to the nation by the Americanization program it fostered. Historians have pointed out that the Church did not excel in the intellectual and artistic world, because its energies were almost entirely spent on assimilating immigrants into American life. The Church proved to be one of the most effective agents of turning the vast army of the foreign-born into law-abiding American citizens. Indeed, an element in the Church felt there was too much "Americanizing"—that immigrants should rather be protected from the evil influences of American society.

The Americanization was carried out through a Catholic school system, a Catholic press, charitable institutions, and the personal counseling of bishops and priests. French refugee Sulpicians opened St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore in 1791. When the long-suppressed Society of Jesus was reestablished in the U.S. in 1806, the Jesuits took over Georgetown College. Saint Elizabeth Bayley Seton, first native American canonized saint, founded the first native religious community for women and in 1809 opened a school for girls in Emmitsburg, Maryland. By 1840 there were 200 Catholic parochial schools.

The campaign of bigotry tended to make Catholics draw in upon themselves more than ever. It increased their feelings of inferiority as a suspect minority group.

In politics, Catholics at first generally leaned toward the Federalist party. Later, since the Whig party seemed identified with the nativists, many Catholics supported the Democratic party. The bishops of the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore (1840) still felt it necessary to say to American priests and people, "We disclaim all right to interfere with your judgment in the political affairs of our common country."

Despite the bigotry of the nativists, "the growing reality of religious freedom enabled the Church to expand across the continent without interference from government, so that by 1862 it had organized in every corner of the land" (Ellis, *American Catholicism*). By the 1860's, continuing immigration—especially after the Irish potato famine and the German revolutions of 1848—had made the three million Catholics one of the largest groups in the land.

III.

CATHOLICS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

1860-1908

"But they're foreigners!"

By the second half of the 19th century, Catholics had gained experience, and their handling of problems showed a steadier, more mature approach. With the approach of the Civil War, the Know-Nothing movement lost momen-

tum. The law forbidding Catholic bishops to hold property was quietly repealed in a trade-off to fill New York's quota in the army. Catholics entered the war on both sides. Nearly 500 nuns of various communities wrote a memorable chapter in Christian charity as nurses on the battlefield.

Catholics and Slavery

In some matters of public policy there was no discernible difference between Catholics and others. The views of all were shaped by the same national traditions, economic interests, and the customs of particular sections of the country. An example is slavery.

Sydney Ahlstrom notes that the anti-Catholic attitudes of most participants in the anti-slavery movement were steadily heightened because the Roman Catholic hierarchy remained noncommittal on slavery and almost completely unrepresented in the abolitionist crusade. The official position of the Church was that slavery as a principle of social organization was not in itself sinful, though in 1839 Pope Gregory XVI had reiterated the Church's condemnation of the slave trade.

The leading American theologian of the period, Bishop Kenrick of St. Louis, said, "Since such is the state of things [slavery being the status quo] nothing should be attempted against the laws nor anything be done or said that would make them bear their yoke unwillingly." His teaching, Ahlstrom concludes, shows a persistent failure to clarify the differences between the actual American form of slavery and that which the Church had condoned. Thus he has been accused of equivocating.

Catholics owned slaves as other Americans did. Some, like Carroll and Taney, provided for their freedom. In southern dioceses huge numbers of Negro slaves "are in some respects my chief anxiety," said Bishop Henry Elder. At the time of emancipation there were an estimated 100,000 Catholic slaves, 62,500 of whom lived in Louisiana.

After the Civil War, the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) tried to come to grips with the problem of four million Negroes who had been emancipated. Bishop Martin Spalding, serving as apostolic delegate, took a deep interest in the Negro apostolate, suggesting that special prefects apostolic be appointed for the blacks. His proposal was not adopted, but nine decrees were passed to implement the apostolate. One left the question of segregated parishes to be decided by individual bishops according to local custom. But almost nothing came of the legislation because of the hostility of both clergy and laity to the Negro. Southern bishops appealed for workers and funds but had little success; and most religious orders, with some notable exceptions, shied away from the task for fear of alienating white patronage. The noble legislation of the council was not carried out.

A major Catholic breakthrough had to wait until 1947, when Archbishop (later Cardinal) Ritter of St. Louis ended segregation in Catholic schools, and was followed in 1948 by Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle of Washington.

The breakthrough came far too late to compensate for earlier failures. The result: out of a Negro population of about 22 million, fewer than four per cent are Catholic today.

Catholic Schools

If there is one thing that has contributed more than any other to the special character of American Catholic life, it is the Catholic school. The generosity and dedication of thousands of American nuns is one of the glorious chapters of American Catholic history. These schools were a most unlikely creation by poor, barely literate, working-class Americans. They supported a vast system of parochial

schools while paying taxes for the support of the public schools which had become in effect Protestant schools.

As early as 1840, Bishop Hughes of New York began the process of seeking aid for Catholic schools. Fifty years later, Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul tried a different method.

His famous Faribault plan was an agreement between the local clergy and the public school board of Faribault, Minnesota, involving the use of tax funds for Church-related schools. Each day the pupils assembled in the parish church for Mass and then proceeded to school for secular instruction. Religious instruction was given either before or after the legal public school day. The plan stirred controversy and opposition from both Catholics and Protestants, and came to a speedy end.

The famous Greeley-Rossi research (*The Education of Catholic Americans*, 1966) indicated that Catholic schools had succeeded in having great influence in maintaining in adult Catholics the pattern expected of Catholics for social and historical reasons: Sunday Mass, monthly Communion, confession several times a year, Catholic education of children, financial contribution to the Church, acceptance of papal and episcopal authority, strict sexual morality, knowledge of one's religion.

Times have changed, but the parochial schools remain important to Catholics and they feel more than ever that they have been unjustly deprived of a fair choice in the American and religious education of their children.

Catholics and the Labor Movement

Increasing industrialization brought tension between capital and labor (e.g., in the Pennsylvania coal fields and on the railroads of the West and Southwest). Many Catholic immigrants were crowded into slums or shack towns near coal mines. As targets of nativists, they expressed their resentment in various forms, most violently in the riots and murders attributed to the Molly Maguires in Pennsylvania.

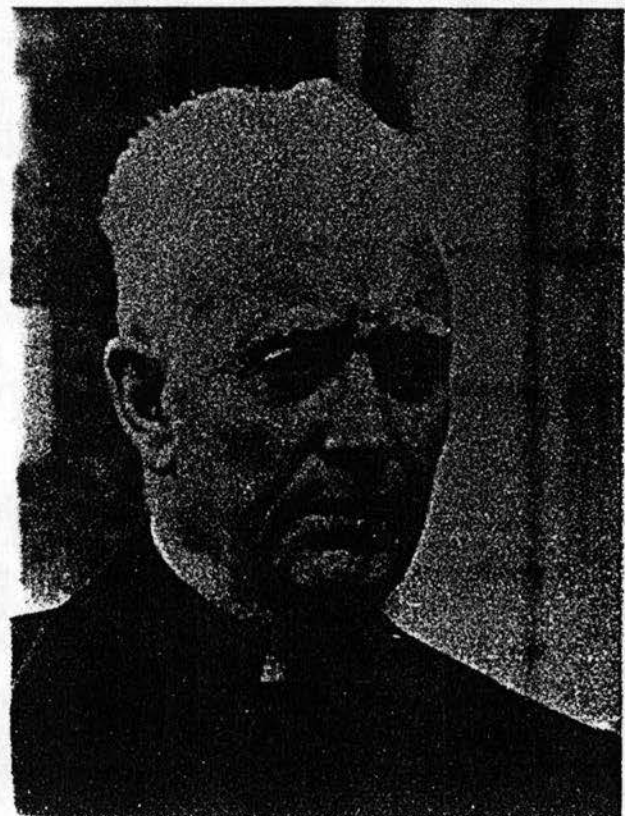
A great number of secret societies existed in America, and the hierarchy was particularly disturbed by those which appealed to workingmen, so many of whom were Catholics. Still, the Second Baltimore Council issued no condemnations. The most famous case involved the Knights of Labor, the first major American labor organization. Cardinal Gibbons, probably the greatest single figure the American Church has produced, was able to convince officials in Rome that it would be a fatal mistake to condemn the Knights of Labor who were, he said, merely seeking redress of just grievances from capitalists whose power and wealth were subjecting the workers to abuse.

In the years after 1880 the Church was publicly identified with the interests of the working class, and as a result the American Catholic working class was not alienated from the Church, as it was in Europe. One labor historian says that Catholic influence helped to account for the moderate social philosophy and policies of the American Federation of Labor and for the absence of a political labor party in the U.S.

A residual climate of anti-Catholicism, plus Catholics' own suspicion of socialism, kept Catholics from formally taking part in the many reform projects in mid-century—abolitionism, woman's suffrage, temperance. Their call to the social gospel would await the encyclical of Leo XIII. But by 1885 there were 272 Catholic orphanages, 154 hospitals, 46 industrial schools for homeless boys and 37 homes for the aged. Catholics did not conceive of this kind of service in the patriotic or professional terms of many non-Catholics; it was a simple and direct response in charity to the poor and needy.



According to Church historian Father John Tracy Ellis (bottom left), Catholics made two contributions to America in the 19th century. In the first half of the century, nearly three million immigrants, many of whom were Catholic, entered the U.S. Through schools, press, charitable institutions and personal counseling, the Church helped to "Americanize" these immigrants. In the second half of the century, the Church became publicly identified with the working class. Church influence helped the American Federation of Labor develop a moderate social philosophy and policy. *Rerum Novarum*, the great social encyclical of Leo XIII (left), officially called American Catholics to the social Gospel.



Ethnic Tensions Within the Church

The last decades of the 19th century were tumultuous in the U.S. Catholic Church. Between 1870 and 1900 Catholics grew from 4,500,000 to 12 million, mainly through natural growth and immigration.

A new factor now entered the picture—a great number of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe.

In the 1890's a foreseeable problem became acute—the tension between different Catholic ethnic groups, arising from differences in temperament, language, social customs, liturgical practices. There was a special resentment of Irish domination of the Church—particularly by Germans, who finally took their grievances to Rome.

Friction between Irish and Polish bishops produced the most extensive schism the American Catholic Church has experienced, that of the Polish National Catholic Church, which today has 250,000 communicants.

The "Americanism Heresy"

Certain French writers, impressed with the progress of the Church in the U.S., suggested that France adopt some features of the American experience, especially the separation of Church and state (still frowned on by Leo XIII in 1895). The proposal aroused the ire of conservative and monarchistic French churchmen. They attacked as heretical the ideas of Isaac Hecker, founder of the Paulists, Archbishops Ireland, Keane and O'Connell. To some foreign eyes, the U.S. Church had become too "tolerant, democratic, American."

Gibbons and others had indeed tried to Americanize their immigrant flocks, so that the Church would take its place among the national institutions of the country, not as an Irish or German influence but as simply and essentially American, and they defended the actions of the American Church.

The controversy degenerated into exaggeration and misunderstanding. Pope Leo XIII issued a letter, *Testem Benevolentiae*, using the report of a commission of cardinals as its basis. He frowned on the idea that the Church should adapt itself to modern civilization or relax its old-time rigor, or show sympathy for modern theories and methods, or that Catholics should be allowed more freedom for personal judgment and action. He feared that these principles would produce the following errors: 1) that external spiritual guidance should be discarded in favor of the Spirit's direct action on individual souls; 2) that natural virtues should be given greater emphasis over supernatural virtues; 3) that active rather than passive virtues should be emphasized.

Archbishop Ireland, failing in his attempt to stop the Pope's issuing the letter, published a repudiation of every error Leo XIII had cited. He said these were not the views of U.S. Catholics and was indignant that "Americanism" was the word used to describe them.

Summing Up

Three elements stand out in the story of the second half of the 19th century: the flood of immigrants, the persisting bigotry, and the lack of any great intellectual achievement. But more importantly, as Msgr. John Tracy Ellis has written, "Far from the public eye, millions of Catholic Americans lived out their lives in a peaceful and law-abiding fashion, enriching the land with the products of their industry and toil. If Americans at the end of the 19th century justly gloried in the diversity and variety of their national heritage, it was a heritage that included the rich ceremony and liturgy, the flourishing institutions, and the deep religious faith of approximately one-sixth of the population enrolled in the ancient Church."

IV.

A MATURING CHURCH IN A NEW CENTURY

1908-1960.

"Maybe someday we'll have a president, too!"

In 1908 the United States was removed from the jurisdiction of the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith—the Church in America was no longer considered a "missionary" Church. It had more than 12 million Catholics in a population of about 89 million with a variety of races and nationalities unparalleled anywhere else in the Church. After Italy and Brazil, it was the third largest body of Catholics in the world.

With World War I, there began that expansion of experience—for all Americans, not only Catholics—that would underlie the great explosion of change to come after World War II. Catholics more than carried their share of the war burden. Secretary of War Newton Baker said that Catholics "will constitute perhaps 35 per cent of the new army"—although at that time they were only one sixth of the population.

In 1921, pressured by nativists ("100 per cent Americans") Congress passed the first of a series of laws that finally restricted immigration from any country to a maximum of two per cent of the persons from that country already living in the U.S. in 1890. This effectively dried up the greatest source of numerical increases in the Church, but it had the good effect of finally giving the Church a chance to turn its attention to new areas.

An important characteristic of the American Church continued: most Catholics (80 per cent) lived in the large urban centers. They themselves were characterized by a "Catholic ghetto" mentality and culture. Discrimination against Catholics led them to set up their own institutions to care for their members from cradle to grave.

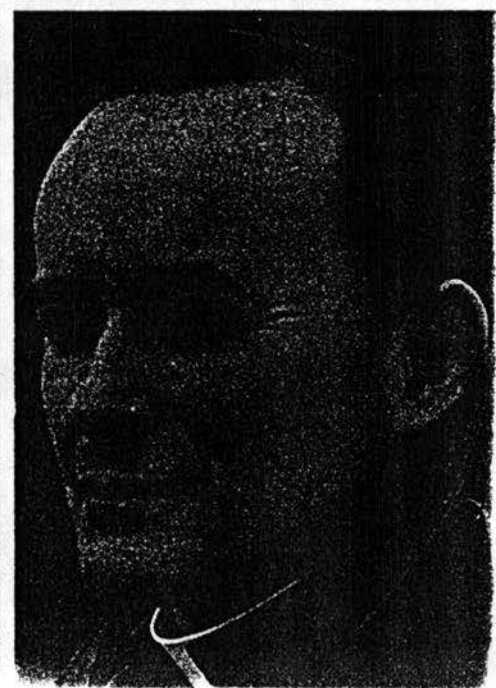
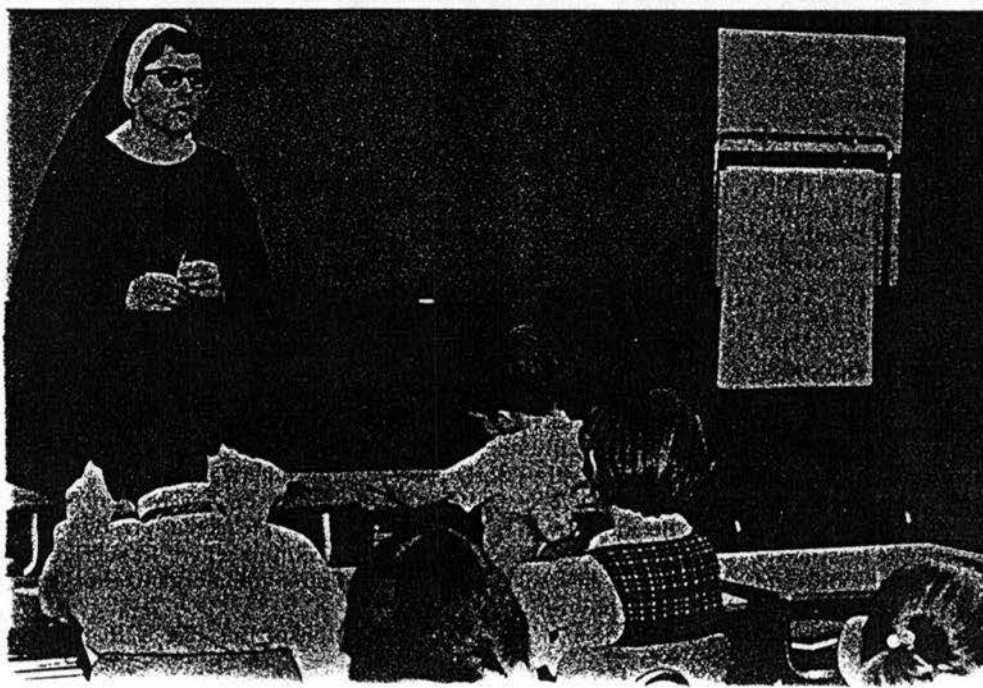
Cemeteries, hospitals, orphanages, settlement houses, homes for the aged were numbered in the hundreds. But always most important were the Catholic schools. There was a Catholic position on almost everything, heroes and villains, literary idols, symbolic victories (Notre Dame over Southern Methodist), heroes (Bishop Sheen, Bing Crosby, Loretta Young).

A new wave of bigotry insured the continuance of the ghetto when Catholic Al Smith was nominated for the presidency in 1928, after four irreproachable terms as governor of New York. "The violent propaganda . . . created an image of Catholicism as a menace because of its strangeness, its alliance with corrupt machine politics, its encouragement of intemperance and hostility to prohibition, and its internationalism" (Oscar Handlin, *The American People in the 20th Century*). The popular vote was 58 per cent for Hoover to 40 per cent for Smith. It was an increase of over 70 per cent over the previous Democratic total, and laid the groundwork for the kind of majorities Franklin Roosevelt was soon to get.

The Church's concern for its immigrant flock continued to keep the laboring man in its membership. Catholics, according to John Tracy Ellis, have always been the mainstay of unionism. "Labor priests" were popular and respected among most, but not all, Catholics. In 1919 the American bishops published an epic-making document, *Social Reconstruction*, written largely by Father John A. Ryan, embodying the social doctrines of Leo XIII's great encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Eleven of its 12 proposals ultimately became law under the New Deal. In 1935 Ryan



Catholics continue to contribute to American life in the 20th century. In World War I (top left), they furnished one-third of the army. Among Catholics who have gained national prominence as social critics are Dorothy Sayers (top right), co-founder of the Catholic Worker Movement; Father Charles Coughlin (center left), the "radio priest"; Senator Joseph McCarthy (center right), the controversial anti-communist; and Father Andrew Greeley (bottom right), sociologist and columnist. Also, in the 20th century, the Catholic school system flourishes.



was the major contributor to another document, *Organized Social Justice: An Economic Program for the U.S.*, applying Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno*. This great effort on the part of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of bishops, however, did not affect the majority of Catholics. Their efforts for the rural life movement also had little success.

One Catholic priest did reach millions of Catholics and non-Catholics alike—Father Charles E. Coughlin, the "radio priest" of Royal Oak, Michigan. He, like the bishops, drew on the encyclicals, emphasizing their criticism of unchecked free enterprise. His "Sixteen Points" called for a government-owned central bank to replace the federal reserve system.

The candidate his political party nominated for president in 1936 was buried in the Roosevelt landslide. Accusations were made that his social justice movement was anti-Semitic, even undemocratic. With pressure from the U.S. government, the Church silenced him in the early 40's. He obediently accepted the decision and returned to his pastoral work. Though frequently dismissed as a demagogue, he raised both the social consciousness and the pride of Catholics in a way that was later equaled only by Bishop Sheen and John Kennedy.

A Trappist monk, Thomas Merton, came into the limelight with his *Seven Storey Mountain*, and gradually attained a firm place among Catholic readers.

In the 50's, Catholics alternately applauded and decried the tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy, a Catholic. Having been raised on an anti-Communist position that saw Moscow as the source of almost all evil in the world, they were, at least for a time, almost automatic supporters of McCarthy's "exposé."

Less widely known until recent years was the converted Communist Dorothy Day, founder with Peter Maurin of the Catholic Worker movement, preaching a gospel of personal responsibility and voluntary poverty.

Catholic Worker houses and farms were crowded with the poor and unemployed seeking food and also with priests, nuns, labor leaders and businessmen for discussion and cooperation. Now in her 70's, this woman still inspires many with her "little way" of Gospel service.

Church and State

In one aspect of theology, that of the relationship of Church and state, a noteworthy American contribution was made by the Jesuit, John Courtney Murray, who drafted the document on Religious Freedom at Vatican II. The American experience, after the early decades of intolerance, saw the value of separation of Church and state in a way perhaps less appreciated in Catholic countries. The nativist fear of papal encroachment had always been groundless. Clergy and laity alike subscribed to the principle, now clarified by Father Murray, that the act of faith can be made only in conformity to the individual conscience, whether this leads one to accept the Catholic (or any other) Church or not.

The Liturgical Movement

Another movement, which came to full fruition only with Vatican II, was centered on the liturgy, under the leadership of the Benedictines at St. John's Abbey, Minnesota. The liturgical apostolate, inspired by two great encyclicals of Pius XII, was most directly concerned with the Eucharist. It was an effort to make the liturgy a living reality, with great emphasis on the Church as community—as contrasted with an individualistic conception of Christianity that had become widespread among both Catholics and Protestants. The social reality of the Church called for more active liturgical participation of all its members as well as

for a concern for all human beings.

Missals were sold by the thousands in the 20's and by the millions in the 50's. Despite early opposition to the liturgical movement (its magazine *Orate Fratres* was banned from some seminaries), it won through, as was seen in the part played at Vatican II by two of its leaders, Archbishop Paul Hallinan and the distinguished Benedictine liturgist, Father Godfrey Diekmann.

Catholic Charity and Piety

For the most part, however, the liturgical and social movements were scarcely a matter of table conversation for Catholics, who were more oriented to concrete and everyday problems. They responded with remarkable generosity to the need for money for churches, schools, rectories, convents and buildings for charity—all without any aid from the government. In 1957, for instance, Catholics contributed \$146 million to Catholic Relief Services, the largest voluntary American agency overseas.

Apart from Sunday Mass (and a gradual increase in frequent Communion), Catholic piety was expressed in attendance at novena services, public recitation of the rosary, veneration of saints, parish missions (periodic renewals that went from a hell-and-damnation style to a more sacramental and charity-oriented emphasis), Forty Hours Devotion, the First Fridays, Legion of Decency, etc. Inevitably, perhaps, Catholics were known for certain doctrines and practices—they did not eat meat on Friday, they had to go to Mass on Sunday, confess to priests, and believe in purgatory, infallibility, indulgences, and reject birth control. (Protestants, on the other hand, did not smoke or drink, curse or "run around.")

The second half of the 20th century has seen the Church acquire the aura of bigness usually associated with everything American: big parish "plants," diocesan educational organization, well-advised financial and property investment. The *Catholic Almanac* has 20 pages of small print of the many Catholic action groups, movements, associations and societies. Prominent among these are the Christian Family Movement, The Cana Conference, later the Marriage Encounter, Cursillo, and charismatic movement.

Jack Kennedy and After

In 1960, John Kennedy was elected president of the United States. As John Cogley has said, "He set a new tone for American Catholicism by exemplifying a non-defensive, coolly detached, urbane approach to the world . . . an easy assumption that the Catholic faith was in no way a strain on his character as an American fully at ease with the nation's traditions." There were 44 million Catholics in the country—almost one fourth of the population, and Catholics could finally feel that they had made it.

Yet, if they took a closer look at their representation in positions of honor and power in the country, Catholics could scarcely feel that they were proportionately represented. The only place they could be said to have had great influence was in municipal politics—and there not always with lily-white hands. Since 1789 only 14 were in the presidents' cabinets, only six on the Supreme Court.

Whether or not it is valuable or even desirable for a Catholic Christian to be in positions of influence in government, finance, industry and the universities, it is a fact that they are poorly represented numerically.

Denis Brogan, Cambridge professor, has written: "In no modern Western society is the intellectual prestige of Catholicism lower than in the country where in such respects as wealth, numbers and strength of organization, it is so powerful."

One fundamental explanation of this fact is that the

Church was primarily concerned with providing religious training and the most elementary education for millions of immigrants—even well into the 20th century.

The immigrant church was not college educated. Leadership was mostly from the working class. Goals were practical: achievement of a reasonable standard of living and the protection of the faith. In the 1940's not a single bishop was the son of a college graduate. Yet Catholic elementary and high schools and hundreds of Catholic colleges and universities had the almost universal support of Catholics.

After World War II, thousands of Catholics joined their fellow Americans in a great surge into college life, financed under the G.I. bill.

V.

THE GREAT WORLD EXPLOSION

1960—

"There's a mighty wind blowing, and we're all in the same boat(s), and it won't sink—I think."

What some have called the greatest cultural explosion (or shock) in history occurred in the 60's. It was an explosion of knowledge and experience—at least vicarious experience—blasting out of instantaneous worldwide communication by TV and radio and reinforced by the new mobility of jet and car. Twelve million American servicemen experienced the whole world, from the South Pacific to the Elbe. Technology boomed. The future was unlimited and America was Number One.

The experience was dizzying. To some it was exhilarating; to others, destructive.

In the midst of the euphoria or nightmare, depending on one's viewpoint, Pope John called 2,000 bishops to Rome for the Second Vatican Council. They strove mightily for four years to apply the Good News to the new situation which was affecting Catholic and Protestant alike. A more open Church was projected. The long labors of the liturgical movement were approved. Worldwide social concern was called for, and a surprisingly humble ecumenical spirit appeared. But with the passing of time the euphoria began to fade, partly because of the excesses of some promoters of the "new" Church, and partly because of a failure to make the Council's meaning understood or understandable to millions of Catholics whose sturdy faith and immense charity had been educated in a static, law-oriented theology in which most statements were considered absolute and most practices unchangeable. The cultural-religious "future shock" still polarizes not only Catholics but many of their fellow Americans.

Putting It All Together . . .

Looking back, one is most forcibly struck by the fact that, in spite of the opposition of Protestants, it was once-Protestant America and its rugged Constitution and ideals that made it possible for Catholics to gain their rightful place of equality under the law and in reality. Catholics (and Protestants and Jews and blacks and Indians, etc.) still have to fight for their rights. But there is no other country in the world which has a better record for ultimate justice. If this record of Catholic history has been a somewhat bitter one, it is for that very reason a remarkable one. It has been, indeed, our country right and wrong, but its democratic principles have, against great odds, *worked*.

In the same vein, Catholics can hope to show the whole Church an excellent example of ecumenism. Some defensiveness and suspicion remain, but Catholics have had the experience of living with many other Churches, with toleration and without compromise.

Some Catholics feel that since Vatican II, the Church has gone too far, "becoming more Protestant every day." It may be better to say that we are all trying to become more Christian every day, adamant on essentials, open on everything else. With 70 per cent of the world non-Christian, it is high time that Christians show the united love that is supposedly their badge.

American Catholics can be proud of their contribution to America—the Americanization of millions of immigrants, a magnificent school system, an intense, almost scrupulous patriotism.

Vis-a-vis the rest of the Catholic Church, American Catholics show an admirable generosity (where else in the world is the Sunday envelope so successful?), faithful attendance at Mass, closeness of priest and people, seriousness, organizational ability, and a dynamic, spontaneous spirit.

For better and for worse, Catholic Americans have absorbed the characteristics of their country: a demand for democratic procedures; a tendency toward an individualistic approach to religion; an itch for bigness; a questioning, critical spirit; and a preference for the pragmatic over the theoretical, a certain anti-intellectualism as well as a great inclination to want concrete and quick results.

Some observers feel that the most notable feature of Catholic Americans today is their upward mobility as they enter and merge with the suburban middle class—witness the poor farm boy who went to Purdue and now lives in a \$100,000 home in Arlington.

In the great explosion of change in world and Church, says Andrew Greeley, Catholics have lost a certain amount of energy, vitality, self-confidence and aggressiveness, once a characteristic of the American Church. In the 60's, he holds, Catholics began to be just another denomination (the largest), indistinguishable in most of its values and structure from other upper-middle-class denominations.

Perhaps the greatest change in American (all?) Catholics is a new attitude toward authority. Once Catholics simply took their position on moral problems from their bishops and priests. Today many Catholics feel, rightly and wrongly, that they can make up their own mind on practically everything. Until this crisis of authority is resolved (especially regarding the birth control issue) with Gospel wisdom and simplicity, a vast unease will fill the Church. The Church, like the world, seems caught between the need for absolutes and the frustrating, challenging experience of the endless complexity of human life.

Americans have no corner on virtue, but they do seem to have a generous supply of hope and resilience. They are not as idealistic as they were before the Vietnam tragedy, wherein America "lost its innocence" (or naivete). They are still a resilient people, and will survive their present economic and emotional depression.

American Catholics have no corner on virtue either, but they share the resilience of their young country. If they have survived all the "perils from without" that have scarred their history, they may hope that a gracious Father will help them survive the real and apparent perils from within, and at the same time give them courage to cooperate with their fellow citizens in bringing justice and peace to a shrinking planet. □

Father Leonard Foley, O.F.M., associate editor of St. Anthony Messenger and editor of Homily Helps for priests, has had varied experience as teacher, parish priest and retreat master. His books include Your Confession: Using the New Ritual, Signs of Love: The Sacraments of Christ and Saint of the Day.

Growing Up Catholic in America

Ten Americans reflect on their Catholic upbringing
and what it means to them today.



Barbara Mikulski, at 39, has been a member of the Baltimore City Council since 1971. She teaches courses in sociology at Loyola College and is recognized nationally as a spokesperson for ethnic affairs. Ms. magazine calls her "an American phenomenon, an amalgam of the traditional and the contemporary. She is single, professional and upwardly mobile, yet she has not left her roots and strong personal ties in Polish, Catholic, working-class Baltimore." After 16 years of Catholic education, she received her B.A. from Mount St. Agnes College and went on to receive an M.S.W. from the University of Maryland School of Social Work. She has worked in the civil rights movement and the war on poverty, and has organized white ethnic working-class communities in Baltimore. She replaced George McGovern as head of the Commission on Delegate Selection and Party Structure of the National Democratic Committee.

*"You don't 'do your own thing'
in a community."*

As you look back now, what do you judge to be the values of a Catholic upbringing?

My Catholic upbringing was very tied up with being a European ethnic of Polish background. That gave me a particular world view.

There is a very definite Catholic ethnic subculture in America, and it is grounded in the fact that you don't see yourself as part of a city; you see yourself as part of a *village*. The neighborhood was my family; the parish was my family.

What did this mean? I grew up with a value that said I couldn't do my own thing. We were taught that you always had an obligation to somebody else. And that certainly came through in the parochial schools and it came through in the ethnic neighborhood.

Let me give some concrete examples. When you went into a store, you knew the person who owned it. That person had a relationship with you. This gave you a very clear sense of identity and belonging. Many people in our

community worked at Bethlehem Steel. The company would go on strike, and my father would give credit in his small neighborhood grocery to make sure that families could survive the strike.

Many Catholics say they experienced this emphasis on not doing "your own thing" as repressive. How do you react to that charge?

I can't react to what they felt. I don't know what they did to feel repressed. I do know that, for me, this concept of obligation to myself and to my family and to my community was very important. And I think this concept is drastically missing in much of our culture today.

Of course there were times when I felt "repressed." I couldn't beat up on my sister. I had to read certain books with a flashlight so my mother wouldn't catch me. But one of the great things about growing up in a traditional Polish Catholic family was that I had a very definite set of rules.

I think it is much better to have something very clear, very specific, very unambiguous in what you are told you need to do in life. And maybe you reject that. Okay, but at least it is clear. And I think this is extremely important for our mental health. Like most people in their teens and early 20's, I rejected much of what I had been taught, only to come back to it—in a little different way—a short time later.

When I say I couldn't do my own thing, that doesn't mean I couldn't play games. When I was a little girl I never liked to play with dolls; I liked to play with a chemistry set. I certainly could do my own thing in my own family in this *personal* sense.

But I am talking about not "doing your own thing" in a *communal* sense. You have to realize that there are roles, that there are values, that other people are important, and that you are connected to other people, whether you are related to them by blood or by the fact that you are present in community with them. And I think that comes from a European Catholic background. That is one of the heritages brought from the old country.

What specific values would you like to see the Catholic ethnic subculture offer to the rest of America?

I think that Catholic ethnics are probably articulating the values that most people in America would like to hear more vigorously articulated. Let me go back to the idea of roots. One of our big problems is that most people don't feel they have any roots. They don't have any story about themselves. They don't feel connected to anybody.

Many people right now are cultural pilgrims, looking for something. For many people, this means going back to discover who they really are. There is a tremendous interest among people I know in their 20's and 30's in finding their grandparents and great-grandparents. Exhibits at museums on the life of immigrants are being packed. We have in Baltimore, for example, a variety of ethnic festivals. There is a reawakening in this, a looking for roots.

We ethnic Catholics have a very needed outlook. We see neighborhoods and communities in terms of villages where you are connected with other people, for example, in a parish. I think this could be an antidote to all this alienation people are always talking about. Our Catholic-ethnic concept of family and of being in community meant that we ought to look out for a neighbor up the street. If you know an old lady who is a diabetic, why don't you see if she needs some oranges? She might not be *your* grandmother, but she is somebody's grandmother.

An old-fashioned way of saying this is that we are all part of the Mystical Body. And if we are connected to each other spiritually, we ought to act like we are connected to each other in very practical, concrete ways.

Besides this sense of roots, what else can Catholics offer America?

The other thing I would like to see come out of the ethnic subculture is the whole concept of liturgy. We have no real rites or rituals in this country. We have a Thanksgiving holiday that nobody knows how to celebrate. There are some celebrations for the Fourth of July, but we don't have any rites and rituals of liberty. What we do in America is declare a holiday and then make no effort to develop a culture, a liturgy around it.

I think we need more rites, and a rite is not just a day off when you watch a football game or a department store parade. There is no rootedness in that kind of national holiday.

Polish people, for example, have a very special ritual for Christmas Eve. There is a great emphasis on getting the extended family together. The family liturgy centers around what we call *oplatki* (ō-pwat-kēē), which looks a lot like holy communion used to look before whole wheat hosts. Everybody, whether two or 72 years old, gets a piece and exchanges pieces of that with everybody else. That symbolizes two things: first, the body of Christ, which bread always symbolizes; but it also symbolizes, in a broader sense, our daily bread—all the things that you need from good health to a college scholarship. The ritual says, if you are down and out I am going to feed you, I am going to be your brother and your sister and your aunt and your uncle.

In that ritual you know that what you are doing has gone on for over 1,000 years. And you know it is going on all over the world at that same time. Therefore, you are rooted not only to your family, but you are rooted to your whole past and to a whole contemporary other world. This is what I mean by liturgy.

Our founding fathers, who were Puritans and Pilgrims, didn't go for all that rite and ritual stuff. They had a deep suspicion of incense burners. Part of the Protestant impact on our country is that lack of ritual. Now, I think, we all feel comfortable enough with each other that we can say this, and begin to come to a new definition of liturgy.

Are most American Catholics really that different from the general American culture? Some say that U.S. Catholics are just WASP's in disguise.

I can't speak for everyone. I can only tell you about myself, but I am *not* a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Protestants and ethnic Catholic are different.

America never was a melting pot, it never will be a melting pot, and it never should have been thought of as a melting pot. We are a very pluralistic country. Some people want to bicker over who is really an ethnic and who isn't (e.g., how do the Irish fit in and what about Hasidic Jews?). But that doesn't really matter. What does matter is that there are a variety of rooted heritages within this country that give people their unique ways of looking at the world, their ways of reacting to crises, and so on.

Now I think we Catholics can learn a lot from our Protestant friends, too. Protestants have always been tremendous leaders in the whole concept of reform. Certainly in the area of political reform, Protestants and Jews have always been in the forefront. And I have a theory about that. Catholics have always been a little bit more easy-going, because we have this concept of forgiveness—which I think is super. Protestants don't. Their view is that you have one chance and you have to do it right—whether it's your life or your job as president of a company or the country. That is a very *moral* approach, and that has been their approach to a lot of things.

Some people link Catholic ethnic consciousness to racism. How do you react, as an ethnic Catholic, to Irish Catholic

resistance to busing in South Boston?

I don't agree with busing. Now "busing" has become code word and the first reaction to what I have said is that "she is anti-black." I don't agree with busing precisely because I am a Polish American Catholic. Let me explain.

I grew up in a neighborhood that had a parish school. That parish school meant a lot. It taught our families English, it taught them the new ways of America, but it also taught the traditions of the past. By the time my generation who could speak English came along, the parish school preserved a second language, but it also had Scout troops, CYO and lots of other activities to keep the parish and the parish school as the focal point of community activities.

When I finished graduate study in social work and went to work in many of the programs of the 60's, I pushed the concept of the community school—the community public school. I knew what a community school could mean, because I had gone to a community school, only it was called Sacred Heart of Jesus.

When we talked about rebuilding our cities, many of us wanted to create urban villages, urban neighborhoods and communities. So we made an enormous effort to build schools that people could go to in their neighborhoods, that would help provide a sense of identity and community that could serve as a focal point for all kinds of activities: day and night for people of all ages. Just as soon as we got that going in the big cities, along came busing and said to blacks and whites that they could not go to the very schools they had fought to build.

The very concept of a community school is an expression of the ethnic values I talked about above. Can you see why the Catholics in South Boston don't want their kids bused apart from any racial issue at all? It is so much a part of our community culture to want to go to school in our own neighborhood. I think the Boston Catholics have gotten a really dirty deal from the media that looks upon them with all this righteousness.

What are your hopes for the future of the Catholic Church in America?

I think many Catholics would like the Church to become more traditional again.

One of the things that happened as a result of the Ecumenical Council (and I was a booster of it all at the time) was the attempt to strip down our churches—to Protestantize our churches. But now there is a tremendous interest in going back to processions, to using a lot of the old, familiar things, like the rosary—things that were *devotional*. I think people need that.

And I think people would like to pray, not as a form of escapism but as a way of rethinking themselves and their values. We are, whether we like it or not, in a national crisis. We are in a crisis of conscience, a crisis of economy. We are moving from an economy of affluence to an economy of scarcity. And people are upset.

I have come through the activism of the 1960's, and I am personally very interested in prayer.

At the same time, we need to take a good look at our values—love of neighbor, the beatitudes, forgiving trespasses as we would like to be forgiven. We say all these words very glibly, but we need to think about them, talk about them, *feel* them.

We need to get into the words we say. When we give each other the kiss of peace at Mass, we should not just shake hands. We ought to talk a little about what peace means—that ought to be part of the ritual. You know we ethnics *love* to talk. The same way when we pledge allegiance to the flag, we ought to get into the words we say.

There is a big gap between our ideals and what is real. What we need to do for the rest of this century is focus our energies as Americans and Catholics on closing that gap. □



Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., has been president of the University of Notre Dame since 1952. He has served on several public commissions and boards, most notably the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights where he was a member from 1957 to 1972, including three years as chairman. More recently he has been chairman of the Overseas Development Council, a Washington-based private organization formed in 1969 to promote effective aid to underdeveloped countries. He has traveled widely in Third and Fourth World areas, often on assignments as a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation. Father Hesburgh is also a member of the board of directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

*"If somehow I could choose,
I would be a Catholic
and an American again."*

As you look back on your childhood and schooling, what do you consider the benefits of your Catholic rearing?

I got a good foundation in religion, I think. As a youngster I had 12 years of parochial school in Syracuse, New York, at Most Holy Rosary. I had very good teachers. I got a lot of good ideas and ideals that stayed with me for a long time. Some of them still do.

On the other hand, I didn't have much exposure. I didn't know any black people. I didn't see them in school. I didn't see them in the Boy Scouts. I didn't see them in the Y. I didn't see them at summer camp. In fact, I just didn't see them until I grew up and left Syracuse.

But I definitely feel positive about my Catholic rearing. I could think of a lot worse ways of growing up. There were some very good, wonderful priests and nuns around. I must say that, for their own lights and for their own times, they did a very good job. And I'm grateful for it.

What values and attitudes do you particularly remember as coming from your Catholic upbringing?

A big religious value we got was a great love for the Church, for the Holy Father, for the bishops, and so forth. I had always wanted to be a priest, so this stress went down very easily with me. The normal values were the ones you could expect—honesty, hard work, patriotism. I don't remember very much being said about racial justice, or about economic justice, or about the underdeveloped world.

I think the emphasis then on the Sixth Commandment, or sex, was probably overdone. But that is a question of judgment. There was more of a stress on *individual* rather than on *social* morality.

What values in the Catholic tradition would you like to see accepted and preserved by young Catholics today?

I don't think you can go through life without having, in some sense, a spirit of faith and a spirit of prayer. Those are terribly important. Without faith and without prayer, which grows out of faith, it is pretty difficult to live a Christian life. Of course, I realize that you have to have hope for a better future and charity—the most important of all. There is just no substitute for these things.

Do you think that certain of our American values like competition and rugged individualism clash with our Christian values?

I'm not as strongly against competition as a lot of people are today. I think competition is a good thing. I think it's a reality of life. It's not all that *American* even. Wherever you go in the world, you either wind up at the top or the bottom of the pile, or somewhere in the middle, depending on how you stack up with other people.

Everybody doesn't come out of the university with the same marks. Everybody isn't equal in playing the piano or in writing a book or in painting a picture, or whatever. Competition is simply a fact of life.

Rugged individualism, however, is a different matter. It was a fairly strong element in our early education, but as I got into college and beyond, I was much more impressed by the social teaching of the Church.

There is a tension between the individual and the social side of life. We have to save our souls, but we do it in a social context. We have to grow as individuals, but we do it in a family. Our life-view has to include a lot of other people. It just seems to me that the older I get, the more I am taken with the fact that the world is one, humanity is one, salvation is one; and that we somehow have to be concerned with everyone. We have to be concerned about the larger issues of human rights, global justice and the interdependence of the world.

Do you experience a tension between being a Catholic and being an American?

No. On the contrary, I think it is a great challenge to be an American and to be a Catholic. We are in the most powerful country on earth. Power isn't bad in itself, but it has to be used for good purposes. I hope that everything I've done in my life publicly has somehow directed American power towards good uses, whether it is internally in the area of civil rights and poverty programs or externally towards world development.

I think a Catholic has a great deal to offer in all those areas. If I had to choose—if somehow we were given the choice—I would choose again being a Catholic and an American.

There's always going to be tension. If you are a Catholic

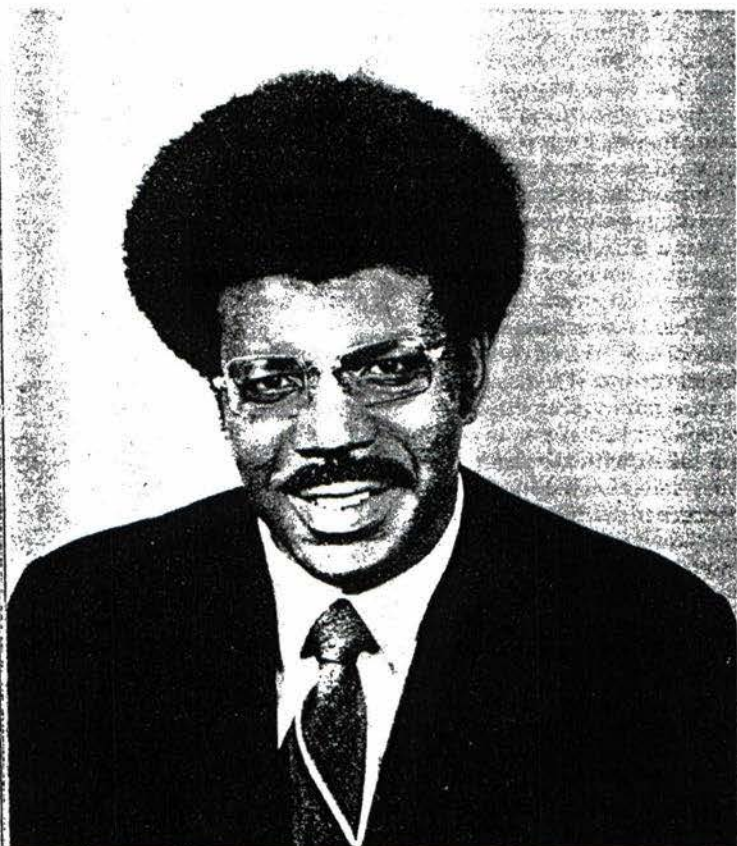
committed to what a Catholic is committed to and you live in the richest, most affluent, most powerful country on earth, there is bound to be some tension. But rather than see it as tension, I would see it as a challenge—because you can use money to do good things, and you can use power to do good things. That is precisely the challenge that I find faces me in being both American and Catholic.

You can't take undue pride in being a member of a very powerful and very wealthy nation just because it is powerful and wealthy. You can take some pride, however, if you use that power and wealth to redeem the time, to make a better world.

What is your appraisal of American Catholicism today?

The Church is much more open today than it ever was before. Also, it is much more spontaneous both in its prayer life and in the practice of Catholicism. It is a lot less structured in some ways, but a lot more committed and heartfully sincere in others. And lastly, I think the Church has changed more in the last 10 years than it has changed in the last 450 years since the Reformation. And the changes have largely been for the good. I find them wonderful.

Whenever a monumental change takes place in a short period of time, some people tend to go overboard, pushing to change everything, which is ridiculous; but then they tend to drift back toward center. I think we are getting back towards that. The Catholic center today is much richer and much more open and much more fruitful and satisfying for everyone than it ever was before. I think that is all the work of the Holy Spirit. □



Brother Joseph M. Davis, S.M., was born in Macon, Georgia, and grew up in Dayton, Ohio. He holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Dayton and a master's from The Catholic University of America. In 1968 he joined the planning committee of the National Office for Black Catholics, and presently serves as the organization's executive director.

"We need a new understanding of the meaning of sacrifice."

What do you see now as the benefits of your Catholic upbringing?

Our family belonged to a black parish, St. John's. It was centrally located in the black community of Dayton, so most of the black Catholics in the city went there. It was a unique community in the sense that everyone knew everyone else fairly well. And it was a strong community because a lot had to be done to make the parish survive and grow. I was impressed by the dedication and commitment of the adults in the parish and by the things they did—over and above their daily jobs, and over and above putting in their Sunday envelopes—to make St. John's a viable parish and a spiritual, working community.

We went to St. John's school. I think we got a good education because we had teachers who cared about the students, teachers who made us study and who made us learn the things they felt we needed to know. There was the usual emphasis on discipline, which was probably very helpful too. And all of that happening in a Catholic atmosphere gave us a very healthy respect for the relationship between religion and life.

Did you ever feel that you were in some sense different because you were a Catholic?

When I was growing up it was emphasized very strongly in the Catholic Church that Catholicism was the one true religion. I think what that did was to create an attitude of superiority because we belonged to the true religion and that we had it over everybody else because of that. But in terms of how I played with the other kids and related to them, I think we felt we were all very much the same.

As a black American Catholic, what direction would you like to see the Church take?

First and fundamentally, the black Catholics in this country would like to see the Church change its image of itself as a mono-cultural Church, a predominantly white Church, as it were, with some sideline participants who happen to be black or Spanish-speaking or Native American. It must become a pluralistic Church, a multi-cultural Church that's made up of many kinds of diverse members. All of these members have full rights and equal responsibilities and obligations in the Church, and all are entitled to participate at all levels of the Church. Until we are able to change the image of the Church in this country as a white Church with incidental members, the Church will not be proceeding in the right direction.

We would also definitely like to see the Church grapple with this serious question: Is it going to be an urban Church or a suburban Church? The Church is in many ways withdrawing from the cities, and the question is whether there will be any Catholic institutions left in the city at all. The Church has to decide whether it can afford that, not from a financial standpoint, but whether it can afford it in terms of being true to itself.

Finally, I think black Catholics would like to see the Church concerned with the issues of justice in society and responding to the needs of people who are poor—people who are, so to speak, the marginal people of American society. In that regard, there is a need for new understanding within the Church community of the meaning of sac-

rifice. It's not a question of giving out of the excess of what we have, or of giving what we don't need. We must redefine our own needs so that we do have more to give.

Some charge that American Catholics are really white Anglo-Saxon Protestants in disguise. How do you react to that charge from your perspective as a black Catholic?

I think there is no doubt that what I call the Calvinistic ethic has invaded the Catholic Church in this country. While our pronouncements and our official statements are very Roman- and very Vatican-sounding, our practice tends to be very pragmatic. We make decisions according to where the most people are, according to where the greatest amount of contributions come from, according to what will work. That's very Calvinistic and very un-Catholic.

Historically, this process began when the Church in this country decided that it would not take a position substantially different from that of the rest of society on the question of slavery. It decided that it could coexist side by side with slavery as an institution, that it could minister to those who owned slaves without touching on the morality of the key issue itself. This meant that it could accept many of the other American ethical guidelines that are undergirded by Calvinism.

Do you think the Catholic Church has any contribution to make to America?

It could offer America a model by calling the Catholic community together, recognizing all of the elements within the community; by calling the community to a serious reexamination of itself, a reassessment of its values; and by setting about the process of redefining its values and reclaiming values that have been lost without shirking the issue. If it is able to do that, if it is able to revitalize itself across the board, I think that would be a tremendous witness to society. □



Alexis M. Herman was born and raised in Mobile, Alabama. She attended Edgewood College in Wisconsin, received her B.A. in sociology from Xavier University in New Orleans in 1969, and has done graduate work in guidance

and counseling at Springhill College and the University of Alabama. Miss Herman is presently the national director of the Minority Women Employment Program, and is active in several local and national organizations, including the Atlanta Black Women's Coalition and the Campaign for Human Development. She also serves as a guest lecturer on employment opportunities for women.

"If I had not had a strong Catholic foundation, I could have become very bitter."

What did you learn from the Catholic community in which you grew up?

I think the strongest thing, coming from Mobile, was probably a sense of community. And while we were a close-knit community, a real spirit of individuality was stressed for all of us—the whole idea of being creative and reaching deep to find your own talent.

Did your Catholic education have any influence on what you chose to do later in life?

Oh, I think so. A sense of discipline, a sense of perseverance, along with the whole spirit of a real sense of creativity in each of us, are values I know I got from the school system.

But I also was a part of a segregated school system in Alabama—a "back-pack" school system. There was only one black Catholic high school in Mobile. And at some point during those years—I don't remember when, probably eighth or ninth grade—I became conscious of racist attitudes. I suppose for me to respond to that in the Church was something I found very difficult to do, based on the spirit of Catholicism and what we were told. I always found it very difficult to understand why we had to have two school systems. And my mother said I always asked that as a child.

But as I grew older, particularly when I went to college, racism became more evident to me, because I started off in a small all-girls college, predominantly white, in Wisconsin. And I think at that point in my life I could have become very bitter, and probably despondent.

But I believed in the spirit of the Church. And I suppose it was at that point I began to involve myself in social concerns, social change movements, seeing the value of working inside the system for that change to take place. As a black and a Catholic, I had an activist mentality, a desire to help other people, that came as a part of my religious experience.

What do you see as the issues facing the Church today? How should the Church deal with these issues?

The struggle for the Church to become a moving force, an inclusive movement—and I use the word *movement* purposely—has always been a need. We need to become more of a pacesetter in calling for positive social changes.

I participated on a panel for women in the Church and what the Church could do to be more inclusive there. That's one small area, but a needed area—something we're all talking about now. It was the same thing when we had the thrust for more minority involvement in the Church.

The old concerns are still there. We don't need to be as concerned with the rhetoric of redesigning the issues as

...something for an action plan that does open out some type of movement process that's measurable and definable.

Are there any Catholic values that could help the larger society deal with the problems facing it?

The spirit of equality and humanness—that's what we've historically taught. I'm a believer in showing it by example. To have that spirit become more real in the Church and to be more vocal on how it is to be practiced in the Church are positive ways of helping initiate things.

What kind of future do you see for the Catholic Church in America?

I think it will become a larger social force. I see a new Church that's going to be able to respond, not to just one voice, but to a series of voices with a series of concerns, and to provide the arena for healthy dialogues and healthy changes. It's like a whole consciousness-raising in the Church—the way we had in the black movement, the way we had in the women's movement. That consciousness-raising necessarily is going to invoke new ideas and raise questions.

We're going to see a sense of revitalization in the Church. You'll see more young people who are returning now to experience a sense of identity. And it's very important that the Church be aware of that and be able to respond to those who are coming back. That's the kind of Church we're moving into. □



James Hitchcock is professor of history at St. Louis University and author of *The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholicism* and *The Recovery of the Sacred*. He is editor of the quarterly journal *Communio*.

"Catholic schools managed to convey a lively sense of things unseen but yet more real than the mundane world."

What did you learn from the Catholic community in which you grew up?

I grew up surrounded by people whose faith was very real and profound, but relatively undemonstrative. All faith has to be rooted in a community; and if one has the experience of a community in which such faith is suffusive and alive, faith can never again become dead or merely abstract. It has always seemed to me that, whatever the limitations of my milieu (which became more and more evident as I grew older), it was on the whole more serene, more solid, more genuinely loving at some profound level than most others I have known. Genuine and unostentatious religious faith gives solidity and meaning to communal life as no other foundation can.

Did Catholic schools contribute to your growth?

Much ink has been spilled over the character of the parochial schools, and perhaps little remains to be said about them. Catholics seem to divide into two groups—those who found these schools essentially supporting, helpful, and rewarding, and those who found them nightmares. I am convinced that the great majority fall in the former category, although the latter group has been given great disproportionate publicity in recent years.

There were absurdities in parochial education; but I doubt that absurdities were lacking in the public schools. Likewise, I am certain they are not lacking in contemporary versions of "progressive" education. To be truthful, all education sometimes involves absurdity, since it has to do with the process by which people grow up and learn about the world.

It always seemed to me that my parochial education was academically as good as that which most children were getting in the public schools, and later in high school and college it was somewhat better. At the most basic level, Catholic schools managed to convey a lively sense of supernatural reality, of things unseen but yet more real than the mundane world. On a purely humanistic level, it made us a part of an ancient and very rich tradition, in contrast to which much of American life seemed vaguely superficial and thin. At a young age Catholic students got a glimpse of this in stories of the saints, in the richness of the liturgy, and various other ways. As we got older we became aware of it in more conscious and complex ways.

Has Catholicism become too much a part of the mainstream of American culture?

The ways in which American Catholicism successfully adjusted itself to the culture around it have been rather exhaustively analyzed in recent years, with a general consensus that the adjustment was, if anything, too successful because it involved large-scale compromise with Mammon (unquestioning patriotism, for example, and automatic support of all wars).

But there has also been a kind of schizophrenia in the discussion. On the one hand, progressive-minded Catholics sometimes condemn the hyper-Americanization of the Church. But on the other hand, they lament the "deforming" effect their upbringing had on them, which often enough means the ways in which it differed from the prevailing mores of their society (with regard to sex, for example, or religious "ghetto-ization").

In retrospect it seems to me that, by a very mysterious process that has defied any sociological analysis that I am aware of, the American Church was simultaneously successful in acculturating its people to life in the New World and also maintaining the sense of a faith which was quite alien to that world in certain important ways.

Catholic children could feel thoroughly American in

almost all respects, yet also believe in saints, angels and devils and, perhaps most incredible of all, in Christ really present to them in the sacrament of the altar. The strangeness of these beliefs in American culture derived not from the predominant Protestantism of that culture but from the inevitable tendency in a religiously plural society to water beliefs down to a common denominator. (It was thought good to take religion seriously, bad to be "fanatical" about it.)

What do you see in the future for Catholics in America?

Being a Catholic in America is increasingly difficult and will continue getting more so. The controversy over abortion, and the renewed anti-Catholicism which it has engendered, demonstrates how powerful are the forces (especially in the courts and the media) which seek to impose on American society a common faith based on secular humanism. These pressures will continue and probably intensify, making difficult the very existence of Catholic institutions like schools.

In this process authentic personal faith will be sorted out from mere cultural conformity. This has in fact been going on for at least 10 years now. The bitter controversies which now divide the Church are in many cases the result of the assumption that it must and should remake itself to fit in painlessly with the perceived directions in which Western society is moving. No religion has ever maintained vitality in that way.

The Catholic Church will survive smaller and stronger, losing the massive social presence it once had and the undisturbed loyalty of its massive membership, but becoming in the process a profoundly faithful and leavening community.

What Catholic values do you want to pass on?

The values of Catholicism which I hope will be passed on to the next generation are ones which I have already touched on—the lively awareness of things unseen, mediated to us chiefly through the power of ritual and symbol; the sense of belonging to an eternal community embracing the living and the dead, the Communion of Saints; the Catholic sense of proportion and order; the ability to be in the world but not of it. □



Janna Avalon last May was named editor of Mississippi Today, the newspaper for the Natchez-Jackson diocese. At

20, she is the youngest diocesan editor in the country. She attended parochial grade and high schools in Jackson, and then Mississippi State University where she served as editor of the university paper. She joined the staff of Mississippi Today in 1971 as associate editor and advertising manager.

"All of us are Church."

What do you see as the benefits of your Catholic upbringing?

It set a tone for my whole life-style and formed my basic values. I am still reaping the benefits. My mother is Catholic. My father is Methodist. But even though this basic difference does exist, their attitude about God and about our responsibility to live as good Christians came across as very much the same thing.

My father is a very strong member of his Church, but he respected the fact that we were Catholic. Although he really did not enter into a lot of religious discussions with us, he insisted that we learn about our faith and would sit down and study with us. He would see that we got to Mass on Sunday. I remember my mother telling me when my older brother and I were about six and four that my father wasn't going to church for a while. If he wasn't going, my brother and I decided that we weren't going to either. He started going back to church because he wouldn't tell us to go if he didn't go.

The idea that you had to practice what you preached stands out as one of the most profound lessons I learned from my parents and also from Catholic schools. My mother would say, if you are going to be stingy with your stuff and not share with your brother, you're not doing what you want him to do in the same situation.

My mother is very devout and would tell us to pray about things. The biggest thing she gave me was the conviction that you can gain so much strength from prayer. I am constantly amazed at the extra strength I get to cope with things in my life. My father right now is very ill. He found out he has cancer. My prayer life has helped me accept that and give him strength indirectly. But he himself is an example of how to cope with a crisis. He's so "basic" that his strength sort of seeps out. My parents' example has done more than anything. My mother is the more vocal of the two, but my father is the solid rock. You know he's not going to falter one way or another.

What would you like to pass on to young people today?

I want people to understand that all of us are Church. We, and not only the priests and religious, make the Church what it is. It saddens me that a lot of people still think of Church as a structure and they put down the Church because it is doing this or not doing that. But they've yet to personalize it and say: "What am I doing? If the Church isn't doing something, what can I do to change it?" It's easy to put the blame on somebody else.

It discomferts me and a lot of young people that others aren't involved. Being members of the Church is kind of a gesture, something removed from their personal being.

How do you experience your identity as an American Catholic?

I experience that identity very proudly. I know there are both young and old who balk at the idea of expressing belief in religion. I am glad that without hesitating I can be part of the Church.

cool thing when I was in school was not to be associated with any religious belief. The feeling was that if you were an intellectual you were above being religious. That was in the "God is dead" phase back in 1967. As a personal thing, it was hard to admit to some people that you were a believer, because you wanted to be their friend and you didn't want to be put down by them.

I went through a lull as far as actively practicing my Catholic faith, as far as Mass attendance. I was struggling, questioning whether I really did believe or not. I was exposed to many different ideologies. This phase lasted about a year to a year and a half. I finally realized there was something missing out of my life. Things weren't meaningful to me anymore. I guess I was a more selfish person.

I don't like the expression "I found Jesus," but the idea of a loving God and experiencing his love really came to me in my last year of school. I can look back now and see it as that; then it was more subtle. I realized that if I didn't hang on to what I believed in, love of God and love for other people, I was just spinning my wheels and nothing meant anything to me anymore. Then all I was doing was working for the present day, and that wasn't enough to satisfy me. Throughout my whole life, the meaningful things and growing experiences have been so Christian-oriented, I feel lucky.

My husband and I experience what I consider a loving marriage because we believe in God and try to do basic, little, Christian things for other people. A girl who had run away from home lived with us for six months. Eventually she ran away from us, too, but now she says that she learned from us if you love somebody that is the most important thing you can have. She just couldn't accept someone actually loving her. We were young enough not to be parental figures. We could love her and let her be a person. Now she calls us her parents. She's married now and expecting. At 26, we're exciting about being "grandparents." □

the founding president of The Clearinghouse (an association of major women's organizations in the U.S.); has served on the Bishops' Committee on Education and Ecumenism and is a past headquarters vice-president of Church Women United. She grew up in Minnesota, where she taught literature at St. Catherine's University, her own undergraduate alma mater. She is the mother of four children and now lives in Washington, D.C.

"The truly Catholic sense of life is more respectful of the individual, less apt to condemn a person for one error."

As you look back now, what do you see as the advantage of your Catholic upbringing?

First of all, of course, it was the means through which I met the person of Jesus. It also gave me a strong sense of identity and worldwide family. I grew up in a small town in the Midwest, and I have become convinced, after sharing experiences with non-Catholics from similar background that being part of the Catholic Church gave me a richer and more in-depth sense of the variety of life and the variety of people—all of whom were alive to me. Also, it gave me a strong sense of history—and of Providence in history.

I grew up in a small community that was quite pluralistic. In those days we Catholics were *doctrinally* narrow and unecumenical; but *socially*, we were not. People mingled freely. There weren't such things as Catholic neighborhoods or Protestant neighborhoods; and there were no ethnic neighborhoods.

I went to Catholic grade and high schools, but I was always interested in what my Protestant friends did and was very much interested in sharing what I thought with them. So, although it was considered rather risky to discuss politics and religion in those days, we often found ourselves doing just that. And that interchange was most helpful to me. I think it was the basis for my later interest in ecumenism.

I gather that many Catholics felt a sense of inferiority when they went out into the larger world. But I never felt that way apart from the larger world.

Many people today are stressing the importance of ethnicity in the American Catholic experience. Would you describe your own experience as ethnic in any real sense?

My experience is quite different from those ethnic Catholics who grew up in large-city neighborhoods. Where we grew up we were proud of where we came from. If we were Irish, we were proud to be Irish. If we were German, we were proud to be German. But it was our grandparents—and—in my case—great-grandparents who had come to America. We had no strong sense of ethnic identity.

I had quite a large extended family of Irish cousins and aunts and uncles, but they were all people who were born in the Midwest. When I was in high school I didn't know one single person who had come from Ireland. And I knew only one man in town who had come from Germany, although ours was considered a German town.

I am not disclaiming the ethnic experience. But it just isn't *my* experience. And my own feeling is that the ethnic experience is not as determining as others think.



Abigail McCarthy, columnist for *Commonweal* and for "One Woman's Voice" (a syndicated New York Times feature), author of *Private Faces/Public Places*, is presently

ably different from your non-Catholic contemporaries?

I do think that there is a much stronger sense of continuity and history in the Catholic experience.

Also, there tends to be a broader tolerance of the sinner. As we used to say: "Hate the sin but love the sinner." Maybe I am speaking more about what *should* come out of our general Catholic experience, since I know many bigoted and narrow Catholics. But the truly Catholic sense of life is more respectful of the individual, less apt to condemn a person totally for one error.

Besides this greater respect for the sinner as a person, I have noticed something else. Catholics are more trained in making distinctions, that is, in separating a problem into its various parts. Another Catholic saying is this: Freedom does not just mean the absence of all restraint, but freedom to do this or that. This is a corrective that we need to apply in today's world when freedom is so widely interpreted as complete freedom for the individual to gratify every whim and desire. We need to ask ourselves much more carefully: "Am I using other people for my self-gratification? Does my freedom impinge on another person's liberty?" That is the kind of distinction-making which some people used to scornfully call "logic-chopping."

But we don't make useful distinctions in America and we don't think a problem through from all its angles. Therefore we see an amazing callousness growing in our relationships to one another. The most glaring example of this is the American treatment of the old. We have heard that people have a right to live their own lives; therefore we cannot have our parents live with us. This extends itself to the fact that it is "inconvenient" to visit one's parents in a nursing home and, eventually, to a complete ignoring of the relationship. All over America nursing home operators will tell you that nobody comes to see old people. Even their own children come very, very seldom. I think this can only be attributed to a great insistence on freedom for the individual without thought of what that means for other people's freedom.

Are there other aspects of American life where you think the Catholic perspective can offer a needed corrective?

It is so hard to say whether it is strictly a Catholic perspective or just a Christian perspective. There are tremendous economic injustices in this country. The basic assumption, "if something is profitable, it is all right," doesn't fit into the Christian perspective at all. I think that Catholics, as a group, came to a sense of economic injustice much sooner than the other Churches in America—largely because we were victims of injustice ourselves as minority people and as immigrants. For example, the Church was early on the side of the laboring man in this country.

From your perspective as an ecumenist, what does U.S. Catholicism still have to learn to function creatively in our pluralistic society?

One thing no religious group in America should ever do is force the conscience of another religious group. Of course we Catholics have not been any more guilty of this than the dominant Protestant groups. The blue laws and the original private morality laws all spring from Protestant sources. For a long time the Catholic Church fought politically to uphold birth control laws that had originally been supported by Protestant bodies. I question that kind of legal coercion of conscience. It seems that the American experience should have taught us to use, first of all, persuasion and reconciliation, and political power only as a last resort.

However, all Churches do have the obligation to take a prophetic stance and this *may* necessitate political action.

But it must be undertaken with the greatest of respect for the consciences of others.

I feel strongly that both pro-life and pro-abortion extremists have very little regard for the good consciences of others. The extreme pro-abortionists simply look on the Catholic stand as benighted and authoritarian and repressive without understanding the violence they are doing to Catholic consciences. And the extreme anti-abortion people show no sign they recognize the many convinced Christians among those who favor repeal of abortion laws. I think the bishops have moved very positively in expanding anti-abortion to a total pro-life stand. □



Audrey Jose is an Apache Indian living on the Papago Indian Reservation in Arizona. She is an administrator of the Sif-Oidak District Tribal Pre-School at Chui-Chui Village. With her husband Eugene, she is a spokesperson for the village to the missionary. They have two daughters.

*"We have known all along there is
Someone who is the giver of life."*

What are the things you remember and value about your upbringing and education as an American Catholic?

All of my brothers and sisters went to St. John's Mission School near Phoenix, Arizona. I was the last one to attend St. John's. I was rebellious at first because I was going to a school with Pimas and Papago Indians who, I was told as a youngster, were our enemies. It was not so bad because I had learned to live with people who spoke different languages and I knew we all prayed to the same God and had similar beliefs in our Indian heritage and, most importantly, we were all Catholic.

Going to St. John's was a good thing for me. I met many priests and sisters, some of whom became my very close friends. Their ideas on religion and on life in general were expressed both in class and on a friendship basis.

When our daughters were old enough, I wrote to St. John's and told the principal that we wanted our daughters to have the kind of schooling we had had, and maybe more. I told the priest I wanted our daughters to go where the Franciscan sisters were and the Franciscan fathers taught. That's where we wanted our daughters to get their education.

How do you see your role as a Catholic in America in more recent years?

Many changes have happened within my lifetime in the Catholic Church. Vatican II has had a tremendous impact. In my small way, I always wanted to know why the priest was facing away from the people. Why did he have to say Mass in a language which I didn't understand? Little by little the changes in the Church have made me feel closer to God; I feel I can talk to him in my own way and not only from a book, and receive the Blessed Sacrament often and without confession first. The changes also made us aware that being a Catholic doesn't mean you're the only one who is going to heaven, and the others not.

Does being an American Indian and a Catholic present any special problems?

Being an American Indian Catholic doesn't make me feel any different because I don't know how to be anything else. I believe in God, that he made the human race in his own image. We talk in different languages; we are of different skin color. But it seems that only in Anglo society does this issue cost the lives of many, including American Indians.

I suppose as an American Indian I can sit back and say, we have known all along there is Someone who is the giver of life, Someone who has made heaven and earth and all that is in it good. In our Indian culture we prayed about this even before the white man came to our country. □



Moises Sandoval is managing editor of *Maryknoll* magazine. He received a B.A. and did graduate work in journalism at Marquette University. In 1963-64 he served as an International Reporting Fellow at Columbia University with a grant from the Ford Foundation. He has worked on various newspapers throughout the Midwest and served as an editor with Pflaum publications. He lives with his wife and five children in Croton-on-Hudson, New York.

"Catholicism can remind us how the principles of the founding fathers interrelate with our Christian beliefs."

As you look back on your childhood, what do you see as the benefit of your Catholic upbringing?

I feel I had one of the best Catholic educations possible despite the fact there were no Catholic schools where I lived. But I lived in a community whose values I have come to appreciate very much as the years go on.

I grew up in a very remote area of New Mexico, northeast of Santa Fe, in the foothills of the *Sangre de Cristo* Mountains. The area's poor farmers and loggers were very dependent upon one another. The parish church was many miles away and the priest was able to get to our little chapel only about once a month in good weather. And in bad weather he didn't get there at all.

This area was not particularly conscious of its religiosity, but it was a place where everyone knew and cared for each other, where faith in God was etched very deeply in the consciousness of the people, and where we were self-reliant in our religious practice because the institutional Church reached us only rarely. It was a place where you had a real community to start with, and I think that is the first requirement for Church.

For instance, when threshing time came all the neighbors gathered to help at each farm and shared the things they raised. When someone got sick, the neighbors cultivated his fields and helped with his harvest. And in our little chapels the people themselves often led the services because no priest was available. The *penitentes* and the elders would lead the common prayers and hymns. So the area had a kind of self-reliant Catholicism.

In this time of change and rethinking, what values do you want to preserve for your children?

The chief value that I want to pass on to my children is a notion that they are not alone, that there is a community of people who cares for and loves one another. Sometimes that community is hard to find. But you can, if you work at it, find perhaps a handful of families who can get together. Or you can get a group of people—maybe from within your own professional work area—where you can establish the kind of community which I think makes a real Church. And this is what I want to somehow communicate to my children—that there is a Church, and that maybe it's a little harder for us to find now than it was for me in a very stable situation in New Mexico, but it is there. Even in an urban environment—you can establish Church.

Are there any American values with which you personally feel uncomfortable?

There has been a tendency to equate free enterprise with America. And some Catholics have equated free enterprise with Americanism and, consequently, with Catholicism—the American way. But there is more to America than a free enterprise system. What really makes America great are the principles enunciated in our Declaration of Independence which say that every person has the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These are the things that are really important to me.

Free enterprise is an economic tool which has to be governed by these first principles, these principles which are very much in accord with our faith. Catholicism can

help the nation to reassess what is the real essence of the American way by reminding us how the principles of the founding fathers interrelate with the beliefs we have as Christians.

History books often referred to America as the melting pot of all countries and peoples. Is that image true?

I can only speak for the Spanish-speaking people of the American Southwest, and I think we have held to our cultural heritage and traditions. I would suspect that other ethnic groups have also held to their traditions.

America is built on the history, the accomplishments, the traditions of a lot of people. The richness of America is that it can draw from the vast reservoir of histories, talents, traditions. We bring them all together and we appreciate them and we grow with them.

An American tradition can develop, but it cannot be unconnected from the past or unrelated to the traditions of all the people who came and made this their land.

What positive values do you see in the Church today?

I see a lot of positive values. One is a willingness to fulfill our responsibilities in the world. For instance, we get many letters here at Maryknoll from young people—and older people too—who want to do something for the Church overseas. This kind of spirit shows me there is concern to build a better world, to bring Christ to other people, to feed and help and share with others what we have, and to let them share their values in return. I think that is a tremendous value in the Church today.

Another value is an openness to change. Sure, there are some people who feel very insecure with change, but at the same time you also see a great many people open to change, to seeing things in a new perspective.

I have been very gratified by America's response to the plight of the farmworkers. I have been heartened by people's willingness to do something concrete to help a minority which needs—perhaps more than anything else—the encouragement and the moral support of the rest of the country.

Is there something that America can teach Catholics?

The Catholic Church perhaps has been slow in involving itself with the problems of the nation. The advances in civil rights were made more by Protestants than by Catholics. In that sense the country can teach us something—that we must be concerned about more than just our own problems as Catholics and must be concerned about the country.

On the other hand, Catholics have been very much concerned about the world. You only have to think of all the missionaries we have sent to other countries and the interest Catholics have shown in trying to shape a better world.

What are the hopes that you have for the future of the American Catholic Church?

From a personal perspective I would hope that the Spanish-speaking will have a larger role in the Church. I think we are vastly under-represented in many ways.

I would hope that the Church plays a bigger and bigger role in creating a better world. We have to think in terms of a planet now rather than in terms of our own village or our own state or our own country. I think that is a big challenge to the American Catholic Church. We talk about "one nation under God" in our Pledge of Allegiance. We have to think of "one world under God" because otherwise I don't know that there can be survival for the nation or for the planet. As a people we need to become involved with the problems that weigh so heavily on the world. □



Michael Novak is the executive director of EMPAC! (Ethnic Millions Political Action Committee), a consulting firm and a membership organization addressing itself to the concerns of the one in four Americans of white ethnic background. He has authored several books, including *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* and *All the Catholic People*. Besides teaching philosophy and religious studies, he has served as associate director for humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation. He lives with his wife and three children in Bayville, New York.

"If you don't offer some resistance to the culture, what's the point in being Catholic?"

As you look back now, what do you see as the advantages of a Catholic upbringing?

When you grow up Catholic, the great liturgical and ritual forms which nourished our culture for many hundreds of years, and still nourish it, are one's own personal property, one's own personal experience, one's own personal teacher. This, I think, is the chief advantage.

In addition, there are some specific ideas and perceptions which the Catholic people carry with them that are especially valuable and often predate the modern era.

Catholic life maintains a close connection between religion and nature, religion and flesh, religion and body. This shows up in the liturgy in the use of candles, incense, holy water, color, art and music. Romano Guardini once defined liturgy as "all creation at prayer." Even if people don't think about this in theological terms, they act it out in their own bodies and their own flesh—the feeling of burning wax on your fingers, the smell of incense and flowers in church. This is a rich, sensuous experience.

We also have the celebration of the feast days of martyrs

salvation is not from the state, not from one's culture, not even from Church officials. Rather, one's salvation comes from personal integrity and personal choice. This is an important lesson. Such celebration of feasts "peoples" our imaginations.

Finally, there is a sense of continuity in the Catholic people that comes from the fact that what we are doing in celebrating the Eucharist goes back many thousands of years—even before Christ, in a way, to the high priest Melchizedek. There is a tendency in modern life to think that all people who lived before were stupid and unenlightened. Catholic tradition counters this by suggesting there is wisdom in the past and there is reason to explore it and be in touch with it.

Does the American Church still provide this rich sensuous experience and this "peopling" of the imagination?

Compared to anything else in our culture, yes.

I think it is very important for parishes to be sure that in their attempt to modernize, they don't become modern in the areas where modernity is weak—especially in the life of liturgy and ritual and imagination. Rather, they should become modern only in those areas where modernity is strong—tolerance and democratic ideas and political possibilities. Parishes must keep their celebrations very sensual, speaking to nose, eyes, touch and taste.

As you were growing up, did you have a sense that being Catholic somehow meant being different?

When I was in the second grade my family moved out of the valley where most of the immigrants lived to the hill where the managers and business people lived. There were very few Catholics there, very few Slavs; and there was no parochial school for me to attend. Therefore, I early became conscious of being a Catholic because there were so few others. I had to get excuses from school to go to Mass on holy days of obligation, or to serve funerals or weddings.

I half enjoyed this sense of being different. Partly it was a matter of defiance. I thought it was good for others to know I was different and I was amazed at how little they knew. I remember my fifth grade teacher making some comment about Pope Pius and spelling his name incorrectly on the blackboard. I corrected her and thought she needed to pay more attention to this sort of thing.

Do you now experience a tension between being Catholic and being American?

There is a terrific gap between being Catholic and being American. One *can* be both, but one has to be careful of one's loyalties. If you don't offer some resistance to the culture, what's the point in being Catholic?

There are things that Catholicism can learn, and has been learning, from the American experience; but there are also some things that America needs to learn from Catholics and from the Catholic tradition.

First of all, America can profit from Catholicism's esteem for nature. America is a highly artificial and machine-oriented society; but the craving for natural things is very deep.

Also, American culture is very hostile to family life. The road to promotion and success means frequent relocation and the willingness to move. This is devastating to family, to roots. The emotional and psychological price is enormous, especially for women and children.

In general, American Catholics have moved much more rapidly than American Protestants into white-collar work and professional work although, even 20 years ago, we were mainly blue-collar workers. Along with this move-

Protestants at those same levels.

For example, Catholic attitudes toward racial equality are far and away more progressive. Not only do one out of five Catholics live in neighborhoods with blacks as compared to one out of 18 Anglo-Americans, but every poll a study shows that more Catholics favor black advancement school integration and so on.

Likewise, Catholics are more likely to support economic reform and to support what might be called "liberal" political positions. For example, Nixon received 52 per cent of the Catholic vote, while he received 69 per cent of the Protestant vote. The Nixon vote was overwhelmingly Protestant. In 1968 George Wallace received 7.7 per cent of the Protestant vote but only 7.7 per cent of the Catholic vote.

What can Catholics learn from America?

Catholics are the least competent and the least political well-organized religious group. Quakers, Jews, black Protestants are all much more effective in getting legislation through Congress and in getting cases through the courts. Catholics have been so afraid of being accused of mixing religion and politics that they have been much more passive than they ought to be, than they need to be. Catholics have to learn that the American system, the democratic system, is based on conflict. In this system it is essential for each group to define clearly its political strategy and to use all the democratic devices of lobbying and organizing.

Catholics are almost invisible culturally and socially. Very little is known about us in terms of concrete information. Even our intellectuals and our own leaders know less about us than they ought to. My prediction is that over the next 10 to 15 years we will see a consciousness-raising among Catholics as we learn more about ourselves.

I also think that the two major political parties, as well as any new parties that emerge, will be in competition for the allegiance of the Catholic people, or at least a majority of them. Because of our concentration in key electoral states, we decide the fate of the country more surely than any other group. Whoever gets to us first will have a fairly good shot at a stable and long-range power base.

What are your hopes for the future of American Catholicism?

There has been hostility toward Catholics in America from the beginning—a general fear that they would do injury to democracy, that a Catholic president in the White House would have a tunnel to the pope. Therefore, Catholics were always somewhat defensive and were intent on proving they could be American. Catholics have given a lot of effort in the past to Americanizing. Then, on top of that, the Vatican Council urged Catholics to modernize, to open a window to the contemporary world.

In both of these movements—toward Americanization and modernization—Catholics have been looking *outward* for signals from contemporary society about how to behave. I hope, and I believe, that now the time is ripe for Catholics to quit bowing so much to other sources of inspiration and to look *inward* to the kind of wisdom and knowledge and perception they carry within them. Catholics must begin to make a creative contribution to America, to make America into a place more hospitable to the Catholic emphases on family, on roots, on nature, on prayer, on liturgy, on play, on a whole host of issues. Only in this way can our American culture become a richer culture.

It is not enough for Catholics to say, "Terrific! People aren't hostile to us anymore." Now is the time for us to do something more positive, to give a gift to America. I think this is what the future calls out for. □

What Are Your Values?

What is really important to you as an American Catholic? In this time of rethinking, we offer for your reflection a personal values checklist.

To know what we really see as most important in our lives is not easy to determine. This "article" has been formulated to help you reflect on your own values. In almost all questions, there is no right or wrong answer. There is no "score." Circumstances vary, so you will have to use your imagination. If you were in a certain situation, what would you do? Values can be described as what you see as good, have freely chosen, and are willing to publicly affirm and act on.

I Am the Kind of Person Who . . .

Yes No

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. does not deliberately hold a grudge against anyone. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. tends to see salvation as a personal rather than a community matter. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. would want my son or daughter in college to have a good and full social life even if grades suffered somewhat. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. would send my child to a Catholic grade school and high school if at all possible. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. is not embarrassed to make the sign of the cross in a restaurant when saying grace. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 6. is active in at least one Catholic organization. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. has invited a person of another race to my home for dinner. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. would be in favor of cutting the defense budget if the money saved were to be used to feed the starving of the world. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. often ends up spending on my family money that I've saved for myself. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. often wishes I had no responsibilities like a spouse or children or a sick parent so I could be free to pursue my own dreams. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. eats less one or two days a week and contributes the money saved to programs for the needy. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. would like to have a Catholic elementary school in every parish. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. considers religion an important aspect of my life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. would welcome having a family of a different race or color as neighbors. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. would return the extra money if given too much change by a clerk. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 16. would rather pray alone than participate in a public service like the Mass. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. finds it difficult to deny myself a luxury I want but really do not need. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. finds it easy to accept political and religious views different from my own. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. would rather work alone on a task than with a group. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. would not hesitate to express my opinion before a town meeting even if that opinion were unpopular. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. if all other things were equal, would ride to work alone rather than have several people ride with me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22. would do what I realize to be dishonest in a business deal if it would bring me considerable profit and there were little risk of being caught. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23. if I were the editor of a daily paper and received a letter from a member of the Communist Party who disagreed with me, would print it. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24. would never work myself for a candidate in a political campaign even if I thought he/she would serve well and needed workers. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 25. would have no question at all about the propriety of the president having a non-denominational religious service in the White House every Sunday. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26. is angered when the Catholic bishops speak out in support of specific bills, e.g., to forbid the importing of chrome from Rhodesia. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 27. would never talk about my belief in God with a stranger. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 28. has never talked about my personal faith or religious experience even with my closest relative or friend. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 29. urges my children to work hard to be first in their class. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30. would turn down a promotion offering a sizable pay raise if it also demanded extensive travel and time away from wife and young children. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 31. would participate and carry a sign in a public demonstration for a cause I believe in. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 32. would encourage various nationalities in the U.S. to keep their national customs in celebrations, foods, etc. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 33. would like to see welfare support for the poor continued after abuses are corrected. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 34. thinks that professional athletes in comparison to others in our society (policemen, teachers, social workers) are overpaid. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 35. would pay to support a Catholic school in my parish even if I had no children attending. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 36. realizes that sometimes the United States takes some insults in the United Nations and that it is not a perfect organization, but believes the U.N. still deserves our support. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 37. votes in most elections (national, state, local). | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 38. on Ash Wednesday would not be embarrassed to leave ashes on my forehead when I went to work or the shopping center, even if most of the people I would meet would be non-Catholic. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 39. thinks it is very important for a husband and wife to set aside some time for serious conversation together so that they can continue to deepen their relationship. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 40. contributes willingly to United Appeal or United Fund, plus other community causes like Red Cross, scouts, etc. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 41. attends Mass every Sunday when possible. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 42. has written a letter urging a politician (congressman, governor, councilman, etc.) to support certain legislation. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 43. as a parent has regularly attended parent-teacher consultations and PTA meetings. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 44. can honestly say that I am trying to lead a good life. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 45. would speak up when one of the non-Catholics at a coffee break complained about Catholics who are trying to make everyone feel guilty about abortions. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Other Ways of Checking Your Values

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 46. How well do you measure up to your own standards of goodness? If 100 per cent is "all the way," what percentage would you give yourself? _____ | | |
| 47. How well do you fulfill the Christian law of loving your neighbor as yourself? If perfectly is 100 per cent, what percentage would you give yourself? _____ | | |
| 48. Do your religious beliefs influence your political and business decisions? Yes _____ No _____ | | |
| 49. Look within yourself and state honestly whether you really obey the law of love under certain special conditions: | | |
| —when the one to be loved is a member of a different religion | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| —when a member of a different race | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| —when a business competitor | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| —when a member of a political party that you judge to be dangerous | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| —when an enemy of the nation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 50. Which of the following causes would you say you believe in and would work for most strongly? Rank in order of choice: 1, 2, 3 . . . | | |
| — urban beautification campaign: plant flowers, clean up vacant lots, paint shabby buildings | | |
| — equality for all minorities in education and job opportunities | | |
| — neighborhood youth sports program | | |
| — organizing and sustaining a community organization or town council | | |
| — "meals on wheels" for the elderly | | |
| 51. If you won \$100,000 in a lottery and decided to give half of it to a good cause, rank the following according to your first choice, second choice, etc.: | | |

- an organization for feeding the starving in Africa or India
 - the culture and fine arts fund (museums, symphony, etc.) in your community
 - endowment to a private Catholic college
 - national fund to finance athletes for the Olympics
 - fund for the education of a seminarian
 - pro-life organization working for a Constitutional amendment barring abortions
 - fund for sending inner-city children to summer camp
52. If you were the faculty moderator of a student committee picking speakers for a college lecture series and all the students agreed to invite the following, would you object?
- | | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| —a representative of the Democratic Party? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| —a representative of the Republican Party? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| —a representative of the Communist Party? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| —a representative of the American Socialist Party | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
53. If you had to choose between working with a loving, honest, virtuous person who is dirty and smells and a dishonest, unscrupulous, exploitative person who is neat and well-mannered, whom would you choose?
- loving but dirty dishonest but neat
54. If you had an evening free, no commitments, and money were no issue, what would you choose to do? Rank the following according to your preferences:
- a quiet evening at home reading a novel
 - Bible reading at home and personal prayer and reflection
 - attending a prayer group for reading the Bible and shared prayer
 - going out to dinner with a relative or friend and spending the rest of the evening conversing
 - attending a professional sports event (basketball, hockey, etc.)
 - participating in a sport yourself (tennis, volleyball, skating, bowling, etc.)
 - organizing a family activity (like charades or cards)
55. You, a married person, unexpectedly received a \$5,000 bequest from a distant cousin. You say to your spouse: "It's money we weren't counting on; we don't need it for any real necessities, so let's use it for . . ." Rank 1, 2, 3, etc., according to your choice:
- a vacation in Europe
 - a new car
 - a college fund for your two children in grade school
 - new and more expensive than usual clothing
 - new furniture for the house
 - a clinic for the poor in Brazil
56. Which of the following would you see as the worst thing that could happen to you?
- to be falsely accused of a dishonest business deal
 - to be dressed informally for a dinner party when everyone else was dressed formally
 - to have agreed to meet an important client and oversleep and not show up
 - to fail your spouse or children when they need you
57. If you had to pick one of the following as one goal of your life, which would you rank first?
- social recognition and prestige
 - financial success and security
 - happy marriage
 - personal fulfillment
 - a personally fulfilling job
58. If God gave you the choice of three qualities for your own life, what would be your first, second and third choice among the following:
- being broadminded (open-minded)
 - being self-controlled (restrained, self-disciplined)
 - being forgiving (willing to pardon others)
 - being responsible (dependable, reliable)
 - being loving (affectionate, tender)
 - being honest (sincere, truthful)
 - being courageous (standing up for your beliefs)
59. How many hours in your typical week do you spend on each of the following:
- your job or work
 - in conversation or recreation or relaxation with one or more members of your family
 - in personal or communal prayer
 - doing volunteer work (not specifically religious) of benefit to your fellowmen
 - in any type of continuing education (reading, attending lectures, classes, etc.)
 - in church or religious activities
60. Rank the following qualities in the order of importance for the good American:
- competitive
 - dedicated to bringing about world peace
 - neat and clean in his person
 - honest
 - just and respectful in dealing with others

In most of the above questions the values at stake were no doubt obvious to you. There is no "answer sheet." The purpose of the exercise is merely to help you reflect on what your own personal values really are. Grouping the answers to a number of questions may help you consider some larger points and let you know what we had in mind in including some of the questions.

I. How Important Are Your Religious Values?

Question #13 asks if you consider religion an important aspect of your life and #48 whether your religious beliefs influence your political and business decisions. Other questions give a specific situation in which religion might influence a political or business decision: #8 (cutting the defense budget to feed the starving); #26 (importing chrome from Rhodesia); #36 (United Nations).

Our true values are those we do not hesitate to profess publicly. A number of questions were aimed at helping you decide whether you do in fact publicly profess your religion (we admit there is room for great differences of "style" on how and when): #5 (prayer in a restaurant), #38 ("wearing" ashes), #45 (speaking up on abortion), #6 and #41 (belonging to a Catholic organization and Mass attendance).

Questions #44 (leading a good life), #46 (measuring up to personal standards of goodness) and #47 (fulfilling the law of love) ask you to evaluate how well you live up to the

religious standards you accept. Question #49 (obeying the law of love under special conditions) gets specific.

In *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*, Will Herberg comments on the responses by Americans to similar questions asked in the survey "God and the American People," reported on in the November, 1948, *Ladies' Home Journal*. Herberg reported that 91 per cent of the respondents felt they could honestly say "they were trying to lead a good life and 78 per cent felt no hesitation in saying that they *more than half* measured up to their own standards of goodness, over 50 per cent asserting that they were following the rule of loving one's neighbor as oneself 'all the way' " [italics added]. Herberg commented that this amazingly high valuation that most Americans appear to place on their virtue gives an important insight into the basic religion of the American people—a better insight than any catalogue of their formal beliefs.

Also in this survey a majority of the same Americans who answered that religion was "very important" said that their religious beliefs had no real effect on their political ideas or business conduct (#48).

The responses on whether one really obeys the law of love when applied to certain types of people were as follows:

A person of different religion: 90% yes; 5% no.

A person of different race: 80% yes; 12% no.

A business competitor: 78% yes; 10% no.

A member of a dangerous political party: 27% yes; 57% no.

An enemy of the nation: 25% yes; 63% no.

Herberg makes this commentary: "These figures are illuminating, first because of the incredible self-assurance they reveal with which the average American believes he fulfills the 'impossible' law of love, but also because of the light they cast on the differential impact of the violation of this law on the American conscience. . . . For it is obvious that . . . while the Jewish-Christian law of love is formally acknowledged, the truly operative factor is the value system embodied in the American Way of Life." In other words, sociologists like Herberg are suggesting that we acknowledge religious values *in general*. But when forced to get *specific*, we choose only those Christian values "endorsed" by American values (such as toleration for all regardless of race or creed) and we reject those Christian values (love of enemy) which conflict with our national self-interest.

II. How American Are Your Values?

Our exercise attempts to offer some further reflection on American values such as freedom, equality for all, openness to pluralism (tolerance), competition and individualism.

Question #10 (freedom from responsibility) attempts to probe how deeply we are affected by the American value of *individual freedom* ("do your own thing"). This value can sometimes cause us to see our commitments to other people as limiting our freedom.

Our American individualism can also affect our religious attitudes. Some people stress the private dimension of religion more than the public or community dimension. Question #2 (personal vs. communal salvation) raises the point; questions #16 (praying alone instead of going to Mass), #27 and #28 (talking with others about personal faith) also refer to it. Question #54 presents a choice between attending a prayer group for Bible reading and reflection rather than doing the same thing at home, privately.

Philip Slater in *The Pursuit of Loneliness* gives exam-

ples of "the many ways Americans attempt to minimize, circumvent, or deny the interdependence upon which all human societies are based. We seek a private house, a private means of transportation, a private garden, a private laundry, self-service stores, and do-it-yourself skills of every kind." Do we even want a private religion?

Questions #18 (accepting others' views) and #52 (picking speakers for a college lecture series) shed light on our degree of tolerance for views different from our own. Question #32 (encouraging ethnic customs) tests our concern for "ethnic" freedom within our pluralistic society.

Equality for *all* was addressed in questions #7 (inviting someone of a different race home for dinner) and #14 (having a family of a different race as neighbors). Our concern for our neighbor is also explored in the following questions: #40 (contributing to community causes), #33 (welfare), #11 (fasting for the needy), #42 (writing congressmen for specific action), #31 (public demonstration), #37 (voting) and #24 (working for a political candidate).

Competition and individualism (personal independence) are often cited as characteristic American values. Competition is dealt with in questions #3 (grades or social life for college students), #29 (encouraging children to compete scholastically) and #34 (salaries of professional athletes). Our individualism quotient is reflected in answers to questions #2 (personal vs. communal salvation), #19 (working alone vs. working in a group) and #21 (commuting alone or with others).

William R. Callahan, S.J., is one of many who has questioned whether "American rugged individualism; the glorification of competition in sports and business; lavish attention and rewards heaped on 'winners,' on being number one" do not conflict with Christian principles. What do you think?

Father Callahan's commentary on other American values is interesting: "Cleanliness and lack of odor are present cultural values. It is far more difficult for an American to relate to a loving, honest, virtuous person who is dirty and smells than to relate to a dishonest, unscrupulous, exploitive person who is neat and well-mannered. Again, conformity and unquestioning 'patriotism' are cultural values. The primacy of conscience, a love for peace are Christian and American values. Yet long hair, actually struggling for peace, leaving the country to avoid making war, stir more violent emotional responses in America than the killings at My Lai and support for repressive dictatorships." Question #53 (choosing a co-worker) and #60 (ranking qualities of a good American) attempt to reflect Callahan's concern.

Question #25 (religious service at the White House) tries to get at the relationship of American and Christian values in another way. Many people fear that nondenominational services at the White House, with the preacher at the beck and call of the president, only water down the Christian message and compromise Christian values to conform to the American status quo. This placing of religious values at the service of political interests is called "civil religion."

The questions on Catholic schools (#4, #12) likewise test our commitment to the preservation of religious values and religious perspectives in a secular society.

III. Setting Your Priorities

Question #58 is adapted from the extensive research of Professor Milton Rokeach on how the personal values of Americans of various religions differ. He asked people to rank according to priority 17 values. The general American population ranked the following as the first five: responsible, honest, broadminded, courageous and loving. Catho-

lic Americans put the values in this order: loving, forgiving, responsible, self-controlled and courageous (tied). Do your priorities agree more with the general American ranking or with the Catholic list?

Check yourself and your ideal ranking of value priorities in question #58 with how you responded to the same values when presented in other sections of the test: broadminded—#23 (publishing a dissenting opinion) and #18 (accepting others' views); self-controlled—#17 (denying myself something I want) and #11 (fasting for the starving); forgiving—#1 (holding a grudge); responsible—#10 (freedom from responsibilities); loving—#39 (deepening a marital relationship), #47 and #49 (obeying the law of love); honest—#15 (returning extra change) and #22 (business dealings); courageous—#20 (openly expressing an unpopular opinion) and #45 (speaking up on abortion).

What priority do you give to family concerns? Family values are addressed in #9 (spending personal savings on family), #30 (promotion), #43 (PTA attendance). Question #54 allows you to rank a family activity with other social and religious activities. Question #55 asks you to determine from among personal, family and social alternatives what you would do with a \$5,000 bequest.

In the area of community service, question #50 gives you a chance to discover whether you tend to choose causes that would be widely accepted (beautification, youth sports, meals on wheels) or ones that might mean brooking more opposition (equal rights, civil rights or community organization). Question #51 (lottery) similarly presents a choice among various good causes, some religious, some secular; some local, some national, some international.

Goals you set for yourself also reveal what you value. Question #57 asks you to choose one goal out of many as being most important for you. (We realize that you can work for all these goals at the same time and there are other valid goals that may not be mentioned.) Embarrassing things—such as a social blunder, disappointing a loved one, having your reputation slandered or failing to live up to your responsibilities—are presented in question #56. The one you choose as being "the worst that could happen to you" should also tell you something about your personal priorities.

Another way of checking our values is to explore the amount of time spent weekly in various pursuits (question #59). We tend to give time according to something's importance to us.

Getting together with your family or a group of friends who have also gone through this value exercise will give you an opportunity for sharing. Each participant should bring up only what he or she feels comfortable with; "baring your soul" before the group isn't necessary.

IV. A Long and Merry Life

As one final way of probing your values try this exercise given by Dr. Sidney B. Simon in his book, *Meeting Yourself Halfway: 31 Value Clarification Strategies for Daily Living*. Draw a line across a sheet of paper. At the left end of the line mark the date of your birth. At the right end mark the age you think you will die. At the appropriate place on the line make a dot for your present age. Then in a few words mark down "things you would like to get done or experience before your death." They are the things you think are really important, your values.

If you have gotten this far, you have the virtues of tolerance, broadmindedness, courage and charity. Reward yourself and have a long and merry life! □



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name _____

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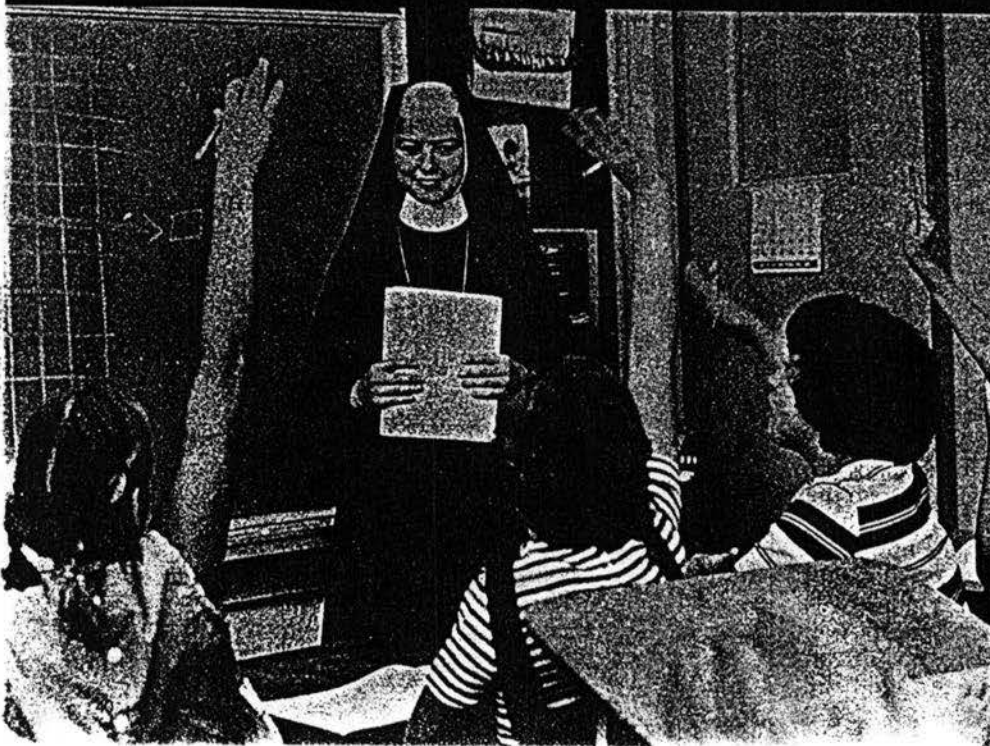
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What Do



From Archbishop John Ireland (above) to President John Kennedy—a long history of learning what it means to be both Catholic and American. Some, like Leo XIII (right), doubted the American situation was a healthy one for fostering a lively, yet orthodox Catholicism. But the American situation has been filled with surprises. An elaborate system of Catholic schools took root in the climate of separation of Church and state. And Bishop Fulton J. Sheen seized upon the most American of media, TV, to bring Catholicism and religious values into the living rooms of the nation.



Catholics Can for America

U.S. Catholics were once afraid of being thought un-American. Today we are so much a part of the mainstream of American culture, good and bad, that some fear we are un-Christian. How can we preserve a healthy tension between our religious tradition and the American way of life? By Karen Hurley



I. WHAT IT SHOULD MEAN TO BE CATHOLIC IN AMERICA

"Can you really be loyal both to your Church and to your country?" That's the old question put to Catholics by America. The traditional reply was: "There is *no* conflict between being Catholic and American." Even John Kennedy in his 1960 campaign had to answer this question by denying and redening any conflict in his loyalties to Rome and his loyalties to the U.S.A.

Today there is a new question—one which Catholics are now putting to themselves: "Do *we* feel any tension between our Catholicism and our Americanism?" The answer, it now seems, ought to be "Yes!"

The old question assumed that any tension between Catholic and American values would be a destructive one, undermining national unity and jeopardizing separation of Church and state. The new question implies that without some tension—a creative tension to enliven our Catholicism *and* our Americanism—we are neither good Catholics nor good Americans.

Why the change in questions? Why the change in expected answers? This change indicates an important shift in our understanding about what it means—or *should* mean—to be Catholic in America.

What does it mean to be Catholic in America? Another

be Catholic in America. The goal of this article is to offer some ideas, hopes, personal dreams about what it *can* mean to be Catholic in America today, about what it *should* mean to be Catholic in the American future.

Let's begin the exploration of our changing Catholic identity by gauging our reactions to the words of an important American churchman: "There is no conflict between the Catholic Church and America," insisted Archbishop John Ireland at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. "I could not utter one syllable that would belie, however remotely, either the Church or the Republic, and when I assert, as I now solemnly do, that the principles of the Church are in thorough harmony with the interests of the Republic, I know in the depths of my soul that I speak the truth. . . ."

Not many people today feel as comfortable about such an enthusiastic embrace of America by the Catholic Church as did John Ireland. Catholics used to be afraid of not being American enough; now we are afraid of being *too* American. The reason for this shift in fears is the story of our maturing Catholic identity. To help us better understand where we are now in this maturing process and where we are heading, three stages can be identified in the relationship between the Catholic Church and America, between the individual Catholic consciousness and wider American culture.

First, what I will call the period of "American or Catholic," with the emphasis on *or*. In the early days it didn't appear that one could be both.

Second, the period of the "American Catholic," with the emphasis on *American*. This was the era of the "Americanization" of the Catholic Church and its acceptance, along with Protestantism and Judaism, as one of the three great religions of democracy. It was a time when America and her values and visions had a very decisive influence on what it meant to be Catholic.

Third, the period which we are now entering, the period of the "Catholic American," with the emphasis on *Catholic*. The hope of this new stage is to allow the values and visions of the best of the Catholic tradition to help determine what it means to be American—presuming that other religious traditions will contribute their unique emphases as well.

Let us look more closely at each of these stages of personal and cultural growth.

American or Catholic

Throughout the 19th century, a debate between "Americanizers" and "anti-Americanizers" raged within the U.S. Church. Andrew Greeley in *The Catholic Experience* calls this debate the most important theme in American Church history. The Americanizers, such as John Ireland and John Carroll, the first American bishop, rejoiced in the opportunities presented by the American situation. Far from fearing American culture and institutions, they saw no danger in Catholics becoming as American as possible.

The anti-Americanizers, with their supporters in Europe, had a much less sanguine view of American society and culture. They saw the Church as a minority group in an unfriendly country, needing always to be on guard lest her values be corrupted by the materialism, secularism and paganism of the wider society.

John Ireland's remarks above were delivered in the midst of this debate. Should the Church be American *or* Catholic? He unqualifiedly answered, "Both." He did not see a necessary conflict.

Pope Leo XIII, however, in two pronouncements on the American Church lent official support for the anti-Americanizing position in this debate. His 1895 encyclical,

gave a conservative message to the American Church. Leo warned that, despite the obvious prosperity of American Catholicism, "It would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the most desirable status of the Church. . . . She would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of laws and the patronage of public authority."

In 1898 Leo's letter *Testem Benevolentiae* condemned the phantom heresy of "Americanism." No wonder the nativists raged! No wonder the "either/or"! Ironically, this papal condemnation came at a time when most American Catholics were defending themselves against precisely the opposite charge at home—that they were too Catholic and therefore too "Romish" to be truly American.

Catholics who heard John Ireland's remarks in 1884 heard them in the context of this double-bind. In terms of the culture, they needed to prove their patriotism and their full American citizenship. But in terms of their religious values and tradition, they had legitimate fears about giving way too completely to Americanizing influences.

Two uniquely American ecclesiastical institutions—the ethnic parish and the parochial school system—partially alleviated this bind in time. Polish and German and Italian parishes provided protection from too much Americanizing too fast, and thus set up a situation where immigrants could be gradually, but decisively, eased into American life. In this low-threat environment, parochial schools became a powerful means of communicating American values, ideals and life-styles to the children of immigrant parents.

Also, the end of the flood of Catholic immigrants in the 1920's gradually removed the foreign stigma from being Catholic. But, most important of all, forces were at work in the wider society transforming the role of all religions in America.

American Catholic

By 1950 we were no longer worrying over whether to be American or not, or *how* American. We *were* American.

As many commentators have pointed out, the 50's mark an important transition in the American Catholic community—the transition from immigrant Church to established American religious institution, from minority consciousness to a sense of full citizenship in the American endeavor. We had moved from being a cause for suspicion and nativist attacks to a position of general acceptance as one of the three great religions of democracy.

During the 1950's, President Dwight Eisenhower could say: "Our government makes no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith—and I don't care what it is." Even Catholicism!

Such acceptance was good news for Catholics—too long the victims of discrimination because of minority status and "foreign entanglement" with European pasts and papal authority. The election of John Kennedy in 1960 topped off this achievement of having "made it" in America.

How did Catholicism come to win such confidence and acceptance?

The Catholic Church—much to America's surprise—had proven to be a real asset to the nation by Americanizing the flood of foreigners so feared in the late 19th and early 20th century. A recent study in San Antonio only reconfirms the traditional success of Catholic schools in assimilating "newcomers"—in this case, present-day Catholics of Mexican descent—into the mainstream of national life.

In addition, Catholicism had come to serve as the source of a new social identity for those recently Americanized immigrants of the second and third generations no longer in touch with European pasts and Euro-



Early waves of Catholic immigrants were concerned with what America—land of economic and religious promise—could do for them. Catholic schools eased their children into the mainstream of American life and opportunity. John F. Kennedy, an Irish Catholic who had “made it” in America helped to refocus Catholic attention with his inaugural challenge: “Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country.”

pean identities. They might no longer be Poles or Greeks or Spaniards, but they *were* Catholics.

An example of what this means: By the 1950's when Americans asked "What does he *do*?" about a new person in town, they meant his occupation, his profession. But when they asked "What is he?" they were referring to what religious community he belonged. Is he Protestant, Catholic or Jew?

A century or even half a century before, this question would have been answered in terms of a person's ethnic-immigrant origin: he's German, or Irish, or Italian. By the 50's, however, a person no longer identified self nor was identified by others according to either race (except for blacks and Orientals) or ethnicity (except for recent arrivals like Puerto Ricans in New York City). Americans identified themselves in terms of religion: they were Protestant, Catholic or Jewish.

Sociologist Will Herberg sees these three major American religions serving as three different, but approved, avenues into the mainstream of American life. He challenges our myth about the great American melting pot where people from all nations went in and were melted into a new and better race. Indeed all immigrants were "melted down," but the outcome was not some new hybrid of all the contributing nationalities and personalities. Rather, all persons were more or less transformed within their respective religions to conform to the original American type: the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, the WASP. Thus Americanization meant WASP-ification—and Catholicism and Judaism unwittingly cooperated in reinforcing the WASP ideals of individualism, success at almost any price, hard work, rational control.

Cultural assimilation proceeded very much like linguistic assimilation. A few foreign words crept in here and there, a few modifications of form; but the American language is still thoroughly and unquestionably English. Thus white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism remained the American cultural ideal to which all other elements in the national potpourri, including Catholics, were transformed.

Non-British, Catholic immigrants were expected to give up just about everything which didn't conform to the WASP ideal—language, cultural style—in order to become American. Why were they allowed to keep their non-Protestant religion?

The main value of religion as the American founding fathers saw it was its *political* value. Religion was important in so far as it fostered the ideals of American democracy; religion was indispensable in so far as the state could find no better mechanism to instill those values and virtues necessary to republican life. Thus, the question to ask of a religion in America is "Does it do the work of democracy?"

This pragmatic test of religion had earlier caused Catholics to be feared. But by the mid-20th century Catholicism—and Judaism—had been judged by Protestant America to do that work adequately. Why?

Besides their successful performance as socializers into the American system, the gradual acceptance of Catholicism and Judaism as proper American religions is attributable to another factor—their ability to bolster the American "civil religion."

In a very important sense, the real religion of America is neither Catholicism nor Judaism—not even Protestantism; it is Americanism. Every nation develops its own understanding of the meaning of human life, its own value system distinctively marked by its common history and cultural style. These meanings and values sustain national unity and inspire citizens to attend faithfully to the national good. In America this system of meaning and value is alternately called the "civil religion," the "secular religion," the "American way of life" or just plain "Americanism."

Catholicism and Judaism—even Protestantism—have

come to be seen by the wider culture as merely diverse expressions of this more basic American religion. Their values are seen as little more than reflections of the spiritual values which American democracy professes: the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the dignity of the individual. Thus no one is expected to change religion to become American, because our culture views each of the three major religions as equally and authentically American. Their differences are thought to be less important than the basic American tenets on which they agree.

Yet there is a dark side to this apparently cozy marriage between the traditional religions and the American way of life. Each of these traditional religions is judged so amenable to Americanism because none vigorously challenges American values—even when those values are less lofty than the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Sociological studies of the 40's and 50's document this Americanization of the Catholic Church in the U.S.—along with other Churches. These studies show that local parishes, for the most part, reinforced rather than prophetically challenged cultural norms regarding race, the distribution of wealth, "fair" business practices and so on—no matter how theoretically un-Christian such norms might be.

How many of us strive to imitate the ideals and lifestyles of both Horatio Alger ("every man for himself," "unlimited profit," "be No. 1!") and Jesus—seeing no apparent contradictions in the two world views?

Sister Marie Augusta Neal, a Harvard sociologist of religion, says that Catholics, like the Puritans before them, secularized (or Americanized) their own religious values so that they could enjoy the advantages of newly-won, middle-class status. And an important part of middle-class status is not to rock the boat, not to challenge American values with Christian witness, to be an *American Catholic*.

But this is not the end of the story. The 1960's began a new era for America and for the American Catholic Church.

Catholic American

If the 50's marked our having made it as Americans, the 60's marked a cultural crisis so severe that many Americans—and many Catholics—began to question whether being American was any longer something to be proud of. Sydney Ahlstrom, a historian of American religion, says the decade of the 60's played a great role in the education of Americans by "having committed a kind of maturing violence upon the innocence of a whole people, for having called an arrogant and complacent nation to time . . ." Americans, whether liberal or conservative, whether Protestant, Catholic or Jew, "found it increasingly difficult to believe that the United States was still a beacon and a blessing to the world."

Today the old images and values and self-understandings of America are still breaking down. We have started looking for new paths into the future. Our search for alternatives leads us to those latent possibilities in our religious traditions now buried beneath a veneer of Americanism.

Religious historian Sidney Mead concludes his 1963 study of American Protestantism (*The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America*) by reporting signs that American denominations are beginning to question their acquiescence to the American way. He also offers hope that an end is in sight to that peculiarly American situation where, "under the system of official separation of Church and state, the denominations eventually found themselves as completely identified with nationalism and their country's political and economic systems as had ever been known in Christendom." He presents the challenge for U.S. Protestantism in the title of his last chapter: "From

Americanism to Christianity."

The same challenge needs to be spoken to American Catholicism. The U.S. Church is beginning to confront the dilemma posed by its "Americanization," by the close identification of American and Catholic values in the minds and life-styles of so many American Catholics. Such confrontation is for the good of the Church and the good of America.

Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, has given impetus to this confrontation. In one recent address, while calling on all Americans "to ponder seriously our national values and our fidelity in living up to them," he went on to point out the inadequacies of the civil religion. He specified areas where our national values and self-understandings are particularly susceptible to abuse (for example, our tendency to regard ourselves as a "chosen people," our national fondness for violence, our ambiguous relations with other nations). He called on Catholicism and all theistic religions to offer "judgment and correction" of American values when they lead us in dangerous directions.

"In this time of national reassessment," Archbishop Bernardin continued, "the nation would risk being propelled into false choices and dangerous courses . . . if we were to rely solely on the symbols of civil religion, symbols too easily manipulated for unworthy purposes. It is my hope and my expectation that, in the present and the future, as in the past, our nation will draw inspiration and purpose from the abiding insights in our religious traditions."

Archbishop Bernardin and others are now offering to Catholicism what Mead offered to his own Protestant tradition a decade earlier. We must move from Americanism to Christianity: we must discover the best, the most challenging in our respective traditions of Protestant Christianity and Catholic Christianity. We must help America into a better, more human future.

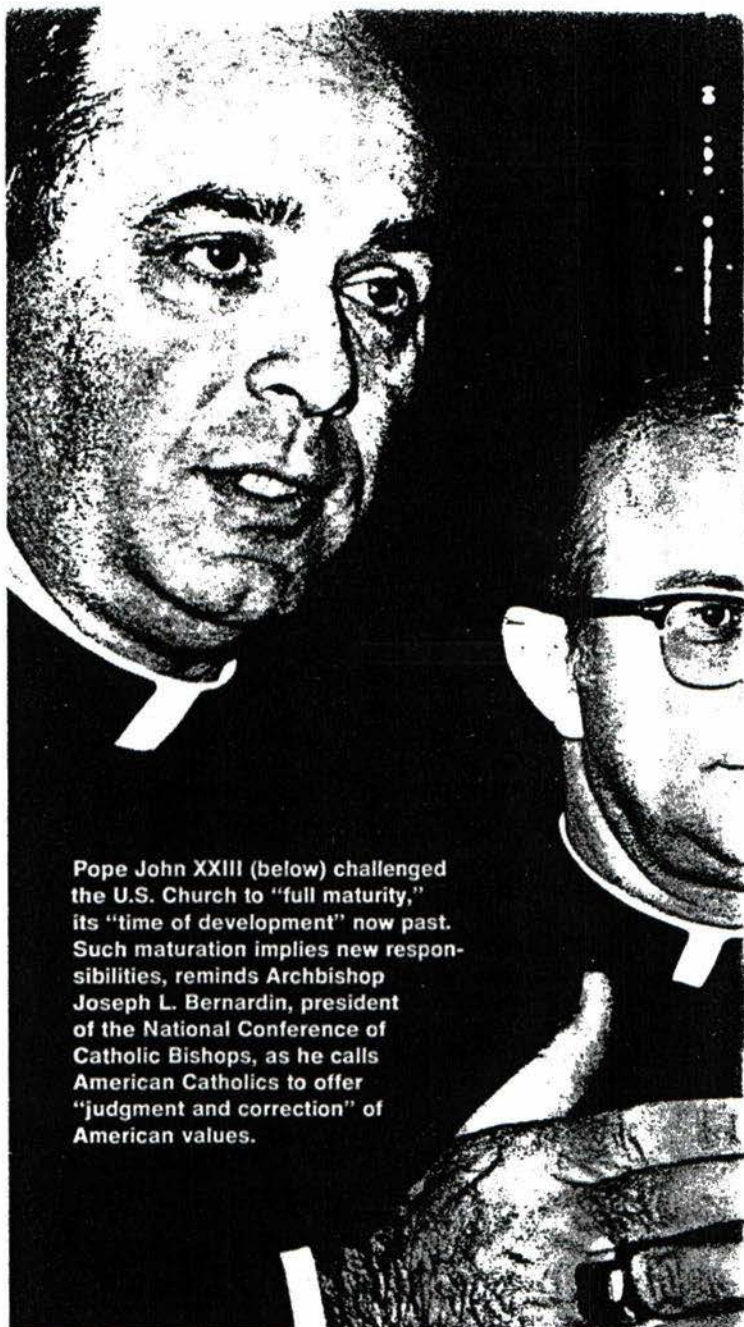
In other words, it is no longer sufficient to be merely an *American Catholic*. We must find a new, more creative way of relating our Catholicism to our Americanism. We certainly do not wish to return to the either/or; but we must transcend the comfortable complacency of an Americanized Catholicism. How can we be *Catholic Americans*?

The questions posed at the beginning of the article give us an important clue. First of all, we no longer need deny any possible conflicts between our Americanism and our Catholicism. Rather, we must learn to live with this tension—even to expect and encourage it. In many younger Catholics it was the Vietnam War that first provoked a concrete testing of American values in light of our Catholic tradition. In many Catholics of all ages, the abortion debate has awakened a sense that being Catholic is more than just being American. In both cases Catholics are realizing the value of some critical distance between our national culture and our religious tradition. Without it, we are unable to see our national shortcomings and the valuable options that Catholicism can offer to expand our imagination about what we can become, what we can do, what we *ought* to do.

This new awareness about the importance of creative tension goes hand in hand with an appreciation of our new role in American society. As Pope John said in 1959, the American Church's "time of development" is past; its "full maturity" is at hand.

As Catholics, we are no longer just takers, willing to do what America requires in order to "make it." We must now become givers, shapers of American life and thought and culture—not merely shaped by it.

The immigrant asks, "What can America offer me, do for me, give me?" The person who has "arrived" asks, "What must I now give to America to keep it going, to keep it growing?" John F. Kennedy's inaugural challenge is the



Pope John XXIII (below) challenged the U.S. Church to "full maturity," its "time of development" now past. Such maturation implies new responsibilities, reminds Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, as he calls American Catholics to offer "judgment and correction" of American values.



question of an Irish Catholic who had definitely arrived: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

And so we ask in the midst of our present mood of national uncertainty, what *can* we do for America? What can Catholicism contribute to our national reassessment during the bicentennial? What values, symbols, styles in our tradition can help America grow?

SUMMING UP

American or Catholic

Must I choose between being Catholic and American? This either/or stage is over in the history of the American Church, but it remains a subtle temptation for individual Catholics even today. To see America as all good or all bad, to uncritically embrace all she stands for or to condemn her values and pretend to withdraw from her—this is a childish stage. We, like American Catholicism, must grow beyond it.

American Catholic

With cultural pressure mounting, the sons and daughters of immigrants decided to be American, regardless of the cost to Catholic values and traditions. This is a natural reaction when we are insecure or worried about what others will think of us. The American Church now recognizes, on a theoretical level, the dangers of being *merely* American. But on a personal level, each of us is still afraid, in many ways, to rock the boat—to be judged "too Catholic" for America's good.

Catholic American

In this third stage of being Catholic in America, we tackle the problem of developing a mature religious style suitable to our pluralistic culture. Nothing is as clear-cut as we once thought. America is neither all-good nor all-bad. Today America needs all the resources her varied peoples can offer. As Catholics we are challenged to discover the best in our religious tradition and to use these riches to challenge America. This mature style demands that we learn to live creatively with the tension between American realities and the dreams which our religious tradition makes possible.

II.

WHAT CATHOLICISM CAN OFFER AMERICA

I would like to suggest two areas in which our Catholic tradition has something to say to American culture—its needs, its inadequacies. These are intended more as reflection-starters than as a final outline of Catholic contributions to the American future.

What is identified below as typically Protestant or typically Catholic may surprise those who know many Protestants and Catholics who do not fit these types. None of us *personally* is as one-sided as the official listing of values our respective traditions have come to emphasize. Also, as Catholics living in America, we have been shaped by the Protestant impulse as well as by our Catholic heritage.

With these reservations, then, here are two major areas of possible Catholic contribution: correcting America's in-

complete view of human nature and offering a humbler image of America's place in the world.

A More Balanced View of Human Nature

Every religious tradition must become particularized and concrete in its self-expression. Each is therefore, in a sense, one-sided. Protestantism and Catholicism, because of separate histories, have developed different "sides" in their understandings of man and society. Protestantism has emphasized the individual; Catholicism has emphasized the community. Both are necessary for a fully human understanding.

From America's origins to the present, the Protestant sense of human nature and society has shaped our culture. America emphasizes hard work, individualism, rational control, moral righteousness and guilt. But many Americans are now coming to see the dangers of this cultural one-sidedness. Several areas of specific concern are detailed below:

HARD WORK. The Protestant work-ethic-run-wild has resulted in personal as well as national tragedy. The "workaholic" has become a cultural stereotype. Many families suffer because their fathers are only happy when they are working and feel guilty and purposeless when taking time out for relaxation and family recreation.

Because our national system of values prescribes hard work as the solution to all economic problems, we are paralyzed in dealing creatively with many forms of domestic poverty and unemployment. We are likewise hampered in dealing with the poor nations of the world: "Why can't they pull themselves up by their own bootstraps? We did!"

INDIVIDUAL SUCCESS. Success in America is viewed as a long, lonely, uphill struggle. And lonely it is. For many men, and an increasing number of women, moving up in the world of business means traveling more and spending less time with spouse and family.

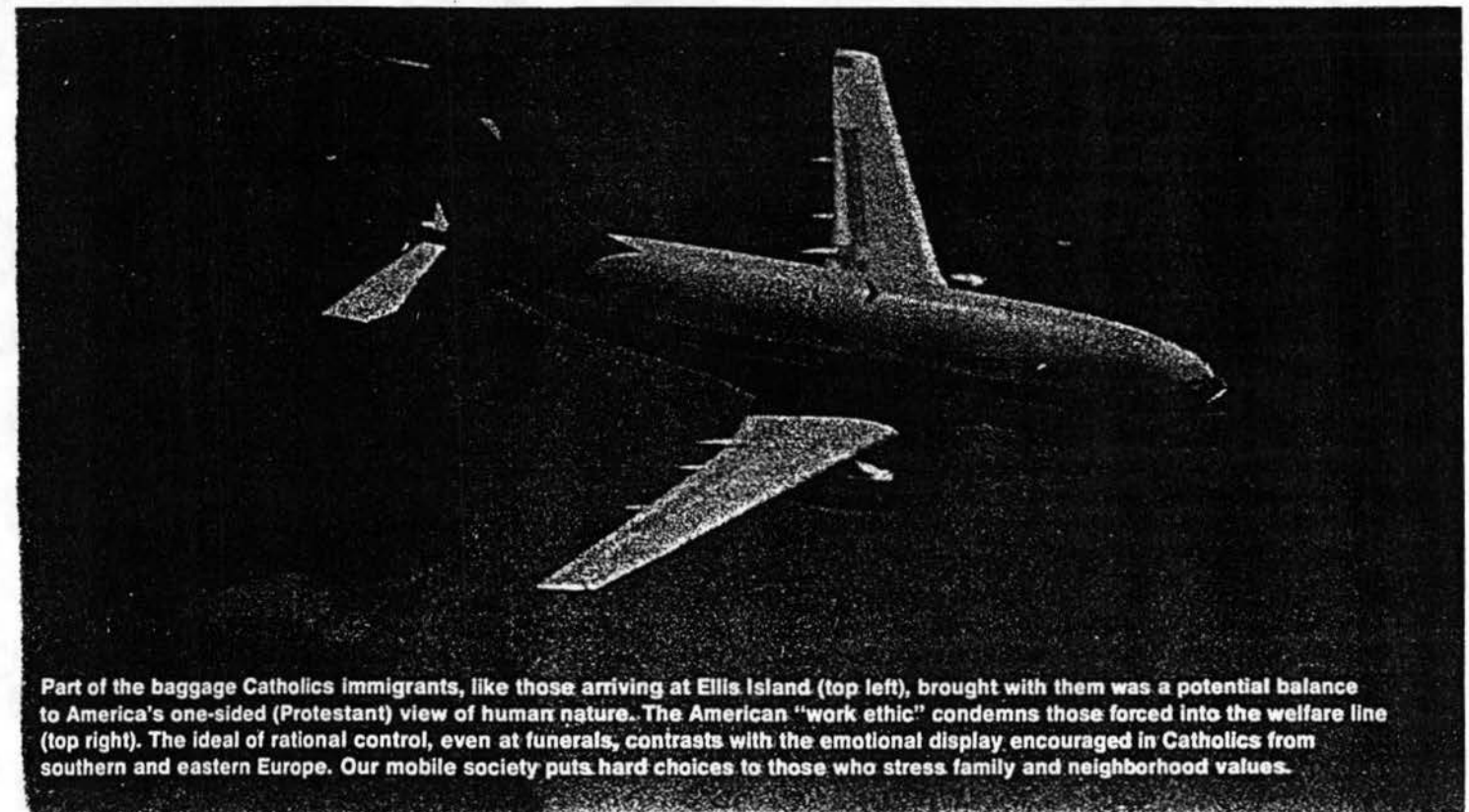
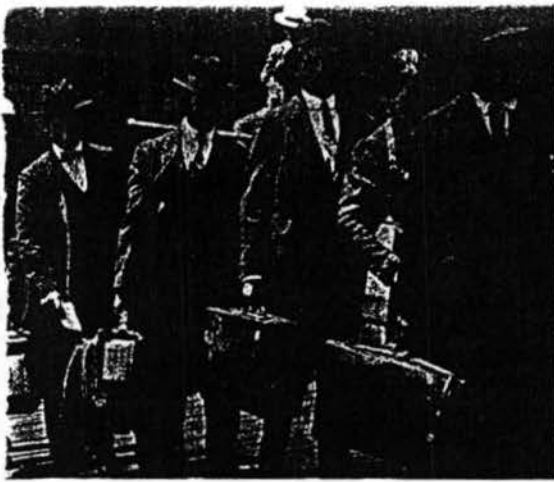
Many companies make promotion almost synonymous with transfer to another part of the country. Relatives, friends and neighbors are left behind. How many American families experience the loneliness reported by some families of International Business Machine employees for whom IBM has come to mean "I've Been Moved"? The pursuit of individual success has made us a nation of nomads.

But geography is not the only barrier to overcome in the quest for personal success. People are barriers, too. Wives unable to adapt to the style of life demanded by a husband's new job or promotion become a liability. Personal relationships and commitments are seen as annoying entanglements which limit a person's freedom to move on to bigger and better things.

RATIONAL CONTROL. The Protestant emphasis on the head, on the rational, on the control of emotions has resulted in what one cliché calls our cultural "uptightness." We are afraid of emotions, of tears; John Wayne doesn't cry. Many Americans must turn to institutionalized settings like encounter groups to learn that it is okay to cry. Others lean on alcohol or drugs so they can "let go," have a good time, discover their real selves.

GUILT. And we feel guilty about so many things: our failures as parents, as children, as persons unable to be all we should be, to do all we should do. We think we should be perfect. When we aren't, we are either too afraid to admit our failure or we indulge in destructive self-hatred. When others fail, we turn on them with self-righteous moralizing: poor people are lazy; Southerners are racist; politicians are corrupt.

Modern America is dissatisfied with the results of this one-sided emphasis. We are looking for alternative values and visions. What are some of the emphases in Catholic



Part of the baggage Catholics immigrants, like those arriving at Ellis Island (top left), brought with them was a potential balance to America's one-sided (Protestant) view of human nature. The American "work ethic" condemns those forced into the welfare line (top right). The ideal of rational control, even at funerals, contrasts with the emotional display encouraged in Catholics from southern and eastern Europe. Our mobile society puts hard choices to those who stress family and neighborhood values.

tradition that could prove healthful to American culture?

Michael Novak, an American Catholic theologian leading the effort to share the Catholic style with Protestant America, offers a list of possible starting points in his book, *All the Catholic People*. What follows are some of his suggestions and some of my own. They give indication of how Catholicism might provide balance to our one-sided culture:

1) **A sense of community**, in contrast to individualism. Americans are looking for roots (witness our nostalgia craze) and for a sense of connectedness (witness the rise of communes and cooperatives). We no longer want to be a nation of strangers, a nation of nomads. Catholics have much to teach America about community.

American Catholics came from European pasts where connections with family and parish and village were supreme. Once in America, ethnic neighborhoods preserved this sense of family and community. Nicholas Pileggi reported in *New York Magazine* that former Mayor John Lindsay found it difficult to recruit Italian Catholics for his staff. They were unwilling to accept the hectic, family-less lives that Americanized staffers cheerfully accepted.

2) **An expectation of evil and pettiness**, in contrast to the belief that people are basically innocent and perfectible. Protestantism tends to see evil *outside* of us—where we should be able to conquer it and keep it under control. Therefore, education, hard work and social reform are all important tools in combating the forces of evil. This tradition can muster great moral indignation over failure, suspecting that people fail, not so much from weakness, but from ill will, from not having tried hard enough.

Catholicism, on the other hand, suggests that evil lies *within* the human person. It anticipates human weakness. Forgiveness and compassion are highly prized virtues.

3) **A sense of the "tragic" in life**, in contrast to the belief in progress. Because of a more "realistic" view, Catholics know that all is not progress and light. People suffer not because they are uneducated or lazy, but because suffering is a part of the human condition. Catholic tradition tends to focus our attention on the concrete lives of all the little people in all the dark and hidden corners where "progress" is not in evidence. Contribution to progress is not what makes human life valuable, Catholicism reminds us. Response to the daily cycle of dyings and risings is the ultimate test of any person's meaning.

4) **A sense of history**, in contrast to America's flight from history. Americans are always starting over; we are infatuated with beginnings. But when the going gets sticky, Americans are more likely to move on to another new beginning, rather than see through the original project. That's the story of the frontier.

Maybe it is part of the peculiar Protestant impulse to distrust all history as they distrust Church tradition, feeling that it only leads to the corruption of once-good ideas. Reformation means starting over, going back to the beginning—the New Testament Church.

Catholics, on the other hand, have a long tradition that is affirmed as good and valuable. They also have a tolerance for the "messiness" of history. They believe that God is acting even now, even in this history which may seem to be getting nowhere.

As Michael Novak says: "Catholics are particularly good at accepting the necessities of power, the slow and ugly tasks of organizing and administering, the messiness of hard decisions, and the inevitability of 'dirty hands.' We did not have a long line of Renaissance popes for nothing."

5) **A delight in material creation**, in contrast to a puritanical style. Catholics are incarnational and sacramental, more willing to run the risk of a golden calf than a disembodied Christianity. Bread and wine are good; the earth is good; bodies are good. Catholics, too, have many proscriptions regarding sexual behavior, but the predominant em-

phasis in Catholic tradition does not view sex as "dirty," despite an Irish-Jansenistic interlude that said it was.

6) **An appreciation for limits**, in contrast to the American love for the infinite. American Catholics, for the most part, have been urban dwellers. This is partly an accident of their immigration; but it also results from the fact that Catholics don't fear cities as many Protestant forebears did. Cities are places of limits: certain possibilities are already exhausted, certain resources already committed, a certain number of people have to be dealt with and adjusted to. Americans, in general, prefer the open spaces—of the frontier, or at least the suburbs. They don't like to be fenced in.

Unlike American culture, Catholic tradition has a sense that adjusting oneself to the demands of other people is not something to be feared, not something that will diminish one's freedom. Catholics have a sense that commitments—like marriage or celibacy—expand rather than contract a person's horizons. People and personal relationships do not stand in the way of individual freedom and personal fulfillment.

7) **A stubborn attachment to theory**, in contrast to pragmatism. Catholics are heirs to a tradition which emphasizes "principles" in moral decision-making and "metaphysics" in determining the meaning of life. In other words, Catholics believe that the end never justifies the means in moral concerns like war, abortion, crime prevention, euthanasia. Catholics believe that human life does not have to justify itself in terms of usefulness or productivity. "Being" is always an end in itself. Every human life—even the unborn, infirm, old—has its own unique value just because it is.

8) **A taste for solitude, silence, contemplative prayer**, in contrast to the Protestant emphasis on the active virtues and religious enthusiasm. Catholicism has a rich tradition that could feed the spiritual hungers of modern America. Americans do not have to go East to find the peace of meditation or the challenge of spiritual disciplines.

9) **A respect for the life-giving power of ritual**, in contrast to the suspicion that all ritual is inauthentic. When Fourth of July comes this bicentennial year, Americans will once again find themselves without any meaningful way to celebrate an important national day of remembering. We are a people without rites (except between halves at football games), without the means of community celebration.

Catholics are good at liturgy. Maybe we can help our fellow Americans find ways to come together and create the signs, symbols and gestures that express our common joy in sharing the same past, in anticipating the same future.

10) **A respect for play and festivity**, in contrast to the "work ethic." Someone has said that if America is a Protestant dream, California more closely approximates a Catholic dream. In California and the Southwest in general, the emphasis is on leisure, on the glories of sun, surf, vineyard and siesta. This slower-paced life, one author speculates, is a hangover from the days when Spanish Catholics planted the early seeds of culture.

A Humbler Place in the World

One of the features of American civil religion singled out by Archbishop Bernardin to need "judgment and correction" by the religious traditions in America is our image of ourselves as a "chosen people." We know too well the messes it has gotten us into—manifest destiny, making the world safe for democracy, destroying Vietnam villages in order to save them.

America has a history of ambiguity in relationships with other nations. It has alternated between isolationism (our refusal to join the League of Nations after WW I) and an expansive do-goodism too close to paternalism and imperialism for comfort ("dollar diplomacy" in Latin

America). Neither of these responses is adequate today. We need images of cooperation, of interdependence. We need images that can foster a sense of our larger citizenship in the world. American historian Henry Steele Commager, among others, has called upon America in her birthday year to make a new declaration—one of *interdependence*, not *independence*.

Robert Bellah, a student of American religion, speaks of three crises that have shaped and will shape the American experiment. The first crisis was the question of our independence: should/could we run our affairs our own way? The second issue was slavery: could we fully work out the institutionalization of democracy? The third crisis faces us now: how can we find the means of responsible action in a revolutionary world, a world still seeking to attain many of the things we already have? Responding to this present crisis demands a new understanding of our place in the world.

American Catholicism ought to be able to help America move to a more responsible position in world affairs, neither isolationist nor domineering. David O'Brien, writing on "Nationhood" in the bishops' bicentennial booklet *Liberty and Justice for All*, suggests: "Perhaps the Church provides such resources to transcend the selfishness associated with nationalism."

What "resources"? We Catholics are the people of the *universal* Church where a sense of community is fostered and emphasized—not just community with neighbors or with national contemporaries, but with all the people of the world. We are one with the Church in Africa, in Asia, in South America.

Catholicism has nurtured concrete images to reinforce this communal understanding. We are all members of the "Body of Christ." Our corporate sense of sin and salvation impresses on us that we all are affected by *each* member's sin and *each* member's virtue—no matter how geographically far removed or how socially and politically insignificant.

The body of Christ is an organic image that stresses interdependence: What is the hand without the arm, the leg without the eye? And it is a very inclusive image. Everyone does not share the same formal baptism or the same outward allegiance to the pope, but we have always known that *somehow* we were united to all people of good will in Christ, in his Church.

This is the kind of imagery which the Protestant tradition with its emphasis on individual salvation and unmediated, non-sacramental life cannot offer the nation. America's Protestant emphasis on the individual has served well in many ways, but our corporate fate is now too important for this one-sided emphasis.

III. CREATIVE PLURALISM— WHEN CHAOS IS FERTILE, NOT FRIGHTENING

We have been asking what the Church can offer America. It is important to get it straight that this is not the same question as "How can Catholicism *save* America?" That is a condescending question. We are looking for ways of cooperating with all religious traditions and the traditions of humanism to build up America.

To look deeply within our Catholic tradition for treasures is not a narrow and parochializing activity; it need not be anti-ecumenical. It is the fruit of a truly pluralistic spirit. We can only appreciate and profit from the riches of

others when we recognize the riches of our own tradition and understand the limits as well as the possibilities generated by our own concrete historical past.

In the early stages of our American experience, in the days of "either/or," many Catholics saw their Church as the ark of salvation floating in polluted waters, willing to take new members on board but always fearful of contaminating the ship. Today we are not worried about contamination. We worry about American values, not so much because they are evil but because they are too narrow, therefore limiting possibilities for growth.

We Catholics are looking for a new relationship to America, but not out of scorn for her and her institutions and her values. Rather, we sincerely want to serve *our* country and all its people by making *our* national culture more fully human and by cooperating in the search for a more responsible role for America in the world community.

I think the vision of Philip Schaff, a German Reformed theologian of the mid-19th century, is still apropos in the midst of our present uncertainties and our struggle toward a more creative pluralism in religion and national life. After spending some years in America surveying the religious scene, he reported back to his German coreligionists that America is a "motley sampler of all Church history." There, he continued, "all the powers of Europe, good and bad, are . . . fermenting together under new and peculiar conditions." And while "everything is yet in a chaotic transition state," yet "organizing energies are already present, and the spirit of God broods over them, to speak in time the almighty word: 'Let there be light!' and to call forth from the chaos a beautiful creation."

God brooding over our American chaos—a hopeful vision, as appropriate to our day as to Schaff's. What a uniquely religious insight to see chaos as fertile rather than frightening—even the chaos of the 60's and of now. It's an insight so right for our time when all the newly-emerging ethnic and religious traditions in America are challenging more established American values and ways of doing things.

Schaff's trust in the creative possibilities in apparent chaos, in the conflict of various views, is as American as Thomas Jefferson himself. In the Act for Establishing Religious Freedom in Virginia (which later became the model for First Amendment guarantees of religious freedom), Jefferson states that "truth . . . has nothing to fear from the conflict" of ideas and values that will be inevitable in a pluralistic society. In fact, he insisted, truth primarily emerges because of the conflict. Jefferson goes on to say that "every man has a commission to admonish, exhort, convince another of error."

This confidence in the creative value of tension, of conflict, is something that America has lost sight of in her 200-year history. Witness the rationale used by some justices of the Supreme Court to deny the constitutionality of state aid to parochial schools: that such schools might contribute to *divisiveness* in society. Witness our earlier fear as Catholics to appear different, to rock the boat.

But we are now moving beyond those days. We are growing confident that the best way to be a Catholic American is to nourish a creative tension between the *possibilities* in our Catholic tradition and the *realities* of American life. We are discovering that the best way to serve America is to challenge her to be the best she can be. □

Karen Hurley, assistant editor of St. Anthony Messenger, holds an M.A. in theology. She has taught religious studies at both high school and college levels and directed a living-learning program at the College of William and Mary which, last year, focused on "The American Dream."

womanpower

volume 7 number 11

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

A Special Issue of Manpower Magazine

Interview

The Book of Genesis, which was probably written by a man, says that God created woman from one of Adam's ribs. This month, in an International Women's Year variation on that theme, we have taken two letters—we might consider them ribs—used in MANPOWER, placed them at the beginning of our game, and created this special issue called WOMANPOWER.

WOMANPOWER focuses on women's quest for equity in the work world. It describes progress toward this goal and highlights remaining problems, including sex discrimination in vocational education and working women's difficulties in combining job and family roles.

The implications of women's struggle for an equal chance at good jobs and good pay are immense. Women make up 39 percent of this country's work force, 53 percent of its adult population, and—of course—100 percent of its mothers. Improvements in women's labor force status are likely to affect not only women but men, children, and the world as a whole.

But equality will not be achieved without some pain. It is the women who must break out of familiar and socially approved roles when such roles are limiting and poorly paid. And change is not so appealing for men—whether as workers, employers, or parents—because of women's rising status.

But the changes hold promise as well as pain. With full access to all jobs in the economy, women should be able to use their individual talents in whatever kind of work offers maximum personal and monetary reward. Men, freed of sole responsibility for breadwinning, may suffer less from the stress of their success-oriented worklives. And, by seeing women working with men in all kinds of jobs, children may better learn that by making their way through life, their personhood is more important than their sex.

These are strong incentives for change, visions that can help both men and women leave the traditional pain. International Women's Year gives us all a good chance to focus sharply on these visions and take whatever action is needed to bring them to life.

Gloria Stevenson



WOMEN in A P R

by Gloria Stevenson

They're not as scarce as hen's teeth and it takes more than the fingers of one hand to tick them off, but prominent women in the manpower field are nevertheless precious few.

Only a handful of women are among the top administrators for the Nation's 431 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) prime sponsors, and only two head State employment service operations. Relatively few academic women have become manpower researchers, and only a small number hold top-level jobs in State labor departments or in the U.S. Department of Labor. Women who operate training or placement programs at the local level are more numerous, but they generally run programs exclusively for women or youth—Job Corps centers, programs for minority women, and efforts to bring women into apprenticeship, for example.

Why are women so rare in the manpower field? Beatrice Reubens, a researcher who has gained international recognition for her studies of manpower problems and programs in Europe and Japan, answers that question with one of her own: "They call it *manpower*, don't

they?" Yes, but attitudes change.

Juanita Kreps, vice president of Duke University and an advisor on national manpower policy, points out that manpower is an offshoot of labor economics and holds that the field has been "the stepchild of the economists and the politicians." Historically, of course, few women have entered either the dismal science or the backroom arenas of power.

Given this background, it is not surprising that the relatively few women who have made significant contributions to the manpower field are an interesting lot. Generally strong individuals, they differ in terms of personal style, age, socioeconomic background, and specific areas of interest. Yet, certain characteristics—pragmatism, a strong belief in the importance of manpower programs, high energy levels, and ease in working with top-level men in their field, for example—crop up over and over again.

Following are glimpses of a cross section of women who have achieved prominence in manpower. WOMANPOWER regrets that space limitations do not permit descriptions of others who are also making valuable contributions to the field.

JUANITA KREPS

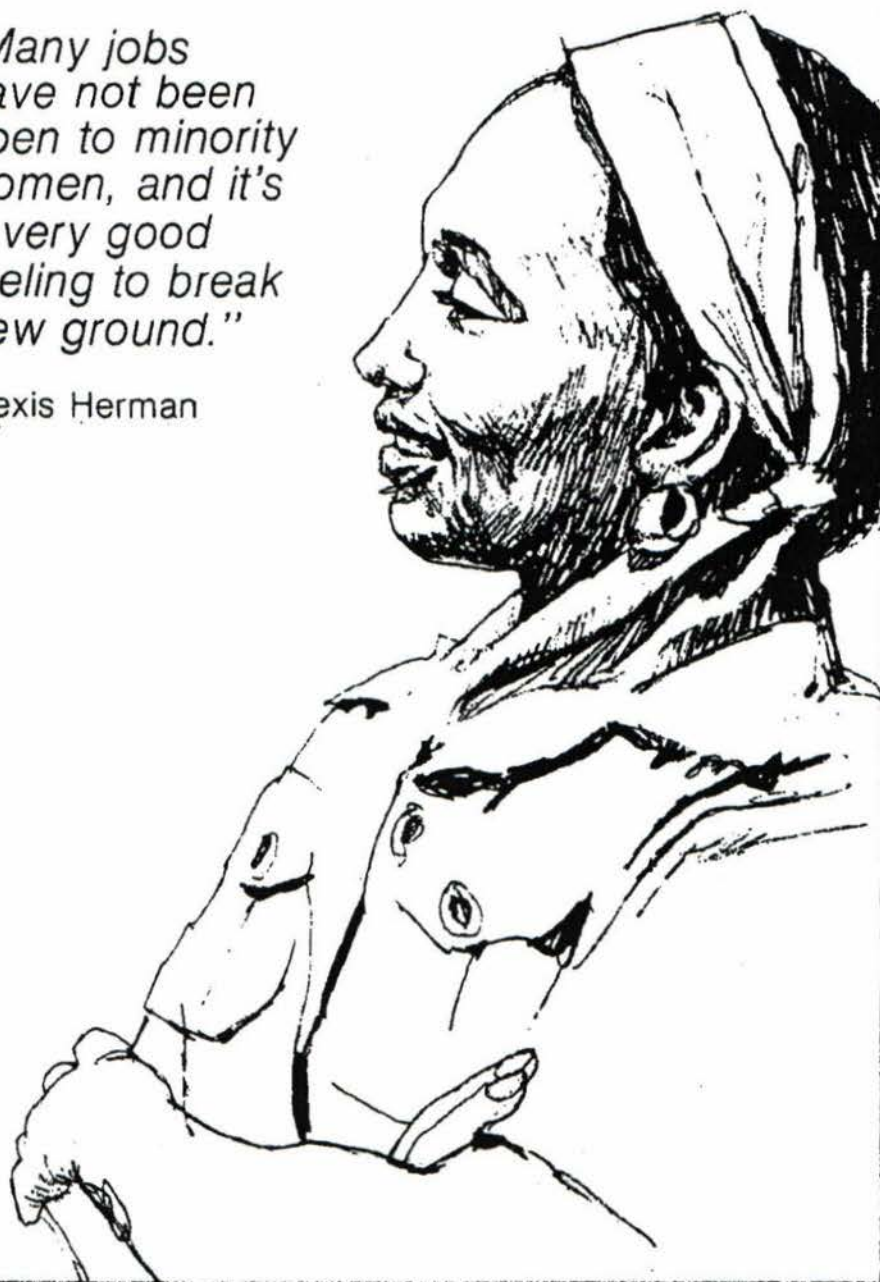
Competent, gracious, efficient—those are the kinds of adjectives people use to describe Juanita Kreps, the country's best known woman expert on manpower. The descriptions paint a picture of a woman who combines outstanding career success with traditional "femininity," and that's exactly what Juanita Kreps does.

Kreps holds top-level positions in education, manpower, and business. At Duke, she is a professor of economics as well as vice president. She currently teaches one course each semester and has done extensive research and writing in labor economics and manpower, including work in the economics of aging and the employment of women.

Kreps is a member of the National Commission for Manpower Policy, a permanent body set up by title V of CETA to advise Congress, the President, and the heads of Federal agencies on ways to strengthen national manpower efforts. She is also an advisor to the North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation, a nonprofit agency that conducts manpower research and training programs, and to several other human resources agencies.

*"Many jobs
have not been
open to minority
women, and it's
a very good
feeling to break
new ground."*

Alexis Herman



has also been president, treasurer, and chairperson of the board of the Vermont Chamber of Commerce, where she is now on the Executive Committee.

A Democrat, Davidson has been active in the political arena since she was a child. That was when her uncle—who, like her father and grandfather, worked in the State's granite quarries—unsuccessfully ran for Governor of Vermont. "My father drove him all around the State and I helped out whenever I could," Davidson recalls. "Politics just got in my blood."

She Was the One They Knew

Like many State employment service heads, Davidson gained her job through a political appointment. "They were looking for a banker and a Democrat," she says with a smile, "and I was the only one they knew."

Before entering banking, however, Davidson had a taste of work in the manpower field. During the Depression, she worked for several New Deal projects, first as a secretary and then as a public relations officer. Among her employers was the office that directed all women's and professional WPA projects in Vermont. During and after World War II, she worked for several price control agencies before beginning her banking career.

Davidson, who is a mother and grandmother, cares about people. That quality shows as she goes about her everyday business. In talking to the head of placement services, for example, she mentions that a young worker from that unit "has been looking a lot happier since he moved into that job in data processing."

In the same vein, Davidson expresses sorrow at the plight of the State's unemployed. With a sad voice she reiterates, "The economic conditions in the State are our biggest problem."

ALEXIS HERMAN

Four years ago, Alexis Herman seemed an unlikely candidate for a position that involves placing college-educated minority women in nontraditional jobs. At that time, Herman was tutoring black youth—black *male* youth—for apprenticeship exams in the building trades. She had counseled girls and women, but only toward traditional jobs and training. It didn't occur to her, for example, that black women might benefit from apprenticeship programs.

But Alexis Herman has changed. Today, at age 28, she is national director of the Minority Women Employment Program (MWEPP), a Manpower Administration-funded program that aims to help college-educated minority women who

have not been able to get jobs that match their education and abilities. The program, which now has a budget of \$1 million a year, will place a woman in any suitable job, but it tries hard to open nontraditional doors.

MWEPP uses the outreach strategy of seeking out persons who could benefit from the program and preparing them for job tests and interviews. The program began in Atlanta in 1972 and has since been expanded to six other cities. (See article in the July 1975 issue of MANPOWER.)

An unlikely series of events transformed Alexis Herman into an advocate for women. The story goes back to 1969 when Herman earned her bachelor's degree in social work from Xavier Univer-

in MANPOWER

sity in New Orleans and took a counseling job with the Catholic Social Services agency in her hometown of Mobile, Ala. As part of her job, she set up a work experience program for black Catholic students. She also did vocational and personal counseling with high school students and dropouts living at the low-income Roger Williams housing community.

As a result, Herman was invited to attend the 1971 White House Conference on Children and Youth as a delegate from Alabama. There she met Ernie Green, who was at the conference as head of the Recruitment and Training Program (RTP), Inc., the agency which pioneered the outreach technique to prepare minority youth to pass apprenticeship exams in the construction trades. RTP was about to start a similar outreach effort for shipbuilding jobs in Pascagoula, Miss., about 20 miles from Mobile. Herman pricked up her ears; the Pascagoula project might offer new job opportunities for Mobile youth.

Herman, whose expressive face shifts from easy humor to high seriousness as she relates the story, became involved in the RTP project and began to tutor young men for apprenticeship exams. Then a local girl asked if she could become an apprentice. "I simply hadn't given the idea a thought," Herman admits. But with consciousness raised, she placed the girl in a welding program and then began to encourage other Mobile women and girls to try to enter apprenticeship programs.

That was about the time that Ernie Green told her that a program which would apply the outreach technique to the problems of college-educated women was being started in Atlanta. Green encouraged her to apply for the job of directing the project, but Herman had great misgivings.

"I had always wanted to go to Atlanta," she explains, "but I had never been there and I was reluctant to leave Mobile and my family. Plus, I had never even had a job interview—my job with Catholic Social Services grew out of summer work—and I was scared to death. My first thought was to apply for the assistant director's job instead of director, but my boss at Catholic Social Services told me I would probably wind up running the program anyway and that I should apply for the top job."

Alexis Herman now sees that she was suffering lack of confidence—the problem that prevents many women from career advancement. But she applied for and got the job.

She Kept On Smiling

At MWEP, Herman found she had to learn about the "intricacies of the informal, white-collar labor market. People's personal characteristics, the way they talk and carry themselves, are very important in that market."

Alexis and the other four staff members canvassed Atlanta employers for professional-level job openings, learned what they were looking for in job applicants, and gave the women who applied to MWEP intensive counseling and preparation for each interview.

"We'd say to applicants, 'This guy is straight. He probably won't smile at all during the interview but don't let that throw you.' Or we'd say, 'This guy will act like you're the life of the party, but don't you relax and lose a professional demeanor.'"

But finding out exactly what characteristics employers wanted was far from easy. "The employers were often hostile and cold," Herman says. "They didn't want to be bothered. And we were

starting out at the height of the women's movement and got the backlash from that. Employers said, 'We've hired blacks. Now we have all these white dames. And now you come along with black women. I don't know when we'll be able to hire them.'"

"I felt frustrated and was often depressed," Herman remembers, "but I talked to myself. I told myself that I had to keep smiling, that I couldn't lose sight of the goal." And perseverance paid off. MWEP began to place women in good jobs, and the program was expanded to Houston in 1973 and to five other cities last summer.

With the expansion, Herman became MWEP's national director. She is not out of day-to-day operations and concentrates on administration. She has been following a hectic schedule, flying to five new expansion cities, setting up local operations, hiring and training staff.

The travel has been tiring, and so are other parts of the job are not to Herman's liking. For example, she places great importance on counseling the women who use MWEP, and she regrets that manpower programs are generally evaluated in terms of numbers of placements and costs per placement. "The important parts of the program just can't be quantified in dollars and cents," she believes.

But Herman is also finding the job worthwhile. "This has been a continuing learning experience for me. It's forced me to be creative when I thought I couldn't be. It's forced me to be flexible and to shift gears when things go wrong. And I have gained in my own sense of confidence and courage."

And Alexis Herman is happy to be working for the cause. "Many jobs have not been open to minority women," she says, "and it's a very good feeling to be on new ground."

AFSCME NEWS

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT:

Friday, December 20, 1996

Tony Copeland

202/429-1130

**Statement by Gerald W. McEntee,
President, American Federation of State, County, and
Municipal Employees (AFSCME), AFL-CIO**

In Reaction to Alexis Herman Being Named as Secretary of Labor

"The appointment of Alexis Herman to succeed Robert Reich as Labor Secretary ensures that hard-working families will continue to have a friend at the Department of Labor.

"The labor movement has long recognized and appreciated Alexis Herman's dedication to the goal that all Americans deserve to be treated with honesty, decency, and respect. Her unwavering commitment to that goal will serve the American worker well.

"AFSCME applauds today's announcement and looks forward to working with Alexis Herman to improve the lives of America's workforce."

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**American Federation of State, County
and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO**

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Telephone (202) 429-1130

Fax (202) 429-1084

Todo -

ATTACHED ARE statements
from labor leaders
on AH's nomination - |

-John

For information: Deborah Dion 202/637-5036

Statement by AFL-CIO John J. Sweeney on the Nomination of Alexis Herman to be U.S. Secretary of Labor

Alexis Herman is a wonderful choice for secretary of labor. She knows and understands working families' concerns, and we look forward to working closely with her to put their interests at the top of the national agenda. At a time when so many working men and women are struggling against declining pay and growing disrespect from corporate America, we believe Alexis' experience -- growing up in the rural South, advancing the interests of working women and minorities, and dealing with the issues of a changing workforce -- will be a tremendous asset. Few are as skilled at organizing public support for the causes she champions. Over the years, she has had an excellent relationship with me and other union leaders. In recent weeks, I have met and talked with her a number of times, and I know she is committed to putting together a strong team to fight for good jobs, justice and dignity for America's working families.

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December 20, 1996

FOR RELEASE: Immediately
CONTACT: Jamie Horwitz 202-879-4458

**Statement by American Federation of Teachers President
ALBERT SHANKER
on
Clinton cabinet appointments**

We applaud President Clinton for his nomination of Alexis Herman to be Secretary of Labor. We've known her for a long time, and worked with her in the civil rights movement, at the Labor Department, and in the White House. She's a terrific choice. She comes with a strong background in education and job training, and the distinction of being a pioneer in helping women move into non-traditional jobs in the trades. Since AFT represents a broad constituency of employees from teachers to nurses to state workers, we welcome a leader with a solid understanding of the concerns of the spectrum of working people.

This appointment, along with the continued leadership of Secretary Richard Riley at the Department of Education, is a signal that the Administration plans to continue its important initiatives on school-to-work and its emphasis on high-quality preparation for young people for the world of work.

We're also very pleased that Secretary Riley is staying in the Cabinet. He has been a strong leader for the right things in education: high academic standards, parent involvement, good teacher training, and strengthening all levels of the American education system, from pre-school through graduate school.

We look forward to working closely with these two leaders over the next four years on the changes we need to ensure that all students are well-educated and ready to succeed at work: rigorous academic standards; safe and orderly classrooms conducive to learning; and incentives for students to work hard.
#

The American Federation of Teachers represents 907,000 teachers, school support staff, higher education faculty and staff, healthcare professionals, and state and municipal employees.

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1
Ebony
Article

CAN CLINTON TURN IT AROUND



In dramatic post-election gesture, the president-elect visited predominantly Black Washington area.



PROPELLED by record-breaking levels of Black support, Bill Clinton of Arkansas was elected president of the United States in a pivotal campaign that could mark a fundamental turning point in the fortunes of Blacks and women.

Independent studies indicated that Black voters, who represented 8 percent of the total vote, were the margins of victory in key states, giving Clinton 82 percent of their votes, compared to 11 percent for George Bush and 7 percent for Ross Perot. And the Joint Center for Political Studies said newly registered Black voters alone provided the Clinton margin of victory in states like Georgia and New Jersey.

Responding to the Black mandate, Gov. Clinton named a number of Blacks to top positions in his transition team, which is chaired by Vernon Jordan, an influential Washington lawyer, and which includes Alexis Herman as Deputy Director of the Transition Team for the Executive Branch and Agency Appointments. He also called for new national initiatives to reverse the economic and civil rights policies of the last 12 years. And as he laid the first stones of the Clinton era, there was a widening debate in both Black and White America on whether he could reverse economic and social trends that threaten the future of Black and White Americans. We asked leading Blacks inside and outside the new administration whether the new president can turn all

this around. The answers are provocative and, in some cases, surprising.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., chairman of the presidential transition, pointed out, for example, that "this transition has special significance for Black Americans because in the 200-plus years of our history as a nation, we've had 41 presidents and 52 administrations but never in the history of our country have we ever had a transition where a Black man was chairman. While I am confident that my selection had to do with ability, experience and judgment, my Blackness cannot be ignored." The Transition chairman added:

"As I think about this responsibility, I am reminded that 48 years ago, my parents could not vote. Forty-eight years later, their son is chairman of the Presidential Transition. If my mother, who is seriously ill, could talk and explain how she feels, she'd say, 'The Lord moves in mysterious ways.'"

"My second thought is about my friend, Primus King, an itinerant Black preacher, unlettered but learned, who brought with great courage, conviction, fortitude, and fearlessness the case, *King v. Chapman*, that gave Blacks in Georgia the right to vote in the Democratic primary. While this is an exalted position and a great honor, every day in this office I remind myself that I stand on Primus King's shoulders and so do President-elect Bill Clinton and Vice President-elect Al Gore."



VERNON E. JORDAN JR.
Chairman, Presidential Transition Team

REMEMBER what the Clinton-Gore campaign was about and you'll understand what a Clinton-Gore Administration will provide America: a commitment to real change, to economic recovery, and to putting people first. There is a new sense of hope in our country, a new energy, and a new optimism for good reason: Bill Clinton and Al Gore bring to America and to the American people the energy, the ideas, the courage, commitment and the compassion to turn our country around.

They need our understanding, our patience and our help. After a dozen years of neglect, there are many wounds left to heal: too many Americans in poverty, too many Americans without jobs or health care, too many Americans wor-



vide every American family with health care they can afford. Nowhere in America should working parents be forced to choose between caring for a sick child or losing the job that supports their families. Bill Clinton and Al Gore are committed to passing legislation that would provide family leave and preserve health benefits for working parents who need time off to care for newborns or sick children. Bill Clinton and Al Gore are committed to taking back from the special interests the government [that was] always meant to serve the people. That means no more tax breaks for the rich, closing the back door where polluters could line up to get out from under the law, and tough new ethics rules and campaign reforms.

“There is a new sense of hope, a new energy....”

It is up to us to meet the challenge Bill Clinton and Al Gore offer, to recognize our responsibility to ourselves, to our families, to our neighborhoods and to our nation. We must work together to restore the promise and power of the American dream. Bill Clinton has said it and I believe it: we are one nation; we rise or fall together. With Bill Clinton and Al Gore we have the opportunity and the ability to change, to move forward, to chart a course toward a future of greater possibilities and promise. We must seize that opportunity....

ried about their children and afraid of the future. We will not easily recover from more than a decade of narrow-minded policies that rewarded the few at the expense of the many, of mean-spirited cynicism that promoted division instead of unity; and indifference instead of compassion; but we will recover, together.

Bill Clinton and Al Gore challenge America once again to reach for our dreams; to take responsibility for a future brighter than our past; to believe again in the spirit of opportunity that always promised greatness. Their agenda is ambitious and it must be, for our problems are too urgent for timidity. Our leaders have worn blinders long enough.

The first priority is and must be economic revival and job creation, a recognition of a painful recession too long ignored and the millions trapped by its consequences. While they address the issues of the economy, they cannot but address the issues of the inner city and in that regard I am reminded of the words of Whitney Young who said that “while we may have come over here in different ships, when you look at the economy, we are all in the same boat now.” Bill Clinton and Al Gore offer a detailed plan to get America’s economy moving again, to invest in the American people with education and training, and to create jobs.

They are committed as well to reforming our health care system, to bringing down costs and expand coverage; to pro-

security. Consumer confidence has already turned around, and people are more optimistic because hope for the future has been restored.

I look forward to working with President Clinton on a program to revitalize and restore our nation’s productive capacity. Once we become, once again, a nation of builders and producers and create jobs and stabilize our communities, there’s no limit to what we can do together.

I have also been impressed by the new president’s repeated calls for a new politics of inclusion embracing Blacks and Whites and Hispanics and Asians and women and men. This reflects, if anything, a generational shift. This president fully understands that the politics of division is only going to make us losers on the world stage. And so for our collective survival, we need to come together to positively reinforce one another.



RONALD H. BROWN
Chairman, Democratic Party



CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN, D-ILL.
First Black Woman
Elected To The U.S. Senate

YES, I think he can turn it around. While it might not happen overnight and while it won’t be simple or easy, I think he has the vision and the direction to develop strategies to revive our economy and restore our domestic

BILL Clinton has taken on the challenge of turning this country around with the support of the American people. Voters are behind him. He has demonstrated a commitment to the American people that has been missing in the leadership of this country for the past 12 years.

There are, no doubt, some tough choices ahead for President-elect Clinton, but he has the courage, the experience and the dedication to make the decisions necessary to get our country back on track. He has pledged to work tirelessly for the priorities and issues upon which he built his successful campaign—the economy, jobs, education, and health care.

As Bill Clinton has said... we won’t get out of this mess overnight. But by working together, and continuing to break down the barriers of divisiveness, we can expect a revival in our economy and a renewal in the American spirit.

NEW NEW



Before the MAYFLOWER: A HISTORY OF BLACK AMERICA

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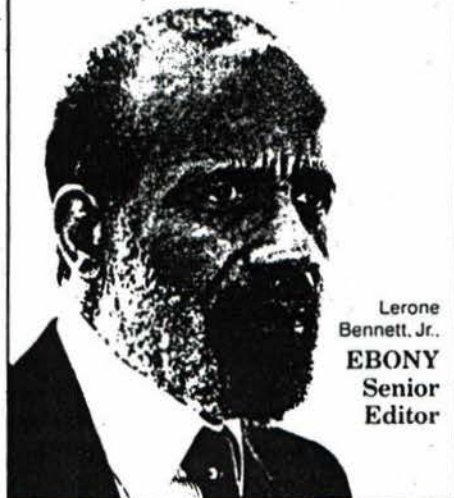
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ALEXIS HERMAN
Deputy Director,
Presidential Transition Team



JESSE JACKSON, D-D.C.
Shadow U.S. Senator
District of Columbia

FOR African-Americans Gov. Clinton's ascent signifies that the pain and frustration wreaked by 12 years of Republican misrule will be forced aside to make room for diversity, opportunity and economic development. Disintegrating family structures, unemployment, drugs and violence flourished in our urban centers and sapped communities of their foundations. President-elect Clinton, as evidenced by his consistent campaign message and his recent unprecedented tour of the Georgia Ave. business district in Washington, D.C., near Howard University, understands that a partnership between government and small business is needed to help supplant these destructive forces, spawn economic growth, restore values and return communities to their rightful owners . . .

Our new president will not make a mockery of our judicial system by nominating jurists to the courts strictly on the basis of their allegiance to the conservative agenda instead of their resolve to administer justice. A Rhodes Scholar and Yale Law graduate, President-elect Clinton has pledged to expand the scope of civil rights laws and legislation currently protecting women, African-Americans and other minorities . . .

Gov. Clinton recognizes the value of assembling a cabinet that reflects the rich diversity of America. Unlike his predecessor, Gov. Clinton regards a diverse administration as a source of strength and a more accurate reflection of America.

This historic opening of . . . leadership doors to African-Americans will grant us unparalleled access to the crafting of government policy.

So should we expect good things from Bill Clinton? Without a doubt.

BILL Clinton won because he ran a campaign of hope and change that focused on the future . . .

In the final analysis, it took the big tent strategy of inclusion and the big vision message of "Rebuild America" to win. Now President-elect Bill Clinton, and a Congress controlled by Democrats, have the opportunity to put America back to work and to rebuild America with jobs, education, housing, health care and cleaning up the environment.

The Rainbow Coalition . . . looks forward, in the words of the Clinton-Gore book, to **PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST**, and to joining their "campaign to change America and make our great nation everything it was meant to be."



EDDIE WILLIAMS
President, Joint Center for Political and
Economic Studies

BLACK Americans played a very prominent role in helping Gov. Bill Clinton win the presidency. Indications are that they turned out in unexpectedly large numbers to provide the margin of

victory in several key states. For Blacks, like many others who look optimistically toward a new administration and a new era in American political life, the key question is whether the new president can and will implement programs that have a positive impact on their lives. The euphoria of victory should not obscure the fact that the problems the Black community faces are complex and massive. They will require large doses of commitment and resources.

The president-elect's recent visit to a Black neighborhood in Washington, D.C., is an encouraging gesture. It demonstrates greater interest than the Black community has seen from any president in many years. But beyond the gesture, the Black community's . . . problems must be addressed quickly. The big three among those problems are unemployment, poor health and health care and poor education opportunities.

Clearly, President-elect Clinton will not be able to solve the nation's problems instantly. However, he can begin to turn things around if he is able to inspire hope in our long-overlooked communities, if he is able to quickly expand employment and training opportunities, especially for young people, and if he is able to move toward a more inclusive and less costly health care system. This is the agenda that we must actively and persistently call to his attention.



REP. MAXINE WATERS, D-Calif.

CLINTON takes over at a very difficult and complex time in the history of our country. We are experiencing a recession that has persisted much longer than anybody anticipated; the flight of jobs to Third World countries attracted by cheap labor; the impact of 12 years of Reagan-Bush cuts of social problems; crumbling infrastructure; divisive race relations; and a loss of faith in elected officials and government's ability to solve

pressing problems. Despite all of the above, over a period of time, it is possible for Clinton to turn the direction of this country.

It will not happen in President Clinton's first year in office but policies that are put in place during the first year will begin to bear fruit by the second and third year . . . He is sending all of the right signals and I believe that Congress will bend over backwards to work with him . . .

I endorsed Bill Clinton early in the campaign because I sincerely believed that four more years of George Bush would create a depression and cause continued unrest in our cities. I have great expectations for Bill Clinton, and I am looking forward to working with him to develop public policies that will turn this country around in developing an urban agenda.



RODNEY SLATER
Deputy Campaign Manager

AN unequivocal yes, especially with the support of individuals across our nation who are committed to rebuilding America by putting our people first. No person will be exempt from the challenge to change and to accept responsibility for serving as a full partner in America's quest to solidify its position as an economic force and world leader. African-Americans responded to President-elect Clinton's call for change in unprecedented numbers. We must now accept and assume our rightful place as full partners at the table of decision.

JOYCELYN ELDERS, M.D.
Ark. Commissioner of Health

IDO think that under the leadership of President Bill Clinton we will be able to provide adequate health care to everyone who needs it. However, it will take more than Bill Clinton to do it—it



will take all of us.

We are going to have to intervene with primary care and preventive care. We have to work to alleviate the social problems that are having an impact on our nation's health—the problems of drugs, alcohol, homicide, suicide and teenage pregnancy . . .

No one person can get it done. But I think Bill Clinton will provide the leadership that will allow Americans to have the best health care in the world.



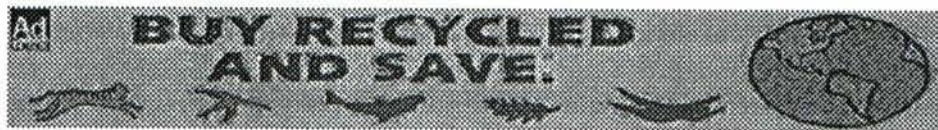
REP. MIKE ESPY, D-Miss.

THE Lower Mississippi Delta, one of our country's poorest regions, has long been ignored. That will change under President Clinton. In 1990, then-Gov. Clinton wrote a report with 400 recommendations about how to pull the poor communities along the Mississippi River from the depths of poverty. President Bush ignored them all . . .

President Clinton will brush the dust off the Delta report's covers. He knows firsthand the needs of the region. His focus on economic development, education and health care will mean that the poor in the lower Mississippi Delta can have new hope.

Internet Search

Thought this may
be helpful to you
at some point.



Search and Display the Results

Tip: How about spending a few minutes in the Help?

Word count: Alexis Herman: about 63

Documents 1-10 of 59 matching the query, best matches first.

Letter from Alexis Herman

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON. November 4, 1996. Mr. Michael Oxford ADAPT 835
 800 East Road Lawrence, Kansas 66047. Dear Michael: The President is proud of..
<http://home.mem.net/~mcil/ah.htm> - size 2K - 30 Nov 96

Is Alexis Herman leaving the White House

Is Alexis Herman Leaving the White House. Insiders say Special Assistant to the President for
 Public Liaison Alexis Herman has eyes on the top job at the..
<http://www.ctjournal.com/alexisherman1.html> - size 1K - 7 Dec 96

The Women's Newsletter Number 7

THE WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER NUMBER 7. The White House Office for Women's Initiatives
 and Outreach. July 16, 1996. "Ensuring fair pay is an essential part of..
http://www1.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/Women/OWIO/Newsletters/1996_07_16.html - size 14K - 31
 Jul 96

The Women's Newsletter Number 6

THE WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER NUMBER 6. The White House Office for Women's Initiatives
 and Outreach. March 20, 1996. "Women's History Month provides an..
http://www1.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/Women/OWIO/Newsletters/1996_03_20.html - size 13K - 31
 Jul 96

Request for Action Dec 8, 1995

N F C A A publication containing NFCA activities and current news about Croatia and
 Bosnia-Herzegovina. Info FAX December 8, 1995. REQUEST FOR ACTION. In..
<http://www.hrnet.org/NFCA/PRESS/prdec8.html> - size 4K - 27 Feb 96

Washington Report 96-11

AAU WASHINGTON REPORT. FEDERAL RELATIONS REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION
 OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES. November 15, 1996. In This Issue: Election Results: Clinton..
<http://www.tulane.edu/~acu/LatestWR.html> - size 40K - 19 Nov 96

December 1996

Rulers. December 1996. 1. Afghanistan: Former head of state (president of the Revolutionary

Council, 1979-86) Babrak Karmal dies in Moscow. Bolivia:...
<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/1058/96-12.html> - size 4K - 23 Dec 96

Whitehouse

THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary. For Immediate Release March 6, 1996.
REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT AT PRESENTATION OF THE 1995 MALCOLM BALDRIGE..

<http://www.quality.nist.gov/docs/press/whiteh.htm> - size 9K - 9 Dec 96

Freedom Forum - 1995 Annual Report -- September

SEPTEMBER HIGHLIGHTS. SEPTEMBER 1 DISCUSSION. "Media Perspectives on the 50th Anniversary of the End of World War II."...

http://www.freedomforum.org/FreedomForum/resources/general_pubs/annual_report/1995/sep.ht
- size 20K - 14 Jun 96

No Title


What's He Saying Now?" THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary
_____ For
Immediate...

<http://zombie.mediafax.com/mfcon/mike/ht/pq/1996/06/pq0620199600.html> - size 26K - 1 Dec 96

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Tip: How about spending a few minutes in the Help?

Word count: Alexis Herman: about 63

Documents 11-20 of 59 matching the query, best matches first.

Asahi-NewsPaper-nyt

December 8, 1996. We have no service on Sunday. U.S. BANS LIMITS ON HMO ADVICE IN MEDICARE PLAN. GREENSPAN 'BUBBLE' REMARK ROILS STOCKS AROUND WORLD....

<http://ij.asahi.com/english/nyt/nyt.html> - size 65K - 8 Dec 96

CWA-List to President

For Immediate Release. Contact: Heather Herndon or Simi Mir (202)785-1100 November 14, 1996. Coalition of Groups Submit List to President of Highly...

http://www.incacorp.com/cwa_list - size 4K - 8 Dec 96

The Memphis Center for Independent Living

ADAPT. Americans with Disabilities for Attendant Programs Today. ADAPT Action in Atlanta. Read Civil Disability by Greg Land to get an overview of what...

<http://home.mem.net/~mcil/action1.htm> - size 1K - 30 Nov 96

The Other Appointments

December 5, 1996. THE DAILY FED. The Other Appointments. From The Hotline. Ex-Sen. Harris Wofford (D-PA) has emerged as a "leading candidate" for Labor...

<http://www.govexec.com/dailyfed/120513.htm> - size 6K - 8 Dec 96

kaplan.htm

No cheap dates: Stephanopoulos and Quayle. One of the time-tested practices by both parties for drawing new contributors is to invite them to retreats --.

<http://www.crp.org/story/kaplan2.html> - size 7K - 31 Oct 96

White House

News White House. International News. (UPI Spotlight) Clinton to attend Army-Navy game WASHINGTON, Dec. 6 (UPI) - President Clinton will be taking an...

<http://204.127.239.175/upi/dc.htm> - size 17K - 7 Dec 96

Editorial Page Columnists

Archer hopes to work out tax deal with Clinton (12/1/96) Rep. Bill Archer, the top congressional tax-writer as chairman of the House Ways and Means...

http://www.suntimes.com/editorials/novak/editorials/NOV01_Dec01.html - size 5K - 1 Dec 96

How Clinton's new Cabinet is shaping up

12/06/96 - 11:42 AM ET - Click reload often for latest version. How Clinton's new Cabinet is

shaping up. A look at the comings and goings of Clinton's...
<http://usatoday.com/news/washdc/ncs2.htm> - size 4K - 6 Dec 96

FMF -Feminist News : April 20, 1996

Feminist News - April 20, 1996. Woman Waiting For Court Decision For Admission At The Citadel. One year after Shannon Faulkner successfully opened the...
<http://www.feminist.org/news/newsbyte/april96/0420.html> - size 4K - 12 Jun 96

Emily's Resume

Emily R. Reich. School Box 1681, Amherst College PO BOX 5000 Amherst, MA 01002-5000.
erreich@amherst.edu <http://www.amherst.edu/~erreich>. Home 19 Stony...
<http://www.amherst.edu/~erreich/resume.html> - size 5K - 7 Oct 96

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Documents 21-30 of 59 matching the query, best matches first.

BODY - AIDS IN THE COMMUNITY

AIDS IN THE COMMUNITY: Where Do We Really Stand? December's Essence Magazine takes a look at the devastating effects of AIDS on our community in a special.

http://www.essence.com/body_health.htm - size 8K - 2 Dec 96

Activists Go "Hungry for Justice" in Welfare Fight

Activists Go "Hungry for Justice" in Welfare Fight. Clinton & Congress Shred 61-year-old Federal Safety Net for the Poor. by Loretta A. Kane. "With a..

<http://now.org/nnt/11-96/hungry.html> - size 7K - 23 Sep 96

Online NewsHour: Clinton on Secretary Brown

April 3, 1996. REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ABOUT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE RON BROWN. 4:09 P.M. EST. THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary...

http://web-cr01.pbs.org/newshour/bb/remember/clinton_brown_4-3.html - size 10K - 10 Sep 96

No Title

PRESS RELEASE ON "AFRICAN-HISTORY MONTH" AND 1996 THEMATIC KIT

The Association

for the...

<http://usiahq.usis.usemb.se/usa/blackhis/asalh.txt> - size 5K - 22 Feb 96

Bluefield Daily Telegraph Online Politics

Clinton ready to wield enhanced veto power. WASHINGTON (AP) - President Clinton soon will be able to use his veto pen as a scalpel, the first president...

<http://www.bdtonline.com/election.htm> - size 14K - 5 Dec 96

Grapevine

Grapevine. Will Alexis Herman leave the White House to take the top job at Labor - 11/17. Is Maggie Williams leaving the First Lady? - 11/14. To be....or..

<http://www.ctjournal.com/grapevine.html> - size 1K - 5 Dec 96

DEMONSTRATION TO MARK SIGNING OF WELFARE BILL

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: MELINDA SHELTON, 767; DIANE MINOR, 773. DEMONSTRATION TO MARK SIGNING OF WELFARE BILL. WEDNESDAY, AUG. 21, 1996. The...

<http://now.org/press/08-96/08-21-96.html> - size 3K - 21 Aug 96

Federal Help for Women Business Owners

Federal Help for Women Business Owners. The numbers are staggering -- 7.7 million women business owners in the U.S. employing more people than the Fortune.

<http://www.womenconnect.com/wco/bu92761.htm> - size 6K - 19 Nov 96

Morton M. Kondracke

Pennsylvania Avenue. Welcome Back, Clinton: Cabinet, Budget On Tap. By Morton M. Kondracke. Two urgent tasks face President Clinton now that he's back...

<http://www.rollcall.com/2pdzqp6N/commentary/kondracke.html> - size 6K - 4 Dec 96

<http://www.rollcall.com/4cusKM0H/commentary/kondracke.html> - size 6K - 4 Dec 96

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Documents 31-40 of 59 matching the query, best matches first.

Key Executive Branch Officials

KEY EXECUTIVE BRANCH OFFICIALS (List: Updated Aug. 14, 1996) August 22, 1996.

WASHINGTON -- Following is a selective list of key officials in the...

http://www.usis-israel.org.il/publish/press/infocomm/archive/august/ic1_8-23.htm - size 14K - 29 Aug 96

Leading for Life -- List of Participants

Home Page | Executive Summary | Who's Involved | Agenda | Graphic Representations | What We Can Each Do | Next Steps | A Call for Action. Meeting...

<http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/Organizations/hai/leading/participants.html> - size 8K - 4 Dec 96

U.S. Follow-up to the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women

Follow up on U.S. Commitments Made At the UN Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, September 4-15, 1995 and on U.S. Implementation of the Beijing...

<http://www1.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/Women/IACW/Library/followup.html> - size 94K - 12 Jul 96

No Title

THE ETHNIC WOMAN INTERNATIONAL. Dear Reader: There are hundreds of women's magazines on the market. Magazines talking about women, magazines talking for...

<http://www.thefuturesite.com/ethnic/ethback.html> - size 5K - 8 May 96

No Title

White House Press Release Remarks By The President About Secretary Of Commerce Ron Brown...

<http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/Documents.center/rbrown1.txt> - size 6K - 4 Apr 96

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ABOUT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE RON BROWN

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ABOUT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE RON BROWN
White House Office of the Press Secretary April 03, 1996. The Department of Commerce. 4:09..

<http://www1.whitehouse.gov/WH/New/html/WHPR040396.html> - size 5K - 3 Apr 96

Council Members

Council Members Contact Information. July 10, 1996. The First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Honorary Chair. Secretary of Health and Human Services, Donna..

<http://www2.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/Women/IACW/html/members.html> - size 12K - 16 Jul 96

Morton M. Kondracke

Pennsylvania Avenue. Welcome Back, Clinton: Cabinet, Budget On Tap. By Morton M.

Kondracke. Two urgent tasks face President Clinton now that he's back...

<http://www.rollcall.com/2LTSCXcy/commentary/kondracke.html> - size 6K - 3 Dec 96

For Immediate Release

[Home Page](#) | [Executive Summary](#) | [Authur Ashe Fellowship](#) | [Who's Involved](#) | [Agenda](#) | [Graphic Representations](#) | [List of Participants](#) | [What We Can Each Do](#) | [A.](#)

http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/Organizations/hai/leading/release_1.html - size 5K - 3 Dec 96


NGLTF presses White House on civil rights, AIDS issues

JUNE 13, 1995. Go to: NGLTF presses White House on civil rights, AIDS issues. Statement by National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Response to Security...

<http://www.outnow.com/62/whitehouse2.html> - size 6K - 1 Dec 96

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Search and Display the Results

Tip: To use all these apples: +apple pie tart cookie torte muffin

Word count: Alexis Herman: about 63

Documents 41-50 of 59 matching the query, best matches first.

Office of Women's Outreach

Office of Women's Outreach. THE WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER FEBRUARY 12, 1996. NUMBER: 5 THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE FOR WOMEN'S INITIATIVES AND OUTREACH. "Women...

<http://www.democrats.org/party/campaign/outreach/oow/wo960212.html> - size 11K - 3 Dec 96

Morton M. Kondracke

Pennsylvania Avenue. Welcome Back, Clinton: Cabinet, Budget On Tap. By Morton M. Kondracke. Two urgent tasks face President Clinton now that he's back...

<http://www.rollcall.com/commentary/kondracke.html> - size 7K - 3 Dec 96

FMF -Feminist News (Feminist News April 1996)

April Feminist News. Feminist News - April 30, 1996. Supreme Court Lets Stand Ruling Against Parental Notification Law. On Monday (4-29), the U.S. Supreme.

<http://www.feminist.org/news/newsbyte/aprbyte96.html> - size 139K - 18 Jul 96

Hungarian American Coalition - Press Release 2/14/96

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE February 14, 1996. Contact: Klary Hefty Tel: (202) 296-9505. HUNGARIAN AMERICAN COALITION LEADERS MEET WITH PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON...

<http://www.hu.net/hac/press/2-14-96.html> - size 5K - 21 Apr 96

NFCA- A record of Accomplishment

National Federation of Croatian Americans. A Strong Advocate For the Croatian-American Community. A Record of Accomplishment... Since forming in January...

<http://www.hrnet.org/NFCA/accomp.html> - size 8K - 27 Feb 96

NDI 1996 International Visitors Forum: More About the IVF

1996 International Visitors Forum. Calendar of Events. Beginning Saturday, August 24, U.S. elected officials, political leaders from both parties,...

<http://www.ndi.org/ivf/calendar.htm> - size 5K - 13 Aug 96

NDI 1996 International Visitors Forum: More About the IVF

1996 International Visitors Forum. International Political Leaders to Attend NDI Program at Democratic National Convention. The National Democratic...

<http://www.ndi.org/ivf/about.htm> - size 4K - 13 Aug 96

Remarks at the Commerce Department by President Clinton about Commerce

Remarks at the Commerce Department by President Clinton. Ladies and gentlemen, the vice president and the first lady and the members of the Cabinet and I..

<http://www.doc.gov/remarks.html> - size 5K - 15 Apr 96

WH/OWIO : The Women's Newsletter - February 12, 1996

Graphic version] THE WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER. NUMBER: 5 THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE FOR WOMEN'S INITIATIVES AND OUTREACH FEBRUARY 12, 1996. "Women entrepreneurs are.

http://www2.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/Women/OWIO/Newsletters/1996_02_12-plain.html - size 10K - 31 Jul 96


AJCU: Higher Education Report Volume 19, No.4 December 1995

Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities Volume 19, No. 4 December, 1995. You may jump directly to any article in this issue by clicking on it's...

http://www.ajcunet.edu/her/vol19_04.htm - size 46K - 24 Mar 96

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Tip: To find a bed-time story: "fairy tale" +frog -dragon

Word count: Alexis Herman: about 63

Documents 51-59 of 59 matching the query, best matches first.

Ron Brown

In a December 1993 exclusive interview with Emerge Magazine, Ron Brown publicly spoke for the first time about his rocky year as Secretary of Commerce. He.

<http://www.betnetworks.com/brown.html> - size 18K - 1 Nov 96

No Title

THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary (Dallas, Texas)

For

Immediate...

<http://docs.whitehouse.gov/white-house-publications/1995/10/1995-10-16-press-briefing-by-mike->
- size 11K - 17 Oct 95

Hungarian American Coalition

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE December 6, 1994 Washington, DC. Contact: Klary Hefty Tel: (202) 296-9505. Hungarian American Coalition Holds Fourth Annual Meeting..

<http://www.hungary.com/hac/press/12-6-94.html> - size 5K - 21 Apr 96

WH/OWIO : The Women's Newsletter - February 12, 1996

Text version] THE WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER. NUMBER: 5 THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE FOR WOMEN'S INITIATIVES AND OUTREACH FEBRUARY 12, 1996. "Women entrepreneurs are a..

http://www2.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/Women/OWIO/Newsletters/1996_02_12.html - size 10K - 31 Jul 96

Hungarian American Coalition

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE January 16, 1995. Contact: Klary Hefty Tel: (202) 296-9505. Hungarian American Community Leaders Meet with President Bill Clinton....

<http://www.hungary.com/hac/press/1-16-95.html> - size 5K - 21 Apr 96

No Title

THE WHITE HOUSE Office of the Press Secretary

For

Immediate Release July 5, 1994...

<http://www.kornet.nm.kr/whitehouse/1994-07-05-President-Remarks-on-Eve-of-G-7-Summit> - size 17K - 30 Mar 96

Under The Influence: Bill Clinton

UNDER THE INFLUENCE: The 1996 Presidential Candidates and Their Campaign Advisers.

BILL CLINTON. In 1992, while Bill Clinton was campaigning across the...

<http://www.essential.org/cpi/uti/clinton.html> - size 23K - 1 Dec 96

Hungarian American Coalition

Projects - Accomplishments in 1994. Information/Communication. Washington, DC Office - Information Center Participation of a five-member Hungarian...

<http://www.hungary.com/English/hac/project.html> - size 5K - 21 Apr 96

SBA: WBO -- Newsletter


INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE FOR WOMEN'S BUSINESS ENTERPRISE NEWSLETTER.

As Chair of the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise, I am proud to...

<http://www.sbaonline.sba.gov/womeninbusiness/newsltr.html> - size 87K - 8 Oct 96

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1996 Black Collegian
Article

Simply quotes
1980 article.

A QUARTER CENTURY OF CAREER AND JOB SEARCH ADVICE

Here's a sampling
of some of the
career-related
article titles and
comments that
have appeared on
our pages over the
past 25 years.



ALEXIS M. HERMAN

Director, White House
Office of Public Liaison
(April/May 1980)

"Black women can look to the decade of the '80s as a time for making occupational and economic progress. However, it is important to keep in mind that the demand for workers will be affected by changing economic and social conditions, which no one can predict with complete accuracy."



BILL COSBY

Excerpt from speech at
Harvey Mudd College,
(September/October 1984)

"Do not be afraid to compete. Do not be afraid to start out today challenging thoughts, ideas. I can tell you all the idealistic things that you have to do, that you want to do. You can tell yourself. But I want you to know that there's something that's very, very important. It's the paying of the rent. That alters an awful lot of ideas. Paying of the rent. You cannot do much more damage than that which has already been done. You can do an awful lot more good than has already been done. But the rent is still due."



WESLEY HARRIS

Associate Administrator
for Aeronautics
NASA Headquarters
(January/February 1978)

"Because of the demands that this society places on Black professionals, the Black engineer cannot afford to be one-dimensional. His wealth of knowledge must be broad. His understanding of the meaning of and the potential effects of issues that are social, political, or economic in origin must be complete."

generally speaking, a 'meaningful position' in business is one which provides its incumbent (once he has passed the acolyte stage) with decision-making responsibilities and unmistakable authority. Using this yardstick as a [criterion] for measurement, it is obvious that some Black men and women do hold positions of stature and importance in business today. Unfortunately, their numbers are pitifully few. Even the most enlightened companies sometimes, perhaps unconsciously, fall into the trap of 'showcasing' Blacks in highly visible but relatively meaningless positions."

—Clay A. Griffin, Jr.
Kenyon & Eckhardt, Inc.
(February/March 1971)

"It is estimated that between the time you leave college and the time you retire, you will have invested about 100,000 hours in a career. If these hours were dollar bills, you would do some pretty extensive research before investing that first nickel. Why should you spend less time in preparing for the investment of your life?"

—James Brannan
Liberty Mutual Insurance Company
(November/December 1973)



GEN. COLIN POWELL

United States Army (Ret.)
former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
(March/April 1988)

"There are no secrets to success. Don't waste time looking for them. Success is the result of preparation, hard work, learning from failure, loyalty to those for whom and with whom you work, and persistence. You must be ready for opportunity when it comes your way."



JOSHUA I. SMITH

President and CEO
The Maxima Corporation
(November/December 1989)

"The problem for so many young people when they graduate is the absolute shock of reality based on where they were in academia. The more we can do to minimize that shock value and have some direction, the better. It's really up to them. Those who can handle change and see change as an advantage are going to do better than those that have to be coerced into doing things. Those who have self-initiative, who are bold, aggressive, who have enlightened self-interest—those are redeeming qualities in terms of success in the future."



LEE IACOCCA

Chairman of the Board
Chrysler Corporation
(Excerpts from commencement address at University of Michigan, September/October 1983)

"The important thing is for you to use your education, your spirit, your intelligence and, especially, your common sense of the common good. Use them in your chosen field. Use them to be better citizens. Support the people who are trying to get things done where you study, where you work and where you live. Better yet, get off the sidelines and go to work on the problems yourself. I started by saying it's a tragedy that some people have lowered their expectations of the future. I haven't. I hope you haven't either."

Walter D. McFall
Recruiting Coordinator
(708) 242-2974

Argonne National Laboratory
9709 South Cass Avenue • URBANA
ILLINOIS 61822

ARGONNE
NATIONAL
LABORATORY

"Good work habits are important ingredients to the growth and development of your career. Examples are conscientiousness; willingness to contribute and work with others; willingness to work long hours (and expect them); ability to organize your work and get it done on a timely basis; completeness of assignments; and punctuality, just to name a few."

—Leyden A. Young
Carborundum Company
(May/June 1975)

"There is going to be more and more competition for the better jobs in the companies. This is another way of saying that the college students who really want the jobs of the future should be sure that they take the courses that will be most helpful in getting a job. Second, they should get . . . counseling. Thirdly, they should make a respectable academic record. That doesn't mean that they all have to make straight 'A's' and be Phi Beta Kappas, but if you get a bunch of 'C's' on your record, you're trying to swim with an anchor around your neck, and that's pretty hard to do."

—Frank Endicott
Northwestern University, author of
The Endicott Report
(February/March 1968)

A Different World

We're all different people. With unique talents, varied backgrounds, distinct approaches and diverse perspectives. But we all agree on one thing—we want to build a better world for the next generation; a brighter future of clean air, conservation and energy efficiency.

Today, the diverse team of future-focused professionals at Columbia Gas is making it happen. As one of the nation's largest natural gas companies—serving key areas of Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Virginia—only Columbia Gas has the bold, innovative leadership and aggressive creativity to be an energy services leader.

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"Career decision-making for Blacks has largely been haphazard and unplanned. Indeed, many Blacks in planning their careers have taken a page from the story of Alice in Wonderland. You will recall that when Alice was trying to decide which way to go during her travels, she asked the Cheshire Cat, 'Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?' 'That depends a good deal on where you want to get to,' replied the Cat. 'I don't much care,' said Alice. 'Then it doesn't matter which way you go,' said the Cat.

"This is the precise dilemma that too many Blacks find themselves in after being employed for a period of time. They begin their life-work by accepting a particular job, often an entry-level position, and because they do not map out strategies for advancements—strategies to get them where they want to go—they encounter

problems advancing beyond the entry point."

—Howard G. Adams
The National Center for
Graduate Education for Minorities
(August/September 1982)

"The plain and simple truth of the matter is, your ability to get a job or keep a job will depend on only one thing, and that is how well you convince your superiors or the person giving the job that you are capable of doing . . . it. And that becomes a matter of communication."

—Bryant Gambel
Co-host, "The Today Show"
(August/September 1982)

"Employers not only expect a clear, concise resume, they expect applicants to know their strengths, weaknesses, likes, dislikes, and long- and short-term goals. So, before you begin applying for positions, take the time to conduct a thorough evaluation of yourself."

—Chris R. Barwood
Career Consultant and Contributing Editor of
THE BLACK COLLEGIAN (January/February 1985)

"Understand the mission of the organization you're working with, and make sure that you are contributing to that mission. The business world and the military are interested in results. If you are part of getting results, then you're in comfortable surroundings. But if you're not contributing, then you're not in very comfortable surroundings."

—Gen. Bernard Randolph,
United States Air Force
(January/February 1988)

"My philosophy of job hunting is that you don't look for vacancies or for the 'hot' opportunities. You look for what it is that fits the most with who you are and what it is you have to offer to life and to the world. Then you go after that and you, if necessary, sell yourself, even where there may not be a vacancy at the time."

—Richard Nelson Bolles
author of What Color is Your Parachute?
(September/October 1988)

"In order to be truly successful you have to live in two cultures. You must learn to live in the culture of your company—establish personal contacts

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Edward L. Benson, Jr.

Director of Sales Training
Johnson & Johnson
Customer Support Center

Edward L. Benson, the director of Sales Training for Johnson & Johnson's Customer Support Center, is responsible for developing and directing all sales training activities for four sales groups: the Retail Sales Organization, Consolidated Sales Organization, Pharmacy Detail Organization, and Western Sales Division. His career objective is, "to strive each and every day to reach my fullest potential in my current capacity with the opportunity and focus on ascending to greater possibilities."

Immediately after graduating from St. Joseph's University in 1977, Benson launched his career in consumer sales, starting with the Campbell Soup Company and later joining De Monte. For the past 10 years, he has been a sales manager at Johnson & Johnson.

Benson's advice to students on how to succeed: "Establish specific and measurable goals for yourself that are embraced by your own internal belief system and the endorsement extended to you by your family."

Nathaniel Durant

Manager, Retirement Administration,
Prudential Money Management Group,
a unit of Prudential Insurance Company
of America

Current Job Description

I manage Prudential's internal retirement administration area. We are the frontline professional services group servicing approximately 90,000 active and retired Prudential employees. I am responsible for designing and implementing short-term operations strategies, coaching and developing a staff of 13 and managing a \$2.5 million budget.

Career Path

I graduated from Brown University, concentrating in international relations and French civilization. I joined Prudential's Management Development Program because it provided an excellent opportunity to develop strong analytical, strategic planning, and administrative management skills without having a specific background. Prior to my current position, I had been the financial analyst in our Controller's Department, the consultant on a profitability project, and the global equity analyst on a start-up Global Small Capitalization investment product.

Career Goals

I am very interested in pursuing a career in Operations (financial or customer service). I enjoy the challenge of managing resources to deliver the best possible product and/or service to our customers. To help me with my goal, Prudential will sponsor my fulltime enrollment at Stanford Business School in the fall.

Advice

My advice to students would be to concentrate on developing a "total package." Traditional career paths to management levels are quickly fading. Moving forward, those individuals who possess an array of skill sets from a diverse set of experiences will add value. When searching for companies, students should value those companies that afford the opportunity to develop a broad base of skills.



Don Brown

Senior Vice President of Operations
Kraft Foods, Inc.

A senior vice president of Operations at Kraft Foods, Inc., Don Brown oversees 60 manufacturing sites, 23,000 people, and \$5.8 billion in raw material, packaging, and labor costs in the United States.

Kraft Foods produces the leading brands in nearly every food category, including Maxwell House coffee, Kraft cheese, Post cereal, Kool-aid, Miracle Whip, and Oscar Mayer meats. But during the past two months, it has also faced significant challenges, from plant catastrophes to the retirement of 400+ senior managers and meeting the increased demand for Kraft products. Through all this, Kraft continued delivering quality products, with the help of Don Brown.

According to Brown, one of Kraft's greatest challenges is cost containment. "Kraft has to be sensitive to the fluctuating costs of commodities, such as milk, meat, grains and coffee," he says. "We keep a close eye on the dynamics that drive the agriculture business, like how global economies and weather patterns will affect our business."

In identifying managers, Kraft looks for effective leaders. "A diverse workforce is key, because with operations all over the world, Kraft understands the need for employees who can bring a full range of experience to every business situation."

Coming from a small, rural community himself, Brown appreciates being part of a company where people from all over are joined by a common goal. "And he appreciates the contribution of every Kraft employee, at every level."



with co-workers of all races, learn to socialize with those who can be helpful to you, master the protocol, play the game.

"But you must remain aware that it is dangerous to give up your 'Blackness,' as we like to call those existential things that make us who we are. Attempting to abandon your race can lead to a lonely isolation from community and alienation from self."

—George Davis

Co-author, with Gregg Watson, of
*Black Life in Corporate
America: Swimming in the Mainstream.*
(November/December 1990)

"Remember, the most successful people are those who know where dreams and reality converge. They have done the necessary advance work to prepare themselves and eliminate any distance between their dreams and reality. They have been bold in following and actualizing their dreams. The happiest of people at work are those who are doing what they like to do, doing what they planned to do, and doing it well."

—Linda Bates Parker

Director, Career Development and Placement
University of Cincinnati
(September/October 1993)

"Set goals and put a timetable on them. Have a game plan. If you want to be a doctor, you have to get up for that 7:30 freshman class. Decide to study, go the extra mile. Even if the next person has more aptitude than you, if you outwork him you can catch up.

"Winning and being successful are about attitudes. Whether you think you can, or think you can't . . . whichever one you think about will be right."

—Willie Gary

Successful Florida Attorney
(First Semester/October 1994)

"The longer I live, the more clearly I understand that success has little to do with money, titles, and celebrity, and all to do with feeling comfortable and at peace with yourself and being useful in the world."

—Susan L. Taylor

Editor-in-Chief, *Essence*
(First Semester/October 1995)

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HEADLINE: CAN CLINTON TURN IT AROUND?

BODY:

VERNON E. JORDAN JR.

Chairman, Presidential Transition Team

REMEMBER what the Clinton-Gore campaign was about and you'll understand what a Clinton-Gore Administration will provide America: a commitment to real change, to economic recovery, and to putting people first. There is a new sense of hope in our country, a new energy, and a new optimism for good reason: Bill Clinton and Al Gore bring to America and to the American people the energy, the ideas, the courage, commitment and the compassion to turn our country around.

They need our understanding, our patience and our help. After a dozen years of neglect, there are many wounds left to heal: too many Americans in poverty, too many Americans without jobs or health care, too many Americans worried about their children and afraid of the future. We will not easily recover from more than a decade of narrow-minded policies that rewarded the few at the expense of the many, of mean-spirited cynicism that promoted division instead of unity; and indifference instead of compassion; but we will recover, together.

Bill Clinton and Al Gore challenge America once again to reach for our dreams; to take responsibility for a future brighter than our past; to believe again in the spirit of opportunity that always promised greatness. Their agenda is ambitious and it must be, for our problems are too urgent for timidity. Our leaders have worn blinders long enough.

The first priority is and must be economic revival and job creation, a recognition of a painful recession too long ignored and the millions trapped by its consequences. While they address the issues of the economy, they cannot but address the issues of the inner city and in that regard I am reminded of the words of Whitney Young who said that "while we may have come over here in different ships, when you look at the economy, we are all in the same boat now." Bill Clinton and Al Gore offer a detailed plan to get America's economy moving again, to invest in the American people with education and training, and to create jobs.

They are committed as well to reforming our health care system, to bring down costs and expand coverage; to provide every American family with health care they can afford. Nowhere in America should working parents be forced to choose between caring for a sick child or losing the job that supports their families. Bill Clinton and Al Gore are committed to passing legislation that would provide



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family leave and preserve health benefits for working parents who need time off to care for newborns or sick children. Bill Clinton and Al Gore are committed to taking back from the special interests the government [that was] always meant to serve the people. That means no more tax breaks for the rich, closing the back door where polluters could line up to get out from under the law, and tough new ethics rules and campaign reforms.

It is up to us to meet the challenge Bill Clinton and Al Gore offer, to recognize our responsibility to ourselves, to our families, to our neighborhoods and to our nation. We must work together to restore the promise and power of the American dream. Bill Clinton has said it and I believe it: we are one nation; we rise or fall together. With Bill Clinton and Al Gore we have the opportunity and the ability to change, to move forward, to chart a course toward a future of greater possibilities and promise. We must seize that opportunity.

. . .

CAROL MOSELEY BRAUN, D-ILL.
First Black Woman Elected To The U.S. Senate

YES, I think he can turn it around. While it might not happen overnight and while it won't be simple or easy, I think he has the vision and the direction to develop strategies to revive our economy and restore our domestic security. Consumer confidence has already turned around, and people are more optimistic because hope for the future has been restored.

I look forward to working with President Clinton on a program to revitalize and restore our nation's productive capacity. Once we become, once again, a nation of builders and producers and create jobs and stabilize our communities, there's no limit to what we can do together.

I have also been impressed by the new president's repeated calls for a new politics of inclusion embracing Blacks and Whites and Hispanics and Asians and women and men. This reflects, if anything, a generational shift. This president fully understands that the politics of division is only going to make us losers on the world stage. And so for our collective survival, we need to come together to positively reinforce one another.

RONALD H. BROWN
Chairman, Democratic Party

BILL Clinton has taken on the challenge of turning this country around with the support of the American people. Voters are behind him. He has demonstrated a commitment to the American people that has been missing in the leadership of this country for the past 12 years.

There are, no doubt, some tough choices ahead for President-elect Clinton, but he has the courage, the experience and the dedication to make the decisions necessary to get our country back on track. He has pledged to work tirelessly for the priorities and issues upon which he built his successful campaign -- the economy, jobs, education, and health care.

As Bill Clinton has said . . . we won't get out of this mess overnight. But by working together, and continuing to break down the barriers of divisiveness, we can expect a revival in our economy and a renewal in the American spirit.



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ALEXIS HERMAN

Deputy Director, Presidential Transition Team

FOR African-Americans Gov. Clinton's ascent signifies that the pain and frustration wreaked by 12 years of Republican misrule will be forced aside to make room for diversity, opportunity and economic development. Disintegrating family structures, unemployment, drugs and violence flourished in our urban centers and sapped communities of their foundations. President-elect Clinton, as evidenced by his consistent campaign message and his recent unprecedented tour of the Georgia Ave. business district in Washington, D.C., near Howard University, understands that a partnership between government and small business is needed to help supplant these destructive forces, spawn economic growth, restore values and return communities to their rightful owners. . . .

Our new president will not make a mockery of our judicial system by nominating jurists to the courts strictly on the basis of their allegiance to the conservative agenda instead of their resolve to administer justice. A Rhodes Scholar and Yale Law graduate, President-elect Clinton has pledged to expand the scope of civil rights laws and legislation currently protecting women, African-Americans and other minorities. . . .

Gov. Clinton recognizes the value of assembling a cabinet that reflects the rich diversity of America. Unlike his predecessor, Gov. Clinton regards a diverse administration as a source of strength and a more accurate reflection of America.

This historic opening of . . . leadership doors to African-Americans will grant us unparalleled access to the crafting of government policy.

So should we expect good things from Bill Clinton? Without a doubt.

JESSE JACKSON, D-D.C.

Shadow U.S. Senator

District of Columbia

BILL Clinton won because he ran a campaign of hope and change that focused on the future. . . .

In the final analysis, it took the big tent strategy of inclusion and the big vision message of "Rebuild America" to win. Now President-elect Bill Clinton, and a Congress controlled by Democrats, have the opportunity to put America back to work and to rebuild America with jobs, education, housing, health care and cleaning up the environment.

The Rainbow Coalition . . . looks forward, in the words of the Clinton-Gore book, to PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST, and to joining their "campaign to change America and make our great nation everything it was meant to be."

EDDIE WILLIAMS

President, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

BLACK Americans played a very prominent role in helping Gov. Bill Clinton win the presidency. Indications are that they turned out in unexpectedly large numbers to provide the margin of victory in several key states. For Blacks,



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like many others who look optimistically toward a new administration and a new era in American political life, the key question is whether the new president can and will implement programs that have a positive impact on their lives. The euphoria of victory should not obscure the fact that the problems the Black community faces are complex and massive. They will require large doses of commitment and resources.

The president-elect's recent visit to a Black neighborhood in Washington, D.C., is an encouraging gesture. It demonstrates greater interest than the Black community has seen from any president in many years. But beyond the gesture, the Black community's . . . problems must be addressed quickly. The big three among those problems are unemployment, poor health and health care and poor education opportunities.

Clearly, President-elect Clinton will not be able to solve the nation's problems instantly. However, he can begin to turn things around if he is able to inspire hope in our long-overlooked communities, if he is able to quickly expand employment and training opportunities, especially for young people, and if he is able to move toward a more inclusive and less costly health care system. This is the agenda that we must actively and persistently call to his attention.

REP. MAXINE WATERS, D-Calif.

CLINTON takes over at a very difficult and complex time in the history of our country. We are experiencing a recession that has persisted much longer than anybody anticipated; the flight of jobs to Third World countries attracted by cheap labor; the impact of 12 years of Reagan-Bush cuts of social programs; crumbling infrastructure; divisive race relations; and a loss of faith in elected officials and government's ability to solve pressing problems. Despite all of the above, over a period of time, it is possible for Clinton to turn the direction of this country.

It will not happen in President Clinton's first year in office but policies that are put in place during the first year will begin to bear fruit by the second and third year. . . . He is sending all of the right signals and I believe that Congress will bend over backwards to work with him. . . .

I endorsed Bill Clinton early in the campaign because I sincerely believed that four more years of George Bush would create a depression and cause continued unrest in our cities. I have great expectations for Bill Clinton, and I am looking forward to working with him to develop public policies that will turn this country around in developing an urban agenda.

RODNEY SLATER
Deputy Campaign Manager

AN unequivocal yes, especially with the support of individuals across our nation who are committed to rebuilding America by putting our people first. No person will be exempt from the challenge to change and to accept responsibility for serving as a full partner in America's quest to solidify its position as an economic force and world leader. African-Americans responded to President-elect Clinton's call for change in unprecedented numbers. We must now accept and assume our rightful place as full partners at the table of decision.



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Ebony, January, 1993

JOYCELYN ELDERS, M.D.
Ark. Commissioner of Health

I DO think that under the leadership of President Bill Clinton we will be able to provide adequate health care to everyone who needs it. However, it will take more than Bill Clinton to do it -- it will take all of us.

We are going to have to intervene with primary care and preventive care. We have to work to alleviate the social problems that are having an impact on our nation's health -- the problems of drugs, alcohol, homicide, suicide and teenage pregnancy. . . .

No one person can get it done. But I think Bill Clinton will provide the leadership that will allow Americans to have the best health care in the world.

REP. MIKE ESPY, D-Miss.

THE Lower Mississippi Delta, one of our country's poorest regions, has long been ignored. That will change under President Clinton. In 1990, then-Gov. Clinton wrote a report with 400 recommendations about how to pull the poor communities along the Mississippi River from the depths of poverty. President Bush ignored them all. . . .

President Clinton will brush the dust off the Delta report's covers. He knows firsthand the needs of the region. His focus on economic development, education and health care will mean that the poor in the lower Mississippi Delta can have new hope.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, In dramatic post-election gesture, the president-elect visited predominantly Black Washington area.; Pictures 2 through 11, no caption

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BLACK WOMEN



Employment Opportunities For Black Women In The 1980's

By Alexis M. Herman

For Black women who have the skills that are needed in the job market, employment prospects are brighter today than at any other point in history. This is so for a number of reasons: Black women have increased their level of educational attainment and are better qualified for more of the high paying jobs, few women—Black or White—have been employed previously in many of the high paying fields in which there is a projected demand for workers, and many employers must comply with affirmative action policies to hire more women and minorities.

With these overriding factors in mind, Black women can look to the decade of the 80's as a time for making occupational and economic progress. However, it is important to keep in mind that the demand for workers will be affected by changing economic and social conditions, which no one can predict with complete accuracy.

It is important to know that the competition will be stiff for jobs in the days ahead. Projected estimates of the National Center for Education Statistics indicate that about 13.5 million college graduates will enter the labor force over the 1978 to 1990 period. But only about 10.2 million openings are expected to be available for jobs usually held by college graduates. So college women should understand that they may not be able to find a job in their chosen field—particularly if it is one in which the demand is not very great. However, as in the 1970's, most graduates probably will find a job, and few should experience long-term unemployment. College graduates are still more likely to hold the highest paying professional and managerial jobs.

Black women must keep in mind also that highest educational attainment must continue to be a pressing goal. At the beginning of the 70's, over a quarter million Black women under age 35 were enrolled in col-



Alexis M. Herman

lege. By 1978, the number had more than doubled to 569,000, and the women accounted for 56 percent of all Blacks enrolled in college. But despite this kind of progress, there are still large numbers of Black women who need to upgrade their education and training. There are, in fact, 1.7 million Black women workers who have less than a high school education.

Further, it is important for Black women to know that simply being qualified for the demand jobs is only part of the process of realizing job opportunities. Attitudinal barriers to women moving into many of the non-traditional jobs still must be overcome, and women must be conscious of the fact that enforcement of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action policies requires continuous vigilance.

Occupational Outlook

An overview of the outlook for employment in the major occupational groups is provided by information from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which has projected the number of openings that will occur

for jobs over the period 1978-1990. Data on the numbers of Black women in the various jobs are as of January 1980.

Employment of professional and technical workers is expected to grow throughout the decade, with the number of openings projected as 8 million. There should be good opportunities in the energy and environmental fields as well as health services and computer related industries. Over half a million Black women are professional and technical workers today.

It is important to note, however, that of the 584,000 Black women in professional and technical positions, some 219,000—or 38 percent—are elementary and secondary school teachers. There are only 1,000 employed Black women engineers, while the number who are physicians, dentists and related practitioners registers at 12,000.

There are about 10,000 Black women engineering and science technicians. These technical jobs usually require some post secondary school training but less than 4 years of college. Jobs will continue to be in demand for technicians to assist and work closely with various professional workers, such as scientists, mathematicians, physicians, dentists, or engineers.

About 7 million job openings are anticipated for managers and administrators. Black women now hold about 130,000 managerial jobs. Only 7,000 are self-employed managers of retail stores. While the demand for salaried managers will continue to grow, Black women may want to include in their thinking and planning the possibility of owning a business as well as managing one or working in one. The President issued an Executive Order in May 1979 to expand opportunities for women to acquire loans to start a business and to gain access to government contracts. This new policy will enhance opportunities for Black women.

Business administration is a very

BLACK WOMEN

promising field for women. While the larger corporations may require master's degrees, they frequently offer opportunities for advancement through executive training. But administrative jobs at various levels exist in industry, business, education, and government.

Clerical work, the second largest occupation group for Black women, will remain a leading occupation for Black women in the 80's. It continues to be an entry level area for far too many college educated women. Graduates who find they must take jobs as clerks should endeavor to move into administrative positions as soon as possible. About 1.3 million clerical jobs are held by Black women today. Among them are 354,000 women who are stenographers, typists, and secretaries. Although word processing and computer equipment will affect employment opportunities to some extent during the decade, over 16 million openings are expected.

Sales work has a favorable outlook in the 80's, with nearly 5 million openings expected. Some sales occupations such as real estate agents and manufacturers sales representatives often are viewed as steppingstones for women to move into managerial jobs. Over 120,000 sales jobs are now held by Black women, mostly in retail.

Craft occupations, such as carpenters, electricians, plumbers, and auto mechanics, are usually not considered among job options for college graduates mainly because only a high school diploma or its equivalent is the required education. However, the pay is high in these jobs and there are a number of ways to acquire specialized training, such as through apprenticeships. Apprentices learn a skill while being paid a certain amount of money which increases as training progresses. Those college graduates who do enter the craft occupations are likely to have an advantage in advancing within their organization or in starting their own business.

About 7 million openings are projected for craft workers. Employment in the construction trades will grow, and there will be good opportunities for workers who repair computers, office machines, air conditioners, and industrial machinery. The Department of Labor's regulations on equal employment opportunity in construction and in apprenticeship, issued in

1978, should have a positive effect on increasing opportunities for employment of Black women in these areas. Goals and timetables were set for increasing the participation of women.

There are 49,000 Black women craft workers. However, the numbers in most of the nontraditional crafts are almost negligible. For example, those who are carpenters and auto mechanics are too few to publish in statistical tables.

“Despite the fact that college graduates have spent considerable time preparing for what they think they want to do in life, they may find later that interests as well as opportunities have changed.”

Operative jobs, which include factory production workers such as assemblers, as well as operators of transport equipment such as delivery truck drivers, will be among those occupations expected to grow over the decade. More than 7 million openings are expected. Black women now hold 650,000 operative jobs, most in the manufacturing industries.

Service occupations comprise the largest occupation group for Black women. There are nearly 1.5 million employed in these jobs—329,000 private household workers and over 1.1 million in other service jobs. The largest numbers are in cleaning, food, and health services, where over a quarter million women are employed in each. About 150,000 Black women are in personal services such as cosmetology, and 28,000 are protective service workers such as police, guards, and firefighters.

Many of the jobs in service work require no formal training, while others require 1 to 2 years of training or education. The total number of job openings for service workers in the 80's is expected to be over 12 million, reflecting increased demand for ser-

vices as incomes rise and women continue to enter and remain in the labor force.

To consider all of the expected openings in the 80's as opportunities would be misleading. Certainly a key factor will be the course of study pursued in college. Graduates with degrees in science and mathematics now have little difficulty finding jobs, while education and humanities majors are having some difficulty locating jobs in their fields.

Despite the fact that college graduates have spent considerable time preparing for what they think they want to do in life, they may find later that interests as well as opportunities have changed. Or, they may find they do not have sufficient orientation in other areas to give them more leverage in the job market. Certainly, then, they will have to acquire new skills if they are to compete successfully in the job market.

Nontraditional Jobs

Overall, Black women as well as all women will find the best opportunities in jobs that are considered nontraditional. Generally, these are jobs in which women account for 25 percent or less of the total employed, as shown on the following table.

NONTRADITIONAL OCCUPATIONS

Selected occupation	Women as % of total employed, 1979
Architects	6.0
Engineers	2.9
Lawyers & judges	12.4
Life & phys. scientists	18.9
Dentists	4.6
Pharmacists	24.5
Physicians	10.7
Economists	24.4
Eng. & science techs.	15.9
Sales mgrs., exc. retail	8.6
Stock & bond sales agents	19.7
Carpenters	1.3
Electricians	1.3
Plumbers	.4
Aircraft mechanics	1.6
Office machine repairers	4.3
Data processing machine repairers	5.5
Radio and TV repairers	3.1
Telephone installers and repairers	9.9

Occupations in the "intermediate" range, where women constitute 25 percent to 50 percent of all workers, are also ones that Black women should consider.

Following are examples of these occupations.

INTERMEDIATE OCCUPATIONS

Selected occupation	Women as % of total employed, 1979
Accountants	32.9
Computer specialist	26.0
Personnel & labor relations workers	45.5
College & univ. teachers	31.6
Bank officials & financial managers	31.6
Health administrators	48.1
Sales mgrs. and dept. heads, retail trade	39.8
School administrators, elementary & secondary	37.5
Real estate agents and brokers	49.4

Few women were in some of these jobs until recent years, while other occupations are considered to be "neutral" since they have not necessarily been sex-stereotyped.

Some Black women will continue to prefer to enter the traditional occupations such as registered nurse, where the demand will remain great in the 1980's. Other traditional jobs for women in professional and technical areas are librarians, health technicians, and elementary and secondary school teachers.

Other Facts To Consider

Economic pressure may very well be a strong determining factor in the work-life future of a great majority of Black women in the 1980's, just as it is today. A statistical fact is that of the nearly 5 million Black women in today's labor force, 1.5 million are single, and another 1.5 million are either widowed, divorced, or separated. Add to that another million married women whose husbands earn less than \$10,000 a year. These figures clearly suggest that the over-

whelming majority of Black women who work do so out of economic necessity.

For Black women who head families today, their economic responsibilities are great. About 40 percent of the 5.9 million Black families are headed by women, and over half of the families they head are poor.

Another statistical fact to be aware of is that Black women who were employed full time throughout 1977 earned a median annual salary of only \$8,217 or 55 cents for every dollar that all men earned. This gap in earnings is due largely to the concentration of Black women in the lower paying service and clerical jobs. And it underscores the need for more women to consider jobs in the professional, managerial, skilled craft, and protective service occupations.

Sources of Information and Support

Detailed information on the outlook for specific jobs can be found in the Occupational Outlook Handbook, which is revised and published every 2 years by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. Copies are usually available in public libraries as well as in college and university libraries and job placement centers. The Handbook includes information about job duties, education and training requirements, employment outlook and salary ranges for more than 850 different jobs.

Black women can enhance their employment opportunities through various networks, particularly through close contact with their respective professional organization, society, or trade association. Not only do many of the organizations provide listings of job opportunities but they also serve to keep members abreast of developments in their particular discipline and help promote the entrance of women into particular occupations.

A list of "Professional Women's Groups" is available from the American Association of University Women, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20037, at a cost of 50 cents.

College graduates have a range of private and public employment agencies to assist them in finding jobs. One in particular that Black women should know about is the Minority Women Employment Program

(MWEF), which has received funding from the Labor Department. A component of the Recruitment and Training Program, Inc. (R-T-P), it uses the outreach concept to help minority women find employment in professional, technical, and managerial occupations for which they are already qualified. MWEF, which is located in a number of cities, has provided a very important link between Black women seeking employment and employers in need of their skills. Addresses of MWEF locations and additional information can be obtained from Women's Employment Division of R-T-P, Inc., 148 International Blvd., Suite 403, Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Some community agencies and organizations such as local chapters of the National Urban League have job information and referral programs as a public service to local residents. These should be explored.

The National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs has some chapters on college campuses; they are designed to help young women gear themselves to become business and professional role models in the community. The national office is located at 1806 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Another organization, the Black Professional Women's Network, provides an informal nationwide channel for Black professional women. It offers them an opportunity to meet and discuss their goals, aspirations, and concerns. The Network's address is 515 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

These types of organizations serve as support mechanisms and also provide role models for young women to reinforce and pursue their career aspirations.

As Black women consider employment opportunities in the 80's, there are two factors to keep in mind. Serious thought must be given to well-paying jobs that are in demand, as well as to individual career interests. When these two considerations are compatible, women can expect to have work experiences that are personally satisfying as well as economically rewarding. ■

Alexis M. Herman is Director, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor.

BLACK WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

by Alexis M. Herman

The closing year of the decade of the 1970's is an appropriate time to assess the status of Black women workers. It affords us an opportunity to review changes over the past decade, and suggest directions for the 1980's.

To determine where Black women stand in the nation's workplace, we need to look at their employment and unemployment status, occupational distribution, earnings, education, and poverty status.

Employment/Unemployment

Black women are more likely to be in the labor force than white women. The gap has narrowed considerably. The proportion of white women workers increased rapidly while that of Black women rose at a much slower pace. For example, the labor force participation rate of Black and other minority women increased from 49 percent in 1970 to 52 percent in early 1979, while the rate for white women rose from 43 percent to nearly 50 percent over the same period. Black women 25 to 44 years now register the highest participation among all Black women in the labor force, with 68 percent either working or looking for work. They are exceeded only by white women in the age group 20 to 24, whose participation rate is 69 percent.

The number of Black women in the labor force has increased substantially since 1970. For Black adult women 20 to 64, the number of workers rose from 3.6 million to 5.1 million in January of 1979. There were some 101,000 young Black women 16 to 19 joining the labor force during this period.

Another group of Black women workers who have consistently high rates of participation are mothers — those with children under 18 years of age. Fifty-nine percent of all Black mothers in the population, or some 2.2 million mothers, are in the labor

force. And it should be noted that over half of those with pre-school age children are workers.

Although Black women have higher rates of labor force participation than white women, they also have higher rates of unemployment. In spite of the fact that unemployment on the whole fluctuates with changes in the economy, Black women historically have higher rates at all times. There were about 700,000 Black women unemployed in January, accounting for a jobless rate of 12.5 percent — double the 6.2 rate of white women.

When we look at Black teenage and adult women separately, we find marked contrasts. For instance, among women 20 to 64, the unemployment rate in January was 11.1 percent. But Black teenage women 16 to 19 experienced an extremely high rate of 30.9 percent. The causes of the high rate of Black youth unemployment are not clear. However, there are many contributing factors, including inadequate skills and education, race and sex discrimination, and often their location in economically depressed areas.

Because of some women's inability to find the kind of employment they would like, they may settle for whatever job they can find — too often those in the lower paying category. So instead of showing up in the unemployment statistics, they instead show up as part of the pattern of Black women's concentration in certain types of jobs.

Occupations

The top job categories for Black women are service work outside the home and clerical work. More and more women are, however, moving into higher paying occupation categories such as professional and technical work and management.

The following table* shows

Note: Much of the data on Black women in this article include Blacks and other minorities. The data are highly representative of Black women, however, since they comprise 89 percent of the group.

changes in the occupational distribution of Black women workers between 1970 and 1978:

Occupational distribution of women, 1978 and 1970
(Percent)

	Black women		White women	
	1978	1970	1978	1970
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional & Tech. workers	13.8	10.8	15.9	15.0
Managers & Administrators	2.9	1.9	6.5	4.8
Clerical workers	27.2	20.8	35.7	36.4
Sales workers	3.1	2.5	7.4	7.7
Craft and kindred workers	1.3	.8	1.9	1.2
Operatives	15.8	17.6	11.2	14.1
Nonfarm laborers	1.4	.7	1.2	.4
Private household workers	7.7	17.5	2.2	3.4
Service workers (except private household)	25.8	25.6	16.6	19.3
Farmers & farm managers	.1	.1	.4	.3
Farm laborers & supervisors	.7	1.5	1.0	1.5

*Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The changes show a definite trend away from marginal jobs as farm laborers and as private household workers. As you will note, the percentage of Black women in private household, or domestic, work decreased by more than half.

Earnings

Despite the fact that more and more Black women are moving into better paying jobs, their earnings level is still lowest. The great majority are still crowded into certain of the lower paying occupations — a major factor in the gap between the earnings of women and men.

For Black women who work full time throughout the year, their median income is a little lower than that of white women but is considerably below that of white men. In fact, there is an income gap of 46.1 percent between the earnings of Black women and white men. In other words, white men receive \$1.86 for every \$1 that Black women receive. In 1977 (latest data available), Black women's median income was \$8,290 while that of white men was \$15,378. By comparison, the income for white women was \$8,870, and for Black men it was \$10,602.

The continuous wage gap between women and men is quite evident when we compare the median usual weekly earnings of workers 16 and over for 1970 and 1978.*

	May 1978	May 1970
White men	\$279	\$157
Black men	218	113
White women	167	95
Black women	156	81

*Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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Education

Generally, there is a definite correlation between the earnings of a worker and the amount of education that she or he has. But that is not the pronounced case when we look at the educational attainment of Black women workers and their median income. This is highlighted by the fact that Black women high school graduates have less income than white and Black men who have completed only elementary school. This is true also for white women.

Black women high school graduates in March 1976 (latest data available) had a median income of \$7,781 (white women, \$7,931), while white men who had finished only elementary school had a considerably higher income of \$11,312, and their Black male counterparts had \$9,340 in income.

On the whole, the education gap is now virtually nonexistent among workers regardless of race and sex. Black women workers have completed an average of 12.3 years of schooling, an increase of two-tenths of 1 percent since 1970. It is slightly higher than the 12.1 years of Black men and a little lower than the 12.6 years of schooling completed by white women and men workers.

Poverty Status

Another part of the economic picture of women concerns those who are heads of families, whether they are workers or not. Black families account for 10 percent of the 57.2 million U.S. families, but they are 4 times as likely as white families to be living in poverty, and 3½ times as likely to be headed by a woman. Approximately 40 percent of all Black families were headed by women in 1978. Slightly over half of these female headed families lived in poverty,* despite the fact that 56 percent of them were in the labor force. About 11 percent of all white families were headed by women and about one-fourth of these families were poor.

Nearly half of the Black families headed by women had 4

*The officially defined poverty level for nonfarm families was about \$6,200 and \$7,300 for families of 4 and 5 persons, respectively, in 1977.



Alexis M. Herman is Director, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor.

or more persons, compared with one-fourth of white families. Of over 9 million children in Black families, 40 percent were in families living in poverty. Three-fourths of all Black children living in poverty in 1977 were supported by Black women alone; this represented an increase from 60 percent in 1970.

Looking Toward the 80's

This brief statistical portrait should give us some indication of where Black women stand today in the labor force. Clearly there is need for increased attention and improvement in all of the areas outlined. As more opportunities occur in the coming decade, women must be able to take advantage of them.

Economists have projected that our growing economy will create 17 million new jobs during the decade 1976 to 1985, and 29 million more openings are expected to come about as people who are now working leave the labor force for various reasons. This combination would result in a total of 46 million openings. Black women must be qualified to fill some of the better paying jobs. But it calls for training and education in the areas where skills will be in demand. It calls for more women to move into the nontraditional, higher paying jobs. And it calls for more affirmative action efforts to ensure that Black women do indeed have equal opportunity for training and education, and for consideration in recruitment. It calls for increased numbers of Black women among those being hired, and among those being promoted on the job. Only then will we begin to see a drastic change in where Black women now stand in the labor force.

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Progress and Problems for Working Women*

By ALEXIS HERMAN

Ms. Herman is the Director of the Women's Bureau in the U. S. Department of Labor.

THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT in women's recent economic history has been their extraordinary movement into the nation's workforce. The labor force participation rate has risen steadily, and it passed 50 percent in June 1978 for all women 16 years and over. The long-term trend indicates that women's permanent attachment to the workforce is strengthening and that their expected worklife is lengthening.

The trend is for more and more mothers to join the labor force. Their rate of entry into the world of work has been even greater than for all women in the past ten years (46 and 43 percent). Now more than half of all mothers with children under age 18 are working or looking for work.

But women still find barriers to employment. One indication is the high rate of unemployment, now over 8 percent for women, compared to 6.2 percent for men. The unemployment rate of young women aged 16 to 19 is now 16 percent overall and for minority young women 35.1 percent. Many of the women who are unemployed are family heads. Not only are their unemployment rates among the highest, but 80 percent were in families with no other employed person.

Another indication is the historically persistent 40 percent gap between the incomes of women and men who work full time. Women's median earnings in 1977 equaled \$8,618 compared to \$14,626 for men.

Women continue to be employed largely in the industries that have historically been their source of employment, such as the service, wholesale and retail trade and public service sectors. Most of the women who went to work in the last ten years found employment as clerical workers, professional and service workers other than those in households. They have not made large inroads in the more technically oriented industries and occupations. Furthermore, an increasing number of women have demonstrated interest in working part time. Nearly a third of women who work are on these schedules.

* Adapted from testimony before the U. S. Senate Committee on Human Resources.

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Some of these problems and barriers have been addressed by policymakers who have taken major legislative, regulatory, and judicial action for women workers in this decade on the federal, state, and local levels. Many of these initiatives can be expected to have an ever-increasing effect. For example, greatly broadened coverage in 1972 of both the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act directly affected compensation. In addition, Title VII has begun to win some women spots in the promotional pipeline. Long-standing bars to women's entry into law, medical, and other professional schools were struck down by legislation, such as Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, that prohibited sex discrimination in education programs or activities receiving Federal financial assistance. Amendments to the Vocational Education Act require specific actions to reduce the shunting of students into jobs considered traditional for their sex.

In 1978, the Labor Department established affirmative action programs to correct deficiencies in hiring and promotion of women by Federal construction contractors and required registered apprenticeship programs to open their ranks to women. Courts have upheld the concept of affirmative action by construction contractors under the Executive Order. We expect greater activity in this direction with the coordination of equal employment opportunity enforcement by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under the President's Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1978. A significantly greater proportion will eventually enjoy retirement age benefits from private pension plans because of the participation, vesting, and break-in-service standards of the Pension Reform Act.

Despite the gains that have been made—and they are significant—wo-

men continue to encounter barriers to their full acceptance as workers. In the home, women still bear the major burden of rearing the children and tending the housework. On the job, they remain crowded to a large extent in a few low-skill, traditionally female occupations. The poor still rarely escape poverty.

The Department of Labor is meeting the need of relating antidiscrimination efforts to employment and training efforts through demonstration programs carried out in FY 1978 in the ten cities where federal regional offices are located. Employers seeking to meet contract compliance requirements were linked with the training and placement programs operated by prime sponsors under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973, as amended, and the Employment Service. While these projects were not uniformly successful, they point the way for developing linkages between institutions.

Such institutional linkages are critical to the success of both antidiscrimination and human resources programs because one effort opens doors for women by eliminating artificial barriers to their employment in occupations and industries where they are excluded today, and the other effort assists in the training and referral of qualified women.

However, the successes that have been realized in these two areas have not been paralleled by an increased awareness that policies must be reshaped to fit today's realities in the other two broad policy areas identified earlier: family support systems and inequities in the impact of traditional policies governing health, retirement, and labor policies. The need for child care has generally been acknowledged. However, these policy areas have not received the same priority as the previous two areas, and they have not

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been related to an overall policy to provide support systems to families, as opposed to the individual needs of the father and mother. As earning responsibilities are shared by both parents, many families view child-rearing as the responsibility of both. Likewise, much remains to be done in reevaluating health, retirement, and employment policies formulated for a different set of social values and realities. In the following discussion, a variety of policy alternatives will be presented, many of which require further policy research.

Overcoming Sex Discrimination

Sex discrimination continues to take many forms in the labor market, the most persistent of which are denying women, except in token numbers, access to a wide variety of high paying jobs and maintaining low pay in jobs where women predominate, even when these jobs demand increasingly high skills. Other inequities are misdirecting safety and health concerns and maintaining life-long veterans' preferences.

While steps toward equity in employment have been taken without an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), I am convinced that the ERA is the appropriate foundation for all such policy. When ratified, it will guard us against setbacks, as we have experienced in the past, by legislative or judicial bodies not as committed to fundamental human rights.

Despite firm public policy against job segregation by sex, sustained effort will be required to offset old employment patterns. A major industry is coal mining, in which 99.8 percent of the miners are males whose starting salary is approximately \$60 per day for trainees. In the last few years women have been actively seeking employment in the mines. Many believe that it is right to keep women

from having to suffer the perceived atrocities of going underground into a pitch black, dirt-filled mine to earn a living. But it is the position of these women that they have every right, as guaranteed by the law, to decide how to best earn their living. And they definitely believe that they have the right to choose to earn \$7.50 per hour in a coal mine rather than work at jobs that do not even pay the minimum wage.

Also, women have made known their dissatisfaction with white-collar jobs from which they have limited opportunity to advance. For example, women want the same career advancement opportunities available to most white males entering the banking industry. They are not satisfied with token gestures. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs has targeted the industry for review of their present utilization of women, their efforts to correct past deficiencies, and the institution of goals and timetables to achieve the needed changes in the employment patterns within the banking system.

President Carter very early recognized that "as consumers, investors, and workers women play a vital role in the Nation's economy. . . ." Still, of the total receipts generated by small businesses in 1972, only two percent came from businesses owned by women. As a result, the President established the Task Force on Women Business Owners. Information collected by this group showed that most women in business were primarily in the retail or service fields (traditional female areas) and earned about one-third the amount of self-employed men. Nevertheless, this group of businesswomen can be considered successful because the majority of women with aspirations to start a business find that they are lacking in savings, access to capital,

and experience for managing productive operations. Therefore, they do not even get started.

Ensuring women access to better paying jobs generally held by men has a long way to go. An equally difficult problem, which is voiced increasingly, is that of the systemic and historical undervaluation of work performed by women.

The Equal Pay Act was directed at such undervaluation but only where men and women were performing essentially the same work in the same establishment. It did not address the more pervasive discrimination which affects women who perform work which, although different from that traditionally performed by men, is of equal value. An example would be a highly trained women court stenographer versus a male compliance officer.

There are indications that job evaluation systems often assign a lower rate of pay for employees of one race or sex for jobs which are not identical in content but require an equivalent amount of skill, effort, and responsibility. A 1974 study of 121 Washington State job classifications revealed that women received about 20 percent lower pay than men for comparable work.

In 1977, the EEOC entered into a two-year contract with the National Academy of Sciences to do empirical research into the validity of principles used to establish wages and salaries and methods to assess such validity. The CETA Amendments of 1978 authorize the Secretary of Labor to undertake research programs to investigate the extent to which job and wage classification systems undervalue certain skills and responsibilities on the basis of the sex of persons who usually hold the positions.

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Occupational Safety and Health

The area of job health and safety raises policy issues that are new in form but reminiscent of debates a decade ago. Many jobs are hazardous. Accepted solutions in the past were either to exclude women from hazardous jobs or, in the name of equality, remove all standards for men and women. Wiser voices, then and now, undertake the difficult task of making the workplace safe for all workers, men and women. However, with new technology and new hazards, the issues become more complex, especially regarding the issue of reproductive hazards in the workplace.

The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 has as its purpose "to assure so far as possible every working man and woman in the Nation safe and healthful working conditions." At the same time, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, and Executive Order 11246 prohibit sex discrimination in employment. Both the Labor Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have attempted and are continuing to deal with the dual goal of assuring all workers a safe and healthful workplace while at the same time assuring them equal employment opportunities.

One interesting aspect of this problem is that, while women are being excluded from certain occupations and occupational environments, the same is not true for men, despite increasing evidence that exposure to certain substances found in the workplace can lead to fetal damage through alteration in male sperm.

On May 1, 1978, Dr. Eula Bingham, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Occupational Safety and Health, sent a letter to Corporate Medical Directors in which she urged them to consider with great caution the adoption of

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any policies of exclusion of dealing with occupational concerns. She further argued that "experience is demonstrative that given substance may be aging to the male reputation and through the male

An area where there is recognition of adverse effects on men is veterans' preference. Exclusion of women from the past has resulted in a preference for male veterans who have obtained on the examination scores but not on the preference provisions.

The Administration's Reform Act of 1978 contains modifications to the preference provisions. The view the arguments that ensued. Although the Administration's position posed alternatives, it is certain, the issue will

Human Resource Development

Designing and implementing human resource development to meet the needs of women will remain significant over the next decade. A point of the Women's special concern for education for women, problems of kinds of services, provision, and training opportunities available to girls and women those who are disadvantaged incomes, minority status of priority importance

The 1978 amendments to the Comprehensive Employment

Working Women

Safety and Health

Health and safety issues that are new in recent years have become a central part of debates about jobs that are hazardous. In the past, women were excluded from hazardous work in the name of equality. But now, as the culture of making safe work for all workers has taken hold, new issues have emerged, especially related to reproductive health.

Safety and Health has its purpose "to assure every worker in the Nation safe working conditions." Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as amended, prohibits employment discrimination. Both the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Equal Rights Amendment are continuing to work toward the goal of assuring safe and healthful work. The time is also coming when we will be able to assure equal opportunities.

One of the problems of this problem is that women are being excluded from many jobs and occupations. The same is not true for men. Increasing evidence shows that certain sub-workplaces can be altered through altera-

Eula Bingham, Director of Labor for Occupational Health, sent a letter to the National Directors of the American Nurses' Association to consider the adoption of the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

any policies of exclusion as a means of dealing with occupational health concerns. She further alerted them that "experience is demonstrating that any given substance may be equally damaging to the male reproductive system and through the male to the fetus."

An area where there has been some recognition of adverse impact on women is veterans' preference. The exclusion of women from the services in the past has resulted in a vast pool of male veterans who receive hiring preferences. Forty-five states and the federal government have laws which accord veterans some type of preference for public employment. The preference has kept many women from obtaining civil service jobs which they would have obtained on the basis of their examination scores but for the preference.

The Administration's Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 contained proposed modifications to the federal veterans' preference provisions. I will not review the arguments of the debates that ensued. Although neither the Administration's position nor other proposed alternatives prevailed, one fact is certain, the issue will not disappear.

Human Resource Development

Designing and implementing human resource development programs to meet the needs of women of all ages will remain significant policy issues over the next decade. From the standpoint of the Women's Bureau, with its special concern for economic equality for women, problems relating to the kinds of services, programs, education, and training opportunities available to girls and women (particularly those who are disadvantaged by low incomes, minority status, or age) are of priority importance.

The 1978 amendments to the Comprehensive Employment and Training

Working Women

Act would greatly enhance the effectiveness of CETA in meeting the needs of women. Of particular interest is the redirection of the program to the poor and unemployed, of whom women are 63 percent and 48 percent respectively. Special consideration through special outreach, referral, and selection will be extended to welfare recipients able to work, most of whom are women. Special emphasis is to be accorded groups with severe handicaps in obtaining employment, which includes, among others, displaced homemakers, single parents, and women.

To carry out the new legislative mandate, prime sponsors are to train women in nontraditional jobs, provide part-time and flexible hours arrangements for both training and employment programs, and overcome artificial barriers to employment. The Bureau will work with the Employment and Training Administration and prime sponsors to share knowledge on how to overcome sex stereotypes and on model programs in nontraditional areas. However, the new CETA amendments will improve the lot of women only to the extent that prime sponsors act in good faith to include women in every phase of planning and program implementation activities.

I would like to note that proposed regulations to implement the 1978 amendments were published in the *Federal Register* on January 19. Included in this proposal is a provision that if an occupation has a male or female representation of less than 25 percent, it is to be treated as a sexually stereotyped occupation. Prime sponsors are supposed to train the underrepresented sex for these occupations.

The needs of disadvantaged and minority girls to develop skills which will move them into a variety of occupations are serious. Nearly all of

them will be essential wage earners. Many of them will be female heads of households. They will be better off and so will the economy if they are ready to do jobs which will distribute them throughout the economy instead of concentrating them in the low-paying jobs which have been typically "women's jobs."

One crucial requirement is research. We know very little about the best ways to improve the attitudes of young women about work, or what special needs they have in dealing with non-traditional training. The Women's Bureau is participating, in conjunction with the Office of Youth Programs, in a Demonstration School-to-Work Project at five urban sites. Our programs deal exclusively with high school girls, and they are the only programs which currently do that.

Another important area is improved counseling. There is evidence to indicate that the current emphasis on career education may be exceptionally promising for young women. But the promise is not realized with individual counseling which routinely steers young women into standard clerical and service occupations. Many of the girls who are most likely to be attracted to the good wages in auto or appliance repair, for instance, are also the poor and minority young women who most need to earn those wages. It is critical that they hear about these jobs and also that they know about jobs emerging out of new technologies—jobs that are "sex-neutral" and do not bear the occupational segregation that characterizes older parts of the economy.

The importance of public understanding of the plight of the teen-aged mother can hardly be overstated. The facts as presented at a recent Women's Bureau conference and in many research papers, including testimony to this Committee, are not pleasant. The rate of

teen age pregnancy is increasing, and thus within the next decade the number of young-female-headed households will also continue to increase.

The evidence is accumulating that for the teen-aged mother job expectations are immediately diminished. There is no hard evidence, but the Women's Bureau is exploring the possibility that a greater sense of occupational future may have some effect on the decisions made by young teenagers. We think the encouragement of special counseling and job preparation programs for girls may help young women to perceive the damaging effects of early childbearing on the rest of their lives. That is another reason for focusing attention and support on counseling programs provided both in schools and by community-based organizations.

Another group within the society whose educational and training needs must be addressed is mature women: those entering or reentering the labor force after a substantial period spent in the home, women whose job skills are either outdated or nonexistent. These are the ones who feel the burden of race, sex, and age discrimination most keenly, whose background and schooling left them unprepared to cope with the rapid social changes of the past decade.

Many seek retooling and retraining opportunities in their local communities, but require appropriate supportive services if they are to enjoy any measure of success in their efforts. Increased public awareness is sorely needed concerning the necessity for increasing numbers of mature and older women to obtain adequate employment as they find themselves in the position of being "displaced homemakers" due to widowhood, separation, or divorce.

Employment-related issues were identified across the country in testimony at

conferences of the Women's Bureau. These conferences are being held in various parts of the country. They will be held in the following areas: (1) difficulties with Federal programs; (2) information for the job market; (3) information about private resources to improve their situation, often due to sex, race, and child care concerns.

Linkages within local communities need to be established to overcome barriers. A good start has been made with new initiatives under the Education and CETA legislation, where the traditional and training needs of homemakers are taken into account. The Women's Bureau is working with the Office of Occupational and Adult Education at HEW have established a network of training agencies at the national level to in-crease the availability of training and services available in local communities.

We perceive further research and delivery systems, and delivery systems, are needed. (1) Counseling and training agencies are required. (2) Counseling program demonstration models: on nontraditional employment opportunities, are needed. (3) Financial services to reinforce families, as well as training families, are needed to take advantage of training opportunities. Through a partnership industry and state arrangements, such services should be developed for the reentry of women into the labor force.

The Worker and

There are a number of concerns which are important to the

Working Women

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conferences of the Women's Bureau constituency groups composed of low-income women. Based on their own assessment of needs and problems, these low-income women consistently focused on: (1) difficulties with delivery of Federal programs; (2) inadequate preparation for the job market; (3) lack of information about programs and resources to improve their lives; (4) discrimination, often double and triple due to sex, race, and age; and (5) child care concerns.

Linkages within local communities need to be established to overcome these barriers. A good start has already been made with new initiatives in Vocational Education and CETA reauthorization legislation, where the special educational and training needs of displaced homemakers are taken into account. The Women's Bureau and the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education at HEW have established linkages at the national level to inform education and training agencies in states and local communities of joint programs and services available under these Acts.

We perceive further need for linkages and delivery systems, along the following lines. (1) Central Resource Systems of informational and referral capability are required in local areas. (2) Counseling programs and networks, demonstration models, and projects on nontraditional employment for women, are needed. (3) Finally, supportive services to reinforce families of single parents, as well as two-parent working families, are necessary for women to take advantage of training programs. Through a partnership between private industry and state and local governments, such services should be provided for the reentry of women into the workforce.

The Worker and the Family

There are a number of policy concerns which are important to workers

Working Women

balancing job and home responsibilities. Of primary importance is the need for child care, both for very young children and for other children after school. There is still a great lag between the need and the supply of good child care facilities, whether in a center or in a family home. Public, voluntary and other agencies as well as individuals continue actively to provide services. The problem continues to merit attention.

A second issue important to working parents is more flexibility in working hours and the availability of part-time work. For some mothers part-time work is an absolute necessity and for others it offers a means of retaining skills and job-related benefits during years of child rearing.

Two laws passed by the 95th Congress will result in expanding alternative work scheduling opportunities by the nation's largest employer, the federal government. These are the Federal Employees Flexible and Compressed Work Schedules Act of 1978 and the Federal Employees Part-Time Career and Employment Act of 1978. Under the provisions of these laws, Federal agencies are required to set annual goals for establishing or converting positions for part-time career employment and are authorized to experiment with flexible work schedules, including compressed workweeks.

Further, Title I of CETA (as amended in 1978) requires that, in all programs under the Act, special consideration shall be given to alternative working arrangements, such as flexible hours of work, work-sharing arrangements, and part-time jobs. CETA also authorizes the Secretary of Labor to undertake research on the applicability of job-sharing, work-sharing, and other flexible hours arrangements in various settings and on the incentives and technical assistance required by

employers to implement such alternative working arrangements.

While encouraging the expansion of part-time jobs for those who need or want them, we must at the same time be sensitive to the problem that part-time workers are often denied fringe benefits, even when they have a permanent rather than a temporary attachment to the labor force.

Unemployment insurance sometimes raises little noted problems for husbands and wives in the labor force. That labor force is very mobile and changes in residence often require one spouse, normally the wife, to relinquish a job in order to maintain an intact family. Yet this spouse may be seeking work also in the new location, as the family will need both incomes.

While some states provide for unemployment benefits for those who voluntarily quit their jobs to accompany their spouse to a new location, many do not. Under all state unemployment insurance laws, individuals who quit their jobs because of other marital obligations which make them unavailable for work would be disqualified under the regular provisions concerning ability to work and availability for work. Also, under those laws that restrict the good cause justification for voluntarily leaving to that attributable to the employer or to the employment, workers who become unemployed because of circumstances related to their family obligations are subject to disqualification under the voluntary-quit provision.

However, some states supplement their general able-and-available and disqualification provisions by the addition of special provisions applicable to individuals separated from work because of family or marital obligations. These provisions generally restrict benefits more than the usual disqualification. We believe that there

should be a study of the denial of benefits to individuals who leave work on account of family obligations or on account of moving to accompany a spouse.

Adapting Work-related Benefits

The Women's Bureau's mandate is the welfare of *working* women. Most of our energies have been directed, therefore, to women who are in the paid labor force or are seeking jobs in it. But more and more, society is beginning to realize that there is a value in the "job" of keeping house. A challenge for the decade ahead is to adapt benefits such as pensions, social security, and health insurance to fit new social realities and to make them equitable both to persons who contribute to work in the home as well as those who draw a paycheck.

Many women in the paid labor force suffer direct economic discrimination from having been channeled into certain traditional jobs that provide no paid leave and only low hourly wages. The discrimination carries over when they are older and find they are entitled to minimal social security benefits which are not supplemented by the pensions common under collective bargaining in industries dominated by men. Many other women who have worked for companies with pension plans find that they have forfeited all rights to the pensions for which their compensation was "deferred" because they worked part time, withdrew from the labor force temporarily, or changed jobs when their husbands were transferred.

Then there are the women homemakers who accept a lower quality of life during most of their adult years because their husbands' compensation is deferred to help finance *their* retirement age pension benefits. All too many of these women never receive the anticipated financial security because the

marriage is dissolved and the pension becomes *his*. Other women whose marriages are never subjected to dissolution proceedings are shocked to find themselves unprotected at widowhood, either because the husband had specifically rejected a joint and survivor annuity or had died even a day before becoming eligible for a joint and survivor annuity.

The Department of Labor is working to expand protections for women in this area. Recently, we participated as a friend of the court in two cases where women were being denied the right to receive part of their former spouses' pension payments as alimony and child support, or as part of a community property settlement. In both cases the Department argued that the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 does not prevent these women from receiving part of their former spouses' pension payments.

The Department has recently funded an important study which focuses solely on the role of pensions in meeting the economic security needs of women. This study will, among other things, analyze the social and economic factors which differentiate the retirement income security needs of men and women and may lay the groundwork for development of remedies to possible inequities.

The basic income for many of our senior citizens is, of course, social security benefits. In this area, too, failure to recognize the economic contribution of homemaking is being perceived as discriminatory. There is increasing support for change, possibly through a formula based on the income-splitting concept.

Because the Social Security Act provides the legislative basis for principal federal programs dealing with health, income maintenance for the disabled should be considered along with income maintenance for the aged. Lack of a nationwide health insurance program

Working Women

most heavily affects women. An important cause of this is the concentration of women workers in the industries that are least likely to have collectively bargained for plans for paid sick leave and medical benefits. The wife and children who have depended on a male wage earner's health insurance plan may suddenly be without protection in the case of divorce or death.

Another problem is the exclusion of homemakers from the long-term disability protection given military personnel and workers "covered" under the social security, civil service, and railroad retirement systems. Even homemakers who have many quarters of social security coverage, for example, are ineligible for disability benefits in their own right if they are over 31 and have not worked under the system for at least five out of the last ten years.

Under the Social Security Act, there is some protection for disabled widows. But what about disabled women under the age of 50 whose husbands die? And, given the increasing divorce rate, what about the disabled women who have lost the protection of health benefits provided as a "fringe" in connection with their ex-husbands' employment?

Conclusion

As a final word, I would say that it is critical to tailor policy within the framework of the overall economy. Broad principles, like nondiscrimination, should apply across the board. But for equal opportunity for all to become a reality and for the nation to make full use of its human resources, major policies and programs should be based on analysis of the actual circumstances and needs of individual and particular groups.

For example, the highest priority must go to the severely economically disadvantaged. But that does not mean

that women and men just above the poverty level should be denied help in achieving upward mobility and full utilization of their skills.

Among age groups, it is necessary to look separately at the situations of young women who are just entering the workforce with their whole future at stake and older women who face great obstacles in job seeking because their work has been concentrated in their homes. Geographically, the prob-

lems of women and men in rural and city economies need separate analyses.

In making these analyses of various target groups, I believe that we will be able to forge policies that are national in scope but which serve individual needs.

We in the Women's Bureau appreciate the opportunity to be a part of this thoughtfully designed, far-ranging exploration of policies and programs.

[The End]

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION QUESTIONS

The U. S. Supreme Court agreed to review the legality of voluntary affirmative action in the absence of proof of past job discrimination. The question was raised by the case of *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp.* (15 EPD ¶ 7935, reh'g den'd 17 EPD ¶ 8380), in which the Fifth Circuit struck down an employer- and union-negotiated preferential training program as effecting reverse discrimination.

A white employee who was denied admission to the crafts training program, while black employees with less seniority were admitted, successfully challenged the affirmative action plan. The training program, which required admission of one minority worker for every white in order to overcome past discrimination, was found to violate Title VII racial preference prohibitions.

Three petitions for review were accepted by the court. The union's petition raised the question of whether the preferential training program fell within Title VII's definition of "discrimination," insofar as it was a voluntary response to historic discrimination and there had been no prior discrimination against blacks at the plant. The employer's petition asked if an employer and union might lawfully consider race in the selection of employees for participation in a craft training program established to remedy the past exclusion of minorities from craft employment.

A third petition filed by the federal government presented the following question. Might an employer and union, in the absence of past bias, adopt a program, based in part on a racial criterion, to increase the proportion of black employees in skilled craft jobs at one of the employer's plants?

Still... Small Change for Black Women

The fact is black women and their children are bearing an increasing burden of poverty.

There is a lot of speculation about the uniqueness of black women's economic progress. It has been said that black women have benefited doubly, both as blacks and as women, that we have outpaced black men in obtaining the available jobs, that we earn more than other women, and that our economic position is to be envied rather than deplored.

These popular myths do not consider the statistical evidence: black women are still economically disadvantaged. While there have been singular outstanding achievements, they are the exception. The yardstick for measuring how far black women as a group actually have come must be applied to their employment and unemployment status, occupational distribution, earnings, education, and incidence of poverty. If we examine changes that have taken place in the 1970s, when efforts resulting from legislation to help eliminate sex and race bias were under way, we see that black women wage earners still are relatively low on the economic yardstick, and this status penalizes not only black women, but their families and in fact, the entire black community.*

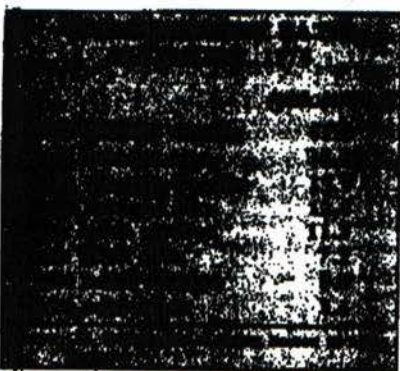
To determine black women's access to employment as well as to

BY ALEXIS M. HERMAN

specific kinds of jobs, we need to explore the levels of employment and typical job patterns for black women. Although, recently, white women show the greatest proportional increase in labor force participation, black women still maintain their historically higher rates of participation.



Yet black women continue to suffer high rates of unemployment: higher among black women than even among black men, for example. In fact, teenage black women (ages 16 to 19) have the highest unemployment rate, while the lowest rate is among adult white men.



Despite the high unemployment rates of black women, some progress—in terms of upward mobility in job categories—can be shown for all women who are employed. (See table on next page, "Occupational Distribution of Women, 1977 and 1970.") The most common job categories for black women are clerical work and service work outside the home, although there has been some dispersion into certain higher-paying occupational categories such as professional, technical, and management. A most significant positive trend is that the proportion of black women in private household work, a generally low-paying occupation, declined by one half over the seven-year period. White women also moved into higher-paying jobs and have progressed more into the professional and technical category than black women. Yet both groups are still concentrated in traditionally "female" occupations. (See "The Pink Collar Ghetto," Ms., March, 1977.)

Recent statistics show that the gap between the earnings of black women and white women is closing, but this surprising trend does not necessarily indicate progress for black women. Both groups generally are still crowded into the same low-paying traditional jobs, and this crowding contributes to the continuing earnings gap between full-time year-round women and men workers: the gap has remained at about 60 percent for

* Much of the data on black women in this article includes blacks and other minorities. The data are highly representative of black women, however, since they comprise approximately 89 percent of the group.

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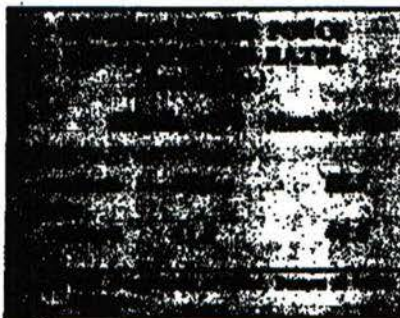
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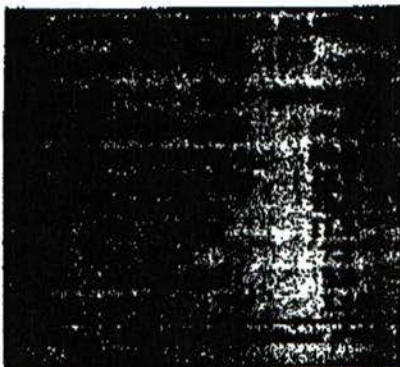
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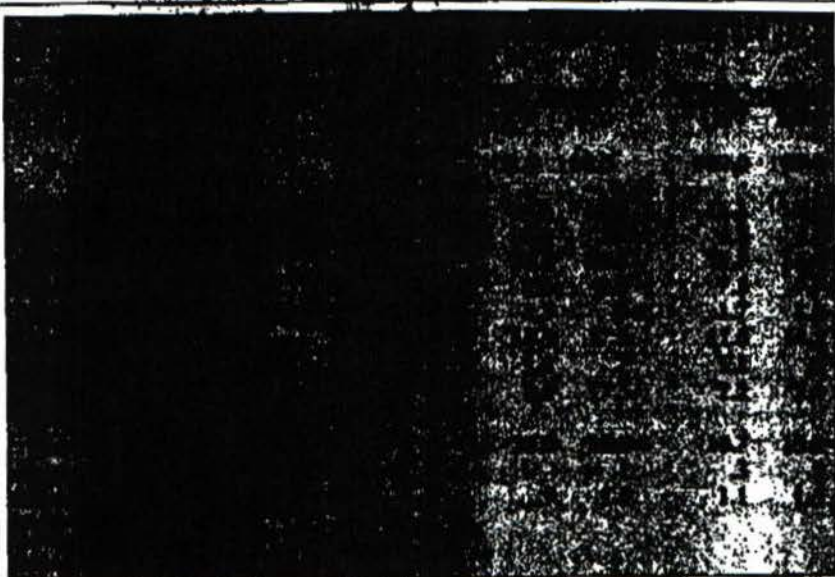
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more than a decade. Furthermore, black women are more likely to be supporting children and contributing proportionately more to their household income—and even so, that income is generally

still lower than that of the counterpart white household.

The substantial income disparity between men and women in general is evident when we compare the median usual weekly earnings of workers 16 and over in May, 1970, and in May, 1978.



Educational attainment of workers is now virtually the same between the races and sexes, yet great disparities in median incomes continue. *Black women who have attended high school have less income than white men and black men who have attended only elementary school—and the same is true for high-school-educated white women.

Probably the most underreported economic fact is the increasing number of black women who live in poverty today. [The officially defined poverty level for nonfarm

families in 1977 was about \$6,200 and \$7,300 for families of four and five persons, respectively.) Of the 57.2 million families living in poverty in March, 1978, 10 percent were black. Black families were four times as likely as white families to be living in poverty, and three and one half times as likely to be headed by a woman. Approximately 40 percent of all black families were headed by women in 1978, with slightly more than half of these female-headed families living in poverty. About 11 percent of white families were headed by women and about one fourth of these were poor.

In general, black women support more children than white women. Nearly half of the black families headed by women had four or more persons, compared with one fourth of white families. Of the more than 9 million children in black families, 40 percent were in families living in poverty. Of all black children living in poverty, 75 percent were supported by black women alone in 1977, up from 60 percent in 1970.

While the gains made by black women in education and employment cannot be discounted, the fact remains that they and their children bear an increasing burden of poverty. Efforts that have been made to date have not managed to erase the uniqueness of black women's disadvantaged status. The black community is not only paying a large price for race discrimination, but it is suffering serious consequences from the effects of sex discrimination as well.

Alexis M. Herman is Director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor.

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MINORITY WOMEN, Professional Work

by Robert W. Glover, Alexis Herman, and Allan King

She was black, articulate, talented, and very unhappy in her job. She held a bachelor of science degree in math, but the only job she had been able to get in her home city of Atlanta was that of a keypuncher, a position requiring only a high school education. She was doing repetitious work she found dull and boring, had no prospects for moving up, and was earning only \$6,000 a year. This was in 1974, a year when private industry was

paying new college graduates who had majored in math starting salaries averaging about \$10,000 nationwide.

Many other college-educated minority women have been in similar straits; they hold educational credentials that are supposed to open the doors to professional jobs, but they are unable to get decent white-collar jobs at the professional level. In recent years, part of the problem has been the tight labor market facing all new college graduates. A more crucial element, however, is that long standing traditions have severely limited the opportunities open to both

women and minority group members, especially in the South.

Research done by the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas at Austin has pointed up employment patterns of college-educated minority women in several Southern cities. The Center's data show that in 1969, such women were almost completely absent from white-collar occupations beyond the clerical level.

In Atlanta, for example, virtually no black women held managerial, professional, or technical positions in service industries such as railroad and air trans-

Robert Glover is assistant director of the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas at Austin. Alexis Herman is director of the Minority Women Employment Program. Allan King is assistant professor of economics at the University of Texas at Austin.



portation and insurance and banking. In Houston, only 1 percent of all employed black and Mexican American women held jobs as officials or managers, compared with 15 percent for white males. And in all the cities surveyed, the great majority of minority group women who did hold professional jobs worked in government agencies or nonprofit institutions such as hospitals and medical centers, not in private industry.

In response to these findings, the Manpower Administration funded a research and demonstration project designed to place underutilized college-educated minority group women in managerial, professional, and technical jobs for which they qualify. Now called the Minority Women's Employment Program (MWEP), the program began in Atlanta in April 1972. In its first 5 months of operation, 300 women applied for MWEP assistance and 30 were placed in jobs. In March 1973, a second program was set up in Houston.

The Recruitment and Training Program, Inc. (RTP) is now responsible for day-to-day operations at both centers. Research support is provided by the Center for the Study of Human Resources, which holds a subcontract with RTP.

MWEP activities are based on the

outreach technique, a strategy in which program staff members seek out persons in need of employment assistance and help them pass the screening procedures required for good-paying jobs. RTP—formerly an activity of the Workers Defense League—pioneered in using the outreach technique during the late 1960's as a means of helping minority youth move into apprenticeship programs. The MWEP is the first major attempt to apply outreach techniques to persons seeking white-collar jobs.

Link Between Women and Jobs

Five-person MWEP staffs have been set up in both Atlanta and Houston to act as bridges between college-educated minority women and employers seeking qualified applicants for managerial, technical, and professional positions. MWEP staff members seek out potential applicants from the minority community through radio and television announcements, contacts with community and church organizations, and meetings with placement personnel and sororities at local colleges with many minority group students. Staff members also canvass area employers to find out about specific professional-level job vacancies; pay scales, education and work experi-

ence requirements, and opportunities for advancement in these jobs; the types of aptitude tests, interviews, or other screening procedures which specific employers use in hiring applicants; and the personality traits—sales ability, patience to work with details, or an outgoing nature, for example—that specific employers seek. MWEP focuses its efforts on learning about job openings in private industry.

Researchers connected with the Center for the Study of Human Resources help by identifying the local industries and firms that are most likely to provide appropriate job opportunities. They also gather data about hiring patterns and job requirements in specific firms. MWEP staff members use this information to help "sell" companies on the notion of registering their job vacancies with MWEP.

MWEP services are offered free to both employers and job applicants. Applicants who come to an MWEP office are interviewed about their educational backgrounds, work experience, and job goals. They then get individual counseling covering jobhunting procedures, techniques for taking tests, and ways of presenting themselves and their qualifications to employers so that their



MINORITY WOMEN

chances of getting jobs are enhanced. For example, staff members help applicants prepare résumés that effectively point up their abilities and strong points. Often, an applicant will be assisted in preparing several résumés geared to the requirements of different employers or jobs.

Applicants are encouraged to scrutinize their educational and work experiences for indications of overlooked aptitudes and skills which may help them qualify for desirable jobs. For example, they are asked about their college minors and their leisure activities for clues about possible job qualifications and skills.

Counseling for Interviews

Because a great many companies rely heavily on impressions they gain during job interviews, MWEP offers intensive counseling designed to help applicants do well in face-to-face meetings with employers. The emphasis is on helping the applicant to feel self-confident and at ease in interview situations and to develop effective answers to questions that employers are likely to ask. Applicants take part in mock interviews, with one applicant playing the role of the job-seeker and another the role of the

interviewer. In addition, white males—the people most likely to conduct real interviews—also conduct mock interviews with applicants.

After applicants go on actual job interviews, the staff follows up by asking both applicants and employers to describe their impressions and reactions. Employers who do not hire applicants are asked why. This information helps staff members learn more precisely what types of interviews specific employers conduct and better assess employer needs for new referrals. Applicants also find it helpful to review their experiences to learn how they might be more effective in subsequent interviews.

Job applicants also receive counseling designed to help them come to grips with racism and sexism. They learn, for example, that many employers tend to reject applicants from local colleges having high minority group enrollments. In such situations, applicants must be prepared to overcome such attitudes by showing impressive job qualifications and the personal traits which the employer demands.

MWEP staff members also help applicants examine feelings and behavior which minority group women may develop in response to racism and sexism.

For example, many minority group women lack self-confidence, are unable to assess their abilities adequately, and have difficulty asserting themselves. Others may develop attitudes which employers could perceive as being negative. MWEP counselors attempt to help applicants realize the origins of such attitudes.

From the program's beginning through the spring of 1974, MWEP has made some 200 job placements in Atlanta and about 90 in Houston. Before getting their new jobs, about half of all the women placed by MWEP had been severely underemployed.

Employers Are Varied

Placements have been made in a wide variety of industries and occupations. Employers who have hired MWEP applicants include television stations, chemical laboratories, insurance companies, a brewery, airlines, a variety of manufacturing companies, department and chain stores, a telephone company, law offices, computer equipment firms, oil companies, and a bank. In addition, placements have been made in government agencies, schools, and social service agencies.

Nearly all the placements have been made at the professional level. (MWEP



accepts non-protected job listings which can be filled with a minimal amount of staff time and will also give whatever help it can to applicants without college degrees, but it does not seek out this activity.) Many women have been placed in management trainee positions, and a number have gotten jobs never before held by minority women. A sampling of job placements follows:

- The keypuncher mentioned at the beginning of this article became a systems engineering trainee with a computer firm. Her new salary was \$10,200 a year.

- A woman with a B.A. in psychology left a bank teller's job paying \$4,500 a year to work as a company's field representative at a salary of \$9,800.

- An Atlantan with a B.S. in business administration moved from a supervisory job in a grocery store to a management trainee position with an insurance company and upped her income from \$6,240 to \$9,300 a year.

- A Houston woman who had been working as a research technician for a medical school was placed in a similar job in a private chemical firm. Her salary increased by more than \$2,000 a year.

Not all placements have provided applicants with higher incomes. In cases where salary levels remained the same or declined slightly, however, the new jobs offered applicants new opportunities for advancement or personal satisfaction.

Blacks, Others Placed

All the women placed to date through the Atlanta project have been black, but the Houston operation has assisted Mexican American, Indian, and Oriental women as well. For example, Yolanda Navarro, who had worked and gone to school at night for 8 years in order to earn a B.B.A. in finance, had only clerical experience at the time she registered with MWEP's Houston office. She was making good money—\$6,980 a year—but she had held the same clerical job for 4 years and saw no hopes of moving up to a job that would use her college education. MWEP referred Navarro to Southwestern Bell, where she was hired as a management trainee at a salary of \$10,140.

The results of the MWEP projects have verified some of the lessons about the outreach strategy that RTP, Inc., learned while developing apprenticeship outreach programs for minority youth. For example, experience indicates that

outreach efforts with a very narrow scope—those that reach out to a specific and well-defined population and that attempt to place clients in specific jobs—have the best chances of succeeding. When the program's goals are limited in this way, staff members can concentrate their efforts on a relatively small number of tasks and can gain intensive knowledge about their area of concern. When efforts are made to serve many different client groups or to place persons in all types of jobs, staff members must absorb a great deal of information about many different areas and must scatter their energies and resources. This is one reason that MWEP does not encourage job listings for clerical positions and applications from women seeking jobs outside the professional level. MWEP also avoids clerical placements because it seeks to develop a reputation among employers as a source of minority women able and available to move into professional and managerial jobs.

In operating MWEP, RTP has found that sound local labor market information—the kinds of data about local firms and industries which are provided by the Center for the Study of Human Resources—is an invaluable asset. By



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knowing which industries and occupations are likely to offer the most job openings, staff members can focus their energies on developing working relationships with employers in these fields. Demonstrating a knowledge of local labor market in conversations with employers also helps convince employers that the program is competent and professionally run.

Skeptical First Reactions

Establishing credibility among both employers and the minority community was one of MWEP's initial challenges. First reactions from minority group members in both Atlanta and Houston were largely skeptical. Many minority group males criticized the program, claiming that manpower resources should be channeled into attempts to help less educated or male minority group members.

Some women were initially skeptical, too, and feared that the program was some form of exploitation. Program publicity made it very clear that MWEP assistance was free, however. As more and more placements have been made, successful clients have become one of MWEP's greatest assets. They often tell friends and relatives about the program;

in fact, the majority of recent program applicants have heard of MWEP through word-of-mouth advertising. Successful clients have also become an important source of information about job opportunities that they hear about through their work contacts. This is helping to build an important information grapevine that supplements staff members' efforts to persuade employers to list job openings with MWEP.

Women placed by MWEP also act as a kind of alumnae group that offers mutual support. Successful program participants have begun to meet regularly to help each other cope with the problems they encounter on their jobs.

Employers have also accepted MWEP, partly because they are under pressure to improve their equal employment opportunity records and are thus on the lookout for well-qualified female and minority-group job applicants. Since MWEP essentially acts as a free screening agency, and since it has become recognized as a source of qualified and reliable personnel, employers have learned to trust the program and are pleased to accept its assistance. MWEP staff members have also tried to develop positive employer reactions by developing good working relationships. They gen-

erally accept the validity of the employer's standards and seek to recruit applicants with the necessary qualifications.

Five New Projects

RTP, Inc., will be seeking to apply what it has learned in Atlanta and Houston to MWEP programs in five other cities. Under a recent Manpower Administration grant, new projects are now starting in Dallas, New Orleans, Cincinnati-Dayton, Tulsa-Oklahoma City, and Denver. Should these programs be successful, MWEP staff members in all five areas will no doubt be getting letters like the one below, which was written to the director and staff of the Atlanta project:

"At this time I can think of nothing more appropriate to say than 'thank you.' I'm sure you know only too well the adversity that a black woman encounters in her struggle for equality and independence. The development of the [Minority] Women's Employment Program not only says you understand, but is proof of your determination to ameliorate present conditions. . . . If at any time you can use the services of an inexperienced person who is willing to get involved, don't hesitate to give me a call." □