

James Madison Program
in American Ideals and Institutions

**THE MOYNIHAN REPORT AT 50:
REFLECTIONS, REALITIES, AND PROSPECTS**

A Public Conference Presented by

The James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions, Princeton University
Cosponsored by The Austin Institute for the Study of Family and Culture

**OCTOBER 30-31, 2015
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October 30-31, 2015
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Princeton University

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The Moynihan Report at 50 promises to be a robust dialogue among scholars across disciplines and political perspectives as they reflect on Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's 1965 report on the state of the African-American family in the United States. A scholar of both policy and social science, the New York senator explored the structural and cultural pathologies that haunted African American families, and in so doing drew the ire of critics. His report and its frank assessments remain controversial 50 years later. Was Moynihan prescient? Are the challenges facing the African-American family and, more generally, the American family, more or less grave today than they were in 1965? Princeton University's James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions will host leading scholars of race, poverty, inequality, criminal justice, religion, marriage, and family for a searching look at the report and its conclusions in light of 50 additional years of social and political observations. The conference will feature a keynote address by Orlando Patterson, John Cowles Professor of Sociology at Harvard University, as well as interdisciplinary panel discussions of scholars and policy experts.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30TH

1:30 p.m. – 3:15 p.m.

The Multi-Racial Impact: Youth and Families Fifty Years After Moynihan

Keynote Address: **Orlando Patterson**, Harvard University

Respondent: **Jacqueline Rivers**, Harvard University

3:45 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.

Fifty Years of Policy: What Works, What Doesn't, and What's Next?

Panelists: **Yuval Levin**, National Affairs; Ethics and Public Policy Center
Paul Peterson, Harvard University
Isabel V. Sawhill, Brookings Institution
Amy Wax, University of Pennsylvania

Chair: **Robert P. George**, Princeton University

7:30 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.

The Fragile Families Moynihan Foresaw

Panelists: **Marcy Carlson**, University of Wisconsin
Gregory Weiner, Assumption College
W. Bradford Wilcox, University of Virginia

Chair: **Mark Regnerus**, University of Texas at Austin

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31ST

9:30 a.m. – 11:15 a.m. On Inequality and Family Well-Being

Panelists: **Stephanos Bibas**, University of Pennsylvania
 Robert Lerman, Urban Institute
 Scott Winship, The Manhattan Institute

Chair: **Andrew M. Yuengert**, Princeton University & Pepperdine University

11:45 a.m. – 1:30 p.m. The Shifting Role of Religion in Shaping a Good Society

Panelists: **Anthony B. Bradley**, The King's College
 Jorge L. A. Garcia, Boston College
 Byron Johnson, Baylor University
 Eugene F. Rivers, 3rd, Azusa Christian Community

Chair: **Robert P. George**, Princeton University

PANELISTS

Stephanos Bibas is Professor of Law and Criminology at the University of Pennsylvania. A graduate of Columbia, Oxford, and Yale Law Schools, he clerked for Judge Patrick Higginbotham on the US Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, and for Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy. As a federal prosecutor in Manhattan, he successfully investigated, prosecuted, and convicted the world's leading expert in Tiffany stained glass for hiring a grave robber to loot priceless Tiffany windows from mausolea. His book *The Machinery of Criminal Justice* (Oxford) explores how American criminal justice moved from a lay-run morality play to a hidden, professionalized, amoral assembly line and how it might better include and heal victims, defendants, and members of the public.

Anthony B. Bradley is Chair of the Religious and Theological Studies program and Associate Professor of Religious Studies at The King's College in New York City, where he also serves as Director of The Center for the Study of Human Flourishing. Professor Bradley is also a Research Fellow at The Acton Institute in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He has published several books, including *Black and Tired; Liberating Black Theology; Aliens in the Promised Land; Black Scholars in White Space; and John Rawls and Christian Social Engagement*. Recognized as an authority on issues of race, political economy, welfare policy, religion, hip hop, and youth culture, Bradley has appeared on Al Jazeera, C-SPAN, NPR, CNN / Headline News, and Fox News, among other news outlets. He has also published cultural commentary in a variety of periodicals such as the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, the *Detroit News*, and *World Magazine*. He holds a Bachelor of Science in biological sciences from Clemson University, a Master of Divinity from Covenant Theological Seminary, a Master of Arts in Ethics and Society from Fordham University, and a PhD from Westminster Theological Seminary.

Marcia (Marcy) J. Carlson is Professor of Sociology, Associate Director for Training at the Center for Demography, Ecology, and an Affiliate at the Institute for Research on Poverty at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. From 2001 to 2008, she was Assistant / Associate Professor of Social Work at Columbia University. Her primary research interests center on the links between

family contexts and the wellbeing of children and parents. Her recent work is focused on father involvement, union formation, and relationship quality, especially among unmarried parents in the United States. She received her PhD in sociology from the University of Michigan in 1999, followed by a two-year postdoctoral fellowship at Princeton University.

Jorge L. A. Garcia is Professor in Boston College's Philosophy Department. Prior to this, he was Associate Professor in the philosophy departments of Notre Dame and Georgetown, Professor at Rutgers University (New Brunswick), Senior Research Scholar in the Kennedy Institute of Ethics, and in 2007, Visiting Professor in MIT's Department of Linguistics & Philosophy. His work on ethical theory, social philosophy, and racism earned postdoctoral fellowships from the Ford Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, Harvard's professional ethics program (now the Safra Center for Ethics), and Boston University, and he was Nonresident Fellow in Harvard's DuBois Institute for African-American Research. He has lectured at Cambridge, Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton, Yale, and consulted for the National Institutes of Health, the US Department of Education, the Smithsonian Institution, NEH, the National Science Foundation, the National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the European Research Council. As a past member of the Board of the American Philosophical Association's Eastern Division, he served on the APA's Committee on Hispanics and chaired its Committee on Philosophy and the Black Experience. Formerly vice-president of the Society for the Study of Africana Philosophy in NYC, he is a lifetime member of the American Catholic Philosophical Association and, in 2014-2015, served it as president.

Robert P. George is McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence and is the founding director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. He is chairman of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF). He has served on the President's Council on Bioethics and as a presidential appointee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights. He has also served on UNESCO's World Commission on the Ethics of Scientific Knowledge and Technology (COMEST), of which he continues to be a corresponding member. He is a former Judicial Fellow at the Supreme Court of the United States, where he received the Justice Tom C. Clark Award. He is the author of *In Defense of Natural Law*, *Making Men Moral: Civil Liberties and Public Morality*, *The Clash of Orthodoxies: Law, Religion and Morality in Crisis*, *Conscience and Its Enemies*:

Confronting the Dogmas of Liberal Secularism, and co-author of *Embryo: A Defense of Human Life*, *Body-Self Dualism in Contemporary Ethics and Politics*, *What is Marriage? Man and Woman: A Defense*, and *Conjugal Union: What Marriage Is and Why It Matters*. His scholarly articles and reviews have appeared in such journals as the *Harvard Law Review*, the *Yale Law Journal*, the *Columbia Law Review*, the *American Journal of Jurisprudence*, and the *Review of Politics*. Professor George is a recipient of many honors and awards, including the Presidential Citizens Medal, the Honorary Medal for the Defense of Human Rights of the Republic of Poland, the Canterbury Medal of the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, the Sidney Hook Memorial Award of the National Association of Scholars, the Philip Merrill Award of the American Council of Trustees and Alumni, the Bradley Prize for Intellectual and Civic Achievement, and the Stanley Kelley, Jr. Teaching Award from Princeton's Department of Politics. He has given honorific lectures at Harvard, Yale, University of St. Andrews, and Cornell University. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and holds honorary doctorates of law, ethics, science, letters, divinity, civil law, humane letters, and juridical science. A graduate of Swarthmore College and Harvard Law School, he also received a master's degree in theology from Harvard and a doctorate in philosophy of law from Oxford University.

Byron Johnson is Distinguished Professor of the Social Sciences at Baylor University. He is the Founding Director of the Baylor Institute for Studies of Religion (ISR), as well as Director of the Program on Prosocial Behavior. Before joining the faculty at Baylor University, Johnson directed research centers at Vanderbilt University and the University of Pennsylvania. Johnson recently completed a series of studies on the role of religion in crime reduction, sobriety for addicts in treatment, prosocial youth behavior, and rehabilitation of inmates in maximum security prisons. He has served as a member of the Advisory Board of the National Institute on Corrections and was a member of the Coordinating Council for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (Presidential Appointment). He is a leading authority on the scientific study of religion, the efficacy of faith-based initiatives, criminal justice, and the role of religious freedom in sustaining civil society.

Robert Lerman is an Institute fellow in the Center on Labor, Human Services, and Population at the Urban Institute, as well as Professor of Economics at American University and a Research Fellow at IZA in Bonn, Germany. A leading expert on apprenticeship, he recently established the American Institute for Innovative Apprenticeship. His current research focus is on skills, employer training, apprenticeship programs in the United States and abroad, and housing policies. His published research covers employment

issues, earnings and income inequality, family structure, income support, and youth development, especially as they affect low-income populations. In the 1970s, he worked as staff economist for both the Congressional Joint Economic Committee and the US Department of Labor. He was one of the first scholars to examine the patterns and economic determinants of unwed fatherhood, and to propose a youth apprenticeship strategy in the United States. He served on the National Academy of Sciences panel on the US postsecondary education and training system, and on the Maryland Task Force on Economic Development and Apprenticeship. He has testified before congressional committees on youth apprenticeship, child support policies, and the information technology labor market. He earned his AB at Brandeis University and his PhD in economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Yuval Levin is the Editor of *National Affairs*, a quarterly journal of essays on domestic policy and politics. He is also the Hertog Fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center and a contributing editor to *National Review* and the *Weekly Standard*. He has been a member of the White House domestic policy staff (under President George W. Bush), executive director of the President's Council on Bioethics, and a congressional staffer. His essays and articles have appeared in numerous publications including *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Commentary*, and others. He is the author, most recently, of *The Great Debate: Edmund Burke, Thomas Paine, and the Birth of Right and Left*. He holds a PhD from the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago.

Orlando Patterson, a historical and cultural sociologist, is the John Cowles Professor of Sociology at Harvard University. He previously held faculty appointments at the University of the West Indies, his alma mater, and the London School of Economics where he received his PhD. He has written on the cultural sociology of sports, especially the game of cricket. Professor Patterson is the author of numerous academic papers and six major academic books including, *Slavery and Social Death* (1982), *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture* (1991), *The Ordeal of Integration* (1997), and *The Cultural Matrix: Understanding Black Youth* (2015).

Paul Peterson is the Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government in the Department of Government at Harvard University. He directs the Harvard Program on Education Policy and Governance, is a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, and is the Editor-In-Chief of *Education Next*, a journal of opinion and research. A member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and

the National Academy of Education, he has received fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the German Marshall Foundation, and the Center for Study in the Behavioral Sciences. He is an author or editor of over 30 books, four of which have been identified as the best work in its field by the American Political Science Association. Peterson is a member of the independent review panel advising the Department of Education's evaluation of the No Child Left Behind law and a member of the Hoover Institution's Koret Task Force of K-12 Education at Stanford University. The Editorial Projects in Education Research Center reported that Peterson's studies on school choice and vouchers have been among the country's most influential studies of education policy. He received his PhD in political science from the University of Chicago.

Mark Regnerus is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin. Author of over 30 published articles and book chapters, his research is in the areas of sexual behavior, family, marriage, and religion. He's the author of two books: *Premarital Sex in America: How Young Americans Meet, Mate, and Think about Marrying* (Oxford, 2011), which describes the norms, behaviors, and mating market realities facing young adults, and *Forbidden Fruit: Sex and Religion in the Lives of American Teenagers* (Oxford, 2007), which tells the story of how religion does—and does not—shape teenagers' sexual decision-making. His work has been widely reviewed, including in *Slate*, the *Dallas Morning News*, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, and *The New Yorker*, and his research and opinion pieces have been featured in numerous media outlets. In addition to his appointment in sociology, Mark is also a Faculty Research Associate of the university's Population Research Center and a Senior Fellow at the Austin Institute for the Study of Family and Culture.

Reverend Eugene F. Rivers, 3rd is Pastor of the Azusa Christian Community, a Pentecostal church whose pastor is ordained within the Church of God in Christ, located in the Four Corners section of Dorchester, Massachusetts. He has worked on community development and various aspects of Christian activism for nearly thirty years, especially on behalf of the black poor. He is the founder and director of the Ella J. Baker House that has provided intensive mentoring, educational programming and job readiness training for thousands of high risk youth over the last 20 years. He is the co-founder of the Boston TenPoint Coalition, which was a key player in the dramatic reduction in violence that Boston experienced in the early 1990's. He has served as a consultant to the governments of Chile, Brazil, Canada, Ireland and England on issues of faith-community/law-enforcement partnerships to combat violent crime. He advised

both the Clinton and Bush administrations on their faith-based initiatives and was identified by the *New York Times* as the Bush administration's point man on that topic. He serves as a political analyst for MSNBC and as a highly sought-after speaker, he has provided commentary for ABC, NBC, CBS, PBS, Fox News, and BET, CNN, BBC, and NPR. He has been featured in or provided commentary for publications such as *Newsweek*, *The Economist*, *The New Yorker*, *The New York Times*, *the Washington Post*, *the Los Angeles Times*, *the Boston Herald*, and *the Boston Globe*, as well as periodicals such as the *Boston Review*, *Sojourners*, *Christianity Today*, and *Books and Culture*. He has authored or co-authored numerous essays, including "On the Responsibility of Intellectuals in an Age of Crack," "Beyond the Nationalism of Fools: A Manifesto for a New Black Movement," "Black Churches and the Challenge of U.S. Foreign and Development Policy" (2001), "An Open Letter to the U.S. Black Religious, Intellectual, and Political Leadership Regarding AIDS and the Sexual Holocaust in Africa" (1999), and "A Pastoral Letter to President George W. Bush on Bridging our Racial Divide" (2001). Rivers lives in Dorchester, Massachusetts with his wife. He was educated at Harvard University.

Jacqueline C. Rivers is the Executive Director of the Seymour Institute for Black Church and Policy Studies, which seeks to create and promote a philosophical, political and theological framework for a pro-poor, pro-life, pro-family movement within the ecumenical Black Church both domestically and internationally. She presented at the Vatican colloquium *Humanum* in November 2014. She appeared recently on WBUR discussing police violence against black men. Her latest publication is a chapter in the volume *The Cultural Matrix*, written with Orlando Patterson of Harvard University. Jacqueline Rivers holds a PhD from Harvard University where she was a Doctoral Fellow in the Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy of the J. F. Kennedy School of Government and a Graduate Research Fellow of the National Science Foundation. She graduated from Harvard Radcliffe College (BA *summa cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa and MA, both in Psychology). She was born and raised in Jamaica and now lives in Dorchester with her husband, Reverend Eugene F. Rivers, III.

Isabel V. Sawhill is Senior Fellow in Economic Studies at the Brookings Institution. She has served as Vice President and Director of Economic Studies, and as Co-Director of the Center on Children and Families and the Budgeting for National Priorities Project at Brookings. As a nationally recognized social policy expert, she focuses on domestic poverty and federal fiscal policy, with a special interest in family formation behavior. Her research has spanned a wide array of economic and social issues, including

economic growth, poverty and inequality, social mobility, the well-being of children, and changes in the family. She is the author most recently of *Generation Unbound: Drifting into Sex and Parenthood Without Marriage*, and co-author (with Ron Haskins) of *Creating an Opportunity Society*. She is board president of the National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy.

Amy Laura Wax is Robert Mundheim Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania Law School. From 1988 to 1994 she worked as an attorney in the Office of the Solicitor General at the Department of Justice, where she argued 15 cases before the United States Supreme Court. Her areas of teaching and research include civil procedure, remedies, social welfare law & policy, law & neuroscience, Supreme Court practice and process, employment discrimination, family and marriage equality law, and the law and economics of work and family. She has served as a member of the MacArthur Foundation working group on law & neuroscience and has published in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Policy Review*, *National Affairs*, *Commentary Magazine*, *The New Criterion*, and *First Things*. Her book, *Race, Wrongs, and Remedies: Group Justice in the 21st Century*, was published by the Hoover Institution in Spring 2009. She graduated with a BS from Yale in 1975, and holds an MD from Harvard and a JD from Columbia.

Gregory Weiner is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Assumption College, where he has taught since 2011. He is an expert in the political thought of the American Founding. He is the author of *American Burke: The Uncommon Liberalism of Daniel Patrick Moynihan* and *Madison's Metronome: The Constitution, Majority Rule and the Tempo of American Politics*, both from the American Political Thought series of the University Press of Kansas. He has published on such topics as the political thought of James Madison, the separation of powers, the presidency, the constitutional issues involved in the war on terrorism, and other issues. Before his academic career, he was a political aide, consultant, and writer in Washington, D.C. for nearly two decades, including several years as communications director for Senator J. Robert Kerrey of Nebraska. He holds a PhD in political theory from Georgetown University and completed a postdoctoral fellowship at Brown.

W. Bradford Wilcox, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Virginia, is Director of the National Marriage Project at the University of Virginia, Visiting Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, and a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Family Studies. He has held research fellowships at Princeton University, Yale University, and the Brookings Institution. The coauthor of *Gender*

and Parenthood: Biological and Social Scientific Perspectives (Columbia, 2013, with Kathleen Kovner Kline), Professor Wilcox's research has focused on marriage, fatherhood, and cohabitation. Now, Dr. Wilcox is exploring the contribution that families make to the economic welfare of individuals and societies. Professor Wilcox is coauthor of the forthcoming *Soul Mates: Religion, Sex, Love, & Marriage Among African Americans and Latinos* (Oxford, 2016). As an undergraduate, Wilcox was a Jefferson Scholar at the University of Virginia ('92) and later earned his PhD from Princeton University.

Scott Winship is the Walter B. Wriston Fellow at the Manhattan Institute. Previously, he was a Fellow at the Brookings Institution. His research interests include living standards and economic mobility, inequality, and insecurity. Earlier, he was research manager of the Economic Mobility Project of the Pew Charitable Trusts, and a senior policy advisor at Third Way. He writes a column for Forbes.com; his research has been published in *City Journal*, *National Affairs*, *National Review*, *The Wilson Quarterly*, and *Breakthrough Journal*; and he contributed an essay on antipoverty policy to the ebook *Room to Grow: Conservative Reforms for a Limited Government and a Thriving Middle Class* (2014). He has testified before Congress on poverty, inequality, and joblessness. He holds a BA in sociology and urban studies from Northwestern University and a PhD in social policy from Harvard University.

Andrew M. Yuengert is the James Madison Program's 2015-16 William E. Simon Visiting Fellow in Religion and Public Life, and is the Blanche Seaver Professor of Social Science and Professor of Economics at Pepperdine University. He arrived at Pepperdine in 1994 from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Professor Yuengert has made research contributions across several fields: economic philosophy, Catholic social thought, labor economics, and finance. He is a former President of the Association of Christian Economists, and was editor of its journal, *Faith & Economics*. He is the author of three books: *The Boundaries of Technique*, *Inhabiting the Land*, and most recently *Approximating Prudence: Aristotelian Practical Wisdom and Economic Theories of Choice*. He holds a BA in Economics from the University of Virginia (1983) and a PhD in Economics from Yale University (1990).

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