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# ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1971

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## DOCUMENTS

### HEARINGS AUG 2 1971

BEFORE THE

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#### SUBCOMMITTEE ON

#### EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY

OF THE

#### COMMITTEE ON

#### LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

#### UNITED STATES SENATE

#### NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

#### FIRST SESSION

ON

### S. 1290

TO PROVIDE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF PROGRAMS AUTHORIZED UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

### S. 397

TO EXTEND FOR TWO ADDITIONAL YEARS THE AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS CONTAINED IN THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

### S. 1305

TO AMEND THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 TO AUTHORIZE A LEGAL SERVICES PROGRAM BY ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

### S. 2007

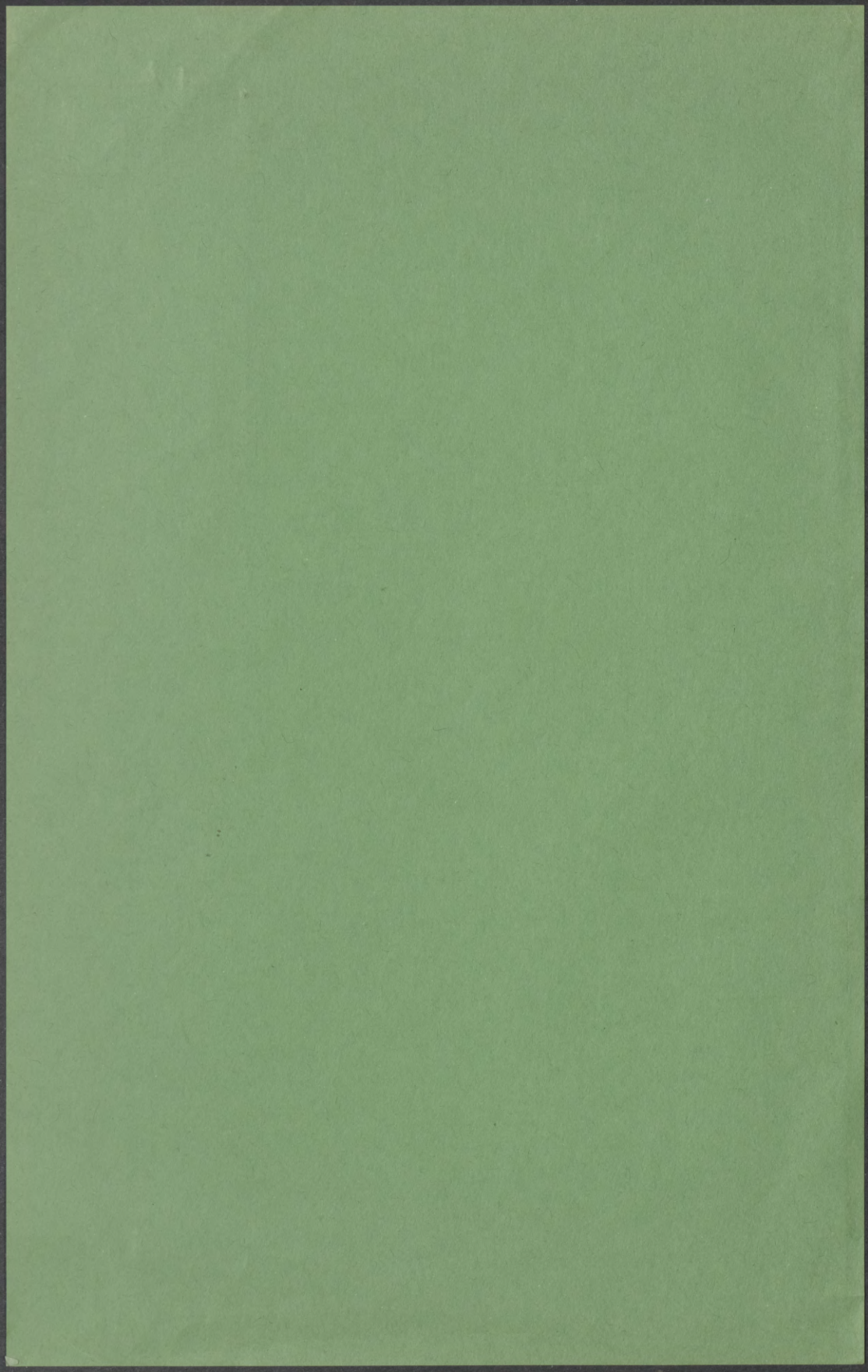
TO PROVIDE FOR THE CONTINUATION OF PROGRAMS AUTHORIZED UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964 AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

APRIL 27 AND 28, 1971

### PART 2

Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare





# ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1971

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## HEARINGS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE UNITED STATES SENATE NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

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Printed for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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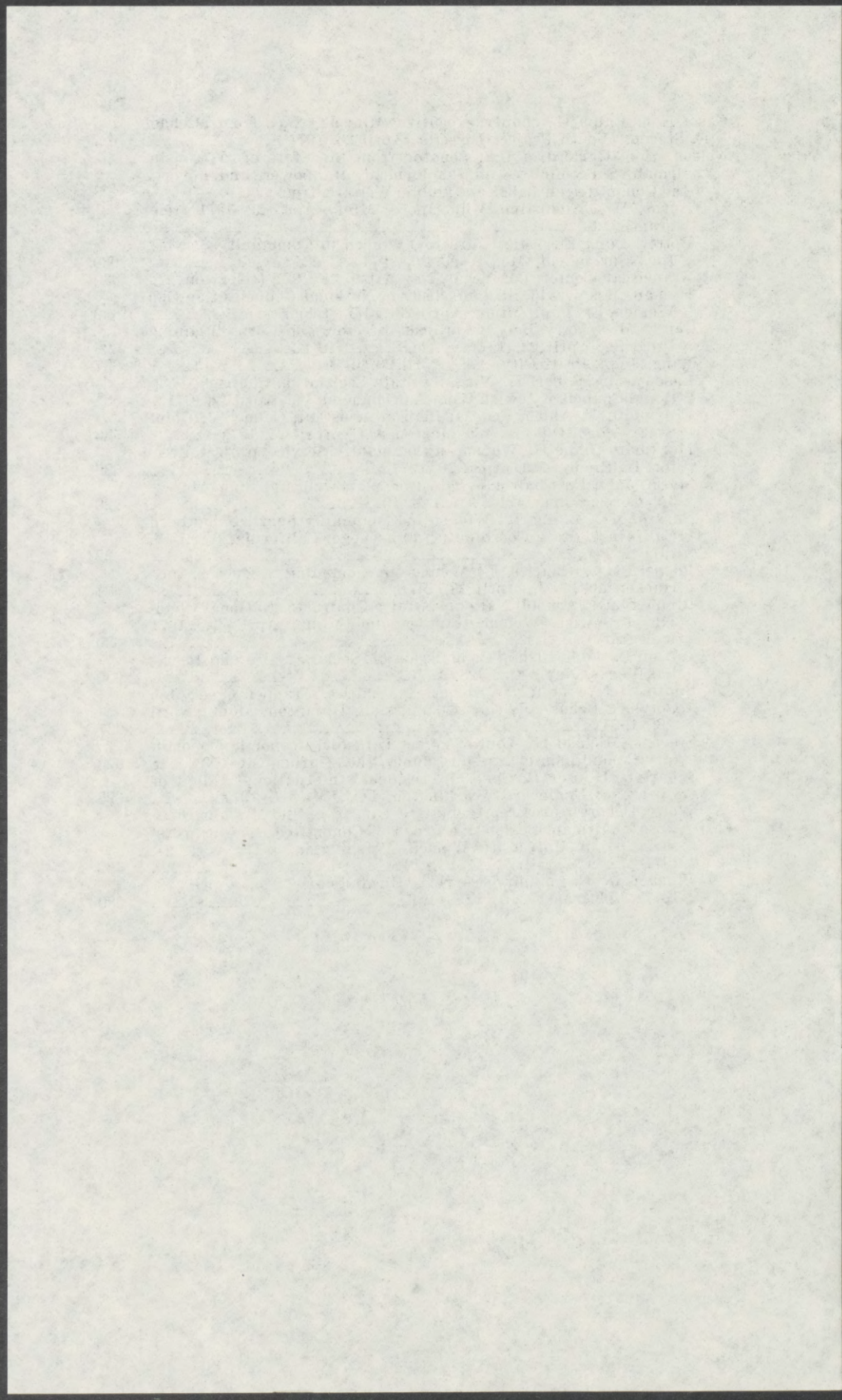
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## ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1971

TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1971

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 10:10 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 1114, New Senate Office Building, Senator Gaylord Nelson (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Nelson and Javits.

Staff members present: William R. Bechtel, subcommittee staff director; Richard E. Johnson, counsel to the subcommittee; and John K. Scales, minority counsel to the subcommittee.

Senator NELSON. The subcommittee will open hearings this morning on the extension of the Economic Opportunity Act, in connection with bills S. 397 and S. 1290, to extend the Economic Opportunity Act.

Our first witnesses are Mr. Frank Carlucci, Director, and John Wilson, Assistant Director, Office of Economic Opportunity. The committee is pleased to have you here this morning, gentlemen.

You have prepared texts. They will be printed in full in the record. You may present it however you desire.

### STATEMENTS OF FRANK CARLUCCI, DIRECTOR, AND DR. JOHN WILSON, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Mr. CARLUCCI. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to appear before you today, to discuss the philosophy underlying our recent efforts in the field of education. The OEO has launched two experiments designed to find ways to improve access to a quality education for children from poor families. The first is our experiment in performance incentive contracting, which will be completed in June. The results of this experiment will be available in early fall.

The second, the regulated voucher experiment, is designed to test the effect of a financing system which places a premium on the admission of poor students and which promotes diversity in educational options for the children of the poor.

These experiments were conceived in an effort to develop innovative methods of more adequately providing students from poor families with sound schooling, and thus improving their chances of finding a productive place in American society.

I would not attempt to predict the outcome of these experiments. I do know, however, that they address in exciting new ways a problem which we can all agree is one of the primary causes of poverty—a lack of adequate education.

The experiments were designed within both the spirit and intent of the Economic Opportunity Act, which stated that OEO was developed to “mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States.”

The findings and the declaration of purpose of the act elaborate:

The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a Nation, only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our full society.

“It is therefore the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

The intent of the Congress is further defined in section 232(a) which authorizes research and pilot programs:

The Director may contract or provide financial assistance for pilot or demonstration projects conducted by public or private agencies which are designed to test or assist in the development of new approaches or methods that will aid in overcoming special problems or otherwise in furthering the purposes of this title.

He may also contract or provide financial assistance for research pertaining to the purpose of this title.

It was in this spirit that OEO developed Headstart, Follow-through, and other programs. It is clear that the Congress intended the Office of Economic Opportunity to provide services and assistance to the poor, and to conduct research leading to new approaches that would help the poor lift themselves out of poverty.

It seems equally clear that the Congress intended the OEO to address itself not only to the financial well being of the poor, but also to the entire spectrum of problems that comprise the roots of poverty.

No one doubts that an inadequate education effectively hampers an individual's chances for financial well being. I find it strange that some of our critics—or supporters, I am not always sure which—argue that OEO must be strengthened to fight the root causes of poverty, while at the same time demanding that we cease those activities designed to find better ways to educate the poor.

It is of course, comparatively easy to develop politically appealing programs that involve only spending more money and thereby supplement, rather than challenge, existing institutions.

It is much harder to examine critically basic, existing institutions, such as our educational system, that are not meeting the needs of the poor. It is also more important to do so. This is what we ask our Community Action Agencies to do at the local level, and we should ask no less of ourselves at the national level.

There is a clear relationship between poverty and education. The incidence of poverty for persons with a high school education of more was 5.7 percent in 1969; but for those with only 1 to 5 years of schooling, it was six times as great.

When we look only at the working-age poor, the difference is

equally significant. Some 55 percent of the poor white males of prime working age again had less than a high school education; less than 25 percent of the non-poor white males had that low a level of education.

Some new data from a 5-year survey involving a large sample of poor and near poor people also highlight the importance of education for the poor.

These data, from the first 3 years, show that 83 percent of the 22- to 64-year-old heads of household who were poor all 3 years had less than a high school education.

In contrast, only 35 percent of those who remained out of poverty over the time span had less than a high school education.

In the face of such statistics, few experts in the field would disagree that current compensatory education efforts have largely failed. Some would, of course, argue that the answer to the education problems of the poor lies in increasing expenditures for existing programs, primarily title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and Headstart.

Yet a recent evaluation by the Office of Education of programs and services funded under title I showed that—

Under the legislatively prescribed formula Title I funds in 1968 did not flow to the school districts and their disadvantaged students proportionately to their needs. Place of residence remains a primary determinant of the quality of services available to the Nation's disadvantaged pupils.

Compensatory reading programs did not seem to overcome the reading deficiencies that stem from poverty. Poor students who took part in these programs showed less progress in reading achievement than more affluent students who took part.

Indeed, testing administered before and after title I programs found that only 19 percent of all participating children showed significantly improved reading skills; the remaining 81 percent continued to fall behind those classmates who did not participate in the programs.

Thus, despite the expenditure of ever-increasing millions of dollars—financial assistance from the Federal Government to preschool, elementary, and secondary schools have increased 400 percent in the last 5 years—it is clear that we have not found the long-sought breakthrough in education for the poor.

From its very inception, the Office of Economic Opportunity has attempted to develop new concepts to overcome the educational handicaps of the poor. In each case, these concepts were tested within the Office of Economic Opportunity, brought to maturity, and finally transferred to the Office of Education or the Department of Labor for permanent operation.

Our performance contracting and education voucher experiments flow from the tradition, a tradition that is aimed not at destroying or competing with existing educational institutions, but directed rather at finding new methods by which we can better educate poor children.

I think it is desperately important, for the sake of these children, that we not spend money simply for the sake of spending money, but rather that we do everything possible to insure that the money is spent in a fashion that will most benefit them.

If we are to avoid the unanticipated problems that have plagued massive new efforts like medicare and title I, we must analyze new approaches rather carefully in an experimental fashion before programs are implemented on a nationwide basis.

The cost of such vital experimentation, compared with the potential payoff, is amazingly low. The total OEO research and development budget for fiscal year 1972 amounts to only \$73 million, of which only a portion goes to the experiments we are discussing today.

The \$73 million represents less than 4 percent of the total funds administered under the Economic Opportunity Act, and just two one-hundredths of 1 percent of the \$31.1 billion that the Federal Government spends on aiding the poor.

The agency is undertaking such experiments amid numerous indications that the general public, nonpoor as well as the poor, is increasingly dissatisfied with the education American children are receiving. Witness, if you will, these developments:

Since 1957, when these figures first were reported, the rate of bond issue approval has never been lower than it was in the 1968-69 school year, the last year for which figures are available. The percentage of bond issues approved in 1968-69 was 43.6; a proportion that has declined sharply and steadily from a high of 79.4 percent in the 1964-65 school year.

In some cities, parents are urging that large public school districts, be decentralized so parents can regain control over the education of their children: at the same time, parents are fighting attempts at school consolidation that would dilute their influence over the decisionmaking process.

As indicated by a recent Gallup Poll, the public has an appetite for more information about the schools and what they are trying to do. Some 75 percent of those surveyed favor a system of national tests to compare the educational achievement of their children with that of students in other communities; 67 percent favor a system that would hold teachers and administrators more accountable for the progress of their students.

And it is not only the adults who are dissatisfied. Several months ago in the Hough area of Cleveland, I met with a group of teenagers from low income minority families.

We met for 4 hours and talked about things that bothered them. Do you know what most disturbed these youths?

Education. Schools. For at least 3 of the 4 hours they complained about their school experiences—inadequate teachers, the unresponsiveness of the system, meaningless work, and the like.

They were concerned and interested and wanted to see change. Statistics indicate that inadequate education correlates closely with poverty. Evaluation after evaluation indicates that existing compensatory programs are not succeeding. Given these facts, it is my duty, my obligation as an advocate for the poor, to seek out answers to their problems in education.

I look at the Economic Opportunity Act and I look at the problems. From these I am convinced that we must continue to experiment with new ways and even techniques. If OEO were complacent about the

education problems of the poor, we would be failing then in the most important part of our mission.

The futures of the poor children we serve depend on our ability to make as many improvements in education as possible—through both past efforts to create and improve efforts like Headstart and Follow-through—as well as our current efforts in early childhood development, our experiment in performance contracting, and in examining in much more detail a possible demonstration of education vouchers, or even some completely different approach yet to be found.

Many of those who would exclude us from educational experiment are those who most highly praise OEO's previous successes and argue against any proposed changes in OEO's structure.

If we have been successful in bringing about greater institutional responsiveness, then why prevent us from looking at the most important of institutions from the perspective of the poor—the educational establishment?

How can those who in one breath urge us to be advocates for the poor argue in the next breath that we cannot even experiment—much less advocate—where it counts the most? We do not have all the answers, nor are we committed to a particular solution.

We do know that a problem exists and that new ideas need to be tested.

The experiments I have discussed here today speak to two vital issues: Accountability in education and equalizing educational opportunity.

The performance contracting experiment is an attempt to find out whether children learn more when how much they learn is the measure by which an educational system is judged. In other words, it makes learning—rather than the number of new classrooms—or the number of teachers with doctoral degrees—the criteria for determining educational success.

The educational voucher experiment, if it proves viable to undertake, would empower parents to choose among several alternatives in selecting their children's schools. Surely this relates to OEO's mission in that opportunity, in the most basic sense, is really a matter of having alternatives from which to choose.

As one who is committed to the concept that legal services should be equally available to all, regardless of economic circumstances, I must also support this effort to give the poor equal access to educational opportunity.

The performance contracting experiment is an attempt to find out whether children learn more when how much they learn is the measure by which an educational system is judged. In other words, it makes learning—rather than the number of new classrooms, or the number of teachers with doctoral degrees, the criteria for determining educational success.

The experiments may fail, but, if they do, we as a nation will have learned from the failure. We may on the other hand successfully demonstrate ways to improve education for the poor, and if we do it is up to society, the Congress, local school boards,—not OEO—to make a decision on implementing new methods.

The problem is difficult but the stakes are high for the poor and for this country. In my judgment we must continue.

Senator NELSON. Thank you, Mr. Carlucci. How many places do you have performance incentive contracting arrangements?

Mr. CARLUCCI. We have performance contracting arrangements in 20 school districts, Mr. Chairman.

Eighteen school districts are contracting with private firms, and two school districts are contracting with their teachers associations.

Senator NELSON. The whole system, or part of the system?

How is your performance contracting structured?

Mr. CARLUCCI. It is done from grades one through three and seven through nine in individual schools. John, do you want to give more details?

Dr. WILSON. Mr. Chairman, it is strictly an experiment involving a limited number of students one hour a day each in reading and math in the first through third and seventh through ninth grades.

Senator NELSON. Just 1 hour a day in reading and math?

Dr. WILSON. Reading, and an hour in math.

It is a compensatory program in addition to the normal educational processes.

Senator NELSON. Is it the same courses in the same grades in the same program in each of the 20 schools?

Mr. CARLUCCI. No, it varies considerably, depending on the contractors methods. Part of the experiment is to see which different methods of different contractors can result in significant improvement for reading and math.

Senator NELSON. And the subject matter taken under the performance incentive programs are taught exclusively by the private contractor, is that right?

Mr. CARLUCCI. With the exception of two school districts, where they are taught by teacher's associates.

Senator NELSON. Are they taking the course and also the normal school program?

Are they taking math and reading also in the regular school curriculum?

Mr. CARLUCCI. No, sir.

Dr. WILSON. To some extent we get an overlap because there may be some exposure to reading and math in the normal curriculum, but in general what this involves is taking the disadvantaged student, those students who are behind several grade levels and putting them into a separate, different structured classroom setting. Then they are given this compensatory type of program as a substitute for the reading and math they might receive in the normal classroom.

Senator NELSON. It is structured so that it is a tutorial service? What are you trying to compare is my point.

Dr. WILSON. What we are trying to do is see if an individualized instruction process—a process that allows the company and the school system to concentrate on the needs of the individual students—raises the students' reading and math level. This is being tested with students who are two or three grade levels behind.

Senator NELSON. You are not using the ordinary classroom environment, then, with one teacher for 25 students? What are you doing?

Dr. WILSON. We are using teachers and teachers aides and the students leave their normal classroom. A typical second grader. Will

leave his classroom one hour a day and instead of going to music lessons, he may be to specialized reading. This classroom will have individual booths. Each student will have his own individualized reading course, and process at his own rate and be judged upon his own advancement in this individualized course.

He will stay in this classroom one hour a day and then return to his normal classroom under their normal teacher.

Senator NELSON. Are they receiving one-to-one tutorial assistance?

Dr. WILSON. No, you don't have a one-to-one relationship. You have a ratio not tooo different from the traditional public classroom situation, where the teacher and teachers aides assist the student in the learning process.

Mr. CARLUCCI. Many of the contractors are using centers.

Dr. WILSON. One of the important aspects of performance contracting is an incentive system, green stamps, tokens, free time, to try to induce the disadvantaged to want to learn. Incentives also usually are offered to the teachers. And, of course, the incentive to the private firm is the amount of pay it will receive.

How important that incentive is going to be in the whole educational process, that is what we are evaluating. We do not place an over reliance upon the incentives to teachers and students. But the companies will not be reimbursed even for costs if they don't achieve results.

The important aspect of it, I think, is the individualization of the process on the needs of each specific student and try to develop a program to meet his needs.

Rather than have the student competing against an average in the classroom, or against a teacher, he is really working against his own deficiencies. This is where we think that success may lie in the whole approach.

Senator NELSON. How does all this differ from the Teacher Corps concept?

Dr. WILSON. I am not exactly familiar with the Teacher Corps and how it operates at the individual level, but from my understanding, the Teacher Corps is a program to get teachers into disadvantaged areas and big city school systems to try to get better talent and more teachers for poor students.

Senator NELSON. That is just part of the program.

Dr. WILSON. But the performance contract experiment we are running is simply to try to evaluate this new concept in education to see if it has any merit or if it does not have any merit.

We do not intend in OEO to run an operational contracting system. Indeed, the money is currently available and is being used by approximately 25 school systems outside of OEO through ESEA money.

What we want to see is if the concept has any merit. If it does not, then we want to discourage school systems from undertaking it. If it does, we want to see what advantages of the approach would be and if it is administratively feasible.

Mr. CARLUCCI. Perhaps it is important to note, Mr. Chairman, that our experiment has a carefully structured evaluation. As I mentioned in my statement, the experiment will be ending in June and we will have the results in the fall.

Senator NELSON. I still am not now sure I understand what you are trying to do. Are you trying to set up a model which, if it works is applicable to the whole system and to all students regardless of their achievement levels?

Mr. CARLUCCI. We are trying to see if this model would work. It would be up to the individual school boards to determine whether they want to use it in their school districts.

Senator NELSON. We know that the tutorial system works. We know that you can take students who are flunking two and three and four courses and put them in a tutorial circumstances such as the teacher corps and a substantial amount of them will not end up failing any course, and a substantial percentage who are failing three and four will fail only one.

We know a good tutorial system will work. What I am trying to find out is what you are doing that is different.

Mr. CARLUCCI. This is not a tutorial system. This is a system designed to see whether incentives given to teachers result in improved skills. The teachers have approximately the same teacher pupil ratios that they would normally have in their classrooms. The incentives are designed to encourage them to devise newer and better methods to help their students along.

I mentioned that the firms only get paid if the students progress at least one level, and they only begin to break even if the students progress an average of about 1.5 grade levels. Only above that do the firms begin to make a profit.

This is introducing an aspect of a competitive system into the educational process.

Senator NELSON. These 20 programs will have had one school year's experience at the conclusion of this academic year this spring?

Mr. CARLUCCI. That is correct, sir.

Senator NELSON. You don't have any interim, preliminary report?

Mr. CARLUCCI. John, do you have any?

Dr. WILSON. We have not conducted our final tests, which will be given the last 4 weeks of the school year to determine the reading and mathematics gains. What we do have, Mr. Chairman, are assessments and a general opinion of what is going on.

What we find is, first, that the children's attitudes toward education have improved. Their dropout rate, vandalism, their whole desire to learn have shown tremendous improvement so far.

The second general conclusion that we can draw is that it is indeed very difficult to design and administer this system, or turnkey it into the normal educational process. It will require an upgrading on the part of school boards and school administrators as they deal with the process if, indeed, they decide they want to go ahead with it.

As to the exact gains that have been achieved, we do not know. We will find that out this summer.

Senator NELSON. You are aiming at some kind of an experimental model which, if effective, would be instituted in a school system at the same cost as the current traditional classroom teaching method?

Is that what you are saying?

Dr. WILSON. One of the items that we want to find out is how much it would cost to institute this method on an operational basis,

since the firms that will do it would be paid upon the basis of results. We want to find out how much it would cost to institutionalize this within the public school system. This is information we do not have yet.

It is strictly an experiment involving 18 school systems to get information on gains in reading and math. We want to learn whether it is possible through an intensive effort using a somewhat different approach than has been used in the past to get quantum jumps in reading and math among the disadvantaged, and finally, whether it is possible to administer the system in the schools.

Senator NELSON. You keep saying reading and math. Is that all you are dealing with?

Dr. WILSON. That is all we are dealing with.

Senator NELSON. Those are the only subjects you can think of that you think might be worthwhile in the whole education system?

Dr. WILSON. Let me address that issue, because I know of at least one school system that is using private funds to put the whole school on a performance basis. When you talk about performance contracting or accountability, you have to have a measure of what you are trying to attain, a measure which has satisfactory testing to measure those gains.

We feel quite strongly that this can be only done in reading and math. I know of no adequate test to measure skill achievement in economics, social studies, or English.

Our hypothesis is that if a student cannot read or perform the basic mathematic skills, it's difficult for them to be successful in history, or English or social studies. If we can improve their performance in reading and math, we hope there will be a corollary improvement in their work in other subjects. In fact, we will look at the grades children in performance contracting receive in other subjects to see whether this spillover effect does occur.

Senator NELSON. I assume you will be prepared to present results on these incentive programs sometime in the summer?

Mr. CARLUCCI. In the fall we can present it, yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. Go ahead, Mr. Wilson.

Your statement will be printed in full in the record.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Wilson follows:)

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC  
**OPPORTUNITY**

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

STATEMENT BY JOHN OLIVER WILSON  
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY  
SENATE LABOR AND WELFARE COMMITTEE

April 27, 1971

Mr. Carlucci has dealt with the relation of education to poverty and with the Office of Economic Opportunity's interest in experimentation and research. In my part of the testimony, I would like to try to cover some of the specific features and issues associated with our proposed experiment with education vouchers. I will begin with a very brief statement of the objectives that we hold for this project, then follow with a brief description of the features of the program that we will attempt to test. I think it is important to reiterate these even though most of you are familiar with them because so frequently the testimony before you and newspaper reports seem to ignore the nature of the program design we have chosen. Finally, and most important, I will discuss what we feel are some of the important considerations concerning an experiment with education vouchers.

- Will a voucher system significantly improve the system of public education in this nation?
- Will a voucher system lead to increased and more acceptable social and racial integration?
- To what extent will nonpublic schools be included in the experiment?

Before I begin, however, let me review briefly the manner in which decisions to carry on this experiment will be made. The decision to go forward with an experiment with education vouchers will reside largely with State and local education authorities in the communities interested in trying the voucher system. We have intentionally required that the local public school boards be the grantees for planning and feasibility studies. All of our preplanning grants, for example, were made to the local school boards. They were required to establish a planning board directly responsible to them with the governor's office, the State superintendent of schools, teachers and other interested groups within the community invited to participate. We strongly believe that the groups who are responsible for education in the local community should have the major role in shaping any program of education that is introduced into the communities.

Second, the structure of the experiment will require the passage of enabling legislation at the State level, since the school districts derive most of their powers from the State constitution and a substantial portion of their resources from the State tax system. In addition, the Economic Opportunity Act requires that any program such as this receive the support of the Governor and of the local community action agency. Thus, before we proceed with a voucher experiment we must have widespread support.

This support is important. Opponents of a voucher experiment have raised many issues concerning the effects such a system would have on

education. Most of their concerns arise from visions of cynically manipulated attempts to use the system to meet private ends. It is surely true that the objectives of this system along with virtually all other systems of government, can be subverted in a community that does not want to make it work. For the system to succeed it must have legitimacy in the eyes of the community. If this cannot be achieved then the system will be doomed to failure. It is our concern that a wide base of support exist before any experiment is initiated.

#### Objectives for the Regulated Voucher Experiment

Our interest in the concept of education vouchers stems from two factors. First, the poor and the children of the poor seem to either have only inferior education available to them or simply not be able to benefit by the type of education that is currently available to them. As a consequence, their levels of achievement are low and they are denied the opportunities for economic and social welfare that result from good educational attainment. Second, we are concerned that patterns of racial and economic segregation in housing, combined with low incomes, deny to the poor in our society the same opportunities to choose the sources of education for their children that only the more affluent can afford. The experiments, then, seek to answer two major questions:

- Is the education of children, particularly poor children, improved under this system?

- Are parents and the community as a whole more satisfied with the educational opportunities and outcomes afforded under the voucher system?

There are many subsidiary objectives of course. In particular, the experiment will be designed to determine whether the voucher system:

- Leads to increased and more acceptable social and racial integration.
- Is administratively feasible.
- Parents actually choose to take advantage of the new freedom they have in selecting schools for their children.
- Results in public schools becoming more innovative and diversified.

In addition to explaining our objectives in this experiment, let me also state what we are not trying to do. First, we are not advocating the adoption of vouchers as a means of financing education. We are advocating an experiment with vouchers. Our review of the problems associated with vouchers makes us as conscious as everyone else of the potential pitfalls and problems associated with the concept. Until we have seen results from the experiment, we will remain opposed to any widescale adaption of a voucher system. Second, we are not attempting to discredit or destroy the public school system in this country. We have asked representatives of that school system to carry out our feasibility studies. They will make the final decision whether or not to go forward with the program. They will shape the precise nature of the system

we will test. Finally, we are not attempting to devise a new means of supporting religious schools. Our reason for wishing to include these schools in the experiment is that they are a major alternative source of education. Should it be determined that it is unconstitutional for religious schools to participate in this program we would still advocate continuation of the experiment.

#### The Proposed Experiment

Early in the consideration of this proposal we recognized the complexity of the system we were considering and therefore placed considerable emphasis on developing a conceptual design for the voucher system in our grant to the Center for the Study of Public Policy. We think that the voucher model recommended by the Center retains the advantages cited by advocates of the voucher system and promises the possibility of eliminating most of the problems cited by its opponents. The experiment includes the following regulations:

- No school may discriminate against pupils or teachers on the basis of race or economic status, and all schools must demonstrate that the proportion of minority students enrolled is at least as large as the proportion of minority applicants.
- Schools must be open to all applicants. Where more students apply than can be accepted, some portion, less than one-half, of the students may be selected by any criteria, except race, that the school wishes. Some schools may want to give preference to siblings of children already enrolled, to children of a particular neighborhood, to children with certain

capabilities or interests, or to children of particular religious faiths, for example. For the remaining positions, the choice from among applicants must be on a fair and impartial basis, for example, by lottery.

- The school must accept the voucher as full payment for all educational services. In other words, no school may require parents to make additional payments out of pocket. Schools may seek additional sources of funds from the government, foundations, or interested citizens and parents, but in no case can the admission of a child to the school be conditioned upon such contributions on the child's behalf.
- Parochial schools will be permitted to participate in the experiment only if the arrangements for this participation can be made so as not to violate their State's constitution or the U. S. Constitution. They also would have to comply with all rules, including the requirement for open admissions procedures, that will apply to other schools in the experiment.
- All schools must make available to parents information about such matters as the school's basic philosophy of education, number of teachers, teacher qualifications, facilities, financial status, and pupil progress. In short, schools must provide sufficient information to

parents to enable them to make wise decisions when they select schools.

- The value of the voucher will be supplemented for the poor or for educationally disadvantaged children. This is designed to serve as an incentive for schools to admit these children and serve to ensure that free choice exists in fact for all students.
- All participating schools can join in the voucher system only if approved by a locally selected local education voucher authority (EVA), and if they function within the guidelines established by the State enabling legislation.

In addition to enforcing all the above regulations, the EVA will be responsible for the day-to-day administration of the voucher system. It will distribute vouchers to all eligible students and cash the vouchers on presentation by qualifying schools. The EVA may be the current board of education augmented by members of the community and representatives of alternative sources of education. Or, it may be a new board empowered to receive funds from the local school system and disburse them to parents.

The experiment, to be mounted in several communities, will include only elementary children. This period is crucial in the development of the child's basic skills and learning motivation. It is also a time when the parents are particularly concerned with their

children's education. In addition, since it is hoped that additional sources of education will be developed within the community, the elementary level is desirable because it reduces the capital necessary to start new schools. Substantial evidence suggests that elementary school facilities are less expensive than those for the immediate or secondary level.

All elementary school children in the experimental areas will be eligible to receive the vouchers, which can be used at any school meeting, the requirements to be established by the communities. The EVA will make every effort to provide parents with information and counseling, and other types of technical assistance, to facilitate parents' choices.

The bulk of the funds would come from existing and projected State and local education revenues, which would be distributed on a per student basis. The Office of Economic Opportunity plans to provide the extra funds for compensatory payments for poor children, and would pay the costs of educating students not now in the public schools. These costs would be roughly equal to current per pupil expenditures. In addition, the OEO would finance the extra costs occasioned by setting up and administering the voucher system, and would provide transportation funds, so that students would not be limited to neighborhood schools. It is not, however, the intention of the OEO to reduce the burden of local taxpayers by substituting Federal funds for State and local funds.

Now, as I indicated earlier, I want to deal with several important considerations concerning the proposed experiment with education vouchers.

1. The Voucher Program May Significantly Improve the System of Public Education

Opponents of the voucher plan argue that it will destroy the public school system. While the reasons advanced for this are seldom clearly stated, they appear to include one or more of the following:

- Children will simply desert current public schools for private schools that they presumably would prefer to attend.
- Current public schools will be the place where the uninterested parent deposits the child he does not care much about, so the public school will become a "dumping grounds."
- Private entrepreneurs will provide a cheap kind of education that appeals to parents but ignores value that society feels are important to be conveyed in the schools.
- The initiation of a voucher system will reduce the funds available to the public school system and hence make it less able to perform.

In considering these arguments, it is important to bear in mind the competitive advantages possessed by the public school system.

Capital facilities exist; teachers and support services are under contract and ready to function; substantial administrative services can be provided from an existing organization; and economies of scale in the operation of schools may well favor the larger administrative unit. Additionally, we have proceeded to work through the school board and superintendents so that they are fully cognizant of the problems and potentials in the system. To argue that under these circumstances individuals would leave the system in large numbers implies that either the public school system is either very inefficient or very unpopular.

I suspect most of the critics arguing this point are again confusing a regulated voucher system with an unregulated one. If parents were allowed to supplement vouchers, many might choose to do so and send their children to somewhat more expensive schools offering more services. Those who would not do so would be either too poor or too uninterested. But this is not what we propose. Precisely to prevent this from occurring, we have prohibited supplementation of vouchers by parents. Thus the schools will compete only with other schools having roughly the same resources per student. It does not seem at all probable that such schools will be so attractive to so many that the public schools will be deserted.

It is also important to consider the expected reaction on the part of public schools themselves. The public schools can be expected to change so as to compete more effectively. The voucher system would enable local school principals to be much more flexible in trying new

ideas and making innovative changes. Hopefully, the resources of the central administrative offices can be turned to support such activities. The enhanced ability of parents to participate and hold accountable the principals and teachers may make the public schools far more responsive and effective than they are now. I suppose one of the major questions in my mind is whether the school district will develop the kind of initiative and responsiveness that will allow them to take advantage of their strengths. I fully anticipate that they will.

Nor do we believe, as some argue, that a voucher system prevents (or would not require) the passing on of information or skills that the public believes essential to the development of citizens and society. This, in fact, will be one of the crucial responsibilities of the local education voucher authority (the EVA). If the community feels that civics, health, or fundamental skills must be taught, for example, the EVA can require that a school offer them. Conversely, the EVA can require that certain subjects or philosophies be excluded from the curriculum. Since the EVA will determine which schools may participate, there is no question that they can ensure that education standards are maintained.

Finally, the argument that this program will divert money from education within the community seems specious. It is true that if the current public schools could not compete, these schools might have fewer funds and other nonpublic schools would have more funds.

On the other hand, if the satisfaction of the community with the education system is raised, it may be willing to increase overall educational expenditures within the community.

If, indeed, public schools are freed from many of the current bureaucratic restrictions and individual principals and teachers are given the flexibility to provide diversified education for children from diversified backgrounds, then the system of public education in this nation will be significantly strengthened. To the extent that we can provide an education that does not discriminate against a child because he is poor or Black and must therefore attend a school where he can expect to read at only the sixth grade level after twelve years of school, then the system of public education in this nation will be significantly strengthened. And finally, if the confidence of the American public can be restored in a system of public education that is more successful in meeting the demands of an increasingly complex and diversified society, then the system of public education in this nation will be significantly strengthened.

2. The Voucher System May Increase Racial and Social Integration

One of the major intents of the regulations proposed for this experiment is the prevention of increased segregation and promotion of integration. Since such a system has not yet been tried, it is impossible to state with confidence what will happen. Clearly, however, this experiment is as subject to court review as any program affecting equality

of educational opportunity and segregation. We expect that it will be reviewed by the courts and if the resulting patterns of school attendance is deemed to be unconstitutional or illegal, the system will be enjoined from further operations.

I am quite optimistic, though, that this system will have favorable effects upon patterns of integrated schooling. There are three ways in which more integrated patterns of schooling can be achieved. First, poor, minority parents can be provided opportunities to enroll their children in schools in middle class and/or white neighborhoods if they so desire. This has been tried in experiments with Open Enrollment without conspicuous success. Long bus rides, indifferent administrators who have nothing to gain under the plan, and limited student capacity at popular schools all contributed to the failure of Open Enrollment to bring widespread improvements in education and integration.

A second means of promoting integration is to encourage schools to actively recruit children from diverse backgrounds. Educational parks and magnet schools are examples of attempts to make schools sufficiently attractive so that

both white middle class parents and minority parents will want their children to attend.

Finally, school systems can directly intervene to insure integration takes place by imposing quotas on schools.

Past efforts to achieve integration have typically emphasized only one of the above approaches. Open Enrollment has been attempted but generally only with a limited effort on the part of schools to recruit students or to develop schools that are most appealing to all students. Another effort to achieve integration has been mandatory quotas but the parents have frequently been totally left out of the decision process as to what schools their children are to attend. The regulated voucher system we are proposing combines elements of all three approaches: Parental choice, active participation on the part of schools and direct regulation on acceptance criteria. The combination of these three approaches hopefully will create a system

in which schools will compete for students by enriching their programs and parents will hold schools accountable for their performance. Moreover, it is possible that the voluntary process involved will lead to more satisfactory integration than is the case in involuntary busing. Certainly, it is worth continuing our efforts to seek better means of achieving integration. We still have a long way to go and to curtail our search for new approaches would be extremely shortsighted.

It is clear that segregated schools can exist under the proposed voucher experiment only if both the majority and minority population want such an outcome. The regulations require nondiscrimination among the applicants. If there are no minority or majority applicants, there will be no minority or majority students in a school. It is possible, however, to add requirements for integration: for example, schools could be ineligible to cash vouchers unless they had achieved some agreed racial balance. Such quotas would require that schools recruit sufficient minority or majority group members.

We have not proposed such regulations for several reasons. This is an experiment and one of the things we hope to learn is how much integration will take place under this system. While such a quota system might be applied, it

would probably be very difficult to administer. For example, how would one handle the case of a neighborhood public school that remains all Black? It is hard to imagine that funds could be withheld from such a school.

Finally, we might consider the situation in the South where voucher systems, though not regulated ones, have consistently been struck down by the courts. Without a quota system, it seems apparent that our regulations would not be sufficient to ensure integration in communities now under court order to desegregate. It is possible, however, that the addition of a quota system to the other regulations would make a voucher system a sufficient response to such an order, even in the South. But we have not considered any district under court order as a site for the experiment.

### 3. The Inclusion of Nonpublic Schools In the Experiment

Nonpublic schools are being encouraged to participate in this experiment because they provide a source of alternative types of education. To be an effective experiment, there must be a broad range of school choices available to parents for their children. Existing parochial and private schools offer such choice outside the public school system. We anticipate that the public schools, once they

have been provided the opportunity to become more innovative, will provide a range of choices within the public system. While it is our intention to allow all schools that are accredited by the local educational authority to participate, within budgetary limitations, it is also clear that Constitutional considerations and the desire on the part of parochial and private schools to subject themselves to the regulations and the authority of the local educational authority have to be addressed.

We do not know whether the voucher plan we are proposing is unconstitutional, since nothing very similar to it has been considered by the courts. The Center for the Study of Public Policy has carefully researched the problem and has concluded that the proposed experiment has a good probability of being judged constitutional.

The argument for the constitutionality of including church-related schools is based upon two rationales:

- In voucher programs the State funds flow to parents, not directly to the schools.
- The voucher would reimburse parochial schools only for the value of the secular education they provide and thus would not support religious

institutions.

It was originally thought that a parochial schools' accounts for secular education could be reimbursed only for expenses relating to secular education. But recent court decisions have suggested that such a procedure may be viewed as inappropriate involvement of the State in Church affairs.

Furthermore, parochial and private schools would be subject to the same forms of regulation faced by all other schools. If a student of a religious faith other than that sponsoring the school applied for admission he would have the same chances as everyone else in the lottery selection. Hence, attractive parochial schools might well find themselves with substantial numbers of children of different faiths. These schools would also be subject to the authority and regulations that are determined by the local education voucher authority and the State enabling legislation. This will mean that such schools will have to give up some of the autonomy that they now enjoy. To what extent the participation of nonpublic schools is constitutional and whether they will even want to participate can only be answered in specific localities. This is one of the major questions that must be resolved in each of the communities in the planning phase of the proposed experiment.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we think that a regulated voucher program may have very beneficial advantages for the poor:

- Individuals would have greater freedom within the public education system because they would not be required to accept standardized programs offered in assigned public schools.
- Parents would be able to assume a significant role in shaping their child's education, thus renewing the family's role in education and resulting in an improvement in the attitudes of both parents and child.
- Social and racial integration can be increased when parental choice, active school participation and direct regulations are all attempted rather than depending solely upon one approach.
- There would be greater innovation in the public school system and parents would be provided with better and more numerous alternatives to the present neighborhood school.
- Compensatory education resources would be more accurately channeled directly to the poor since funds would follow the child holding the voucher.
- A form of accountability would be introduced into public education since parents would have a much greater choice of where they can send their children to school.

We are quite aware of the problems associated with the voucher concept. We do think, however, that just as society has learned how to regulate public utilities, corporate activity and private education, it is possible to regulate the system of vouchers to achieve many of the benefits that might be attainable under such a system without encountering the grave difficulties that an unregulated system would generate. No one knows all the answers. And for that reason, we sincerely request that this Committee give us their support in our search for better ways to aid the poor.

CHARTS ON EDUCATION VOUCHER EXPERIMENT

SUPPLEMENTAL TO STATEMENT

BY

JOHN OLIVER WILSON  
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

BEFORE THE  
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

APRIL 20, 1971

## I

## QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED IN EXPERIMENT

## PRIMARY QUESTIONS

- Is the education of poor children improved under this system?
- Are parents and the community more satisfied with the educational system?

## SECONDARY QUESTIONS

- Can increased and more acceptable social and racial integration be achieved?
- Is a voucher system administratively feasible?
- To what extent will parents choose to take advantage of the new freedom they have in selecting schools for their children?
- Will existing public schools become more innovative and diversified?

II

IN A VOUCHER EXPERIMENT THERE MAY BE CHANGES IN SCHOOLS

- Principals and teachers will determine each schools' program, curriculum and emphasis.
- Each school will be responsible for attracting students.
- Each school will operate only on the amount of the vouchers of their students.
- Each school will be accountable to the parents who choose that school.
- If a school is not responsive to parents, it may go out of business.

## III

## A REGULATED VOUCHER SYSTEM

- No school may discriminate on basis of race.
- All schools must accept minority students at least in proportion to minority applicants.
- Schools must be open to all applicants.
- The voucher must be accepted as full payment.
- Parochial schools can participate only if it is constitutional.
- All schools must provide information to parents.
- The value of the vouchers will be supplemented for disadvantaged students.
- Participating schools must be certified by the education voucher authority and operate under guidelines of State legislation.

IV

ISSUES CONCERNING CONCEPT OF EDUCATION VOUCHERS

- Will a voucher system improve public education?
- Will a voucher system lead to increased and more acceptable social and racial integration?
- To what extent should nonpublic schools participate in education vouchers?

## POSSIBLE BENEFICIAL IMPACT OF VOUCHER SYSTEM ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

- Individuals would have greater freedom within the public education system because they would not be required to accept standardized programs offered in assigned public schools.
- Parents would be able to assume a significant role in shaping their child's education, thus renewing the family's role in education and resulting in improvement in the attitudes of both parents and child.
- A range of choices in the schools would become available.
- Administrators and teachers could arrange their curricula to appeal to a particular group or to reflect a particular school of thought on educational methods.
- Resources would be more accurately channeled directly to the poor since funds would follow the child holding the voucher.
- A form of accountability to parents would be introduced since parents would be free to withdraw their children from the school.

## VI

## TO ENHANCE INTEGRATION THE VOUCHER SYSTEM ENCOURAGES:

## I. Parental Involvement

- Minority parents can choose schools for their children on basis other than residence.
- Parents have power to move children from one school to another.

## II. Recruitment of Students by Schools

- Incentive to recruit students.
- Incentive to recruit students from disadvantaged families.
- Public schools have opportunity to become more innovative.

## III. Direct Intervention by Local Education Authority and Courts

- Experiment is as subject to court review as any program affecting equality of education opportunity.
- Withdrawal of school's certification and right to cash vouchers.
- Schools must admit minority students in direct proportion to those who apply.

## VII

## NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS CAN PARTICIPATE IN EXPERIMENT ONLY IF:

- It is constitutional.
- Are certified by the education voucher authority.
- Comply with State legislation.
- Employ a nondiscriminatory open admissions policy.
- Select at least one-half of their students on basis of a nondiscriminatory lottery.
- Do not charge tuition to voucher students in excess of the worth of the voucher.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. Chairman, with your permission I have two statements, one on educational vouchers and one on performance contracting. I would like to submit both of these statements for the record and summarize my statement on educational voucher experiments.

Senator NELSON. That will be done, Mr. Wilson. Proceed.  
(The information referred to follows:)

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC  
**OPPORTUNITY**

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

STATEMENT SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD ON

PERFORMANCE CONTRACTING

BY

JOHN OLIVER WILSON

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY

SENATE LABOR AND WELFARE COMMITTEE

April 27, 1971

For quite some time massive research and demonstration programs have been launched in an effort to find a means for teaching children to learn better and teachers to teach better. New curricula has been developed; audiovisual equipment and language labs have become much desired machinery in most schools; and teachers are being trained and retrained. It seems that whatever has come along that is new, has been assumed to be better and schools have quickly adopted these innovations in genuine hope of finding an answer. Yet the results of the research and the compensatory efforts, additional books and tutors, smaller classes, and open schools have been, at the very least, frustrating. Children who would learn in any situation continued to be successful achievers, and most children who had difficulty learning continued to fail despite new teaching techniques and new equipment.

These compensatory efforts have emphasized inputs: the provision of more funds, additional books and tutors, summer study programs, smaller class sizes, and counseling. Until recently it has been assumed that positive results would follow from this marginal provision of compensatory services, and that a greater flow of resources into the schools would guarantee better education.

Performance contracting is an approach which emphasizes outputs, not inputs, i.e., what the children actually learn. The performance contracting system is new to education although it has been tried in other fields. The appeal of this approach to education should be obvious to legislators who are continually presented with demands for larger educational spending, but who are given no indication of what previous spending has accomplished,

let alone any information about what further increases may do.

The elements of performance contracting are relatively simple although their execution is somewhat complex:

-- A contractor signs an agreement to improve students' performance in certain basic skills by set amounts.

-- The contractor is paid according to his success in bringing students' performance up to those prespecified levels. If he succeeds, he makes a profit. If he fails, he doesn't get paid.

-- Within guidelines established by the school board, the contractor is free to use whatever instructional techniques, incentive systems, and audiovisual aids he feels can be most effective. He thus is allowed more flexibility than is usually offered a building principal or a classroom teacher.

The first performance contract in a public school in Texarkana, Arkansas drew widespread public notice and applause. The Texarkana project, funded under Title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, was intended primarily as a drop-out prevention program. Teachers and paraprofessionals working for a private company, employed a broad range of teaching machines and other audiovisual devices in a highly individualized curriculum. These features, in themselves, are not revolutionary: teaching machines have been used, and instruction has been individualized. What was unusual about Texarkana was that the contractor's used incentives to trigger the children's learning process. The contractor was paid only to the extent that he was successful in improving the students' scores on standardized reading and math tests.

As reports of success in Texarkana became public in the Winter of 1970, dozens of school district officials visited the project and began to consider performance contracting to meet their own needs. Office of Economic Opportunity staff visited Texarkana at that time and saw great promise in the concept, but they also realized that as the project was designed, it was not an adequate test of the concept and would not provide guidance to the school officials across the country who were considering the new concept.

The Texarkana program did not include the evaluation design or administrative controls necessary to assess the capabilities of performance contracting in a reliable fashion. But even if Texarkana had the most scientific and best designed evaluation system possible, it still could not have indicated whether the results achieved there could be replicated elsewhere; whether performance contracting would be administratively feasible to implement elsewhere; or whether the costs would be prohibitive.

A much broader, clearly defined, and carefully evaluated experience was necessary before it could be confidently stated that performance contracting could help poor children learn. Thus, the Office of Economic Opportunity decided to mount a nationwide experiment to provide information that school boards should have before deciding whether to enter into performance contracting.

Two factors of major significance led the Office of Economic Opportunity to launch an experiment in performance contracting. First was to test the concept of incentives. What performance contracting is about is not bribing kids to learn nor is it paying educational technology companies

for doing a better job than teachers. What performance contracting is about is providing incentives for teaching poor children in the best way possible and, even more crucial, providing incentives for making immediate changes in teaching methods if the present ones are not working.

In the same vein, poor children cannot afford to be the victims of error, resulting from a school's inclination to adopt a new concept for lack of any alternatives. Therefore, the second major reason for the Office of Economic Opportunity's participation in an experiment in performance contracting was to discover, as quickly as possible, whether the concept worked or what parts worked and what parts didn't work.

The Office of Economic Opportunity's experiment in performance contracting was launched in August and September, 1970 in eighteen school districts that contracted with six private firms.

Every major geographical area and every major racial and ethnic minority is included. In each location, underachieving, poor children are involved: 100 per grade in each, in grades 1, 2, 3, and 7, 8, and 9. In addition, there are 100 control students in the same grades receiving traditional instructional methods in nearby schools. Testing is under the direction of an entirely separate contractor. In all, some 28,000 children are enrolled.

To prevent the problem of teaching to the test, several safeguards have been employed which we feel prevent the problem from occurring. First, several tests are in use, not just one and their identity has been blinded. An audit has been conducted of each company's curricula to insure no test items are present. In addition, part of the company payment is based upon criterion-referenced tests which are not nationally normed tests. Finally, all of the subcontracts contain a penalty clause which provides that all

funds be returned to the government if it is proven that teaching to the test has taken place.

Obviously, it is hoped that performance contracting will improve the basic reading and math skills of poor students, skills they will need to master virtually every other subject they will confront during their years of schooling. But performance contracting seems to have the potential for effecting a number of other improvements in the education system as well:

- Better overall performance. This system forces a school system to decide what it wants to accomplish, how accomplishment will be measured, and how accomplishment will be rewarded.
- Accountability. Performance contracting shifts the emphasis from inputs (what is done, how it is done, how much is expended) to outputs (what is learned). It will tell school boards and legislators what performance they are getting for their money, which is an invaluable tool for their decision-making process.
- Drop-out prevention. There is evidence that children drop out of school (among other reasons) because they are performing poorly in terms of academic achievement. If their achievement and motivation can be improved, they may be encouraged to stay in school. This theory appears to be substantiated by the Texarkana experience.
- Individualization of instruction. Performance contracting may offer a cost-effective vehicle for introducing individualized instruction in the less affluent inner-city school; on a guaranteed basis.

The education lobbies and other critics of performance contracting have charged that the system will:

1. Force the public to lose control over the educational process. It would appear that quite the reverse will happen, since the heart of this system is the contract between the elected school board and the contractor. Performance contracting should help the public (through the school board) exercise more control over the educational process. The school board sets the standards, devises measurement tools, and certifies that the measurement takes place.
2. Result in nonreputable companies selling educational services. Performance contracting is surely the reverse of this process--the Office of Economic Opportunity, the schools, and the companies all will be present at the conclusion of this experiment and expect the results to be subjected to intense public scrutiny. Indeed, that is what the experiment is all about, to determine whether the concept is worthwhile or not.
3. Duplication of Office of Education efforts. Testimony before this committee has indicated that the Office of Economic Opportunity effort is a duplication of the Office of Education efforts in performance contracting this year. This is not true. As I already noted, the Office of Economic Opportunity is engaged in a test of the impact of performance contracting on student performance. Each of the participating sites is being operated under the same guidelines and are subject to the same evaluation. In 1970 there were twenty-five performance contracts in addition to the eighteen we funded. The twenty-five are in no way related, are different in scope, degree and purpose and not subject to rigorous guidelines or evaluations.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare also has a contract with the Rand Corporation to study the process of and problems with performance contracting. One of the major products of this effort is a Performance Contracting Booklet for school officials describing ways in which they might, if they so desire, become involved in performance contracting. We feel that their effort complements ours, which, I reiterate, is designed to assess whether or not performance contracting is an effective educational approach.

Many of our critics have stated that there are problems at several of the performance contracting sites. They are absolutely correct.

1. There are problems related to the unique nature of some of the educational system being employed and a sincere skepticism on the part of school administration and teachers.
2. There are problems associated with mistrust between the company personnel and school personnel.
3. There are problems related to unclarities in the performance contracts themselves.
4. There are problems with companies complying with teachers' union contract regulations particularly in the areas of staffing and bonus payments.
5. There are problems with large scale testing of students in inadequate and sometime hostile environments.
6. There are problems in selecting adequate measures for assessing success or failure.
7. There are problems with both the schools and companies complying with our detailed reporting system while at the same time trying

to operate an innovative program.

8. And, of course, there are problems with students who have been previously turned off by the learning system.

We are well aware of these and many other difficulties in the experiment. However, this experiment is functioning in a real social world and not in a laboratory setting where all extraneous factors can be controlled. The problems we are facing will occur whenever any new program is introduced into some on-going institution, e.g., a school.

The experiment itself is not an easy process to administer and this gives rise to problems. The introduction of private firms, new techniques such as incentives and the extensive documentation and control apparatus the Office of Economic Opportunity has required to monitor and properly evaluate the experiment have imposed a heavy burden on most schools. In fact, we thought originally that one or two might have dropped out by now. We are immensely pleased, and I believe all school and company staff have reason to be pleased, that the structure of the experiment is intact and that all parties who began the experiment are still in it. However, there have been difficulties, some of them not related to the experiment at all: teachers strikes in Philadelphia and Hartford, for instance, which have hindered the progress of projects. It is quite possible that difficulties we have or might have at individual sites will compromise the data to such a degree that their inclusion in the analysis could be unfair. If this occurs, these sites will be excluded from the final analyses.

What will be learned finally from the experiment? First, we will learn whether the innovative reading and math programs being tested are

effective when carried out on a performance incentive basis. We will have results from a variety of students with a variety of backgrounds exposed to different teaching techniques, but measured by the same criteria. Thus, it is hoped the results of this experiment will be replicable across the country. Also, we will have reliable estimates of the cost-effectiveness of these programs. Finally, we will have a great deal of knowledge about how the mechanism of performance contracting works in schools.

When the final report is issued, early next year, the Office of Economic Opportunity will make it available to the Congress, the White House, the education profession and the general public for discussion and conclusions. I have no doubt that it will be subject to careful scrutiny and any weaknesses which may exist will be uncovered. I welcome the scrutiny. If we learn that performance contracting does not produce significant gains in achievement levels, that is impossible to administer, or that its cost/effectiveness ratios make it impractical, obviously we will have to attempt to devise different methods of helping the poor. If, on the other hand, performance contracting is proved successful, educators and government officials will have an important addition to their knowledge of how to educate disadvantaged children. In a sense our entire effort is being devoted to making that information available for debate and consequent action. That is in keeping with the experimental nature of the project. If not successful, we will not be a party to any efforts to boost it. The agency seeks to test promising ideas in any field, not just education. That is a goal upon which we have all agreed in the past and upon which we dedicate our work in the future.

CHARTS ON EDUCATION VOUCHER EXPERIMENT

SUPPLEMENTAL TO STATEMENT

BY

JOHN OLIVER WILSON

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY

SENATE LABOR AND WELFARE COMMITTEE

APRIL 27, 1971

## I

## QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED IN EXPERIMENT

## PRIMARY QUESTIONS

- Is the education of poor children improved under this system?
- Are parents and the community more satisfied with the educational system?

## SECONDARY QUESTIONS

- Can increased and more acceptable social and racial integration be achieved?
- Is a voucher system administratively feasible?
- To what extent will parents choose to take advantage of the new freedom they have in selecting schools for their children?
- Will existing public schools become more innovative and diversified?

## II

## IN A VOUCHER EXPERIMENT THERE MAY BE CHANGES IN SCHOOLS

- Principals and teachers will determine each schools' program, curriculum and emphasis.
- Each school will be responsible for attracting students.
- Each school will operate only on the amount of the vouchers of their students.
- Each school will be accountable to the parents who choose that school.
- If a school is not responsive to parents, it may go out of business.

## III

## A REGULATED VOUCHER SYSTEM

- No school may discriminate on basis of race.
- All schools must accept minority students at least in proportion to minority applicants.
- Schools must be open to all applicants.
- The voucher must be accepted as full payment.
- Parochial schools can participate only if it is constitutional.
- All schools must provide information to parents.
- The value of the vouchers will be supplemented for disadvantaged students.
- Participating schools must be certified by the education voucher authority and operate under guidelines of State legislation.

## IV

## ISSUES CONCERNING CONCEPT OF EDUCATION VOUCHERS

- Will a voucher system improve public education?
- Will a voucher system lead to increased and more acceptable social and racial integration?
- To what extent should nonpublic schools participate in education vouchers?

## POSSIBLE BENEFICIAL IMPACT OF VOUCHER SYSTEM ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

- Individuals would have greater freedom within the public education system because they would not be required to accept standardized programs offered in assigned public schools.
- Parents would be able to assume a significant role in shaping their child's education, thus renewing the family's role in education and resulting in improvement in the attitudes of both parents and child.
- A range of choices in the schools would become available.
- Administrators and teachers could arrange their curricula to appeal to a particular group or to reflect a particular school of thought on educational methods.
- Resources would be more accurately channeled directly to the poor since funds would follow the child holding the voucher.
- A form of accountability to parents would be introduced since parents would be free to withdraw their children from the school.

## VI

## TO ENHANCE INTEGRATION THE VOUCHER SYSTEM ENCOURAGES:

- I. Parental Involvement
  - Minority parents can choose schools for their children on basis other than residence.
  - Parents have power to move children from one school to another.
- II. Recruitment of Students by Schools
  - Incentive to recruit students.
  - Incentive to recruit students from disadvantaged families.
  - Public schools have opportunity to become more innovative.
- III. Direct Intervention by Local Education Authority and Courts
  - Experiment is as subject to court review as any program affecting equality of education opportunity.
  - Withdrawal of school's certification and right to cash vouchers.
  - Schools must admit minority students in direct proportion to those who apply.

## VII

## NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS CAN PARTICIPATE IN EXPERIMENT ONLY IF:

- It is constitutional.
- Are certified by the education voucher authority.
- Comply with State legislation.
- Employ a nondiscriminatory open admissions policy.
- Select at least one-half of their students on basis of a nondiscriminatory lottery.
- Do not charge tuition to voucher students in excess of the worth of the voucher.

Dr. WILSON. Mr. Carlucci has dealt with the Office of Economic Opportunity's experiments in research and experimentation. In my part of the testimony I would like to cover some of the specific features of the proposed experiment in educational vouchers and some of the issues that have been raised with relationship to this experiment.

I would like to describe how the voucher system would operate. The parents of each child would receive a voucher which would be equal to the amount of public, local and state funds being spent in that community now.

Senator NELSON. Per student?

Dr. WILSON. Per public school student.

Senator NELSON. But they can only go to a public school?

Dr. WILSON. Under the voucher system they could go to a private or parochial school.

Senator NELSON. If it costs more money, how would you do that?

Dr. WILSON. We are proposing that OEO would pick up the costs of students currently in parochial schools. We want to include them in the experiment if it is constitutionally possible.

So if the average public school expenditure is \$800 per student, OEO would pay that amount for those private school students who want to participate and want to be included in the project.

A student now attending a public school could use the voucher to attend a private school.

Senator NELSON. OEO would pay the differences between the private school tuition and the per capita costs?

Dr. WILSON. No, sir. We are talking about a regulated voucher system, and we are saying that for a school to participate they cannot charge higher tuition than the basic value of the voucher.

Senator NELSON. A private school, a high school, or trade school that is willing to accept a student will have to accept just the public per capita costs?

Dr. WILSON. Yes, sir.

Senator NELSON. Who is going to do that with most of those private schools in very bad trouble now, many of them here?

Dr. WILSON. I rather doubt that the elite private schools, those charging tuition 50 to 100 percent above the average public school cost would participate. But many parochial schools charge even less tuition than per pupil public school costs. You will have some neighborhood schools, such as in Milwaukee, where parochial schools that have been closed have been turned over to the neighborhood, which is operating them as neighborhood schools. These would be within feasible costs limits.

Senator NELSON. What is the standards of eligibility? Who is eligible?

Dr. WILSON. Any elementary student within the demonstration area would be eligible. The locally selected board delegates to administer the demonstration, which we call an EVA or Education Voucher Authority, would determine which schools will be eligible to participate.

Now, as I said, the basic value of the voucher would be equal to the average per pupil expenditure. We do intend with OEO funds to

supplement the value of the voucher for the poor student. There will not be a compensatory payment for non-poor students.

Senator NELSON. Who would be eligible?

Dr. WILSON. Students eligible would be all students attending an elementary school who would reside in the experimental area. Suppose a community such as Gary, Ind., which has a preplanning grant, selected the boundaries of 12 public schools for the demonstration. All children living within those boundaries, regardless of the public or private school they now attend, would be eligible to participate.

Senator NELSON. All of them?

Dr. WILSON. All of them. Instead of going automatically to the neighborhood school, children could select any elementary school to attend among those which are participating in the experiment.

The schools can only participate if, first, they are accredited by the EVA and meet state regulations.

Senator NELSON. So most of your schools participating would be public schools?

Dr. WILSON. Indeed, 80 percent of the total potential vacancies or positions will be provided in the public system.

Senator NELSON. What about transportation?

Dr. WILSON. We recognize that if indeed parents take advantage of this new freedom of being able to select the schools their children want to go to, there will be possibly increased costs of transportation. OEO will pick up any transportation costs that exceed the community's current costs for transportation.

Senator NELSON. If you are going to your neighborhood school, there is not any transportation cost, and if you are there and want to go to one that is 3 miles away and there is no school bus system to get there, what do you do?

Dr. WILSON. We would have to set up a school bus system and pick up the additional cost as part of the project.

Senator NELSON. What do you visualize as the purpose of this program?

Dr. WILSON. I included in my handout a supplementary statement of tables. If you will turn to the first one, I list the primary and secondary questions we hope to answer in this experiment.

The first question we hope to answer is whether the education of poor children is improved under a voucher system and second is whether parents in the community are more satisfied with the educational system?

Senator NELSON. More satisfied with what educational system?

Dr. WILSON. The types of choice and flexibility and innovation we anticipate would occur under a voucher approach as opposed to the present educational system.

Senator NELSON. Anybody is eligible, as I understand it. Is that right?

Dr. WILSON. If they are approved by the local educational authority.

Senator NELSON. But there is no economic standard?

Dr. WILSON. No.

Senator NELSON. Then your primary question is, or the first one is, is the education of poor children improved under this system?

Dr. WILSON. Right.

Senator NELSON. What about people who are not poor? What is your question about them?

Dr. WILSON. We want to examine whether their education has improved also. The reasons we want to undertake the experiment is that poor children do not now have the choice of schools they can go to. If they are poor, and especially if they are black in a district with neighborhood schools they almost have to go to segregated schools, schools that have traditionally offered education that does not seem to meet their needs.

They do not have the choice more affluent families have of moving to a white suburb for the better education that is offered.

We hope that integration and flexibility will result in better education for the poor. This is an important hypothesis we plan to test.

Mr. CARLUCCI. Senator, this would enable schools to specialize in certain areas and enable the parents to pick an area of particular interest, say the arts. There might be another school that specializes in technical education for example.

Senator NELSON. What was that?

Mr. CARLUCCI. One that specializes in some kind of technical education.

Senator NELSON. You tell me these are in the elementary grades. I don't know of any great emphasis on the arts in elementary school.

Mr. CARLUCCI. One school might concentrate on music for example, whereas another might concentrate heavily on math. Different types of instruction—Montessori or Summerhill—might be used by different schools.

Senator NELSON. That kind of puzzles me. You say you are visualizing the situation in which some school is going to specialize because they will be able to then attract a number of students from outside their area, and that then parents are making decisions as to the elementary school the child goes to based upon the availability of some specialized program at the primary school level?

Mr. CARLUCCI. That is right, that and quality.

They would be able to make a choice based on the availability of a program that might fit their particular interests, the interests of their children, and also on the basis of the quality of the program the school offers.

Senator NELSON. Most of us just hope our kids learn to read and write in elementary school. If you were talking about the secondary level, I should see that some specialization might be done.

Dr. WILSON. Sir, I think there are a number of elementary schools that are more flexible. For example, you could have open classrooms, Montessori schools, classrooms without walls, or other concepts now being tried in higher income areas.

Or if the students and parents desired it, a principal could place more emphasis on a highly structured curriculum, stressing reading and math.

We anticipate there could be interest in the system of education and the opportunity for individual principals and teachers to be more innovative in the type of curriculum they present at the elementary level.

Senator NELSON. Well, that all puzzles me. It does not seem to me it would have much impact on the school unless it were perhaps a rather massive transfer into the system which most school systems could not take.

If it is just a few people, a hundred, who come into a primary school that has a thousand, you mean to suggest that those 100 are going to have some impact upon the curriculum of that school?

Dr. WILSON. No, in the majority of the schools that will participate all of the students in that school would be voucher students.

So if you have an elementary school of 500 students, they would all be there as voucher students.

Senator NELSON. Then you are saying that you have a good school, and 90 percent of the people there are from the neighborhood and would go there anyway, but they will go there now on vouchers.

Dr. WILSON. If they wanted to go to that school, they would list that as the first choice of schools they wanted to go to. Other students, if that is a good school, would also say they would want to go to the school.

If more students apply to a school than the school can accept, at least half the places must be filled by a lottery or other random method. This is likely to occur if one school is better than the others.

Alum Rock, Calif., near San Jose, is one of our three planning areas, a model cities school down in the poor area has a very successful curriculum and is starting to attract parents from around who want to send their children to this school.

This is what we envision. The more flexibility you get, the greater diversity, the successful schools may attract more students.

Senator NELSON. How are you going to measure your accomplishments?

Dr. WILSON. That is difficult, because no one knows how to measure accomplishments in education now? We know that advances in reading and math are half a grade level a year under our present system for most poor children.

After they finish a 12th-grade education, they can read at the 6th-grade level. We will use all the measures now used to assess the results of public education today. That means standardized tests, it means interim performance tests or criterion reference tests.

Senator NELSON. Wouldn't it be better we were aiming our efforts at improving the quality of the educational institutions where it is?

Dr. WILSON. I think that is what we are attempting to do. We are saying that our concentration is on the student rather than the institutions. Our concern is that all students learn to achieve some level of competence in the educational process rather than having a primary concern on the institution itself.

Senator NELSON. How much money are you proposing to spend on the voucher system?

Mr. CARLUCCI. We are spending this year some \$60,000 on three planning grants in three cities, Gary, Ind.; Alum Rock, Calif.; and Seattle, Wash.

We have spend \$444,000 on a study of the voucher plan at the Center for the Study of Public Policy.

Senator NELSON. What do you propose to spend on the plan itself?

Mr. CARLUCCI. The plan itself could run possibly \$5 million within the next year, going on up to maybe as high as \$9 to \$14 million if the three cities we have indicated decide to go ahead with the experiment.

They are right now very much in the preplanning stage. We estimate the expenditure could run in the neighborhood of up to \$20 million.

Senator NELSON. Per year?

Dr. WILSON. Yes.

Senator NELSON. And this is only a proposed 2-year program?

Dr. WILSON. We would contemplate that it would run for from 5 to 7 years.

Senator NELSON. What is the maximum number of schools you would bring under the program in that period?

Dr. WILSON. We would estimate three to four at up to \$5 million per system per year.

Senator NELSON. Schools?

Dr. WILSON. Systems.

Senator NELSON. How many schools?

Dr. WILSON. I would anticipate maybe a dozen schools within each local area.

Senator NELSON. So you are talking somewhere around 36 to 50 schools?

Dr. WILSON. 48 to 50 schools.

Senator NELSON. Then the expenditure total in the 7-year period would be what?

Dr. WILSON. Until we get the results from the preplanning grants that is a difficult question to answer. My best estimate at this time, Mr. Chairman, is about \$5 million per year per city.

That is on the average. From 5 to 7 years sir, at a maximum rate of \$5 million per year per site.

Senator NELSON. So you are talking about 70 to 100 million, somewhere in that field?

Dr. WILSON. No sir, up to a maximum of \$140 million. Assuming four demonstration sites which could be up to \$5 million per site, per year, it could be \$140 million over 7 years.

Senator NELSON. What puzzles me, and maybe I am biased because I offered the Teacher Corps bill as well as the Student Teacher Corps Tutorial bill. Why not take \$5 million of that and tie into the Teacher Corps teams and take the students in school systems and expand that program?

We are talking about getting young people involved in that, in what is going on in America and making a contribution.

There are potentially no better tutors than high school kids themselves tutoring their peers or those who are younger. It has been done successfully time after time on individual bases.

It goes on all the time, kind of automatically.

Dr. WILSON. Right.

Senator NELSON. The bill is there. I understand the Commission of Education Dr. Marland has the program going modestly in schools now. But we keep coming in with experiments and experiments. We know that teacher corps concept works dramatically well.

We have had report after report, after report after report from superintendents of schools, principals of schools, teachers, and statistics, demonstrating that it works.

So you have got a system that is working, has been tested, that has been here suffering from lack of funds for 6 years or so since we got it passed, and all of a sudden we are going to try something brand new while we are starving another program which we now know works. With the student teacher corps tutorial program, working with a Teacher Corps team that is already in the system, with a master teacher on the teacher corps team, all you have to do is go into the system to select a group of which school students to become part of that team as tutors. Dr. Marland himself said he would like to see 300,000 or 400,000 students in the program.

Dr. WILSON. Yes.

Senator NELSON. I don't understand that. We pass programs and don't fund them or give them a chance to operate, and then we come in with brand new programs.

Mr. CARLUCCI. There is nothing in what we are proposing, Mr. Chairman, that would prevent the Teacher Corps from going forward. We think, the overall expenditures on the poor by the Federal Government are very modest. The kind of experiment we are proposing is designed to test what would be a more far-reaching change. I think our school system has not contemplated this yet.

Senator NELSON. A far-reaching change in what way?

Mr. CARLUCCI. It would offer to poor parents the same choice among that the wealthy presently have. We try to look at this particular experiment not with respect to education as such—we don't think we're experts in education—but rather in terms of the very close relationship between poverty and education. Poor children are not getting the same kind of educational advantage that accrues to the children of the wealthy.

So we feel under the terms of our act we have an obligation to experiment with ways in which we can combat the root causes of poverty, and certainly one of them is education.

Senator NELSON. Yes, but the fact is that you have got to improve the schools where the kids are. No matter how you slice it, you are not all of a sudden going to close all the poor schools in America and then transfer them someplace else to another school that is a better school than the one they were in.

The answer is that you have got to improve the school there, and all I am saying is that the tool to improve dramatically improve teaching within the schools in the ghetto areas, or out in Appalacia, is to bring in tutorial service to these kids which helps motivate them, which has been demonstrated hundreds and hundreds of times in the Teacher Corps program.

You are going to do something else. You are going to give everybody a voucher to go wherever they want to go. If it really worked and you really funded it and you provided the transportation and the system they could go to is really much better, they are just going to close up all the fest of these schools, and give the children the same rights to go someplace else as everybody else who has money.

I would like to see everybody have the right to go wherever they

please, but it isn't going to do any good just to provide a limited opportunity for a few people to do this and ignore the school that is there in the neighborhood.

Dr. WILSON. If the hypothesis for the school is correct, Mr. Chairman, we think introducing the element of competition could in itself result in improving the school that is there.

Senator NELSON. What do you mean by competition?

You mean the school board in a central city or Appalachia, that one of those kids is leaving to go to another school, that they are going to be embarrassed and improve their school?

Mr. CARLUCCI. We think that allowing poor parents an element of choice would induce greater responsiveness to the needs of those parents on the part of the local school system.

I would like to stress that we are not running an operating program, that this is an experiment designed to see if this kind of approach would work.

Dr. WILSON. Federal, State and local expenditures for elementary and secondary education are now \$47 billion. The Federal Government, of course, provides a major portion of this sum through the various titles of ESEA, Teacher Corps, other compensatory programs, Headstart and Followthrough.

We are not talking about, in the voucher system, about an operational program. We are looking for new ways to improve education.

I think this effort must continue. The search for better educational methods has to go on simultaneously with the existing operational programs, such as the Teacher Corps, ESEA, Headstart, and those types of programs.

Senator NELSON. You have some programs that are working. Why don't we fund them before starting other programs which might have some merit to them?

I have great reservations about this one. I don't know. You might give a deprived child an opportunity to go into a better system, but if you give them all the opportunity, which everybody would like to do, there would not be any left in the other system, and I don't think that is going to improve the other system.

I don't think just infusing some kids into a system that is better than another system improves either one of them. I doubt it.

Mr. CARLUCCI. Mr. Chairman, the implication of that is that our system is so rigid that it can't change.

Senator NELSON. That is not a bad summary of the situation, and it needs something in it to change it, and I don't think transferring kids changes the school system.

There are all kinds of things wrong, all kinds of rigidity in the school system, and I think the schools in the country turn children off more than they turn them on.

But transferring them around is not going to improve a school system, I don't think.

Mr. CARLUCCI. We are not transferring them around sir, as such. We are giving the parent a greater freedom of choice, so in turn the schools will become more accountable to the parent. If the system is indeed flexible—and this is what the experiment will try to determine—it will respond in time and there will be improvements in the kinds of education that is offered to children.

Senator NELSON. Well, you might be right.

Dr. WILSON. If you will turn to my second chart, Mr. Chairman, of the handout I gave you, you'll find a list of some of the changes that might occur in the schools, as a result of introducing more flexibility and the opportunity for more innovation.

You see we anticipate principals and teachers will be able to determine each school's program, curriculum and area of emphasis with more flexibility than they have under the present system.

Each school will be responsible for attracting students other than on the basis of the fact that students reside in the neighborhood. Each school will operate only on the amount of funds they received from the students, and thus an ineffective school may find itself losing out financially, or have to change.

The schools in this sense will be accountable to the parents since the parents will have some degree of choice in the types of schools they go to.

Now some results from our initial preplanning in Alum Rock say that this type of flexibility is indeed desired on the part of the teachers and the administration, where 76 percent of the teachers and 68 percent of all the administrators in that public system said there should be more alternatives to public and private schools, and only 9 percent agreed with this.

Furthermore, the teachers are 60 percent for, and 35 percent against the voucher system. Administrators, again, twice as many for as against.

Parents, 3 times as many for as against.

Senator NELSON. All that may be saying is that this high percentage believe, as I think they should, that people ought to have, everybody ought to have, an opportunity to select the best opportunity for his children that can be selected.

But you ought to have a hundred percent answer on all that. But you are talking about this as a technique for improving the system, I guess there are a lot of better ways to do it than that.

Mr. WILSON. That we don't know at this point, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. I am talking about trying to give equal opportunity to everybody, to poor people, give them the same opportunity that well to do people have to select the school they want for their children, that is a good, democratic concept, fine.

But if you are talking about it as a technique for forcing a school administration that is at this stage incompetent to somehow reform itself because of the competition. I don't think that will work, because most of those don't have the capacity to reform on their own anyway. What you need is an infusion of new techniques, which is happening in the Teacher Corps program, and the tutorial system, that does raise the performance in the systems the children are already in.

Mr. CARLUCCI. This kind of system might help them to be more receptive to those techniques.

Senator NELSON. I think we ought to move to that better school as fast as we can.

Well, I am not going to argue about the experiment. I just have some questions about its accomplishing what you desire if you are talking about education reform. If you are talking about equal op-

portunity for people to select the school system, that is fine, I am for that.

Dr. WILSON. If you would turn to the third chart I think in the discussions, many of the criticisms that have been made of our proposed experiment, Mr. Chairman, really reflect around the misunderstanding or the many divergent and different voucher systems that have been proposed.

Indeed, I would say there are at least four types of voucher systems that have been proposed at one time or the other in this country, or have actually been in question. One is a totally unregulated voucher system. There would be no control on the type of schools, the value of the voucher.

This is commonly referred to as the Freidman plan in reference to professor Freidman at the University of Chicago. It is the program that was advocated by the American Conservative System last week.

Then you have a second approach, the segregation vouchers as I refer to it, that was attempted in the six southern states and was thrown out by the Federal courts.

Then you have a third as being discussed in several State legislatures. That system would take moneys now being distributed in lump sums to public schools and give the money instead directly to parents, whether the child attends a public, private or parochial school.

Of course, the value of that voucher would be far less than the full amount of money being spent on public education now. The general motivation, as I understand it, for this type of voucher system is to encourage parents to keep their children in private or parochial schools. This would keep parochial schools, especially, from closing and placing an undue burden on public schools.

The fourth type of voucher system that we are talking about is a regulated voucher system, the one we are prepared to test. The basic areas of this in which we would regulate it are listed on chart 3. We say that no school may discriminate on the basis of race, and that all students who participate must select minority students in proportion to those minority students who apply.

All schools must be open to all applicants. The value of the voucher must be accepted as full payment, which we talked about earlier. Our only interest in including parochial schools and private schools is to have more alternatives; that is not an experiment to provide unconstitutional support to parochial schools. If it is constitutional for parochial schools to participate, then we would allow them to do so. But they could use the voucher money only for secular, not religious, education. If it is not constitutional for them to participate, then we could have a voucher system without parochial schools.

We will supplement the value of the voucher to the disadvantaged students. There are two considerations for this. Some educators think the costs more to educate a poor, disadvantaged student than a bright student. That we don't know, but the value of the voucher would reflect this.

Second, if the student has a voucher that is worth more, it may be inducement to schools to be more willing to open their doors and try to appeal to that particular student.

There may be an economic incentive to the admission of the disadvantaged youth. What we are proposing is a regulated voucher system as opposed to an unregulated or a state voucher approach which are currently being discussed also.

Senator NELSON. You say that all schools must accept minority students at least in proportion to minority applicants. You realize, of course, that you will create situations where you will have an all-white school, much better than that one that the blacks and Puerto Ricans or Mexican-Americans are going to, so you will have a thousand students.

Dr. WILSON. Right.

Senator NELSON. And a thousand from minority groups apply, so 500 would be accepted who were going there the year before. The whites will go someplace else?

Mr. WILSON. That is true.

Senator NELSON. I want to see the first time that happens. I will discuss that with you.

[Laughter.]

Mr. WILSON. We don't maintain it is going to be an easy one to launch.

Senator NELSON. I am not against experimenting. I have gone through what you said about it, and maybe it is worth doing. I think I could think of some better ways to spend the money personally.

Obviously, you can't or you would not be here.

Dr. WILSON. That is true.

Senator NELSON. Well, thank you very much. We have got to get along here. We have a few more witnesses. Thank you, Gentlemen.

Mr. CARLUCCI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. WILSON. Thank you.

Senator NELSON. Our next witness is Mr. Carl Megel, director of legislation, American Federation of Teachers, and Mr. Stanley MacFarland, assistant secretary for government relations and citizenship, National Education Association.

**STATEMENTS OF CARL J. MEGEL, DIRECTOR OF LEGISLATION,  
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AND STANLEY J.  
McFARLAND, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR GOVERNMENT RELATIONS  
AND CITIZENSHIP, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION**

Senator NELSON. Your statements will be printed in full in the record. In view of the limitations in time, I would appreciate it if you could summarize your material for us.

Mr. MEGEL. My name is Carl J. Megel and I am the legislative director for the American Federation of Teachers. With me is Stanley MacFarland, of the National Education Association who is replacing Mr. Lumley as the cochairman, with myself, of the coalition formed last fall of national organizations concerned about the voucher plan these organizations recognized the danger to public education of an expanding voucher program under the sponsorship of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The representatives of these various organizations approved the statement, which you have before you. Referring to this statement I

should put into the record the organization that supports this joint statement. We are speaking for 13 organizations with an aggregate membership of millions of Americans. These organizations are American Association of School Administrators; American Association of University Women; American Ethical Union; American Federation of Teachers; American Humanist Association; American Jewish Congress; American Parents Committee; American United for Separation of Church and State; National Association of Elementary School Principals; National Education Association; National School Boards Association; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; and Unitarian Universalist Association.

Several representative of these organizations have asked to testify individually. I will present my own testimony for the American Federation of Teachers. Mr. McFarland will testify for the National Education Association and other representatives will follow.

Therefore, I ask that this joint statement of the coalition be placed in the record.

Senator NELSON. It will be printed in full in the record.

(The joint prepared statement of Mr. Megel and Mr. McFarland follows:)

Joint Statement  
 Presented by  
 Carl J. Megel, American Federation of Teachers, and  
 Stanley J. McFarland, National Education Association  
 on behalf of  
 National Organizations Concerned about the Voucher Plan  
 before the  
 Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty  
 of the  
 Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare  
 April 27, 1971

Mr. Chairman and members of this Committee, we appear today as supporters of the original goals of OEO as those goals were intended by the Congress.

We are speaking for 13 organizations, with an aggregate membership of millions of Americans. These organizations are:

American Association of School Administrators  
 American Association of University Women  
 American Ethical Union  
 American Federation of Teachers  
 American Humanist Association  
 American Jewish Congress  
 American Parents Committee  
 Americans United for Separation of Church and State  
 National Association of Elementary School Principals  
 National Education Association  
 National School Boards Association  
 Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
 Unitarian Universalist Association

Several of the above listed organizations, as well as other concerned groups, will testify today as to their specific objections to the voucher program. The organizations endorsing this statement are urging the Committee to order the Office of Economic Opportunity to discontinue all grants for feasibility studies and funding of voucher programs at least until this Subcommittee and the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare have held thorough hearings and assessed the impact of such proposals on the public school system.

It is well known by the Chairman and members of this Subcommittee that these organizations were supporters of the original goal of the OEO--ending poverty. That is why it has been so painful for us to witness the attempt to change OEO, by

- 2 -

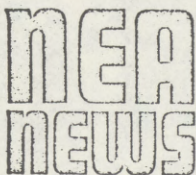
prematurely removing from its responsibility programs that work, eliminating programs before they have a chance to work, and becoming involved in programs that can never work--all in the name of ending poverty.

We believe that a larger issue than the voucher system is involved. The attempt of executive offices to distort, bypass, or thwart the will of Congress is becoming increasingly a matter of concern, not only in the withholding of appropriated funds, but also in the initiation of programs which Congress has not authorized. Under the guise of research and development, such Congressional mandates as the "poverty" program are being ignored. The original purpose of OEO--assistance to the poor--has been redirected into an ill-conceived attempt to "reprivatize" our social services.

We believe that programs approved by Congress should be carried out. We believe that no so-called experiments which are directly or indirectly aimed at altering or possibly destroying basic American institutions such as the public schools should be undertaken without clear directive from the Congress as representative of the American people.

The groups for which we speak here today and other organizations have met with OEO officials several times over the last eight months and sought answers to many questions we have about the intent and possible effects of the voucher plan. The press release attached to this testimony indicates some of our continuing concerns.

We appreciate the opportunity to bring our views to the attention of this Subcommittee.



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 or Carl Megel 737-6141

For Release 6 P.M. Tuesday  
 October 20, 1970

Newly Formed Coalition Asks Congress  
 To Investigate OEO School Voucher Plan

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 20—A coalition of education-interest groups today asked Congress to investigate a controversial "voucher plan" the Office of Economic Opportunity expects to launch next fall. The plan would put tuition grants directly into the hands of parents who could send their children to public or private schools of their choice.

In telegrams to Rep. Carl Perkins, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, and Sen. Ralph Yarborough, chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, the group said the voucher plan is open to serious challenge.

One thing is clear, the group stressed in its cable: ". . .an educational voucher plan of the type under consideration by the Office of Economic Opportunity could have broad social, educational, and political implications, and could adversely affect the American public educational system. We therefore call for Congressional hearings to evaluate the voucher proposal before any such experiment is implemented."

"All we want is the opportunity to question the voucher plan," said Dr. John M. Lumley and Carl Megel, co-chairmen of a 17-member alliance of national educational and religious groups. Lumley is assistant executive secretary for government relations and citizenship of the National Education Association. Megel is director of the Legislation Department of the American Federation of Teachers.

(More)

10-20-70

Newly Formed Coalition Asks Congress  
To Investigate OEO School Voucher Plan

The co-chairmen point to the fear felt by some educators that parents might use their ticket/voucher--equal in value to the cost of educating one pupil in the local school system--to create schools segregated by race or wealth.

They note that some members of the alliance believe the principle of separation of church and state would be violated if parents were to take advantage of their option to use the voucher to pay for a parochial school education for their children. Further, there is some concern that the voucher system: (1) could place an even greater burden on the already meager treasury for public schools, (2) could result in administrative disaster because there would be no way to determine how many children would end up in each school and therefore no way for authorities to plan, and (3) could lead to "hucksterism" by those profit-making firms that would use high-powered advertising to recruit student applicants.

In view of these questions and others, the alliance feels that the program under consideration by the OEO deserves the serious attention of Congress before it is adopted and before public funds are spent to implement it.

Coalition members stress they are not opposed to innovative experimentation, but seriously question that a voucher experiment would improve public education.

The experimental program is expected to involve at least 12,000 elementary school pupils and run from five to eight years at an annual cost of from \$6 million to \$8 million.

The program's designer, the Center for the Study of Public Policy, Cambridge, Mass., has outlined counterarguments, but Lumley and Megel said many coalition members feel these answers are inadequate and need closer scrutiny. They said that members of their group recently met with OEO Director Donald Rumsfeld to discuss their concerns and request clarification of the voucher plan. Despite that meeting, the co-chairmen said, the group is still unclear about OEO plans and feels that public hearings are necessary.

(More)

10/20/70

Newly Formed Coalition Asks Congress  
To Investigate OEO School Voucher Plan

Organizations calling for Congressional investigation on the voucher plan are:

American Association of School Administrators, American Association of University Women, American Federation of Teachers, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Americans United for Separation of Church and State, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Council of Chief State School Officers, Jewish Welfare Board, National Association of Elementary School Principals, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Council of Jewish Women, National Education Association, National School Boards Association, and the Joint Washington Office for Social Concern representing the American Ethical Union, American Humanist Association, and Unitarian Universalist Association.

# # #

10/20/70

Mr. MEGEL. Now in furtherance, may I present my statement, which is the statement of the American Federation of Teachers? As briefly as possible, let me summarize.

The American Federation of Teachers rejects the voucher proposal as theoretical rather than practical. It holds potential dangers and arouses pandora like false hopes. We formally believe that quality education is possible only through adequately financed and properly staffed public school systems.

Accordingly we are convinced that educational vouchers would undermine quality education in the public schools of our Nation.

Under the voucher plan, a parent is given a ticket, called a voucher, which ostensibly he can use to send his children to any school he wishes.

Now, we have been told that if we are opposed to vouchers we are exposed to experimentation. Our total interest is in maintaining and improving public education in our Nation. We reject outright the premise that education has failed.

The American education system by and large has served Americans well. We do not deny that there are some deficiencies. The voucher program will not solve those deficiencies. At a time when public education needs unified efforts of all segments of our society, the educational voucher would generate divisiveness with the public school system in America in the following manner: These are listed on page 3, of my formal statement. I will not repeat them here, in the interests of time. However, I do want to point out that each time on these objections has been brought forth, the proponents of the voucher plan have offered perfunctory safeguards and devices to answer these objectives.

The major question, how will the plan improve public education. Has never been answered. Over and over and over again, we have asked this question of the sponsors. One of the answers, given by the sponsors—and we had that answer this morning—is competition. Now, competition may be the essence of the free enterprise system, but competition in an academic situation would be detrimental to better education.

Teachers competing for ratings for their school may be tempted to resort to ostentatious teaching. In such a system teachers would continue to live and work in an atmosphere of limitations. The school administration would be fearful of losing students, and teachers would hesitate to try new ideas or give full expressions to their opinions lest they incur the wrath of the school administration.

The educational voucher, would disperse already meager educational funds, and yet nowhere do the sponsors of educational vouchers propose more money for operation of public education. Here in lies the reason why no satisfactory answer has been given to the basic question of how the educational voucher would improve public education?

We have stated that educational deficiencies exist. A hungry boy or girl from a disadvantaged home is not going to be a good student. Public education is one of the few ways to relieve the many conflicting pressures that are dividing our society, pressures of race, or religion, of poverty, and of urban areas.

The voucher system would create further divisiveness, as indicated in my statement from the personal experience I had in Kansas City, Mo.

The voucher proposal has invested broad discontent. The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO stated that this is the most bizarre proposal that has yet come from the Nixon administration.

David Selden, president of the American Federation of Teachers, in his address to the 1970 AFT Convention stated that the voucher proposal would lead to "hucksterism," by nonpublic operators to recruit students.

Since that time President Selden has written an article for the Columbia University Teachers College Record entitled "Vouchers, Education or Sop"; I would ask that this article be included in the record.

Senator NELSON. It will be included.

(The information referred to follows:)

# Vouchers—Solution or Sop?

by

DAVID SELDEN

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS**

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One of today's most controversial educational issues is the voucher plan—a scheme designed to give students choice of school rather than requiring them to attend schools to which they are assigned. Parents would be given certificates equal to the cost of educating their children and could then spend these certificates in any public or private school with room to accommodate their children.

Opponents of the voucher plan are divided into two camps: those who believe that it will not work and those who believe it will. Those who oppose the voucher plan on grounds of impracticality have found themselves at a serious disadvantage because, as each new detailed objection has been registered, proponents of the plan have added new qualifications and safeguards designed to eliminate the objection. Those who oppose the plan as a matter of principle are raising more fundamental objections. They hold that the voucher plan is a dangerous and divisive proposal which could even destroy the public school system.

*Innocence Abroad* Actually, there is no single voucher plan. One of the first to use the term was conservative economist Milton Friedman who was trying to find a way to turn the schools over to private enterprise. Later, Christopher Jencks and his associates at the Harvard Graduate School of Education saw vouchers as a way to bring about educational changes. They were and still are deeply concerned about the failure of American schools to educate underclass students, particularly those who live in the black slums and ghettos of our big cities. Jencks and others observed that while schools in nearby Boston and in other cities are overcrowded and run-down, many middle-class suburbs of those cities have underutilized school facilities.

Furthermore, the voucher advocates took heed of the central finding of the Coleman Report to the effect that the most influential element in a child's education is his social milieu. If such children could be helped to leapfrog out of the city and into suburban schools, they would thus be receiving intrinsically better educational service on the one hand and a more learning-supporting environment on the other.

Jencks and his associates further observed that throughout the nation there are a number of small, highly innovative private schools which are apparently achieving spectacular results. Yet many of these experimental schools live a hand-to-mouth existence. If a way could be found to give such schools financial

*David Selden is president of the American Federation of Teachers.*

security, the probability of developing useful, new educational techniques would be increased.

Hence, vouchers. What has happened to the original pure-hearted voucher concept, however, is a classic example of good intentions gone bad.

*Mechanical Problems* One of the early problems encountered in making the voucher scheme viable was the obvious fact that putting an urban educational price tag on a poor kid would still leave him unable to afford a suburban school. Therefore, one of the first elements that was added to the concept was that children from poverty slum families would be given added educational green stamps, so that they could afford a more expensive education than they would get if they stayed in their urban attendance districts. This voucher override caveat introduces a vital cop-out right at the outset.

Although educational arguers concede that suburban education is better and that it costs more, they do not concede that *urban* education could be improved if more money were to be spent in the cities. The more vociferous critics of our public schools proceed from the premise that we could educate children if we, (1) really wanted to do a job, and (2) had the right idea about how to teach. They vigorously dispute assertions by teachers and their organizations that well-qualified and well-paid teachers with small classes, reasonable classroom-hour loads, ample remedial assistance, and good physical surroundings have much to do with the quality of instruction. Yet many of these same critics support the voucher plan, despite its initial concession that good education will cost more than we are now spending in slum schools.

Money alone is not an absolute determinant of educational quality. A study by the NAACP in 1969 showed that a large proportion—although not the majority by any means—of so-called compensatory education programs financed under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act proved to be educationally worthless. On the other hand, it is impossible to effect any large-scale improvement in education without having more money to hire teachers and other personnel and to invest in new schools and equipment. And if more money can be made available for education, it should be spent to improve the public schools in the areas of greatest need.

The voucher bounty idea would introduce incentives for operators of private schools and, of course, for suburban school boards. Supporters of the plan pooh-pooh the possibility that the profit motive would stimulate added hucksterism in education. However, unless safeguards against profiteering were carefully drawn and enforced, voucher money would most certainly tempt unscrupulous educational entrepreneurs in the same way that the GI Bill stimulated the growth of all those electronics, watchmaking, and key punch "schools." Most of the victims of those enterprises were ex-servicemen

from the underclass who were looking for educational shortcuts. The greater educational need of underclass children and their parents makes them more vulnerable to the blandishments of fly-by-night school operators.

*Open Enrollment* The term voucher plan is so catchy that one almost takes for granted that this is something new, but it is not. In the early, liberal, integrationist days following the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision, many school districts adopted so-called open enrollment plans. Black children who otherwise would have been attending all-black slum schools were permitted to transfer to other schools if those schools had space to receive them. Many of these plans also provided free busing, again on a voluntary basis. While most of the open enrollment plans were theoretically "two way," it was inevitably black children who rode the bus—a segregating activity in itself.

Most open enrollment plans have been abandoned or have dwindled to insignificance. As a matter of fact, they never did enlist masses of students, and for the most part, the children who rode the bus were those with strong parental support and high motivation. These were the very children who were more likely to succeed regardless of the school they attended. They were also the very children whose presence could have provided stimulation for less striving children in their ghetto schools.

Most observers of the open enrollment plans quickly came to the conclusion that the programs were ineffective in combatting racial segregation and that very little, if any, educational gain resulted.

As an aside, the open enrollment plans, confined mostly to Northern cities, simply proved that a *little* busing would accomplish nothing; the much more extensive busing program now being followed in many Southern cities bears educational promise through its significant effect upon the social mix in schools.

*Racism and Politics* Another scheme very close to the voucher idea is "freedom-of-choice," now outlawed by many court decisions. The freedom-of-choice plans were designed to *promote* racial segregation. They were based upon outright subsidies, very similar to vouchers, given to parents to trade in at the "school of their choice." Of course, black parents were not permitted to use their vouchers at white schools.

The original proponents of vouchers abhor racial discrimination, and they have again proposed mechanical regulations which would supposedly guard against use of the vouchers to promote freedom-of-choice academies. For instance, they would require that at least 25 percent of the student population be of a minority ethnic group before a school would be eligible to receive voucher students.

The proposed 25 percent safeguard illustrates another basic problem of the voucher idea. Since the plan's success seems to depend, in part at least, on federal aid, one can readily see the shape of the future. The percentage figure would loom as a major proving ground over which pro and con lobbyists would clash, just as they now struggle to influence percentages in taxes, tariffs, and oil depletion allowances.

Even if Congress passed a proper percentage, however, it still would have to be enforced. Ironically, some of those who purport to fear the specter of federal intervention in local affairs are also advocating the use of vouchers, not recognizing, presumably, the massive federal regulatory apparatus which would be necessary to prevent abuse.

*European Experience*

School finance systems very similar to vouchers have been in use in a number of European countries for many decades. In Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, for instance, children receive equal subsidies, regardless of the sponsorship of the school they attend—public, private, nonsectarian, or religious. Contrary to the objections usually raised, the effects of government subsidies have been far from catastrophic. While the percentage of students at religious-sponsored schools has increased somewhat, the proportion now seems to be stabilized. Furthermore, apparently the religious schools are becoming less and less sectarian and more and more like the public schools. It is predicted that there will be very little difference between the two types of schools in five to ten years.

The European system, however, couples close supervision by the state with certain standard requirements—in staffing and equipment, for instance—which all schools must meet. Of course, all schools must teach a standard curriculum prescribed by the state, and there are single national teacher-salary schedules and pension systems.

It cannot be said that public subsidy of private schools creates illiberal, divided, and strife-torn societies, since the three countries under discussion are among the most liberal and peaceful in the world. But it must be noted that economic and social conditions in those countries differ greatly from those in the United States. First, there is no large economically deprived underclass in Belgium, Holland, or Denmark. Second, there is no large racially isolated group. Third, government is much simpler and more centralized. What seems to have become acceptable in small, middle-class, ethnically homogeneous countries under strong centralized control or supervision would not necessarily be applicable to the United States with its huge problems and deep unresolved racial, sectional, and religious antagonisms.

Incidentally, France does *not* subsidize private schools.

*Religious Warfare* The dynamite which lies ready for detonation just below the surface of the voucher controversy is the growing issue of public support for religious-related schools. At several meetings called by the sponsors of the voucher plan in an effort to "clarify" the situation, the line-up of religious teams was as apparent as if they had worn colored jerseys. On the one side were those Jewish and Protestant organizations traditionally zealous in maintaining the principle of separation of church and state. On the other side were the Catholic organizations and a scattering of other denominations trying desperately to save their church-related school systems. Even though Jencks and company say that vouchers would not be used to any great extent to solve the financial plight of the church schools, spokesmen for those institutions quite obviously think otherwise.

Jencks thinks that the church schools would have a hard time meeting his 25 percent minority race qualification. Church spokesmen, however, feel that with federal support tuition for such schools could be reduced and the number of "free" students could be greatly increased, thus helping to improve racial integration in such schools and at the same time preventing their possible collapse. The religious advocates of vouchers point out that church-related schools now enroll hundreds of thousands of children who otherwise would be the responsibility of the public system. Unless these schools receive financial aid, they will be forced to curtail operations and send students flooding into already overcrowded public facilities. Vouchers seem to offer a way out.

The tuition subsidy plan now in use in New York state, which provides state funds for college students to attend institutions of their choice, whether public or private, seems to be in conformity with constitutional requirements. Other scholarship plans using federal funds have also been in existence for many years without arousing successful legal objection. Even so, introduction of the voucher plan is almost certain to result in speedy legal challenge by its opponents on grounds of separation of church and state.

Several cases now in the judicial works will have a bearing on the legal status of vouchers. One of these is *Flask v. Gardner*, which challenges the use of federal funds to pay for educational services conducted in religious-sponsored schools under Title I of ESEA. If the courts should decide that the use of funds in this way is unconstitutional, the legality of the voucher concept so far as the religious-related schools are concerned would be dubious indeed.

The other test case is *Lemon v. Kurtzman*. Pennsylvania now provides state aid directly to private schools—most of them church-connected. A number of organizations have filed amicus briefs in opposition to the use of funds for such a purpose, but U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell announced in September, 1970, that his department would file an amicus brief on the side of the state, thus declaring in favor of such subsidies.

*Polarizer* The Nixon Administration has not been slow to realize the political potentialities in the voucher controversy. Donald Rumsfeld, who was appointed by the President to become Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (presumably on the basis that since he voted against every bill which created OEO he could not be accused of favoritism), started down the Spiro Agnew polarization trail in 1970. Rumsfeld was seeking quite obviously to exploit another of those neat splitters which have become the hallmark of the current administration's political style.

By pushing the voucher plan, Rumsfeld attacked teachers, who are almost universally opposed, and the "liberal elements" who favor strict separation of church and state. At the same time, he declared himself in support of people who, according to cynical political analysis, are thought to be in the hard-hat category. He also gave aid and comfort to people who secretly hope vouchers will lead to a revival of the Southern freedom-of-choice plans.

In promoting the voucher plan, Rumsfeld displayed a flair for half-truths. In a speech given September 23, 1970, before the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce "Urban Roundtable," he first detailed the all too obvious defects and shortcomings of our current system of education. Then he totaled up all the money spent by all levels of government on education. In the same paragraph he threw in an observation—unsupported—that "the pupil-teacher ratio is lower today than ever in the nation's history."

What Rumsfeld left out was that the percentage of gross national product for education remained practically constant for decades and that "pupil-teacher ratio" is an almost meaningless figure. Furthermore, if the ratio has gone down, how much has it decreased? A page later in the same speech, he rejected the idea that the amount of money spent on education has much to do with the quality of education. What we need, he said, are new ideas, and he charged that the American Federation of Teachers and other teacher organizations don't want any new ideas, since they are against the voucher plan and have been against other "experiments" launched under the aegis of the OEO.

Quoting directly from the Rumsfeld remarks, he stated: "They [teacher interest groups] charge that money, not new approaches, is the answer to improving educational skills." He then went on to quote President Nixon, "When we get more education for the dollar, we'll start asking for more dollars for education."

As a matter of fact, the voucher plan does not add a single new educational technique, nor can it guarantee that giving pupils more mobility will result in the development of new techniques.

*Lizard or Dragon?* One of the chief objections which can be leveled fairly at the voucher idea is that it, like so many catchy educational schemes, tends to divert attention from the real and basic needs of

children and the schools. Whether education is carried on by people—teachers and paraprofessionals—or by machines watched over by people, there is a relationship between cost and educational effort.

No one would deny that it is possible to waste school money, but all other things being equal—the educability of students, the intelligence of teachers and administrators, the social milieu in which the school must operate—the more money you spend on education, the more education is produced. It is silly, if not malicious, to suggest that money-starved school systems will have “to do better” before the great white fathers in Washington will give them more support.

Like a bright, shiny, quick-moving lizard running over a rotting log, the voucher scheme diverts our attention from the decay underneath. But what will we do if Mr. Jencks’ entertaining little lizard grows up to be a fire-breathing dragon?

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TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD — Vol. 72, No. 3, Feb. 1971

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Mr. MEGEL. Instead of vouchers, the AFT has advanced a proven program, to promote excellence in education known as the more effective schools plan (MES). In our MES program there are three classes. (a) class size limit of 22 with reading specialists in every school, (B) clusters of teachers (c) restructuring ghetto schools.

Now, such programs cost a little more money, up to \$600 in New York. There are about 35 school systems which now conduct an MES program in their school systems.

Senator NELSON. How many?

Mr. MEGEL. Thirty-five systems.

Senator NELSON. Where?

Mr. MEGEL. In Baltimore—

Senator NELSON. You are talking nationally?

Mr. MEGEL. Yes; Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland and so on and so forth.

The disadvantaged children, Black, Puerto Rican, and white—whose good fortune it is to attend a more effective school attest to its advantages and give prima facie evidence of our contention that adequately financed public education can continue to serve our nation effectively and well.

In like manner, the AFT rejects performance contracting plans. Dr. Robert Bhaerman, research director of the AFT, has written a statement on performance contracting which appeared in the February 1971 issue of Compact, and I respectfully request that this article be included in the record.

Senator NELSON. It will be included in the record

Mr. MEGEL. As in our opposition to vouchers, we oppose the program as educational unsound but specifically, we oppose the use of OEO funds to promote these projects.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to present this statement and express my thanks for the courtesy extended to me.

I ask that my complete statement be included in the record, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. It will be included in the record.

(The article referred to follows:)

[FROM COMPACT, FEBRUARY 1971]

PERFORMANCE CONTRACTING

(By Robert D. Bhaerman)

Performance Contracting is a plan which sounds remarkably simple: A private firm takes charge of some students promising to raise their reading achievement by two grade levels within 180 days. If it succeeds, it gets paid a pre-arranged fee. If the project fails, the contracting company refunds specified amounts to the school board.

Performance Contracting—as this concept is known—is being adopted by some school districts. The recent ill-fated experiment in Texarkana was followed by contracts between school boards and private businesses in Gary, Philadelphia and elsewhere. As of this date, the Office of Economic Opportunity has made "performance contracts" with 21 school districts and allocated more than \$6 million to promote these projects.

#### BASIS OF UNION POSITION

What is wrong with the idea of "performance contracting" and why does the union object?

First of all, the advocates of performance contracting claim that the public has lost confidence in the public schools. Test scores in reading and math skills

may reveal deterioration for many impoverished urban and rural youth. While dollar costs per student almost doubled in the past decade, it is argued that there has been no commensurate increase in productivity. Yet the point is that one-half of the money increase was simply inflation: the real increase in expenditures averaged little more than \$15 per student per year.

Advocates of performance contracting point out the precarious support of public education as demonstrated by the increasing rate of school bond issue defeats. Yet the fact is that increasing local school taxes is attempted through highly inequitable property tax structures. Federal income tax dollars are paid with the possibility that only two cents of each dollar might flow back into the local education effort.

Nevertheless, these are the economic circumstances which give impetus to the notion of performance contracting. The idea neatly fits the Nixon policy of encouraging profit-seeking corporations to become involved in public education.

It is significant to note that, as Nixon scales down military expenditures, public services, such as schools, do not benefit. Instead, the focus is diverted for enterprises which find their war chests have been emptied. So they have entered a new zone: It is called the public schools.

Furthermore, President Nixon theorizes that increased federal education expenditures are unjustified until we discover the strategy that will maximize the "results" from the education dollar. We are told to wait until the schools adopt industry's procedures and jargon.

Of course, private industry was quick to act on these new opportunities. Under a guaranteed contract, firms offer to take over the "training" aspects of education (not the "education" aspect of education) and they promise to get the job done faster, better and more cheaply.

What are the major specific reasons for our objection to "performance contracting"? There are several. At the American Federation of Teachers convention in August 1970, delegates unanimously approved a resolution noting the fallacies of performance contracting, which "is predicated on the false assumption that educational achievement can be improved in the vacuum of a machine-oriented classroom, without changing the wider environment of the poverty-stricken child." The resolution notes six other areas of objection:

Whereas: the concept of performance contracting threatens to become a common practice in U.S. education, and . . .

Whereas: performance contracting incorporates such dubious educational practices as merit-pay incentives to teachers, over-reliance upon standardized testing and the utilization of teaching machines and such doubtful incentives as "green stamps" and transistor radios to children, be it therefore,

Resolved: that the AFT go on record as opposing any plan, such as performance contracting, which:

- (1) will take the determination of educational policy out of the hands of the public and place it in the hands of private industrial entrepreneurs.
- (2) threatens to establish a monopoly of education by big business.
- (3) threatens to dehumanize the learning process,
- (4) would sow distrust among teachers through a structured incentive program,
- (5) promotes "teaching to the (standardized) test,"
- (6) subverts the collective-bargaining process and reduces teacher input.

The AFT is not alone in raising these objections. *The American School Board Journal* of November, 1970 reported a survey to school board members in which this question was raised: "Does the concept of performance contracting have validity for education?" One-third thought it might; one-third had reservations; one-third opposed it outright. The latter group offered two reasons:

(1) It threatens to "dehumanize" schools at a time when a humane approach to education is more crucial than it has ever been.

(2) Performance contracting is a naive idea—nobody can "guarantee" learning as though it were a new automobile.

To which we would add: Industry can't even guarantee that their automobiles won't be called back.

The official of one company, who views the motion of performance contracting with considerable doubt, as we do, has written in *Nation's Schools*: "I wouldn't be surprised if by next year the whole idea of performance contracting will have passed into the history books."

There are other reasons for AFT opposition to performance contracting. In an address to a meeting of McGraw-Hill's Educational Development Laboratories executives on October 27, Albert Shanker, president of the UFT in New York City, presented five reasons: (1) The contractors' lack of responsibility to live up to the terms of any collective bargaining agreement negotiated by the Board of Education and the Union; (2) charlatanism inherent in guarantees of performance; (3) the overselling of technology; (4) dangers in the contractors' motivation of students through gimmicks; and (5) the anti-teacher political maneuvering behind much of the contracting.

If industry is recruited into the anti-teacher camp, it will have to face the consequences of a strong teacher and union response. Mr. Shanker said, "We are not about to fight with a Board of Education for wages, working conditions and other benefits, and win them, and then see the board turn the schools over to a private contractor who has no obligation to us."

#### THE GARY, INDIANA PROGRAM

To better understand the insidiousness of the program, consider the significant financial arrangement made in Gary, Indiana. One-third of the regular teachers were replaced with paraprofessionals at a pay rate of \$2.00 or less per hour, thereby providing some \$80,000 extra for the firm. The Board of Education allowed the Laboratory \$800 per child, which was the Gary total school average since high school costs are higher. Since Gary elementary costs were only \$669 per child, the firm gained another \$105,000. The Laboratory will, in addition, receive all federal funds prorated for the school.

With such additional expenditures, the Gary school administration could have done an outstanding job. It should be pointed out that all other elementary schools in Gary are required to operate under a \$669 per child per budget. With such profits in the offing—no wonder the industrial complex is so eagerly seeking these performance contracts.

More serious is the deep seated discontent which has already developed among the employees of the project school. Recent articles in the *Gary Post Tribune* report that the paraprofessionals threatened a walk-out because they were being used as substitute teachers in jobs for which they were not qualified. Through intercession by the Gary Teachers Union with the Gary Board of Education, the grievance was resolved.

However, a custodian who voiced his support of the paraprofessionals was immediately transferred by the Gary Board of Education to another Gary school, in compliance with an article in the contract which specifies that the Board of Education must transfer within 15 days, any employee whom the project administrators wish to transfer. Accordingly, teacher discontent is widespread not only because of the insensitive and dictatorial program administration, but also because the needs of the children are neglected.

#### INSTANT ALERT

For these reasons, the AFT has established an "Instant Alert" system for parents, teachers, and communities. As part of this system, we have established three IEC (Industrial Educational Complex) "monitoring posts" in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles and Gary, Indiana. The posts will be staffed with personnel to evaluate proposed contracts and to alert communities to the implications of performance contracting. In addition, the posts will examine proposed performance contracts to determine among other things: (1) The duration of commitment of outside funds to a school district; (2) who will set policy in all of the school districts or in the segment covered by the proposed performance contract; (3) the pupil-teacher ratio under the contract; (4) an evaluation of the physical setting in which learning takes place compared with the physical setting in an average classroom in the district; and (5) the handling of disruptive or mentally disadvantaged children, under the contract.

Henry Dyer, vice-president of the Educational Testing Service, writing in the *United Teacher*, summarizes the opposition to performance contracting in these terms, to which we subscribe:

It must be constantly kept in mind that the educational process is not on all fours with a manufacturing or industrial process; it is a social process in which human beings are continually interacting with other human beings in ways that are perfectly measurable or predictable.

Education does not deal with inert raw materials, but with living minds that are instinctively concerned, first, with preserving their own integrity and, second, with reaching a meaningful accommodation with the world around them.

The outpost of the educational process is never a "finished product" whose characteristics can be rigorously specified in advance; it is an individual who is sufficiently aware of his own incompleteness to make him want to keep on growing and learning and trying to solve the riddle of his own existence in a world that neither he nor anyone else can fully understand or predict.

In short, we would agree that performance contracting provides an agent for change, but we maintain that the change will not be constructive. Lives of children are at stake, not boxes of soapsuds. Let us stop shopping for bargains in the educational marketplace for our children.

Mr. MEGEL. I would like to defer to my colleague, Mr. McFarland.  
Senator NELSON. Mr. McFarland.

Mr. McFARLAND. I would like, Mr. Chairman, to submit our prepared statements for the record, and then to summarize and make some additional comments.

(The prepared statements of Mr. McFarland and Mr. Megel follows:)

Statement on behalf of  
 The National Education Association  
 Presented by  
 Stanley J. McFarland  
 on  
 The Office of Economic Opportunity and  
 Educational Vouchers  
 to the  
 Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty  
 April 27, 1971

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

The National Education Association has been a consistent supporter of the efforts of the Congress to eradicate poverty in this land. We have supported programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity and appropriations to make these programs function. Our members have worked in Job Corps centers, Head Start programs, adult and migrant education programs, VISTA, and Follow Through. We do not contend that all of these programs have been 100% successful, but we do believe they have had some impact on the problem. Much more needs to be done.

In recent years, however, we have noted--at first with regret, and now with alarm--that the thrust of the OEO services has been phased away from direct services to individuals in poverty and toward what the present officials of OEO seem to consider a more exciting role of experimental research.

The latest venture of this so-called research and development function of OEO is the promotion of educational voucher plans. The theory seems to be that the public school system, under the control of school boards elected by the communities they serve, is not competent to design educational programs to meet the needs of all children.

We fear that vouchers are an unconstitutional support for nonpublic schools, that they will lead to social and racial resegregation, and that they will result in the enrichment of private sector hucksters who see this system as a bonanza.

Delegates to the 1970 NEA convention adopted the following resolution:

"70-13. Voucher Plans

"The National Education Association believes that the so-called "voucher plan" under which education is financed by federal or state grants to parents could lead to racial, economic, and social isolation of children and weaken or destroy the public school system.

"The Association urges the enactment of federal and state legislation prohibiting the establishment of such plans and calls upon its affiliates to seek from members of Congress and state legislatures support for this legislation."

OEO has announced its intent to sink \$6 to \$8 million per year for the next five to eight years into a so-called "voucher plan" for education. The objective is to induce local public schools to pay sums of money, equal to the school district's per-pupil cost, to parents, with the provision that the parent would select the school--public or private--which his child is to attend. The OEO planners expect the money, except for administration and transportation costs, to be contributed from local and state public school funds. The OEO planners expect the voucher stipends to be deducted from the local school district's funds. According to OEO Pamphlet 3400-1 for January 1971 (page 15) OEO "would pay the additional costs of educating students not now in the public schools." Thus, the proposal constitutes federal aid to private schools, but not to public schools. In fact, it will reduce funds available for public education.

While the OEO plan includes what the planners consider to be adequate safeguards to prohibit racial segregation or support for religious instruction, we are fearful that such safeguards will not be characteristic of other voucher plans which will be devised in the wake of the OEO experiment. We also have strong reservations about the element of selling which nonpublic schools, especially those operated for profit, may pursue to induce parents to patronize their schools.

We are not opposed to innovation and experimentation designed to improve the quality of American education. Indeed, a major program of NEA, under its Center

for the Study of Instruction, is to promote and evaluate innovative programs and to disseminate the findings of experimental research to the school systems throughout the land. But we are opposed to ventures in the guise of experimentation which are designed, despite disclaimers to the contrary, to destroy the system of public education.

We also fear that the promoters of the voucher plans in OEO have designed this as a straw to break the backs of those of us who, with the Committee, hope that if we keep OEO alive long enough it would, with proper management, come again to serve its true constituency, the poor. OEO was never intended to become a sort of in-house Rand Corporation for the systems-happy bureaucrats of any Administration. We are not opposed to OEO or to continuing authorization for OEO if it is to once again be made the servant of the poor.

We also have grave reservations concerning OEO's so-called experiments with performance contracting. Attached to the statement is the official position of the NEA Executive Committee on performance contracting. Briefly, the position is that schools should proceed, if at all, with extreme caution in this area--and then only if teachers are involved in every phase of the program from development to evaluation.

Our point on performance contracting today, however, is that we believe OEO is invading the field of education, which is the proper prerogative of the Office of Education. Experimentation by OEO with performance contracting is a duplication of an Office of Education project. Also, an estimated 150 or so performance contracts, locally developed without federal involvement, have appeared around the country. We see no justification for OEO to divert funds designed for programs for the poor into duplication of ongoing programs--in the guise of experimentation.

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We wish to call the Subcommittee's attention to Section 244(5) of Title II of PL 88-452, as amended. This subsection, listed under the subtitle of "Special Limitations" states:

"(5) No financial assistance shall be extended under this Title to provide general aid to elementary and secondary education in any school or school system; but this shall not prohibit the provision of special, remedial and other noncurricular educational assistance."

Clearly, the ventures of OEO into voucher and performance contract programs is a direct violation of the law. The OEO officials claim authority for their research and development programs under Title II of the Act, the same title of which Section 244(5) is a part. This alleged authority is carried under Section 232 of the Act. We contend that the language of Section 244(5) overrides any latitude the Director may have in research and development, clearly precluding experiments by OEO in the field of curricular offerings of the schools or in providing, as the voucher plan does, general aid to education.

Therefore, we urge this Committee to earmark authorizations for OEO programs of direct service to the poor, to restrict the OEO Act authorizations for research and development to specific areas, and to include clear and unequivocal language in the Act which specifically prohibits OEO from conducting programs--experimental or otherwise--related to education of children in grades K through 12.

## POLICY STATEMENT BY THE NEA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON PERFORMANCE CONTRACTING

December 5, 1970

The National Education Association supports a systematic approach to education. Such an approach includes: identification of goals and objectives, planning and carrying out processes for their attainment, monitoring and reporting results, and a continuing effort to refine the total endeavor. Such an orderly, thoughtful approach promises to provide the necessary safeguards and controls to insure the systematic application of change and appropriate processes that use technology to achieve the humane requirements of students in ways that will meet the needs of society and the interests of the united teaching profession.

Implicit in this approach is the premise that accountability for public education takes many forms and extends in varying degrees to all segments of the educational enterprise and the society that supports it. Although a systematic approach to education is a way of organizing thought and action in all areas, it will tend to make educational accountability in all of its forms more visible, more specific, and more measurable. The system, of course, must serve the purpose, rather than the purpose serve the system.

Present varieties of experimentation with the performance contract in schools represent one approach to accountability in the area of instruction. Typically the performance contract of today is a formal agreement

between a local board of education and a private business organization, or a group of teachers already employed by the board of education, to achieve certain specified gains in student performance most frequently measured by standardized achievement tests. Contracting agencies are most often paid only when measurable student achievement has reached or exceeded specified performance levels.

It is recognized that the performance contract may be a vehicle to introduce instructional and managerial changes into schools. However, the contracts presently in effect are subject to potentially serious abuses that are clearly not in the best interest of students, teachers, and society. The NEA, therefore, urges its affiliate organizations not to become parties to a performance contract without careful prior planning and consultation. Individual teachers are cautioned about their involvement in such contracts without adequate understanding of the purposes of the contract and their role in its implementation. Improper involvement of teachers in such contracts may well jeopardize their present instructional responsibilities, and raise important ethical and legal questions.

The NEA believes that no performance contract should be undertaken unless the following conditions are met:

1. Teachers must be involved through their local associations as a basic condition of the contract. This involvement must extend from the planning of the contract objectives through the evaluation of the performance of the contract.
2. Other measurements in addition to the so-called standardized achievement tests must be used as measures of student learning.
3. Learning objectives must be developed with community and professional involvement and must be the basis for the requests for bids on the contract

4. All contracts must include the provision--the so-called "turnkey approach"--that will make it possible for all innovative aspects of the contract to revert to the regular staff and program of the school.
5. The contract must provide for the maximum use of school personnel who must be given adequate preparation in the processes related to the contractual objectives.
6. All pupils must be under the close supervision of professionally trained and certificated personnel.
7. Contracts must be limited to genuinely innovative approaches that are neither likely nor possible within the school's program.
8. Contracts must not be in conflict with negotiated agreements between school boards and local associations and must not violate the established legal rights of teachers.
9. Contracts must assure that no performance contractor may profit by virtue of any privileges given to nonprofit educational institutions or agencies under copyright law in order that there be no conflict with NEA's basic position on copyright law revision.

The NEA opposes any contract that does not meet these conditions.

Statement Before  
The Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty  
(Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare)

April 27, 1971

By  
Carl J. Megel  
Legislative Director  
American Federation of Teachers

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

My name is Carl J. Megel. I am the Legislative Director of the American Federation of Teachers. I am privileged to present to this Committee the view of the American Federation of Teachers with reference to appropriations and funding for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The AFT, fully aware of the educational and cultural disadvantages which existed throughout our nation, supported the creation and furtherance of the Office of Economic Opportunity. We did so with the belief that the legislation passed by the Congress directed the OEO to concentrate its efforts on the eradication of poverty as its sole function. Instead, the OEO has proliferated and expanded its efforts into many areas for which it has no legal authorization. Among these are the expenditure of appropriated funds for voucher feasibility studies and performance contracting plans.

The American Federation of Teachers rejects the voucher proposal as theoretical rather than practical. It holds potential dangers and arouses Pandora-like false hopes. We firmly believe that quality education is possible only through adequately financed and properly staffed public school systems.

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Accordingly, we are convinced that educational vouchers would undermine quality education in the public schools of our nation.

The pages of any history of American education are filled with innovations which were hailed as "miracle drugs" but which are now discredited. The latest of these safaris into educational fairyland is now being proposed and partially financed through the Office of Economic Opportunity under the euphemistic title of "educational vouchers." This proposal is being advanced as an innovation, with the assumption that anyone opposed to an innovation is opposed to experimentation. The common denominator for this and other innovations is the false premise that: (a) the schools have failed, and that (b) money is not the answer.

Under the voucher plan, a parent would be given a ticket called an "educational voucher" for each of his children. Each ticket would be in the amount equal to the cost of educating one pupil in the local school system. The parent could then enroll his children in any school--public or nonpublic--and use the voucher to pay the tuition. The school would exchange these tuition vouchers for cash from the local government agency.

Our concern is not centered on any opposition to valid experimentation. Our total interest is in maintaining and improving public education in our nation. We reject outright the premise that education has failed. By and large, the American public schools are in the hands of underpaid, overworked school teachers serving in overcrowded classrooms. Nevertheless, they have done the finest job of any school system in the world. Our scientific progress, our jet

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and supersonic planes, our rockets that placed a man on the moon, our engineering, our technical, our financial and cultural achievements found their basis in the public schools of our nation. Furthermore, all of these unbelievable advances were granted finances of astronomical proportions while, at the same time, our educational system was financially hobbled with a study, stall and starve philosophy. Senator Mansfield recently observed, "It is so easy to vote the billions for ABM, s and then to reject money for the ABC's."

At a time when public education needs the unified efforts of all segments of our society, the educational voucher would generate divisiveness within the public school system in America in the following manner:

- a. The voucher system could easily be used to maintain segregated schools.
- b. The voucher system would cause public schools to become "dumping grounds" for children expelled from other schools.
- c. The voucher system would stimulate the growth of private schools supported by public funds.
- d. The voucher system could lead to direct public support of church-related schools possibly violating the constitutional principle of church-state separation.

Even though proponents of the voucher plan have offered perfunctory safeguards and devices to answer some of these objections, the major question remains: How will the plan improve public education?

Over and over again we have asked this question of sponsors of the

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voucher plan. We have yet to receive a satisfactory answer except that, "Vouchers will produce competition between the various school systems which sponsor the plan." This false premise assumes that competition of itself is a panacea supplying instant quality education.

Competition may be the essence of the free enterprise system, but competition in an academic situation would be detrimental to better education for children. Teachers competing for favorable ratings for their school would be tempted to resort to ostentatious teaching rather than professional teaching. In the process, the student would be exploited. In such a school system, teachers would continually live and work in an atmosphere of limitation. Since the school administration would be continuously fearful of losing students, teachers would hesitate to try new ideas or give full expression to their opinions lest they incur the wrath of the school administration.

It is frighteningly clear that the educational voucher would disperse already meager educational funds; yet, nowhere do the sponsors of educational vouchers propose more money for operation of public education. Herein lies the reason they have no satisfactory answer to the basic question of how educational vouchers would improve public education.

We stated previously that we categorically refute the contention that public education in America has failed. This is not to deny that deficiencies do exist. Hungry boys and girls in the disadvantaged areas of our cities have been shortchanged in their educational opportunities. But the deficiencies must be laid at the door of a society which, in spite of growing, unsolved problems, has

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failed to provide the funds necessary for a truly effective school system. Public education is one of the few ways of relieving the many conflicting pressures that are dividing our society--pressures of race, of religion, of poverty, of urban self-interest.

The voucher system would encourage further divisions within our society while offering no new teaching methods or facilities. On September 10, 1970 I spoke at an open public hearing of the Kansas City, Missouri Board of Education, which was considering a proposed Office of Economic Opportunity grant to explore the use of the voucher plan. Here I saw at firsthand the divisive nature of this scheme. The false promise of the voucher plan became an inviting mirage to impoverished parents honestly seeking better educational opportunities for their disadvantaged children.

At this time when national unity of all groups is sorely needed, the voucher proposal has elicited broad discontent. Early in June the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO voiced its opposition to the voucher plan as ". . . the most bizarre proposal that has yet to come from the Nixon administration."

In his address to the American Federation of Teachers Convention meeting in Pittsburgh in August 1970, AFT President David Selden stated that, "Educational vouchers and a half dozen other schemes have been put forth as ways to get more education without spending more money. The fact is we cannot have better schools without spending more money; yet, there are many people who still do not accept this truth. Instead, they propose an educational voucher plan which would

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lead to 'hucksterism' by non-public operators to recruit students."

Since that time President Selden has written an article which appeared in the Columbia University Teacher College Record in February 1971, entitled "Vouchers--Solution or Sop?" I respectfully request that this article be included in the record. The American Federation of Teachers, at its 1970 Convention unanimously passed a resolution, "... of active opposition to any proposed voucher plan."

A proven program advanced by the AFT to promote excellence in education is known as "The More Effective Schools" (MES) plan. Si Beagle, AFT National Director for MES states that "The AFT is offering the MES program as an educationally sound alternative which will keep public education where it belongs--in our public schools, conducted and controlled by public agencies and by the duly licensed educational professionals."

The MES plan was established in 1964 by the joint action of the AFT's New York City affiliate, the United Federation of Teachers and the New York City Board of Education. It calls for a restructuring of ghetto area schools to provide clusters of four teachers for each three classes; class-size limits of 22, with reading specialists in every school. Although such programs cost up to \$600 more in annual per-pupil expense in New York City, the documented results have been above all expectations. The disadvantaged children--black, Puerto Rican, and white--whose good fortune it is to attend a More Effective School attest to its advantages and give prima facie evidence of our contention that adequately financed public education can continue to serve our nation effectively and well.

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In like manner, the AFT rejects performance contracting plans. Dr. Robert Bhaerman, Research Director of the AFT, has written a statement on performance contracting which appeared in the February 1971 issue of Compact. I respectfully request that this article be included in the record. As in our opposition to vouchers, we oppose the program as educationally unsound and specifically, we oppose the use of OEO funds to promote these projects.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to present this statement and express my thanks for the courtesy extended to me.

# # #

Mr. McFARLAND. The NEA has been a consistent supporter of the efforts of Congress to eradicate poverty in this land. We have supported programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity and appropriations to make these programs function.

Our members have worked in the Job Corps centers, adult and migrant education programs. We do not contend that all these programs have been 100 percent successful, but we do believe they have had an impact on the problem.

In recent years, however, we have noticed with regret and now with alarm that the thrust of the OEO service has been phased away from direct services to individuals in poverty and toward what the present officials of OEO seem to consider a more exciting role of experimental research.

The latest venture, of course, is the so-called voucher system. I have heard more answers here today in listening to the testimony of Mr. Carlucci and Dr. Wilson about what is visualized as a voucher program than we have ever before heard from OEO officials. In past meetings with OEO people, including Mr. Rumsfeld, the past director, we were told very flatly that there is no voucher program. We were told that there have been research studies, such as the Jencks study which put forth a proposal. They have indicated that several planning grants were let to several school systems to develop a voucher program.

We are not quite sure, frankly, what a voucher program would be. We are not sure, therefore, whether the purposes and the so-called safeguards of a voucher program would in fact meet the needs of education, whether a voucher program would improve the education of children.

I think this is a basic question that confronts this committee. In fact, the NEA would flatly make a request that, before any voucher plan was authorized under the supposed research functions of OEO, this committee hold broad and extensive hearings on the whole question of the voucher system. The purpose of such hearings would be to insure that the issues and questions could be brought forth and, hopefully, answered. We would hope that many people would have a chance to raise questions in this committee in a day or so of public hearings.

I'm not convinced that would be enough. I think there are questions that need to be answered, and issues which must be brought forth and discussed. There is a constitutional question of separation of church and State. Furthermore, I would raise a question whether it is proper for OEO to be involved in the voucher program based upon section 244, part 5, of title II of Public Law 88-452. This section, listed under the subtitle "special limitations," states, "No financial assistance shall be extended under this title to provide general aid to elementary and secondary education in any school or school system; but this shall not prohibit the provision of special, remedial, and other noncurricular educational assistance."

We contend that the language of section 245, part 5, overrides any latitude that the director may have in research and development, clearly precluding experiments by OEO in the field of curriculum offerings of the school and providing, as the voucher plan does, general aid to education.

As I said before, it has been very difficult to get answers. For the first time, we heard a public commitment that additional funds would be allocated for the voucher payments for the disadvantaged child to provide compensatory education.

I would like to bring back to mind the part in the last reauthorization of ESEA that provides comparability across the country for the programs in title I. The title I funds must be supplementary to, and may not supplant, local and State money. There has to be broad appropriation of local and State funds throughout the school district so that the disadvantaged schools would therefore have the advantage of additional funds.

I would also like to ask a question on an expenditure of 6 to 8 million dollars. Why not put this money into bilingual education, or into dropout prevention, or into the Teacher Corps programs that have been of assistance in helping the disadvantaged?

The voucher program is an administrative device to allow parents to choose any school to which he wants his child sent. It is not in any way an instructional device.

Senator NELSON. I would suggest that any questions you feel have not been adequately discussed, or answered, or responded to by Mr. Carlucci or Mr. Wilson, that you submit them to the committee and we will submit those questions to the OEO and ask for a response to be printed in the record so that at least the questions that you feel have not been asked or satisfactorily answered, will be responded to as part of the record.

Mr. McFARLAND. I would like to just make one final comment, Mr. Chairman, and this follows something Mr. Megel indicated. The educational system has provided a very fine service to this country, and I think in many ways it is a reflection of society. Society is changing, and so are the public schools. Many new and exciting things are happening, being promoted by Mr. Megel's organization, and mine, and things that are being done in the U.S. Office of Education, like their performance contracting.

However, one of the problems we all face is funding. Under title I of ESEA, which is the largest Federal program for compensatory education, proportionately few children are being served today than were being served in 1966. This is because of inflation.

I would like to give you an example of what's happening because of the restrictions on funds. In Kentucky, a very rural State, schools that have percentages of 70 and 80 percent disadvantaged children are receiving funding under title I. However, schools with 40 and 50 percent disadvantaged are not getting title I money, simply because of the limitations.

Many times expectations of Federal programs are held forth and then never realized. Frankly, it was not realized under the poverty program, and certainly they have not been realized under most—or probably all—of the present Federal programs.

The Federal share of the \$43 million spent for schools, from local, State, and Federal sources, is only approximately 7 percent—actually 6.9 percent—in the present school year.

Again, I repeat, what is the basic purpose of the voucher program? Is it going to serve a definite purpose? Is it a good experiment? Is it

going to improve the education of the children where the experiment is conducted?

Thank you very much.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much, gentlemen; we appreciate your coming before the committee today.

Senator NELSON. The next witness is Mr. August Steinhilber, director of Congressional and Federal Relations National School Boards Association.

**STATEMENT OF AUGUST W. STEINHILBER, DIRECTOR OF CONGRESSIONAL & FEDERAL RELATIONS NATIONAL SCHOOL BOARDS ASSOCIATION**

Mr. STEINHILBER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. Your statement will be printed in full in the record at the end of your testimony. If you could summarize it, it would be helpful.

Mr. STEINHILBER. I will be pleased to summarize it. The National School Board Association is concerned with the myriad of programs and agencies which have education components. Indeed, the era of grantsmanship is upon us. School districts are forced to hire staffs whose sole functions are to ferret out Federal agencies and draft proposals. There is little coordination among agencies, indeed often there is competition among agencies for broader grant authority regardless of what exists elsewhere.

You heard this morning that OEO has 20 grants, and the Office of Education has 25 similar proposals that it is funding.

This particular problem is seriously even more severe when one considers that Government agencies are now becoming adept at going out in the field and actually eliciting proposals and then turning around to congressional committees and explaining how there is a wellspring of support.

I can speak of specifically what happened in several situations with respect to the voucher program where all of a sudden articles started appearing in local newspapers.

NSBA would be very happy sometimes to bring in board members from a few of the cities which were mentioned this morning to explain some of the things that do occur.

What we are basically asking for, and the tenet which we are putting forth is that all Federal education programs, including those currently or proposed to be by the OEO, should be transferred to the Office of Education.

While the jurisdiction of OEO can be flexible enough to accommodate incidental overlaps of poverty programs into education, that agency should not be directly involved in education, particularly in the majority education program, just because some economically disadvantaged group can be tangentially affected here.

Mr. Chairman, we would go a step further in supporting legislation which would make the Office of Education the Department of Education.

The National School Board Association supports OEO in its attempts to eliminate poverty and deprivation. We do believe, however, that the operation is spending beyond its original poverty concept.

On a peripheral but related point, our organization supports the Administration's legislative proposal to form a national institution of education. Yet, such support also carries with it the caveat that we again ask for consolidation of education research including that done through the auspices of OEO.

Our association's position on performance contracting is best set out in resolution 27, which was adopted earlier this year by our delegate assembly in Philadelphia.

What we are as an organization saying, sir, is that that experimentation is necessary, and we are urging our members to look at various approaches such as performance budgeting, performance measurements, differentiated staffing, and performance contracting. We are asking as a matter of policy for each of our school districts to put aside approximately 2 percent of its funds so that it can perform research; it can set up its own demonstrations which become an integral part of that school system. Even though we support experimentation in performance contracting we believe the Federal funding responsibility should reside in the Office of Education.

We have a different position with respect to vouchers. We may be in favor of experimentation, but we do not believe the voucher system is a true experiment, particularly since no answers have been given to a number of questions which we have put in our statement. I gather from your questions and comments to previous witnesses that you will have OEO provide answers to these questions.

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Mr. STEINHILBER. Another question I would like to put in relates to S. 1557. In reality, the voucher appears to us to be another way of freedom of choice, and the civil rights implications of such a proposal is severe.

Quite frankly, when we were talking with OEO officials about the voucher program, they said the only time that the system of a lottery would be into effect was after those already enrolled in that school had the opportunity to say in that school.

So this means that in your instance of 1000 white youngsters in a particular school, the only black that could come in would be those who applied and there were vacancies available.

Senator NELSON. That is not what they say in the guidelines.

Mr. STEINHILDER. As I say, this is a little different from what has been said before the hearing, and what has come out today. I think this is a crucial issue, because if school districts are going to be required to desegregate under the law of the land, and this must occur, then the same criteria should be applied to all, and no method should be devised to go around such Supreme Court rulings.

The National School Board Association also questions if the OEO voucher experiment is being conducted in a scientific manner. A true experiment must exist in a climate which is typical of its normal environs.

Its chances for success or failure should be the same as in that environment, and its operation should proceed in an objective manner.

From the material OEO has developed to date, it appears that that agency has predetermined the success of the experiment and is now looking for pilot projects designed to prove its point.

One further point on experimentation. Any research in a potentially volatile area should proceed with caution. We usually assume this position in the area of the physical sciences and for example, experiments on the development of a new wonder drug process very carefully, and their side effects are noted.

We should also proceed with similar caution in the social sciences. The church-state compromises in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were developed at much negotiation.

The education community and the public has lived with these compromises. However, voucher experiments represent a radical departure from them and can lead to a situation where tax funds of one person are used to support a religion and abhorrent to his personal convictions.

It should be recognized that at some point, if not a majority, at least a sizable minority of the public will be incensed, indeed perhaps militated, against the flow of their funds to religious institutions.

Perhaps the loan of textbooks as a student service does not reach the point of church-state involvement, and we have supported that, we have to refer only to recent events in Michigan and Nebraska.

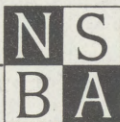
This issue shows signs of erupting between and among communities. Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity of appearing.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much. If you have any questions you want to have responded to, we would be glad to submit them to OEO.

Thank you for your appearance.

Mr. STEINHILBER. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Steinhilber follows:)



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Statement on behalf of the  
National School Boards Association

by

Mr. August W. Steinhilber  
Director of Federal & Congressional Relations  
National School Boards Association

on

Office of Economic Opportunity's Involvement in Education

before the

Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty  
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

United States Senate

Tuesday, April 27, 1971

Mr. Steinhilber is accompanied by:

Mr. Michael A. Resnick  
Legislative Specialist  
National School Boards Association

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY'S INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATIONOverview

The National School Boards Association is concerned with a myriad of overlapping programs and agencies which have education components. Indeed, the era of grantmanship is upon us. School districts are forced to hire staff whose sole function is to ferret out federal agencies and draft proposals. There is little coordination among agencies, indeed, often there is competition among agencies for broader grant authority regardless of what exists elsewhere.

A total of ten cabinet departments and more than fifteen other agencies support or conduct education, training, and related programs as an integral part of their agency's mission. For example, the Office of Economic Opportunity operates the numerous adult and youth work training type programs; the Department of Labor operates numerous components of the Manpower Development and Training Program; the Department of the Interior provides elementary, secondary and college level education and vocational training for Indians and Alaskan natives; and the National Science Foundation's programs has as its objective the strengthening of basic research and education in the sciences.

For the practical reasons, all Federal education programs, including those currently or proposed to be administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, should be transferred to the Office of Education. While the jurisdiction of OEO can be flexible enough to accomodate incidental overlaps of poverty programs into education, that agency should not be directly involved in education -- particularly in major education programs -- just because the economically disadvantaged will, in some way, be affected thereby. Specifically, proposed programs such as performance contracting should be evaluated and administered by experts within the Office of Education as a part of the whole Federal education framework.

The National School Boards Association supports OEO in its quest to eliminate

poverty and deprivation and have so testified in the past. We do believe that its operation is spreading beyond its original concept.

On a periferal but related point, National School Boards Association supports the administration's legislative proposal to form a National Institue of Education. Yet, such support also carries with it the caveat that we again ask for consolidation of educational research including that done through the auspices of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

#### Performance Contracting

Our association's position on performance contracting is best set out in our resolution No. 27 which was adopted early this month:

##### Program Effectiveness

The National School Boards Association endorses the concept that school boards, in order to manage their school more effectively, must devise measurable relationships between dollars spent and educational results obtained. To these ends, the National School Boards Association urges local boards to consider, and if appropriate, experiment in such areas as:

- A. Performance Budgeting -- a budgeting system which includes establishment of goals and objectives with projected resources and provides for periodic reviews designed to assist boards in policy planning and budgeting;
- B. Performance Measurements -- development of criteria and standards by which to measure the results of the educational process;
- C. Differentiated Staffing -- a utilization of school personnel in an optimal manner so that each teacher or classroom manager may better allocate his or her time and resources to achieve increased student performance and allow recognition for excellence in teaching;
- D. Performance Contracting -- contract with teacher groups or private industries to provide programs designed to accomplish certain pre-determined results, limited to those areas where objectives can be determined and criteria agreed upon; and
- E. Research -- budget at least 2 percent of local operating budgets for educational research and evaluation programs, accelerate implementation of such programs and exchange the information gained.

Even though we support experimentation in performance contracting, we believe the federal funding responsibility should reside in the Office of Education.

Vouchers

While the National School Boards Association is in favor of experimentation and innovation, it does not believe that the voucher system can accomplish the above stated purposes, particularly since there is not evidence to favorably answer the following practical and legal questions:

1. Would the depletion of public school enrollments at some point diminish those existing special and extracurricular programs which give depth to the educational experience of children choosing to remain at public schools?
2. If the public school systems are weakened, and given the fact that (at least in the early years) private schools would not compete directly with each other because their market is public school children -- hence making public schools the comparative standard -- should the general level of education in the district be expected to improve?
3. Can larger school districts effectively administer tens of thousands of applications to enroll children at scores of schools -- especially when applications will tend to be made to a limited number of the district's better schools? What are the administrative costs?
4. Since substandard education can result in irreparable damage to children, private schools would have to be under frequent review to sift out hucksterism and incompetence. As a result, would private schools become examination oriented rather than instruction or innovation oriented? If classroom monitoring is the answer, are the costs involved prohibitive?
5. Will private schools be large enough to provide special and extracurricular programs which are more easily afforded through economics of scale?

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6. Do all parents have the time and information necessary to evaluate the quality of school instruction and make rational choices as to their children's education?
7. If proponents of the voucher system are correct that the problems of public education are not financial, is there a sufficient abundance of capital presently within the average school system to cope with the extra costs outlined above? (If the Federal government helps to pay the cost, will it reduce appropriations in other programs?)

Our Delegate Assembly considered this issue carefully and adopted the following resolution in opposition to vouchers:

#### Educational Vouchers

The National School Boards Association is strongly opposed to the education voucher plan. This plan would give parents vouchers equal in value to local public schools current per pupil expenditure, which would enable the parents to enroll their children in any public or nonpublic school either within or outside of the school district.

The National School Boards Association is gravely concerned that such an education voucher plan will encourage the proliferation and growth of nonpublic schools and a corresponding erosion of the American public school system, which is a basic foundation of our democratic society. The National School Boards Association is convinced that such a plan will, by design or otherwise, lead to the segregation of many children, now in public schools, in private schools according to race, religious denomination, ability, or educational philosophy, leaving in the public schools the handicapped, disadvantaged, and minority groups unable to meet the qualifications of the private schools.

The National School Boards Association doubts that so-called safeguards can overcome the critical adverse effects of an education voucher plan on the American public school system and therefore expresses its strongest opposition to the plan, the proposed pilot programs, and suggested experimentation.

The National School Boards Association also questions if the Office of Economic Opportunity voucher experimentation is being conducted in a scientific manner. A true experiment must exist in a climate which is typical of its normal environs. Its chances for success or failure should be the same as in that environment and its operation should proceed in an objective manner. From the material OEO has developed to date, it appears that agency has predetermined the success of the experiment and is now looking for pilot projects designed to prove its point.

One further point on experimentation, any research in a potentially volatile area should proceed with caution. We usually assume this posture in the physical sciences. For example, experiments on the development of new wonder drugs proceeds very carefully with their side effects noted. We should also proceed with similar caution in the social sciences. The church/state compromises in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were developed after much negotiation. The education community and the public has lived with these compromises. However, Voucher experiments represent a radical departure from them and can lead to a situation where tax funds of one person are used to support a religion abhorrent to his personal convictions. It should be recognized that at some point, if not a majority, at least a sizable minority of the public will become incensed -- indeed perhaps militated -- at the flow of their funds to religious institutions. While perhaps the loan of textbooks as a student service does reach that point of church/state involvement, we need only refer to recent events in Michigan or Nebraska where, during referendum elections, this potentially inflammatory issue showed signs of eruption among and between communities.

Senator NELSON. Our next witness is Mrs. Bernice Frider, member, national board, National Council of Jewish Women.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. BERNICE FRIEDER, MEMBER, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN; ACCOMPANIED BY MRS. DONALD L. BROWN**

Senator NELSON. Mrs. Frieder, the committee is very pleased to have you here this morning. Your statement will be printed in full in the record, and if you could summarize it, it would be helpful to the committee.

Mrs. FRIEDER. Thank you, Senator Nelson. With me this morning is Mrs. Donald Brown, also of the National Board, who will serve as a resource in case there are additional questions here.

As you know, our organization, which was founded in 1893, numbers some hundred thousand people located in 181 cities and towns across the land. In addition to my service on the national board of the National Council of Jewish Women, I serve as a member of the Colorado State Board of Education, and I am past president of the National Association of State Boards of Education.

We appreciate very much the opportunity of appearing before your committee to express our support of the extension of the Economic Opportunity Act, our concern about the administration of that act, and our reservations about a specific experimental program of the OEO.

We believe that a healthy community, sound family life, and individual welfare can flourish when the barriers of poverty and discrimination are removed. We have consistently supported the continued extension of the office of Economic Opportunity as the only identifiable agency for the poor offering them reassurance of the Federal Government commitment to the alleviation and elimination of poverty, and providing them with a voice with which to express their concerns and needs for assistance.

The involvement of the poor in the planning and the execution of their own programs is in our minds of paramount importance. We have emphatically deplored the gradual fragmentation and subsequent phasing out of this agency resulting from the elegation of most of its programs to other Federal agencies.

The OEO has been reduced to the status of a research organization and administration plans would further disperse any remaining operational programs in the future.

The National Council of Jewish Women has genuine fears that this virtual obliteration of the Office of Economic Opportunity will be interpreted by the very poor it was intended to serve, as a clear betrayal of the administration's often repeated assurance that great emphasis would be placed on innovative programs to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, and that the war on poverty would continue to be a major national priority.

For the above reasons, we would urge the extension of the Economic Opportunity Act for 2 years and that necessary measures be taken to restore to the agency its original strength and vitality.

We further recommend that congressional approval be a prerequisite to the transfer or elimination of any Office of Economic Opportunity programs and that the severe cuts in funds for these programs reflected in the fiscal 1972 budget be restored.

We urge the strengthening and expanding of the legal services program within the Economic Opportunity Act and the continuation of such programs as VISTA and the community action programs within the agency.

Our strong support of the Office of Economic Opportunity, however, does not extend to every aspect of the present OEO program. We must continue to voice opposition to the experimental education voucher plan currently under study in at least three school districts, as we have heard this morning.

Our opposition to the voucher plan rests on two basic council resolutions: 1. "The National Council of Jewish Women believes that American democracy depends upon a strong system of public education to develop the highest potential of the individual, and 2, we resolve to protect the principle of separation of church and State which is basic to our system of public education.

As we have studied the proposed voucher plan, several serious flaws have become apparent to us. Because a primary objective of the plan, as stated by the OEO pamphlet 3400-1 A Proposed Experiment In Education Vouchers, revised plan January 1971, page 7, is to provide educational choice to parents and children, it is anticipated that "small new schools of all types would come into operation," and further, "that schools could appeal to a particular group \* \* \* reflect a particular school of thought on educational methods \* \* \*. Schools could emphasize music, arts, science, discipline and/or basic skills—as we heard Mr. Carlucci say this morning—and "parents not pleased with the emphasis of one school could choose another."

The remaining places would be allotted to applicants by a lottery system. A new agency, the Education Voucher Authority, would be created in each community to administer the funds (OEO dollars, plus other already existent Federal State, and local funds), and all other aspects of the program.

In our opinion the proposed experiment might well result in the following developments:

1. The public school system which has been a great unifying agent in our democratic society, would be seriously weakened if not completely destroyed. Under the plan, the public schools must be prepared to educate those students not chosen or placed in an alternative school.

We can therefore, expect to see the public school become the "school of last resort." I am wondering if we will also see the growth of another category of "disadvantaged:" those children who are the last to be chosen by a school.

2. The OEO has not set standards to be met by the new schools. And earlier version of pamphlet 1.3400 did state that standards should be comparable to those established by each State for private schools. No such reference is contained in the January 1971 version, but perhaps there is a reference to it in a later version. We have not seen it.

3. The realities of the situation suggest that the most apparent alternatives to public education is the parochial school. Under the proposed plan, all school age children will receive the education vouchers, so we may expect to see a massive infusion of public moneys into the present private schools, which are of course largely parochial.

Indeed we have observed that legislators in several States (Maryland, Indiana, Colorado, among others) have already employed the voucher plan idea in their attempts to secure State funds for non-public schools. Some have been successful, some have not.

The National Council of Jewish Women is committed to improved educational opportunities for all. We support programs of innovation and experimentation in education. We believe that schools should be held accountable for their performance.

However, in our opinion, the voucher plan, which presented as an experimental education plan, is in fact, a method of distributing tax dollars for education, and has very little if any thing, to do with innovation or experimentation in education.

The plan is simplistic in its approach, and seems based on the premise that competition for education dollars will automatically lead to better education for children.

Because we are convinced that the education voucher plan violates the basic doctrine of the separation of church and State, and further, that it could well bring about disintegration of the public school system and create division and separation in a community, we strongly urge that further experimentation with the voucher plan be suspended until such time as full and complete hearings are held by the Congress.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much for your presentation. We appreciate your taking the time to come his morning.

(The prepared statement of Mrs. Frieder follows:)

National Council of Jewish Women, Inc.  
1 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y. 10036

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE EXTENSION OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AND WITH CONCERN ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THAT ACT, PRESENTED BY MRS. PHILIP FRIEDER, BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER AND POVERTY OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, U. S. SENATE ----- April 27, 1971

I am Mrs. Philip Frieder of Denver, and I am a national board member and chairman of the Education Task Force of the National Council of Jewish Women. Our organization, which was founded in 1893, now numbers some 100,000 members located in 181 cities and towns across the land. In my home state I also serve as a member of the Colorado State Board of Education (since 1959), and I am a past president of the National Association of State Boards of Education. I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before your Committee on behalf of the National Council of Jewish Women to express our support of the extension of the Economic Opportunity Act and our concern about the administration of that Act.

The National Council of Jewish Women believes that a healthy community, sound family life and individual welfare are interdependent and flourish when the barriers of poverty and discrimination are removed. To this end, we have for many years supported a resolution which states: "To support the development of programs that will provide adequate financial aid and appropriate services to all families and individuals in need, utilizing resources on federal, state and local levels, without eligibility requirements unrelated to need . . . ."

The National Council of Jewish Women has consistently supported the continued extension of the Office of Economic Opportunity as the only identifiable advocate agency for the poor, offering them reassurance of the Federal government's commitment to the alleviation and elimination of poverty, and providing them with a voice with which to express their concerns and needs for assistance. We have also emphatically deplored the gradual fragmentation and subsequent phasing out of this

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agency, resulting from the relegation of most of its programs to other federal agencies. The Office of Economic Opportunity has already been reduced to being virtually a research and evaluation organization and administration plans would further disperse any remaining operational programs in the future. In addition, the diminished concerns about poverty as reflected in the FY 1972 Budget would so weaken the agency's remaining functions that its very survival would be in jeopardy.

The National Council of Jewish Women has genuine fears that this virtual obliteration of the Office of Economic Opportunity will be interpreted by the very poor it was intended to serve, as a clear betrayal of the Administration's often repeated assurances that great emphasis would be placed on innovative programs to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, and that the war on poverty would continue to be a major national priority.

For the above reasons, we would urge the extension of the Economic Opportunity Act for two years and that necessary measures be taken to restore to the agency its original strength and validity.

We further recommend that Congressional approval be a prerequisite to the transfer or elimination of any Office of Economic Opportunity programs and that the severe cuts in funds for these programs reflected in the 1972 Budget be restored. We urge the strengthening and expanding of the legal services program within the Economic Opportunity Act and the continuation of such programs as VISTA and the community action programs within the agency.

Our strong support of the Office of Economic Opportunity does not, however, extend to every aspect of the present OEO program. The National Council of Jewish Women must continue to voice opposition to the experimental education voucher plan currently under study in at least three school districts: Gary, Indiana; Seattle, Washington; and Alum Rock District, San Jose, California. Our opposition to the voucher plan rests on two basic Council Resolutions: (1) "The National Council of Jewish Women believes that American democracy depends upon a strong system of public

education to develop the highest potential of the individual", and (2) "We resolve to protect the principle of separation of church and state which is basic to our system of public education."

As we have studied the proposed voucher plan, several serious flaws have become apparent to us. Because a primary objective of the plan, as stated, is to provide educational choices to parents and children, it is anticipated that "small new schools of all types would come into operation", and further, that schools could "appeal to a particular group or ... reflect a particular school of thought on educational methods.... Schools could emphasize music, arts, science, discipline or basic skills. Parents not pleased with the emphasis of one school could choose another." (OEO pamphlet 3400-1, A Proposed Experiment in Education Vouchers, Revised, January 1971, page 7). On page 11 of the same publication we read,

"When more students apply (to a school) than can be accepted, some proportion of the students may be selected by any criteria, except race, that the school wishes. Some ... may ... give preference to siblings of children already enrolled, to children of a particular neighborhood, to children with certain interests or (talents), or to children of particular religious faiths."

The remaining places would be allotted to applicants by a lottery system. A new agency, the Education Voucher Authority, would be created in each community to administer the funds (OEO dollars, plus other already existent federal, state, and local funds) and all other aspects of the program.

In our opinion the proposed experiment might well result in the following developments:

1. The public school system, which has been a great unifying agent in our democratic society, would be seriously weakened if not completely destroyed. Under the plan, the public schools must be prepared to educate those students not chosen or placed in an alternative school. We can, therefore, expect to see the public school become the "school of last resort". Will we also see the growth of another category of "disadvantaged": - those children who are the last to be

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chosen by a school?

2. The OEO has not set standards to be met by the new schools. (An earlier version of pamphlet 1-3400 did state that standards should be comparable to those established by each state for private schools. No such reference is contained in the January 1971 version.) We may expect to see a tremendous upsurge of "fly-by-night" schools, with a "hard sell" approach to parents, and consequent disillusionment of both parents and children. There is also the very real possibility that schools will cater to very narrow interest groups, thus becoming exclusionist institutions.

3. The realities of the situation suggest that the most apparent alternative to public education is the parochial school. Under the proposed plan, all school age children will receive the education vouchers, so we may expect to see a massive infusion of public moneys into the present private schools, which are, of course, largely parochial. Indeed, we have observed that legislators in several states (Maryland, Indiana, Colorado, among others) have already employed the voucher plan idea to request state funds for non-public schools. The National Council of Jewish Women believes that the separation of church and state is essential to the continued political and social health of this country. We deplore the trend, apparent in education and elsewhere, to breach the wall of separation between church and state. We reaffirm our stand that public funds should not be used for church-related schools.

The National Council of Jewish Women is committed to improved educational opportunities for all; we support programs of innovation and experimentation in education; we believe that schools should be held accountable for their performance. However, in our opinion, the voucher plan, while presented as an experimental education plan, is, in fact, a method of distributing tax dollars for education, and has very little, if anything, to do with innovation or experimentation in education. The plan is simplistic in its approach, and seems based on the premise that

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competition for education dollars will automatically lead to better education for children.

Because we are convinced that the education voucher plan violates the basic doctrine of the separation of church and state, and further, that it could well bring about the disintegration of the public school system and create division and separation in a community, we strongly urge that further experimentation with the voucher plan be suspended until such time as full and complete hearings are held by the Congress.

Senator NELSON. The next witness is Mr. Gaston D. Cogdell, Director of Organization, Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

Senator JAVITS?

Senator JAVITS. I thank the Chair very much. I apologize for being so late. I was testifying on the National Health Insurance.

Senator NELSON. Thank you, Senator.

I must leave in about ten minutes, if we can get a summary of this testimony, we can complete in ten minutes. If not, I will fix another time in my schedule when we can complete the hearings.

**STATEMENT OF GASTON D. COGDELL, DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION,  
AMERICANS UNITED FOR SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE**

Mr. COGDELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I wish to thank this committee and you as chairman for this opportunity to present our reasons for opposing any extension of voucher plan experiments by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

I will hasten—

Senator NELSON. Do you have a prepared statement?

It will be printed in full in the record, so if you could summarize it, it would be helpful. We have two more or three more witnesses.

Mr. COGDELL. In our written statement, we have pointed out a number of fallacies in the voucher experiment. I won't read those. However, I will state here, that the plan is ostensibly for the benefit of the poor and voucher experiments are being conducted and funded by the OEO, an agency which has been specifically designated to alleviate poverty in this country, not to transform and change and alter our system of education. According to Christopher Jenks, co-director of the Center for Study of Public Policy at Cambridge and principal drafter of the OEO plan, the voucher plan is designed to bring about "a radical and possibly irreversible change in both the governing philosophy and institutional structure of American education." (Jenck's speech of March 24, 1970.)

The Office of Economic Opportunity has not been mandated by the Congress to engage in experiments of this far-reaching nature in the field of education, and if it is allowed to continue these excursions, then certainly the boundaries between the various department of Government have really ceased to exist in any meaningful sense. The U.S. Office of Education is the legitimate agency to conduct any such experiments as these, but even it should not do so without a mandate from the Congress.

There is something strange about the OEO taking money, public funds earmarked for the elimination of poverty, and using them to overturn the educational system of this country. The wierd nature of this operation is exposed further when one considers that the 10 percent of the children who are impoverished are enrolled in the public schools, and the 10 percent of students enrolled in the private schools come from the most affluent homes in the nation, and yet this program is designed to aid those attending private schools, who are the least impoverished of all the children in the nation.

It seems obvious that the noble rhetoric of the war on poverty is really being used to camouflage what is really a war on church-state separation, and the public schools. Under the guise of helping the poor, powerful sectarian and political special interests are proposing programs that will harm everyone, but most of all will harm the poor.

It is being alleged that this program will stimulate competition between schools. This is a fallacy on the face of it, but it becomes even more apparently so as one examines the plan. It proposes to bring all the schools which participate in the voucher plan under an Educational Voucher Authority—(EVA)—which will replace all existing private and public school boards. In other words, whereas there are actually separate and competing entities in the educational field at the present time, these will be wiped out at the managerial level, and all schools, public and private, which participate in this program will be under the same authority, the same management. This, of course, will destroy what competition now exists between public and private education, by making all education quasi-public (or quasi-private, if one would prefer the term), which is funded under the voucher system. The result would be the very monolithic educational system against which OEO experimenters claim they want to protect us.

So the voucher plan would actually be destroying competition rather than stimulating it, in the final analysis. But there is a fallacy in saying that private schools compete with public schools anyway.

Most private schools are religious. Parents do not send their children to these schools because of the quality of education they give, but because of the religious doctrines with which the schools are permeated, and because of the religious homogeneity of the student body and teaching staff. So there would be no competition between the public and the private schools on that level, because the public schools still won't be teaching the religious doctrines taught by the sectarian schools and which doctrines motivate the parents to choose those schools. Parents choose those particular denominational schools for their children precisely because of those doctrines, and not because of any superior quality of secular education which they offer.

So, there is no competition there, any more than there is between apples and strawberries, or bananas and celery. They are two different categories of schools. So the whole fundamental premise underlying the OEO voucher program is false.

Finally, there is this matter of public funding of segregated schools which is so much on the consciousness of the Senate, so that this body, and I believe all the members of this committee, just yesterday voted a billion and a half dollars to stimulate integration, racial integration, within the public schools. And just last week, the Supreme Court in effect, again ruled, as it has in the past, unanimously, that racial segregation in publicly supported schools is unconstitutional, illegal, in this country.

But most of the schools, 90 percent of the schools receiving funds under the voucher proposal, practice religious discrimination. I have

here the guidelines which were given to you in the statement by Dr. John Wilson of the OEO. The very first statement of the third chart, is, "No school may discriminate on the basis of race."

Well, what about religion?

Racial discrimination is only one of the forms of injustice which may not be practiced legitimately in a public institution. Religious bias and discrimination, segregation and preference, is quite as vicious a thing to fund, with public money drawn from all citizens of all faiths, as is racial segregation. And religious persecution and oppression is just as prevalent, just as much a cause of conflict and controversy as racial preference and discrimination is. In fact, most of the unrest in the world today are the result of religious-political conflict and not racial conflict.

We point to northern Ireland, to the Middle East, to India, and Pakistan, and to Vietnam, for that matter. We are at a loss to note why the framers of this act completely omitted, and apparently intentionally and consciously, omitted any prohibition against religious or political discrimination in schools funded by the public money through the voucher program.

In the Office of Economic Opportunity revised and amended act of 1964, it states in section 118, under the Job Corps, that: "No discrimination shall be exercised, threatened or promised against or in favor of any enrollee or applicant, officer or employer in regard to political considerations."

We urgently request, Mr. Chairman, that these OEO voucher experiments with our liberties be stopped. James Madison, the author of the first amendment, to our Constitution, said:

It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution; the free men of America did not wait until usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle and they avoided the consequences by avoiding the principle. We revere this lesson too much, soon to forget it.

We call on this committee to see, like our founding fathers, all the consequences in the principle, and to recommend that the OEO voucher experiment with our liberties, with the wall of separation between church and state and with the financial basis of our free, democratically operated American system of public education be discontinued at once.

Thank you, sir.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Cogdell follows:)

Statement to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee (Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty), April 27, 1971, by Gaston D. Cogdell, Director of Organization, Americans United for Separation of Church and State

Subject: Office of Economic Opportunity Educational Voucher Plan

I am Gaston D. Cogdell, Director of Organization of Americans United for Separation of Church and State. This Committee and the Congress is considering the question of whether the life of the Office of Economic Opportunity should be extended. Our only request in this matter is that if the OEO is continued, it shall be required to cease its experiments with the voucher plan for financing privately owned and operated schools. Since most of these schools exist as the educational-indoctrinational arms of certain churches, such financing is a violation of our traditional and constitutionally guaranteed arrangement of separation of church and state. It is also a violation of the religious freedom of all citizens, inasmuch as it constitutes the taxation of all citizens for the support of those church enterprises which receive the public funds.

The voucher plan, or plans, for there are as many variations of it as Hydra had heads, all have but one objective -- namely, the channeling of funds from the public treasury, funds which because they are taken from all the people and which therefore legitimately belong to schools which are owned and operated by all the people (i.e., to the public schools) -- into schools, most of which belong to none of the people, but rather to the clergy of certain religious denominations.

The Office of Economic Opportunity is sponsoring the Center for the Study of Public Policy of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in a series of experiments with the voucher method of financing education. According to the OEO Publication, No. 3400-1 (A Proposed Experiment in Education Vouchers, revised January, 1971), "large planning grants would finance more detailed, intensive, full-scale planning for the demonstration." It is reported that the Federal government plans to invest \$20 to \$29 million per year for at least five years in this experiment. (Contact, February, 1971, p. 5)

According to Christopher Jencks, co-director of the Center for the Study of Public Policy in Cambridge and principle drafter of the OEO plan, the voucher plan is designed to bring about "a radical and possibly irreversible change in both the governing philosophy and the institutional structure of American education."\* We wish to point out to this Subcommittee and to the United States Senate that the Office of Economic Opportunity has no mandate from the Congress or from the people to engage in experiments in the field of education which looked toward a "radical and possibly irreversible change in both the governing philosophy and the institutional structure of American

education." \*(Washington Speech of March 24, 1970, to the National Committee for the Support of Public Schools) If such radical experiments in the field of education are to be conducted, they should be conducted by the U. S. Office of Education, that arm of our government which has education as its legitimate field of purview and investigation, and not by a department which has been brought into being and given the sole task of carrying out programs for the alleviation of poverty in this country.

There is something strange indeed about the OEO taking public funds earmarked for the alleviation of poverty and using <sup>them</sup> For programs aimed at overturning the entire educational system of the United States in regard to both its governing philosophy and institutional structure. The weird nature of this whole operation is exposed still further when one considers that the children of that 10 percent of our people who are impoverished are, almost all of them, a part of the 90 percent of our people whose children are enrolled in the public schools, and that the approximately 10 or 11 percent of our children who attend private schools are broadly speaking, from the most affluent homes in the nation. Yet this entire OEO program is designed to aid those who attend private schools, who are the least impoverished of all the children in the nation. So, for the alleged benefit of the 10 percent of our population which is impoverished, a system is being proposed, and financed with money earmarked for the impoverished, which will benefit to begin with, only the 10 percent who are in the private schools and who are, by and large, on the exactly opposite end of the economic scale. It is proposed that the educational system serving 90 percent of our population shall be turned upside down and robbed of its present means of financing for the benefit of the 10 percent of our children who need it the least. It seems apparent that the noble rhetoric of the war on poverty is being used to camouflage what is really a war on church-state separation in America, and under the guise of helping the poor, powerful sectarian and political interests are proposing programs which will harm everyone, but most of all, the poor.

In other words, the plan here is to rob the people's schools, the public schools, and give the money to the special interest schools, which are not owned by the public at all and which are not answerable to the people, not even to those who send their children to them.

If this irresponsible excursion of the OEO into the realm of education is tacitly sanctioned by the Congress through its extension of the Economic Opportunity Act, without a specific stipulation that the OEO should withdraw from its adventure into the domain set apart for another agency of the government entirely, then the boundaries between the various departments of government have really ceased to exist in any meaningful sense. If the OEO, on the pretext that there is a relationship between education and poverty, can invade the domain

of the U. S. Office of Education, then the OEO can likewise invade the domain of the Department of Agriculture, since an abundance of food is certainly directly connected to the needs of the impoverished; it can invade the field of the U. S. Department of Health, since poor health, malnutrition, and physical disability are certainly major causes of poverty; it can invade the domain of the Department of Commerce, since the affairs of trade and commerce certainly bear directly upon the availability of jobs and the general prosperity of the country and therefore the welfare of the impoverished; it can invade the domain of the Treasury Department, because what is poverty except a lack of money, and a really quick solution to the problem would be just to give every impoverished person enough money to raise him above the level of economic deprivation. We believe, in fact, that all of these excursions on the part of the OEO into areas set aside for specific governmental departments would be more justifiable in the final analysis than its excursion into the realm of education to bring about "a radical and irreversible change in both the governing philosophy and institutional structure of American education." It is fantastic that this department should be allowed to do this, with impunity, and to spend funds earmarked for the impoverished for programs which do not have the impoverished as their real target or beneficiaries at all, but rather the affluent, and in fact, which aim to radically and irreversibly upset the whole educational system of this country for 100 percent of the people, not just the 10 percent which are impoverished. In fact, the impoverished will quite obviously receive the most ~~damaging~~ results of the program of anybody, since the schools which now serve them, almost totally, will be robbed of funds which will be given to schools which serve the affluent, almost altogether. The Office of Economic Opportunity would not have the right to experiment with educational vouchers even if those experiments were limited to the poor only. But, they are experimenting for all classes of society and proposing a radical change in the structure and philosophy of education in this country for all people on the grounds that it might somehow help that 10 percent of the people who are impoverished who actually will be the most harmed by the experiment.

The first fallacy upon which the OEO tuition voucher program is based is that the OEO has any right or business whatsoever in meddling in the realm of education. The second fallacy is that even if it did have that right, even if the OEO was the U. S. Office of Education, it should ~~not~~ undertake a program aimed at "radically and irreversibly changing the governing philosophy and institutional structure of American education" without a specific mandate from Congress. This is much too dangerous, far-reaching and portentous a proposal to be experimented with, without extensive hearings by Congress and in the various states and at which educators could speak, at which parents could speak, poor parents, as well as others, even if it were the proper agency of government to engage in such experiments.

The third fallacy is that this program, if successful, could do other than undermine the public schools, which are the people's schools, the community schools, the schools of the poor, in giving public funds properly belonging to the public schools to private special interest, mostly ecclesiastical schools operated by various religious sects, politically partisan groups and profit seeking entrepreneurs.

The fourth fallacy of the tuition voucher proposal is that poor parents would have more choice under the voucher plan of funding education than they now have. Through busing programs, if parents feel that they are discriminated against, and can show that they are, they can choose public schools in other parts of the city. In regard to private schools, very few of the church schools charge any substantial tuition on the elementary level, in fact, almost half of them charge none at all. This voucher program is concerned only with elementary schools. So where will the freedom of choice be that doesn't presently exist for poor parents? For those who are not impoverished, there are adequate alternatives to the public schools in the private sector of society.

The fifth fallacy is that there is something new and innovative in the concept of public funding of private education. This is precisely the method of funding education which has ruined the public school system in Holland and has divided Holland into sectarian enclaves. It is the method which has destroyed public harmony in Ireland, and which has made an educational hodgepodge out of Canada. In fact, it is the principle of "public funds for publicly-owned schools only" and the denial of tax support to schools operated by religious sects, which is new and innovative. It is this practice and the principle of church-state separation underlying this practice, which are new in the world, and which have given us freedom, education and progress, which are the envy of the rest of mankind.

A sixth fallacy is that private schools somehow compete with public schools and that the alleged competition between them would result in parents choosing the school that gave their children the best education. The public and private schools operate in different categories, and the educational factor is not the primary factor in most parents choosing private schools for their children. Repeated studies have shown that the factors that make parents choose nonpublic schools is the social or religious homogeneity, the religious doctrines which are taught, or the status attached to sending children to such schools, and not the educational factor.

The seventh fallacy is that private schools are doing a superior job of educating children and the public schools are doing a poor job. Actually, the bulk of the evidence proves just the opposite. Let me read you some excerpts from a most recent study done of this matter within the Roman Catholic Church. I am quoting from Catholic Education in the Western World, edited by Dr. James Michael Lee,

head of the education department of the University of Notre Dame (University of Notre Dame Press, 1967).

"Notwithstanding the fact that there are no formal research investigations on this subject, broadly considered, government schools are typically superior to Catholic schools at every level -- with, of course, many notable exceptions. Administrators, teachers, and guidance workers in government schools are typically better prepared professionally than their Catholic school counterparts." p. 263

"As a general rule, Catholic schools traditionally have at first been opposed to and, at best, reluctant to introduce pedagogical reforms." p. 290

"The overwhelming evidence of research has indicated that generally, though by no means invariably, government schools as a group at every level perform a total educative function superior to that of Catholic schools... Studies indicated that graduates from Catholic secondary schools have not performed academically as well as graduates from government secondary schools Lee; Koos; Hill). More abundant evidence has been uncovered to indicate that Catholic schools are not having their commensurate impact upon American society at large. Catholic schools are producing far less than their proportionate share of scientists, intellectuals, and cultural leaders (Ellis). Graduates of Catholic universities seem to prefer to enter the lucrative professions of medicine, law, and politics, rather than to pursue financially less rewarding but more influential intellectual careers (O'Dea)." p. 295

"The previous sections of this essay have shown that not only is the Catholic school typically not performing its total educative function better than or even equal to that of the government schools, but even more, it is deficient in teaching the students a high degree of religious knowledge, attitudes, and overt behavior." p. 306

"The majority of Catholic schoolpeople, particularly the nuns, do not seem fully to perceive education as a profession. Rather, education is viewed solely as an apostolic concern, something which requires chiefly dedication, with some degree of knowledge of what one is teaching. But piety, or dedication, for that matter, is no substitute for competence and technique." p. 308

An eighthfallacy of the voucher plan is that a private citizen, the parent of a child enrolled in a sectarian private school, can do what a government agency itself cannot do -- namely, authorize the giving of public funds to church institutions. By some magical and

mystical process, the moral and constitutional strictures against the government using tax money for sectarian enterprises is supposed to vanish when a piece of paper is given to a private citizen, a voucher certificate or coupon, that he then gives to a church educational activity, which then presents it to the public treasury and presto! receives the public money. If it is wrong for the government itself to give tax money, taken by coercion from all citizens of all faiths, to enterprises owned and operated by the clergy and by the churches, then it is doubly wrong for a private citizen to assume this prerogative.

A ninth fallacy is that the voucher plan can somehow improve education for the poor and for all others. Actually, the voucher plan has nothing whatsoever to do with education, but with the financing of education. Neither Mr. Jencks or the Center for the Study of Public Policy of Cambridge, Massachusetts, or the Office of Economic Opportunity has suggested one small innovation or new idea in teaching techniques, in pedagogy, or in methods of education that would improve education or even change it, for that matter. These people are assuming that they are changing education, but what they're actually changing is the financing of education, which has nothing to do with the improvement of education itself. It is inexcusable that an agency committed to doing something for the poor should give funds given to it for the alleviation of poverty, and use those funds in highly speculative educational adventures jeopardizing the most basic values and institutions of our society.

that

Fallacy number ten is / the private schools are more responsive to their patrons than are public schools. The truth is that parents have virtually no voice in the operation of most private schools. They have every voice in the operation of public schools. As one lady said to me the other day, a member of a religious group that operates most of the private schools in this country -- "The public schools belong to us more than the schools of our church do. We can elect our public school boards, but we cannot elect our pastor and bishop, and they're the ones who own and operate our schools. They pay only as much attention to us as they want to pay. I am deeply opposed to any use of tax money for parish schools, either for my church or for any other, because they are not democratically operated."

To quote again from the thorough-going study, Catholic Education in the Western World, by Dr. James Michael Lee, "American Catholic schools at all levels give the parents virtually no voice in the determination of school policy." p. 304

The inadequacies of our public school system will not be solved by the voucher plan but will be aggravated, and in fact, the public school system itself will be destroyed. The voucher plan actually is aimed at the very heart of our whole democratic system here in America and represents an abandonment of the whole concept of free, non-denominational universal public education. This voucher plan, or plans, as set

forth by the OEO, actually propose that public schools shall charge what amounts to tuition, although to begin with, at least, this tuition or charge shall be paid in full by the vouchers.

One of America's unique and most valuable contributions to the ongoing progress of mankind is the tuition-free, non-denominational common or community school. In the development of such schools we have pioneered among the nations. While it is impossible to fully assess the total debt that we owe to our public schools, it is not too much to call them the very cornerstone of our whole democratic structure, the melting pot of the many religious and ethnic elements comprising our pluralistic society, the primary source of that general diffusion of knowledge among us, which has made us the most enlightened, progressive and prosperous nation in the history of the world. Now, the OEO is conducting experiments looking toward the abandonment of the free public school altogether and envisioning our return to the old European concept of schools, levying a charge upon every student.

Perhaps the greatest and most distinctive single characteristic of the free schools of America, in addition to their being free, is that they belong equally to all citizens and exercise no discrimination or bias in the employment of teachers and administrators, in the selection of students, in the appointment of the members of their governing bodies, or in any other way. The voucher plan envisions the replacement of this truly public school system which we now have, with a system which will wear the name, "public," but which will actually be largely privately owned, controlled and operated. The new voucher plan "public" schools will really be public only in regard to their financing. All citizens will indeed be compelled to support them. But they will be able to practice the most rigid denominational selectivity and exclusivism in their governing bodies, in faculty employment, and in every other way.

The OEO booklet, 3400-1, issued January, 1971, sets forth the conditions for participation by a school in the voucher program. It says: "The Office of Economic Opportunity, having reviewed the potential merits of a regulated voucher system, has decided to test a system that would include regulation as follows: no school may discriminate against pupils or teachers on the basis of race or economic status, and all schools must demonstrate that the proportion of minority students enrolled is at least as large as the proportion of minority applicants."

Please note the conspicuous omission of any restriction against the practice of religious discrimination, or of political discrimination in this regulation. It is implicitly within the plans for the voucher program that schools can be publicly funded which do practice religious and political discrimination against pupils, against teachers, and in the selection of the administrators and governors of the school system. We request that this Committee require that schools which

receive any public funds at all, under this or any future proposal, must not practice any religious or political bias, discrimination, preference, or segregation in regard to pupils, teachers, administrative staff, employment opportunities, the purchasing of goods or services, the selection of its governing body, or otherwise. It would be interesting to know why the strict and detailed provisions against political discrimination of any kind ("No discrimination shall be exercised, threatened, or promised ... against or in favor of any enrollee or applicant, officer, or employer...") contained in Section 118 of the Amended Economic Opportunity Act as it pertained to the Job Corps, has not been included in the voucher plan regulations.

The voucher proposal forbids discrimination on the basis of race or economic status, but not on the basis of religion or politics. Yet, religious and political preference in publicly supported institutions is just as abhorrent and unjust as inequities based on race or economic status.

Just a week ago (April 20, 1971) the Supreme Court ruled unanimously against the maintenance of dual tax-supported, racially segregated school systems. Yesterday (April 27, 1971) the Senate passed a bill authorizing the expenditure of \$1.5 billion in federal aid over the next two years to help end racial segregation. Most of the members of this Committee voted for that bill. How then can this Committee approve the voucher experimentation with public funding of religiously and politically segregated, religiously and politically selective, religiously and politically discriminatory schools?

As we have stated earlier, almost all the private schools which will receive public support under the voucher plan are parochial schools. The very latest 1971 statistics of the National Catholic Educational Association show that 97.3 of the students enrolled in Catholic parochial schools are Catholic. Catholic Canon Law 1374 states: "Catholic children shall not attend non-Catholic, neutral, or mixed schools, that is those which are open also to non-Catholics." So one of the main purposes of Roman Catholic parochial schools, and no doubt also of those of the several smaller religious groups that operate such schools, is to segregate and isolate the children of those churches from all other children.

The most vicious conflicts, the deepest and most destructive controversies within our society and within the world, both today and in all previous times and in the foreseeable future, are not those of race, but are those of religion -- and we point to northern Ireland, to the Middle East, to Viet Nam, to India and Pakistan as current cases in point. It is then of the utmost importance that religious discrimination in all public activities and institutions be strictly forbidden in the interests of justice, fairness, equality, national unity and community and interfaith harmony.

Mr. Chairman, there is much more, so very much more, that can be said, that should be said, and that must be said about the destructive effects of this dangerous voucher plan experiment with our liberties and with circumventing the wall of separation between church and state, being conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity. We request fuller hearings by the Senate and by the Congress on this matter in order that all of its ramifications may be exposed.

James Madison, the author of the First Amendment to our Constitution, in his Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments in Virginia, written in 1785, said - "It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution. The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much, soon to forget it."

We call upon the members of this committee to see, like our founding fathers, "all the consequences in the principle, and to avoid the consequences by denying the principle" through recommending that the OEO voucher plan experiments with our liberties be stopped at once.

Thank you.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much.

I have an appointment I have to go to. We will resume the hearings at 1:15 if there is anybody who wishes to put his statement in the record without appearing, he may do so. Otherwise, we will adjourn now.

From the floor. Dr. Baker is not able to be here this morning, and I would like to have his testimony put in the record.

Senator NELSON. All right. Dr. John W. Baker, of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs will have his statement printed in the record along with others at the end of the hearing today.

Mr. JONES. I am Robetr Jones. I will waive my opportunity to testify orally, and hope you will put my statement in the record.

Senator NELSON. Your statement will be put into the record. I suspect that it is likely that there may be further hearings on this issue in any event, so that those who did not get a chance to appear personally will have an opportunity then.

Senator NELSON. Thank you. Mr. LaNoue?

Mr. LANOUE. I am George LaNoue.

I will be representing the American Civil Liberties Union, and without in any sense wishing to inconvenience you, you raised a number of questions this morning that I would like to try to answer this afternoon if that is possible.

Senator NELSON. All right, we will resume at 1:15.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:15 p.m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:40 p.m., Senator Gaylord Nelson, presiding.)

Senator NELSON. The next witness is Mr. George LaNoue, representing the American Civil Liberties Union.

#### STATEMENT OF GEORGE R. LANOUE, ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Mr. LANOUE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. LANOUE. I do, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. It will be printed in full in the record at the end of your testimony. I appreciate your coming back.

Mr. LANOUE. This has been a rather difficult issue for the American Civil Liberties Union. We have not responded in a careless way and have put a good deal of study into our position on vouchers. I think some of the issues that we are going to raise are new issues. Secondly, I am a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, and I would like to speak to some of the educational issues that you raised this morning.

The American Civil Liberties Union asked me to write a position paper on vouchers, which I did. The paper I have submitted is that document.

As I said, this was a hard position for us to take.

We are not used to opposing educational experimentation. We are not opposed to educational diversity, and we generally have supported the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The ACLU believe, however, that despite OEO's good intentions with regard to racial integration and equality of opportunity, that in the long run vouchers would undermine these particular goals and equally important, would jeopardize certain first and 14th amendments civil liberties as well. Voucher schools are not bound by any rules of academic freedom or student rights. Vouchers would also violate the principle of separation of church and state, and create the proliferation of parochial schools.

Mr. Chairman, I think you are aware of the fact that everybody who studied this issue will concede that vouchers are very risky. The history of vouchers does not lead anybody to think that they are easy solutions to our educational problems.

For example, we have had a number of Southern States turn to vouchers as the solution in avoiding school integration. The courts have had to strike vouchers plans down in Virginia and Louisiana. The State of Vermont turned to vouchers as a way to finance parochial schools, and the Vermont State Supreme Court struck down vouchers. So vouchers have a rather unsavory constitutional history.

Vouchers were the plan that the white citizens councils proposed in the South. That was their plan. Now, what OEO has done is to try to create a benign voucher that does not have the problems of the segregationist or the laissez faire economic voucher. But the Jencks report, which is the OEO voucher report, says that if you are not able to regulate vouchers that vouchers would be the greatest setback (for disadvantaged children) in the history of the American education system.

It concedes that at the beginning. So the issue is, if you are going to have vouchers with all these risks, what are the guarantees that you have that are not going to create all these bad things?

OEO attempts to mitigate the dangers in two ways. One is a system of ad hoc regulations which they have created. We think that the intent of those regulations, the lotteries and the compensatory payments and the other things, are laudable, but that the regulations themselves are not adequate.

For example, the regulations don't rule against discrimination in the hiring of teachers. If you discriminate in a certain way in the hiring of teachers in a voucher school you can effectively deter parents from ever wanting to send their children to that school in the first place. There is no provision for academic freedom for teachers. There is no provision for student rights.

But even if the OEO regulations would guard against the dangers of vouchers, how are they going to be enforced? In the experiments, the enforcing agency would be the Office of Economic Opportunity itself, but eventually the regulations would have to be enforced by a local agency. OEO has suggested the creation of an educational group voucher authority as the local agency.

Although the Jencks report is now more than a year old and although this proposal has been discussed more than a year, if you

look at OEO's publications and if you look at its Jencks report, the development of the educational voucher authority, this new layer of administrative systems, is not further along than it was a year ago.

What is an educational voucher authority?

Sometimes they say it might just be the old local school board. Sometimes it might be a consortium of private and public schools and they suggest that there may even be other ways to create it.

Obviously if enforcement is going to be in the hands of these new agencies, the way it is constituted, whether it is the old local school board or some consortium of the participant schools or whether it is some other kind of device, whether it is elected or appointed, makes an enormous amount of difference.

The social justice of the vouchers will depend on the character of the educational voucher authority. I am a political scientist, and I think I know some of the history of regulatory agencies. To propose that the interest of poor children and disadvantaged children will be protected by some new kind of local regulatory agency seems to me to be rather naive.

If anything, the protection of poor children has come from the Federal Government itself and from higher governmental bodies and from the Federal court system.

What about the Federal court system, what is the role of the Federal court system in these voucher schools, or to put the question in a different way, are voucher schools public or private schools? Let's say we have a traditional private school and it begins to get funding through the voucher program. That is, the majority or all of the students come to school with vouchers. Say there is a catholic school, or a nonsectarian prep school, or whatever. What is the legal character of that school? Is it still a private school? This is the question of State action and whether you have a school that is financed through the voucher program and is regulated through educational voucher authorities, whether that school is legally affected by State action. In other words, is it a school that is bound by constitutional principles, or is it still a traditional private school free to engage in the kinds of practices that would be unconstitutional in a public school. If you read the voucher report and if you do as I have done, question OEO people on this matter. I think it is fair to say that they are evasive and that they will not commit themselves as to whether these schools are bound by constitutional principles.

This is a priority question. If they are not, then the whole effort to secure social justice for poor children is dependent on these ad hoc regulations and the Federal court system will not be able to make the kinds of rules that it has been making in the educational field apply to voucher schools.

I am certain your committee is familiar with the enormous growth in the last two decades of judicial decisionmaking in education; striking down loyalty oaths, protecting the rights of teachers to participate in school politics, protecting students rights, protecting equality of opportunity, questioning such devices as the track school, and applying one man-one vote to the schools. You can see that the courts have been one of the principal forces in making certain that public schools are free and democratic and equal.

Now, we have a proposal that says we should change that system. We should have a new class of schools and the voucher people will not concede that the first and 14th amendments will apply to those schools.

So what I am urging that this committee consider and do, is to make certain that the voucher plan is used to finance experiments outside the constitutional framework. Congress should indicate that from their point of view voucher schools are affected by State action. From their beginning voucher schools should be bound by the judicial principles in education that come from application of the first and 14th amendments.

If that condition exists, then a whole set of problems is really removed, because these schools are bound by rules that can be enforced by the Federal judiciary, just like any other schools.

It is one thing to experiment. It is another thing to experiment with the first and 14th amendments, and I am afraid that what OEO is now proposing is really that kind of experimentation.

I would like to say a few words now as an educator. The American Civil Liberties Union, which is concerned with the constitutional questions, does not have, really, a position on these educational questions.

You, Mr. Chairman, raised some very valid points about the educational implications of vouchers. I am a professor at Teachers College, and I am aware in my work with school administrators of the burden that they are now under in the proliferation of Federal programs. They are oftentimes begun but are very poorly funded, so that you set up this administrative machinery and go through all the work to establish a program and then the next year there is no money for it.

That affects colleges as well as public schools. So we have a lot of experiments, some of which have worked and are not being funded. But furthermore what OEO is proposing is not a real experiment in any scientific sense of the word. I think if you ask other social scientists and said, "If you do this, would you find out the kinds of things OEO says it is going to find out?", the answer would be no.

It won't work as an experiment. For one thing, OEO's vouchers will operate in a very highly selective number of school systems. These were systems that were self-selected, because in the hearings across the country on vouchers, most school systems have turned it down. They had hearings in Kansas City, Milwaukee, and in other cities, and they have said no, that they don't want to participate.

You have a few systems—

Senator NELSON. Who conducted the hearings?

Mr. LANOUÉ. OEO representatives went around the country to try to get local school boards to participate, and they had public hearings. At least I know for certain hearings were held in Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Kansas City, and there were others.

In some cities it did not get to the hearing stage, but in those cities you had hearings, and those cities all turned it down.

There were discussions with most of the nonsouthern big city school boards in the country about vouchers and either formally or informally they decided no.

So we have three districts that have applied for planning grants. I happen to be from Gary, Ind., and I was very surprised that Gary should be one of the experimental cities, because Gary has no non-sectarian private schools. There are only two kinds of schools in Gary, public schools and parochial schools.

I was talking to a reporter from Gary earlier today; he tells me that in the proposed target area that there will be 12 schools, 10 public and two parochial. This is in an area of highly deprived children, and the idea that by somehow circulating those deprived children in the 10 public and two private schools that you are going to learn much about educational competition on about the effects of vouchers seems to be ludicrous.

Secondly with regard to the experiment OEO is going to be on top of it and watching it. Nothing bad can really happen. Also, the news media will be watching it. So after 5 years, suppose OEO comes back to the committee and says, "We have tried this, and the white citizens councils did not start any schools."

What does that mean if they did not start them in Gary, or Seattle. It does not mean the Councils would not if the plan becomes nationwide. Suppose OEO comes back and says, we did not have any profit seeking companies come in and try to make a quick buck.

Of course, they did not, because OEO would not let it happen in the first place, but that does not even mean it would not happen so because of very small samples and because of the fact that on a larger scale, you will get a degree of public monitoring that is not possible if the plan were implemented widely, as an experiment it is simply not meaningful.

I think, however, that it is a dangerous kind of experiment. As a professor I am very loath to come before you and say not to try something, because it is our style to try things.

But it is dangerous in two respects. One, I think the experiment is set up so that the conclusions will mislead the public. Secondly, there is a context to this problem of vouchers that OEO has not been quite willing to admit. We have two powerful social forces in this country at this time, both interested in vouchers.

One is resistance to desegregation in the South, and the other in the parochial movement in the North, which is winning victories in some States.

Now, both of those groups are really interested in vouchers, and to experiment with vouchers, with either of these groups being, so to speak, willing to pounce on vouchers as a solution is, I think, very dangerous.

It could unite those two groups as it did in Louisiana. We have an instance of a law like that which the Louisiana State court struck down.

So that it is a little bit like experimentation with seeding clouds when the weatherman has already warned you of the approach of a hurricane, to experiment with vouchers at this time when we may have such enormous pressures on public schools from these two forces.

If you want to find out about the consequences of vouchers, I

think there is a way to do it that does not run constitutional risks, that would give you a much more accurate appraisal of what would happen if you really moved large parts of this country into a voucher system. That is by using the device of market research, market surveys, that companies use all the time when they want to introduce a new product.

You could do surveys, go to people and say, here are four different voucher models, some regulated, some compensatory, some non-regulated, some noncompensatory. If you had your choice, if these were available to you, which would you want?

We could go to the people who run schools, or people who think they might want to start vouchers schools and say, would you be willing to accept this kind of voucher, or this kind of voucher?

I think the reality is, as you suggested this morning, that the non-sectarian private schools probably won't accept vouchers. They just would not get into it, because of their tuition structure, and if you are really serious about the lottery feature and other features, most parochial schools are not going to get into it, either, until they think they can modify that regulation.

So I think if you did these kinds of surveys, you would find out two kinds of things. One is that the overwhelming public preference is not for OEO's voucher, not for a voucher that is compensatory and regulated. It is for a middle class voucher that is not regulated and noncompensatory.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much. We may have hearings further on this. We appreciate your taking time to come.

Mr. LANOUE. Thank you for your time.

(The prepared statement of Mr. LaNoue follows:)

Statement of George R. La Noue  
on behalf of the  
American Civil Liberties Union

on

OEO Education Vouchers

before the

Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty  
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare  
United States Senate

April 27, 1971

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I am George R. La Noue. I am an Associate Professor of Politics and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. I am here today on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union to outline our position with regard to education vouchers. \*/

After considerable study and discussion, the American Civil Liberties Union has decided that it must oppose the Office of Economic Opportunity's attempt to launch field experiments with educational vouchers.

In February, 1971, the ACLU Board of Directors debated and adopted the following statement of policy:

The ACLU opposes the OEO Voucher Plan because it violates the principle of separation of church and state, will tend to re-establish racially segregated schools in the South, encourage the flight of middle-class children in the North and inevitably weaken the public school system as a whole.

Although the Union supports the concept of educational diversity and recognizes OEO's good intentions with regard to racial integration and equality of opportunity, the Union has concluded that in the long-run vouchers would undermine these particular goals and, equally important, would jeopardize certain First and Fourteenth Amendment civil liberties as well. Furthermore, as a social scientist, I believe that the proposed "experiments" will prove nothing about the true impact of vouchers on education and will only serve to delude the public.

Voucher Background

Vouchers are not a new idea. In 1958 Father Virgil C. Blum advocated vouchers as a device for aiding parochial schools in a book called Freedom of Choice in Education. He later founded Citizens for Educational Freedom, a pro-voucher lobbying group. Milton Friedman, in his book, Capitalism and Freedom (1962), proposed vouchers as a part of his general philosophy of dismantling public institutions in favor of private enterprise.

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\*/ This statement is based on a position paper which I prepared for the ACLU entitled "Vouchers: The End of Public Education?", a copy of which has been submitted to this Subcommittee with my testimony.

In the Sixties several states also tried vouchers. Virginia and Louisiana attempted to use them, but the courts ruled that the purpose and effect of these vouchers was to preserve segregation and that they were therefore unconstitutional. Vermont made vouchers available to students in districts with no high schools, but when they were used in parochial schools, the State Supreme Court found them to be a violation of the First Amendment.

It is surprising, therefore, to find the Office of Economic Opportunity opening up at the federal level the question of vouchers.

Attempting to reconcile the inherent legal problems in vouchers and the policy consequences of the unregulated non-compensatory models advocated by Blum and Friedman, OEO granted \$500,000 to the Center for the Study of Public Policy at Harvard to create a "benign" voucher model. With Christopher Jencks as the chief author, the Center produced an extensive report which discusses the assets and liabilities of eleven different voucher proposals. Jencks recommended a tightly-regulated, compensatory voucher, but he also noted that if vouchers were implemented without these provisions they would be "the most serious setback for the education of disadvantaged children in the history of the United States."

#### OEO's Proposal

Following the recommendation of the Jencks report, OEO has tried to avoid the dangers of vouchers by creating a series of regulations designed principally to insure fair treatment of deprived children in voucher schools. There are provisions barring social and economic discrimination, requiring lotteries and disclosure of information, and providing extra funds for the disadvantaged. This is a laudable attempt, but serious problems remain. For example, there are no regulations against religious, ideological or sexual discrimination in the hiring of teachers. Not only is this a practical problem in the coming era of teacher surplus, but it is obvious that if a school discriminates rigorously enough in selecting its staff, it can discourage "undesirable" students from even applying. Under those circumstances, the careful lottery and dismissal procedures are meaningless. Nor is there any decision about the use of academic qualifications or dress codes (an expensive school uniform, for example) to restrict enrollment. The alternatives available to a private school that wanted to restrict its enrollment are almost limitless, and perhaps no voucher system can fully cope with them.

A more important question is whether the regulations OEO has created could be impaired in the long run. In the experiments, the federal government can act directly to enforce them, but what happens if vouchers are adopted independently by states and localities? Which of the various regulatory models -- the federal agencies, state department of education, private accrediting associations or local school boards -- leads to a reasonable belief that they could monitor this development? Which of the regulations would or could be enforced? Which would be dropped altogether? Pinning the reform of American schools on a series of ad hoc regulations to be enforced by a yet-to-be-defined Educational Voucher Authority seems to be an enormous risk.

#### Legal Restraints on Voucher Schools

Furthermore the voucher approach appears to strip from education the series of judicially enforced constitutional liberties that have been developed over the last two decades. The federal courts have applied four principles to the education field: non-discrimination, academic freedom, equality of opportunity and political accountability. Judicial rulings forbidding racial discrimination

have been the most important governmental force in protecting minority rights in the last two decades. In the area of academic freedom, courts have struck down loyalty oaths and protected the right of teachers to comment on school policy without retaliation. They have given students dramatic new substantive and procedural rights. They have prohibited the use of public schools for sectarian or political indoctrination purposes. Courts have also been concerned with the quality of education provided poor children and with such devices as invidious tracking systems. In the area of accountability, the courts have applied the one-man-one-vote rule to school board elections and have intervened to see that rules for community consultation and adequate disclosure are followed.

This sketch serves only to outline the broad constitutional framework within which public schools must legally operate. Of course, some public schools attempt to avoid their constitutional obligations, but the federal judiciary in cooperation with other federal agencies stands as a powerful enforcement mechanism. The courts are able to apply constitutional standards to public schools because their schools are considered to be extensions of state government and involve "state action." Would voucher supported schools involve "state action" to the extent that they would be bound by constitutional principles? Are they legally public or private? The architects of the OEO voucher seem indcisive. When racial questions are involved they argue voucher schools must follow the Fourteenth Amendment. But when religious or academic freedom issues are involved, they suggest the First Amendment might not be applicable. Analogies to social security or welfare funds are drawn where constitutional restrictions do not follow the individual use of public funds.

Although the OEO proposal avoids the question, the legal character of voucher schools is a central issue. If voucher schools are considered to be free from state action and constitutional restrictions, then their character can only be influenced through and have regulations enforced by the politically vulnerable Educational Voucher Authorities. On the other hand, if voucher schools must operate within the constitutional framework, the values like academic freedom, student rights and religious liberty will be judicially protected.

This is a question that should be decided now. Although some "private" schools may choose not to participate if they know they have to follow constitutional principles as well as the ad hoc regulations, they should be told the full implications of participation. Vouchers will surely be litigated and it seems unlikely that the courts will consider schools as dependent on public support and as publicly regulated as voucher schools to be free from state action. If that happens, constitutional standards would be applied to the formerly private school on an *ex post facto* basis. Furthermore a decision now that voucher schools are bound by constitutional principles would remove the temptation from those who might see vouchers as a way to use public funds to finance schools in defiance of judicial orders. Finally no agency of government should ever be permitted to experiment with the liberties guaranteed by the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Although the ultimate decision is judicial, declaration by Congress and OEO that they consider voucher schools to be bound by the Constitution would help to clear up the issue.

#### Alternative to the OEO "Experiment"

Finally let me speak as an educator about vouchers.

I think, if you ask any social scientist, he would tell you that what OEO is proposing is not a valid experiment. What does giving vouchers to parents in one or two carefully selected cities

prove about the ultimate effects of vouchers in American education. The "experiment" will be closely monitored by OEO and the news media and everyone will be on their good behavior. But such intense monitoring cannot be maintained if vouchers are adopted by whole states or regions. It is then that the severe problems of racial, class and religious discrimination will occur; that schools that provide neither academic freedom for teachers nor due process for students will spring up and that profit-seeking agencies will become a major force in the education field. Only then will we see whether the OEO type regulations are really enforceable, but it may be too late to turn back.

If OEO wants to learn about the probable effects of vouchers, there is a cheaper and much more scientific method than creating a few "hot house" experiments. Vouchers could be evaluated through survey techniques similar to those used by market research agencies when new products are introduced. By presenting the various voucher models to properly selected samples, reasonable forecasts could be made about what different groups of parents would do if they had vouchers. In addition, private school leaders and others who might be interested in starting schools could be surveyed to see which kind of vouchers would be acceptable to them and what kinds of new schools would be stimulated.

Two findings might emerge from such a survey. First, only a tiny percentage of the traditional private or parochial schools would be willing to participate in the regulated voucher approach OEO is proposing. Some schools would find the ceiling on their tuition income intolerable, while few schools would find the lottery features acceptable. Entrepreneurs with the kind of organization and capital needed to offer new private educational alternatives would not find the OEO regulations very attractive either. Some liberal, equalitarian, integration-minded parents would support the OEO voucher model, but a much larger number of parents would probably opt for an unregulated, non-compensatory voucher that was free from constitutional restraints.

In any widespread implementation of vouchers, the preferences of these schools and these parents might soon overwhelm OEO's attempt to pursue social justice through regulations and compensatory spending. Such information is vital, however, if OEO is not to inadvertently create the "most serious setback for the education of disadvantaged children in the history of the United States."

VOUCHERS:

THE END OF PUBLIC EDUCATION?

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A position paper prepared for the American Civil Liberties  
Union. March, 1971.

In his essay in the Tenth Anniversary issue of the Saturday Review's educational supplement, Peter Schrag formulates a question that has been lurking on the edges of much of the contemporary debate about schools. Have we, he asks, reached the "end of the impossible dream" of public education?<sup>1</sup>

Schrag thinks that we have. The time has come, he argues, to admit that the educational reforms of the Sixties have been of little consequence and the public school system itself has failed. How do we know public schools have failed? For Schrag, like other educational romantics, the question need not be taken seriously in quantitative terms. He writes:

Evidence? Is it necessary again to cite statistics, dropout rates, figures on black and white children who go to college (or finish high school), comparisons of academic success between rich and poor kids, college attendance figures for slums and suburbs?<sup>2</sup>

Actually, of course, the statistics are not all that one-sided. For example, college board scores and other empirical measures show that the public schools in the Sixties did accomplish their post-Sputnik mandate of producing students with higher mathematical, scientific and technological skills. There has even been some progress regarding the more intractable problems of racial equality of opportunity. In 1960, the median school year completed by non-whites in the United States was 10.8; for whites, 12.3. By 1968 the gap had closed to 12.2 for non-whites and 12.6 for whites.<sup>3</sup>

The number of black students in colleges doubled between 1964 and 1969, and black youngsters are now more likely to be enrolled in pre-school programs than are whites.<sup>4</sup>

It is currently fashionable to dismiss these gains and the other kinds of tangible advances public schools have made in recent years as too slow or even irrelevant. None of the very real problems that exist in public schools should be minimized. But if we become so cavalier in our criticisms that we do not notice the achievements that have been made, the probability of a successful diagnosis for further reform is diminished. Nevertheless, after a decade of intense social science concern about schools, it is still almost impossible to document the patterns of strength and weakness in school systems in terms that are policy relevant. We have neither the data nor the conceptual models that would permit conclusions about relative achievement of school systems. If one takes into account their various socio-economic and political contexts, who can say that the New York public school system is better or worse than those in Chicago, Los Angeles, or Atlanta.

A part of the problem is poor information. The public school establishment has been enormously successful in resisting pressures to gather and distribute data that could be used to challenge it. On the other hand, neither has the educational research establishment, with its built-in incentive to discover failure which justifies ever more research, done much to develop the comparative models which could add objectivity to the evaluation. Consequently, the debate has been dominated by the educational romantics whose rhetoric seems to fit a current intellectual mood of condemning all American institutions as failures. Their list is impressive: the Presidency, the Congress, the judiciary, state and local governments, the mili-

tary, medicine, business, unions, universities, etc., etc.--all failures. Such an indiscriminating mood may be personally cathartic, and many of us indulge in it at times, but no rational public policy can be based on it. Both the achievements and the problems of public education should be recognized. Any real world strategy for educational reform must be prepared to deal with both, but there is also a more subtle problem.

Schrag argues that culture is changing so rapidly that Americans may no longer be able to define educational success. In losing our consensus about educational goals, we also inevitably undermine the basis of a public or common school system. Schrag believes that the problem with public schools is not, as others have suggested, that they are politically unaccountable, but that to the contrary, they do "precisely what most Americans expect." He insists:

Any single, universal public institution--and especially one as sensitive as the public school--is the product of a social quotient verdict. It elevates the lowest common denominator of desires, pressures, and demands into the highest public virtue. It cannot afford to offend any sizable community group, be it the American Legion, the B'nai B'rith, or the NAACP. Nor can it become a subversive enterprise that is designed to encourage children to ask real questions about race or sex or social justice or the emptiness and joys of life.<sup>5</sup>

Based on an implicit acceptance of a currently fashionable definition of pluralism that borders on advocating cultural segregation as an ideal, Schrag concludes that public education is no longer possible or desirable.

The solution Schrag proposes is a dismantling of the public school system by adopting a voucher system. The fundamental question in the politics of education today, then, is not curriculum reform or community control, but whether the public school system itself should

be abandoned or modified in favor of some new kind of relationship between parent, government and school. Schrag would substitute consumer accountability between parents and schools for the existing political accountability. He writes: "Separate schools, accountable not to public vote and citizen support but only to their clients, may be immune to such conformist pressures; they will have to make their way on the basis of performance."<sup>5a</sup> The implications of such a change for public schools are enormous. As Christopher Jencks expressed it in his early writing on vouchers before he became the more cautious political manager of the concept:

Either tuition grants or management contracts to private organizations would, of course, "destroy the public school system as we know it". When one thinks of the remarkable past achievements of public education in America, this may seem a foolish step. But we must not allow the memory of past achievements to blind us to present failures. Nor should we allow the rhetoric of public school men to obscure the issue. It is natural for public servants to complain about private competition. But if the terms of the competition are reasonable, there is every reason to suppose that it is healthy. Without it, both public and private enterprises have a way of ossifying. And if, as some fear, the public schools could not survive in open competition with private ones, then perhaps they should not survive.<sup>5</sup>

## II.

Like most of the other voucher writers,<sup>7</sup> Schrag does not define the difference between public and private schools very precisely. The imagery is clear, however. Public schools are monolithic, while private schools are more flexible and innovative. Establishing definitions and the facts of the matter are critical elements in the policy decision.

To consider private schools first, about 5,600,000 children, or about 11% of the total elementary and secondary population, attend schools traditionally classified as private. Almost 90% of these children are in Catholic schools; another 5% are in Protestant and Jewish schools; while the remaining 5% attend secular private or prep schools. Although it may be difficult for a Bostonian or a New Yorker to believe, the kind of "flexible, innovative" private school they envision is now only a tiny minority of existing private schools and is quite insignificant statistically (about 1%) in terms of national school enrollments.

Given these facts, whether private schools when compared school for school with public schools are more flexible and innovative remains to be proven. I suspect other variables are more important.

The public school monolith turns out to be divided into more than 16,000 local governing districts. Although public schools reflect a generally similar curriculum (most of the state laws establishing curricular requirements cover private schools too), it is difficult to think of other national generalizations about the functional characteristics of public schools. Their governing and taxing patterns, size, constituencies, employment practices, quality, and innovativeness vary according to the variety of American life itself.

Indeed, there is only one common bond between the public schools of Jackson, Michigan and Jackson, Mississippi, of Portland, Oregon and Portland, Maine. Public schools are all bound by judicial interpretations of the Federal Constitution, while private schools have been exempt. While public schools may generally be larger, more bureaucratic, and more unionized than private schools, none of these characteristics are inherent or even uniform. The legal obligation to obey the freedom of religion, speech, petition and assembly clauses of the First Amendment and the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, however, is now universally binding.

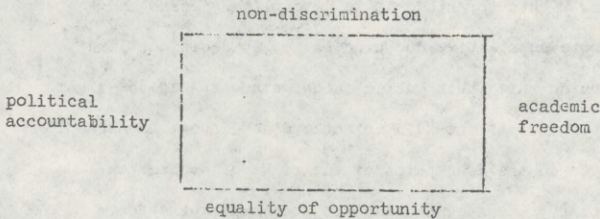
Before the 1940's, the legal distinction between public and private schools made little functional difference, because the Supreme Court studiously avoided becoming involved in what were considered local educational matters. But in 1943, in a dramatic reversal of an earlier opinion, the Court decided that public school authorities could <sup>not</sup> force children of Jehovah's Witnesses to salute the flag.<sup>8</sup> The modern era of judicial educational policy making had begun.

Five years later, Edward Corwin, the then dean of American constitutional scholars, wrote a satirical essay entitled "The Supreme Court as a National School Board" to express his distaste about the trend.<sup>9</sup> The Court itself has shown some hesitation about its new role, but it has acted nevertheless. While striking down a state prohibition against teaching evolution, the Court declared:

Judicial interposition in the operation of the public school systems of the Nation raises problems requiring care and restraint. Our courts, however, have not failed to apply the First Amendment's mandate in our educational system where essential to safeguard the fundamental values of freedom of speech and inquiry and of belief.

By and large, public education in our Nation is committed to the control of state and local authorities. Courts do not and cannot intervene in the resolution of conflicts which arise in the daily operation of school systems and which do not directly and sharply implicate basic constitutional values. On the other hand, "The vigilant protection of constitutional values is nowhere more vital than in the community of the American Schools"<sup>10</sup>

Professor Corwin's title has turned out to be prophetic. In case after case in the last thirty years, the federal courts have established themselves as a major determiner of public school policy. Today all public schools are bound by four kinds of principles which the courts have extracted from the First and Fourteenth Amendments: non-discrimination, academic freedom, equality of opportunity, and public accountability. The courts are still developing their interpretations of these doctrines, and some have met with widespread resistance, but these principles may be viewed as the constitutional framework within which all public schools will eventually have to operate.



Although the full impact of judicial intervention has yet to be felt, the principles already established are of considerable consequence. In 1954, the Court struck down the doctrine of racially-separate but equal schools that was the controlling public policy for over 40% of the nation's school children in 17 states and the District of Columbia.<sup>11</sup> Enforcement

of that decision has been slow and painful, but de jure segregation is now dead and the courts are whittling away at the boundaries of de facto segregation. In addition to attacking racial discrimination in the public schools, the courts have challenged sexual discrimination and stand as guardians against religious discrimination.<sup>12</sup>

In the area of academic freedom the courts have moved to protect teachers from invidious loyalty oaths<sup>13</sup> and have given them the right to criticize official school policy without retaliation.<sup>14</sup> They have prohibited public schools from engaging in overt indoctrination<sup>15</sup> and have defined them as neither the "partisan (n) or the enemy of any class, creed, party or faction."<sup>16</sup> Most dramatic has been the judicial expansion of student rights. Only a few years ago, in loco parentis, a doctrine which permitted public schools to be as <sup>arbitrary</sup> families in dealing with children, was the acknowledged rule. Today the courts are establishing a whole new set of procedural due process rights for students in disciplinary cases and have even moved toward some substantive due process.<sup>17</sup> In decisions like Tinker v. Des Moines<sup>18</sup> which ruled that public school students had the right to wear armbands protesting war if they did not otherwise disrupt the school, the Supreme Court has altered the conception of the right of student expression all over the country. One consequence in New York is the Board of Education's new student handbook which, if enforced, will give public school students more rights than most private college students can now claim.

Protecting equality of educational opportunity has proved more difficult for the Court. This has been caused not by a lack of constitutional justification or judicial commitment, but rather by the difficulty of creating

a workable and enforceable definition of the concept.<sup>19</sup> So far the Supreme Court has avoided the simplistic and rigid interpretation that the equal protection clause requires equal per student spending,<sup>20</sup> but in Hobson v Hanson,<sup>21</sup> a federal court has ordered the Washington, D.C. school board to shuffle its resources to improve the facilities available to poor children. The recent decision by a federal court of appeals requiring the town of Shaw, Mississippi to provide equal public services to different sections of the town surely has implications for education.<sup>22</sup>

Judicial articulation of political accountability is the least developed of the four principles. The courts have, however, applied the one-man-one-vote rule to school board elections and have intervened to see that rules for community consultation and adequate disclosure be followed.<sup>23</sup> Particularly, as urban schools develop new decentralized or federalized patterns of government, we can expect to see courts intervene to protect public access and information.

This brief summary is barely adequate to describe the scope and import of judicial intervention into educational policy, but it does serve to indicate the constitutional framework within which public schools must legally operate. Public schools are bound by this framework because the Fourteenth Amendment declares that no state "shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Public schools are considered to be extensions of state governments or to involve "state action" and are therefore affected by the Fourteenth Amendment. Private institutions, if they

are really private, are not considered to involve "state action" and are legally exempt from constitutional restrictions. For example, a church need not follow one-man-one-vote in electing its leaders or due process in disciplining its members. Determining the legal elements of a private constitutionally exempt institution, however, turns out to be quite complicated.

When the southern states began to devise legal maneuvers to confirm "private" status of previously public institutions, or began to channel public functions through traditionally private institutions, the federal courts expanded the concept of "state action" to prohibit further discrimination. Whether a particular private institution may involve state action is still subject to case-by-case litigation. But in general, a "private" institution may involve state action and thus be subject to constitutional sanctions if it is substantially regulated by the state or if it accepts substantial amounts of state funds. In addition, a "private" institution that substantially affects interstate commerce may be subject to legislation based on that constitutional clause.

These legal rules raise a complicated problem for voucher advocates. Are schools that participate in tax-supported voucher plans involved in "state actions"? If so, wouldn't that mean that parochial schools would have to give up sectarian courses in religion (McCollum v. Illinois)<sup>24</sup> and prayer and Bible-reading (Abington Township v. Schempp)<sup>25</sup> as public schools have had to do? Would a military academy be bound by the Tinker v. Des Moines<sup>26</sup> armband rule? Or would private schools be involved in rulings like Hobson v. Hanson's<sup>27</sup> against racial imbalance and expenditure inequalities?

If the answer is "yes" to these questions, then most private schools would refuse to participate in a voucher plan. If the answer is "no", then substantial numbers of parents might use vouchers to buy education outside the constitutional framework. The questions are critical in understanding the effect vouchers might have on American education. The answers turn on the type of voucher being considered.

## IV

There is no one voucher plan. Vouchers have been proposed in about as many sizes and shapes as there are educational ideologies.

The first of the modern voucher concepts was created by Father Virgil C Blum, a Jesuit political scientist at Marquette University. In his book Freedom of Choice in Education(1958),<sup>28</sup> he used the traditional Catholic social philosophy of subsidiarity to develop the doctrine that the values in the schools' curriculum and culture should be totally determined by parents. To promote this doctrine, Blum had earlier founded Citizens for Educational Freedom, a predominantly lay-Catholic organization which has attracted adherents from some other conservative religious groups.

CEF has consistently supported vouchers as the device that would provide the most tax funds for parochial schools with the least amount of public controls. It was Father Blum who first developed the analogy between education vouchers and the GI Bill or social security payments that is still used by contemporary voucher proponents. The analogy is not completely accurate, since, unlike most governmental programs, the beneficiaries in these programs have established their individual claim by prior service (GI Bill) or by prepayment of insurance premiums!(Social Security). The money thus "belongs" to them and they can spend it without constitutional restriction. Veterans, for example, used GI payments to attend seminaries, and nobody even knows how social security payments are spent. Even if the sources and rationale of these two government programs are not analogous, CEF has found them to be a convenient model for the kind of educational voucher it advocates. The CEF voucher is unregulated--the recipient school need met no additional statutory or constitutional standards--and non-compensatory--a parent's income would not affect the size of the voucher.

CEF has operated as a pressure group in the states for about fifteen years. It has not had much success in obtaining vouchers, although some textbook and bus transportation battles have been won. Ironically, its greatest victory, a purchase-of-services law obtained through a coalition with the White Citizens' Councils in Louisiana, was its most short-lived. The Louisiana State Supreme Court struck down the law before it could be implemented on the grounds that that kind of aid to private schools violated separation of church and state.<sup>29</sup>

Another contribution to the development of vouchers was made by Milton Friedman, the University of Chicago economist, in his book Capitalism and Freedom (1962).<sup>30</sup> In that general exposition of the virtues of marketplace competition as a device for creating choice and diversity, education is treated as just one of the public services (hospitals, libraries, parks, etc.) that might be better rendered by private enterprise. Later, in magazine articles, Professor Friedman focused on the educational voucher idea, but his original commitment to the unregulated "free enterprise" voucher remained.

In contrast, the most recent proponents of vouchers, Christopher Jencks and his colleagues at the Harvard Center for the Study of Public Policy<sup>31</sup> and John B. Coons, William H. Cune II, and Stephen D. Sugarman in their book Private Wealth and Public Education (1970)<sup>31</sup> advocate only regulated vouchers. Indeed, Jencks concedes that "an unregulated voucher system could be the most serious setback for the education of disadvantaged children in the history of the United States."<sup>32</sup>

The Coons et al. proposal is a sophisticated and sensitive attempt to give families a choice, not only about the style of education they prefer,

but also about the amount of family resources they wish to commit to education. Schools charging different levels of tuition would be established. The amount of the voucher would depend on the family income and the cost of the school. A high income family choosing a high cost school would receive a relatively much smaller voucher than a poor family choosing a low cost school.

The most publicized proposal, however, comes from the Harvard Center's report that was the result of an OEO grant of \$193,000 to study vouchers. Since Christopher Jencks, the principal author, had already committed himself in print to vouchers, the final report might have seemed anti-climactic. But the Jencks volume performs a very useful purpose in outlining alternative voucher models (some eleven versions are discussed) and by confronting in a generally candid manner the possible inequalitarian and anti-civil libertarian results of vouchers. Jencks and company clearly reject the unregulated voucher concept and develop instead a highly sophisticated set of regulations that recipient schools would have to follow.

The major restrictions on a voucher school would be that it:

1. accept a voucher as full payment of tuition;
2. accept any applicant so long as it had vacant places;
3. if it had more applicants than places, fill at least half these places by picking applicants randomly and fill the other half in such a way as not to discriminate against ethnic minorities;
4. accept uniform standards established by the EVA (Educational Voucher Agency) regarding suspension and expulsion of students;
5. agree to make a wide variety of information about its facilities, teachers, program, and students available to the EVA and to the public;
6. maintain accounts of money received and disbursed in a form that would allow both parents and the EVA to determine whether a school operated by a board of education was getting the resources to which it was entitled on the basis of its vouchers, whether a school operated

by a church was being used to subsidize other church activities, and whether a school operated by a profit-making corporation was siphoning off excessive amounts to the parent corporation;

7. meet existing state requirements for private schools regarding curriculum, staffing, and the like.<sup>33</sup>

The Office of Economic Opportunity in its competition with the Office of Education for educational influence has responded favorably to the Jencks report and has announced its intention to fund several five- to eight-year experiments. The effort has not gone well. Although federal money is usually a desirable commodity, school systems have been turning OEO down at an unprecedented rate. Indeed, the difficulty of fitting vouchers into local and state laws and the size of the political opposition may mean that widespread experiments will prove impossible.<sup>34</sup>

On the intellectual circuit, however, vouchers are the hottest thing going, and the idea must be taken seriously. Much of the debate has been dominated by considerations of ideology and vested interest, but there is the beginning of a careful critique of the plan on its own terms. Most of that attention has been focused on the adequacy of the specific regulations on voucher schools. For example, neither Jencks nor Coons would prohibit voucher schools from discrimination in the hiring of teachers. Not only is this a practical problem in the coming era of teacher surplus, but it is obvious that if a school discriminates rigorously enough in selecting its staff, it can discourage "undesirable" students from even applying. Under those circumstances, the careful lottery and dismissal procedures are meaningless. Nor is there any decision about the use of academic qualifications or dress codes (an expensive school uniform, for example) to restrict enrollment. The alternatives available to a private school that wanted to restrict its enrollment are almost limitless, and perhaps no voucher system can fully cope with them.

Assuming for the moment the adequacy and good faith of the Jencks regulations, can they be enforced? For most of the voucher writers, the marketplace's ability to regulate competition and to produce consumer sovereignty is axiomatic. Adam Smith, not Ralph Nader, is their prophet, and their faith in the virtues of the market is in today's terms almost singular. But which of the great American industries would be a suitable model for the educational marketplace? The "free enterprise" transportation industry? Lockheed or Penn Central? How about the medical industry, which is now financed in part by Medicare vouchers. True, it does not seem to have done much for the overall health of Americans or even for the fiscal solvency of hospitals, but some doctors are doing very well, thank you. Or perhaps that sector of education most based on free enterprise--correspondence and trade schools--is the model?

Marketplace analogies do not fit well in the educational world. In the first place, public schools are not a non-competitive monopoly in the sense that the postal service is. Public schools are highly decentralized and they do compete. In most cities, they compete with private schools which enroll 15% to 35% of the students. (There is, incidentally, no research which shows that public schools are "better" in cities where the greatest competition with private schools exists. Because of the "drain-off" of the middle class in these cities, I suspect the reverse is more likely true.) Furthermore, public schools compete with each other at many levels. City schools compete against suburban schools and with each other for appropriations, teachers, special projects, status and in extra-curricular activities.

Competition in the private school sector does not correspond with market theory either. With the possible exception of the housing industry, most

profit-making firms will sell their products to anyone with cash or credit regardless of his race, religion, social background, manners, intelligence or skills. Private schools, however, generally prefer to be exclusive based on one or more of the above factors. They do not view increasing their share of the market in the same way corporations do. This severely limits the possibility of consumer accountability. Although there is no research on the matter, the most plausible generalization is that the more desirable the private school, the less the parent accountability.

The Harvard study is aware of the limitations of the market as regulator, however, and it proposes several devices to skew the market in liberal directions.

First, the preferred voucher would be compensatory, providing perhaps twice as many dollars for disadvantaged children. One can make a case that it costs more to educate these children, and since OEO will control the experiments, one can imagine that the vouchers will actually be compensatory. But eventually vouchers will have to be funded by state and local legislatures. Nothing in their history (certainly not their distribution of Title I ESEA money) warrants optimism about their compensatory proclivities. Almost all of the voucher schemes that have been taken seriously by the states thus far have provided nearly equal per student grants.

Secondly, voucher schools would be forbidden to charge amounts in addition to the voucher aid and, if oversubscribed, would have to choose at least half of their students through lottery. These rules reflect a genuine attempt to overcome the impulse toward selectivity in private schools that might discriminate against disadvantaged students. Furthermore, the eligible schools would have to disclose enough information about them-

selves to permit informed consumer choices. The difficulties of forcing schools, even public schools, to release this kind of information in the past gives this requirement a certain utopian character. There are more than 100,000 different schools in the United States, and the voucher system could be expected to increase that number. At the very least, the interpretation and enforcement of the voucher rules will create some enormously difficult problems.

The key to the regulated voucher obviously is the regulatory mechanisms. The Harvard study offers alternatives but is not very definitive about the problem. The report states:

An Educational Voucher Agency (EVA) would be established to administer the vouchers. Its governing board might be elected or appointed, but in either case it should be structured so as to represent minority as well as majority interests. The EVA might be an existing local board of education, or it might be a new agency with a larger or smaller geographic jurisdiction. The EVA would receive all federal, state and local education funds for which children in the area were eligible. It would pay this money to schools only in return for vouchers.

Later, the report spells out alternatives for establishing the EVA in demonstration projects:

1. The existing public school board could set itself up as the EVA.
2. The public school board could appoint a separate board as the EVA.
3. An entirely independent board including representatives of parents and staff of the participating schools could be set up.

Elected or appointed, public or consortiums of participating schools, local, state, or regional? If the difference between the regulated vouchers and unregulated vouchers is social justice or social disaster, then decisions about the structure of the EVA are of paramount importance.

In the demonstration projects, the principal regulator will obviously be OEO itself, but what will happen if vouchers are adopted independently by

states and localities? Which of the various regulatory models--the federal agencies, state departments of education, private accrediting associations or local school boards--leads to a reasonable belief that they could monitor this development? Which of the regulations would or could be enforced? Which would be dropped altogether? Pinning the reform of American schools on a series of ad hoc regulations to be enforced by a yet-to-be-defined EVA seems to be an enormous risk.

In reply, Jencks would insist that the current system of regulations doesn't work very well either, and EVA s wouldn't be any worse. But it might be worse. As was pointed out in section III, the federal courts have become one of the principal regulators of social injustice in public education. They have accomplished this by applying the First and Fourteenth Amendments to public schools. Would voucher schools involve state action and be subject to the constitutional rules the courts have established for public schools? If the answer is yes, then the ad hoc nature of Jencks' regulations and the fuzzy nature of the EVA becomes less dangerous, because the federal courts would continue to act as regulators. On the other hand, the concept of state action could substantially reduce the autonomy of traditionally private schools.

On this critical question the Harvard report appears to be of two minds. The two legal sections in the study are devoted primarily to discussions of the eligibility of racially segregated and parochial schools in voucher programs.<sup>38</sup> The authors conclude that the federal courts would prohibit the participation of any school that clearly discriminated racially, but that the participation of parochial schools awaits further court decisions. This seems to be a fair appraisal of the current state of the law

but the report is less perceptive about the effect of state action on participating voucher schools. The section of the report dealing with racial discrimination concludes that voucher schools do involve state action, but the parochial school section is quite indecisive.

In addition to being a complicated problem of law, the issue presents a tricky political situation for voucher advocates. Ninety-five per cent of all private school enrollment is in parochial schools. Obviously, the support of that constituency is necessary if vouchers are to become a serious national option. Consequently, the report resuscitates the GI Bill and social security analogy to plead hopefully for the eligibility of parochial schools. But that analogy was for unregulated vouchers and it provides a legal rationale that voucher schools do not involve state action and are thus free from constitutional restraints.<sup>39</sup> To concretize the issue, could a voucher school avoid judicial standards of academic freedom or discriminate religiously in the hiring of teachers? When I asked the latter question at the recent AERA Conference, neither John Coons nor Christopher Jencks would commit themselves on it.

While not every past or future federal court decision on civil liberties and education may be the most appropriate policy for every one of the 16,000 school districts in the United States, a system of financing that runs the risk of undermining all constitutional rules in education in favor of ad hoc regulations seems to me to be too great a price to pay. Neither is it fair to private schools to be ambiguous about this point. Courts can declare that past behavior on the part of an institution requires it meet constitutional standards from then on. In the long run, it seems doubtful that the courts would regard schools funded by tax-supported vouchers and intensively regulated by public or quasi-public EVA's as free from state

action. Far better to decide that question now and to give private schools a choice. Certainly, a declaration by the responsible legislative and administrative agencies that they intended voucher schools to involve state action would constitute a proper warning and would assist courts in deciding the matter.

Such a declaration would not necessarily eliminate all private schools whose current practices did not meet constitutional tests. Just as some formerly sectarian universities in New York (Fordham, for example) have altered some of their religious practices in order to receive state funds, so private schools could change to meet constitutional tests as well as ad hoc rules to become eligible for vouchers.

Even if the questions about the constitutional obligation of voucher schools were cleared up, other important reservations about vouchers remain. Still, shouldn't the voucher scheme be subject to experimentation? It is difficult for any scholar or educational reformer to object to an experiment, but one may be very skeptical about whether what OEO is proposing will constitute a real experiment. In the first place, Southern cities were ruled out, although a voucher system must be workable in Columbus, Georgia as well as Columbus, Ohio. Secondly, the experiments will take place in such a few places (only three cities, Seattle, Gary, and Alum Rock, California have applied for planning grants) that the amount of official and media attention given to these programs will eliminate the abuses vouchers might create in less scrutinized circumstances. Finally, OEO has announced that the experiments will run five to eight years, but the uncertainty of program funding (vouchers have not yet been subject to Congressional Hearings) may cause many of the corporations and agencies otherwise interested in the educational market to hold back.

Probably a quicker, cheaper and more accurate method of evaluating vouchers would be to test the idea through surveys. Marketing agencies do this kind of research all the time. By presenting the various voucher models to properly selected samples, reasonable forecasts could be made about what different groups of parents would do if they had vouchers. In addition, private school leaders and others who might be interested in starting schools could be surveyed to see which kind of vouchers would be acceptable to them and what kinds of new schools would be stimulated.

I suspect two findings would emerge from such a survey. First, only a tiny percentage of the traditional private or parochial schools would be willing to participate in the regulated voucher approach Jencks is proposing. Some schools would find the ceiling on their tuition income intolerable, while few schools would find the lottery features acceptable. Entrepreneurs with the kind of organization and capital needed to offer new private educational alternatives would not find the Jencks regulations very attractive either. Some liberal, equalitarian, integration-minded parents would support the Jencks' voucher model, but I suspect a much larger number of parents would opt for an unregulated, non-compensatory voucher that was free from constitutional restraints.

Those who advocate ideal or model vouchers don't seem to fully recognize the true nature of the voucher constituency. There is a latent coalition prepared to support vouchers and it won't be led by the gentlemen scholars from Cambridge and Berkeley. The coalition is the one Kevin Phillips proposed in The Emerging Republican Majority.<sup>40</sup> It is composed mainly of Southern Protestant nativists and Northern Catholic ethnics-- plus I would add a touch of the far right and the far left political extremes. Aid to private schools was one of the ways Phillips suggested that coalitions might be brought together. The danger is, then, that while the debate focuses on ideal vouchers, the true voucher coalition will rise up to take command of the idea. Once united, that coalition might be able to bring about the kind of unregulated, non-compensatory, constitution-free vouchers that would lead to the social disaster Jencks himself warns about.

The preceding discussion may have sounded like a plea for the status quo, but that was not the intention. Instead, I merely want to assert that

the prescription for educational reform should relate more carefully to the diagnosis of the problem than do voucher proposals and that their unintended consequences may be far-reaching and quite damaging. As a vehicle for reform, vouchers are a very inefficient device. They would prove costly by adding to existing state and local budgets the expense of (1) all private school tuitions, (2) the EVA administrative bureaucracy, (3) new buildings and inefficient use of existing structures, (4) inefficient use of existing tenured personnel, and (5) greatly increased transportation costs. Since non-parents would be partially disenfranchised from school politics by vouchers, they might be less inclined to support educational budgets, so that the total financial pie may be reduced. Furthermore, to wait five to eight years for the results of the voucher experiments and then to wait until new schools are built which can provide choices is an inordinate delay of necessary educational reform. Depending on the goals chosen, there are more effective and less dangerous reform models.

If the problem is diagnosed as fundamentally one of the quality of public schools, then the experiments with performance contracting and teacher accountability should be given a chance. Each of these concepts raise difficult problems of implementation, but they contain fewer risks than do vouchers. Furthermore, we might experiment with developing for the academic activities of public schools the kind of competition and rewards that already exist for extra-curricular activities.

If the problem is diagnosed as basically a problem of ideological conformity, then the spread of dual enrollment (shared time) and decentralization offer alternatives. Dual enrollment permits a student to select his curriculum from two or more learning centers. In addition to giving individuals

more choice, it allows groups which have particular religious or ideological concerns to focus on those areas rather than undertaking comprehensive schooling. Many groups can find private funding for selected courses, while managing a whole school leads to public funding and public controls. Dual enrollment in some form currently exists in almost every state, and consideration should be given to the type of law recently passed in Vermont which permits the dual enrollment option in every community.

The trend toward decentralizing our large city school systems is also growing. Again, a lot of problems exist, but eventually urban public schools can be expected to offer more durricular alternatives and to be more responsive to parents than before.

We can go further. In pamphlet called "The Reform of the Urban Schools", Mario Fantini suggests a concept called "public schools of choice." Fantini and his colleagues are currently writing a book on the subject and so the concept has not been fully spelled out. Essentially, however, the thesis is that we can have a lot more choices of school culture and style in urban public schools if we want them. Rather than turning to vouchers, individual choice could be enforced by developing the petition rights of parents and students. For example, a state legislature and/or local school board could establish that whenever a certain percentage of parents wanted a particular school style (British Infant model, for example) or a percentage of students wanted a particular curriculum alternative, public school authorities would be required by law to provide for it. If the school were set up on house plans as is Richard C. Lee High School in New Haven, the alternatives might exist within the same school. The only limitations would be constitutional and in some cases financial. Furthermore, within constitutional boundaries,

there is a lot of room for experimentation with alternatives to the traditional school board as a management system.

Although these concepts are new enough to require much development, I believe they will eventually contribute more toward solving our educational problems than will vouchers. Substituting consumer accountability for political accountability is not in the long run a good bargain for either parents or society. Our majoritarianism should be tempered with the respect for minority differences and public education should offer many alternatives, but deciding educational policy forces a society to confront the ultimate questions about its future. These decisions are better made through the democratic process than the marketplace.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Peter Schrag, "End of the Impossible Dream", Saturday Review, September 19, 1970, p. 63.
2. Ibid.
3. U.S. Department of Labor and U.S. Department of Commerce, "Recent Trends in Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States." Current Population Reports Series, p. 23, No. 26, BCS Report No. 347, July, 1968.
4. "Blacks in School at a Higher Rate", New York Times, October 11, 1970. "Education Gains by Poor Called Revolutionary", Chronicles of Higher Education, March 10, 1969.
5. Schrag, p. 70.
6. Christopher Jencks, "Is the Public School Obsolete?", The Public Interest, Winter, 1965, p. 27.
7. Jencks reconceptualizes the terms public and private to mean that a public school must be open to all (it may not even have geographical or academic requirements), must not charge tuition or "refuse to give anyone information about what they are doing, how well they are doing it, and whether children are getting what their parents want." Center for the Study of Public Policy, "Education Vouchers", December, 1970, p. 13.  
This definition may be useful to advance a normative argument, but it has no legal or historic validity. There are probably no existing schools that would meet all of the tests to be called public.
8. West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624 (1943).
9. Law and Contemporary Problems, XIV, (Winter, 1949) p. 3.
10. Epperson v. Arkansas. 393 U.S. 97 (1969).
11. Brown v. Board of Education. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- 12.
13. For a discussion of recent cases see E. Edmund Reutter, Jr. and Robert R. Hamilton, The Law of Public Education. (Mineola, New York: The Foundation Press, 1970) p. 407-408.
14. Pickering v. Board of Education, 391 U.S. 563 (1968).
15. In addition to West Virginia v. Barnette and Epperson v. Arkansas, Engel v. Vitale and Abington v. Schempp stand for this principle.

16. West Virginia v. Barnette. 319 U.S. 624 at 637 (1943).
17. There has developed a substantial literature on this subject. One of the best pieces is C. Michael Abbott. "Demonstrations, Dismissals, Due Process and the High School: An Overview", The School Review (June, 1969) pp. 128-142.
18. Tinker v. Des Moines. 393 U.S. 503 (1968).
19. See, for example, the discussions in Charles U. Daly, editor, The Quality of Inequality. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968).
20. McInnis v. Ogilvie. 394 U.S. 322 (1969).
21. Hobson v. Hansen. 269 F. Supp. 401 (1967).
22. New York Times, February , 1971, p.
23. For a discussion of the impact of judicial decisions on school board operating procedure see Reutter and Hamilton pp. 107-166.
24. Illinois ex. rel. Mc Callom v. Board of Education. 333 U.S. 203 (1948).
25. Abington Township v. Schempp. 374 U.S. 203 (1963).
26. Tinker v. Des Moines. 393 U.S. 503 (1969).
27. Hobson v. Hansen. 269 F. Supp. 401 (1967).
28. (New York: Macmillan, 1958).
29. Seegers v. Parker (1970).
30. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).
31. (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1970).
32. Center for the Study of Public Policy, p. 17.
33. Ibid. p. 15.
34. Ironically, the major political consequence of the speculation about vouchers has been to re-establish the pre ESEA anti-private school aid coalition of public schools, Protestant, Jewish and civil liberties agencies.
35. This provision does not mean, of course, that all schools will have the same amount of money to spend. Public schools presumably could not receive additional tax funds, but private schools could supplement their income through endowment or the support of a private organization, like a church.

36. Center for the Study of Public Policy, p. 14.
37. Ibid. p. 214.
38. Ibid. pp. 221-273.
39. Professor Mc Cann and Areens have suggested that as long as a child chooses to attend a voucher-aided parochial school, no constitutional restrictions on the religious activity of the school would be required. "Vouchers and the Citizen - Some Legal Questions", The Teachers College, February, 1971, p. 401. This is not a persuasive argument for two reasons. First, the Supreme Court's decision regarding religion in public schools are not based on compulsory attendance laws, (the decisions would presumably apply to a state university too), but on illegal state sponsorship of religious activity. Voucher aided schools and their practices would be state sponsored under the Jencks model. Second, under a voucher system, attendance at all schools would be free and voluntary, so under their argument public schools might begin religious observations again.
40. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970).
41. (Washington: NEA 1970).

Senator NELSON. At this point I order printed all statements of those who could not be heard this morning. Also other pertinent material that may be submitted for the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE  
EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY SUBCOMMITTEE  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE  
OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE

BY JOHN W. BAKER, ACTING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
BAPTIST JOINT COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS

April 27, 1971

I am John W. Baker, Acting Executive Director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. This Committee is composed of representatives from eight cooperating Baptist conventions with over twenty-three million members:

American Baptist Convention  
Baptist General Conference  
National Baptist Convention of America  
National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.  
North American Baptist General Conference  
Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.  
Seventh Day Baptist General Conference  
Southern Baptist Convention

The Committee seeks to apply the traditional Baptist concerns for religious liberty and proper church-state relations to the circumstances of our modern age. Because of the democratic organization of individual Baptist churches and their conventions the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs does not purport to speak for all Baptists. Our testimony today is based on a position taken by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in October, 1970, and a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention in September, 1970, which specifically oppose the Office of Economic Opportunity's proposed educational voucher experiment, and a resolution of the American Baptist Convention adopted in May, 1965, on "Poverty and Education" which expresses support for a system of public education. These resolutions are appended to this statement.

Baptists have a tradition of concern for people and for a public education system which is properly financed and which is geared to meet the needs of a dynamic society. This tradition leads us to recognize that there are problems with the public schools as they exist in many of our communities. These schools are usually underfinanced and they often have not been willing or able to make the changes which are necessary to meet the needs of the times. A reexamination of public schools as we know them today is essential

if the United States is to achieve a quality education, relevant to the times in which we live, for all Americans who want an education.

Baptist concern for people comprehends the needs the poor have for a sound education and for viable alternatives to the type of education many of them are receiving in their neighborhood schools. Some stimulus is necessary to move these and other public schools to meet the needs of all the people.

However, even though some severe shortcomings in the public school system are recognized, it is our firm position that the voucher system presently proposed by the Office of Economic Opportunity creates problems and difficult situations rather than providing solutions to existing deficiencies and inequities in the education of American youth. The Congress should make extensive examination of the ramifications of this administrative agency's decision to experiment with public education. Some of the issues involved in such an experiment are (1) the issue of church-state relations, (2) the impact these proposed programs could have on American society, and (3) the question of sound public policy.

Church-state relations: The program as proposed by the Office of Economic Opportunity would provide that educational vouchers, representing a share of public tax moneys raised for educational purposes, could be spent in existing public schools or in private schools, many of which are integral parts of religious institutions.

Historically, a major contribution of the Baptist faith to the world is that a genuine religious experience is a voluntary, uncoerced response to God. To a gratifying extent this concept has been and is being received throughout society as a basic principle of religious liberty. The American people by adding the First Amendment to the Constitution have recognized voluntarism in religion as a right not to be abridged by the state.

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It is our viewpoint that when the state raises money through its powers of taxation and then appropriates that money to support religious schools, the taxpayer is coerced into religious participation.

Therefore, we view legislation that provides tax funds for pupils in religious schools, through either direct or indirect channels, as an unwarranted and unconstitutional attack by the state on the religious liberty of its people.

Let it be clear that we are not protesting the right of people to send their children to religious schools. We approve pluralism in educational opportunity. We defend the right of people to provide for their children the schools that satisfy the demands of their own consciences. However, if these schools are religious institutions, we believe that they must be supported by means other than public funds.

Public schools should be supported by all the people and their doors should be open to all pupils. Church schools are not the responsibility of the state, and taxpayers should not be coerced into religious participation by the use of public funds for religious schools.

We view with some alarm the potential disruptions in public education and in inter-faith relations which could be triggered by the channeling of public funds into religious institutions by the Office of Economic Opportunity's educational voucher proposal.

Impact on society: We do not believe that we are producing a "parade of imaginary horrors" when we say that we are concerned that the proposed educational voucher system will lead to further polarization and fragmentation in the nation.

The public school system has long played a vital role in the "melting pot" of American society. To make financially advantageous the use of private schools which parents may choose as giving the type of education they want for their child is to invite the creation

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of a multiplicity of divisive school experiences for our children. "Hard hat," White Citizens Council, Black Panther, John Birch, Socialist Workers, etc., schools are not hard to anticipate. They would provide alternatives. They would divide and weaken our nation.

It is not possible to control the emergence of these schools if public funds are available to make them economically feasible. To say that every school approved must be open to all people who apply becomes meaningless if the curriculum of any given school is so constructed and the instruction so skewed toward a particular point of view that those who disagree with that orientation will either not apply or will not stay after they have been admitted.

It is our contention that public funds, even ignoring the church-state issues, should not be used in any program which even potentially might shred the fabric of the American society.

Following from this is a concern for the public school system. Although the Office of Economic Opportunity's proposal is envisioned as an experimental program, we believe that it, like many other programs, will have a plural constituency of its own which will work for continuation even if the experiment is not successful. The effects on public education would probably be irreversible.

Public policy: In addition to reasons of conscience in relation to public support of religious institutions, we feel that it is poor public policy to divide limited resources for education between two competing systems of education--one which is responsible and accountable to the public and the other with overwhelming responsibility and accountability only to private interests.

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For these reasons we respectfully urge that this Committee:

1. Continue to support education for democracy by aiding the state to provide quality education for every child through publicly supported and publicly responsible schools, for traditional ongoing educational programs directed either toward upgrading the quality of general education or meeting the specific needs of a particular locale or population segment.

2. Conduct extensive hearings on the advisability of experimenting with a voucher system by any agency of the federal government, and,

3. Withhold authorization of funds for such experimentation, until hearings are completed and the Committee has determined the nature of federal involvement in such projects.

Respectfully submitted,

John W. Baker  
Acting Executive Director  
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs

## FINANCING EDUCATION BY GRANTS TO PARENTS

We, the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, meeting in semi-annual session, October 5-7, 1970, have examined the proposed Educational Voucher Program as envisioned in the report, Financing Education by Grants to Parents, released by the Office of Economic Opportunity. We wish to make the following observations.

1. We commend the Office of Economic Opportunity for its concern to strengthen the quality of education, and experiment with a diversity of educational approaches to meet specific local needs and seek greater involvement of parents in the educational processes. We express deep concern that the educational voucher program is not the best means to accomplish this objective.

2. We express our hope that experimental programs directed toward these ends will be carried out within the framework of public schools, as we have traditionally known them.

3. We express our basic confidence in the principle of public education, voicing our concern over the proposed redefinition of public and private schools which would channel public support into schools which are essentially private schools except for an arbitrary redefinition.

4. We urge that public funds for elementary and secondary education be invested only in school systems which are publicly owned, whether for traditional ongoing educational programs or for experimental programs directed either toward upgrading the quality of general education or in meeting the specific needs of a particular locale or population segment.

5. We believe that the proposed voucher system will weaken rather than strengthen public education through the proliferation of inferior special interest schools which are essentially private schools. Although envisioned as an experimental program, we believe it will tend to become a continuing program, whether successful or not, since its effects on public education will tend to be irreversible. We also express our concern that such a program will lead toward further polarization and fragmentation in the nation.

6. We point out that there is a dangerous blurring of the separation between church and state as public funds are channeled into religiously owned and operated schools even though there is a deliberate and unwarranted redefinition of what constitutes public and private schools.

## EDUCATION VOUCHERS

WHEREAS, the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Denver, Colorado, on June 4, 1970, adopted a resolution supporting the public schools and opposing the use of "tax money to support private church-related elementary and secondary schools," and

WHEREAS, the Office of Economic Opportunity is seeking to implement a pilot program of Education Vouchers which will be given to children to purchase their education in either public or church-related elementary and secondary schools, and

WHEREAS, the Office of Economic Opportunity seeks to redefine the term "public schools" to include church-related elementary and secondary schools, and

WHEREAS, such a program is potentially contrary to historic principles of proper church-state relations which guarantee religious liberty in this country,

Therefore, be it Resolved by the Executive Committee of the Southern Baptist Convention that they:

- (1) Voice their opposition to the implementation of any educational voucher system which would permit the use of public funds either directly or indirectly by private church-related elementary and secondary schools, and
- (2) Recommend to Southern Baptists that they write to their elected representatives requesting that they oppose funding of the program, and
- (3) Request the staff of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs to convey to the President, the Congress, and the Office of Economic Opportunity the opposition of Southern Baptists to this proposed program.

---Adopted by the Executive Committee  
of the Southern Baptist Convention,  
Nashville, Tennessee, Sept. 22, 1970

## POVERTY AND EDUCATION

The American economy is the most highly productive in the world. It affords the highest average level of real income and this real income is growing year by year. While it is true that in an absolute sense poverty has declined substantially since the end of World War II, there still exist millions of families and individuals who have less income than should be acceptable to those of us who are more fortunate, and less income than the resources and ingenuity of our labor, management and government could provide.

The reduction of poverty involves an increase of education and training. In order to maintain the expanding economy necessary to create more jobs, more highly trained persons are required at all levels. Therefore, our educational programs must take into account especially both those who drop out of college and those who drop out of high school, those who are underemployed as well as those who are unemployed. In order to maintain high levels of employment, the quality of our working force must be improved. Increased investment in our human resources is imperative.

To this end we recommend the following to our churches, to groups of churches working together, and to individual members in places of responsible leadership:

- a. Work for the improvement of public education and increased financial support on all levels--local, state, and national--with particular emphasis on aid for the poorer school districts and with continued regard for our historic principle of separation of church and state.
- b. Establish and/or support pre-school programs specifically designed for the purpose of counteracting the cultural and educational deprivation resulting from poverty situations.
- c. Establish and/or support tutorial services to students who are falling behind in their studies. As a prevention of future drop-outs, continue to work with students through consultative services, guidance, and special programs designed to assist them in efforts to find work or to reenter an educational program.
- d. Establish and support adult literacy programs and fundamental education to enable adults to participate more actively in society and to secure employment.
- e. Urge cooperation among churches, schools and industries to develop the above recommended programs.
- f. Cooperate with community agencies and educators in efforts to promote the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as they relate to educational provisions of the bill, especially the effective implementation of the community action program.
- g. Support programs, both public and private, designed to make college education financially available to those who qualify and need financial aid.
- h. Undertake the study of the major general goals of economic growth; high rates of employment, stable price levels and a strong international position for the dollar.

---Adopted by the American Baptist Convention,  
San Francisco, California, May 22, 1965

## PERFORMANCE CONTRACTING

By

Robert D. Bhaerman  
Research Director  
American Federation of Teachers

Performance Contracting is a plan which sounds remarkably simple: A private firm takes charge of some students promising to raise their reading achievement by two grade levels within 180 days. If it succeeds, it gets paid a prearranged fee. If the project fails, the contracting company refunds specific amounts to the school board.

Performance Contracting -- as this concept is known -- is being adopted by some school districts. The recent illfated experiment in Texarkana was followed by contracts between school boards and private businesses in Gary, Philadelphia and elsewhere. As of this date, the Office of Economic Opportunity has made "performance contracts" with 21 school districts and allocated more than \$6 million to promote these projects.

Basis of Union Position

What is wrong with the idea of "performance contracting" and why does the union object?

First of all, the advocates of performance contracting claim that the public has lost confidence in the public schools. Test scores in reading and math skills may reveal deterioration for many impoverished urban and rural youth. While dollar costs per student almost doubled in the past decade, it is argued that there has been no commensurate increase in productivity. Yet the point is that one-half of the money increase was simply inflation; the real increase in expenditures averaged little more than \$15 per student per year.

Advocates of performance contracting point out the precarious support of public education as demonstrated by the increasing rate of school bond issue defeats. Yet the fact is that increasing local school taxes is attempted through highly inequitable property tax structures. Federal income tax dollars are paid with the possibility that only two cents of each dollar might flow back into the local education effort.

Nevertheless, these are the economic circumstances which give impetus to the notion of performance contracting. The idea neatly fits the Nixon policy of encouraging profit-seeking corporations to become involved in public education.

It is significant to note that, as Nixon scales down military expenditures, public services, such as schools, do not benefit.

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instead, the focus is diverted for enterprises which find their war chests have been emptied. So they have entered a new zone: It is called the public schools.

Furthermore, President Nixon theorizes that increased federal education expenditures are unjustified until we discover the strategy that will maximize the "results" from the education dollar. We are told to wait until the schools adopt industry's procedures and jargon.

Of course, private industry was quick to act on these new opportunities. Under a guaranteed contract, firms offer to take over the "training" aspects of education (not the "education" aspect of education) and they promise to get the job done faster, better and more cheaply.

What are major specific reasons for our objection to "performance contracting"? There are several. At the American Federation of Teachers convention in August 1970, delegates unanimously approved a resolution noting the fallacies of performance contracting, which "is predicated on the false assumption that educational achievement can be improved in the vacuum of a machine-oriented classroom, without changing the wider environment of the poverty-stricken child." The resolution notes six other areas of objection:

Whereas: the concept of performance contracting threatens to become a common practice in U.S. education, and...

Whereas: performance contracting incorporates such dubious educational practices as merit-pay incentives to teachers, over-reliance upon standardized testing and the utilization of teaching machines and such doubtful incentives as "green stamps" and transistor radios to children, be it therefore,

Resolved: that the AFT go on record as opposing any plan, such as performance contracting, which:

- (1) will take the determination of educational policy out of the hands of the public and place it in the hands of private industrial entrepreneurs,
- (2) threatens to establish a monopoly of education by big business,
- (3) threatens to dehumanize the learning process,
- (4) would sow distrust among teachers through a structured incentive program,
- (5) promotes "teaching to the (standardized) test,"
- (6) subverts the collective-bargaining process and reduces teacher input.

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The AFT is not alone in raising these objections. The American School Board Journal of November, 1970 reported a survey to school board members in which this question was raised: "Does the concept of performance contracting have validity for education?" One-third thought it might; one-third had reservations; one-third opposed it outright. The latter group offered two reasons:

(1) It threatens to "dehumanize" schools at a time when a humane approach to education is more crucial than it has ever been.

(2) Performance contracting is a naive idea -- nobody can "guarantee" learning as though it were a new automobile.

To which we would add: Industry can't even guarantee that their automobiles won't be called back.

The official of one company, who views the motion of performance contracting with considerable doubt, as we do, has written in Nation's Schools: "I wouldn't be surprised if by next year the whole idea of performance contracting will have passed into the history books."

There are other reasons for AFT opposition to performance contracting. In an address to a meeting of McGraw-Hill's Educational Development Laboratories executives on October 27, Albert Shanker, president of the UFT in New York City, presented five reasons: (1) The contractors' lack of responsibility to live up to the terms of any collective bargaining agreement negotiated by the Board of Education and the Union; (2) charlatanism inherent in guarantees of performance; (3) the overselling of technology; (4) dangers in the contractors' motivation of students through gimmicks; and (5) the anti-teacher political maneuvering behind much of the contracting.

If industry is recruited into the anti-teacher camp, it will have to face the consequences of a strong teacher and union response. Mr. Shanker said, "We are not about to fight with a Board of Education for wages, working conditions and other benefits, and win them, and then see the board turn the schools over to a private contractor who has no obligation to us."

#### The Gary, Indiana Program

To better understand the insidiousness of the program, consider the significant financial arrangement made in Gary, Indiana. One-third of the regular teachers were replaced with paraprofessionals at a pay rate of \$2.00 or less per hour, thereby providing some \$80,000 extra dollars for the firm. The Board of Education allowed

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the Laboratory \$800 per child, which was the Gary total school average since high school costs are higher. Since Gary elementary costs were only \$669 per child, the firm gained another \$105,000. The Laboratory will, in addition, receive all federal funds prorated for the school.

With such additional expenditures, the Gary school administration could have done an outstanding job. It should be pointed out that all other elementary schools in Gary are required to operate under a \$669 per child per budget. With such profits in the offing -- no wonder the industrial complex is so eagerly seeking these performance contracts.

More serious is the deep seated discontent which has already developed among the employees of the project school. Recent articles in the Gary Post Tribune report that paraprofessionals threatened a walk-out because they were being used as substitute teachers in jobs for which they were not qualified. Through intercession by the Gary Teachers Union with the Gary Board of Education, the grievance was resolved.

However, a custodian who voiced his support of the paraprofessionals was immediately transferred by the Gary Board of Education to another Gary school, in compliance with an article in the contract which specifies that the Board of Education must transfer within 15 days, any employee whom the project administrators wish to transfer. Accordingly, teacher discontent is widespread not only because of the insensitive and dictatorial program administration, but also because the needs of the children are neglected.

#### Instant Alert

For these reasons, the AFT has established an "Instant Alert" system for parents, teachers, and communities. As part of this system, we have established three IEC (Industrial Educational Complex) "monitoring posts" in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and Gary, Indiana. The posts will be staffed with personnel to evaluate proposed contracts and to alert communities to the implications of performance contracting. In addition, the posts will examine proposed performance contracts to determine among other things: (1) The duration of commitment of outside funds to a school district; (2) who will set policy in all of the school districts or in the segment covered by the proposed performance contract; (3) the pupil-teacher ratio under the contract; (4) an evaluation of the physical setting in which learning takes place compared with the physical setting in an average classroom in the district; and (5) the handling of disruptive or mentally disadvantaged children under the contract.

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Henry Dyer, vice-president of the Educational Testing Service, writing in the *United Teacher*, summarizes the opposition to performance contracting in these terms, to which we subscribe:

It must be constantly kept in mind that the educational process is not on all fours with a manufacturing or industrial process; it is a social process in which human beings are continually interacting with other human beings in ways that are imperfectly measurable or predictable.

Education does not deal with inert raw materials, but with living minds that are instinctively concerned, first, with preserving their own integrity and, second, with reaching a meaningful accommodation with the world around them.

The outpost of the educational process is never a "finished product" whose characteristics can be rigorously specified in advance; it is an individual who is sufficiently aware of his own incompleteness to make him want to keep on growing and learning and trying to solve the riddle of his own existence in a world that neither he nor anyone else can fully understand or predict.

In short, we would agree that performance contracting provides an agent for change, but we maintain that the change will not be constructive. Lives of children are at stake, not boxes of soap-suds. Let us stop shopping for bargains in the educational marketplace for our children.

# # # # #

## Statement on the Tuition Voucher Plan

For the Joint Washington Office for Social Concern

representing:

THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION

THE AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

by Robert E. Jones

Submitted to the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty  
April 27, 1971

Mr. Chairman:

Because most of the essential points have been made by the previous witnesses in criticism of the Tuition Voucher Plan of the Office of Economic Opportunity, I will confine myself to a few salient points expressing the position of the three organizations represented in the Joint Washington Office for Social Concern.

Our three groups are best described as embracing the liberal religious tradition in America. Though we are separate in our corporate structures, we share many religious ideals and practices. One of the tenets common to all three groups is a sturdy allegiance to the concept of the separation of church and state, believing that religion in America has flourished and been an important influence in our society because it has not relied unduly on support of the state. Both church and state have enjoyed healthy relations and been the better for this necessary and desirable separation.

Our first concern with the tuition voucher plan is that it threatens to further erode this tradition of separation of church and state. Let there be no mistake. The Education Voucher experiment is an attempt to circumvent the First Amendment prohibition against Establishment of Religion. The authors of the experiment admit they are pushing the limits of the Constitution. Thus, Mr. Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., Director of the OEO Office of Research and Evaluation, has written to the chairman of the Public Affairs Committee of the American Ethical Union, "The question is not whether government may support the public and secular

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activities of otherwise religious bodies, but to what extent it may do so. This is a matter that we must leave for the courts to decide."

The courts have not given a final definitive answer to this problem, but in the meantime, those who care about Constitutional limits have an obligation to call attention to the dangers of encroachment and a responsibility to define the limits.

No matter how the issue is couched, the tuition voucher plan is a means of sluicing federal money into church schools. It amounts to a diversion of moneys badly needed by our public schools, into the privately operated sectarian schools. It is not even indirect aid. Payments for vouchers would be made directly to the elementary and secondary schools involved, not the parents. If the purpose is federal aid to church schools, why not call it that and not engage in this sleight of hand?

Secondly, the tuition voucher plan, we believe, has ominous implications for the future good health of the public school system. America has a unique educational system. We have long prided ourselves on the fact that we, in this country, pioneered the ideal of free public education.

We all recognize the tremendous burdens placed on the public schools in this era of rapid social and technological change. Many of our public school systems have not been capable of meeting the challenge - particularly in the center city and in the rural areas.

But is the answer to the inadequacies of our public schools, the injection of the element of competition from private schools? Is it really a fair competition? Who will be the loser?

We submit that given the choice, most responsible, enterprising parents will choose the private school education for their children, abandoning the public schools to the children of the parents who either do not care, or are unaware of educational opportunities. The public schools will be drained of the brightest, most promising youngsters. All the value of the public school - where ideally

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the children of all classes and ethnic and religious groups and aptitudes meet - will be subverted.

The voucher experiment, then, will lead to the further debilitation and deterioration of the public schools in the urban ghetto, relegating those schools to glorified babysitting and day care centers.

It is important that we preserve in our public schools a healthy mix of children from various ethnic, religious, and social class backgrounds, and of differing aptitudes, wherever possible.

In spite of formulas for 25% minority representation and other devices, the end result of these experiments, we fear, would be to contribute to further separatism and polarization of the diverse elements of our society.

Experimentation in education is valuable. Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended promised such experimentation. We think the authors of the tuition voucher plan ought to reexamine Title III and see if enough has been done to enrich our public schools with the tools at hand.

And let us further work to obtain massive federal funding for our public schools to promote better teachers, smaller classes, ample remedial programs, innovative learning methods; and let us replace antiquated schools with modern facilities.

Lastly, the large turnout of the witnesses this afternoon, and the limited time in which to hear them, dictate that further hearings on the voucher experiment are necessary if we are to have a thorough airing of the problems involved. We therefore urge that this committee or a subcommittee conduct further hearings and investigations into this matter so that all ramifications may be carefully examined. We are dealing here with a radical departure from customary educational financing and to move hastily might well cause irreparable harm.

## STATEMENT BY JOSEPH B. ROBISON

On Behalf of American Jewish Congress

At Hearings on the Voucher Plan

Before the Subcommittee on Employment,  
Manpower and Poverty of the Senate  
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

The American Jewish Congress welcomes this opportunity to express its views on the voucher plan at these hearings on the bill to authorize continuation of the programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. We understand that the hearing today is devoted specifically to the question of sponsorship by the O.E.O. of a particular form of the voucher plan for the financing of education.

Under voucher plans generally, a state or other governmental agency gives to parents one voucher for a specified sum of money for each school-aged child. The parents apply to any school of their choice -- public or private -- denominational or nondenominational -- and the school which accepts the child is paid the sum specified in the voucher.

The American Jewish Congress opposes institution of voucher plans because we believe that any such plan would impair two vital aspects of our system of democracy -- publicly financed and publicly controlled schools and the separation of church and state.

The voucher plan is designed to deal with serious problems facing the public schools, the foremost being their failure to meet the educational needs of the disadvantaged. However, we do not believe that the voucher plan, in any form, would deal effectively with that problem. In practice and effect, the only nonpublic schools receiving voucher funds would be those already in existence (predominantly church affiliated) and those that would be established to cater to the upper classes.

The O.E.O. has been sponsoring a particular form of the voucher plan developed by the Center for the Study of Public Policy. Because of the central role played in the development of this plan by Professor Christopher Jencks of the Harvard University Graduate School of Education, it is commonly known as the "Jencks Plan." The plan is described in a report entitled, "Education Vouchers" published by the Center.

We are well aware that the Jencks version of the voucher plain contains an elaborate structure of safeguards designed to prevent it from being used to foster racial segregation and to increase the likelihood that the schools financed by the plan will deal effectively with the grave shortcomings in the education now being supplied to the children of underprivileged families. We do not think those safeguards would work.

A great deal of the support for the Jencks voucher plan rests on the argument that the public schools of this country are in a state of collapse and can only be rescued by the competition of school systems financed by vouchers. In fact however, with one tragic exception, the public schools of America have performed well over the years in providing quality education to our children on an equal basis. They have also served as a vital point of contact between the social classes and between racial, ethnic and religious groups.

The exception, of course, and the chief failure of the public schools has been their wretched treatment of certain minorities, primarily blacks and Indians. For those groups, the public schools have meant neither quality nor equality. But, since that is nothing new, one must look elsewhere for the present concern about education.

What do people have in mind when they talk about a "public school crisis"? Failure to do the basic job of education, as witnessed by educational retardation and a high drop-out rate; disorder, disruption and violence in the classroom; the unattractive image of the school as a deteriorating building ruled by a rigid, grim formalism; a teaching system that convinces many pupils of their own inadequacy; and lack of responsiveness to parents and others in the community. With the possible exception of the last of these items, these are the problems of the large metropolitan schools. They result from a number of factors which boil down to one thing -- the unwillingness of our society, in the past and now, to do the educational job that needs to be done for the underprivileged -- usually black -- child.

The suburban and rural schools, not plagued by the problem of high concentrations of minority group children, are still functioning well. Even on the thorny issue of responsiveness to parents, they are less subject to criticism than the massive city systems. As a result, there is less criticism of undue rigidity and reluctance to change. In other words, the rural and suburban schools are still, by and large, doing the fundamental job for democracy that the public schools have done right along. The problem is in the cities, and it is due to the refusal of the great, satisfied, white majority to do the right thing by the minority that needs help.

The voucher plan would not deal effectively with this problem. The only thing one can say for sure is that a voucher plan would benefit existing nonpublic schools, most of which are church-affiliated. However, that is not the stated aim of the principal voucher backers. It is rather to generate a complex of new nonpublic schools, catering to those who are dissatisfied with the public schools. The theory is that, with financing available, private entrepreneurs and groups of parents will enter the education business and produce competing systems offering what the public schools lack.

However, any voucher plan likely to be adopted would do nothing for those who need it most. As the Center which has sponsored the Jencks plan recognizes, it would be necessary in any voucher plan to retain the present minimum standards for curriculum, teacher training, adequacy of facilities and so forth and to limit the amount of tuition to be charged. It would

also be necessary, in our democracy, to require fair selection procedures. As such safeguards were imposed, however, the ardor of would-be school builders would cool. At the level of complexity of the Jencks plan, it would drop below freezing.

To take but one example, the Jencks plan incorporates a lottery system as the "most promising device for preventing discrimination." (Considering that it would apply to only half the admissions and that various preferences would be given to such groups as children of founders and brothers and sisters of attending pupils, this device is not very "promising.") Yet, the Report recognizes that operators of private schools "would consider the diminution of their control over entry undesirable" (p. 78). It goes on to say, "We have no doubt that lottery requirements would discourage some people from starting voucher schools." Indeed it would.

It must be remembered that, at least for the "business enterprises" that are supposed to be attracted to education by the voucher plan, there will be a strong incentive to keep expenses low. One cannot do this if one accepts a high proportion of "difficult" children. There will therefore be a strong tendency to select the easily educated child. The incentives to accept the difficult children proposed in the Jencks plan are not likely to be adopted by any state legislature and are even less likely to be enforced, if adopted. In fact, this is recognized in the Center's report which notes that "Voucher schools are likely to recruit selectively if they can" (p. 62) and that "many are likely to encourage students they do not want to withdraw" (p. 85). It says further (p. 62): "No system can eliminate these practices entirely or avoid all their undesirable consequences. Some system of public regulation can, however, help."

Experience with government programs involving the spending of money strongly suggests that public regulation would help very little. One may lay down as a law of public administration that safeguards in such programs do not safeguard. The pressure to get the program going, to spend the money, is overwhelming. Any statutory limitations that retard that process tend to be ignored. What this means in the case of voucher plans is that the only schools promoted would be those designed to serve, and in fact serving, the economically and educationally advantaged child.

The effect of this on the public schools would be devastating. It must be recognized that, on the day that a voucher plan goes into effect, the public schools are automatically "marked lousy." Under any voucher plan -- even the Jencks plan with all its safeguards -- the public school will be the place that you go if you do not get into a nonpublic school. And under any voucher plan, there will always be a certain proportion of children who go to a public school solely because they failed to get into a nonpublic school. It may be true that, at the beginning, there would be a substantial number of children going to public schools as a result of their parents' choice. The fact that the public school is also the place for "rejects" would rapidly reduce the number of parents making that choice.

This factor also answers those who say that vouchers would shake the public schools out of their lethargy and cause them to compete with the new voucher-financed private schools. State agencies rarely compete with private agencies and then only when they have vigorous support from politically effective elements in the population. Once a public school system was branded as a dumping ground, it would lose all chance of that kind of support.

In sum, it is illusory to hope that vouchers would induce independent entrepreneurs to build any significant number of schools for disadvantaged children. Neither could they be compelled or induced to do so either by statutory safeguards against discrimination -- racial, economic or educational -- or incentive payments to encourage acceptance of underprivileged children, such as those proposed in the Jencks Plan. True, a few militant minority organizations and parent groups might undertake establishing independent schools. Such a movement, however, would not make more than a small dent in the massive educational deficit in deprived areas. Meanwhile, the bulk of the private schools brought into existence by the voucher program, at least aside from church-affiliated schools, would be selective and, in effect, discriminatory. Their existence would accelerate the flight from the public schools of favorably placed families.

Meanwhile, the plight of the public schools would worsen. Acceptance of the voucher plan, even on an experimental basis, would deflect the attention of the public and of public officials from what should be their primary concern in education, overhauling the public school system so that public schools work for all students.

The threat to separation of church and state is no less grave. While it is doubtful that the voucher plan would significantly increase the number of nonsectarian nonpublic schools, there is no question that it would give massive aid to the existing system of sectarian schools. Regardless of technical formulas designed to evade constitutional problems, the simple fact is that voucher plans would make possible the creation and continuance of religious schools -- that is schools established for the purpose of fostering specific religious tenets. That would be a plain violation of the principle of separation of church and state, under which religion has prospered in this country.

There is one aspect of this issue to which I wish to call this Committee's particular attention. The Center report, which embodies the Jencks Plan, is very vague on one critical matter -- whether religiously affiliated schools participating in the voucher plan will be permitted to discriminate in admissions on the basis of religion and whether they will be permitted to require that students accept instruction in the religion of the sponsoring church. (Schools that admit without regard to religion but which require all students to take instruction in a particular sectarian dogma must obviously be treated as discriminating.) There are a number of statements in the report that "discrimination" will not be permitted but it is not clear that they apply to discrimination based on religion.

This creates a dilemma. If the schools are permitted to discriminate, problems are raised not only under the constitutional requirement of separation of church and state but also under the constitutional guarantees of

equality. It would certainly be wrong, and we believe the courts would hold it unconstitutional, for educational institutions discriminating on the basis of religion to receive substantial government funds. On the other hand, if the participating schools are not permitted to discriminate, large numbers would be excluded from the voucher plans. It seems unlikely that, with such an exclusion, the voucher plan would be accepted as a solution to our educational problems.

The American Jewish Congress has fully supported the program for combatting poverty entrusted to the Office of Economic Opportunity and we support continuation of that agency. However, we urge this Committee to insure that any legislation it recommends for the continuance of the O.E.O. contains provisions barring further O.E.O. support for any version of the voucher plan.

JOSEPH B. ROBISON  
General Counsel  
American Jewish Congress  
15 East 84 Street  
New York, N. Y. 10028

April 27, 1971

## NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

700 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611

STATEMENT ON EXPERIMENTATION IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS UNDER  
THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACTSubmitted to the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty  
Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

by Mrs. Edward F. Ryan, National PTA Chairman for Legislation

April 27, 1971

On behalf of National PTA, we appreciate very much this opportunity to express some of our concerns with educational experimentation in the use of tuition vouchers and of performance contracting. Our comments here do not extend to other OEO programs. Very many PTA's work with Head Start programs and with community action groups. We have a high respect for the leadership these programs have given opportunity to develop. In regard to the current proposals for educational experimentation, however, long-standing PTA policy adopted by our 52 state branches requires our opposition to any program which would tend to place public funding in support of nonpublic schools, which is not precluded in any proposed voucher plan known to us, or to channeling public funds through other than public agencies. We should, however, like to add other observations which may be of service to those who hold other views in respect to the use of public funds.

Tuition Voucher Plans

It is hard to see what promise there might be in the voucher plan to erase present dissatisfactions with schools. Granted that the voucher controversy has helped to highlight and emphasize the overwhelming need to review present educational priorities. Even so, we seriously question the spending of millions of dollars in a time of scarce dollars on a program that, even if successful, does not in itself insure better education for a single child.

If the voucher means the possibility of alternative schools to which a disappointed parent might transfer his child, could there be enough alternative schools to serve all needs? and what is the effect on the child of such transfers?

We think it considerably more pertinent to the actual need to develop alternative schools within the present public school system and alternative programs within those schools. We see nothing in a voucher plan to bring about such alternatives by any means other than the same explorations, trials, and common efforts any such intensive change requires. No voucher plan, to our knowledge, specifies those elements we believe essential to constructive change: parent participation as well as student and teacher involvement in goal-setting, curriculum planning, and evaluation; inservice teacher education with more sharing of good practices; student to student teaching; and more openness of school governance. Many of these practices are already going on and need support for dissemination. None of them is in any degree guaranteed by shifting school enrollment to a voucher plan. We regard such a plan, therefore, as an unnecessary indirection to these ends, and urge in its stead increased funding to alternative public school programs and improved teacher education.

National PTA on Educational Experimentation - 2

### Performance Contracting

It is difficult to avoid a recognition that performance contracting bespeaks a default of initiative and flexibility in public education. We do recognize the utility of some programs in helping low-achieving students and agree with the imperative necessity of meeting that need. We are also concerned with the likely outcomes over the longer range.

Performance contracts are all keyed to incentives, some highly material in nature, for both teachers and students. Others appear to recognize the temporary value of such incentives and plan toward intrinsic incentives. In either case we question the value system that is taught students in the process, and models set by the teachers who are also rewarded. In the light of research indicating the high value generally set by teachers on the satisfactions of seeing student accomplishment, we question the effect on teachers' own educational values of such rewards.

The necessity of showing results for payment of the contractor, moreover, tends to force program emphasis on short-range goals such as skill development in reading and computation rather than exploration of science and of the arts, and rather than the long-range values of human relations, problem-solving, identification and use of resources.

Finally, we are concerned for the strength that may be lost to the public schools for becoming dependent on other agencies for working out solutions to their problems. Enlightened advocates of performance contracting emphasize the necessity of involving the community with the schools in determining educational goals to be met through the program; we submit this is a basic necessity in any case. But if the teachers are not directly involved in working out the curriculum which is the means of addressing those goals, but only follow others' directions, they lose the beneficial effect of the human contacts involved and of the process itself for improving the quality of their teaching. Further, if profit-making agencies rather than teacher-educating institutions are called upon to assist these teachers, much is lost for the strengthening of such institutions in educating all teachers in the concept that all children can learn and must be enabled to learn. Herein, we believe, lies one of the most crucial points, if not the crucial point, of needed change in the public schools.

Performance contracting may well be teaching some school systems to accept such a commitment. Even if its good effects are of the Hawthorne variety, attention to every student as an individual is a basic necessity in good education. Nevertheless we urge public school people to embrace this commitment and undertake the necessary hard work through the public schools; to supporting and encouraging this process we would urge that federal funds be directed.

Thank you very much for receiving these views.

APR 22 1971

*Council of*  
**CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS**

*An Independent Corporation*

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Honorable Gaylor Nelson, Chairman  
Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower & Poverty  
Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare  
359 Old Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C. 20510

April 21, 1971

Dear Senator Nelson:

The Council of Chief State School Officers has taken note of the fact that a coalition of educational organizations intends to submit to the Subcommittee which you chair a general statement opposing the experiment in Educational Vouchers to be undertaken by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and that representatives of a number of these organizations will present testimony to the Subcommittee on April 27, 1971, opposing the Voucher System.

The Council of Chief State School Officers did not sign the general statement to be presented by the coalition nor will the Council present oral testimony to your Subcommittee on April 27. Instead, the Council is submitting to the Subcommittee its policy statement on Educational Vouchers adopted at the last Annual Business Meeting held in Miami Beach November 18, 1970, with the request that the statement be included in the Hearing Record. The statement follows:

The Voucher System is viewed by its supporters as a vehicle to finance educational innovation on a broad scale. Its promoters hope through it to improve the education of disadvantaged children; to integrate the school system economically, socially, and racially; to increase community involvement; and to provide more alternatives than are now available.

It is difficult to know how the Voucher System would actually affect education if put into operation, but there is serious question as to whether the system would accomplish the hoped for objectives. Such objections as the following demand careful consideration:

Honorable Gaylord Nelson

April 21, 1971

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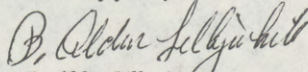
1. Excessive commercialism and exploitation of children for profit could occur; parents would need "consumer protection."
2. Public schools could tend to become chiefly places for disadvantaged children.
3. The proposed system could markedly increase the costs of public education.
4. The proposed system could support denominational schools with public funds.
5. The competition emphasis of the system would not be sufficient to ensure quality.
6. The proposed system would not guarantee more equal educational opportunity and may actually open the way to less equal educational opportunity.
7. The proposed system would make accountability difficult.

THE COUNCIL OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS BELIEVES THAT THE VOUCHER SYSTEM COULD INCREASE RACIAL SEGREGATION, PROVIDE PUBLIC FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS, ENCOURAGE EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN FOR PROFIT, AND INCREASE OPERATIONAL COSTS FOR SCHOOLS AND, THEREFORE, IT SHOULD NOT BE SUPPORTED AT THIS TIME.

THE COUNCIL UNDERSTANDS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL FINANCE WILL INCLUDE A THOROUGH STUDY OF THE VOUCHER SYSTEM. THE COUNCIL WILL RE-EXAMINE ITS POSITION ON THIS MATTER WHEN THIS STUDY IS COMPLETED. IN THE MEANTIME EXPERIMENTATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROCEDURES GEARED TO PROVIDING INCREASED FLEXIBILITY IN THE INTEREST OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS SHOULD BE DEVELOPED BY STATE AND LOCAL EDUCATION AGENCIES.

The Council appreciates the opportunity to present this statement.

Sincerely yours,



B. Alden Lillywhite  
Federal Liaison Assistant

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN,  
*Washington, D.C., April 27, 1971*

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON,  
*Chairman, Senate Subcommittee, on Employment, Manpower and Poverty,  
 U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR NELSON: The American Association of University Women is opposed to the dismantling of the Office of Economic Opportunity and supports extension of its authorization with provision for enough funds to achieve the goals for which the OEO was enacted.

In our opinion a great deal has been accomplished under the OEO which would not have been achieved as readily under traditional agency programming. We believe that that situation has not altered perceptibly and that substantial work must be done before we can abandon OEO.

We speak particularly to community action programs which are tailored to and vary according to the needs of individual communities. In illustration of our point, which of us would accept as fitting into a permanent program some of the store-front day care centers with which we are all familiar? On the other hand, until a program is enacted and until adequate day care facilities are constructed and personnel has been trained, aren't they serving a laudable purpose?

We in AAUW have been very much concerned over voucher proposals that are tied to some OEO programs.

We have taken a position against these various voucher proposals as a threat to implementation of civil rights acts which we have supported, on the grounds that the desired goals can be achieved by other means, and as a dilution of already scarce monies available to the nation's public as a dilution of already scarce monies available to the nation's public schools. This position is not in conflict with the Association's support for research and innovation in educational and other social programs.

Sincerely yours,

(S) Deborah Wolfe  
 Dr. DEBORAH WOLFE,  
*Area Representative, Education.*  
 (S) Jean Ross,  
 (Mrs.) SHERMAN ROSS,  
*Chairman, Legislative Program Committee.*

Senator NELSON. This concludes the hearing for today. Thank you for coming.

(Whereupon, at 2 p.m. the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene April 28 at 10 a.m.)

## ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1971

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1971

U.S. SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER,  
AND POVERTY OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE,  
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 10:15 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Gaylord Nelson (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Staff members present: William R. Bechtel, professional staff member; Richard Johnson, counsel to subcommittee; Robert R. Humphreys, special counsel; and John K. Scales, minority counsel to the subcommittee.

Senator NELSON. The Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty will open its hearings on youth poverty and unemployment in connection with bills S. 397 and 1290.

Our first witness this morning is the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, Mr. Humphrey. Senator Humphrey, we are very pleased to have you here this morning, and your statement will be printed in full in the record and you may present it however you desire.

The Chair notes that Senator Humphrey was the former chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity and comes to the committee with a long and distinguished record of understanding and effort in this particular field.

Senator Humphrey, we are pleased to have you here this morning.

**STATEMENT OF HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, A U.S. SENATOR  
FROM THE STATE OF MINNESOTA, AND FORMER CHAIRMAN,  
THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON YOUTH OPPORTUNITY**

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I feel it is a special privilege and honor to testify before this subcommittee and in your presence as chairman I wish to commend you for the leadership that you have exemplified and demonstrated in the fields of employment, manpower, and poverty, and in this particular area of youth unemployment.

Mr. Chairman, youth unemployment in this Nation, as this committee knows, has reached extremely serious proportions. Of the 10,400,000 young Americans now in the labor force between the ages of 16 and 21, 1,600,000, or 15.4 percent, were unemployed in March, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

For black youth, 16 to 19 years of age, the unemployment rate in March was 32.3 percent. For black youth living in poverty neighborhoods of the Nation's 100 largest cities, it is an unbelievable 44.9 percent, almost 45 percent.

The problem is not new, as this subcommittee knows. It was to meet the problems of youth joblessness and poor preparation for the job market that I proposed the Youth Conservation Corps back in 1957 in the 85th Congress.

In testifying before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee in 1963 on the Youth Employment Act, known as S. 1 of the 88th Congress, which I had introduced, I stated:

Recent unemployment figures relating to young people show that the problem is about to get totally out of hand. There are now between 800,000 and 1 million school dropouts unemployed in the United States between the ages of 16 and 21 years.

In the 8 years since I testified on S. 1, the problem has about doubled from 800,000 to 1,600,000.

Robert F. Kennedy, then Attorney General, testified at the same time, and I quote him:

We have found the problem of juvenile delinquency far more serious than we had thought. It is no exaggeration to say that we are racing the clock against disaster. There are 700,000 out-of-school unemployed youth in the country now and the number is growing every day.

Many of them feel, with some cause, that the wheel of fortune is rigged against them. Is it any wonder that more and more of these young people are turning to crime in a hopeless effort to catch up?

We must give the members of this new lost generation some hope in order to prevent a shattering explosion of social problems in the years to come.

Mr. Chairman, S. 1 of the 88th Congress, the Youth Employment Act, proposed two programs—a youth conservation corps and a local area youth employment program sometimes referred to as the “home-town youth corps.”

Although the legislation passed the Senate on April 10, 1963 on a rollcall vote of 50 to 34, it died, regrettably, in the House Rules Committee. But the next year, 1964, both programs were included in the Economic Opportunity Act under the names of the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

During recent years, that is, the years of the Nixon administration, youth unemployment has increased steadily. According to the 1971 Manpower Report of the President, the figures are:

Unemployed youth 16-19 years old:

1968-----	839,000.
1969-----	853,000.
1970-----	1,105,000.
1971-----	1,330,000 (seasonally adjusted rate in March 1971).

In the face of this rapid rise in the already catastrophic rate of youth unemployment, what has been the response of the administration?

Let's look at some of the specific programs. First, the Job Corps: The Job Corps, with its urban and rural conservation residential centers, is our most comprehensive manpower program for youth and the one manpower program which is best able to weather a recession.

Soon after taking office in April 1969, the administration slashed

the Job Corps budget by \$100 million, closing 59 Job Corps camps or centers despite nationwide protests.

At the time they promised to open 30 new "inner city job corps camps" and to carry out a tremendous expansion of the private sector program known as JOBS—Job Opportunities in the Business Sector. They assured us there two steps would more than make up for the 17,000 training slots lost in the Job Corps cutbacks.

Today, 2 years later, only nine of the proposed 30 inner city Job Corps centers have been opened. The Job Corps budget has dropped from \$282.3 million and 37,000 corpsmen in 1968, to \$170 million and only 23,000 corpsmen in 1971.

Now, Mr. Chairman, these figures take on added significance when we stop to think of the rate of national unemployment, and of the fact that the total aggregate number of unemployed among the young has rapidly increased.

It has almost doubled. And while the unemployment rate and the unemployment numbers are practically doubling, the funds for the Job Corps have been slashed.

In other words, the administration is going to one way while the problem is going the other.

In the April 1969 Senate hearings on cuts in the Job Corps program, the then Labor Secretary George Shultz pledged \$420 million for the JOBS program for fiscal year 1970, including 140,000 jobs; but neither the funds nor the jobs developed or materialized.

The General Accounting Office in its March 24, 1971 audit on the JOBS program, reported that in fiscal year 1970 only a total of \$21.7 million was spent by the Federal Government in the JOBS program. And from the beginning of the program in 1968 through June 30, 1970, only 48,351 trainees were on board.

Now the JOBS program, Mr. Chairman, is of course, the one conducted in cooperation with private enterprise.

The administration failed in its announced plans to open 30 new inner city Job Corps centers because it underestimated the difficulties involved in starting up new programs.

Finding acceptable sites has been difficult. Finding qualified sponsors has been difficult. Startup costs have been higher than expected. But these are facts anyone would have known after a number of years in operating manpower programs.

I warned the administration about this, Mr. Chairman, and during the 1968 elections I took a very strong stand about closing these Job Corps centers. I have visited most of them, helped inaugurate many of them, and found them to be one of the most valuable training programs and job placement programs that the Government ever designed.

Senator NELSON. As the Senator knows, those Job Corps camps came within the jurisdiction of this committee. I just want to comment that, at that time, as the Senator knows, most of the members of this committee opposed the closing of the Job Corps camps.

One of the bothersome things is that the administration went ahead and closed them without coming to the Congress, just by issuing an executive order. They stated, as you recalled in your statement, that they were going to take up all the slack, open 30 new urban Job Corps centers. And one of the problems that developed in the administration is that they don't keep their word.

They made a public commitment before this committee. Although I did not want to see the 59 Job Corps camps closed, I at least believed they would do what they said they would do to ease the problem. We are having this kind of a problem of getting public commitments from spokesmen for the administration, and then they just proceed not to keep the public commitment at all.

This is one of the problems in the relationships between the Congress and the executive branch. I would hope the administration would address itself to this if it expects to have cooperation between the Congress and the executive branch.

We should be able to rely on them.

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Chairman, I think you are so right. At the time the 59 Job Corps centers were closed, the administration pledged and made quite a case for the fact that they would open 30 new inner city Job Corps centers that would take up all the slack.

In other words, the case appeared rather cogent and logical, that if you could open up these centers in the inner city, you might have better attendance, and your administrative costs would be less.

I think that when the administration closed the 59 Job Corps camps, many people were led to believe that even though we had had our hearts set on the continuation and expansion of those camps it might not be a bad idea to try out the so-called 30 new inner city centers.

Now, what happened was that only nine inner city centers were opened—with 59 camps that were closed. Now, the administration found that acceptable sites for the inner city camps were very difficult, finding qualified sponsors has been difficult.

Start-up costs had been higher than expected. These are facts that anyone would have known after a number of years in operating manpower programs. You don't shut down operating programs and throw over successful new programs in their place overnight. Not even in 2 years, as our experience has shown.

The administration, in other words, failed in its announced plans to spend \$420 million on the private sector JOBS program, to provide 140,000 jobs, because it tragically underestimated the effect which the recession would have on this program.

Many of the private sector employers—conscientious as they were—could not go on hiring disadvantaged JOBS trainees when they were being forced to lay off veteran employees with high developed skills and seniority.

Now, the public, Mr. Chairman, needs to understand that the JOBS program created in the late sixties was designed to help the private employer take aboard disadvantaged youth and other disadvantaged youth and other disadvantaged persons to give them training until they developed skills. During the training period of time, the Federal Government would pay the training costs. The employer had a responsibility to employ the trainee.

When the recession came with the administration's economic policies, the employer found himself with a situation not only of not being able to bring in any trainees, not only not being able to give any on-the-job training but because his business was down he was laying off thousands and thousands of his regular employees.

So here the administration was telling you and telling the Congress

that we are going to spend \$420 million in the private sector in the JOBS program even as we cut back Job Corps camps, when the truth is that they spent \$21,700,000.

Many JOBS contracts had 100-percent layoffs. Some contracts had to be cancelled soon after they were signed.

Again, isn't this something which should have been considered before we closed 59 Jobs Corps camps—camps which would have been considered able to serve these young men during the difficult recession period?

Now the administration proposes to abolish the entire Job Corps as a national program, and to distribute the Job Corps money to Governors and mayors as a part of special revenue sharing. Special revenue sharing is an attractive concept. The cities and the States are desperate for revenue. The Federal tax structure, though flawed, is the most progressive we have, far better than the sales and property taxes which States and municipalities again often must rely on for revenue.

But special revenue sharing requires very close examination. What revenues are there to be shared? In this case it is that small amount of money that is still left to the Job Corps and the other programs like it.

To my mind that is not revenue sharing, nor is it reorganization, it is the surrender of the Federal responsibility for the young people who need the kind of help we offered in the Job Corps program.

Mr. Chairman, the Job Corps program offered on this long-term, in-service training in camps, in residence with a placement record that was really one of the finest in the country.

Senator NELSON. May I interrupt there?

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

Senator NELSON. The title on that copy of the paragraph of yours is "Job Corps Threatened by Revenue Sharing."

Senator HUMPHREY. Yes.

Senator NELSON. Maybe I am incorrect, but I don't think so. Shouldn't that really be "Revenue Sharing Destroys the Job Corps?"

In other words, is there any way to interpret this revenue sharing, when they say all the moneys should go back to the States, and the States may spend the money as they see fit?

In my State there is a Job Corps camp. The last time I was there, I think there were 3 young men from Wisconsin in that camp. Is the Governor of my State or any other State going to take this revenue sharing money and share his State's revenue to handle a very important problem of say, 200 young men coming from other States?

Senator HUMPHREY. No, I think you are right.

Senator NELSON. Doesn't this mean the administration proposes to abolish the Job Corps camps in a very indirect way with the excuse that "Well, that is up to the Governors, and you ought to let the States make their own arrangements"?

Senator HUMPHREY. I am afraid that will be the result. The Job Corps camp is a national program, it has national objectives, it recognizes a national problem, and if you destroy the direct contacts between the Federal Government and the local camp, if you take away the funding for that, you can kiss it goodbye. It will be gone.

Senator NELSON. I don't see how you are going to expect a State with

desperate problems, to spend its share of revenue voluntarily on a camp that is serving young men coming from other States.

As laudable as that may be, the pressing needs are there. So I think we ought to publicly and openly recognize that the administration is proposing the abolition of the Job Corps camps. I would wager that 6 months after you passed the administration bill, there would not be a Job Corps camp open in America.

Senator HUMPHREY. I think you are right. I think this is the end of the Job Corps program on what you might call a sort of a delayed operation. It is the finish for the Job Corps program.

Senator NELSON. Are you aware of any alternative program that the administration has for dealing with the problem of the most disadvantaged young people in this country, those who come from the poorest families, the highest incidence of school dropout and so forth?

Is there any program in this administration, any proposal for a program to meet the problems of these young people that you know of?

Senator HUMPHREY. Mr. Chairman, I think the tragedy of this administration is that the one war it seems to be ending rather rapidly is the war on poverty. It is a murder of the Economic Opportunity Act program on the installment plan, just clip at this a little bit each time.

It is losing its momentum, it is losing its personnel, it is losing its contact, and just as you have indicated by the nature of your question, thousands and thousands of young people and other disadvantaged in this country have suffered grievous injuries and injustices.

But they are not going to be forgotten by this committee, I know, and they are not going to be forgotten by this Congress.

If there is any one thing on which this Congress ought to do battle with this administration, it is on the subject of how we help and work with and treat the disadvantaged, the deprived, and the unemployed and the victims of poverty in this country and, I submit, in this is both a moral and an economic issue as well as a political issue on which we ought to draw the line. I know of no better place to do it than with young people.

I think it is imperative that the elected officials of the people in Congress make it very clear to the President and the administration—we don't intend to stand idly by and permit people to rot in unemployment. The country needs these young men, and others—I am not only speaking of the youth. The country needs the work of the people of this land and the people need to know that they are wanted.

I said to a group of students here the other day one statement which I found most impressive was the statement of John Stuart Mills, from his essay "On Liberty," when he said, "Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it."

We are insisting by some of the actions of this Government that people have nothing to do for this country, and then we expect them to love it.

I submit that if you want people to be patriotic, if you want them to love their country, if you want them to feel that the country is theirs, that they must have a share in it, and that is what we are talking about when we talk about jobs and when we talk about work, and when we

talk about education and health and when we talk about the things that make life rich and meaningful.

That is when you give people a chance to have something to do for their country.

The simple fact is, the administration has a penny ante program to meet a massive problem, and we have got to do something about it.

One of the reasons I wanted to come back here to the Congress is to get something done about it. Because we can do something. We don't have to take the suggestion of the executive branch of Government. We should receive them, and we can give them a pretty respectful hearing, but I intend to prove in the few pages I have left here that what is presented is totally inadequate, and I have often said in my training as a pharmacist that it does not do any good to give a man half the dosage he needs.

You have to have the dosage of sufficient therapeutic value to meet the needs or the disease, and what this administration is doing is giving a patient that has serious problems cough drops, Life Savers, except that they are just made out of peppermint and sugar.

That won't cure very much. [Applause.]

The Job Corps is a proven and sound program, and as the chairman has indicated, it will see its final days if the administration's program goes through.

The money which finances it ought not to be sown to the winds as revenue sharing. The program ought to be expanded and improved to meet our national responsibility.

#### THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Let me say, Mr. Chairman, that a lot of this revenue sharing is a lot of just plain dismantling, and I don't intend to turn over to the people who never were for these programs the right to dismantle them, not a bit. We have fought too long around here to get these things.

While unemployment of out-of-school youngsters age 16-19 has climbed from 839,000 in 1968 to 1,105,000 in 1970, and up now to 1,300,000 in 1971, the administration has reduced the enrollment in the Neighborhood Youth Corps (out of school) from 62,700 to 45,400.

Now, how wrong can you get?

As the unemployment numbers go up, the administration says, "We can't have too large sets of figures, so they let the unemployment figures go up and reduce the employment figures. That is what we are talking about here today.

It now proposes a further reduction in its fiscal year 1972 request to 37,000.

In fiscal year 1967—the last full fiscal year of the Johnson administration—\$147.8 million was spent to provide work experience opportunities to 79,300 young people in the Neighborhood Youth Corps out-of-school programs.

In 1970, with youth unemployment going through the roof due to recession, only \$97.9 million was budgeted for the program.

In other words, a cut of \$50 million, while the unemployment is going up.

You know, Mr. Chairman, I hear a lot about we should not give people this kind of help, what they ought to have are jobs."

I agree, they ought to have jobs, but the fact is that the jobs are not out there in the private sector today. When I hear the administration spokesman say "We have to get people off welfare and get them jobs," I agree.

But where are the jobs?

They are just not there, and the administration still has 11 and a half million dollars worth of funds tied up that they won't spend, that this Congress, that you, Mr. Chairman, and others appropriated.

I was not here in the last Congress, but those funds were appropriated, and they are needed to give young people jobs, and the administration says, "no."

It is estimated that 1.8 million poverty youth will seek jobs this summer in the worst job market of a decade. As I said earlier, 1.6 million young people, 16 to 21 years of age, are unemployed as of right now. Come the summer, when school lets out, there will be hundreds of thousands more seeking work.

What will they find? The matter is of utmost urgency. How can they be employed?

For the past several years the Conference of Mayors and the League of Cities have conducted a careful survey of their more than 600 member cities to determine their need for additional Neighborhood Youth Corps summer job opportunities.

This year their figure is 641,639 full-time jobs, divided about evenly between the 50 largest cities and the others.

Last year, in response to the concern of mayors, Members of Congress, and citizens all over the Nation, the administration requested a supplemental appropriation in the first week of June that when finally really enacted in mid-July providing funds for 414,000 summer jobs of 10 weeks' duration each.

Mr. Chairman, when you get an appropriation in July for summer youth jobs, it is too late. You have to have the appropriation early, and that is why these hearings are so important at this time, in April.

This year a similar number of jobs are budgeted, despite the demonstrably greater need, and the duration of the jobs was cut to 8 weeks.

You see what they do, Mr. Chairman?

First of all, they limit the dimensions of the problem. We really are talking about 16 to 21 age groups. The administration says, "One way to make this problem manageable is to cut the age back to 16 and 17," and then you can forget the 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds.

They don't come into the calculation. Then you look like you are hiring more people for 8 weeks instead of 10. But the simple fact is that there are 2 more weeks of unemployment, and the fact is that the 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds are not in the calculations at all.

I mean, who do they think they are kidding?

I know they are not fooling this subcommittee or this committee.

Then on April 2, the administration announced the abolition of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. I will not take time to vent my feelings on that. I will say this: The Council, which was established in 1967, had as its principal fund, the job to stand guard over youth activities, to insist that the departments do their jobs, to coordinate the activities of the Federal Government. I was chairman

of that, Mr. Chairman, and I was able to get out of the regular departmental budgets over \$600 million for youth employment programs.

We made other departments share for youth employment over and above the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Unless you have a council that really rides herd on the Government, unless you have somebody to speak up for the kids or somebody to be working for the mayors and Governors day in and day out, and have people in the field generating jobs, working with corporations and industry, bringing to the attention of the Nation the importance of youth employment, it is not going to get done. So in the process of reorganization, the administration abolishes the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

I think that is a big mistake, and it is one I think which time will prove was a serious error. They abolished the Job Corps program which worked, they abolished the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, which worked.

We got 817,000 jobs in 1 year, Mr. Chairman. That is not bad, with the Youth Opportunity program. I think that was the best work I ever did as Vice President of the United States.

Now, it is done—finished—and they are going to put these programs into the regular departments and they are going to get lost. I have been there, Mr. Chairman. I know. I know that unless you have somebody riding herd on these things, somebody to see that the Commerce Department, the Labor Department, the Justice Department, the Department of Agriculture, the Civil Service Commission, somebody working with the national alliance of businessmen, the job won't get done.

I think the young people of this country ought to know what is happening to them. They know they are without jobs, but it is a pity that they have to learn that they are without concern. That is what bothers me. It is one thing for a man to be without a job. It is another thing for him to find out that nobody seems to care.

We have got to care, and we ought to care enough this Congress to legislate it, and let's see if they dare veto it. I don't think they will.

I have said here that I had this chance to serve. I know well the crucial role it played in persuading bureaucrats in Washington to make summer employment funds available, and to provide funds, technical assistance, and vital information to cities all around the Nation who sought to cope with their responsibilities to the Nation's young people. The council had played a crucial role both as a practical source of help and as a symbolic rallying point for those who sought to arouse the Nation to the needs of youth.

I believe its abolition, in this time of the highest youth unemployment rate in our memory, is kind of symbolic, too, of the priorities of the current administration.

Perhaps the outcry against their abolition has had some effect. For on April 9, the administration announced that it would seek a supplemental appropriation of \$64.3 million to bring the total funding for summer jobs requested by the administration to \$217.2 million, enough for 514,000 job opportunities, each 9 weeks long (or 462,000 job slots on a full-time basis). While that is clearly inadequate, at least the administration announced its position earlier than it did in past years.

You remember last year I said it was in July.

It is my view that the President's Council on Youth Opportunity played an indispensable role in Washington. I hope its demise proves temporary. I commend the administration for moving promptly if inadequately to meet part of the problem of this summer's youth employment. If its unwise action in abolishing the council led in any way to the decision now on additional funding, then its death was not entirely in vain.

The administration's supplemental budget request is still woefully inadequate.

I wish the administration would be as hot for this youth program as it was for the SST and a couple of other things.

The full amount requested by the mayors of our cities for funds for 641,000 jobs is a minimum.

That is what the mayors of the cities say we need as a minimum.

I have joined the ranking minority member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, the distinguished senior Senator from New York, Mr. Javits, and the chairman of this subcommittee, Senator Nelson, and a number of other Senators, in cosponsoring an amendment to the supplemental appropriations bill to provide \$144,628,359 in supplemental funding to bring the total for summer youth jobs to the \$309,628,359 needed to provide those 641,000 jobs on a 10-week basis.

I believe we should also make an even greater effort this summer to provide additional funds from within the existing budgets of the Federal agencies to hire young people in Federal programs.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I can tell this committee that with some work at the White House you can raise another \$300 million out of existing budgets, pick it up here, and a little there and a little there, directed toward youth employment. I raised \$600 million. That is a factual record.

It is there to be used, but they will not give it up until the President says, "loosen up." I remember my first meeting with the Cabinet when President Johnson said, "Mr. Vice President, you go ahead and get some money for the youth program." I met with them, and I came out with zero.

They all said they could not spare a dime. I went to the President. I said, "I have had no luck."

Vice Presidents don't have much authority, Mr. President. They have a lot of responsibility, but absolutely no authority. The only power they have then is that which the President has, and he who gives it can take it away. I went to see the President, and the President said, "we will have another Cabinet meeting," and we had another meeting. The President said, "The Vice President will call on you, and I expect you to loosen up on some of that money."

In 1 week we had \$600 million. It is there. With a little extra effort, it can be gotten.

Mr. Chairman, with youth employment at truly catastrophic levels, I believe it is high time to move beyond the efforts to preserve our existing youth manpower programs. It is time to expand those programs so that we do in fact meet the need.

This is no time to pass responsibility for underfunded programs to overburdened local officials.

It is time for us as a nation, and us as the elected representatives of our Nation, to meet the national responsibility to American youth and fund a youth employment program of sufficient size to do the job.

Existing youth training programs are now undermined by the fact that for many youth no real job opportunity follows his training opportunity.

This subcommittee was told by Seggie Collins, a 24-year-old Watts resident, at hearings last year in Los Angeles that he had been in three different training programs and had never been able to land a decent job. Others testified that Seggie Collins' experience was typical.

Mr. Chairman, back in 1957, now nearly 14 years ago, I proposed a program to put unemployed youth to work on conservation and other public service projects. In fact, Mr. Chairman, you were one of the proponents of that program.

We are in much better shape to mount such a program now than in 1957. [Applause.]

We have had several years of experience with the Neighborhood Youth Corps on which to build.

From 1965 through 1970, over 2.8 million youngsters have been helped by the Neighborhood Youth Corps, counting all three of its programs—summer, in school, and out of school.

The year-round, out-of-school program has provided nearly 400,000 youngsters with meaningful work experience over a 5-year period.

I believe we have enough experience to mount a really serious program, and I believe we should do it.

First, it needs to be large enough to do the job. Only serving 45,000 young people in the out-of-school program, as the administration did in 1970, is not enough. With 1.1 million youngsters, age 16 to 19, unemployed on the average during that year, a 45,000-member program was only a drop in the bucket.

I would propose a program for at least 250,000 youngsters each year. In extending the Economic Opportunity Act, I hope this committee will authorize a program of that scope.

Second, the program must provide real jobs, jobs that everyone in the community knows need doing; young people know when they are being fooled, when it is hypocrisy, and when it is meaningful and real.

I would suggest that helping to provide a more livable environment for our Nation's communities is the No. 1 priority, especially the development of community recreation facilities and of parks and playgrounds in our inner city neighborhoods that have the very worst day-to-day living environments in the Nation.

I want to commend Chairman Nelson for proposing a community environment service last year. The legislative authorization for a community environment service was included as a special program in the Employment and Manpower Act which Congress passed last December. As described in that bill, which the President unfortunately vetoed, the community environment service would have provided:

... employment on a full-time or part-time basis for persons to help restore a livable environment in urban and rural areas, including restoration of housing and neighborhoods, the planning, development and maintenance of parks and recreation areas, and facilities in inner cities as well as roadside recreation projects, and sanitation and cleanup projects, including solid waste removal.

Support may also be provided for the employment of environmental health aides in community health care facilities, and water and air pollution control programs. Community environment service programs shall be encouraged to involve volunteers from the community in environmental planning and action campaigns.

Mr. Chairman, what I am saying is, there are a lot of things to do. The city of Washington, D.C., could use 50,000 young men and women now to clean up this city, to make it a clean and livable city. Instead of that, we have people lecturing people about being no good, calling them names and lecturing the people on welfare, telling them they don't want to work.

I submit if the private economy is or cannot provide the jobs, as you have said, Mr. Chairman, then the Federal Government and local government must organize to see that every American who wants to work has the right to work and can work at a fair and decent wage, and work that means something to him and to his country.

We have to do this, and we have got to get with it. It is too late to fuss around any longer with the band aid approaches; we have real problems.

Finally, I would suggest that the expanded Neighborhood Youth Corps program I am proposing must include a strong educational element. It must be flexible, for those who have dropped out of school and are shy of the classroom atmosphere, an atmosphere in which many have only learned to regard themselves as hopeless failures.

I would suggest close ties with community colleges. In one experimental program over the last 3 years, over 1,000 summer youth corps young people worked successfully at community colleges in San Francisco, New York, St. Louis, and other cities.

Existing Neighborhood Youth Corps legislation is broadly enough written to allow such a program.

Funds spent to employ youth in public service jobs are moneys saved from welfare payments in many cases. Money spent accomplishing desperately needed work is in every way money better spent than money spent in welfare payments.

For most of us, for most of our young people, this is now indeed the land of opportunity. But for millions—the realities of their daily lives gives the lie to that great promise.

They barely eke out an existence that is part welfare, part casual jobs, part hustling and crime, with large parts of idleness and empty despair.

Now this is a pretty accurate picture, Mr. Chairman, of what happens to some of our people.

We must do better for them. We can do better for them ourselves.

Therefore, I propose a fivefold expansion of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, not some little tidbit, but let's go to town, do it like we ought to do it, a fivefold expansion of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program to put unemployed youth to work on environmental projects and other public service employment projects while being given an opportunity to continue their education at community colleges and other institutions.

As President Kennedy said in his 1963 message on our Nation's youth:

"The future prospects of any nation can be directly measured by the present prospects of its youth."

I hope everybody will ponder that, when you see the rate of unemployment, 28 percent of our young people ages 16 to 21.

They were but beginnings and we knew that, they were just little beginnings to be built on.

Let's get on with the job here and now of providing truly adequate programs.

When we decided as a nation to go to the moon, we did not provide 10 percent of the money necessary to get there and then criticize the bureaucrats for not doing the job.

We would not have even got off the pad at Cape Kennedy, if we had done that.

What we did was provide the cash needed and the organization needed and we got the job done.

It is time we took a similar hard-nosed and realistic look at youth programs and provide the cash and the organization needed to do the job.

I submit that if we will but make the investment, and the returns to this Nation will be invaluable, in terms of both a strengthened economy and the hope and promise given to another generation of our people.

Mr. Chairman, that is my testimony, that is my view, and I know that this subcommittee is going to take favorable action upon a broad program, and at least I hope and pray it will.

Senator NELSON. I want to thank the Senator from Minnesota for a very fine statement and a very perceptive evaluation of the youth job situation. I wish to assure him that at least this Senator agrees with him that this is a very important problem. Instead of winding down the job opportunities, as the administration is doing for youth, we ought to be expanding the opportunities. This subcommittee, at least, will do everything within its power to assist in that direction.

I thank the Senator from Minnesota for his statement.

Senator HUMPHREY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I am very grateful to you, and I want to compliment you for your initiative in this. I hope the subcommittee will act promptly. [Applause.]

Senator NELSON. Our next witness is Mayor Gribbs of Detroit, who has a statement in behalf of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

We are pleased to have you here this morning, and we appreciate your taking the time to come here and present a statement to us on behalf of the League of Cities.

**STATEMENT OF MAYOR ROMAN S. GRIBBS, DETROIT, MICH.; ACCOMPANIED BY STAFF, NORMAN L. MILLER AND WILLIAM M. NUGENT**

Mayor GRIBBS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am Roman S. Gribbs, mayor of Detroit, Mich. Here with me today are two of my staff assistants, Norman L. Miller and William M. Nugent.

For generations Detroit has been the city at the end of the rainbow for hundreds of thousands of persons from diverse ethnic backgrounds. They came from every continent as well as from less fortunate areas of

our own Nation; their immediate immigration in search of a better life has made Detroit what it is today, a thriving city of 1.5 million people, the fifth largest in the Nation.

The key to the future for these children and these people, as, indeed for the Nation are their children, the youth of Detroit, the youth of America.

I am here today, speaking for my city, the National League of Cities, and the U.S. Conference of Mayors; and to review with you the role of youth programs, in the development of the Nation's youth, the development of the Nation itself.

I will try to speak to national problems and solutions, but if I repeatedly refer to specifics within Detroit, you will understand that it is because I know my city best.

In Detroit there are 422,555 young people from 6 to 21 years of age. Of the city's 300,000 poor more than 83,000 are youth 6-21. These facts alone give me a vital interest in the subject of today's discussions.

And the subject of the legislation proposed. Three vital areas require governmental attention, if we are to fill our commitment to the development of our youth. They are education, employment and recreation, and yet as mayor, the governmental leader of my community and the man to whom Detroit has looked for leadership in these areas, I can be of only partial help.

The primary responsibility, Mr. Chairman, for education, for example, rests with a separately elected and apolitically autonomous school system and school officials.

When resources are available, they can be effective in employment programs, and while a good education is the single most important element in assuring an individual's future employment and equal opportunities, the role of jobs should not be minimized. Employment provides young people more than pocket money. After school and summer jobs afford young men and women:

Vocational exposure on which they may rationally base their future career choices;

The opportunity to relate closely with mature stable adults.

The chance to develop work habits and skills which will enhance their future employability and

For some, sadly enough, income which puts food in their mouths, shoes on their feet, and the possibility of remaining in or then returning to school.

Tragically millions of young people will be denied these worthwhile benefits this summer. My staff has conservatively estimated that more than 3.5 million youth, 16 to 21 years of age, will be unable to find work this summer. Of these, nearly 600,000 will be poor youth.

This is an increase of more than a half million over last summer and nearly 1 million over the summer of 1969.

In the face of these appalling prospects, the administration has only recently asked the Congress to provide funds sufficient to maintain the national youth jobs effort equal to last year's inadequate level. In fact, if one views this year's Federal effort in light of the need, there will be proportionately fewer jobs available.

All of the Federal assistance provided 557,000 jobs.

This summer, with nearly 13.8 million youngsters looking for jobs

and a national unemployment rate a third higher than last year, the President has just asked for the equivalent of only 463,000 10-week jobs.

Meanwhile reliable reports suggest that the NAB, confronting a sharply worsened economy, will be hard pressed to develop even 100,000 jobs this summer. This 100,000 and the administration's request equal only 563,000 jobs in summer 1971, a negligible increase over last summer's 557,000.

Last November the National League of Cities—U.S. Conference of Mayors canvassed the Nation's 50 largest cities and several representative smaller cities, asking how many summer NYC slots they could effectively use.

To which the Senator preceding me, Senator Humphrey, had reference, and they asked how many summer NYC slots they could effectively use.

The total, Mr. Chairman, was 614,639 10-week positions.

As staff of this committee has pointed out the cost of 641,639 jobs is approximately \$310.3 million. In light of the \$154.7 million provided in the administration's original budget and the administration's request for \$12.8 million for recreation support, my fellow mayors and I strongly urge you to provide a supplemental NYC appropriation of \$157.4 million.

Senator NELSON. That would employ how many additional for 10 weeks?

Mayor GRIBBS. That would provide for the 641,000 10-week jobs that was the goal in the statement as provided by the survey.

Our community action agency director, whose agency is one of Detroit's two NYC prime sponsors, tells me that the Federal Government provides enough funds for us to hire one supervisor for every 150 NYC enrollees.

Even the military, whose men are mature and trained to take orders, has one officer for every eight enlisted men. Thus, in a gross sense, the Federal Government, which says on the one hand that trained soldiers need a supervision ratio of 1 to 8 on the other hand provides the cities one supervisor for every 150 untrained youngsters.

The cities do not have excess managerial talent which they might assign to supervising young people. Precisely the opposite is the case; with Detroit facing a \$21 million deficit this year, I have been forced to fire nearly 600 city employees and have directed that 2,000 other budgeted positions not be filled.

Given this dearth of provided supervisory staff, those of us who have assumed the responsibility of providing NYC work experience to poor youth, are forced to scour the cities' public and private nonprofit agencies for work stations. But these agencies too are strapped for supervisory personnel.

I might add that even private nonprofit agencies or other public agencies are also strapped for supervisory personnel. For this reason we, in Detroit, have asked for only 12,000 10-week jobs this summer, even though there are more than 31,000 poor youth in Detroit, and truly if we had the supervisory personnel, if we had the money for the additional jobs, we could put them to use, assuming they come to us in time, and I seek the comments of Senator Humphrey, I second them,

and I will comment later on about the fact that they must be provided for us and to us in time so that we can utilize the funds.

The NYC is further handicapped in two ways. First, there are virtually no funds and hence no staff to find and develop work stations, the job at which an enrollee is to work.

Such work station development is essential to find the job, help a host employer redefine existing jobs, to identify those tasks that might be done by unskilled youth, and effect a change in attitudes so that the host agency's first line supervisor will be supportive and not destructively critical of the young enrollee. This is a most difficult selling job and an overwhelming task when, as in our case, the city has to find 12,000 such jobs.

By hard work and long hours, local NYC administrators are usually able to develop sufficient job stations by opening day.

Mr. Chairman, if one were to review the entire range of Federal Government programs, I suspect he could find none with more potential for aiding poor youth which was simultaneously as effectively destroyed by the poor management practices I have outlined today.

This money provided more than mere fun and games, it provided scores of thousands of culturally deprived youngsters their first look at planetariums, art museums, zoos, symphony orchestras, and other cultural attractions of their cities. Thousands more were able to compete in athletics or receive instruction in theater or performing arts.

After having recognized and met this need for several summers, the Federal Government last year redirected its community action youth money into employment and employment-related activities. It was only after vigorous and sustained protest by the mayors that the administration asked and received of the Congress a supplemental appropriation to support innercity recreation programs.

As I mentioned earlier, the President has again asked the Congress to include \$12.8 million for this purpose in this year's NYC supplemental appropriations. I support this request.

In Detroit and elsewhere around the country this money will be used to provide supervisors for the additional NYC enrollees. The teams thus formed will be used to expand recreation opportunities for younger poor children, 6 to 16 years of age.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I am submitting to you a list of 13 detailed recommendations regarding the Federal Government's participation in all.

Included are suggestions that the Neighborhood Youth Corps be greatly expanded and revamped, that the Federal Government promote a four quarter school plan, and that the Federal Government expand its own program of hiring young people during the summer and after school.

In closing, I again urge you to consider favorably the President's request for supplemental NYC funds, increase the amount to \$157.4 million—\$144.6 for NYC slots and \$12.8 for recreation and pass it.

Thank you.

(The information referred to follows:)

ADDITIONAL DETAILED RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT YOUTH PROGRAMS  
SUBMITTED BY  
THE HONORABLE ROMAN S. GRIBBS  
MAYOR OF DETROIT  
TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY  
28 APRIL 1971

1. The Federal Government should sharply increase the available number of training and work-experience slots (such as the NYC).

2. Whether or not the program is expanded, each summer and out-of-school slot should be for 40 hours a week, at least 10 of which should be devoted to actual skills, training or basic education to enhance the future employability of the enrollee.

3. Enrollees should be paid the minimum wage prevailing in this area, at least for the hours during which work is performed.

4. Local program operators should be notified of funding levels at least four months prior to the beginning of proposed programs.

5. The Federal Government, through its aids to education and other assistance, should encourage local school systems to convert to the four-quarter system, so that work-experience quarters (i.e., summers) could be scheduled evenly throughout the year so as to use supervisory and training cadre most effectively.

6. Administrators of local work experience programs should be intensively and thoroughly trained so as to radically improve the quality of programs.

7. The work-experience program should be an integral part of a broader program of manpower development so that as enrollees progress they may be moved to more relevant training programs.

8. The Federal Government should continue its program of summer transportation grants, consider such assistance on a year-round basis in support of youth-employment programs for youth to 21 years of age, and review the requirements for sign-off by local labor organizations.

9. To symbolize the Federal Government's concern for poor youth as well as to utilize the substantial work-experience opportunities within the Federal system, the Government should expand (by budgeted appropriations, if necessary) its Federal Summer Employment Program for Youth and the Stay-in-School Campaign.

10. Federal departments and agencies should assure (even to the point of transferring funds among installations) that Federal youth hiring is equitably distributed throughout the Nation according to the distribution of Federal employment.

11. The Departments of Labor and HEW should collaborate with the private sector to develop a high school work-study program in which work stations and training would be in the private sector.

12. The Department of Labor should encourage States to develop a definition of "poor youth," to provide them with summer and part-time employment opportunities, and to devise a central reporting system to account for such youth hires.

13. The Department of Justice should review existing Federal child labor laws and insurance regulations to determine what changes, if any, are necessary to permit the employment and training of poor youth in the widest possible number of job categories.

Mayor GRIBBS. I urge you to pass it quickly.  
 Summer, sir, is at hand.  
 (Applause.)

Senator NELSON. Thank you for your very fine statement. The committee appreciates your appearance here on behalf of the mayors and the league of cities, and we assure you and the other mayors that this committee is concerned about this program. As far as this Senator is concerned, I agree with your position and the position of the conference of mayors, and I hope we can get some legislation enacted in time to be of value this summer.

Thank you very much.

Mr. GRIBBS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. Our next witness is Dr. Zelma George, director, Cleveland Women's Job Corps Center. We are pleased to have you here this morning, Dr. George.

Dr. GEORGE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. Your statement will be printed in full in the record, or you may present it as you wish.

**STATEMENT OF DR. ZELMA GEORGE, DIRECTOR, CLEVELAND WOMEN'S JOB CORPS CENTER; ACCOMPANIED BY STAFF MEMBERS BEVERLY L. SMITH, EVELYN J. EDELEN, PAULETTE PRENTICE, MARY CHIPMAN, AND MARIA GARZES**

Dr. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I welcome this opportunity to appear today before you in support of H.R. 40 and related Senate bills which are designed to extend the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act. I wish my remarks to address the title of the hearing: Employment, Youth and Poverty.

My name is Zelma George, and I speak as the executive director of the Cleveland Job Corps Center for Women. This is the oldest of the women's centers. The first corps women came to us 6 years ago tomorrow.

The contractor for the Cleveland Job Corps Center is the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. This is a 64-year-old international non-profit, women's service organization with upwards of 40,000 members, a majority of whom have expertise and leadership roles in educational and social welfare programs all over this United States.

The sorority, a private organization, is the only predominantly black organization in partnership with the U.S. Government addressing itself to a common government problem of poverty without respect to racial, ethnic, or religious identification.

This sorority in this unique partnership of the U.S. Government considers itself to be a vital part of what has become a vast new educational institution, with many implications for the traditional school system.

The Job Corps is a 24-hour-a-day, 7-day-a-week operation. Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority has responsibility for the center's entire operation: Administrative, technical, managerial, clerical, and maintenance, and with a staff of 150, it provides human and technical resources that are needed to help 380 young women define and achieve their goals.

So for 6 years now the Alpha Kappa Sorority has been organizing a staff of some of the Nation's best trained and creative minds available in the fields of social reform, education, and management to work on the forward edge of their disciplines in this brand new unique partnership with government, with academic, civic, social, business, religious, cultural, and service agencies of the community.

All of this to the end of equalizing the spread and the quality of opportunity in our society.

Today, whether it be Latin America, or Asia, or Harlem, or Hough, or Chicago, or Washington, D.C., whether it be El Paso, the migrant farm, the Indian reservations, Spanish Harlem, Alcatraz—no matter where it be today, one thing is certain, poverty is no longer tolerated as a meekly inherited state.

People know they are no longer condemned to live lives that are ugly, brutish, and short.

They know that there is more to living than disease and hunger, indignity and prejudice, and they mean to have their fair share of earth's bounties and to have it now.

There is no security for anybody in a world of injustice and resentment. For a long time, people did not reason it. Somehow or other they thought it was their lot. But today we live in a world where so many have so newly discovered that rights are natural, God-given and often constitutional, and they are not negotiable to them.

No constitutional provision, no statute, gives any part of the constituency the right to dispense or to withhold. More and more people are coming into society, and as claimants, are making effective demands on it. In the diffusion of existing goods and privileges in our society, whether they are tangible goods or whether they are social claims on the community, one thing is obvious: Crucial alterations are taking place in the mood of man. He recognizes that this upheaval in consciousness is literally worldwide, and he gets a new sense of power and hope from this fact.

Men and women and youth everywhere are looking for and often inventing ways to fight against the hopelessness and the despair that have been in their lives. The ferment of today is deep and intense.

The activist minority of young people is growing larger and more vocal than ever before with a tenacity that was lacking before.

Young people do not seem to be merely getting something out of their systems any more. They are discovering common denominators of discontent which they shift to produce power, to devise techniques and strategies in functional partnerships against the system, the establishment, all along the line. From affluence to poverty they are finding these common denominators of discontent, and they are being joined by other minority groups.

Now there is much to irritate and to disturb older generations, and I do not ignore these elements in the youth revolt. There are the far-left extremists who say that society must be destroyed. There are the truly alienated, the loners, the "drop-outs" of society. There are those who use dangerous drugs, and there is the dangerous use of drugs—and there is a distinction.

Too often while fighting for their beliefs, young people disregard the basic human values and rights which they are espousing. They

frequently lack compassion. They are often contemptuous of those who do not fully agree with them, and while crying out to be heard, they will shout down a speaker and in this there is much that is irritating and disturbing to many, even some among that same generation.

But I submit that we have let ourselves be distracted by the colorful fringes to the point where we miss the central meaning of today's youthful protest.

I am convinced that not only is there tremendous vitality here, but that there is also great potential for good, if we can only understand and respond positively.

The nature of our response is crucial, for it has everything to do with whether or not there will continue to be violence, or whether violence pays. For years my husband, Clayborne George and I knocked at the doors of the decisionmakers in the city of Cleveland to be heard regarding the discontent we felt as members and residents of the negro community and which we shared with our neighbors. For years they would listen politely because this was Clayborne George whom they respected, but they did very little about it until there was violence—until there was "Hough." Then we got invitations to dinner so often we could not keep them. "Come and join this committee" or "would you come to this meeting"—all from many of the same people at whose doors we had been knocking.

Violence does pay, and youngsters have discovered this fact. Until we prove that we can get results without it, we shall continue to have it.

[Applause.]

And we must understand that social protests has an honorable history in this country and has a rightful place in our enlightened society.

It was social protest that brought this Nation into being. At the same time we must recognize that respect for law and the maintenance of order are essential for the protection of everyone in our society.

I do not mean "law and order" as we see it defined by policy and action today, but consistent and democratic implementation of the principle of law and order for all.

Young people—well, anyone—who break the law as a form of protest must be prepared to pay the penalty and hope for ultimate vindication. This concept was a major contribution of the freedom revolution symbolized by Martin Luther King, who often went prepared and dressed for jail, knowing that he was going to break a law.

What I am saying, I guess, is that the concept of law and order is meaningless without justice, and we do have to think about it when we think about violence.

We must be ready to reexamine our assumptions and our laws. To do so we must open channels of communications and we must have dialog, and if we do not, if we think the only answer is to suppress dissent, then the responsibility for violence hangs as heavily on us as it does on those who protest. I think there are creative tensions within this complex of human relations I have been trying to describe.

It has been written that "History proceeds very often by jumps. These jumps in which tremendous distances may be covered, are called generations."

"A generation in form, in shape, can achieve what centuries have failed to achieve without form."

We now have something like a reforming generation. What matters is that our institutions should not hinder that generation, but enable it to find form. This will require an act of humility on the part of the older generations. We are then going to have to turn our hearing devices back on and actively listen, and the youth are going to have to listen, too.

The crucial issue then is not the revolt of youth, but the nature of our response to them. Broadly speaking there are three possible responses. One is a backlash and a kind of a suppression, and many youth want this because they want to feed their movement on the fact of being misunderstood.

We know how much sympathy a husband can get in the office when he says his wife does not understand him. Well, youngsters get it also when they feel the older generation does not understand them. Suppression and backlash give them the kind of material to work on.

A much more likely response is apathy, a muted hostility. We are resentful over the ingratitude and brashness of the young. The great tragedy is that time is running out on the great problems the world faces.

It seems to me we have another device, and that is that we respond in positive ways so that the energy and idealism of youth, can be a constructive force in helping to solve the world's great problems.

The third response then, is to be responsive, to listen to our young people, to understand them, to let them know that we care deeply about them. Instead of worrying about how to suppress the youth revolution, we should be worrying about how to sustain it.

These activists are shaking us out of our complacency. We badly need their ability and fervor in these troubled times and we do not need them as opponents, as "them" or the "others." We need them as partners.

The key to sustaining the energy and idealism of youth today is more direct and effective action on the problems about which these young people are concerned: the problems of our cities, of our environment, of racial injustice, of irrelevant and outmoded teaching, of overpopulation, of war, and of poverty.

Because the need for hope among youth is so great, the promise becomes all the more vivid. But as the promise and the hope fail to be achieved—to materialize—and the situation does not change for the great majority of them—broken down into groups of blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Indians, migrant farmers, Appalachians, and other poor—and, as affluent youth who have recently described themselves as the "new poor" become more aware, concerned, and involved with social problems and are joining the ranks with their own brand of discontent and alienation, our society is in trouble—real trouble.

Let me complicate all this considerably with the addition of another consideration that gives me great concern and not a little fear. All of us look forward to the ending of the war in Southeast Asia and the return of our young men—and women—from the various services.

Many sets of figures have been used to indicate how many of these

returning youth have been involved seriously with drugs while in the service of their country. We know that whatever the drug, it is more easily and cheaply obtained there than here. A returned veteran can find that within a few days he has spent every cent he had available, and that to support his habit he will have to resort to stealing, robbery, burglary, and/or other illegal activities.

Before he has completed a well-earned vacation and has begun to look for that hard-to-find job, he is likely to have a police record or is in jail and, because of this record he could not get the job even if he found it.

If he escapes the police, he is still likely to be unable to get or keep a job and will soon start verbalizing his discontent and anger in anti-social attitudes and behavior and he will be ready for membership in the most angry activist group he can find. He can be an extremely dangerous addition, especially if he feels that his condition is the result of his Vietnam experience.

A few days ago, on a plane from Atlanta, Ga., my seat mate was a young man returning to Cleveland after 2 years in Vietnam. He had served in the Navy patrolling the rivers and streams and scouting the land immediately adjacent thereto. He talked about the great strain on the men and how it had affected everybody he knows. He said the officers understood this too and every night as they returned to their boat, the officer on duty stood near the entrance and passed out marihuana cigarettes to calm them down for the night. Other drugs were also readily available.

It is equally important—maybe more important—for us to consider the skills in violence which these youth bring back to their local communities—skills built into the kind of military training this war in Southeast Asia has made necessary. Moreover he has had experience in using these skills in guerrilla warfare with sanctions and encouragement, even rewards from “the system,” he now finds a strong structure of activists inviting him to join them in fighting.

It is immoral to return these youth to their respective communities and hold them responsible for the consequences of this war experience. It is too dangerous a risk, for society to permit it.

The military has found it necessary to take dogs that have been trained for the same kind of war, through a demilitarization process before they are allowed to function in this country even as a police dog. Some of the highly developed skills in violence have to be trained out of the dog before he can be permitted to function.

But, we bring our boys back with the same kinds of skills and experiences and with the attitudes essential to support their behavior, and we put them right back into their communities without providing them with the psychiatric help they need in making the transition to civilian life.

Society has a moral responsibility to these youths, and to their respective communities, to make this debooting or demilitarization training as essential a part of their military experience as was the original training designed to get them ready to fight.

This would also provide an opportunity for expert observation of each youth to determine whether or not he has need for drug education and help—and to see that he gets it, whether or not he wants it—the same as when he came into the service.

Consider seriously and long some of the alternatives to doing this. With a high rate of unemployment among the total population, an even higher rate for white youth and an enormously high rate of unemployment among black youth, we have a powerful ingredient of discontent and anger and activism. These men have been fighting for, and have seen their buddies lose their lives for, some not-too-clear rights of people in another country and they return to find their own families and friends living in conditions worse than when they left, including the closing of many of the Job Corps centers to which their younger sisters and brothers might have gone. Even the progress that is present gets lost in the spiral of failure and despair that they see their families in.

There is talk about a hot summer in some quarters, but if we do not do something about this problem—and soon, we might find the new skills in violence complicated with the drug problem, motivated by what they rationalize as a righteous discontent—we might find this powerful combination generating a guerrilla warfare on the streets of our cities the like of which we have never seen before.

The unique opportunity before us is to bring together our age and experience, our money and organization, with the energy and idealism and social consciousness of the young. Working together almost anything is possible.

This is going to mean new organizational and corporate structures. They are essential to serve this emerging postindustrial society.

Job Corps is just an attempt to provide a new partnership that is trying to find innovative, relevant, and effective education for each as well as for all. Job Corps gets the casualties of our school system, of the home, the church, and all of society. If they had been doing their jobs right for these youth, there would be no need for Job Corps. But it takes time and money to undo what society has already had one failure in doing. These young women are asking for a second chance, and we must remind ourselves that it is also a second chance for society—and it may be a last chance for society with many of these youth. Look to the costs of the alternatives. I find it difficult to put a price tag on a rehabilitated individual.

These young women are not problem girls but they are young women with problems. Job Corps is a place for young women with problems and for some people to expect us to solve almost overnight the problems nobody else has been able to solve before she came, or to constantly spotlight the problems and use their presence as an indication that there must be something wrong with the center, is like saying there is something wrong with a hospital because there are so many sick people in it. A hospital is a place for sick people. You have no business there unless you are sick and it takes a longer time for some to get well enough to leave than for others.

The Corpswoman's problem may be that her community has no resources for her to get a vocation and she wants one. It can be that simple, and it is that simple often. But most of the time it is not that uncomplex. Some come with so many problems of attitudes, habits, and behaviors that often they cannot get to work on the vocational training until we have had time to work on some of her other needs.

One young lady said to me one day, "I can't work on but one problem

at a time, Dr. George" and when some of the staff was impatient and wanted her to be sent home because she was not working on all of them, I asked them, "Can you give up your cocktail, stop smoking, get on a crash diet, and learn the Russian language all at once?"

There wasn't a single staff member that felt they could do it, but this is what we expect of the young people when they come into Job Corps, all four things at once, because learning the English language is almost as bad as learning Russian to some, the way they have been taught.

To meet these needs realistically, Job Corps has to be different and new in philosophy, techniques, and program. These new structures are inevitable because youth themselves, I sense, are increasingly taking charge of building them and they will not be what we would have them be without our being in partnership. While we are busy describing their unrest, they are already beyond us into a new sociology, and we are again on the remedial end. It is absolutely essential that we see the mission of Job Corps as an important facet of the answer. Anyone who tries to look at Job Corps except in this context is fooling themselves.

Now, let us take a look at the population of our Cleveland Job Corps Center. It is made up of young women then between 16 and 22 who are permanent residents of the United States, out of school, unable to make an adequate living, and from the lower income of our society.

They are in the Job Corps by choice and this fact alone presents a problem no other educational agency in the country has.

Even a university provides some sense of compulsion to the youth because their parents have paid tuition. They may not come back next year, but they have to work that money out.

In Job Corps, we cannot have that incentive. The Corps women could not pay their way there, and we are expected to provide them with everything they resisted in the public schools so attractively that they will never get homesick, or dissatisfied enough to want to go home.

She has come asking for help. She says she wants to become something, somebody, a particular kind of somebody, and at the time of her entrance, she is not what she says she wants to be. She wants to expand her skills and change her behavior. She will become what she wants by doing with others in the larger community and in the center, in school, in certain sequences and times and in specified places, predetermined things in prescribed sets of modes.

This sounds like it is limiting, but it is not and there is a great deal of freedom within the student and staff relationship.

She, almost without exception, needs to experience order, plan, disciplined thinking, and follow-through. She will be with us for a maximum of 2 years. Congress has issued a mandate that we transform her from a tax consumer to a taxpayer.

They did not use those terms, but that is what I read between the lines. Employability is what we are concerned about, and it requires more than a vocational skill. A girl can write shorthand with accuracy and transcribe it with great speed and still be unemployed, and it is a great privilege that we in Job Corps have, to try to help her to get this other part of her life developed.

Human behavior is learned behavior, and if she gets the help she needs, as she realistically refines her own life and goals, we will find that she will be getting a renewal of human life and hope, and some of the reasons for some of the problems will be removed.

A hostile, bitter, and antisocial but well-trained keypunch operator is not what we are looking for.

Yet, the emphasis on job skill would make you think that they do not care very much about the rest of her.

So the primary task of the Job Corps is to effect changes believed to be impossible 30 years ago. We know today that conditions can be understood, predicted, and controlled, so that specific kinds of learning change can take place, and there are resources that are available to us.

The first is the girl herself. The potential, often undiscovered, certainly underused, which she brings to us to develop through her own efforts. Our function is to help her discover them and produce the motivation that will make her work on her own steam.

Another recourse is constructed by the staff from the buildings, the facilities and materials of the physical environment, and the third and perhaps most important ingredient is the staff itself, a staff that really cares for and believes in these young women, and will use their many technical and social skills to enable the Corpswomen to believe, too, and to try.

Sammie Davis has a book entitled "I Can" and it took him a long time to discover that he could. Many young people have to be told this over and over, and shown this.

This staff must make inspiring demands on them. They have to help them meet the often complex challenge that they have honestly and plainly defined together as they have talked it over, what is really the problem, not what you say, but what is it, really.

The staff must also spark the whole Job Corps community with hope, with expectations of improvement, and a sense of knowing what to do and how to do it. Here is where Congress again can be enormously helpful if they could just find the way to give the centers enough life expectancy that would enable us to bargain for staff that cannot afford to put their families in jeopardy by giving up a position that offers a contract and assurance of being on the job long enough to do a good job.

Job Corps problems and program demand more than average professional staff and a sense of dedication alone cannot be expected to last forever. Some projects need a guaranteed life of at least 5 years in order to make a valid evaluation. We cannot give contracts at all and unless you happen to be hiring right on the date of the beginning of the fiscal year, you cannot assure even a full year's employment.

One of our important responsibilities to the youth who come to us is to help develop some sense of personal stability. A recent study, "Children of Mentally Ill Parents," the result of a 5-year National Institute of Mental Health-supported study, documents the need for this kind of assurance to children who have been exposed to severe and disruptive experiences resulting often in separation and frequent shift in substitute care; or if they remain home with a mentally ill parent, they experience a home of turmoil, friction, and incompetent and inconsistent care and are sometimes physically abused or neg-

lected. This is an exact description of many of our corpswomen and it is next to impossible to give the kind of stability she needs to an individual youth in a center experiencing an almost continuous state of uncertainty because of the political circumstances under which Congress operates.

Another aspect of the same problem of uncertainty and short-term funding for a long-term treatment center is illustrated by an experience this center is going through right now—and has been through with three possible sites. It is unanimously recognized that we need a larger and better facility. We have found three sites that have been through the necessary and expensive routine of investigation, to have two of them thwarted by political considerations: an election year and the uncertainty of the future of OEO.

We now have another excellent site, owned and used at present by the Case-Western Reserve University, in an acceptable and improved location from our present site. For several years I have had a mentor's group made up of outstanding and important businessmen in this community. They have been to the center, all of them several times, and a few of them many times. They are concerned, informed, and involved in the Cleveland center and feel so strongly that we should have a better facility that when this building went up for sale because the university invested in a much larger and different kind of housing facility for their graduate students and couples, and they were unwilling to lease because they needed the cash, several of the mentors got together a consortium that is willing to purchase the building in order to make it available to the Department of Labor, which says it cannot buy. The building will cost these men something in the neighborhood of \$2 million but the uncertainty of funding now before Congress makes it impossible for the Job Corps office to act. This office has recommended that we be provided a better facility and have fully implemented their share of the procedure to date. Even if the money is available, it will be for the rest of our contract only, and that ends on June 30, 1972. A 12-month lease for a \$2 million investment seems an unfair expectation from even the dedicated and involved. Their only interest in the property is to make it available to the Cleveland center. They are not interested in property as an investment in this part of the city.

I have gone into a bit of detail on this point because I think it is so very basic to a realistic appraisal of the Cleveland Job Corps Center program. Our three major resources described in the foregoing depend greatly on the way Congress implements this idea: The corpswoman and her needs, the facility as an implementer of program, and the staff.

Before I made this special reference to the need for some feeling of permanence in a bit more detail than I had planned but not more than it needs, I was describing for you some aspects of the problem we are attempting to meet by describing the corpswoman herself.

Let me say something about poverty itself. It is infinitely plural. There are at least as many kinds of poverty as there are middle class. There is much difference between urban-ghetto poverty, migrant poverty, Indian reservation poverty, small town poverty, rural poverty, and Appalachian poverty, and it is extremely important that we have staff that is acquainted with the set of social facts, value

systems, and community achievement levels that is the milieu out of which each corpswoman has come. Job Corps has pioneered in this kind of forward thinking and we have had to explore and define our needs and then develop the staff to meet them. This is why we need to be able to compete with the other agencies in the community in keeping them. Their experience in the Job Corps makes them very attractive to inner-city school systems.

The multi-ethnic composition of our populations presents problems imposed by a segregated society, but it is working here and we think the byproduct of learning to live with people of diverse cultural backgrounds is a solid contribution to a democratic society.

The one common denominator we do find is that they can't read or write or spell to anything like the degree they should be able to do for the number of years they have spent in school.

But we give them basic, we give them occupational and we give them social information and it is important that we help the corpswoman see how important personal skills are: Clinically necessary and proper dress, the social graces, and behavior patterns that will be acceptable on the job they want, proper language, even a hearty laugh in "the right key."

Now some people say, "You are making middle-class people out of these young women. You are forcing middle-class norms on them." My answer is, No; we are not. They knocked on the door for admission to a middle-class job. They did not come here asking for a lower class job. They asked for a middle-class job, and our job is to tell them what the rules of the game are. We did not make the rules. The job does not belong to me. It belongs to Mr. X out there, and Mr. X says these are the conditions under which he will want to have you work for him.

They are middle class norms, yes. If you don't want that job, then okay, that is your decision, but if you do, I have got to tell you what the real rules of the game are.

So they make that choice and we try to help them learn to live with middle class.

The program, then has to be a systematic, planned, organized, actuated, controlled set of experiences which modify behavior. It has to be relevant to the primary objective and it takes time.

It takes time and we have to have the privilege of making and correcting mistakes. We do not know all the answers. Nobody does. We did not even know the right questions to ask in the beginning, and you don't ever get right answers to wrong questions.

We know many right questions now, and we are asking them and it would seem to me to be unwise, moneywise to change the game before you even get a chance to really evaluate what you have got for your money.

Now it is irrelevant and meaningless to talk about good and bad corps women; our approach is compared to that of the physician. If a given therapy does not work, one does not blame the patient, he looks for another cure. Instead of labeling corps women as failures, as dumb, as bad, "not Job Corps material," in the Cleveland Job Corps Center some times they accuse us of being permissive, because we ask, what did we do? Did we do everything we could? Have we a right to say that girl

failed when maybe we failed her, maybe we need to try another combination of staff to work with her. In what ways can instructions and counseling be improved and what new techniques can be developed, and what other disciplines can we bring into it?

Now, we talk about the problem, and when you talk about, especially deprived adolescence we have a real complication because adolescence itself is a very important period for us to help young people go through.

Most of us sort of wish we could sleep through it, or we tell ourselves that "they will get over it," or, it is something they have to pass through. Very few people use any positives at all in trying to describe adolescence. It is all negatives. We start off with negatives, and nobody can work with a negative.

You have got to try to find some of the good qualities these young people have, and they do have them.

So we are working for a renewal of human hope, and I hope we get a chance to continue to do it.

We are put together in this country, as Oppenheimer says, "In multiple, intense, changing, overlapping communities, very close to one another."

This is a peculiarly U.S. phenomenon, intermingling classes and intermingling individuals of all kinds, and our youths today are outdoing us in it, outdoing the past, and this is why the Job Corps population and its structure and its program and its philosophy can only be adequately viewed in this context because they are one. It is a "youth culture" of which they are a part, much of which is international scope, and we cannot treat these problems as peculiar to Job Corps.

Now we have had some miserable failures, because we don't know all the answers. We don't have all the adequate resources to do what we know to do, and bring the desired results, and we are just beginning to see how to make fuller use of psychiatry and some other of the disciplines more effectively. What kind of input do we need to give to them, what kind of understanding can we get from them? And, what can we do to get Washington to understand it enough to give us the money we need to do the job they have assigned.

I hope we will be able to continue to do this. I would like for a moment to call your attention to some of our successes. I have brought a few with me.

I have not had any discussion with them at all. I just asked yesterday if they would get a few of them together, and I came up last night to write these things what I have said to you this morning.

They came up on the morning plane and met me here in this room. I have in my hand a whole sheaf of cards that were pulled: names of Corps women who have had good job placement in the last few months from the Cleveland Job Corps Center.

It is amazing. The first one on here is probably one of the highest. I am sure that is why they put her on top. But she is a young lady who passed her GED with us and became a licensed practical nurse from Muskegon, Mich. She passed the State board and got a job at the Cleveland Clinic Hospital where she did her on-the-job training. They started her off at \$7,644 a year, which is, by the way, more than we are able to pay her teacher.

Now to my left here sits a young lady, and by the way they did not come here on Government money—

[Laughter.]

Dr. GEORGE. It did not come out of my contract either—even my own fare. There are in Cleveland and elsewhere some friends who believe in me, and they make me custodian and administrator of a fund that is called the Zelma George incentive fund, and I thank the Lord I don't have to account to anybody how I spend it, and that is how they got here. I use it for many program items for both corpswomen and staff—not allowable under the contract.

Beverly Smith came to Cleveland Job Corps Center when it opened its doors April 29, 1965. Tomorrow we will be 6 years old. She came from Clairton, Pa., and she learned to be a keypunch operator, and decided she wanted to go to college. She used her keypunch skill to finance her college education, with a little scholarship help from the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority each year.

She graduated from the Central State University, did her practice teaching in Dayton and is now teaching in the South High School of the city of Cleveland—a graduate of the Cleveland Job Corps Center.

When she was there she was a member of the choir, and secretary of the student council.

Is there anything you want to say, Miss Smith?

Miss SMITH. Mr. Chairman, first of all it is indeed a pleasure to be here today to speak in defense of a very effective program. When I first received Dr. George's telegram requesting that I accompany her to this hearing, I could not help but wonder, "What's wrong? Why do they feel that the Job Corps program needs support, period. Do they feel it has been unsuccessful?"

The only conclusion that I could come to is that there are a few flaws. It has not been 100 percent successful. Well, in this case, if this be true, we should fold up our entire system, because our entire system has not been 100 percent successful.

I am not going to try to speak with the eloquence that Dr. George has, but I would like for you to think on these questions. I would like for you to make these comparisons if you can.

Now I am not speaking against our space program at all. I am all for scientific and technological advancement, but as I mentioned before, try to make this comparison if you can, if you will.

All right, we have invested millions and millions of dollars in our space program. We did not know whether our astronauts would reach their destinations, but we hoped that they would. All right, we have invested millions of dollars in our Job Corps program and the same thing applies.

Please, just as you have made this investment in this space program, why not let's make investments, or human investments, in our youth?

Thank you.

Dr. GEORGE. Thank you very much.

Senator NELSON. Thank you.

[Applause.]

Dr. GEORGE. Beverly, you go back and let Paulette come here; Paulette Prentice.

Paulette was in the first enrolled group of the women in the center. She came from Pittsburgh. She advanced very rapidly and participated in all phases of the program, she was presiding judge of the student court, president of the student council, and got a little increment of \$10 more than most of the other corpswomen because of her leadership.

She was graduated in October of 1966 as a data processor and accepted employment with Standard Oil Company, where she had done her on-the-job training.

Today, 4½ years later, she still has that job. Now what are you doing, Miss Prentice?

MISS PRENTICE. I am a senior machine operator, and I also do programming and expediting as well, Dr. George.

Dr. GEORGE. Is there anything you want to say right quick?

MISS PRENTICE. I would like to say I hope you all consider this program, because it is important to all of us. It has helped me in many ways to get along with people. Prior to coming to Cleveland Job Corps, I was not able to do this. I hope it will help those following me as well.

Dr. GEORGE. Thank you, Paulette.

This is Mary Chippman.

Mary Chippman came from Kentwood, Mich. She finished 9th grade at home, but she has taken advantage of everything Job Corps had to offer. She enrolled in the histology program at the Institute of Pathology, Western Reserve University, where she was described here by her supervisors to be cooperative, personable, and a very good planner, and the quality and quantity of her work was so good that upon graduation, the university employed her. She is presently working in the research department of the university hospital.

While in the Job Corps, she passed GED, although she had only a 9th grade education when she came to us.

She benefited from the medical services, she could not go into a vocation without several bone operations in her wrist, which we had to do before she could go into it. We had the money then. We would not be able to do that medical service now.

She graduated as a histologist, and she just told me something is happening on the first of June.

MISS CHIPPMAN. I am being promoted to supervisor of the orthopedic research laboratory of the research hospital.

I make a plea for thousands and thousands of young men and women today, "Don't close the Job Corps centers," because if it was not for Job Corps, I would not be here today.

Thank you.

[Applause.]

Dr. GEORGE. Come on up here. Evelyn Edelen graduates next Monday night. She is from Rockford, Ill., and she is a skilled guitar player; she also passed her GED examination while she was there. But something else has happened to her in the last few days. She is a part of a growing group in the center that I am encouraging and hoping will grow.

Do you want to tell us very quickly a little bit about it?

MISS EDELEN. Praise the Lord. You know exactly what I mean.

There is a big Jesus movement going on, and one of the things I found is that no matter how bad a person is, once God touches their lives, it is like they don't care for the things they did before. Because it does not make any sense for them to do this.

When I first got to the center, I think there were only a few girls that even thought of going to church. Now, there are quite a few more girls and this whole thing, I can just see it all expanding and it just seems like God has touched it. This center is going places, and I am telling you, I just pray that you don't close it. There are too many people that need it.

Dr. GEORGE. OK. She is going to college, and she is going to take a job in Cleveland as a secretary with this movement. You know about the teen challenge, and when she says only a few girls were going to church, you mean to that particular church, because we have plenty more going to church every Sunday.

We have many that go to Catholic and Protestant churches, but she means to her particular Pentacostal church.

Now I am hoping that she is going to be able to continue to work with this group and we are giving them all the help we can. Certainly one aspect of their development is going to church—the church of your choice—but we feel everyone needs some spiritual development and experiences.

Marie Garzes.

Marie, by the way, has on a uniform, which indicates her membership in the Community Relations Corps Women Advisory Committee. She made it herself out of Air Force surplus materials. The Corps-women make a lot of their things out of surplus materials from the Armed Forces.

Marie came in March 1969 from Grand Ledge, Mich. She comes from a large Mexican-American family, and she had only completed the sixth grade because her family did not stay put. As a matter of fact, we are having trouble finding where her family is now. But Marie has determined she is not going to be a migrant farmer, although her family history has been that for several generations. She came with a language barrier, and now she speaks excellent English, as you will hear.

We put her into a school where she could get special help with her English, with other Spanish-speaking people, learning English. She is going to high school, taking regular high school work in addition to her Job Corps work and hopes to graduate with a skill that she can use, as bookkeeper, to help herself go through college.

Is there anything, Marie, you could say right quick?

MISS GARZES. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I would like to say to please help us in any way. A lot of young ladies are looking for a place to go so they can look forward to the future.

Dr. GEORGE. Thank you very much, Marie. [Applause.]

Let me wind this up. Let me say that I don't need to call to your attention the special costs of poverty. They ask me, "What does it cost to help them move themselves out of it?"

Well, I don't know how to put a price tag on a rehabilitated human being. But we do know what the costs of some of the alternatives are. The extra payment we make for public services and police costs and

jails, prisons, reform schools, and long-term custodial care, and the very high cost of our courts.

We know what the welfare costs are, we know what health services cost. Even an emergency ambulance and its attendants have a cost, and the precautions that have to be taken to prevent epidemics, the diseases of poverty, such as tuberculosis and others.

We know what the fire losses are and the property losses in areas of poverty. Also, we have to add, when we try to count the gains to what these young women are making, what is costing the Government before they were making anything, to take care of them. They are no longer tax consumers; they are now taxpayers.

In contrast, for the negative figure we have to add up how much it was costing the Government, plus how much money society was not getting because they were not producing.

I am here in support of the residential program of Job Corps, but it is not for me either/or. It is both, and we need residential centers, and for the kinds of youth needs I am most familiar with, I don't see any way to handle them except in a residential program.

I would like to see it go back to our original plan, where they came from homes not so close to the center that they can get home easily when they are upset. Boyfriends can come pick them up in any old car, or their parents can even come and get them. When they are so close they do not get a chance to sever the relationships, the friendships, and the contacts of places to go, and so forth, before they can explore the new life style they have defined as a goal.

Under the present plan we are getting more and more from the Great Lakes region and this limits my ethnic balance. I can't get Hawaiians in that area, and not many Indians, and not as many Spanish as we used to have.

I feel that a national program is essential to promote a feeling of belonging to a federal society, to combat the divisiveness that is already in our society, and not create groups that are so homogeneous.

As I get into my more restricted area of Great Lakes region, I am getting more and more to be black and white, and I think one of the great contributions to democracy is the opportunity young people get to know people of different cultures and to find individuals within each that they like or dislike as persons and to make their human relations on an individual basis and not an ethnic or racial one.

I think it is important that this kind of experience be continued on a national basis to develop citizenship for the multiethnic world which is a part of the reality of our lives.

The conceptualization of the kind of world we live in will not come from homogeneity, from a limited exposure to different kinds of people.

We all live in a world community. We don't have the ideology or the political machinery for it, but we are actually in it, and we have the responsibility to give these young people as much of an opportunity to know and to develop skills in human relations with people who are different from them, to help them develop skills on empathy and understanding of the differences in their cultures and their foods and their other kind of experiences. And to also recognize that people are more alike than different.

I think when we finally evaluate Job Corps it is going to be absolutely imperative that we look at not only what has happened to the girl, and that is, of course, the primary reason we exist, but some very important things are happening to other people also.

Big corporations, who are the contractors for many of these centers are for the first time hearing an annual report, about their corporation's involvement with Job Corps centers, and are having to be concerned with their roles in the solution of a wonderfully important social problem of poverty.

Through the network of volunteers, notably the WICK's and others, we have middle- and upper-class women with their first eyeball contact with poverty. It had been for them an academic concept before Job Corps.

What is this doing for democracy in addition to what it is doing for the girls? Tremendous things are happening through this experience, through the girls, and the academic institutions themselves are being very much helped by this experience.

I have made it part of my homework to see that the administrators, the presidents get to the Cleveland center, and I have said to them, "You should be knocking one another down trying to get there to find out what you are doing wrong, because if you are doing it right, there would not be any need for Job Corps. It is because you are failing that there is a need for it, so come and find out what is wrong."

I can't find teachers, counselors that are ready for Job Corps. They are all trained to counsel for college. We have to train these people, so now we are getting colleges who are giving courses and in Cleveland we are working closely with the Cleveland State University. Just yesterday a professor came to my office and brought a letter explaining what this experience at Job Corps means to the Cleveland State University.

She is now teaching a course on the "Sociology of Poverty," because we let her do her doctorate research in our center working in the area of motivation. She also has been working with the student teachers and her teaching staff at the university in an effort to try to give them insights into what it is the young people are getting experience in doing. We now certify teachers for inner city teaching in this Cleveland Job Corps center.

So in this very interesting letter which any of you are welcome to read, she is saying that the impact of the Cleveland Job Corps center on the Cleveland State University in the philosophy and curriculum and teacher training program is tremendous, and two of their students have entered a national essay contest. One of them won national recognition or first place in this essay contest with her writing about how her Job Corps experience had enriched her.

My staff, administrative staff, sent me a telegram this morning, and it says:

Our thoughts and prayers are with you as you verbalize for us the hopes dreams, and opportunities which Job Corps offers, not only to its corps women but to its staff as well.

I close asking a question posed by Langston Hughes in a poem 30 years ago, the poem is:

“What happens to a dream deferred?  
 Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun,  
 Or fester like a sore and then run?  
 Does it stink like rotten meat,  
 Or crust and sugar over like a syrupy sweet?  
 Maybe it sags like a heavy load,  
 Or does it explode?”

I think the answer to that lies very much in our own hands, and I am grateful to you for permitting me to share the Cleveland Job Corps center for women with you in this hearing.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much.

[Applause.]

The committee appreciates your coming here and this committee is a strong supporter of the Job Corps.

We hope we can expand our efforts.

Dr. GEORGE. You mean I am preaching to the converted?

Senator NELSON. Yes.

Dr. GEORGE. Thank you very much.

Senator NELSON. Our next witness is Mr. Leo Gable, United Brotherhood of Carpenters, Washington, D.C.

**STATEMENT OF LEO GABLE, TECHNICAL DIRECTOR OF THE APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING DEPARTMENT, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA**

Mr. GABLE. Mr. Chairman, in the interests of conserving time, both yours and mine, I should like to be brief. I would like to submit the statement of our position which you have in your possession for the record.

Mr. GABLE. But I would like to add, if I might, for emphasis that with the closure of the Job Corps centers in 1969, we were told then that the States and our local governments could pick up the option of opening those centers for training programs.

I see little evidence that they have done so to this point. Therefore, I can see no reason for them to pick up the option now if this present legislation is allowed to go through. Another thing, we are operating on a national contract with 26 of the Job Corps centers. We have 885 slots for these young men to enter into our training programs, and our apprenticeship programs.

Under the national program, we have organized a placement service with our 2,436 local unions, and 184 district councils, whereby we can call any one of them and say, “Joe Doaks from Timbuktoo is ready for placement. He wants to come into your area. Help him.”

And we can be assured of that help. If it even goes under a State plan, our placement service is going to be destroyed. We have no way of operating within the State. We would have to have contracts with every location, and we cannot do it.

There are other things that are going to affect this overall program, even though it does remain on a national basis and those are the current codes of Federal legislation that have been passed in the last few months, namely title V, and other sections, which imposes quotas, timetables, and selection procedures, et cetera.

Particularly detrimental to the overall Job Corps program is one provision of the 29-30 that has to do with the selection of apprentices for programs. If they put into effect, if they implement those provisions that would say that we have to throw the names into a hat and on a lottery system select the apprentices for those programs, then we have no way of giving these young people coming from Job Corps preference.

At the present moment, our committees all do give them preference. There is no way we could do it under a lottery system. Thank you, sir.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much for taking time to appear. Your statement will be printed in full in the record.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Gable follows:)

STATEMENT OF LEO GABLE, TECHNICAL DIRECTOR OF THE APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA, BEFORE THE SENATE SUB-COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER AND POVERTY, APRIL 28, 1971

My name is Leo Gable: I am the Technical Director of the Apprenticeship and Training Department of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

On behalf of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America I make the following statement:

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have long recognized and been concerned with the problem of youth unemployment which confronts our country today.

We further realize that many young men from hard core or poverty areas have not been provided with training opportunities which would prepare them to enter into an occupation of their choice that would assure them of an income commensurate with their skills and thus improve their living standards.

Although the policy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America has always been that no man would be denied entry into our Brotherhood because of race, color or creed, each would be judged on qualifications alone.

In an effort to provide meaningful training for these disadvantaged and underprepared youth and placement in our regular apprenticeship programs, we became involved in the Manpower Training Programs under the United States Department of Labor in 1966 and then in 1968, in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, Forestry Service, we entered carpentry training programs in certain selected Job Corps Centers and then expanded in 1969 to include Centers operated under the Department of Interior.

We believe that well organized programs of carpentry in the Job Corps Centers would provide the necessary trade preparatory training essential for the young men to enter into the construction industry.

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We are all aware of the crippling effect that the cut back in the Job Corps Programs had in 1969 and the resultant loss of training opportunities.

The young men who have graduated from these Job Corps training programs and have entered our industry are being carefully guided toward the completion of an apprenticeship program which leads to journeyman status.

The success of the organized carpentry training programs is certainly dependent upon proper training and placement. This we have been able to accomplish through an organized placement effort with our 2,436 Local Unions and 184 District Councils.

Secondly, our central control of all training center programs rather than a haphazard relationship that would develop if we are required to deal with each of the states separately.

Attached as a part of this report is our placement record for the Heber Job Corps Center, in Arizona and the Wolfcreek Center in Oregon.

It is to be noted that each individual enrolled in the carpentry classes at these centers are listed together with the starting dates, their home state and City, the State and City where they were placed and the Local Union into which they were accepted with the beginning wage rate.

It is to be further noted that most of these young men chose to relocate in areas other than their home state thus removing themselves from the atmosphere and environment that had contributed to their original difficulties.

In our opinion the provisions of the manpower revenue sharing bill (S- 1243) which would abolish the manpower programs, including the Job Corps, and place them under the state or local areas, subject to the options of the Mayors and Governors would be detrimental to the overall objectives of the Job Corps Program and certainly would make it impossible for us to continue with the placement of these young men in an organized way in that instead of one controlling contract, we would be forced to develop programs through each of the states that elected to continue the centers.

Therefore, we would recommend that these existing manpower programs be continued as they now exist.

# United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

## APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING DEPARTMENT

WILLIAM SIDELL  
FIRST GEN. VICE-PRES.  
DIRECTOR



101 CONSTITUTION AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

LEO GABLE  
TECHNICAL DIRECTOR

April 27, 1971

### RECAPITULATION OF JOB PLACEMENTS FOR HEBER AND WOLF CREEK JOB CORPS CENTERS

	<u>HEBER</u>	<u>WOLF CREEK</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Enrollment	73	99	172
Placed on Job	30	29	59
Resignations	18	38	56
Discharged on A. W. O. L. (etc.)	10	5	15
Entered Armed Services	0	2	2
Transfers	1	1	2
Graduated (Not Placed)	1	0	1
Medical Discharge	1	0	1
Returned to High School or College	0	1	1
Corpsmen Presently in Program	12	23	35
Number Corpsmen (in Probationary Period)	11		
Average Starting Wage	\$3.25	\$3.40	

### JOB PLACEMENTS BY STATES

Arizona	3
California	18
D. C.	5
Georgia	11
Hawaii	5
Indiana	1
Missouri	2
Oklahoma	1
Tennessee	2
Texas	11

TOTAL 59

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DATE: January 1st, 1970-May 1, 1971

CENTER: **HEBER**

		Home Address			Job Placement			Terminated: Qualifying Test Score		Yes/No	
Sl. No.	Name of Corpsman	Home State	City	State	City	Local Union or District/Council	Date of Placement	Per Hour	Score	Yes	No
1	N Abraham, Eugene	South Carolina	Darlington	Georgia	Atlanta	#2358	05/21/70	2.70	70.67	No	Yes
2	N Alexander, Curtis	California	Los Angeles	California	Los Angeles	#25 L.A.	03/26/70	3.41	71.22	Yes	No
3	N Arceneaux, Johnny	Louisiana	Crowley	Texas	Dallas	#1276	10/05/70	2.70	75	No	No
4	N Brockington, Roger	South Carolina	Hemlock	Georgia	Atlanta	#2358	02/15/71	2.70	72.12	No	No
5	N Chamberlain, Charles	Tennessee	Unionville	Tennessee	Memphis	#45 Memphis	06/15/70	3.73	79.12	No	No
6	N Elbert, Charles	Louisiana	Shreveport	California	San Diego	Dist. Kourwell	07/06/70	3.73	79.12	No	No
7	N Fields, Eddie	Alabama	Birmingham	Texas	Dallas	#1276	10/05/70	2.50	73	No	No
8	N Green, Clarence	Louisiana	Lafayette	Texas	Dallas	#1276	10/05/70	2.50	71	No	No
9	N Howard, Timothy	Mississippi	Jackson	Texas	Dallas	#1276	10/05/70	2.50	71	No	No
10	N Jones, Mathew	Florida	Pensacola	Texas	Dallas	#1276	10/05/70	2.50	71	No	No
11	N Malae, Yala	California	Santa Ana	Texas	Dallas	#1276	10/05/70	2.50	71	No	No
12	N McCall, William	Alabama	Montgomery	Texas	Dallas	#1276	10/05/70	2.50	71	No	No
13	N Murphy, Sherman	South Carolina	Chester	Arizona	Phoenix	#2093 Phx.	10/06/70	3.40	73.9	No	No
14	N Paul, Jerry	Louisiana	Lake Land	Texas	Dallas	#1276	05/13/70	2.50	70.98	No	No
15	N Reddon, Harry	California	San Francisco	California	San Francisco	#848 S.F.	02/30/70	3.21	87.91	Yes	No
16	N Rawls, Joe	Georgia	Dearborn	Washington	D. C.	#132	05/18/70	3.89	81.2	No	No
17	C Smith, Terry	California	Lake Wood	Tennessee	Memphis	#345	06/15/70	3.45	73.34	Yes	No
18	N Strickland, Eddie	Arkansas	Memphis	Tennessee	Memphis	#345	06/15/70	3.45	73.34	Yes	No
19	N Strickland, James	Alabama	Anniston	California	Los Angeles	#1815 Santa Ana	02/25/70	3.41	71.94	Yes	No
20	C Thomas, Robert	California	Santa Ana	California	Los Angeles	#1815 Santa Ana	02/25/70	3.41	71.94	Yes	No
21	N Topps, Harry	California	Los Angeles	California	San Diego	Dist. Council	11/23/70	3.73	70.92	No	No
22	N Warren, Ellis	Mississippi	Ocean Springs	Oklahoma	Tulsa	#943	05/19/70	3.14	82.45	No	No
23	N Williamson, James	Oklahoma	Ardenmore	California	Los Angeles	#1062	08/18/70	3.73	76.10	Yes	No
24	C Allen, William	California	Compton	California	Los Angeles	#1062	08/18/70	3.73	76.10	Yes	No
25	N Alston, James	South Carolina	Charleston	Texas	Austin	#1266 Austin	04/16/71	3.00	70.34	Yes	No

CENTER HEBER C.C.C. DATE January 1st, 1970-May 1, 1971

ID #	Name of Corpsman	Date Entered	Home Address			Job Placement			Terminated: Disciplinary Agency, Date	Qualifying Test Score	UPD Yes/No
			State	City	State	City	State	City			
1	Watson, Robert G.	05-25-70	California	Altadena	D.C.	Washington		Res. 11/17/70	76.4	Yes	
2	Carrillo, Mark	05-02-70	California	Santa Ana	California	El. View		05/18/70	72.78	No	
3	Carter, Garnell	11-06-70	California	Oakland	California			Res. 11/24/70		No	
4	Cleveland, LaMonte	07-06-70	California	Los Angeles				Res. 03/02/71		No	
5	Collins, Julius	02-02-70	Washington	Seattle				Res. 12/05/70		No	
6	Comte, Buford	06-22-70	California	El Cajon	Illinois	Kansas City		Res. 01/11/71	80.61	No	
7	Cotton, Glen	12-07-70	Mississippi	Frychaz						No	
8	Cuehuile, Daniel	09-11-70	California	Los Angeles						No	
9	Figueras, Carlos	05-25-70	California	Calverley						No	
10	Flores, Frank	06-15-70	California	Colton						No	
11	Galmore, Willie	01-19-70	Alabama	Midtown						No	
12	Garcia, LUPE	09-11-70	Arizona	Tucson				AWOL 09/21/71		No	
13	Granillo, Francisco	05-25-70	Arizona	Tucson	Texas	Dallas		Displ. 06/26/71		No	
14	Hards, Steve J.	05-25-70	California	San Diego				Res. 03/16/71	81.45	Yes	
15	Hill, Eddie	11-30-70	Mississippi	Meridian				Res. 08/10/71		No	
16	Holland, Richard	07-06-70	California	Los Angeles	Texas	Dallas			76	Yes	
17	Johnson, Calvin	12-07-70	South Carolina	Columbia	Georgia	Atlanta			2.70	No	
18	Kennedy, Nathaniel	12-28-70	South Carolina	Hinesville	Louisiana	Orry			3.50	Yes	
19	Letz, Harry	02-03-70	California	Los Angeles				Disad. 09/04/70		No	
20	Loya, Anthony	12-14-70	Mississippi	Pass Point	Missouri	Stange City		04/01/71	89.74	No	
21	Lowe, Walter	06-29-70	Iowa	Astoria	Georgia	Atlanta		02/08/71	78.42	Yes	
22	Montoya, Robert	12-07-70	Arizona	Tucson					#225		
23	Montoya, Tobias	11-06-70	New Mexico	Las Vegas							
24	Murrietta, Frank	07-31-70	Arizona	Tucson							
25	Padilla, Manny	03-16-70	Arizona	Tucson	Arizona	Tucson			#857		
26									3.51		
27									82.16	Yes	

HEBER C.C.C. DATE January 1st, 1970-May 1, 1971

Page No.	Name of Corpsman (N- Negro C- Caucasian I- Indian)	Home Address		Job Placement		Terminated: Disciplinary Army Award	Qualifying Test Score	YED Yes No
		State	City	State	City			
1	17 M Rens, Jose	California	Los Angeles	Georgia	Atlanta	Res. 09/15/70		No
2	16 M Redmond, Roosevelt	California	Los Angeles				70.93	No
3	17 M Rice, Bill	California	Thermal					No
4	18 M Silvas, Benny	Arizona	Tucson					No
5	18 C Staples, David	California	Palms					No
6	18 M Taylor, Larry	Maryland	Baltimore					No
7	19 C Thompson, Richard	Pennsylvania	Pine Creek					No
8	20 M Valencia, Arthur	California	Los Angeles					No
9	16 M Walker, Thomas M.	Virginia	Woodford					No
10	16 C White, Eugene	California	Long Beach	California	Ventura		95.20	Yes
11	20 M Wilson, David	Pennsylvania	Chester					No
12	18 M Windfield, Ori	California	Compton					No
13	16 M Young, Clyde	California	Los Angeles					No
14	17 M Zomaido, Joe	California	El Centro					No
15	17 M Reazar, Curtis	California	Los Angeles					No
16	17 M Brown, Samuel Jr.	Florida	Miami					No
17	17 M Espinoza, Florencio	Arizona	Mogales					No
18	20 C Garretson, James	Arizona	Tucson					No
19	16 M Hicks, Forest	Florida	Hallendale					No
20	16 M Ricks, Tommie	Florida	Jacksonville					No
21	17 M Romero, David	Arizona	Tucson					No
22	22 M Guerrero, Oscar	Arizona	Ysidro					No
23	17 M Simmons, Glen	South Carolina	Stratton					No

\* Transferred On Center

CENTER WOLF CREEK DATE January 1st 1970-May 1, 1971

No	Date	Name of Corpsman	Home Address			Job Placement			Terminated Disciplinary Army Records	Qualifying Test Score	Yes No
			Date Entered	Home State	City	State	City	Local Union or District Unit			
1	7-14-69	Alken, William	South Carolina	Jamez Island	Georgia	Atlanta	2-70		4-2-70	77.56	No
2	10-10-69	Arroyo, Eddie	Arizona	Phoenix							No
3	7-14-69	Atkinson, John	California	Vallero	D.C.	Washington	3-65		5-18-70	96.11	Yes
4	11-3-69	Bowens, Alfred	South Carolina	Johns Island						102.42	No
5	11-10-69	Bowens, Everett	California	Palmdale						76.43	No
6	7-14-69	Brinkman, Ken	Oregon	Portland	Hawaii	Honolulu	3-63		1-28-70	79.45	Yes
7	7-14-69	Brown, Frankie	Mississippi	Mount Bonap	Texas	Dallas	3-25		7-6-70	76.43	No
8	11-3-69	Carlisle, William	Alabama	Maevety	Georgia	Atlanta	2-70		6-11-70	79.45	No
9	10-3-69	Dvorak, Carl	Oregon	Gladstone							No
10	11-24-69	Feldes, Edward	Oregon	Medford	Hawaii	Honolulu	3-63		6-18-70	98.45	Yes
11	11-3-69	Felder, Louis	California	Rico Rivera							Yes
12	7-14-69	Ford, John	Mississippi	Jackson							No
13	8-22-69	Harrison, David	California	Pasadena	California	Los Angeles	3-59		2-2-70	88.54	Yes
14	11-10-69	Hicks, Michael	Oregon	Portland							Yes
15	7-14-69	Hooker, David	Tennessee	Memphis	D.C.	Washington	3-65		5-18-70	91.90	No
16	7-14-69	Jessie, Rodney	Florida	Pensacola	D.C.	Washington	3-65		5-18-70	75.80	Yes
17	7-14-69	Jones, Leonice	California	Racoma	California	Los Angeles	3-59		5-8-70	77.91	Yes
18	11-3-69	Kang, Jimmy	Georgia	Permy	Texas	Dallas	3-25		7-6-70	70.83	No
19	7-14-69	Lane, Ion	Oregon	Malin	Hawaii	Honolulu	3-63		4-2-70	83.06	Yes
20	11-3-69	Mann, Mysses	Florida	Greenville	Texas	Dallas	3-65		7-6-70	70.64	No
21	7-14-69	Miles, Oscar	Alabama	Trusselosa	California	Los Angeles	3-59		5-15-70	76.10	No
22	7-14-69	Ng, Tom	California	San Francisco							No
23	11-10-69	Proctor, William	California	Imperial Beach							No
24	7-14-69	Pullom, Harry	Tennessee	Trerevant	California	Sacramento	4-00		12-10-70	93.66	Yes
25	7-14-69	Smith, Gale	Mississippi	Jackson	Georgia	Atlanta	3-70		6-11-70	72.15	Yes



CENTER Wolf Creek DATE January 1st, 1970-May 1, 1971

ID #	Name of Corpsman	Home Address		Job Placement		Date of Placement	Terminated Disciplinary or Any Other	Qualifying Test Score	RED Yes or No
		Home State	City	State	City				
1	N Beckett, Leonard	Maryland	Bloomer City						No
2	N Benjamin, Isaac	California	Richmond						No
3	I Bill, Vernon	Neada	Austin	Texas	Dallas	7-6-70	Resignation	88.69	No
4	N Brown, Carson	South Carolina	Georgetown						No
5	N Burtak, Samuel	Kentucky	Philadelphia						No
6	N Cannon, John	California	Vallejo						No
7	N Cardenas, Oscar	California	Los Angeles						No
8	N Cohen, James	California	Compton						No
9	N DeLaTorne, Marco	California	Los Angeles						Yes
10	C Edwards, Michael	California	Buen Park	California	Fresno	1-29-71	Resignation	93.96	Yes
11	C Egan, James	California	Buen Park	California	Santa Ana	6-12-70		91.56	Yes
12	C Esquibel, Richard	California	Los Angeles					84.88	Yes
13	C Fecho, Greg	California	Northwalk						No
14	C Gamba, Thomas	California	Stockton						No
15	C Gardner, Arthur	California	San Jose						No
16	C Gonzales, Frank	California	Pasadena						No
17	C Guerrero, Jorge	California	Oxnard	California	Santa Monica	1-29-71	Resignation	90.64	Yes
18	C Guerrero, Richard	California	Bell						No
19	C Guido, Alfonso	California	Los Angeles						Yes
20	C Guido, Michael	California	Los Angeles						No
21	N Hardge, Will	California	Merced	Georgia	Atlanta	2-10-71	Resignation	86.67	Yes
22	C Hart, Stewart	California	Merced						No
23	N Hendrix, Clarence	Oregon	Salmon						Yes
24	N Holmes, James	California	Monrovia						No
25	C Ingersoll, Arthur	California	Los Angeles						Yes

CFINTER, Wolf Greck DATE January 1st, 1970-May 4, 1971

ID #	Name of Compsman	Date Entered	Home Address			Job Placement			Terminated: Discriminate Any Way?	Qualifying Test Score	WED Yes No
			Home State	City	State	City	Local Union or District	Date of Placement			
1	Jones, Roosevelt	3-2-71	California	El Centro						No	
2	Kohl, Gerald	4-12-71	California	Los Hollywood						No	
3	Kieker, Dan	3-2-71	California	Merwalk						No	
4	Loiza, MAVOR	1-12-71	California	Los Angeles						Yes	
5	Lopez, Elmer	10-27-70	ARIZONA	Sallis				RESIGNATION		Yes	
6	Marsh, Walter	4-1-70	Oregon	Herniston				ANNED FORGERS		No	
7	Martinez, Larry	4-7-71	California	Richmond						No	
8	Martinez, Ventura	2-9-70	California	SAN FRANCISCO						Yes	
9	Myberry, Jerry	5-27-70	California	Fresno				RESIGNATION		Yes	
10	McKelvie, Patrick	11-2-70	CALIFORNIA	San Luis Obispo				RESIGNATION		Yes	
11	Moraz, Richard	4-28-70	California	Los Angeles				RESIGNATION		Yes	
12	Merritt, James	4-1-70	California	Los Angeles				RESIGNATION		Yes	
13	Miller, Ralph	12-8-70	California	Lake Side				RESIGNATION		No	
14	Monjaraz, Frank	4-28-70	California	Los Angeles				RESIGNATION		Yes	
15	Morgan, Jeffery	2-9-70	California	Los Angeles				RESIGNATION		No	
16	Morris, Jerry	4-1-70	California	Los Angeles				P.D.		No	
17	Nei, David	5-27-70	California	Santa Cruz				RESIGNATION		No	
18	O'Keefe, Glenn	9-17-70	California	Oakland				RESIGNATION		Yes	
19	Pacheco, Eddie	3-2-71	California	San Jose				TRANSFER		No	
20	Penny, Hubert	5-27-70	North Carolina	Snow Hill				Alcohol Discharge		No	
21	Plumlee, Michael	8-3-70	California	Madera				Alcohol Discharge		Yes	
22	Puig, Robert	8-10-70	Arizona	Tucson				RESIGNATION		Yes	
23	Porraz, John	3-2-71	California	Stockton				RESIGNATION		Yes	
24	Preciado, Julio	12-8-70	ARIZONA	Tucson				RESIGNATION		Yes	
25	Purnell, Steve	5-27-70	Pennsylvania	Philadelphia				RESIGNATION		No	

CENTER Wolf Creek DATE January 1st, 1970-May 1, 1971

ID	No	Name of Corpsman	Home Address		Job Placement		Terminated: Disciplinary Reason	Qualifying Test Score	IFD Yes No
			Date Entered	City State	City State	Local Union or District			
1	19	Quon, DARRYL	8-3-70	California	San Francisco				
2	17	Robson, LESTER	1-26-70	Neveda	Reno				
3	19	Salisbury, LEONARD	4-28-70	California	San Francisco				
4	19	Scalisi, MARIO	1-12-71	California	Watsonville				
5	20	Setlers, MICHAEL	3-2-71	California	ARIZONA				
6	20	Snyder, STEVE	8-3-70	Oregon	White City			97.59	
7	17	Stewart, ALEXIS	4-7-71	California	Fresno				
8	17	Thompson, MICHAEL	4-28-70	California	ELIZABETH				
9	17	Tobin, DANIEL	2-3-71	California	San Jose				
10	17	Torres, ARMANDO	3-23-70	ARIZONA	TUCSON				
11	17	Torres, GERALD	3-4-70	California	Los Angeles	ARIZONA		92.93	
12	17	Valdez, MICHAEL	4-28-70	California	San Francisco	California			
13	16	Van Gorder, DAVID	9-15-70	OREGON	CANBY			97.62	
14	17	Walker, ANTHONY	9-15-70	California	Fresno				
15	18	Walker, VINCENT	5-27-70	Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh				
16	18	Watkins, DENNIS	5-27-70	California	San Diego				
17	16+	Westley, JOHN	1-12-71	California	Sepeveda				
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Senator NELSON. Our next witness is Mr. Clarence Hodges, St. Louis Council of Black People.

Mr. HODGES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator NELSON. You may proceed as you wish.

Thank you.

Mr. HODGES. Thank you, Senator Nelson.

#### STATEMENT OF CLARENCE E. HODGES, ST. LOUIS COUNCIL OF BLACK PEOPLE

Mr. HODGES. Mr. Chairman and honorable committeemen, it is with great delight that I respond to this awesome opportunity to address this committee today. A great delight because it gives me and the powerless people I represent an opportunity to be heard on the very issues that make us powerless in a society with extreme inequality in its distribution of power.

An awesome opportunity it is because I cannot tell the whole story, I cannot present all the evidence, I cannot penetrate every wall of prejudice, unconcern, and hatred.

I shall limit my statistical analysis of the problem to avoid duplication of what has already been presented or researched by your staff.

During the first quarter of 1970, in the St. Louis area, which has a population in excess of 2,000,000, we felt an economic pinch with unemployment well above 5 percent. We thought that was bad because an economic pinch for the general community means a recession for the black community.

But the number of jobless workers for the first quarter of 1971 showed a 29-percent increase over the same period for 1970. If that isn't cause for alarm and immediate action, it doesn't snow in Minneapolis.

We have 15,000 black boys between the ages of 15 and 19 that have no summer jobs to look forward to. Picture, if you can, that many black boys at the edge of manhood, from 15 to 19, with almost no opportunity to prove they are men, strong, and brave. Some ideas have been advanced but I urge a counter plan for their energies. Show them it's not necessary to burn a house down to get rid of termites.

Because of the organization I represent and my firsthand knowledge of the black community and its over abundance of economic problems, I must look at this problem of poverty and manpower through black eyes, but also through poor eyes, through eyes that have been hungry, through eyes that have been unemployed and through eyes that have been the victims of discrimination.

The need in the black community is not for unemployment to be reduced, from 6 percent to 5 or 4 percent. We would be extremely gratified at a first step that would reduce black employment from the conservative estimate of 15 percent down to 6 percent. More realistic estimates of black unemployment indicate over 25 percent.

The wall that separates black from economic opportunities contains blacks of inadequate education, lack of skills, police records, health problems, lack of child care, lack of transportation, lack of experience in the world of work, and racial discrimination.

Racial discrimination is seen throughout this wall of economic deprivation and may well be considered the agent that holds all the blocks firmly in place preventing any breakthrough for the masses.

These blocks must be replaced with doors of relevant education, free skill training, the destruction of misleading or meaningless police records, health services, child care services, and adequate transportation.

Racial discrimination must carry deterrent penalties if it is to be deterred. Slaps on the wrist and appeal to consciences have proved to have little effect on the increasing covert acts of racism. Not only must funds and contracts be withheld but persons responsible must be brought before courts of justice for effective sentencing when charges of discrimination are founded.

Legislation prohibiting phrases in labor agreements that provided for discriminatory practices is urgently needed.

Programs such as CEP (concentrated employment program), New Careers, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Mainstream, and the total community action package of OEO must be expanded to reasonably meet the obviously expanded need.

More services must be available for those entering such programs (especially unemployment programs) and better jobs for those existing.

The value of these underfunded programs in St. Louis can never be measured as they have not only meant a meaningful life and self support for scores of thousands that otherwise would still be on the merry-go-round but for many they have actually preserved life.

In addition, they have prodded other established agencies to respond to human needs in a humane manner. This prodding should never be devalued and at this crucial time in history must not be diminished.

Politics has its place as benefits are thereby produced for all. But the heart of the antipoverty movement cannot survive the deadly fallout of additional political control.

Political staff appointments and consistent preferential service to political referents to the detriment of those who have only one vote each would lead to increased frustration and rejection of the high moral principles exalted by this country.

The jobless would often be caught between a would-be employer of one political philosophy or party and an elected official on the opposite side. The jobless would be punished by the would-be-employer's unwillingness to "reward" the elected official.

These problems exist in the best of the Revenue Manpower Sharing Act. Only the limits of one's imagination could limit the probable abuses in the "non-best" situations.

The tooling up time alone involved in major changes at this time would possibly spell disaster. A prime example of the problem in miniature is the proposed Job Corps Center for St. Louis. It is presently the political football but the kids are being kicked.

I urge action now because when summer comes it will be their turn.

We need neighborhood career development of skill centers for youth that will pay a stipend to the in-school and out-of-school coupling the out-of-school with OJT. We need youth casual labor centers to help meet the parttime and temporary employment needs of youth.

Counseling, transportation and other supportive services would help stabilize the individual and lead to success. Public works projects, which would include removing pollution from our environment would solve several problems (health, employment, appearance, food, etc.), for almost the cost of one.

Public service careers could make possible quality governmental services, which would lead to an increased willingness to pay taxes and support government in general.

All such employment would increase taxes and decrease welfare. The removal, repair, and sale of derelict automobiles and parts could provide training and employment.

With the increased opportunities to make a living lawfully, certain crimes would automatically decrease. The problem of crime could further be reduced by creating job opportunities for the paraprofessional in law, law enforcement, security, probation, parole, and so forth. The present system can deliver, if required, with streamlining, delegation of some flexibility, some coordination, and some control at the local CAP agency.

To stand still now will be taking a giant step backwards. We call for our leaders to lead us forward responding to today's challenges today with solutions that will preserve our world society for our young tomorrow.

America has long sought to maintain an image of high Christian principles. If I may quote one of my favorite authors who states:

If you would walk in the steps of Christ, you need not walk the dusty roads of Palestine. You need only give your time and energies by the sickbed in the hovels of the poor and with the downtrodden.

I say it is time for America to live up to these high principles and to enter the humanities field and leave the battlefield.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Our next witness is a group appearing as a panel representing the National Association of Neighborhood Youth programs directors, Edward Wightman of Troy, N.Y.; Milton Morris of Cleveland, Ohio; James Chavis of Baltimore, Md.; Richard Riggs of Camden, N.J.; and Malcom Blue of Cleveland, Ohio.

**STATEMENT OF EDWARD WIGHTMAN, TROY, N.Y.; MILTON MORRIS, CLEVELAND, OHIO; JAMES CHAVIS, BALTIMORE, MD.; RICHARD RIGGS, CAMDEN, N.J.; PAUL KURZMAN, NEW YORK N.Y.; AND MALCOLM BLUE OF CLEVELAND, OHIO; COMPRISING A PANEL REPRESENTING THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS DIRECTORS**

Mr. WIGHTMAN. With the exception of Mr. Smith, Mr. Chairman, we are present. He was in an automobile accident and is badly banged up. Mr. Richard Riggs from Camden, N.J., is here in his stead.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I want to recognize to my left Mr. Malcom Blue, city of Cleveland, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Mr. James Chavis, city of Baltimore, Neighborhood Youth Corps, to my right Mr. Richard Riggs, Director, Camden County NYC, Camden County, N.J., and Mr. Paul Kurzman, Director, NYC,

New York City, and Mr. Edward Wightman, Director, NYC, Troy, N.Y.

There will be two brief presentations, Mr. Chairman, one by the enrollee, Mr. Malcolm Blue, followed by a brief presentation by myself.

There will be a summary of a prepared test I delivered to the committee yesterday.

At this time I would like to recognize Mr. Blue.

Senator NELSON. Mr. Blue?

**STATEMENT OF MALCOLM BLUE, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CLEVELAND NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS ENROLLEE ADVISORY BOARD**

Mr. BLUE. This speech has been composed by three officers of the Cleveland Neighborhood Youth Corps Enrollee Advisory Board—myself, Malcom Blue, Director of the Advisory Board; Louise Taylor, Deputy Director of the Advisory Board; and Charles St. Clair, editor of our newspaper, the New Youth Communicator.

We are all former high school dropouts and all fall within the economic standards set by the Government as the poverty level. We intend to show the following needs: an organization in which adults and young people can get information and establish some contact with each other; good vocational and college prep schools available to inner-city youths with no tuition or travel restrictions; guaranteed jobs for all people; and effective investigation and punishment of all drug pushers and dealers with an end to the drug traffic.

Lack of effective communication is one of the most common problems between the older generation and the young people today. The young people of today and the older people of yesterday cause great confusion at home and in the schools because of the generation gap.

At school a youth tries to express the ideal he has on his mind.

Instead of a teacher listening and trying to see where he comes from, the teacher tells him that he's not talking about the subject and to go do his thing somewhere else.

When it comes to his home, the youth's parents argue with him. They tell him he shouldn't think his own individual radical thoughts, and if he keeps on he will be put out.

When parents are confronted with problems of their children which they have ignored, such as dealing with sex and drugs, instead of trying to help their child by trying to find out more about the situation, they turn them off by directing them to find help somewhere else.

But what happens when an older person doesn't understand an expression of a youngster or a member of the hip generation—where should we tell them to go?

We need an organization in which adults and young people can get information and establish some contact.

One of the major problems that youth faces is education. When the average youth enters school, it's usually the school in his district and not the school that best suits the individual. A student with a high aptitude many times is forced by present restrictions to go to a school in his district that does not best fit his educational needs. Just because a youth comes from a poverty stricken area doesn't mean that he

shouldn't be given a chance to obtain the education which is best for him.

A youth from a prosperous community can attend any school of his choosing because he can afford to cross district lines and pay tuition. The poverty stricken youth should have the same privileges. We need good vocational and college prep schools available to inner-city youths with no tuition or travel restrictions.

Employment is another one of the major problems that a youth faces. There just aren't enough jobs available to him before and after completing his education. After completing his education he has everything going for himself except experience. He's young; he has the eagerness to learn; he has the energy. This is why I say that jobs must be made available to the youth, in order to crush the poverty which exists in such a prosperous nation.

There are a lot of people with an education and experience who have more going for them than a high school graduate, and they are unemployed. Unemployment is so high and opportunities are so limited, what chance does a high school graduate have?

There should be guaranteed jobs for all people.

Most young people use drugs to escape these and other problems of every day life. Overpopulation, the draft, unemployment, hunger, inflation, the war, and a tremendous dropout rate, are some of the problems. They feel that the system is slowly, but surely destroying itself, and by taking a little acid or speed or any other type of drugs they are escaping this overpopulated, destructive, inevitable ball of confusion.

I, as a youth would like to see the drug traffic end, and the only way this can be done is to get rid of these problems. The Government should have ex-addicts as well as teachers teach about drugs in the public school system and in other institutions. Thus the students will get first hand information from the junkie or ex-addict and practical evaluation from the teachers.

While all this is being brought about the Government must recruit young adults into an investigative program whose sole purpose is to stop the ever increasing drug rate. If pushers and dealers were effectively investigated and punished, if there were no profit in the drug business, the drug traffic would end.

Your consideration of the above problems and your actions in bringing about solutions to them would be a major step in conquering the problems of youth.

I will conclude my speech with a quote:

Standing here on the boardwalk  
 One black soul in a world of millions  
 Hesitantly looking out at the blue-green waves of the sea,  
 And all the while wondering, "should I jump in  
 And escape this incurable disease that man calls life?"

Thank you.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Blue follows:)

STATEMENT OF THE CLEVELAND NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPSENROLLEE ADVISORY BOARDBEFORE THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEEON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER AND POVERTYSENATOR GAYLORD NELSON, CHAIRMAN

This speech has been composed by three officers of the Cleveland Neighborhood Youth Corps Enrollee Advisory Board--myself, Malcolm Blue, Director of the Advisory Board; Louise Taylor, Deputy Director of the Advisory Board; and Charles St. Clair, editor of our newspaper, "The New Youth Communicator". We are all former high school dropouts and all fall within the economic standards set by the government as the poverty level. We intend to show the following needs: An organization in which adults and young people can get information and establish some contact with each other; good vocational and college prep schools available to inner-city youths with no tuition or travel restrictions; guaranteed jobs for all people; and effective investigation and punishment of all drug pushers and dealers with an end to the drug traffic.

Lack of effective communication is one of the most common problems between the older generation and the young people of today. The young people of today and the older people of yesterday cause great confusion at home and in the schools because of the generation gap. At school a youth tries to express the ideas he has on his mind. Instead of a teacher listening and trying to see where he comes from, the teacher tells him that he's not talking about the subject and to go do his thing somewhere else.

When he comes to his home, the youth's parents argue with him. They tell him he shouldn't think his own individual radical thoughts, and if he keeps on he will be put out. When parents are confronted with problems of their children which they have ignored, such as dealing with sex and drugs, instead of trying to help their child by trying to find out more about the situation, they turn them off by directing them to find help somewhere else. But what happens when an older person doesn't understand an expression of a youngster or a member of the hip generation-- where should we tell them to go? We need an organization in which adults and young people can get information and establish some contact.

One of the major problems that youth faces is education. When the average youth enters school, it's usually the school in his district and not the school that best suits the individual. A student with a high aptitude many times is forced by present restrictions to go to a school in his district that does not best fit his educational needs. Just because a youth comes from a poverty stricken area doesn't mean that he shouldn't be given a chance to obtain the education which is best for him. A youth from a prosperous community can attend any school of his choosing because he can afford to cross district lines and pay tuition. The poverty stricken youth should have the same privileges. We need good vocational and college prep schools available to inner-city youths with no tuition or travel restrictions.

Employment is another one of the major problems that a youth faces. There just aren't enough jobs available to him before and after completing his education. After completing his education he has everything going for himself except experience. He's young; he has the eagerness to learn; he has the energy. This is why I say that jobs must be made available to the youth, in order to crush the poverty which exists in such a prosperous nation.



Mr. MORRIS. The panel will express problems of different areas. I will present the problems of Cleveland, which are also present in 100 large cities across the country. In March, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported there was 15.4 percent unemployment among teenagers 16 to 21. In the inner city among nonwhites, in the city of Cleveland, the unemployment rate is at 49 percent.

School is letting out in June, there will be college students home, and people have asked us as operators to take care of the problem. We can't begin to take care of the problem. We have programs, programs with guidelines, programs with limited funds, and as Dr. George spoke this morning, we have many other problems. The jobs are needed.

I feel that we must start by introducing a national system of vocational education. According to a recent study made by manpower, planning and development commissions in the city of Cleveland work education programs, which involve a part time employment of students outside the school, and part-time classroom instructions have been incorporated in the vocational programs of some schools.

Part-time cooperative education programs involve close cooperation between the school and employing agencies.

The school assists students in finding jobs, provides work experience and offers individualized school instructions, and offers on-the-job training.

This type of program has proven effective in producing or finding jobs for the unemployed. 90 percent find jobs in the area for which they were trained.

The problem, sir, is not one which is solved or tolerated easily. It is not a problem that we can correct by only adding a national program of vocational education. We must solve that problem now, and I propose that there be public service jobs in such fields as health, and welfare work, and conservation and recreation.

Even sir, if all these problems were solved, there still would remain a greater problem. The lack of job opportunities in either the public or private sector. Companies are cutting back and cities are suffering from economic downturn. At one point, cities were able to absorb some of those persons displaced by private industry.

In the city of Cleveland, today, there were 3,300 people laid off the city payroll. Therefore, the Federal Government through public service employment, must provide help in the alleviation of this problem.

You would like to now recognize Mr. James Chavis from Baltimore.

Mr. CHAVIS. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, there are two basic points that I want to address myself to very briefly, and there are things that are very much in the news that were spoken to this morning, particularly by the former Vice President, Senator Humphrey.

One deals with the current proposals for revenue sharing. Our feelings regarding revenue sharing is that, and this is a phrase used by some people in Baltimore, it is an attempt to get States rights through the back door.

Those of us who grew up—and I grew up in the South—in a system of States rights know that those minorities, the disadvantaged, whether black or white and especially the black, will suffer under any

such system, and we feel that the current proposed revenue sharing proposals that we have heard will work to the disadvantage of those who need the programs.

The other point, Mr. Chairman, is that the administration is proposing what is being called the decategorization of manpower programs.

They are proposing to eliminate NYC, eliminate Job Corps, eliminate other categorical manpower programs and give the money in bloc grants to subdivisions.

Again, we oppose this very strongly. There are specific national needs, and therefore there must be specific national programs to meet these needs.

My colleague from Cleveland has spoken about the problems in Cleveland, my colleague from New York City and Troy, N.Y., here can talk about the problems, but they are the same problems that we have in Baltimore, and it would be a great waste of resources, of manpower, and of money if these problems exist in all these areas and there is not a concentrated effort nationally.

We live in a very mobile community where people constantly go from area to area, carrying their same problems with them, and therefore we must have national effort geared toward solving these problems, and we hope that this committee will consider this in whatever legislation might come out.

To very briefly summarize, Mr. Chairman, revenue sharing, I do not know all the details of it, and I have only briefly seen in the newspapers some proposals so I do not know in detail but that which I have heard and that which I have learned causes a great deal of concern, as I say, not only for the black, but for the poor and disadvantaged in any particular area.

Revenue sharing will serve to their detriment. Thank you very much.

Senator NELSON. How many do you have in your program?

Mr. CHAVIS. We have about 550, and in the school we have only about 400. We have been told for the coming summer to expect at this point 5,000 slots. We have in the Baltimore school district approximately 98,000 young people who are going to be coming out of high schools and junior high schools.

So I can see that Baltimore City is approximately 50 percent black. One out of every 9 people in the city of Baltimore are on public welfare. These are statistics, and they are probably higher in the 1970 census figures. You can estimate that one out of every three or four people in the city of Baltimore meet the OEO low income criteria.

Yet we only have this number of jobs for the tens of thousands of young people who are going to be on the streets.

Senator NELSON. How many did you have last summer?

Mr. CHAVIS. Approximately 6,000.

Senator NELSON. How many the summer before?

Mr. CHAVIS. About 7,000 the summer before.

Senator NELSON. What is the most you have ever had?

Mr. CHAVIS. Around 7,000.

Senator NELSON. That was in 1969?

Mr. CHAVIS. Yes, in 1969.

Senator NELSON. So as the problems gets worse, you get fewer slots.

Mr. CHAVIS. Yes.

When the Senator made that statement this morning, that is absolutely true. In the out-of-school program, there is a constant reduction in the slots, and yet the number of kids in the Baltimore City community available for this is increasing, and this makes it worse.

Senator NELSON. How many job slots do you think you could handle usefully?

Mr. CHAVIS. Constructively based upon resources in the community, the training and educational resources, we could handle at least 1,500 in the out-of-school program and I would say approximately 15,000 in the summer program, no less than that.

Then you would still leave a tremendous unmet need, and another point, Mr. Chairman, one program whether it is Neighborhood Youth Corps or Job Corps, cannot meet the total needs.

The program is too massive for that. This program has to be strengthened, but you also have to approach it from other areas, because you are going against several hundred deprivations, neglect, racism, and there has to be support from more than one faction.

When you cut out the programs, the few programs, that are trying to do anything, when you maintain the same level or reduce it, it gets worse, because a program of this nature can not maintain its same level.

To maintain its level is really to bring it down, because the problems are constantly increasing, if you understand what I am trying to say.

So it is bad and it is getting worse.

Senator NELSON. You have supervisory people within the city to handle this?

Mr. CHAVIS. Yes, this would not be a problem. There are many many individuals. As the gentleman from Cleveland said, most cities are in a financial crisis, and this is the reason many mayors have been wavering in relation to revenue sharing.

They have a financial crisis, and money coming from anywhere looks good to many of them. However, what many of them fail to realize is that this is an illusion put forth by a master magician, and it is not really money, because they are proposing to take the little bit of money they have coming into the cities and put it all into one plan, and say, "Do what you can with your many problems with that little bit of money."

They would be worse off than they were in the beginning, because there are struggles in many localities that could possibly blow them apart.

I will turn it back to our chairman.

(The prepared statement of Mr. Chavis follows:)

TESTIMONY OF JAMES M. CHAVIS, DIRECTOR, BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS AND VICE PRESIDENT FOR REGION III NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION

My name is James M. Chavis. I am Director of Baltimore City Neighborhood Youth Corps and Vice President of National Association of Neighborhood Youth Corps Directors.

Mr. Chairman, let me first express my appreciation for the opportunity to bring the views of the staff and enrollees of the Baltimore City Neighborhood Youth Corps Program and those of the Baltimore City Community Action Agency. We consider this invitation a distinct honor and hope the testimony presented today will be helpful to this committee as it considers what may well be a major landmark in domestic legislation.

My testimony today will be in two parts. The first will deal with an evaluation of the manpower needs of young people today and the programs currently attempting to meet these needs. The second part will deal with our current and proposed manpower legislation as it relates to young people and directions we feel that the programs could possibly move toward.

The youth employment problem today approaches that of a major disaster. Unemployment throughout the nation is high for all ages and for all races; however, in no group is the percentage and depth of unemployment as high as it is for the young. When we consider the problems of the young minorities, the unemployment problem approaches a level doubled that we experienced during a national depression. Minority youth today are in and have been in a depression for some time and things do not appear to be improving, in fact, they appear to be getting worst.

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The problems of unemployment of all races continues today as perhaps the major domestic unmet need.

The City of Baltimore is the 7th largest city in the nation and the nation's number one inland seaport. There are approximately 25,000 young people between the age of 16 and 21 who are high school dropouts and more than 50%, approximately 12,5000, are unemployed. These figures do not include the high school graduates who are also unemployed. The statistics kept by the local Department of Employment Security are not always totally accurate in showing the full unemployment problem in a particular region because many people are never counted in their statistics, they never register for work, and do not consider the employment service as a real resource in their search for a job.

The unemployment problem for youth is magnified during the summer when the 10's of thousands of high school students begin the annual search for some productive summer activity. In Baltimore there are approximately 80,000 senior and junior high school students, most of whom will be looking for some employment activity during summer and most of whom will be unsuccessful in their search. The major sources of summer employment for youth are the Neighborhood Youth Corps which provides the overwhelming majority of the summer jobs for low income youth and the NABS Jobs Program. We have been told in Baltimore that there will be a considerable reduction in the number of employment opportunities offered by the NABS Jobs Program because of the current employment situation. In the past years the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Baltimore has operated at a summer level of approximately 7,000 which is only about 7.5% of the number of junior and senior high school students in the area.

There are only two programs in Baltimore which specialize in the youth employment problem, the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps. The Job Corps because of its nature can handle only small numbers and these have to be handled in locations that sometimes remove the youngster from his home. The Skill Centers that are being developed in certain locations around the country provide a wonderful addition to the current Job Corps concept and we support and encourage the production of the Job Corps Skill Centers.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is by far the major program attempting to meet the employment needs of the youths. The Out of School Neighborhood Youth Corps Program in all areas, Baltimore included, is funded at a slot level too small and too restricted to meet the needs that a program potential could meet. The basic concept and operational methods of the Neighborhood Youth Corps Out of School Program, we feel, are good. However, it needs to be expanded greatly and the local sponsors given more flexibility and control over programming and use of resources. We strongly encourage this distinguished committee to consider this.

An evaluation of current poverty programs, whether in manpower or in other areas, is difficult and has to be approached very carefully. Most of the current evaluations of the manpower programs, we feel, are not valid or conclusive as they usually begin with a negative approach by individuals whose basic aim is to discredit or take control of the program from their current sponsors. The efforts of most of the critics and so called evaluators of our current manpower programs is geared at taking control or eliminating and not improving the programs and this cannot be over emphasized.

There is one point that we wish to give some special attention, the current revenue sharing proposals and the elimination of categorical manpower programs is an area that gives us great concern. We feel that there is a need for specific categories in manpower legislation on a national level, as there are specific needs in the manpower field that are national in scope. Abolition of categories would not serve the needs of the young people. It would be to the detriment of the localities and could possibly destroy the entire manpower effort for many years to come. Young people have different needs in their search for jobs from those of older people, and the young high school drop outs have some very definite needs. There is a need for programs such as Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and others of this nature to work with these specific needs. We recognize the need for more flexibility on the local level but this flexibility must be carried out according to federal guidelines. Some local politicians given complete control of spending the manpower resources would perpetuate their own existence and own power first, and secondly, use these funds to meet the needs of the people. The poor, the disadvantaged, the black, the Chicanos and others will receive very little service in most areas if they are not instrumental in maintaining the current power structure in a particular locality. The services given them in many areas now reflect this.

We do feel the need for some centralized administration and control of manpower programs and the efforts currently being made with the Comprehensive Area Manpower Planning Systems (CAMPS) we feel is a positive effort and we encourage its continuation.

All manpower programs geared to serve the poor and the young must have an input from these groups in its planning and operation.

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They must also be made to be administratively and programatically responsive and to some degree responsible to them. This can only be done through national categorical programs and will probably not be done through Revenue Sharing. Revenue Sharing is to many people states rights through the back door and those who are black or members of a minority race know that in any situation comparable to states rights they are in serious trouble and we can see this as being no different. The federal government must insure adequate and fair treatment of all groups and not leave groups to the descretion of local political machines and parties.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we feel that the Sub Committee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty is to be commended for considering the employment problems of youth as it is a major national problem, and if solutions are not found, could become a national catastrophe. We feel there is a need for more resources and a greater national committment to deal with this problem, however, we must caution against some of the proposals currently being made as they would be a step backwards. There is a need for a national category and we feel that this could be coupled with greater control in flexibility given to the local sponsors in the operation of programs. The employment problems of the young people today are really the employment problems of this country and we support the efforts of this distinguished committee to bring some relief to the hundred of thousands of young people who need help. Mr. Chairman, let me thank you again for the distinct privilege of appearing before your distinguished committee and having the opportunity to present our views on this important piece of legislation.

Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to recognize now Mr. Richard Riggs, from Camden County, N.J.

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Chairman, I will not be redundant, and repeat some of the statistics that my other colleagues and the speakers prior to us have dealt with. You can put Camden before any of those speeches that were given today and that tells you our situation.

We dealt with something as far as our Neighborhood Youth Corps kids are concerned, concerning the types of jobs they can go into. I will deal with this one specific point. Our guidelines say "Nonprofit Agencies and Social Service Agencies."

When you get a 16- or 17-year-old dropping out of school, who is turned off by the system, they are telling us to place them in work experience within the system that has turned them off already.

Jobs are scarce. This is a known fact. Why not give the Neighborhood Youth Corps program a free hand to get work experience and training in whatever area we can get that youth interested in and whatever jobs industry is willing to give us?

We are tied down by that particular guideline, and I know it has been fought ever since I have been connected with the Labor Department programs. Your social service agencies are basically operated by the city, county, or possibly State. At 16 or 17, when that enrollee comes out of your program after 2 years, these agencies are not going to change their age-old system and give that teenager a job, whereas in industry or the building trades, there is a possibility of him going into an area where he can actually earn some money.

I don't think that it has been dealt with before. You have attended quite a few meetings and really participated in many other panel hearings and in my experience, though I know it is much less than yours, so have I. You have heard and dealt with a lot of rhetoric but I say the points that have been brought before you today are real, and I am hoping that your committee will utilize the funds which are available in this country, and will bring forth and maintain the programs that are available now to alleviate this major situation before the warnings that have been put forth to you today become a reality.

Thank you.

Senator NELSON. How many youth do you have in your program?

Mr. RIGGS. Pardon me?

Senator NELSON. How many do you have in your program?

Mr. RIGGS. I have 35 out of school slots in a city of 100,000, and the other part of the county has 15 municipalities which I am supposed to serve.

Senator NELSON. Your county is what?

Mr. RIGGS. I am from the county of Camden. The city alone has a population of 102,000. I have 35 slots and I can get that out of the school right next door to my office.

Well, when you are talking about high school dropouts.

Senator NELSON. How many summer slots?

Mr. RIGGS. As of this year, I have been informed that I have 333, which is twice as much as the out-of-school program has ever had. Last year, I had 150 from the Department of Labor and the year before that it was 150.

Senator NELSON. How many would you say will be eligible in your community if slots were available?

Mr. RIGGS. Would be eligible?

I would say 6,000 or more when you consider the three major high schools in my city. You are talking about 16-and 17-year-old youth and your summer programs are for kids going back to school in the fall.

You have those in the 8th grade who are at that 16-year-old level, also. Those under 16 are just out of luck, except for a few part-time slots which I get from a grant from Campbell Soup Co. within my city, but those under 16 are basically just out there.

There is no provision for them at all.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to recognize Paul Kurzman from the New York City neighborhood youth program.

Mr. KURZMAN. They say that New York City's problems are very much like the problems of other cities, just a little bit bigger and just a little bit worse. I am sure that this is probably true. The gentleman from Baltimore, Mr. Chavis, has indicated that the rate of people on public assistance on Baltimore is one out of every eight.

New York is now better than one out of every seven. It is a pretty terrifying statistic to work with.

In terms of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, I think what we are faced with in our year-round program, especially NYC-2, is the fact that we are deeply affected by the recession in the economy.

What we find is, no matter how good our skills training is, no matter how effective our remedial programs are, that we cannot place youngsters in industry when industry itself is laying off workers who have been with them loyally for many years.

I have had repeated contracts and agreements with industry to do skills training, and I have always said that I won't go into skills training unless the person doing the skills training assures that all successful graduates of that program are guaranteed paying positions as full-time workers once they successfully complete training.

What we are finding now is that if we go to a corporation and that corporation says to us, yes, we will do the skills training, they will say to us also, but how can we promise that your youngsters—now, remember, age 16 or 17 and disadvantaged—how can we promise him employment even if he successfully graduates when we just laid off 900 workers last week who have been with us from 5 to 25 years, who have families to support and who have a record of loyal and committed service?

I think their argument is a good one, and I think it is increasingly becoming the problem of NYC-2.

But I would suggest that it is the problem of NYC-2 and perhaps of all similar manpower training programs, and that is connected with the problem of the recession and the inflation and that is taking place in our economy, and the failure, it would appear, of the administration to move in certain bold ways to overcome that, and I think we need bold moves in the administration and we need some Harry Hopkinses to come in with the administration guidelines.

We don't see this, and I would want the members of the Senate committee to understand the effect that this has upon a program like NYC-2, which has been put into effect in order to increase the opportunity to place youngsters with marketable skills.

The market is not there to receive them.

The final comment I would make is that I must say with some candor that I have concern that with the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin's calling of this meeting, that more members of the subcommittee have not been able to choose, or been free to attend these particular hearings.

I think all of us here know of the Chairman's broad support and are deeply respectful for your particular support, not only of neighborhood youth programs, but the expansion and strengthening of manpower programs in general, and I would only hope that some of your colleagues who perhaps may be less sympathetic have the opportunity to hear and read some of the testimony today so that they can be converted by you and by other Senators who have taken leadership in this area, and become more willing to fight for the type of manpower programs from this administration that are going to make the difference between a successful neighborhood youth corps and a neighborhood youth corps that is trying to place youngsters in a job market that is not prepared to receive them.

Thank you.

Senator NELSON. Thank you. Let me say that Senator Javits asked me to extend a welcome to the witnesses from New York.

I think every member of this Manpower and Poverty Subcommittee is concerned and interested in the manpower programs we are considering here today.

I had to schedule these hearings without regard for the schedules of other members. I am missing from a hearing that is going on every morning this week, a committee of which I am a member.

Some witnesses from my State were testifying yesterday while I was conducting a hearing here, and they were wondering why I was not there. The problem of all members is that we are members of several committees, at least three committees, and several subcommittees, and these committee hearings are for the purpose of getting testimony, and they have to be scheduled in conflict with other subcommittee and committee meetings.

But the record of all of the hearings, before we proceed to a markup of the bill for an extension of OEO, all the hearings will be printed, and then in the hands of the members of the subcommittee.

Then we will proceed after that to take up the bill, and we will have to have a quorum on that bill. Those that don't or could not be here will all have testimony printed in their hands before we start meeting in executive session.

Mr. KURZMAN. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to recognize Mr. Wightman of Troy, N. Y.

Mr. WIGHTMAN. Mr. Chairman, if you were to have all the NYC directors of the country here, you would probably find one of the most frustrated group of people in the world. You would also find among them some of the most resourceful people you could imagine.

Their survival depends on their resourcefulness, believe me. I would like to switch from the battery of statistical kinds of data that you have and talk a little bit about the U.S. Department of Labor.

NYC directors, the reality of their status is that they do work in

some ways for and certainly at the whim of the Department, which puts us directly in a different kind of position here today than many of the other witnesses that have been here.

Because of the lack of technical assistance, to projects because of the lack of consistent and timely communications to projects from the Department, because of hundreds of directors around the country operating in an informational vacuum today to this, there has emerged the National Association of Neighborhood Youth Corps Directors to solve some problems that should never have existed in the first place, to do a job that the Department has not done.

That is, to insure that guidelines are consistently handed down, to make every effort to plug into secondary kinds of policy decisions what is actually hanging in the field.

When NYC-2 came down the pike the U.S. Department of Labor officials told me some of us who were present here today, that they went all the way down to those hard rock field recommendations.

Senator NELSON. They what?

Mr. WIGHTMAN. That they went all the way down to the hard rock field representatives for the basis of developing NYC-2, they did not talk with the program workers.

The association in attempt to create working relationships with the Department has had to do some fancy tiptoeing, as you can imagine, but we have been effective in developing some communications with Malcolm Lovell, with John Blake, and to the point at which they at least have promised and have assured us they are about to execute a policy statement recognizing the professional Association of Youth Corps Directors.

But when we talk with them, we feel, too, like we are not being told all there is to be told. Well, when we talk with them, we, too, wonder what has happened to the things they said they were going to do and have not done.

We must admit, for many of the reasons you have heard today, that the operation of a neighborhood youth corps program is very, very difficult. It is discouraging when you start doing—we recognize you are doing the kinds of things Mr. Kurzman mentioned, training for the sake of training because there is nothing else.

You often feel you are spinning your wheels.

You don't even have the kinds of things that allows you to keep staff for any length of time so you can develop. You don't get your information or your funding level in any kind of advance fashion so you can plan, generate, create, and do a job.

You get the word down at the regional offices what your summer slot level is going to be, and have your contract ready tomorrow. You end up doing many of the same tired things you did last year out of default, and I would just speak to you that there is an awfully lot that happens between what gets passed on the floor of the Congress and what happens in the shop in Troy, N.Y.

There are so many levels of decision and channels and misinformation that it is a wonder, it is a sometimes miraculous that NYC would work at all. It has the meat of an effective program.

It has a lot of handcuffs on it that keep it from being the program it could be, and we, as your Corps Director, are working diligently

with the Department as part of the manpower team to make these operable.

Thank you very much. [Applause.]

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the National Association of Neighborhood Youth Corps Directors would like to thank you for inviting us to appear here today. We would like to ask you to consider some of the problems, some of the thoughts, some of the ideas we brought out today, and when you write the next manpower program, also consider the person to be served, the enrollee, or the trainee.

That person has a mind, he has a heart, and he is human, and I think that trainees today are becoming bored, they are becoming tired, frustrated, going from program to program to program looking for an answer, and finding an answer at NYC, staying in NYC, for 2 years and then coming out without a job—nothing.

Thank you.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

(The prepared statement of Mr. Morris follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MILTON C. MORRIS, PROJECT DIRECTOR, CLEVELAND YOUTH CORPS, CLEVELAND, OHIO

Thank you Mr. Chairman. I would like to recognize Mr. Malcolm Blue, Director of the Enrollee Advisory Board, City of Cleveland Neighborhood Youth Corps. Mr. James Chavis, Director of the City of Baltimore Neighborhood Youth Corps. Mr. William Smith, Director of Richmond, Virginia Neighborhood Youth Corps. Mr. Paul A. Kurzman, Director of the New York City Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Mr. Edward F. Wightman, Director of Troy, New York Neighborhood Youth Corps. Mr. Richard Riggs, Director of Camden County NYC—Camden, N.J.

There will be two brief presentations, followed by a panel to answer any questions posed by the Subcommittee.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that for the month of March, the youth unemployment rate for 16 to 21 year olds was 15.4%. For the poverty neighborhoods of our 100 largest cities the non-white teenage unemployment rate averaged 42%. These percentages did not include the youth in manpower training programs or the youth in the Armed Services. A further breakdown of these figures would undoubtedly discover that a great majority of these youth are not only unemployed, but they are unemployable.

Unemployable because they have no skills. Education is the logical way by which to attack poverty because it is the only clear path of escape from poverty. Education is the foundation. With it, better housing, community development, better food, child care programs, training in skills can take hold. Without education, all these things can be done as they are done now. But too often they bring no solid permanent solution. Education as we now know it will not eradicate or even reduce poverty. Poverty has rescinded or been held to a lower level only where education has been offered with a vocational purpose and without the customary formality and requirement. Poverty will not be reduced by opening new universities. The problem of providing education that will reduce poverty begins long before the formal system of higher education begins. It is the problem of building habits, values and skills that our schools now take for granted.

Only 2% of the children with a background of poverty go on to higher education. Therefore, we must provide logical alternatives to this single escape. One such alternative would be a national system of vocational education to include N.Y.C. Mr. Sar Levitan and Mr. Robert Taggart, III of the George Washington University Center for Manpower Policy Studies have suggested:

A. A shift of funds to public employment and training, since private employers tend to recruit or retain already experienced workers.

B. Expansion of classroom training—with adequate income support, youth are likely to stay in classroom training longer in the absence of job opportunities. This training affords them greater access to jobs above the entry level.

C. Emphasis on job development and placement efforts by employment services for the recently unemployed, directing them to manpower programs.

Manpower programs such as Neighborhood Youth Corps are needed for the now untrained, under-educated, and unemployed.

However, manpower programs with their limited fund and strict guidelines can only add hope to the disadvantaged. Hope because there is not enough money or training available to do a complete job. The City of Cleveland Neighborhood Youth Corps Program has been returning youth to school, with the major emphasis placed on the vocational work-study program. Supportive services to these youth appears to be a factor in keeping their retention rate above those enrollees who return to academic education.

According to a recent study made by the Manpower Planning and Development Commission in Cleveland, Ohio, work-education programs, which involve the part-time employment of the student outside the school and part-time classroom instruction, have been incorporated into the vocational programs of some schools. "Part-time cooperative education" programs involve close cooperation between the school and the employing firm. The school assists the student in finding the job, provides work supervision, offers individualized in-school instruction in the theory underlying the job, and instructs the on-the-job training in teaching methods. This program is necessarily affected by the labor market of the city in which it operates. *Students who have participated in cooperative work-education programs make a smoother transition from school to work than all other vocational program graduates.* As previously indicated, they have the best placement records (90% find jobs in the areas for which they were trained), greater job satisfaction and high job stability.

Even the problem of finding a job becomes difficult for the disadvantaged. The 1967 *Manpower Report of the President* provides a general overview of the problems encountered by slum residents engaged in a job search. Although this report is concerned with the problems encountered by slum residents in general, it has special applicability to the difficulties faced by young job seekers who are drop-out or high school graduates inadequately prepared for entry into the labor market. This group of young labor force entrants are located in greater proportion in slum areas. The findings of the report, which is based primarily on data from slum areas located in several large cities indicates *major job search problems encountered by slum residents:*

1. Slum residents generally lacked information which is available on job openings and the most effective ways of looking for jobs.
2. Slum residents typically had limited access to, and faith in, traditional job placement agencies.
3. In the slums studied, really effective ways of communicating job information did not exist.
4. Newspaper, radio, TV ads, and placement offices failed to reach out sufficiently into the slums.
5. The principal means of obtaining information about jobs was through personal contact.

The transportation barrier is a problem since residence and transportation also add to the difficulties of the young disadvantaged job seeker, jobs are often located far from the ghetto residences of the disadvantaged, yet transportation to these jobs is inadequate. The 1967 *Manpower Report of the President* presented information on the transportation problems facing urban slum dwellers. Obstacles in terms of transportation and labor market information have been created for the inner-city dweller by movement of business and industry away from the central city toward the suburbs during the last decade. Between 1954 and 1965, almost two-thirds of all new industrial buildings and approximately one-half of all new stores were constructed outside the central cities. Few inner-city residents hold jobs in the suburbs. The cost of transportation to the suburbs from central city areas is prohibitive due to the low wages of most slum dwellers, and the transportation costs are continuing to rise rapidly.

There is also the problem of criminal offenses. *Young job seekers who have criminal offense records face great difficulties when they attempt to move into the labor force.* Many employers are hesitant to hire youthful offenders. Those employers who are willing to hire these youth are frequently prevented from doing so by such impediments as bonding and insurance complications.

Real and anticipated discrimination is still a problem with the youth. Manpower programs can assist the youth in overcoming some of these problems,

however, for an immediate relief public services jobs in such fields as health, sanitation, welfare work, conservation and recreation are potential areas of employment for less skilled workers. Although the Nation's needs in terms of numbers of jobs in these areas are difficult to define, it is apparent that hundreds of thousands of persons could be absorbed in highly productive public employment.

If all these problems were solved, there still remains a greater problem—the lack of jobs opportunities in either the public or private sectors. Companies are cutting back and cities are suffering from the economic downturn. At one time cities were able to absorb some of those persons displaced by private industry. However, since most urban areas are suffering financial difficulty also, this makes it mandatory for the Federal Government, through Public Services Employment, to help in the alleviation of this problem.

MILTON C. MORRIS,  
Project Director, Cleveland Neighborhood Youth Corps.

April 28, 1971.

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Senator NELSON. We will now hear from the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, Joe Kelly, director of agency relations, Frank Bacon, manpower director, and Mrs. Irma Turner, Neighborhood Youth Corps director.

**STATEMENT OF JOE KELLY, DIRECTOR OF AGENCY RELATIONS;  
FRANK BACON, MANPOWER DIRECTOR; AND MRS. IRMA TURNER,  
NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS DIRECTOR, CHICAGO, ILL.; COM-  
PRISING A PANEL REPRESENTING THE CHICAGO COMMITTEE ON  
URBAN OPPORTUNITY**

Senator NELSON. First let me say I have a note from Senator Stevenson. He states that he regrets that an earlier commitment really prevents him from being here for the testimony of Mr. Kelley, Mr. Bacon, and Mrs. Turner.

Mr. KELLY. My name is Joe Kelly, director of the agency relations for the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity. I bring you greetings from our executive director, Mrs. Murrell Syler. She has asked me to thank the chairman first for the warm and hospitable way that she was treated when she made her presentation a few weeks ago before the committee, and secondly, for giving myself and my colleagues this opportunity to present these three brief statements, for your consideration.

The first presentation would be made by Mrs. Irma Turner, Neighborhood Youth Corps, director.

Senator NELSON. We are pleased to have you here today.

Mrs. TURNER. Thank you, Senator.

Today I will try and confine my remarks to the three phases of the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The in-school program, the out-of-school program and the summer program.

I would like to devote most of the time I have to the out-of-school program since it seems to be the most seriously threatened of the three.

I think the problem in the in-school program can best be summed up in two words, "not enough." Not enough job slots. The dropout rate

in Chicago is 14,000 each year and growing. More jobs would help. In Chicago alone, we could triple the number of young people presently involved in the program and still not reach every young man and woman who should be enrolled.

Chicago's in-school program is subcontracted largely to the board of education and the Catholic archdiocese school board. In past years, they have enjoyed an average of 97 percent of their enrollees either continuing on to higher education, gainfully employed, in military service, or becoming housewives and raising families of their own.

The out-of-school program accounted for another 15 million for a grand total of \$44 million earned to help abate the poverty in the inner city of Chicago. In addition to this \$44 million, we have also provided the enrollees with such supportive services as medicals, educational counseling, vocational counseling, and cultural exposure.

The value of these supportive services cannot be expressed in terms of dollars. The new design of the out-of-school program is a nightmare.

It is a bad dream to the enrollee, in some degree it is insomnia to the agencies which have to live with it and no sleep at all for the agencies in charge of making it work, and when you think that through these two programs more than \$29 million was earned and taken into the homes of the enrollees since 1966, it becomes even more important.

First, it called for cutting back two-thirds of previous enrollment. This was done, but at what cost?

Let me offer as evidence the following: I have attached an exhibit to this statement. This exhibit shows the names of 23 former MYC enrollees who are presently working for the city department of urban renewal. Their combined annual salaries are in excess of \$125,000 per year.

Who is to say which of these young people would have been among those dropped under the new guidelines because of the cutbacks or other restrictions of the programs?

One cost was turning our backs on two thirds of the young people in the program who needed it most. I say this because commonsense tells us that the ones to go were those least likely to make a success of any academic oriented program.

Still another cost was to the agencies which had done such a splendid job with the original NYC. They just could not afford it and the number of funded agencies fell from 18 to four and the number of participating agencies was reduced by 50.

The Chicago Youth Centers previously were able to employ 60 out-of-school youth under the work training guidelines in addition to their school contingent.

Now they are able to participate only in the in-school components.

Last Wednesday I attended a meeting at which Mrs. Jeanette Hall, one of the directors of the Chicago Youth Centers program in the teeming Cabrini-Green area of Chicago made what to be was an alarming statement.

Mrs. Hall was talking of the situation existing in the ghetto like confines of the smouldering furnace that is Cabrini-Green where two policemen were slain by gunfire not too long ago.

She was asked what the NYC contingent consisted of and in Cabrini and how many did she think had used—had need of the program in her area?

Her answer was that she had 15 young people assigned to her and that she was sure there were at least 10,000 young people in that area alone who would benefit from a realistic NYC program.

Chicago youth centers can afford but 15 in school slots because of the restrictive nature of the program. This is tragic.

Unless the thinking and attitudes of those planning programs for urban youth undergoes 180° turnabout the cities are indeed in for serious trouble. By trouble I don't necessarily mean riots and street rumbles, although this is a distinct possibility.

I do mean economic, educational, and employment trouble. Unless society begins to acknowledge realistically the presence of disadvantaged people and ceases to structure the world as though there were a single, classless strata of mankind, the problems will be compounded.

Until the time comes when we admit that there are others in the world with different needs, different levels of understanding, different levels of achievement, and yes, a completely different outlook on life as we know it we are not going to make any difference, any significant gains.

If we were to achieve Utopia and every school was able to offer a complete student oriented schedule of programs leading to an ideal house in the country, bank executive type job there would still be those who would not or could not attend.

To know the answer why, you would first have to understand the way of life and attitudes of the inner city young person.

What do we know of the inadequate dwelling, the alcoholic father, and the working mother?

To add to these problems, of the pressures of the street gangs, the pressure to try narcotics, and the need to be around to protect younger brothers and sisters.

I think any one of these things would be enough to place school attendance on a very low priority to say nothing at all of all of them.

Yet this is the only life known to many of the urban poor. Can we convince the inner city young man or woman of the benefits of education when their first concern is keeping themselves and their loved ones alive, housed, clothed, and fed? Certainly not the way we are going about it.

However, I would not be standing here today if I didn't think it would successfully be done.

For one thing I have found that more can be achieved by indirection and understanding than anything that entails compulsion, punitive action, implied threats or saddling the individual with something he has already or very likely will reject.

In Chicago last Monday, 7,352 ADC cases were added to the welfare rolls. This represented a total of 35,000 people. Isn't this an alarming rate? By comparison in 1960 and 1970, for the same period ADC caseloads were increasing at the rate of only 1,000 a month.

In order to lower the number of ADC cases per year and break the vicious cycle of poverty, we are going to have to educate and train our youth so that they can become productive citizens and not spend our tax dollars, but be producers of tax dollars.

The same young people can break the cycle of poverty without help through programs like the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. BACON. My name is Frank C. Bacon, Jr. I am the director of manpower for the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, which is the community action agency for the city of Chicago, so employed with the agency for the past 6 years and in the present position for the past 3.

I, too, have asked to be here to offer what I can in support of permitting local agencies to play a greater role in the programing in manpower programs.

I have some very strong feelings about administrative agencies modifying legislation which might alter the intent of the Congress of the United States.

These feelings spring from something very personal which I would like to share with you.

I, myself, am a product of the State of Mississippi. If it were not for an act of Congress, as a matter of fact two acts of Congress, one that permitted me to obtain an Army commission after ROTC and the other one that I will speak to further, I suspect that I would not be here today testifying before this committee, as a matter of fact, if it were not for an act of Congress, I frankly don't know where I would be today except that I would not be here but probably still on Maxwell Street in Chicago shoveling coal and selling watermelons, not that this is not honorable but I am a lot happier doing what I am doing.

Let me explain—there has been insurmountable controversy over the value of Government programs. I am here to tell you, as a living example, that they do work; many questions are often asked as to whether or not they are worth the investment, it is my honest opinion that an investment into the human resources of our country is the best investment that our Government can make.

The other legislation that I speak of is Public Law 346 and Public Law 550—the GI bill—prior to this legislation my life was quite dismal and no hope in sight, but as a result of being able to utilize that legislation to enhance my future, which has also enhanced the future of my children to the extent that I have one son who will be a junior in college this month leads me to believe that the public law's that I mentioned did pay off rather than perpetuate poverty which could have easily happened if their father had not received a break in life.

This gave me the ambition to attend graduate school and hopefully at some future date receive more education, more degrees, thereby being better able to provide more leadership to the same community that I grew up in and which I am working in now.

If the Veterans' Administration had the authority or had seen fit to alter the legislation to read, let's say, that a GI had to attend school in the State of his birth my chances of reaching whatever potential I might have would have been considerably lessened, if not nullified.

So I hope that you will understand if my interest is advocating that NYC be treated the same way the GI bill (Public Laws 346 and 550) and that is that people just don't make arbitrary decisions to make it suit their own thing, so to speak.

On March 25, 1971 my supervisor, Mrs. Murrell Syler, the executive

director of the agency CCUO, testified before this committee and testified:

CCUO has taken the position that many public and private agencies can mobilize a good program and for that reason have developed a comprehensive network of agencies providing manpower services.

Many of our private agencies you just heard Mrs. Turner say a few minutes ago, cannot participate in our current NYC 11 program because of the stringent guidelines and the limited funds per slot, therefore it has been necessary for our delegate agencies to abandon the NYC 11 program and we have decreased from 50 cooperating agencies—private—to four in the current contract.

Further comments in this committee on April 25, 1971 by Senator Nelson was significant and I quote:

So you know, we passed legislation in the last session which came out of this committee, the manpower development act, and the major thrust of that bill was to reinforce the local agencies, give them more independence in developing and managing local manpower programs, and we thought that this was a big step in the right direction.

For example, we were able to serve 1,750 participants in a 7-month program compared to a goal of 1,450 that was set at the beginning of the program. We were originally budgeted for 2.0 for the year, and I am certain that you are aware of the problem that HUD is having funding Chicago nowadays, and it was necessary for the CDA to recoup some of the moneys, but the program operated during the calendar year for 1.3 compared to an original 2.0 serving an additional 300 enrollees.

Gentlemen, I say to you that this is the kind of success that you can have when you are using versatile funds without so many stringent guidelines and categorized moneys.

If the committee would like to have a copy of that program, I would like to share it with you. If you would like to read it, I think it would serve as a good prototype.

So I hope you will understand if my interest in advocating that NYC be treated the same way the veterans bill was seems to be again something more than just a program director trying to define his feelings about a program in which he is involved.

I have asked to speak to the subject of my realistic youth programs which are needed in the crisis.

This again is a broad topic, and I will try and be brief.

For the purposes of this report, it was necessary to use 1960 census figures as a base since they are the only ones available. We have projected these figures to try and bring them up to date.

For instance, if a child was 6 or 7 years old in 1960, we are presuming that he is 16 or 17 today. It is far from perfect but this is all we had to work with.

These projected figures show that even if there were no inward migration in the poverty areas of Chicago, which there was, there would be a total of 200,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 21.

The revealing thing there is that only 72,584 would be between 16 and 17. In other words, there would be almost two-thirds as many young people barred by the NYC guidelines as there would even be eligible by age standards.

It means that only one out of approximately every 72 inner city boys and girls could meet the present age standards.

This is only one of the criteria used and we have already eliminated two-thirds of the inner city population. When we realize that more than 177,000 young men and women have moved through NYC since 1966 in Chicago under the original design, these numbers become even more startling.

I have often asked myself what makes NYC different than other manpower programs? The answer I have come up with is that it has a built-in cushion for failure because there just is not enough money per slot to program as needed.

This is a greatly needed factor when working with young men and women of little opportunity. In many cases they are accustomed to taking criticism too much to heart and regarding an unfavorable comment on their work as a sign they are to be fired.

Rather than let this happen, they just don't show up any more.

NYC provides a response to this problem. If the situation manifests itself while the young person is still an enrollee, there are the counselors available whom he can trust. He can confide this problem to them.

Should he later find himself out of his depth after moving up into the world of work, he knows that while he will be given every encouragement to get ahead on his own, he can often return for further training or support. At least that is the way it used to be.

Chicago is not unused to administrative cutbacks. Way back in 1965, when community action was an unknown quantity, it only took from March of 1964 to September of 1965 before an unrealistic administrative edict was issued for NYC. This was the imposition of what became known as standard I-65.

It spelled out that the maximum income for a family of four had to be under \$3,130 per year if the enrollee was to stay in NYC.

This meant dropping 609 out of school youths and almost 1,500 from the in-school program. This was from a total of 5,000 in-school and 3,000 out-of-school slot, in 1965, compared to 896 in 1971.

In 1964 there was handed down to us a law passed by the Congress and approved by the President, which became Public Law 88-452, and known as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Part B of this law dealt specifically with work training programs. I am not a lawyer. But, I have lived with this law for many years and feel that I am fairly familiar with it.

I again read it shortly before coming here in an effort to understand some of the things which have happened since 1965.

To me this says anything but what is being inflicted on Chicago's young people. We are being told that they must spend two-thirds of their time in class.

First they have already rejected or been rejected by the public educational agency in that city.

They know this, the schools know it, and we know it. Apparently this is where the knowledge stops.

The other question, that of age, seems clearly spelled out in the Economic Opportunity Act.

It says:

Participation in programs under this part should be limited to young men and women who are permanent residents of the United States and who have attained age 16 but have not attained age 22 and whose participation in such programs will be consistent with the purposes of the act.

I think this would be clear enough to the lowest achiever in the Chicago out-of-school NYC program to understand. That is the law, but we still get some changes in this.

One is compelled to speculate then, on who has not read this section of the act. And who, if they have read it and understood then what it says, seemingly had the temerity to change the law, in spite of the fact of its clear intent and make their own modifications or interpretations of what seems manifestly clear.

Summing up, let me say that the promise and the future strength of this Nation is in our youth. Many youths, particularly those in the impoverished areas, need special help in improving their lives and finding a place in the mainstream of our society.

Existing public services for youth need to be strengthened and improved and joined with private resources.

Experience has shown that with energy, patience and finance and determination, cities can have a major effect on the planning and operation of programs which provide jobs, education and recreation and other activities for disadvantaged young people.

I again want to emphasize jobs. Because it is essential that every young person experience the challenge and satisfaction of holding a job.

We must build programs that meet the needs of our young, not do away with them. The Nation cannot afford to squander any opportunity for preparing our young people to again lead productive and rewarding lives.

The NYC cutback as we have constantly received only widens the gap between the potential productive citizen and the school dropout.

The alternatives are equally difficult, either supporting the young unemployed through welfare or ending up losing their potential income sources. For the young, neither alternative is acceptable.

Life on welfare or as a seasonal employee, sir, is forbidding. Through urban training programs many of our dropouts are able to eventually become self-supporting as I outlined in my own case.

Reducing the number of enrollees in the program has convinced us of the difficulty of finding employment for enrollees over 18 years of age.

Several things appear not to have been considered. For one, the disadvantaged youth, whom we deal with, have been rejected by institutionalized education.

They did not take into consideration that there is an acute shortage of skilled training and apprenticeship training.

They did not take into consideration the dearth of quality MDTA vocational programs.

And they did not take into consideration the reluctance of private industry to accept hard core disadvantaged youth in entry level positions.

The people who have had experience in administering this program

at a local level have taken a dim view of what is taking place. The inevitability of a complete phaseout of the school program seems imminent unless action is taken immediately.

But if people on the national level continue to sabotage good programs because of their inexperience and inability to understand the problems of the disadvantaged youth, then an equal share for the poor will never be forthcoming.

So what we are being told is, feed your child into the gang structure of your city because we have pulled the rug out from under them and we will not help them.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to appear before you. [Applause.]

Senator NELSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. KELLY. Mr. Chairman, since 1964, Chicago has totally committed itself to the community action concept. This was not done merely to conform to the OEO legislation as written but because of a conviction that no one agency could do a job as well as many agencies.

This is especially true in the case of our city since we have many old line agencies which have been in business for a long time and have established an enviable record of service. Commonsense dictated that to ignore their contribution and their ability to continue to contribute would be both wasteful, and not in the best interest of the people being served.

As evidence of the sincerity of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity in its belief that if a total program is to be mounted, participation by all available qualified agencies is needed, the following is offered:

More than half of the approximately \$50 million budget is directly administered by its delegate agencies.

A great deal of additional money is spent by CCUO for supportive services within the agencies with which it works.

These services include medical and dental examinations for program participants, transportation, supplies, and incidentals so often overlooked but upon which a program often stands or falls.

In manpower programs alone, the number of participating agencies is in the hundreds and the number of worksites in the thousands.

They range from universities to private schools, and from hospitals and the board of health to community clinics. They are now in Federal, State, and local agencies. They are in private agencies such as the Association of Commerce and Industry, and the junior chamber of commerce, the Catholic Archdiocese, the Jewish Vocational Service, the Conference on Religion and Race, as well as traditional agencies such as the Welfare Council, YMCA, boys clubs, the youth centers, and the Federation of Settlements.

I might indicate here, Mr. Chairman, that in 1964 in March, before the poverty legislation was enacted, the delegate agencies that I have just mentioned, the YMCA, boys clubs, the youth centers, contributed loaned staff until January of 1965 when Chicago got its first grant to help the development of that program.

These are but a few of the participating entities in Chicago's community action program. The point I am trying to make here is that

these are the old line agencies in Chicago. They have deep roots in their communities put down over a long period of time.

The roster of their boards of directors bear many distinguished names, some of whom are known nationwide and these men are both aware and in favor of what is being done in Chicago by means of the grand alliance of dedicated agencies.

There is another side to this coin which I would like you to see. This side reflects people rather than agencies.

CCUO can point with pride to the fact that more than 2,500 Chicagoans give unstintingly of their time to serve on various councils within the CCUO family.

This would include the Urban Progress Center Councils numbering 550 people. The Headstart groups with more than a thousand, the Delegate Agency Councils also number more than a thousand and the CCUO Youth Councils with a membership of more than 200.

These councils are broken down into special committees with identifiable areas of responsibility.

I suppose the next logical question would be to ask who serves on these committees and councils?

Who are these men and women who give of themselves unsparingly to plan and coordinate programs and build linkages to assure that resources will be utilized to the fullest?

They are the program participants themselves. They are parents, community leaders, religious leaders, labor leaders, agency executives, corporate executives, and elected officials. All contribute what they have and by so doing provide a cross section of expertise and knowledge never before available to any program anywhere.

When we talk of linkages and marshaling of resources, the question might be asked, "What has this to do with NYC?"

The answer is "Everything."

My colleagues today have talked about what NYC means to the enrollee. The program has other, equally significant dimensions which certainly bear mention.

For instance, what do the enrollees mean to other people and programs? What crossfeed takes place between the NYC and those enrolled in other community action programs? And what does the NYC program mean to the agencies committed to them?

Consider, if you will, the fact that many agencies are now capable of many more things with the help of NYC.

They act as tutors, they supervise camping programs and playgrounds, they build playgrounds and refurbish those falling into decay, and they supervise children attending sports and cultural events. These are but a few of their inputs.

How do the enrollees benefit from this? Think for a moment how you might measure the importance of having a young boy or a girl, never able to give of himself before suddenly able to help others? How do you measure the usefulness of being able to visit and live on a college campus when you never completed high school?

How do you measure the importance of working beside successful people in their field of endeavor and knowing the service you are performing are both needed and welcome?

I think back to 2 years ago we had a program with the district and we had a supervisor. He loved the work he was doing. He had 15 young men assigned to him, and after 9 months, 12 of those young men were ready to be, and he went out and found full-time employment for those 12 young men in the suburban park system districts, and I think this is the kind of thing we have never been able to measure, and we have not said it strongly enough.

The fact is that private agencies across the country are operating at a deficit and are in the process of going broke. The agencies with which we work in Chicago are \$3 million in the hole. Were it not for NYC and other Federal programs they would have been lacking \$15 million.

As has been discussed earlier, many of them have been barred from NYC participation by the stringency of the new guidelines.

These are the very agencies we talked about earlier which came in and were instrumental in again making community action work. These are the agencies which have spent years attaining a position of some trust and respect in the areas they serve.

The residents of these areas have come to look to these delegate agencies for services far beyond those they were set up to provide.

With our help they were able to respond to these needs in many cases.

NYC was the cornerstone of the overarching bridge which was being built to bring the underprivileged boy or girl across to an independent life with an equal chance to move as far ahead as their potential permitted. If they are denied this help, the agency suffers, the enrollee suffers and society suffers in that these young men and women might well become liabilities rather than assets.

In closing, let me just point up some of the things we believe.

We believe in our process of government. We have elected Representatives and Senators who have seen fit to support the OEO Act.

We believe that the same laws should apply to everyone and each be held accountable to them.

Neither we nor the young people we work with can understand how those who have been hired to carry out the law for all the people can withhold funds allocated by the Congress for specific purposes.

We do understand how salaried administrators can make changes or write guidelines that change the purposes of the law and trade off programs through delegation agreements without the authorization of the men and women whom we have chosen to represent us in the Congress of the United States.

What we ask is that you give us 5 more years to undo the social labyrinth that has been built between our young people and an independent life.

Help us to carry out your laws without interference in the manner which you intended they be carried out.

Thank you.

Senator NELSON. I want to thank each one of you for coming here and giving very valuable testimony this morning.

Our next witness is Mr. David Wellington, representing the United Planning Organization, Washington, D.C.

Welcome.

STATEMENT OF DAVID WELLINGTON ON BEHALF OF THE DELEGATION REPRESENTING YOUTH, UNITED PLANNING ORGANIZATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.; ACCOMPANIED BY PETER GREEN, UPO WORKER; MISS SHARON HARVIN, NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS; DARYL ALLISON, STUDENT; AND MISS RENEE WILLIAMS, NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

Senator NELSON. You may go ahead.

Mr. WELLINGTON. My name is David L. Wellington, and I am a youth worker for the United Planning Organization. I would like to thank you at this time, Mr. Chairman, for allowing our organization to present our testimony here.

This is Peter Green. He will speak after me.

I think I heard Senator Humphrey say that the best way to deal with the poverty program on the youth program is something about enacting the war on poverty. Under the present administration, it is very difficult for me to distinguish the differences between the poverty program and the war on poverty and the war on the Vietnamese people.

One is designed to destroy a poor people abroad, and the other is designed to destroy poor people at home, but they have not succeeded abroad, nor will they succeed here at home.

I guess that might be evidenced by the presence of some of the young people here today.

However, I represent another group of young people that unfortunately are now so actively involved in the community that they could not be here today, and you might say involved in what?

Well, they are involved in something there in smoking their lives away with cocaine or heroin, or they are involved in planning the next job or how to rob a liquor store, or a five and dime store, and if they are not involved in these activities, they are sitting around wondering how great it would be to rob one bank and get away.

These are the young men not here today.

The ones here are more fortunate, fortunate not that they are working, but to the extent that they have hope in America and in themselves. I say the youth program does serve a purpose, the same as the boys club serves a purpose, in building leaders for tomorrow.

You, too, have a purpose, and your purpose is to continue the OEO program and programs such as ours. Because if America is going to be a great nation tomorrow, it has to have great youth today, and I would like to have Mr. Green to say a few words, and after Mr. Green speaks, we still have three NYC's in the audience.

Senator NELSON. Go ahead.

Mr. GREEN. I am Peter Green. I work for UPO. I am an ex-dope fiend, ex-addict, and ex-convict. I want to emphasize all ex's.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am a youth worker. I am a youth worker just because I wanted to be a youth worker. I am a youth worker because there were not youth programs when I was coming up in the District of Columbia.

At the age of 16 I came out of school, I just quit school. I did not get dropped out. I was not learning nothing in school, and they ain't learning nothing in there. I am opposed to the public school system.

I don't have but an eighth-grade education, but I know right from wrong, and it took me the wrong way to learn it right way.

I have done a lot of time in the penitentiary all over the world—in Yokohama, Japan, and in Korea, which is a stockade. A stockade is still a jail. I come from a broken home. My daddy did 21 years in Alcatraz. I have a brother that was raised up in the penitentiary right up along with me, all because there weren't any programs or any things for us to turn to when I was a youngster.

Now that I have a chance, a chance after I done the last 10 years, I just quit. I said, "Well, I can't beat the system," and then I had to get out and let the system keep holding me back like they had, but this time I did not try to buck the system.

All that time, they were giving me 3 years and 5 years.

Then when I found out the system was three-fourths con I said I could con as well as the system. I am not saying everybody is playing con on other people, but the people who hold the purse strings and power are playing a lot of con on other people.

They see what the program is doing, and to cut out the programs, you give the agitator a weapon when you cut off a program. He could just come right on in now and say, "Look what they are doing to you, they are doing this to you, and you get with me, and we are going to march here, and march there."

But heroin don't know no race, creed or color.

[Applause.]

Mr. GREEN. Heroin controls white, black, heroin controls anybody that spike in their arm, heroin will control it.

So I say again, you people, and when I say it like that, I am not knocking you, or no one else, because I am glad you have time enough to listen. It is like Dave said, the first time I met David he had to go back to the penitentiary, so I wrote letters and went to see them and said, "Don't let David die in the penitentiary because he is a young nigger"—the word "nigger" don't bother me. One time you called me and I would hit you in the head with a brick, and I would get a year in jail.

[Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN. So you see these are the types of things that young people need to know, and these are the type of things that I get with them in the NYC programs, voluntarily. I don't need to be a director, because I can't get no resume together. I know I dig young people. I go to the dances with them, I dress as slick with a long collar, and when one of them tells me how bad he is, I say, "sit down and shut up."

[Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN. He likes me for that. The thing I am trying to get on for that, more of the adults, I dig them but I want to know how many of these directors that is giving you the formal education and statistics, the 4.395, they can give you that, but is it coming from their heart, when they go back to their places with the young dudes?

I can't do what them other people did, 8 point million, Mr. Chairman, and you need to allocate this here.

I could not do this, but I know that on 14th and U, you have young, pretty girls, black and white, selling their bodies, black and white, with pimps, like I used to be—take all the resources, take all their

money from them. I know there are young dudes 18 and 19 driving \$10,000 El Cavallero Cadillacs and selling narcotics.

But I also know there are young David Wellingtons and the ones we have sitting here that don't want this life, and these programs are geared and designed to keep them from them Cadillacs.

You say, "Where are your Cadillacs at?" All your Cadillacs are in the ghetto. I know it is a matter of time before you buy a 6 months. You have the Honorable Chief Jerry Wilson, and you can't drive that Cadillac around the block after you finished 10 years.

Years ago, my greatest ambition was to get a Cadillac, because I could look up to Catfish Turner, the big dope dealer, who showed me a hatbox of \$1,000 bills. But you see, we are away from all this now. Catfish is a good worker.

This is Randolph Turner. He is a manpower development specialist, after Senator Kefauver came through here with that committee and got him 27 years.

[Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN. He, too, can't get a directorship because he don't have the formal education, but he still digs kids.

All I am trying to say to you, sir, is that, you know, I wish I could speak your language and give you words that you could understand, you know, but the thing that bothers me is that we wonder about what happens when I go over to St. Albans on Wisconsin Avenue, and when Senator Charles Percy was sitting next to his son, the same thing with some kids. Their daddies like them, their daddies like them, too.

Their daddies want to sit with them, but they have to sit in the short jobs and the construction holes. This is why we need this kind of programs, because daddy and mommy are so tired they can't sit down.

I watched something on television this morning. I am not hung up on the racist thing. You do something to me, I'm going to slap you, and if he does something to me, I'm going to slap him back.

When I get to speaking race, talking all the way, I would not pay that no mind. I understand these people are crazy when you go getting hung up on the race thing.

One thing you have got to remember, we all have got to survive. You can be home and cut your shrubbery. I can go home and cut my lawn. Years ago I could not go home and cut my lawn. I would have had to go out there and cut your lawn.

I have an 18-month-old son and a 3-year-old daughter. The only time they will cry is because they will fall down and hurt themselves, not because they were hungry like their daddy was hungry.

On television they brought the black kid up there and said, asked him, "What do you know about karate?"

He said, "I don't know." They brought a 6-year-old white girl up and said, "What do you know about karate?"

She went right into it.

Parents talking to kids might stop them from going back to crime. My indictment paper read once, "*Peter Green v. The United States of America.*"

I said, "No wonder I haven't been winning."

[Laughter.]

[Applause.]

Mr. GREEN. Then, too, then it makes me feel so good to get my point over to you about these young people that I know can speak for themselves, and can do it so humorously.

When I began to laugh at the power structure and found they were con—let me cite these two things. When I came out of the penitentiary, a parole officer, a man who was supposed to help me get a job, he said this to me, “Peter Green, we ain’t got to worry about you. You have been going down to the penitentiary. You will be back.”

I tell them to his face now. I was determined that I was tired of living with homosexuals, tired of men kissing men, guards turning off my television at 11 o’clock when I am looking at Alfred Hitchcock and I want to see how it comes out.

[Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN. I worked good, and in 1969, 1970, the Shoreham Hotel, when they gave a testimonial dinner in my honor, and this friend of mine sent me a telegram, and a lot of other people came and it was all over, the same parole officer walked up to me—and here is your con—and said to me, and shook my hand, and said, “Peter Green, I knew you had it in you all the time.”

[Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN. But you know what I did?

Right then, I gave him the con right back. “Thank you, sir, without you, I would never have made it.”

[Laughter.]

Mr. GREEN. So you see this is con so I close up with this. They ask me, “Why did you start your life of crime?” These are all my youngsters. I have a program on every Sunday night, WOL between 6 and 7, called “Rapping with Pete Green.”

I am trying to get on the Andy Griffith Show and some others. Now, I am saying this to you. “Why did you get your crime life?” Here for the first time I thought you could commit a crime and get away with it.

I was in elementary school, and they told a story called the three bears. Here was Goldilocks and you know what she did? You have got three bears, the father bear come from a \$1.35 job, he got his wife, he said, “What food do you have?” The little bear was in a training program, out of Headstart, and while they were gone, Goldilocks went in the people’s house and through the back window, broke down the chairs, and ate up all the food, went upstairs and got drunk, went to bed and went to sleep, and when the bears come back and caught her, you know what they said in the book?

“She lived happily ever after.”

I went in one window and thought I was going to live happily ever after, and I got a year and a day. Thank you.

[Applause.]

Mr. WELLINGTON. Here is one of the speakers from the NYC.

Miss HARVIN. My name is Sharon Harvin, and I am in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program as a clerical aid.

I have been in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program a little over a year. So far, since I have been in there, I have learned a lot. I have learned how to operate the Xerox machine, and I also work as a receptionist.

The majority of the time I classify applications and different things like that.

Before I came to the Neighborhood Youth Corps, I worked as a receptionist on a permanent job, and I think that I can go into regular employment, because I think I have the skill and the ability to work on regular employment, because at the present time I am going to school at night and working in the daytime, so I have learned skills in school and also on the job.

Mr. WELLINGTON. Next is Darryl Allison.

Mr. ALLISON. My name is Darryl Allison, I am an employee of Youth Pride, Inc., and the school program. I would like to say that I hope you keep all kinds of youth organizations in total existence, because without youth organizations young kids like myself would not have anything to do.

I am a student at Phelps Vocational High School, and the only reason I am a student is because I got this job. If I did not have the job, I would not, you know, have gone to school.

They say you have to go to school in order to keep this job, and I want to keep the job, because I need it in order for me to survive.

If I did not have this job, I don't know what I would be doing now. I know I would not be in school, I would not be sitting here. I would probably be in the penitentiary somewhere, trying to make me some easy money.

So I hope you all keep all organizations in total existence.

Senator NELSON. Thank you.

Miss WILLIAMS. My name is Renee Williams. I work for the NYC out of school program, and I would like to say that the NYC program has helped me tremendously.

Before entering the program, I had some incentive, but I had my goals, then, which was a very small one. Because of the fact that if you are at home with your mother with let me see, five small kids and no man in the house, then you need something more in order to help out your mother.

Now, it is not as though it was a sort of an obligation or something like that. It goes deeper than that, much deeper, like I said, it is not that you are obligated, it is something that you feel that you want to do.

Therefore, I left school. My goal, then was to find employment or something, anything to get money, and I found this in NYC program, it has given me a very good incentive, a much larger goal, and it would be very unfair, and in fact I would be lying to say that the money does not help, because it does.

Senator NELSON. Thank you.

At this point we will enter the prepared statements of those unable to attend the hearing, and other pertinent information supplied for the record.

(The information follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

PREPARED FOR DELIVERY TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR-HEW OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, APRIL 21, 1971

Mr. Chairman, I appear before you this morning on behalf of myself and 16 other Senators to request substantial additional funds for the Neighborhood Youth Corps summer program and related programs for the disadvantaged. In

this request I am joined by the Chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Mr. Williams, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, Mr. Nelson, Senators Cranston, Eagleton, Kennedy, Mondale, Randolph and Stevenson of that Committee and Senators Bayh, Brooke, Case, Hart, Humphrey, McGovern, Proxmire and Ribicoff.

We have at this time a national unemployment of 6.0 per cent—which is bad enough—and which translates into double to over four times that rate among various segments of the teenage population. Teenage unemployment in March was at an average rate of 17.8 per cent—the highest overall rate in seven years. Unemployment for black teenagers in the first quarter of this year was at 31.8 per cent—approaching twice the overall rate. Except for the 32.8 per cent rate for the last quarter of 1970, it was the highest rate since 1954.

The unemployment rate for black teenagers in poverty neighborhoods in the first quarter of this year was 44.9 percent—compared with 42.8 percent in the last quarter of last year. This is the highest rate since 1967—when the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor began compiling data on unemployment in poverty areas.

It was the Kerner Commission—the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders which urged this Nation, in its March 1968 report on the riots in Newark and Detroit and other cities—to make larger fiscal commitments to programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and related programs to meet employment needs in poverty areas and among the poor generally—thereby diminishing the possibility of disorder.

And I think that we must soberly recognize that the current situation is very incendiary—with almost half of the groups among whom but a spark will set off disorders, being unemployed.

Yet at this very crucial time, we have lost one of the best means of assessing the situations and effecting a meaningful response. The Administration, as a part of its reorganization, announced on April 2, the disbanding of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity indicating that its functions would be transferred henceforth to the Department of Labor, the Office of Management and Budget, and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Council was established by Executive order of President Johnson on March 5, 1967, "to insure effective program planning for summer and other youth programs of the Federal government."

The Administration's action is most regrettable and comes at the worst possible time.

The President's Council was established in essence as an ombudsman for youth—particularly disadvantaged youth—within the Federal government.

Mr. Chairman, I think that in the light of the elimination of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity we in the Congress share the obligation to act as "advocates" for the youth of this Nation and we have a special obligation to test the adequacy of the appropriations requested even by the Administration for summer youth programs.

Mr. Chairman, as members know, the principal summer program is the Neighborhood Youth Corps summer job program, administered by the Department of Labor, which provides work experience for disadvantaged youth 14-21 in jobs in the public services, for example in anti-pollution activities, environmental clean-up and health care.

The Administration requested initially and the Congress has appropriated a total of \$165.7-million for the program, of which \$1.7-million will be for administration and \$164.0-million will be available for programs in the field.

This amount is some \$18,600,000 below the \$182,900,000 which was available last summer as a result of both the initial appropriation of \$145.7-million and a supplemental appropriation for that purpose of \$37,200,000 which the Administration had requested.

The Administration had indicated that the basic appropriation would provide 414,000 opportunities—the same as last year—only by cutting the program from the usual ten to eight weeks.

The fact is that the needs for the coming summer programs extend well beyond even last year's level.

On February 23, joined by most of the members on whose behalf I appear today, I wrote the Vice-President, as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, urging the Council to fulfill at an early date its responsibility of assuring summer jobs and other recreational programs adequate to meet the needs.

We specifically called upon the Administration to supplement the \$164.0-million

available with a supplemental appropriation of \$144,628,359 in order to meet the needs which have been certified to us in a letter dated December 4, 1970 from the National League of Cities and U.S. Conference of Mayors—which represents more than 600 of the Nation's cities.

The letter indicated—and a chart city by city documented—a total need of at least 641,639 full-time opportunities nationwide, consisting of 330,666 in the 50 largest cities and 310,666 in rural and other areas—or an additional 127,639 opportunities than those contemplated by the 1971 appropriation.

Mr. Chairman, the Administration announced on April 9, 1971 that it would seek a supplemental appropriation of \$64.3-million of which \$51.5-million will be used for summer jobs. This would bring the total amount of money available for summer jobs to \$217.2-million. In that connection Secretary of Labor Hodgson announced that the funds would be used to provide a total of 514,000 opportunities nationwide.

The Secretary indicated also that each opportunity would consist of nine weeks at 26 hours a week, compared with the 10 week programs that have been obtained in past years.

Mr. Chairman, I commend the Administration for requesting a supplemental but even that will not provide a sufficient number of opportunities, and I do not consider it advisable to diminish by even one week, the experience provided through each opportunity.

Even with a ten-week program, opportunities are not provided for a period sufficient to embrace the normal out-of-school period.

And then there is the other damaging effect of a nine-week program—it reduces the amount of money which the recipient can earn during the summer by approximately \$50—a significant amount to those who live below the poverty line.

The program was designed not just to occupy youths during the summer months, but to provide them with the means to help to support their families and contribute to the costs of their education during the entire year.

To dilute the program is to diminish also the opportunity which those conducting the program have to provide disadvantaged youth with the related educational and supportive services as well as a job.

Mr. Chairman, I accordingly, appear then both in favor of meeting the total needs—documented at 641,639 and of providing the funds necessary to maintain the program as a ten-week program. Since a federal expenditure of \$481 per job—compared with \$442 last year—would be required to provide each opportunity on a ten-week basis, a total of \$308,628,359 would be necessary to provide the 641,639 slots which the League of Cities has documented. Thus a supplemental appropriation of \$144,628,359 would be necessary to supplement the \$164.0-million now available for programs in the field.

We are dealing here with city-by-city figures specified and documented to us by the U.S. Conference of Mayors.

I ask unanimous consent that there be included at this point in the Record a chart showing in respect to each of the 50 major cities, the number of opportunities needed, the number currently allocated, the number that would be available if the Administration's supplemental request is granted, and the additional number which would be provided if our request for a \$144-million supplement is granted.

But I hasten to add that this is not a matter solely of the big cities. For example, Norfolk, Virginia is 500 slots short of its needs, Knoxville, Tennessee also requires an additional 500 slots, Des Moines, Iowa is 325 slots short, and Little Rock, Arkansas has a shortfall of 450 opportunities.

Mr. Chairman, this represents a substantial amount of additional funding—much more than I requested last year—when we sought initially a \$100-million supplemental appropriation. But when I testified in favor of that supplemental appropriation last year, on May 27, 1970, the most recently available statistics then showed unemployment levels of 15.3 percent for teenagers, 28.7 percent for black teenagers, and 35.9 percent for black teenagers in poverty neighborhoods, compared with 17.8 percent, 31.8 percent, and 42.8 percent respectively at the current time.

Moreover, when I testified then, the National Alliance of Businessmen—which provides positions voluntarily in the private sector—had a goal of 180,000.

But just as teenage unemployment necessitates the increases in public programs such as Neighborhood Youth Corp, so does the general unemployment situation—then at 4.7 percent, now at 6.0 percent—make it difficult for private employers to employ the disadvantaged.

The National Alliance of Businessmen—despite all of its efforts—was able to develop last summer only 143,000 private sector jobs—falling 37,000 opportunities below its goal.

Its goal for this summer is 150,000 jobs, and while I hope the private sector will respond and I am sure the National Alliance will do the best job it can, I think it unlikely that the goal can be met under current economic conditions.

Mr. Chairman, we are fortunate in one very important respect. The Administration's supplemental was not requested last year until the first week in June—actually a week before the program was to begin in most of the Nation's cities, and the supplemental appropriation was not finally approved until the middle of July—mid-way through the program.

The Administration's request quite commendably came on April 9 this year—and I think that it is reasonable to expect that both Houses may act on this matter by the middle or end of May.

This means simply that there is time to provide the additional amount which we have requested—and time to allow the cities to program it in a meaningful way, putting it to effective use.

Mr. Chairman, before concluding I wish to mention two other aspects of the summer job and recreation picture that are also of great importance.

The first concerns the recreational program. This program, which is also funded under the authority of the Neighborhood Youth Corp, provides recreation opportunities to disadvantaged children between the ages of 6 and 13. The Administration has requested—as a part of its supplemental request—a total of \$12.8-million nationwide for these programs—the same amount as was requested by the Administration and appropriated last year. The program will provide, as last year, 1,900 opportunities.

Mr. Chairman, the 1,900 opportunities to be provided this summer represents only a fraction of one percent of the 4,931,000 children ages 6-13 in families below the poverty line. And the funds to be made available if the Administration's supplemental request under the Neighborhood Youth Corp., if passed, together with \$3.3-million to be expended by the Office of Economic Opportunity, will still be \$.2 million short of summer recreational funds provided in 1970, \$3.9-million short of the funds provided in 1969, and \$11.9-million below that provided in 1968.

Second, is the summer transportation program. The program provides funds to Mayors, primarily for transporting disadvantaged youth to summer jobs. The Administration hopes to provide \$1.5-million for this program, the amount available last year, again from the Department of Labor and Department of Transportation funds.

Mr. Chairman, the matter of recreational programs and transportation assistance are still being discussed between the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the Administration. I ask leave to submit for the hearing record, in time for your executive sessions, supplementary materials on the additional needs in these two areas so that the Subcommittee will know with specificity the exact basis for any additional requests.

Mr. Chairman, I hope very much that the Committee will give special consideration—in the light of the serious job crisis that we face—to the supplemental appropriation for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. It is a large amount to be sure—but we must view it in the perspective of the total need. The 600,000 opportunities will take care of less than one-third of the 1.8-million youth in the so-called target group—those who could benefit from the program. This is not the first time I have appeared urging a supplemental for this purpose, but I must say that this is the most important year in recent experience, and I hope that the Congress will respond to the situation meaningfully.

I ask that the hearing record also include the following: The letter dated December 4, 1970 from the League of Cities—Conference of Mayors; a letter dated April 14, 1971 from the National Alliance of Businessmen; a letter dated April 15, 1971 from the Office of Economic Opportunity, and a Department of Labor release dated April 9, 1971 describing the Administration's requests and its effect in the various regions of the country.

Senator NELSON. I will place in the record at this point a number of letters the subcommittee has received relating to proposed changes in manpower programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act—particularly the Job Corps.



**ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION OF NASSAU COUNTY, INC.**

320 OLD COUNTRY ROAD, GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK 11530 • 516 741-8811

CHARLES T. WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) launched the first Youth Development Programs (YDPs) in April, 1970. The guidelines and programmatic objectives were unique in design and structure. The YDPs are geared to provide disadvantaged youth and formal voice in planning and implementing programs which effect their (the youth) lives. The concept is good and far more feasible than prior programs that were merely ideas of a few adults, and seemingly thrust at the youth.

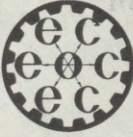
The young people of this new generation have highly innovative ideas, business, education, cultural and lastly recreation. Recreation, the old method of passifying youth is outdated and over emphasized by adults. It is no longer in the limelight in the eyes of today's youth.

Nevertheless, O.E.O. has been unable to meet the programmatic request and expressed needs of the youth councils which are developed through the YDPs. A youth council is a body of youth from local CAA target areas. The Youth Council has democratically elected board members as well as general membership. It is the youth councils role to decide which community problems are most pressing and preventing progress in the youths' lives. The board is also comprised of 51% disadvantaged youngsters. OEO has been unable to fund the numerous proposals submitted by the youth councils because of resource impossibilities. This creates a feeling of defeat and anger to the youngsters who have attempted to resort from rebellious activities of destruction to get youth programs instituted to democratic and administrative "nothingness." The Office of Economic Opportunity Youth Development Program Division must not only be retained. It must be budgetarily increased in order to provide resources to meet the programmatic needs of the youth councils. If this is not immediately provided this country will be faced with the most destructive youth rebellion it has ever witnessed.

To localize this public announcement the Economic Opportunity Commission of Nassau County, Incorporated (CAA) is faced with very probable youth rebellion. The YDP a division of the CAA in Nassau County has been working in fourteen (14) target areas dealing with white, black and Spanish-speaking youth for five (5) years. We have witnessed two riots in that time but the magnitude and overall coordinated effort by all the fourteen target area youth promises to show the nation the biggest revolt ever. It is most unfortunate that the Youth Council structure, the first concrete, constructive and democratic youth structure must resolve to a tragic ending.

This aforementioned statement has not been discussed at this congressional hearing but it has been stated to the Nassau County Executive in a recent letter. The following is an exact letter sent to the Honorable Mr. Ralph G. Caso, Nassau Executive:

page 2



**ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION OF NASSAU COUNTY, INC.**  
 320 OLD COUNTRY ROAD, GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK 11530 • 516 741-8811

CHARLES T. WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN

Because of the O.E.O. cutbacks constructive measures taken by The Nassau County target area, youth councils must resort to rebellious activities to make their needs and request acted upon. There are no available youth oriented resources at this time and the young people of Nassau County perceive the old method of 'rooting' to get programs.

O.E.O. cutbacks are hindering the progress of Americas' youth. O.E.O.'s concept of democratic elections and youth 'doing for self' is being stepped on. The present administration is killing the last hope for the poor youth of America to follow the "right" way of American life.

If YDP is phased out of O.E.O. America can expect the 1965 "burn baby burn" destructive and tragic style return.

I strongly urge the Congress of these United States to act immediately upon the possible destruction of many states across the country by the youth. The youth have little faith left in this fine country of ours and it is up to the administration and Congress of the United States of America to make it possible for this faith and love for the country to be restored within our youth... They are all we have to carry on our country. I furthermore ask each Congressional member to act on fact, insight, foresight, love for the country and moreso humanistic instincts and not political commitment.

Respectfully,

*Michael Stein*  
 Youth Development Program

April 26th, 1971

Hon. Ralph G. Caso, County Executive  
 County Executive Building  
 1 West Street  
 Mineola, New York

Dear Mr. Caso:

On behalf of the youth population and youth oriented staff from various agencies within the County of Nassau, I wish to inform the County Government that the disadvantaged youth from the fourteen (14) target areas are confused to the point of rebellious activities in attempt to make their needs noticed and acted upon.

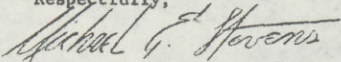
I have personally received a wide cross-section of statements from youth consultants, community residents and particularly from the youth themselves, regarding the uncertainty of available summer youth program monies from the County, and the feeling of anger circulating in the aforementioned target areas.

Mr. Caso, I have had a pervious involvement in a rebellious activity for which I served sixteen months of my life in a state penal institution. I know the hardships and tragedy involved in such rebellious activities, and although I am no longer involved in such rebellious activities, I sense a vibration and visual perception of many youth being arrested, innocent people getting hurt, cost \$\$\$the local Towns and possible tragedy.

Mr. County Executive, I respect you personally as a man and as an administrator. Naturally, many of my opinions differ from yours, but if they didn't and I thought the same as youm I would have possibly been elected County Executive (no, it wouldn't work.....I'm too young). A suggestion?! Make a public statement indicating positiveness concerning the summer program monies.

Thank you for your time and consideration in this urgent matter.

Respectfully,



Michael E. Stevens  
 Youth Project Director

MES:bb





## NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

### VIRGINIA STATE LEGISLATION COMMITTEE

Chairman: Mrs. Albert H. Lasday, 700 Pepper Ave., Richmond 23226

APR 12 1971

April 12, 1971

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON

The Honorable Gaylord Nelson, Chairman  
Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty  
Senate Office Building, Room 359  
Washington, D.C. 20510

re: S. 1243, Manpower Revenue Sharing Act

Dear Senator Nelson:

The Administration's Manpower Revenue Sharing Act, S. 1243, would be a real disservice to the disadvantaged youth of Virginia. Our state sends the second largest number of youth to Job Corps (second only to California), while ranking 17th in the list of numbers of disadvantaged youth who are eligible.

If the states take over the operation of existing Job Corps Centers and Residential Manpower Centers, what happens to all of these young people, the majority of whom come from rural areas? Now in operation in Virginia are:

- 1) Flatwoods Conservation Center in Wise County, for 175 males.
  - 2) Blue Ridge Job Corps Center for Women in Marion, a special center for 185 Appalachian girls. (Both in far western Virginia)
- Scheduled to open in late June is the Tidewater Residential Support Center for 30 young women from the Norfolk area, who will take training in existing programs.

Yet in Fiscal Year 1968 the central Virginia area alone, by no means the highest recruitment area in the state, enrolled 944 youth for Job Corps. (1968 is the last full year for which I have recruitment figures. FY'69 with 3/4 year recruitment saw 628 enrolled from the area.) More than half of these young people come from economically deprived rural areas. There are no existing manpower programs for them. Those over age 18 cannot qualify for Neighborhood Youth Corps, and almost all, being under age 21, are ineligible for New Careers Programs. Their social skills are inadequate to board in community homes while attending the Manpower Skills Center at Crewe.

No one can say that Virginians have not tried to establish Centers for these young people. As an NCJW volunteer with Women In Community Service, I serve as WICS state coordinator and am currently chairman of the State Job Corps Coordinating Committee, which functions under the Virginia Division of State Planning and Community Affairs. Since May 1969 we have worked for establishment of a Residential Manpower Center (Job Corps). In February 1970 the Manpower Administration agreed to add Richmond to the list of 30 new centers, after support was expressed by Governor Linwood Holton and the Richmond City Council. The Virginia

DOL to Senator Nelson, 4-12-71

- 2

Employment Commission submitted a Declaration of Intent. For six months personnel from Job Corps New Centers Task Force searched Richmond and environs for a site that met all Labor Department criteria.

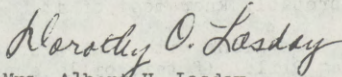
Finally, in October 1970, the recently closed St. Francis de Salles School for Girls in rural Powhatan County, 40 miles from Richmond, was found to be adequate for 150 residential males, even though it could not accommodate non-residential males or females because of distance. Unfortunately, all planning stopped because of lack of funds for additional new Centers in FY'71. Documentation of this coordinated effort of state agencies, voluntary citizen organizations, and Job Corps occupies more than two inches in my personal files. We have had the continued assistance of Senator William Spong, who has copies of much of this correspondence.

Apparently the revenue sharing idea is not a viable concept as far as a national program for training disadvantaged youth. Few of the 30 new type centers have opened since 1969 -- perhaps 10 will be open by June 1971, with several more nearly ready. These are planned to train youth in their home areas.

In this time of reduced employment, in Virginia our Job Corps graduates are being placed in jobs, although not necessarily in their home areas. This demonstrates that jobs are available for entry-level semi-skilled youth, although very few unskilled youth are being placed. The need for Job Corps for Virginia youth will increase markedly in the months ahead as the impact of the disruptions in our schools, due to Court orders, affects the most insecure of our young people.

We hope that your sub-committee will consider carefully the needs of disadvantaged youths in Virginia, and similar areas across the country, before dismantling legislatively what has become an effective program for helping many of these young people become part of working America.

Sincerely,



Mrs. Albert H. Lasday  
Virginia State Legislation Chairman  
National Council of Jewish Women

copies to:

Virginia Congressional Delegation  
Governor Linwood Holton  
Charles Graves, Director, Virginia Division of State Planning and  
Community Affairs  
William Heartwell, Commissioner, Virginia Employment Commission  
NCJW Virginia State Legislation Committee  
Mrs. Donald Brown, chairman, NCJW Washington Sub-Committee

**TOWN OF BLACKWELL**  
**FOREST COUNTY**  
**RT. 1**  
**LAONA, WISCONSIN 54541**

RECEIVED

April 24, 1971

United States Senate  
 Committee on  
 Labor and Public Welfare  
 Washington, D.C. 20510

APR 28 1971  
 OFFICE OF  
 SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON

Dear Senator Nelson:

The Blackwell Job Corps Center in Wisconsin has been observed by me since the time it started. There were many unfavorable comments about the Center and Corpsmen from our citizens in this area. Like all other programs just starting, there were many hurdles to overcome and the Blackwell center did just that.

Not only is the Job Corps helping young men train for jobs so that they may not become a burden to the state as a relief case but it has also given employment to citizens in our area.

Forest County has been classified as a distressed county, and very seldom receive any Federal Funds or programs to help in our need. Job Corps has built camping areas on just about all of our lakes, boat landings and picnic areas also new roads to these camp grounds. They built and maintained Blackwells' solid waste disposal site. They improved our streams and ponds for fishing and rebuilt bridges over these streams. I could go on and on about what the Job Corps has done for our area but you probably know most of it.

Senator, I go along with you on Congress' Man Power Revenue Sharing Bill. If this bill is passed the big cities of our state will benefit by the funds and programs and small towns such as Blackwell will again be left out of everything.

Those Senators and Congressmen who are against the Job Corps programs would benefit well by coming to the Blackwell Center and seeing for themselves the wonderful job that is being done. I would personally be there to welcome them and show them around.

As a taxpayer to the State and Federal Government, I like to know where my tax dollar is spent and I feel my tax dollar going to the Job Corps is a good investment.

If there is any other way in which I can help you on your fight with The War on Poverty, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

*John E. Masel*  
 John E. Masel  
 Chairman Town of Blackwell  
 and Supporter of Job Corps

Hamilton, Montana  
April 26, 1971

Hon. Gaylord Nelson, Chairman  
Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower & Poverty  
Room 359, Senate Office Bldg.,  
Washington D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Nelson:

The Trapper Creek Job Corps Citizens Advisory Committee met this morning and was very perturbed over the seriousness of your communication concerning the status of youth unemployment, and, "apparent cutbacks in number of federal programs designed to serve youth -- job corps".

We wish to urge you to do all in your power to continue funding the Trapper Creek Job Corps.

All youth and especially rural youth must not be forgotten.

Respectfully yours,

Trapper Creek Job Corps  
Citizens Advisory Comm.

By

*Betty M. Smith*  
Secretary

(Mrs. Robert F. Smith)

cc - Sen. Mike Mansfield  
Sen. Lee Metcalf  
Cong. John Melcher  
Cong. Dick Shoup

RECEIVED

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON

April 22, 1971

Senator Gaylord Nelson, Chairman  
Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty  
Senate Office Building, Room 359  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Nelson:

We, as volunteers working with the Job Corps Training Program for girls, are greatly concerned over the outlook for change in the policy of the Job Corps Training Program.

Our WICS Council has worked for five years recruiting and screening girls for this program. Our area has covered twenty-six counties. The girls we have come in contact with have come mainly from rural areas.

These rural girls are the ones we are concerned will be left out if Manpower funds are paid directly to Governors and to Mayors of cities with population of 100,000. There would be only about four cities in North Carolina that could qualify for these funds.

The girls in these urban areas have much easier access to vocational schools, Technical Institutes, and on-the-job training programs offered by some local industries. These types of education are almost prohibited to rural girls, due to lack of transportation to, and living quarter in, the areas where such opportunities are offered. So here again it is the rural girl who is the loser educationally.

There are no Job Corps Centers for girls in all the Southeastern region of the United States. This means that the girls from these states must be sent to Centers so far from their homes that the problem of homesickness is one of the chief causes of drop outs from the Centers.

If the Federal funds which would be allocated to the Governors of the states and the Mayor of the cities can be used so that all the underprivileged young persons in their states can benefit from these funds, then much could be accomplished. Will the use of these funds be just a vote-getting mechanism? This is our fear. If there can be well-established guide lines in the use of these funds and they are administered by qualified personnel with a real concern for the underprivileged, then perhaps this new plan will work.

Senator Gaylord Nelson -- 2

4/22/71

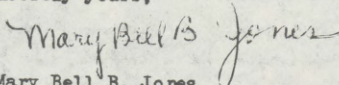
Speaking as one volunteer for Job Corps, I feel very definitely that each state should assume the education of its citizens, but since it has not in the past, the Federal Job Corps Training Program has been absolutely necessary. This program has been the only hope for many a young woman "to be someone."

We earnestly hope and plead that if the new plan of funding an educational program goes into effect, much consideration be given to making possible opportunities for all the underprivileged young people, both urban and rural.

Thanking you for the opportunity to express views of my own, and also of some of our volunteers,

I am

Very sincerely yours,



(Mrs.) Mary Bell B. Jones  
Project Director

WOMEN IN COMMUNITY SERVICE, INCORPORATED  
 430 SOUTH STREET - SUITE 705  
 SPRINGFIELD, MISSOURI 65806

PHONE: UN 9-9911

April 24, 1971

Senate Subcommittee on Employment  
 Manpower and Poverty  
 Senator Gaylord Nelson, Chairman  
 Senate Office Bldg. Room 359  
 Washington, D. C. 20518.

Gentlemen:

Mrs Maxwell Stokes, President of WCES has sent me information concerning S1243, the Manpower and Revenue Sharing Act. I understand this bill would provide for the discontinuance of Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, C.E.P. etc.

I have been working as a volunteer to recruit and screen girls for Women's job Corps centers. I have come to know underserved girls and their needs. Recognizing the weaknesses of the Women job Corps, I still am opposed its discontinuance and do not believe that the States under the revenue sharing plan will provide as good a better opportunity for the girls who need help.

I am a retired state employee and have worked with projects under the Federal Library Services Act. My experience proved that the Federal funds provide a tremendous incentive to the States to improve their local programs when good Federal guide lines are provided.

I believe the existing man power training programs should be studied, researched and improved but not discontinued.

Very truly yours,

Edna E. Botte  
 Project Director, WCES.

# Women In Community Service, Inc.

WOMEN'S JOB CORPS SCREENING CENTER

SENATOR GAYLORD NELSON

BERGEN COUNTY WICS

Office in  
HACKENSACK NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER  
57 PINK STREET  
HACKENSACK, NEW JERSEY  
Phone (201) 342-6706

April 28, 1971

Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower & Poverty  
Senator Gaylord Nelson, Chairman  
Senate Office Building, Room 359  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Gentlemen:

I am a WICS Volunteer having worked in all phases of the program at the grass roots level since the beginning. Bergen County is one of the more affluent Counties in the State just across the Hudson River from New York. Even so, it has its "pockets" and its isolated instances of poverty.

I believe it would be wrong to scrap Job Corps after all the planning and work that has been put in on this whole new approach to education. Wics and Job Corps are concerned about the "whole" girl not only in providing job training. Our experience here is that most girls need to get out of their homes in order to "make" it.

We believe one of the big "plusses" to come out of our Wics experience is the establishment of a Committee to establish a residence in Bergen County for girls. One of our volunteers is now chairman of that committee and the representation on it is well diversified among agencies, organizations and outstanding individuals.

Job Corps shows it concern about the girl because of its complete program, i.e., physical examination, dental care, personal hygiene and appearance, upgrading reading and math skills, opportunity for High School Equivalency, vocational training, recreational program, etc. etc. Anything less than this complete approach to helping our girls would, in my opinion, not do the job needed to be done.

Very truly yours,

*Charles F. Popper*

Mrs. Charles F. Popper

Organized By The National Councils Of:  
Catholic Women • Jewish Women • Negro Women • Church Women United

1284 Trieste Drive  
San Diego, California  
April 19, 1971

Senator Gaylord Nelson, Chairman  
Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty  
Senate Office Building, Room 359  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Nelson,

For the past four years I have worked with Women in Community Service, recruiting and screening young women for the Job Corps. I began as a volunteer, who put in the average four hours a week. However, I soon became so interested in this work, that it became important for me to devote most of my time to it. I became Project Director of San Diego and Imperial Counties here in California. I functioned in that capacity for fifteen months. After passing that job on to my successor, I became Southern California State Coordinator for WICS, and have been active there for over a year. The fact that I have given this much of myself, is in itself quite an indication of how I personally feel about the program. I have seen that in the men's and women's programs, 79% of all those from Western Region who have completed at least 90 days at the Job Corps Center have found employment. What other vocational training program can make such a statement?

I understand that S. 1243, the Manpower Revenue Sharing Act, would discontinue the Job Corps and other national manpower training programs. I would not like to see that happen. I feel that all of these programs are important.

Yes, it costs \$5200 a year to educate a girl. But that \$10,400 for the maximum two years of schooling is only a drop in the bucket compared to what it would cost to support her and her family on welfare for the rest of her life. Besides supporting herself and children with this new found vocational training, she is going to become a wage earning tax payer, who now supports her share of the government, rather than the other way around. We will not really see the results of this new way of life until this young person's children become adults. They will already have been raised in this new life of ambition and self worth, which will give them a head-start over their parents of today. We then see an ever-widening circle of influence coming from this small amount of \$5200 a year. What a wise and profitable investment it can become.

Many persons have said that manpower programs should not be residential and that we could save money by making them non-residential. Yes, it would save money. But really, does it accomplish the same results? Many of these young people

need to be removed from the present environment in which they have been living. There is much more to becoming employable than just learning a vocation. For many it means learning a whole new way of life. If there has been no pattern of punctuality, dependability, or incentive in the home, then just learning a trade will not suffice. These attributes must become the new way of life through living it out. They must become so accustomed to this life that it becomes spontaneous custom. For many, a whole new life in a new community is the only answer to salvaging the person.

We have seen from the Non-residential program that has been undertaken in connection with the Los Angeles Center, that the home environment is not conducive to dependability, promptness or even steady participation. Why should it be, when no one else in the home has any of these attributes? Many times others in the home even put more limitations on the student rather than trying to help them to achieve.

In the student life at the Centers, these young people learn about the democratic way of life. Through their student government, they learn to accomplish what is needed by peaceful democratic means, rather than violence. It is interesting to see how many natural leaders emerge under these circumstances who might never realize that they have these abilities. For both young men and women this is very important. When a young man has grown up in a household where there is no man who is in authority, and he knows no man in authority from his own racial or ethnic group, how will he ever realize that within himself there is the potential for leadership? If he does not emerge from that surrounding and get the chance to see others who have attained that authority he will never know that he too can become someone of importance and worth. What hope would there be for him?

The same is true of young women. They may have seen their mothers always as domestic workers, and never realize that that too has a capacity for worth and dignity. Little do they realize that the Institutional Housekeeping Supervisor is one of the best paid jobs for a woman today. The world of work is a complete mystery to so many until they are given this opportunity to see it for themselves and to find out exactly what their own abilities might be.

I would not like to see the Job Corps handled by the individual states. I think that it must necessarily be a large operation that can really only be handled on the federal level. For example, here in California we have only one small Center for girls and one Support Service Center for graduating boys. The boys from California go to Centers in Oregon, Utah, Washington, Idaho and Arizona. Most of the girls attend the Center in Astoria, Oregon since it is much larger than our Los Angeles Center. Boys and girls from

many states can now benefit from these well set up, organized and producing Centers. Why set up new operations in each state when these are already functioning? Some states may not even be interested in setting up Centers. Those states most unlikely to do so are also the states whose young people are now benefiting most from out-of-state Center living. If S. 1243 is passed, will these states part with enough of this new found revenue to allow these young people to continue their education out of state?

Job Corps needs the scope and direction of a federal leadership to continue to serve equally the young people from all the states. I have no doubt that we in California would demand and receive manpower programs, if this bill were to be adopted, but I must look farther than my own state lines to see that the fate of the whole future of our country lies in our ability to equip all the young people of this land for a life that will be more abundant than the life they have known up to this time. Hopefully we can offer them a brighter future than the past their parents have known. Thus the whole United States will benefit and be a better place in which to live.

Most sincerely,

*Mrs. Blaine R. Parkin*

Mrs. Blaine R. Parkin  
WICS Southern California  
State Coordinator

GREATER WASHINGTON AREA  
WOMEN IN COMMUNITY SERVICE  
1751 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, NORTHWEST  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20009  
TELEPHONE: 265-2822

April 23, 1971

Mr. William Bechtel  
Senate Subcommittee on  
Employment, Manpower & Poverty  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bechtel:

Regarding the proposed Manpower Revenue Sharing Act (S-1243), it seems most impractical to jeopardize an ongoing, federally structured program serving youth from all the states by including it in a revenue sharing proposal under which it may or may not be continued by each state. Assuming that a particular state does continue a training center located in that state, how can it possibly accommodate boys and girls from surrounding areas as equitably and efficiently?

I have been working with girls going into J. C. (and those not eligible for various reasons who must try to find other training or rehabilitation) for 5 years. We volunteers see the change and improvement even in those girls who drop out after 6 months or more, many of whom go back in because they realize J.C. is a unique and valuable opportunity to make something of their lives. The statistics we all see don't reflect these benefits, but only cost per Corpsman per year for graduates and drop outs.

These costs must certainly be decreasing somewhat with more and more Residential Manpower Centers, in which almost one-third of the students do not require housing.

Perhaps the Spanish speaking communities - many of which are not being adequately served now - can best be given training opportunities on a local level, but I certainly hope Job Corps can be continued under federal direction.

Very truly yours,

*Sheila Cohen*

Mrs. Sheila Cohen  
Project Director

WOMEN IN COMMUNITY SERVICE

## Women In Community Service

2230 WITHERELL STREET • DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48201 • TELEPHONE 962-8933

April 23, 1971

Mr. Wm. R. Bechtel, Staff Director  
Senate Subcommittee on  
Employment, Manpower & Poverty  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Bechtel:

We sincerely hope that Pres. Nixon will not close the girls residential Job Corps Centers located all over the U. S. A. At the present time they are the only hope for the girl who has dropped out of school.

While it is true the local R. M. C. will satisfy the need for the girl who does not wish to leave the community, the limited enrollment reduces its benefits to a selective few.

Our state finances are in a critical stage for such crucial needs as education, libraries, welfare, we feel quite sure there would be no funds for a Job Corps Center even if they were sympathetic to the program.

We urge you to do all you can to continue the Job Corps program as it is maintained at the present time.

Sincerely

*Regina Rambeau*  
Regina Rambeau, (Mrs. Christopher)  
NICS. Coordinator for Michigan.

CHURCH WOMEN UNITED  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN  
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

Very truly yours,  
Mrs. Sheila Cohen  
Project Director

PRATT CITY, ALA., *April 20, 1971.*

Mr. GAYLORD NELSON.

Writing you just a few lines to Conson Center in Pratt City. It mean a great deal to me. I have improve very much since I have been going to the Center. I go up there Tuesday and Friday and also Wednesday. It really help me. What ever I do, I put my heart and mind in it.

JOHN LANG,  
*Pratt City, Birmingham, Ala.*

**WICS, Inc.**  
**Women's Job Corps**

1727 North Charles Street  
Baltimore, Md. 21201  
Phone: 752-5220

April 20, 1971

Senator Gaylord Nelson  
United States Senate  
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare  
Washington, D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Nelson:

As volunteers in Women in Community Service we have been responsible for the recruiting and screening of young women for Job Corps since 1965. We are deeply concerned about the threat to the Job Corps program under the proposed Manpower Revenue Sharing Bill.

In the course of screening over 1000 girls we have been convinced of the value and necessity for keeping this program going as a federal project. Experience has shown that Job Corps provides a needed change of environment in order for these disadvantaged girls to break out of their circumscribed ghetto life. Regional centers have provided the means for these girls to learn in a sympathetic and structured setting.

It is difficult to believe that individual states could or would undertake this type of program. Should each state be required to set up training programs de novo, all the improvement and refinements gained through five years of Job Corps experience will be lost. If all manpower training programs are left to the discretion of local officials, we fear that women will again be short-changed as we know they have been in Baltimore where there is only one M D T A program that accepts women. We strongly feel that these future mothers must have the opportunity to move into the mainstream of community life.

We know that Job Corps has made the difference for many young women and we strongly support its continuance as a federally operated program.

Sincerely yours,

*Diane H. Markman*

Diane H. Markman  
WICS Project Director  
Baltimore

[Telegrams]

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., *April 28, 1971.*

Senator GAYLORD NELSON,  
*Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:*

Oppose S. 1243. Alabama does not have Job Corps centers. Would not allocate revenue sharing.

WOMEN IN COMMUNITY SERVICE.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 22, 1971.*

Senator GAYLORD NELSON,  
*Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:*

We strongly disapprove combined Manpower Act revenue S. 1243.

Mrs. ARNOLD RIBNICK,  
*National Affairs Chairman,  
 National Council of Jewish Women.*

ST. PAUL MINN., *April 23, 1971.*

Re Senate bill.

Senator GAYLORD NELSON,  
*Washington, D.C.:*

Members opposed to combined Manpower Act revenue bill.

Mrs. DAVID HYMAN,  
*St. Paul Section, National Council of Jewish Women.*

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., *April 22, 1971.*

Senator GAYLORD NELSON,  
*Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.:*

Subcommittee Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, vote against Manpower Act revenue S. 1243.

Mrs. AUGUSTINE BURNS.

LAS VEGAS, NEV., *April 28, 1971.*

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY,  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*  
 (Attention of William Bechtel).

Urge continuation of national manpower training programs. Nevada probably will not finance such needed programs.

ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP COMMISSION  
 ON SOCIAL JUSTICE AND PEACE.

LAS VEGAS, NEV., *April 28, 1971.*

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT, MANPOWER, AND POVERTY,  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*  
 (Attention of William Bechtel).

Urge continuation of national manpower training programs. Nevada probably will not finance such needed programs.

FRANCISCAN CENTER.

Senator NELSON. Thank you for attending the hearing. We appreciate your testimony very much. We will resume our hearings tomorrow at 10 a.m. in room 4232.

(Whereupon, at 2:20 p.m., the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty adjourned, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Thursday, April 29, 1971.)

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